

International Symposium Report

Peacebuilding and Women: from the Field of Women Support



March 2014

**Global Collaboration Center
Ochanomizu University**

Hosted by: Global Collaboration Center, Ochanomizu University
Supported by: Japan Center for Conflict Prevention
FILM METHOD COUNCIL

お茶の水女子大学 共選講義シラビウム

公開講演会 一般公開

平和構築と女性： 女性支援の現場から

平和構築における女性の役割に注目が集まっています。
本セッションは、参加者一人ひとりの成長を促す、女性たちによる実力発揮を促すことにより、リベラルな平和構築と2011年ノーベル平和賞受賞者、リマ・ボスニッチの共選講義シラビウム「東洋と地獄の果て」上映後、アフタースタジオで女性支援について関係者の各々に、平和構築における女性の役割について聴いていただくことを通じて、平和のための国際協力について理解を深めます。



2013年
12月7日(土) 14:00~17:30 (開場13:30)

お茶の水女子大学 共選講義棟1号館304室

主催：お茶の水女子大学グローバル協力センター
協賛：東京WFO法人、日本紛争予防センター
後援：FILM METHOD COUNCIL

上映作品：ドキュメンタリー上映会 14:00~15:15
「悪魔は地獄に帰れ」 出演：Play the Devil Back to Me! (日本映画)

参加費無料
事前申し込み制
(当日会場でも受付)

講演会 パネルディスカッション 15:30~17:30

■パネリスト 藤谷 ルミ子 (東京WFO法人日本紛争予防センター理事長)
Shukria DINI (ソマリア女性研究センター代表)
Renu RAJBHANDARI (女性国際センター・ネパール会員)

■モデレーター 遠藤 貴 (東京大学大学院総合文化研究科教授)

■アドバイザー 堀井 美穂 (お茶の水女子大学グローバル協力センター特任講師)

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Opening Remarks

Harumi Kitabayashi
Director, Global Collaboration Center,
Ochanomizu University

Thank you very much, everyone, for attending this International Symposium on “Peacebuilding and Women: from the Field of Women Support.” On behalf of Ochanomizu University, I would like to say a few words of welcome.

The Ochanomizu University Global Collaboration Center was established in 2008, when we relaunched what used to be known as the Center for Women’s Education and Development with the aims of promoting education, research, and practice in the areas of peacebuilding, human security, and international cooperation at Ochanomizu University. The wide range of programs we have carried out to date include teacher training for women teachers from Afghanistan, and study tours to Asian countries by our students as part of learning to live together in a global community. Over the last four years, FY 2010 – FY 2013, we have also been working to create an interuniversity network for peacebuilding in global society, as well as to improve our own networks with other universities, international bodies, government agencies, and civil society organizations both in Japan and overseas, in order to help support postconflict and developing countries. In this last year of the program, we are very pleased to have the opportunity, in hosting this symposium, to bring people together to look at issues of peacebuilding and gender.

If a self-sustaining peace is to be established in postconflict states and societies, peace and reconciliation must be promoted and the war-torn social and economic fabric must be restored under the rule of law, while addressing the negative effects left by the conflict. Women should be directly involved in this reconciliation and recovery process, from the level of the state down to that of the grassroots or community, and they should receive a fair share of the dividends of peace. I believe we must unite our efforts toward realizing these goals.

What can we do to ensure that conflicts do not end in a way that pushes women to the margins? And how can women take a hand in preventing new conflicts and reconstructing their societies more solidly and effectively? To help answer these questions, as a prelude to the panel discussion we screened the documentary *Pray the Devil Back to Hell*, which follows the peace movement led by 2011 Nobel Peace laureate Leymah Gbowee in Liberia, West Africa.

I look forward to the valuable insights and opinions we are about to hear from our panelists, who are active in the field, working in peacebuilding and reconstruction in East Africa and South Asia. They will discuss global peacebuilding in terms of what is currently happening in the field, what we should be thinking about, and what action we need to take.

I would like to extend my sincere thanks to our panelists for finding time in their busy schedules to join us today. I would also like to thank the JCCP and the Film Method Council for their generous cooperation in arranging the film screening and this symposium. I hope it proves a rewarding day for you all.



An open letter from the desk of Leymah R. Gbowee



from the desk of

Leymah R. Gbowee

Ms. Harumi Kitabayashi, M.Sci.
Director
Ochanomizu University
Global Collaboration Center
2-1-1 Otsuka, Bunkyo-ku,
Tokyo, 112-8610 Japan

13 November 2013

Dear Symposium Participants,

Welcome to the Ochanomizu University: Peacebuilding & Women 2013 Symposium!

It is my honor to be a part of the momentous occasion for women to share, collaborate and network for a more peaceful society. Ochanomizu University, an institution that has educated women for over 138 years, is an appropriate venue to strengthen alliances for the increased inclusion of women in peacebuilding. For over a century, the University has undergone several transformations. Yet, its mission remains constant: Ochanomizu University is "a place where all women who are motivated to learn can realize their earnest dreams."

The Peacebuilding & Women 2013 Symposium is the space to explore how to realize our earnest dreams for a world without conflict and where human dignity is respected. Women have always been involved in peace movements, but we have seldom enjoyed the space at the forefront. Historically, our participation is on the periphery. This Symposium is an opportunity highlight women as central to authentic peacebuilding.

It is my hope that this event will enhance each of our individual and collective efforts to create a better world. I often concede that peacebuilding is difficult work. Therefore, it is critical to reject the negative for the positive and to transform complex issues into actionable solutions. This is our challenge, and the Peacebuilding & Women 2013 Symposium provides another avenue to meet it.

Sincerely,

Leymah R. Gbowee
2011 Nobel Peace Laureate
President, Gbowee Peace Foundation Africa

Pre-Symposium Event

Screening of the documentary film *Pray the Devil Back to Hell* (USA, 2008, 72 minutes), which features the work of 2011 Nobel Peace laureate Leymah Gbowee

The scene is the West African nation of Liberia, twice torn by civil war. The documentary chronicles events surrounding the peace talks that brought the second civil war (1999–2003) to an end. The country entered its first civil war in 1989, when the power struggle between the ruling minority of Americo-Liberians—descendants of ex-slaves from the USA—and non-Americo-Liberian groups erupted, after years of purges and acts of retaliation, into a major rebellion by the National Patriotic Front of Liberia (NPFL), led by Charles Taylor. The fighting was initially resolved when Taylor became president under the oversight of UN peacekeepers and the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), but in 1999 civil war broke out again with a new uprising by anti-Taylor armed groups. In 2003, the Accra Comprehensive Peace Agreement was reached through US and UN intervention. The two civil wars, which spanned a period of 14 years, reportedly cost 250,000 lives and caused a million refugees to flee. The brutality of the violence against women by soldiers and combatants, and the problem of child soldiers during the wars have been much documented.

During the second war, Leymah Gbowee was coordinator of the Liberian branch of the Women in Peacebuilding Program (WIPNET), which forms part of the NGO West Africa Network for Peacebuilding (WANEP). As a peace activist, she led Women of Liberia Mass Action for Peace, a nonviolent movement working across ethnic and religious lines for women's safety and their right of full participation in peacebuilding. This was a peace movement at a grassroots level, which grew out of rallies by women working in the open-air markets. By obtaining a meeting with then-President Taylor and then holding protests when peace talks stalled in Accra, Ghana, the movement, which began in 2002, helped bring peace to Liberia in 2003. The film documents a number of these events.



Panel discussion

Panelists

I. Case Studies of Kenya and South Sudan

Rumiko Seya
President, Japan Center for Conflict Prevention (JCCP)

II. A Case Study: Somalia

Shukria Dini
Director, Somali Women's Studies Centre

III. Women's Agency and Role in Peacebuilding Process of Nepal

Renu Rajbhandari
Chairperson, Women's Rehabilitation Centre Nepal

I. Case Studies of Kenya and South Sudan

Rumiko Seya

President, Japan Center for Conflict Prevention (JCCP)

This is a great turnout for a Saturday daytime, when most people want to be out enjoying themselves. Thank you all for coming. My name is Rumiko Seya, and I am the president of the Japan Center for Conflict Prevention (JCCP).

JCCP is presently mainly active in Africa, where we have projects in Kenya, South Sudan, and Somalia. Our aims are peacebuilding and conflict prevention. Today, as we have Dr. Shukria Dini here with us from Somalia, I will talk mainly about our projects in Kenya and South Sudan.

First, peacebuilding requires a great many steps, whether to prevent a recurrence of conflict or to prevent conflict before it happens, where there is a new threat. These steps range from meeting urgent needs like food, water, and housing, to education and development as a whole, but JCCP focuses on areas of local needs where there is nobody available locally to take charge of a solution. We work mainly in these four areas, with a focus on areas 1, 3, and 4.

No.1 is improving public order—enabling people to live safely. No.3 is promoting self-sufficiency, not only in an economic sense by enabling people to earn a living, but also in intangible ways such as providing psychosocial care for those who are traumatized. Lastly, there is fostering trust. This involves projects to address the polarization that caused the conflict or outbreak of violence, and to promote reconciliation and coexistence between ethnic groups or other groups between which a rift has developed.

However, our ultimate purpose is always to build a mechanism that will allow members of the local community themselves to solve such problems as they arise; thus, our role as an international NGO is to work toward finding solutions with the local people, offering what support we can in those areas where they have a lack of local resources—which may include human resources or know-how. Thus, ultimately, it is our goal to work together to ensure that people in the country where the project is located can take on problem-solving themselves, at the levels of government, civil society, and individuals.

I'll start with our program in Kenya. I think many people in Japan don't readily associate Kenya with conflict, although you probably recall the terrorist attack on a shopping mall that was recently in the news. When we in Japan think of Kenya, we tend to picture the Maasai people, or perhaps safaris, but Kenya is a multiethnic country with at least forty or fifty ethnic groups. These groups managed to coexist for many years, but five years ago there was an outbreak of ethnic conflict stemming from a presidential election. In just two or three

weeks, to the best of our knowledge, several thousand people died and over 300,000 became internally displaced after their houses were burned or they were attacked and driven from their homes by former neighbors and friends.

As you saw in the film we watched earlier, women and children tend to be the most vulnerable when such conflicts or outbreaks occur. As for the aggressors, the people most likely to use violence in the Kenyan riots were young people living in impoverished areas.

This photo shows a Kenyan slum, a district where members of the poorest class live. Young people in such areas, who were already discontented, were incited to violence, and former friends turned on each other with knives merely because of their different ethnic origins. However, ethnic differences were not actually at the root of the disturbances. What in fact happened was that somebody, for political motives, incited these young people and inflamed antagonism among them by blaming their poverty on other ethnic groups and sending the message that they could be happy if they wiped out those others. This led to rapidly spreading riots and deepening ethnic confrontation.

JCCP is working in Nairobi's Mathare Slum, the second largest such district in Kenya. Though called a slum district, it is actually the size of a small city, with over 300,000 residents. As you can see, it is very densely populated; people are living jammed together. When the riots broke out, there was a great deal of deadly violence in this small area, particularly against women and children, and one of the major problems was that this rampant violence against women and children tends to remain hidden beneath the surface. I happened to be in Nairobi five years ago when the riots broke out, and I know of several women who were raped, and of a girl aged about ten who was raped by several men but could not tell even her family.

Of course, people with physical injuries are taken to hospitals and treated, but one of the serious problems in Mathare has been the huge number of people traumatized by the violence to the point where they were afraid to go outside, for fear of being attacked again. Because there was little recognition of the need for emotional and psychological care in this kind of situation, and a lack of specialists in these fields, the victims remained withdrawn, afraid to go outside, unable to take the first step toward getting their lives back. This was a serious problem.

Starting four years ago, in the Mathare Slum, JCCP tackled psychosocial care, which is an issue of the No.1 mentioned, where there are many people affected but few available to deliver a solution. When I say psychosocial care, here in Japan it's a familiar concept—the term probably brings to mind depression or other emotional problems—and we know there are clinics and services we can turn to for help, but in the Kenyan capital there was nothing, apart from one counseling center that provides psychotherapy. In particular, in this area with hundreds of thousands of residents, there was no organization that could provide the necessary doctors, especially for the poor.

And so we chose 30 young men and women living in the slum and trained them to be community counselors. Of course, we could have brought in professionals from overseas and had them counsel Mathare's residents directly, but although that might have allowed us to provide high-quality counseling, once the experts left, none of their skills would have remained in Mathare. Instead, we developed a counseling service from scratch. As these young people naturally had no previous experience, we began with the basics, by teaching "active listening." They were taught that a counselor must not interrupt if he or she disagrees with something the client says. At first, some of our trainees tended to want to have their say, and since some of them had victims of violence among their own families, or had witnessed an attack and were still suffering from flashbacks themselves, there were difficulties, but as the program continued, these young people were able to become a tremendous support to their community.

As part of our work, we have created several child therapy rooms in the slum. These provide an environment where children, and also women victims, and adult men too, can drop in and receive counseling about their problems. The newly trained community counselors have carried out other work as well: they visited homes and did fact-finding surveys about whether anything had changed since the riots, whether there had been any impact on domestic life. In each of these community surveys, they visited about 5,000 to 6,000 residents, and carried out fact-finding by just chatting normally, in the case of adults. This enabled us to gauge the negative impact and whether the riots had led to domestic violence.

The results showed that over half the slum's residents had some form of emotional problem, and that there were situations where husbands and fathers who had lost all their belongings, or lost their jobs, or suffered injuries or harm to their health, took out their pent-up stress in domestic violence against their wives or children.

A related issue is counseling for children. As children cannot easily articulate their emotions, we gave the community counselors training on how to assess whether a child has emotional issues through a gradual approach using toys, like the ones you see in the photo—by watching them at play, or looking at the pictures they draw.

The counselors in the photograph are all women, and the role of women counselors in this district was very important indeed, as a woman victim may well be reluctant to confide in anyone but a woman; she may be too fearful to speak to a man. In an initiative that they developed on their own, victims who had recovered from emotional trauma consulted with the young counselors and then began activities that would become the first step toward economic independence.

In fact, the young people we trained wanted to set up their own groups in Mathare, and so three years ago JCCP began providing training in the necessary office skills, such as handling money, bookkeeping, and so on, and these young women and men have now started

their own NGOs and Community-Based Organizations (CBOs) and are active in the district.

There are also moves, mainly among the children and younger victims, to start their own activities as a way to overcome emotional trauma. In Slide 5 we see one of these groups—a group that gives dance performances, formed by girls and boys who were victims of violence. They started this dance group to go around taking a message about violence and gender issues to their own generation, spreading the word to ensure that the violence never happens again. The photo was taken when we invited them to join in a ceremony.

In fact, nearly all the members shown here are children who received counseling through our project and who have somehow managed to move on. Children who were once afraid to go out in public are now able to take such a positive stance that they go around Mathare carrying the message that their experience must not be repeated.

Another of our programs is in the area of trust-building and reconciliation. The key point in these areas is that, in practice, it is sometimes better not to announce “This is a reconciliation project,” because then only people who are already happy to reconcile will show up. What we need to think about is how to involve people who don’t even want to hear the word “reconciliation,” people who flatly reject the idea of mixing with a different ethnic group.

And so what we are doing in Mathare is to get the groups to mix as part of a cleanup effort. We mix the teams in various ways—women, men, various groups. If we simply said let’s go clean up the streets, only the most public-spirited people would turn up, and so what we do is announce that everyone can have a share of the proceeds from cashing in the plastic bottles and other recyclable materials that they collect. This brings in borderline delinquent types, and people who likely were among the rioters. The way it’s arranged, before they even realize it, they’re coming into contact with people of many different ethnic groups and getting into spontaneous discussions about things like where it would be most efficient to clean.

One more project we’re running in Mathare to improve public order is an Early Warning and Early Response network. There are warning signs before an outbreak of conflict or a riot. There might be, say, an increase in skirmishes or quarrels among youths from different ethnic groups, or an increase in domestic troubles in interethnic marriages. When such incidents are noted, someone in that slum district can intercede before the small disputes become bigger; depending on the type of dispute, the mediators might be elders or women or young people. We are building networks to allow people to share information about what kind of dispute is happening where.

Friction among women or among children can be particularly hard to identify; for example, children may suddenly start to say insulting things about another ethnic group after hearing their parents say such things. Another aspect of this work is mapping the areas of a slum where women are at high risk of being raped, of being victims of sexual violence. We share this kind of Early Warning information with the government and the police and we

encourage them to take measures like installing streetlamps in those areas so that they are not so dark at night. In these efforts, too, we work together with groups of local women, and young people like these, and elders.

Lastly, I'd like to talk about the work we are doing in South Sudan. This is a project for social independence, especially economic independence. As you know, South Sudan recently became independent as Africa's 54th nation. But after more than two decades of civil war, street children who were orphaned in the fighting and young people from the poorest class are still living in the kind of poverty you see here, unable to support themselves.

They really do sleep alongside stray dogs, and the plastic bottle on the right contains not water but glue, used for sniffing, as paint thinner is used in Japan. They sniff glue to escape hunger and despair. Those who live like this can be as young as five- and six-year-olds, ranging up to youths in their early twenties. Although these photos show boys, there are also many girls similarly addicted to substances or alcohol.

There are many girls living on the streets, existing in this kind of poverty. They forage for food in places like this and collect and sell plastic bottles and other refuse. What makes it particularly serious for the girls, as I'm sure you realize, is that when they reach the age of about eleven or twelve some of them learn that they can make money by selling their bodies. In South Sudan, a girl earns only about \$1.20 (120 to 130 yen) a time for prostitution, but that 120 to 130 yen is hers and so she can eat today, or this week, she has money to buy bread, and that is how these girls get by.

Our project in South Sudan provides job training for young people like these, training and job placement to help them become self-supporting. The training we provide is for cooks. We train them to cook for restaurants and hotels. It would be meaningless to provide training for jobs that don't exist, and so after studying what sectors would offer secure employment even five or ten years from now, we found that, since independence, there has been an influx of foreigners into South Sudan for resource development and reconstruction. As a result, hotels charging 20,000 to 30,000 yen a night have gone up, along with restaurants, but the decades of civil war had left the country without service industries. Thus the hotels and restaurants had to contend with a shortage of skilled workers. And so we chose this field to provide training.

This means training young people who start out with really no skills at all; many would come to class without washing their hands or showering, they'd come in all dirty, but we have improved the training program to cover not only technical skills but also professional ethics and what might be called the spirit of hospitality. There used to be quite a few dropouts, and quite a few upsets such as the time one trainee was hired but quit as soon as the boss yelled at him, or the time another trainee threw a glass of water over an angry customer, but we have begun to include care and follow-up in these psychological areas, and in the last two years the employment rate has risen to about 80 to 90 percent. We also have several people receiving

training in the kitchens of Japan Self-Defense Forces, which are deployed in South Sudan. Here they are, these three students—the middle one is a girl.

Finally, I would like to introduce a comment by a 16-year-old girl who did our training. When we ask the children and young people we meet in South Sudan, “If you could have anything you wanted right now, what would it be?” 99 percent say they want to go to school. I was surprised at first because I’d expected them to say money, or more thinner, or drugs, but the youngsters we come in contact with are not happy at all with their lives the way they are, and the one thing they can imagine that will change their lives is education. There are, however, no schools that will accept children who have reached the age of 14 or 15 without having had any schooling, and we have to explain to the teenagers in that situation that the shortest route to get where they want is to learn a trade and become independent.

So, against that background, I’d like to quote a trainee who’d become a single mother at 16. She had a baby girl about 8 months old. She said her husband had run off somewhere because they were so poor, and she was raising the child on her own. She said, “I really wanted to go to school. But I can see that I can’t do that now, so I’ve given it up. What I have to do now is become independent and earn a wage, and change my daughter’s life, so she doesn’t become like me.” When I see a girl in her mid teens speaking so earnestly, trying to change not only her own life but that of the next generation, I want to do all I can to ensure that children don’t end up living in these conditions, but if, sadly, they do, then I want to give as many children as possible the option to change their lives.

I’m afraid I’ve gone over my time limit. I’ll end there. Thank you.

II. A Case Study: Somalia

Shukria Dini

Director, Somali Women's Studies Centre

Good afternoon. I'm very honored to be here today. Before I begin my presentation, I'd like to thank the Global Collaboration Center of the Ochanomizu University for inviting me to this panel of the symposium. I think it is critical to have a space like this, where we can really share women's experiences and the contributions women make towards peacebuilding. Oftentimes, when we talk about conflicts, we only imagine women as victims, but women are actors as well. They shape the conflict that is impacting women, and they have an impact on their societies as well. To illustrate my point, I'd like to share with you the experiences of Somali women.

In this short presentation, I would like to talk briefly about who I am and where I am coming from, as well as give you a little bit of background information about Somalia and the current postconflict situation, including recent political developments. Then I will share with you the current programs and activities of the center we formed in June and July of 2011, and I will explain what forced us to establish such a center. I will focus on the roles of Somali women in peacebuilding within the Somalia context as well as the impacts of women's peacebuilding efforts.

I was born and grew up in Somalia, but I left the country when the problems started. I became a refugee. I first fled to Kenya and I eventually ended up resettling in Canada, where I did most of my postsecondary education. When the problems started in Somalia, I was about to finish high school. My education was interrupted, and you can imagine what that must be like for a young child or a young teenager who had high hopes and dreams. My world was turned upside down. Violence was everywhere. Everything disintegrated. Schools stopped functioning. Teachers were killed. People fled. There were no universities at all because the state had completely collapsed. I had to flee. I was one of very few fortunate Somalis in that I was able to escape from the violence, resettle in another country, and have the opportunity to start a whole new life.

Canada was a safe country. It allowed me the opportunity to complete most of my postsecondary education. I hold a Ph.D. in women's studies, a field also known as gender studies. I also hold a master's degree in international development studies and a Bachelor of Arts in Political Science with Honors and political science. I attended three universities in Canada.

I returned to Somalia in 2010. I had become increasingly restless in Canada after I completed my higher education. Somalia was calling. I felt that I have to go back to share my skills and contribute to the reconstruction of the country. At the time of my return, there was a

transitional government in place, and I was very lucky to be included in a committee of experts drafting the Somali Constitution. That was in 2010 and by 2012 my name appeared on a list of nine people. We were given the task to finalizing a provisional constitution, which had been drafted by a previous group over the preceding four years because Somalia was preparing, with the support of the international community, to end over 20 years of political transitioning. A kind of roadmap was needed to address the question of how to bring closure to the stagnant political transitioning and move forward to build a permanent government and state institutions.

While I was in Somalia, I ended up getting together with colleagues of mine, who included like-minded women from the United States as well as Somali women, and establishing a research center called the Somali Women's Studies Center. Part of the motivation behind this stemmed from my experience as a graduate student in Canada: I was frustrated because I could not find adequate research or publications on Somali women. The few publications that I did stumble on were really lacking in terms of their one-dimensional portrayals of Somali women as vulnerable and as victims. I saw that these representations were highly limited because Somali women are more than victims; they are actors and agents. I realized that establishing a research center that would document and amplify the voices of Somali women was going to be my contribution. If you are a graduate student or a university student, then you know that research is a very powerful and important tool, and a tool that can make significant contributions in terms of changing the perception of women.

We are also hoping that, through our research and advocacy, we will influence how policies are made at both the national and international levels. Documenting women's success stories and their contributions to peacebuilding is vitally important, because women often occupy what is called "invisible space," and women in conflict zones are, in fact, doing everyday peacebuilding. If we do not document these efforts, if we do not write about them, and if we do not theorize about what women are actually doing and recognize the heroic work that they are performing every day on the frontlines, then we are making a crucial oversight. Women will not be recognized as active agents and important actors in peacebuilding. Recognizing and recording women's stories and contributions are critical.

I'd like to give you some background on Somalia. It is located in the eastern part of Africa, specifically, in the Horn of Africa. As you may already be aware, it is a very rich country in various ways. It has the second longest coastal area after South Africa. It has the Indian Ocean and the Red Sea. In 1990, when the Somalia state collapsed, the country saw the dissolution of the rule of law and the ascendance of warlords. The documentary shown earlier realistically depicts what actually happens when the state disappears. Those who have never experienced it may not be able to imagine what it is like to live in an environment where there is no government. Order is often taken for granted. You wake up in the morning and things are functioning. Traffic lights are working. Garbage is collected. Electricity is

flowing, and water is running. However, in the context of a failed state and in a context of violence, everything disintegrates. Water stops. Electricity is shut off. Property, both private and public, gets looted. Violence pervades. What happened in Somalia mirrors what happened in Liberia: young men are heavily armed and recruited by militia, or, as in the case of Somalia, warlords. The country becomes divided, with territories falling under the control of different warlords and their militias. Brutality, killing, death, and displacement become common. As you can imagine, many Somalis fled to neighboring countries. Some went to Yemen and the Gulf of Aden. Some went to Ethiopia. Some went to Kenya. Some even became internally displaced populations (IDPs), scattered throughout various communities.

Let me give you one example. This picture was taken in Mogadishu. Mogadishu, which is the capital city, is what we call a “painted city.” It is full of IDP camps and the population situation is horrible. Compared to the IDP camps in Somalia, especially in Mogadishu, even the Mathare slum seems preferable. This camp’s population has been displaced numerous times, either by conflict or drought. Imagine what it is like not having the state’s protection or access to resources. You are constantly vulnerable and you do not know if you can make it to the next day. This is your reality. A water source exists within one of the IDP camps. The green part in the corner, if you can see it, is the latrine. Maybe 50 or 70 or 80 families will use that latrine. Imagine what that must be like. We take it for granted that we have our own clean personal bathrooms. Imagine having to line up and share with others. This is the condition, and these water points are built by different agencies.

Somalia has been experiencing protracted humanitarian crisis for over two decades, so its institutions, be they transitional or permanent, lack the resources to deliver basic services. This country has received support in the form of international aid assistance for decades, and its current situation will continue unless we implement what is called a martial plan for Somalia, so that it can recover from its instabilities.

Oftentimes, it is women we are talking about when we discuss vulnerability. Women and children are the one who line up for hours and go back and forth to collect water for their families. Sometimes the stronger ones will try to cut the line, and fights and quarrels ensue. This is the kind of life that is lived by the women and children living in conflict zones as well as in IDP camps.

This picture was in August of this year. It depicts Somali women parliamentarians. We were training them in Nairobi, where we were building their capacities. The new government came to power in September of last year. The government is a year and a few months old, and the parliament as well as the president came to power through a selection process. What does that mean? Some countries elect their members of parliament and their heads of state, whether the head is a prime minister or a president. Because of the security situation, however, that was not possible in Somalia. Instead, we used clan elders, who are representative. Specifically, we used what is called a clan system or selection system, and the

actors were clan elders. There were 125 clan elders altogether, and most of them were men. In Somalia, even though we would like to have them, we do not have female clan leaders. We have to work on this so that women can have access to decision-making processes. The 125 male clan elders are the ones who selected the 275 parliamentarians who are sitting in our current parliament. Women who were on the ground, including those from our center, did a lot of campaigning because we wanted to ensure that women have minimum of 30% representation in the emerging state institutions.

This task was a headache because the clan men would often refuse us, claiming there were not enough seats for the clan men, let alone for the women. They also stated that women are not to be trusted because they are women – that is, as women, we have several affiliations and relations, so we are not considered to be as loyal to the clan as men. For instance, if I belong to one clan and then I marry, and my husband hails from another clan, then I am accepted neither by my own clan nor the clan I married into, because I am considered to be in between. However, women have used these multiple relations and linkages to promote peace and to advocate for justice. The clan system in Somalia is like any other clan system or social strata. It is a very patrilineal and patriarchal system. It discriminates. For example, I am my father's daughter and, as such, I took my father's name. Why not my mother's name? Because it's a patrilineal society, it is only the male individuals that can pass the clan identity to their offspring.

We have 39 women in the parliament, making it 14% female. We did a lot of advocacy and because of what we did on the ground, especially with the clan elders, the signatories of the roadmap, some of the leaders of the past transitional government, as well as with members of the international community, we ended up with 89 or 90 women. Some of these women – a majority of them, in fact – were not competent. They were handpicked by the clan leaders as a way to punish us, as if to say “you want women, we will give you this kind of woman.” However, we have to work with these women. We have to build their capacities. We have to build relations with them because these are the women that we have got. They are inside the major institutions and that is why I co-facilitated a five-day capacity training workshop for female parliamentarians.

These are some of the female parliamentarians. They are very young – in their early 20s. The lady wearing glasses is the Honorable Amina Abdalla. She has a master's degree from Harvard University. She's a lawyer by training and she is married to a Somali man. She is a Muslim Kenyan from the coastal town of Mombasa. We wanted female role models who are inside Africa's political institutions so that they can learn lessons. Indeed, there is a lot to learn.

The center is new and is still taking baby steps. This is one of our youth groups, from our pilot project, in which we teach and bolster young people's leadership capacities. We teach them how to be assertive, how to engage with parliamentarians, how to utilize the

media to advocate for the rights of youth and, especially, for the rights of women. Somali women have been the foot soldiers of peace in Somalia. There are various ways they have contributed to peacebuilding. One of their role is as peace envoys or ambassadors during the heights of conflict. Community women are very intelligent and are good at collecting information. People may feel women are passive, but they are doing their housework or involved in their businesses, and doing the ground work. They know. Women have incredible means of communication. They serve as peace envoys, so they will go to the places where there is imminent conflict.

These women are older, wiser. They are very familiar with the religion of Islam and with Somali culture. They are charismatic and they are not afraid to travel and go places. Every one of these women makes a direct or indirect appeal to clan leaders and warring groups to stop the violence. Literally, these women reach out and make that contact. If two clans are about to clash, the women will identify who the leaders of these clans are and they will speak directly to them and say, "Please stop this violence."

Then, they mobilize the women and youth from the groups that are about to fight and they make an impact. They urge the women and youth to talk to their clan elders and tell them they have to stop the hostilities that are about to occur. Also, women assist. There are similar cases of women coming to the assistance of those who are affected by violence. Women, if they belong to a clan, use their clan affiliation and linkages to provide protection to family members, friends, and neighbors. In fact, it is women who invented the concept of the responsibility to protect. I think the UN got that idea. Women in conflict zones always come to the rescue.

Somalia is known as the nation of poets. We have a very rich oral society. You may come across individuals who cannot read, but they compose like Shakespearean-like poetry. In fact, poetry has been used both to rally for peace and to diffuse violence. Women have used their poetry – a specific genre of poetry that women use is called *buraambur* – to express their support for peace. It is extremely powerful. Sometimes women will go to where the conflict is about to occur. Two groups will be facing each other, and women will begin reciting poetry. Then, these men who were on the verge of killing each other will be moved to tears; the women touched the hearts and the minds of these men who had just wanted to hurt each other. It is very powerful and very moving. At the center, we are trying to document this poetry. It is critical and instrumental.

Women have played important roles in many reconciliations of conflict all over Somalia. There have been over 18 national reconciliation conferences where those who came to the negotiation table were warlords and men who had blood on their hands. Often, these men are given more of a chance than the women, who are regarded as invisible and given no chance. Sometimes, however, due to international community pressure, women are permitted, but only as observers, not decision makers. There are times when the men who

were supposed to be reconciling lock horns. Everybody has an ego and there is always a struggle for power. In these cases, women will apply pressure and emphasize the need to agree, saying, “You have to reach an agreement because we cannot afford the alternative.” This is another way that women contribute.

Women have been also contributing to disarmament, demobilization, and reintegration (DDR). I can give you many examples. Take, for instance, former armed groups. Imagine a young man who has been recruited by a warlord and has committed many atrocities against civilians. One day, this young man comes home and says to his mother, “I am tired, I need a change, I need a break.” Women embrace these young men and go through the processes of asking the community to forgive them and putting them in schools. Women are financiers. They buy these young men clothing and provide shelter. They talk to the business groups and tell them that these young men have survived and they belong to the community. We cannot disown them. We have to take them back and forgive them. That is critical.

Another thing women do is demand. All the hospitals that we now have in Somalia used to be military barracks. The women demanded. They said “we need our hospitals” and the building were renovated. This is a form of disarmament: removing the militia groups from these essential places.

How are the Somali women’s peacebuilding activities having an impact? They have been having a huge impact on various communities and individuals in Somalia. First, their efforts assist people who have been touched by violence to recover from the effects of this conflict and statelessness. Also, in the course of their peacebuilding activities, women have been able to halt violence against civilians, including women, children, and minority groups. Somali women’s peacebuilding efforts have challenged traditional and patriarchal radical institutions as well as the values that have violated women’s rights and minorities’ rights. Before women were able to speak up, they were just thought of as silent victims, but when women exerted themselves and said “enough of this, we do not want this, and this bloodshed must stop,” they challenged the patriarchal and traditional institutions.

Also, women have been advocating. Through their work, they have been able to advocate for inclusive peacebuilding and postconflict reconstruction approaches. Women have been able to build social capital, social cohesion and trust. In times of conflict, these are typically the first casualties. When women rebuild relations, contribute to peace, and stand in dialogues and debates, trust is recovered gradually.

Furthermore, women have been building peace from the bottom up. Oftentimes, the top-down model of peacebuilding receives a lot of exposure and attention; it is always documented. However, women also contribute to DDR. They contribute to institution building, such as schools and health clinics, throughout Somalia. With the support of international aid agencies, women have been able to identify useful institutions such as schools. Children need education, and women have taken the initiative to rehabilitate the

system and to appeal to the Somali diaspora, reaching out for help in building new schools or rehabilitating the old ones. They do the same thing with healthcare facilities and water wells.

What is the way forward? Somalia is a country that has been in turmoil for over two decades and is only recently experiencing development. We have a permanent government, we have few women in the parliament, and we have enormous challenges. Now we are in what is called a postconflict state. This is the most dangerous period because whatever fragile peace we have can collapse. What we do now is very important. International support is critical to ensuring that Somalia stands on its own two feet. Conflict changes societies. In particular, it changes gender roles and relations. The way women behaved over 20 years ago is drastically different from how they behave today. Now women are active and visible. These positive changes, or outcomes of conflict, must be sustained. The way forward is to improve women's literacy because this is a country whose education system has been not operational for over two decades. In a situation like this, the learning centers and the universities can play a major role in terms of investing in women's education and teacher training. In Somalia, this is crucial because if you go to the private schools or the emerging public classrooms, you will notice there are not many female teachers.

International support is pivotal force in advocating for gender equality, gender inclusion, affirmative action, the quota, and the interim or the provisional constitution in Somalia, which currently is under review by parliamentary constitution committee. It does not have a chapter or article that really talks about women's rights and entitlements. It is critical to have this quota system. We do not have political parties yet. Also, it is important to adopt gender-sensitive policies and programs. This applies to donors from the international community, such as Japan, to ensure that, whatever assistance they are giving to Somalia, they must also demand gender-sensitive policies and programs. Let us face it: Somali women happen to be the majority. We are the majority because many men have died in the conflict, so the population is not even 50% male. I think we are at 70% female, and it is critical to solidify or sustain women's gains, particularly their leadership in the public space.

This is a separate article. It is a presentation at some women's agency in civil society, and it is pivotal for Somali women to carry out more advocacy work in order to improve women's representation and participation because power is never given for free. You have to fight for it. All these incredible gains that Japanese women are enjoying did not come about because the men decided to see you as their sisters and wanted to give you this power. Women have fought for it, and it is our responsibility to fight for it.

To move forward, it is critical for Somali women to hold traditional elders, religious leaders, and national policy makers accountable for their marginalization of women, because now what they are trying to do is put the pieces together. The conflict has improved a little bit. It has been ending. We are in the postconflict reconstruction, and we are putting the pieces back together. However, the way they do it lacks gender sensitivity and gender inclusivity. It

is a top-down model. It is critical that Somali women hold these actors accountable for their marginalizing. Women also need to exert more pressure on these actors. One thing that is lacking in Somalia—and that we hope the center will promote—is gender discussion in political debates. This discussion is not happening because all these women’s organizations, who are getting a lot of money from donors, are focusing purely on the welfare approach. They are delivering basic services. They are conscious of the fact that nobody is talking about this issue of Somali women’s agenda, and I think this is a critical point. This is where research and advocacy can play a role.

Thank you very much for being patient.

III. Women's Agency and Role in Peacebuilding Process of Nepal

Renu Rajbhandari

Chairperson, Women's Rehabilitation Centre Nepal

My name is Renu Rajbhandari. I am a doctor by profession. I worked as a medical doctor for more than 12 years, and then I met with a girl who was trafficked from India. Actually, at that time I was working on an HIV/AIDS program. When I interviewed her, she asked me three questions. One was why she should give me her information. Another thing that she told me was that she never wanted to be a prostitute, and she did not want to be a prostitute now, so she asked what I could do for her. The third question she asked was where she could get a place to stay or work and if I could take her. Believe me, I had no answers. I had no answer and because of that, I went into a really deep shock and depression. I came back home, and I started to search. How can I work? What can I do? Then I founded an organization called the Women's Rehabilitation Centre (WOREC) in Nepal. I will be talking about the organization and what the organization does. Since then, I have become a kind of medical-doctor-cum-women-rights-activist and from then, until today, I have been working. I have always said that my speed has not slowed so far, and I hope I can continue this well.

I am sure that you all know Nepal because it has very close ties with Japan, so Japanese people know Nepal. Two things that are commonly known about Nepal are that our country is the Land of Buddha and that we have Mount Everest. Nepal has been considered a peaceful country and it is now considered a more or less peaceful country from the outside, but on the inside, it is not.

In order to understand the role of Nepal's women in the peacebuilding process, it is very important to understand Nepal's political context. Nepal's conflict is what we consider highly political in nature. In Nepal, we had a king and then, in order to reduce kingship, we had several national movements.

Three movements are very famous. The first occurred in 1951, which brought great power to a dynasty king from a particular family group. The second, occurring in 1991, was a people's movement that established a constitutional monarchy in the country. After the establishment of a constitutional monarchy and then a democratic system, many questions were raised, especially from ethnic minorities, women, *dalits*, and other groups. In 1994, one leftist group called the Maoist Party emerged with a 40-point list of demands. They met with the democratically elected prime minister and put those demands forward. Instead of addressing the demands, the government did not react very positively, even though it was a democratically elected government. That drove the Maoists underground in 1994 and

precipitated the People's War. Allow me to go into more detail about the so-called People's War from the Maoists.

The war started in 1994 and ended in 2005, when the king took power and placed all democratic parties under house arrest. During that period, I was among the people who were under the demanded list. All of the civil society groups played very important roles in bringing the seven parties and the Maoist together to draft the peace agreement. A 12-point agenda drafted by them became the peace agreement between the seven parties and the Maoists. This became the real base of the country's peacebuilding process. During that peacebuilding process, in 2006, there was another People's Movement. In 2005, the king took over, but in early 2006, the People's Movement was in effect, and before that, the 12-point agreement had already been signed. Due to this, the Maoists, the seven parties, and civil society all came together, and the People's Movement took place.

There was a 19-day People's Movement. After the success of the People's Movement in 2006, several issues surfaced, such as those facing ethnic minorities. Nepal is a country with more than 100 ethnicities, but we usually regard it as having approximately 60 major ethnicities. Then, in 2006, the democratically elected parliament, which had been seized by the king, was reinstated. This was one part. Another part was that, after parliament was reinstated, all the women's groups from the civil society and the women's groups from the political parties came together and demanded 33% women's representation in the reinstated parliament, and that demand was accepted. The background for this was the aforementioned 1991 revolution, which established a constitutional monarchy. Then, the democratic party came, and that was the opening of Nepal to international human rights instruments.

In 1991, after the first democratic revolution, Nepal had already signed some international instruments, such as one aimed at the prevention of all forms of discrimination against women. There were already many activities geared towards women's involvement. Many activities on the ground were taking place. Several international actors supported women's involvement, and, in that process, the Beijing Conference also took place. The ground was fertile for women's issues to come forward. In 1995, after the Maoists went underground, they used women's empowerment as a tool to mobilize women. The core issue of female subordination surfaced only after the Maoists led the political struggle. For us, it is very important to understand that even though the Maoists led the political struggle that brought the issue to the surface, the groundwork for it had been laid by the 1991 revolution.

It should be noted that women's empowerment was already taking place. Women were looking for their identity. A lot of women, and then the Maoists, would use that momentum. The Maoists would mobilize women, especially survivors of violence and those who had been denied justice, women from the different ethnic minorities, and women from the dalit community. Thousands of women joined and were then forced to also join the Maoists who were fighting with a view to transforming the feudal patriarchal power structure and

establishing women's right through their political mobilization. Many women from the minorities joined.

In 1994, the Maoists were underground and, in 1995, they declared the People's War. For one year, the Maoists were quite peaceful. They were mobilizing people for justice, they were forming groups and broaching women's rights, dalit rights, and the rights of others that had been excluded. In that period, however, although there was a democratically elected government, the government executed what was called the Romeo Operation, deploying thousands of police to the Maoist-controlled area. This resulted in arbitrary arrests and detentions. Hundreds of members of left or central parties were raped, executed, or just disappeared. Police went inside the households in Maoist-affected areas and started picking up women as the Maoists gathered around. Women were raped and many arbitrary detentions and other punishments were meted out.

In a way, between 1996 and 2001, we had almost eight governments. All responded to the Maoist uprising through police operation, and that made our conflict a very violent political conflict. It is important for us to understand that it started from the government. The suppression of the Maoists through police force became a violent political conflict. Women were detained, tortured, raped, and killed for suspected association with the Maoists and also for belonging to the families of security forces from both sides. Maoists were attacking security forces, and security forces were attacking alleged Maoists. As it happens everywhere, the mothers, daughters, and wives of those who were involved—whether they disappeared, whether they were killed, or whether they were tortured, whether they were army forces or whether they were Maoists—suffered the most. Women had to carry a lot of economic and social responsibilities.

In this process, the women's role in the peacebuilding process was very prominent from the start; throughout our history, beginning from the 1951 revolution for democracy, women were involved. Women were involved because women's rights are not ensured without having democracy. This fact is one that the Nepali women's movement has always taken as a core mantra: we need democracy in order to get our voices heard. So women were very much involved into the democratic process. In all democratic movements, women have taken a strong and decisive role. However, due to the strong patriarchal mindset of society and its leaders, and also due to the societal views of women, women's roles have always been seen as secondary. Essentially, women were very much part of the movement, but as soon as the movement gained success, women become secondary. That all of the top leaders were men made this fact quite visible.

Personally, I have always thought that women's roles in the democratic movement are ones of peacebuilding, because women wanted to establish peace through real democratic movement, and, even by being in the movement, women were the ones most affected. Then what happened is that women started discussions at the community level that ended up taking

place in the leadership. Perhaps one day, we can really discuss how several small women's group-level discussions took place to ensure the peacebuilding process. Since women were the affected people, women were the leaders as well. That kind of discussion took place starting at the community level.

In 2003, I founded WOREC, the Women's Rehabilitation Centre. The organization started work in trafficking, but now we work largely on women's rights; however, trafficking remains one of our core issues. Since 2003, WOREC has taken the initiative to organize peace assemblies. The first were organized in 2003, from November 11 to 12 Biratnagar, and I must confess, it was a nightmare. At that time, the country was in some kind of state of undeclared emergency. Everyone had to go inside their houses by 6:30 pm, and we were inviting women from almost 19 districts throughout the eastern part of the country. Every hour, we had to give a list to the police officers, who wanted to know who was there, but somehow we succeeded in organizing the peace assembly. In 2004, in all four of Nepal's existing development regions, we organized peace assemblies.

A National Peace Assembly occurred in August 2004 in Kathmandu. With this peace assembly—actually, in every peace assembly—we made a declaration, stating our desire so the party could understand it. We wanted peace in the country, so we came out with declarations, 8-point, 17-point, 9-point, etc. Depending on the issue, we came out with a declaration, and we shared those declarations with the media, and then we shared it with the government. Then, above and beyond sharing, those became our strategic movements to mobilize people and make contact with the community.

In 2005, again, women began the struggle for peace using different forms of interventions. Actually, this was key for us because women were, as Maoists, alleged to be a form of government spies. Then, the government was regarding women as Maoists, perhaps because women were talking and discussing rights. We were looking for some safety umbrella, and so we formed the National Alliance of Women Human Rights Defenders. We used the term “women human rights defenders” to represent all of those women who are working for peace and democracy. With that umbrella in place, we played a key role in bringing political parties to the table. Not in Nepal, but in Bangkok, I was very much involved in gathering the political parties, and then we started an advocacy center in Delhi.

Another thing that played an important role for us was that we were very active at the UN level. In Geneva, out of five people, I was the only woman who played a lobbying role. I remember lobbying with the Japanese government in Geneva so we could bring the Office of the High Commissioner of Human Rights (OHCHR) to Nepal. We established an OHCHR office in Nepal, and a monitoring of the 19-days movement took place. Things changed somewhat after 2007, however. After the peace process was begun, other things got settled, and a lot of donors came forward. Several donors came forward in the name of peacebuilding, and they helped grow several new women's organizations to perform peace work. Several

women's networks were established. During this period, the United Nations Mission in Nepal (UNMIN) took a very strong role. UNMIN came to Nepal and women's leadership remained a low priority during that period. There were no women included in any peace negotiations or formal processes or even on constitution-drafting committees, so we had to start our struggle again. We struggled and then, in the interim constitution-drafting committee, we finally were included.

We were not very happy with UNMIN. We challenged them as to what kind of example they were setting. There was no gender adviser, so our women's group wrote a letter to the Secretary General referring in particular to SCR1325 (UN Security Council Resolution 1325 for women and peace). We came together and we wrote letters to Secretary General and to all the Secretary Council Members and we told them they need to send a gender adviser. Finally, we got one. We started using this space for negotiating and then brought SCR1325 into the debate. Luckily, we got 20% women as Constituent Assembly (CA) members. Elections took place and our facilitator was also on that election observation team.

We had 20% female participation in CA. We really cherished and celebrated that part, but one thing that I am really excited about today, and of which we are very much proud, is that we drafted a women's charter for peace and equitable justice. We presented our demands and stated what we wanted. We wanted inclusion in the constitution, and we all came together to achieve that. Even after that, however, gender-based violence was increasing. There was no census mechanism put in place by the government to look at the sexual violence or other violence occurring during the conflict. Even when Maoists came to power, there was no concise report from them. We organized a 24-day hunger strike, captured in these pictures with the back drapes, even though we asked that pictures not be taken. We came to send a message to the government. We were raped, we were tortured, and now there is not even an inquiry commission. We were trying to put shame on the government. All the time we were referring to the UN Security Council Resolution 1325. We took that as a tool, and what I found is that in countries like ours, some UN resolutions sometimes work and sometimes they do not. This is because governments sometimes resist, challenging what kind of UN presence is being brought into the country.

We had to be very strategic in carrying out the 24-day hunger strike, and we reflected on drafting laws against domestic violence, and it was wonderful to have what is a historical ruling in our constitutional assembly. That our government would bring out a domestic violence law was a historic moment for us. Also, when the peace process began, we developed a national plan of action on 1325 that was very inclusive. Women up to the community level were consulted. That is another issue in which we have a wonderful plan of action, but it is not being implemented. That is another issue but at least we have a national plan of action.

One ironic thing is that even though women played a very strong role throughout the

process, you will not find women at the peace-negotiating table with the political parties. There are two reasons for this. One is that political parties are very much scared of us because we are a strong force. Women are a strong force, and political parties try to avoid us, or else they try to handpick women. However, even when political parties attempt to handpick they fail, because we become strong like other women's rights groups. They are finding it very difficult to do balance with women but somehow we are tending towards victory rule.

Violence against women has continued, and there were five implemented cases. We took those five implemented cases, which ultimately was converted into the Occupy Baluwatar movement. It was a very strong movement—it is even listed on Wikipedia. It is a kind of social movement. For 130 days, we were moving on the street. We started this social movement, and we were continuing with our consultations. National consultations were performed, and we emerged with a declaration. Even to this day, we are lobbying, we are demanding past records, we are demanding an investigation committee for sexual violence, and we are demanding truth and reconciliation from women's perspectives. For that the NAWH, the National Alliance of Women Human Rights Defenders, has taken the lead. We really need to define what constitutes justice for women, because the definition of justice varies, and many may think justice has been done even though women have no part of it. We do not accept that definition of justice. Sometimes we can get a positive judgment from the court, but we are still stigmatized.

What is justice for women? That is a discussion we have initiated nationwide, and we are doing these things through WOREC Nepal. WOREC now has six safe houses and five centers for survivors of violence. We work with the feminist ideological approach to victimhood. Because of that, we have been successful in organizing a number of self-representative organizations. As the first speaker shared, we also have 30 community counseling centers because we find that they are necessary to women's right to be addressed. We need to have community-based counseling centers that are run by community women. In addition to running community-based counseling centers, we have women's health care centers. In countries like ours, the denial of social cultural rights has silenced women against violence. That is why we are advocating for social economic rights, but we are not only advocating, we are creating models. Now, we have different organic bio-intensive farms where women are engaged. We are very much involved in the creation of models for women's leadership, and in the fight to end violence against women, social economic rights are very much centered.

I invite all the students to come for the internship so that you can learn more and, at another time, I would really be happy to discuss things further. Thank you very much.

**Comment
Discussion
Q&A**

Commentator

Mitsugi Endo

Professor, Graduate School of Arts and Sciences, the University of Tokyo

Panelists

Rumiko Seya

President, Japan Center for Conflict Prevention (JCCP)

Shukria Dini

Director, Somali Women's Studies Centre

Renu Rajbhandari

Chairperson, Women's Rehabilitation Centre

Facilitator

Miho Fukui

Project Lecturer, Global Collaboration Center, Ochanomizu University



Comment

Mitsugi Endo

Professor, Graduate School of Arts and Sciences, the University of Tokyo

Thank you. My name is Mitsugi Endo and I am with the University of Tokyo. My main specialty is Africa. My original field of interest was civil society and democratization in southern Africa, but for the past ten years I have also been studying the Horn region, including Somalia, which we have heard about today.

We have heard three very powerful presentations, each with a slightly different perspective. Ms. Seya talked about the activities of a Japanese NGO in societies that have experienced conflict, how they select their projects, and how they go about identifying local needs and providing appropriate support. The other two panelists presented the background to the conflicts in Somalia and Nepal and, by discussing the NGO programs with which they are personally involved, gave us what could be called an insider's view of the issues.

I would like to make some very brief comments at this point. First, in 2010 the UN Secretary-General's reports included one on women's participation in peacebuilding, which consists mainly of a seven-point action plan, and I will discuss this as one approach.

After that, I will talk a little about the notion of there being a kind of liberal peacebuilding, which can be seen in peacebuilding in general. I will talk about the problems that this entails and how it might be possible to overcome them, and how that perspective was incorporated in the reports we have heard today. Then, lastly, I will ask the panelists some questions.

The Report of the Secretary-General covers problems in five areas or domains. One is how women participate in the conflict resolution process, and what action the UN will take to ensure that they do. For example, in the women's action to end the Liberian civil war, which you saw in the movie, there were interactions with civil society and civil society organization (CSO) forums. Initiatives like those, centered on civil society and local NGOs, have a certain role to play, or in Nepal, as we heard earlier, there have been some very dedicated efforts.

The second concerns various initiatives in the "postconflict" phase and points out the need to consider issues specific to women, or—there are various terms used—what I'll call gender issues.

Thirdly, various postconflict initiatives need financing, and the report states that gender should be included in the perspectives when considering financing. For example, it says here that responses should be designed to benefit both women and men. And here, finally, it says that funds need to be directed to projects that address such things as women's empowerment and gender equality.

Further, in this domain of “gender-responsive civilian capacity,” action is needed to improve, to some extent, the civilian capacity to address gender-specific needs. Here, too, the report points out the need for planners to address women’s needs sufficiently.

With regard to women’s representation, our speakers today, in particular, emphasized the importance of how well women are represented in government and elected assemblies in a postconflict society. In this regard, the report notes the need for quotas, that is, for setting aside a certain proportion of assembly seats for women.

In the domain “rule of law,” the report notes the need for the rule of law as a firm basis for realizing order or security in a postconflict society. This is closely related to the question of legal justice, that is, how to deal with crimes committed during the conflict, and in the long term there is a need for the perspective of creating an orderly society under the rule of law. As part of this, the report specifies that the handling of violence against women, preventing and responding to violence against women is a very important aspect of this domain, also.

Further, we have heard that in the postconflict process women’s interests are, to a great extent, sacrificed, and here there is a reference to “ending impunity.” The problem addressed here, impunity, is the fact that after a conflict ends, various crimes committed during the conflict tend not to surface, and in practice the perpetrators cannot be punished. The result is that the offenders remain at large and their crimes are not brought to justice. A further aspect of this problem is the fact that it becomes very difficult to establish social order under these conditions. Hence, there is recognition of the need for the UN’s rule-of-law response as part of the five areas. And in today’s presentations, particularly in Ms. Seya’s discussion of her NGO’s programs, we saw examples of the importance of women being involved in the areas of economic and social recovery. Here they use the term “service-delivery agents—e.g., in health, agricultural extension, education,” and so on. Lastly, there is a mention of “DDR,” or disarmament, demobilization, and reintegration. Thus, the report underscores the importance of women’s role in the process of creating a stable and ordered postconflict society.

In general terms, there is no problem at all with the action plan, indeed these are all very necessary points to address, but it has its limits in certain respects. There are certain issues that emerge when pursuing an approach based on liberal peacebuilding.

In general, “liberalism” is a very difficult term. In economics, it refers to allowing the market to regulate itself with a minimum of government intervention; we have seen this in Japan in the form of structural reforms. In politics, it becomes a question of how much liberty society allows the individual. Thus, “liberal” is, in itself, a word with very complex implications. “Liberal peacebuilding” generally refers to peacebuilding that takes as its point of reference the political and economic systems developed in the West, in what are commonly known as the developed nations, and tries to realize those systems to some extent in postconflict societies. It means an approach to achieving peace based, for example, on the concept of democracy, on choosing a government through regular elections, and also on a

market-based economy.

But one difficulty is that it is not always clear when a society can be considered “postconflict” (a word we have heard many times today). In Somalia, a new government was finally formed last year, after more than twenty years, but it is not entirely clear whether this situation can be called “postconflict.” In practice, there can be forces remaining active within the country, such as, in this case, al-Shabab, who were involved in the Kenyan shopping mall attack.

When we look at the subject of ongoing conflicts, South Sudan is in conflict with North Sudan, and in Kenya there is conflict that is ultimately related to ethnic tensions arising out of elections, while in Somalia an existing conflict surfaced in a very dramatic way when the government fell in 1991, leaving the country with no central government. In Nepal, the Maoists fought the monarchy with the aim of establishing a new democratic system. Thus, conflicts can be very different in terms of what is at stake, and conflicts in different regions do in fact end in very different ways.

The civil war in Rwanda is well known. The way the conflict ended in Rwanda, with the antigovernment forces winning a military victory, is unusual; they are the government now in power. In Sri Lanka, too, the conflict was settled by military victory, but it was the government that won. Conflicts can also end in a truce based on a form of UN-mediated peace agreement. Each of these is a very different situation.

Moreover, it is not easy to support the government in a postconflict society from the outside, because of the difficulties such governments have in exercising their functions fully. The effectiveness of assistance is ultimately influenced by the capacity of that country’s own government. In Ms. Seya’s projects, they do not necessarily partner directly with the government, and they may work in a very local context. Thus, in societies that have experienced different kinds of conflict, when the conflict is tentatively defined as being over, the best form of assistance tends to remain unclear for quite a long time.

Working in the field—to use the word in our title today—in a postconflict society can mean various things, but we must bear in mind that the context is very local, and when people come in to respond from outside, through international cooperation, they must be very sensitive to this local context.

I would like to end by asking each of the panelists one or two questions. My question to Ms. Seya is this. The conflicts in Kenya and South Sudan that you spoke about have different historical backgrounds. I gather from your report that you are providing very effective, very practical forms of assistance suited to local needs. Could you tell us how you go about finding out what those needs are?

For example, take the way you identified the need for trained cooks in hotels and restaurants in South Sudan. This may not be a very common situation in postconflict societies, but to discover such needs, I think relationships such as those with the Ministry of Foreign

Affairs probably provide a very important perspective. Could you talk about the background to these points? And then, you've already mentioned gender, but I'd be very interested to hear how you assess your initiatives from the viewpoint of women's involvement in peacebuilding.

Next, I have several questions for Dr. Shukria Dini. With the formation of the new federal government, in some ways the situation in Somalia could be considered postconflict, but the new government is actually very fragile in some respects. Could you tell us, from a local perspective, to what extent the present situation can be considered "postconflict," or, to put it another way, whether a legitimate government will be able to function fully from now on? Since you spoke earlier about women's representation, I won't bring that up again here.

I had the impression that your NGO focuses mainly on programs in Somalia, but you also have a liaison office in Nairobi, and I believe you work with various international agencies. Could you kindly tell us about these points? Lastly, the other day a mission came to Japan from Somalia; in that connection, do you have any expectations regarding the fields in which you would like to see support from the Japanese government or Japanese NGOs in future?

My questions to Dr. Rajbhandari are as follows. The conflict in Nepal is quite different in nature from the one in Somalia. We heard that in Somalia the conflict tended to involve mainly men as combatants, with women more often being in the status of victims; in contrast, the Maoists in Nepal recruited or mobilized large numbers of women. Also, you noted that the parliament currently has a quota system, but that few women were included in the official peace negotiations, and I wondered why women's involvement would differ so much between the different phases. Could you please discuss this in a little more depth?

I'm not very familiar with the situation in Nepal, but I'd like to ask about the social background to the fact that issues like women's participation, the restoration of women's rights, and justice for women have surfaced there. Also, women's rights are taken up extensively in NGO program; could you tell us more specifically about the rights involved? That ends my questions.

Discussion

Fukui

Thank you very much, Prof. Endo. Now, in response to Prof. Endo's questions, we will move on to the panel discussion. Can I ask the panelists to please come to the front? We've asked a lot of Prof. Endo by having him cover Nepal as well, when he is an Africa specialist. We have previously studied many cases in East Africa, and I am glad that today we were able to hear about the situation in Nepal, so that the symposium covers two continents. Now, may I ask you to begin, Ms. Seya?

Seya

I will be brief, so that we can make the most of this opportunity to hear from Dr. Dini and Dr. Rajbhandari.

When we do a project in the field, the essential thing is, I think, to elicit local needs from as many actors as possible, identify an area where there is a gap between demand and supply, and choose to provide our support in that area. Further, as we're an outside group that will leave at some point, we can provide support in the form of getting things started, but we take care, right from the initial stages, to collaborate with partners who can carry on after we leave, or who can become the main actors in implementing the program on the ground—partners such as local NGOs, community groups, and sometimes government organizations.

Both in evaluating projects and in discovering needs, when we apply a gender perspective, it becomes clear that women have the best understanding of the essence of the problem, they have the best grasp of needs in the home and the community, and yet it quite often happens that even if we ask the community to hold a meeting so that we can listen to local opinions, women can't participate, they are not allowed to take part, and only men attend. We sometimes manage to arrange for women to attend by saying we want to hear the women's views too. Or we may offend the men, the male elders perhaps, by saying this, and the talks will go badly as a result. So where do we go to get access to women in such cases? We go where women tend to gather, as Dr. Dini also mentioned in her report. A place where women draw water, for example—sometimes we go there rather than asking the women to come to us. And when we do a house-to-house survey, we choose the time of day when the men are not at home, so that we can talk to the women alone. We obtain access in this way, whether for a preliminary assessment or for an evaluation of a project.

Fukui

Thank you. Now let's hear from Dr. Dini.

Shukria Dini

Professor Endo asked a very hard question, and I will do my best to answer it.

Regarding the term “postconflict,” you asked me to define postconflict theory within the context of Somalia. I think it can be very challenging because this is the term the international community has been using. It is good for us to unpack what is meant by that as well as where postconflict begins and ends. If we think we perhaps can say that postconflict starts when the National Peace Reconciliation or Peace Conference are signed, when the guns die down, when some fragility and some tension still remains, but things have improved. That is what we can define. People, scholars perhaps, may say it is very difficult to actually define postconflict, because you may be at the stage of postconflict, but you can still be in a conflict period as well. It can be a combination of the two. In the context of Somalia, I would say even though there have been several security gains, Al-Shabab has lost a lot of territorial control. This government is a government that is still at war with these extremist groups even though there have been some security gains. Its functioning is emerging, and there are weak institutions as well. I would say it may be a combination of conflict and postconflict, a kind of cocktail. It’s very difficult.

The other question is, is the government functioning? That is an important question. Yes, it is functioning, but in a very weak way. We cannot do it alone, and I think it is critical for us to receive international support because this is a country that has been afflicted by over two decades of conflict. Institutions seem to nonexistent. We need to rebuild and transform security sector institutions, the justice system, legal and social services. As we speak, the government of Somalia cannot deliver basic social services. The actors who have been able to deliver basic services have been the civil societies, and these have been supported by donor money. Now, a tension exists in which the government is making a claim to legitimacy, stating that it has international recognition. Therefore, it is asking donors to deal with the government directly and to stop funding the civil society. That makes those of us who are on the ground nervous. Because I think the new government needs its own rock and corners with civil society, because the civil society has gained a lot of experiences and skills over the past two decades. We cannot just kick them out. I think if we want the initial democracy, then we need an active, robust civil society.

The other problem is the vulnerability of the Somalia state. It is extremely vulnerable. Even just a year and half ago, the government controlled not more than 5% of the capital city of Mogadishu. Around that time, Mogadishu was liberated from Al-Shabab. At times, Al-Shabab was carrying out its own terrorist activities on a daily basis. The night before, they killed a parliamentarian who was going to a statehouse. Someone had planted an explosive that was detonated by a mobile. We lived, and we continue to live and operate in these very insecure hostile environments. Sometimes we are very upset because since the new government has come to power, there have been expectations and high hopes that it was going to be able to really address the issue of security. Yet these suicide bombers continue to carry out their heinous acts against innocent civilians as well as against members of the

government at their will. Sometimes we as civilians think that maybe Al-Shabab never left Mogadishu. There are remnants of Al-Shabab still in Mogadishu, so the government is extremely vulnerable.

Somalis may not like how this government was selected because the process was full of flaws, but this is the government we have got. All Somalis want to have a normal life. They want a state that is fully functioning, professional, and efficient. We do not like how this government or the parliamentarians were selected. There is a lot of corruption in the way the parliamentarians were selected and how the president came to power, and we do not like that. We Somalis know. We are very critical, but this is what we have got. Every Somali wants to rally and support this government because we want stability, and we want to have a normal life, and I think it is coming. We really want it to happen this time.

Yet another question is, how do we utilize our liaison office? We are new and are still taking baby steps. The reason we have a liaison office is that we want to link up with other international aid agencies and raise the issue of the importance of gender. Sometimes these agencies deflect us by stating they are doing humanitarian work. Yes, women are the main beneficiaries, but the work is humanitarian because it is in the short term. Basically, because the work is short term in nature, it is difficult to really focus on gender. We receive some invitations from particular organizations to do a presentation and to participate, and I think what we want is to educate aid agencies and new humanitarian development workers. There is a new course because Mogadishu is not accessible, and Somali South and Central are not accessible. Most of the agencies are based in Nairobi even though a lot of efforts have been made to relocate these offices. There were a lot of setbacks because of security incidents. Last April, the UN compound in Mogadishu was attacked by Al-Shabab, and 15 aid agents were murdered. They were in control for nine hours in the city of Mogadishu until the peacekeeping mission came to rescue the Somali forces. Al-Shabab had to kill everybody. It is very risky and it scares people. Aid agencies do not know whether to take that chance.

As for the expectations for the Japanese government and international Japanese aid agencies. Before Somalia collapsed, Japan used to be one of the generous government, and the Japan International Cooperation Agency (JICA) sponsored a lot of programs. It worked with the previous military government before it collapsed. A lot of Somalis have that memory of Japanese generosity and support. Now things are improving on the ground. There are challenges, though. I think there is an expectation that Japan, which used to be a generous donor, should move away from its “wait and see” approach. It should accept challenges like any other donors do. The European Union, for instance, has been very active, and Scandinavian countries are now extremely assertive.

Now we have a whole new actor in the Somalia picture: Turkey. Now the Somalis are crazy about the Turkish, and the Turkish have come. They have pumped in a lot of money. They are involved in building institutions and increasing education. We can question that, of

course, because Turkey has its own national interests. However, Somalis are critical of the West. They claim that the West has been pretending that they are helping us, but we do not see any results. They have become Nairobi-based. There must be some direct input, and I think it is valid. The Turkish, however, are inside Somalia, building hospitals. They are building a high-tech hospital, and they took over the former Somalia Polytechnic School, transforming it into a private school. Of course, that does raise some questions; however, the tuition is subsidized. What is more, the Turkish are building roads and feeding the IDPs. There may come a time when the honeymoon is over, but right now there is Turkish money in Somalia. I think it is important for Japan to exert itself and offer support because Japan was known as a generous donor before Somalia collapsed in early 1990s. The chances and the opportunities are there. We should not let security become a hindering factor.

I want to note, however, that Japan is indirectly or may be directly supporting Somalia, especially in security sector development. It is providing material support, but it is offering support through the UN channel. A couple of days ago I was told there were brand new cars and police equipment delivered by Japan. People are grateful, and I think this kind of support and engagement is very critical. Thank you.

Fukui

Thank you. Now I'll call on the next speaker.

Renu Rajbhandari

Thank you, Professor, for bringing up the issues that allow me to add what I have not said. The nature of Nepal's conflict is very different. As I said, this is a very political conflict. If you look closely at women's participation into the Maoist army, according to the Maoists, you will see that 40% of the total Maoist army was female. Admittedly, that figure changed somewhat when UNMIN started to verify it. The number went down, but nevertheless it was up to 25% even after UNMIN verified it. I think the entire societal view of women changed because of women's involvement in the Maoist army. Before that, people were thinking of women as weak and incapable of doing the things that men are entitled to do. When these Maoist women participated in the army, they showed everyone that women are equally capable. As a women's rights activist, I may question whether taking up a gun was a good decision or not. It is definitely a matter for debate. However, that definitely changed the societal perspective towards women. That is one thing that is certain.

The second thing is, there are several organizations that are still conducting research in Nepal on the sexual violence that occurred during the conflict. One thing that we are really amazed by is that there were not many cases of sexual violence committed by the Maoists. There was a lot of sexual violence committed by the Nepal Army, but not by the Maoist army. It could be that people are still afraid and do not want to come forward about it. We feel that

the sexual violence was low because women were involved in the process, the process was very political, and it was not an outside insurgent coming in and dividing. It was a group that wanted to take power and change the feudal structure. We always ask the international community not to compare our conflict with the conflict in Africa because their natures are totally different, and the nature of sexual violence is also different. This needs to be looked at very carefully and analyzed, since it may be that the dynamic was heavily influenced by the participation of women.

Currently, I am collecting case studies of women who are involved in the army, and I am planning to write a book. Amazing information is coming out. Women joined the army because the Maoists were able to get justice; these were women who had been raped and were denied justice by the feudal structural governance. That is what prompted them to join the Maoist army. This approach of a victim becoming an agent has changed our conflict. The whole conflict scenario does a lot to answer that question.

The second question was regarding the parliament quota. This is something we also get confused because of the behavior of our political parties. The Comprehensive Peace Accord, which was signed by the seven parties and the Maoists, came after the reinstatement of the dissolved parliament. In its reinstatement, the parliament passed a proposal from the women parliamentarians to bring women's participation to 33%. Later on, when the peace agreement was signed and the official peace negotiations began, women were always there unofficially, but they were not in leadership positions. This we cannot understand. Constantly, we are asking the political parties and they claim to be addressing women's issues. They are not denying the need, but they are not taking action. What we are saying is that there may be a strong patriarchal mindset, which still sees women as subordinates. That mindset is at work but, at the same time, the push from the civil society and from the women within the political party is always there. This is still very controversial, but it is happening.

With regard to justice, when Nepal's peace process began, we had a very good first constitutional assembly election. After that, however, a sharing of power did not properly take place. If you ask me the same question you asked Shukria, I would say that Nepal is very much in the conflict now. I am not going to define Nepal as a postconflict country because I see that the sharing of power has been a real challenge. Impunity has been institutionalized in Nepal and when that happened, women suffered the most.

To answer your question, women from certain social backgrounds suffered the most. One thing that has happened in Nepal—and I think this is another challenge for us as women's rights activists—is that women were empowered. As I mentioned, even the Maoists played a very strong role in this empowerment, but as another peace process began, the social and attitudinal transformations have not taken place. What is happening now is that women are demanding justice, and institutions are not ready to provide that. People's mindsets are

also not yet ready, so more violence is taking place and more violence against women. Women are still considered the property of men, but women are not ready to accept that. So there is conflict. The divorce rate in Nepal is increasing; sexual violence is increasing. In essence, women's agency has not been recognized by the system.

The third thing regarding women's rights is that there are a number of women's rights. What we do not want is a single identity. Identity is a big issue for Nepali women. The issue of identity can be seen in the example of a Nepali woman marrying, for instance, a Japanese man. Her children will not get Nepalese citizenship. If, on the other hand, her brother gets married to a Japanese woman, then his children will get Nepalese citizenship. As a woman, I cannot pass citizenship to my children through my name. I need to prove that the child is from Nepali man. If I am a single mother or if I do not want to name the father of my child then my child will not get citizenship. This is the issue of identity.

Another issue is that of control over women's bodies. Bodily integrity is another issue, one on which we are not ready to compromise. Sexual violence takes place because of that. A third is women's economic rights. To this day, we do not have inheritance rights. Property rights are in place, but not inheritance rights. These are a couple of the non-negotiable rights that we are talking about.

Q&A

Fukui

I'm sure the panelists have many things they'd like to add, but as our time is limited, I would like to throw the discussion open to questions from the floor.

As we are already running over time, we'll take just three questions. Please raise your hand if you have a question. Yes, you're first.

Questioner 1

Thank you all for your presentations. I have a question for Ms. Seya. Among the projects you described, there was one where you got people from different backgrounds to mix by having them perform cleaning work together. I have heard that potential rioters, such as gang members, are brought into such projects only after a series of steps has been followed. What criteria or methods do you use in these steps? For example, do you ask local residents, or do you work with other NGOs that have local networks? Could you please tell us about any such methods that you use?

Seya

Yes. As I said, when we do programs in the field, we always find local partners we can trust, not only community groups but vertical networks with input from government agencies and so on, and in this way we collect information. Obviously, we don't carry out any programs that would pose a risk of harm to local residents who took part, as that would not achieve our purpose at all. Thus, while obtaining local information and maintaining communication in these ways, naturally we don't carry out any program where we judge that it is too soon to provide that particular kind of assistance.

Fukui

Yes, next question, please.

Questioner 2

Thank you very much for the lecture. When I hear about conflicts, most of the times the focus is on young men fighting in the streets and old men convening in meeting rooms. From today's lecture, however, I could see that women have power and are trying to change the situation. I have two questions. What do you think is the key point that enables those women to focus more on these simple issues? That is the first question. The second one is for Dr. Dini. Regarding the international organizations or donors, what do you personally think about the international organizations or donors that come into your country? You said really positive things about us but do you have any negative impressions or thoughts that you can

share with us?

Fukui

If there is another question, I'll take them both now and then ask the panelists to answer them together. Is there anyone else?

Questioner 3

My questions are for Dr. Dini and Dr. Rajbhandari.

Dr. Rajbhandari spoke of victims turning into agents. I think that in the resolution of the conflicts in both Liberia and Somalia, women were able to contribute to peace making precisely because they were in a different position from those who had fought at the points of contention in society. In contrast, in the post-conflict world, in which women play a very central role in politics, I wonder if, when some problem arises in the future, they might be unable to regain the solidarity they had when they were outside the conflict or be unable to play the role they played. I wonder how this area will be resolved.

One further point is that in the new society, women take on a politically important role. If this is to be sustained, men will have to cooperate on such matters as housework and childrearing; otherwise, the women will not be able to be active over the long term. Are you also thinking about support, and so on, with regard to men's participation in housework and childrearing in the new society?

Fukui

Thank you. Then, I'll call on Dr. Dini and Dr. Rajbhandari.

Renu Rajbhandari

Thank you for questions. I think peace is the truly difficult word. It is more difficult than power or anything else. I think that women really take responsibility to build that. The reason for how I feel is, in the first place, the nature of women. Women are peace loving. I acknowledge all of that because I am a woman, and I really want to be a woman throughout my life and take pride for women. Another thing is the whole nurturing character of women, which is part of their nature.

The second thing is, usually we are responsible for the creation of children and of a kind of social reproduction. These are very much on shoulders of women. Biological reproduction is definitely there, even though some may not have children, but at the same time, we have social reproduction, in which women really take the lead and are really affected by it. There is another thing that women are always associated with. To be sure, women and men both are associated with it, but one is more concerned with it, and the other is not. I could not have come here if I did not have my father or my husband or my son

supporting me. So when I see those people being affected, I want to take the lead to change that. No matter who dies, our children die in the conflict, and women are directly affected by that.

The third thing we felt that in conflict is that a lot of women are forced to be sex workers. A lot of women are displaced, many are trafficked, and many get abused in various ways and, because of that, they are suffering also. That forces women to take the lead. I think Shukria will add some more. One more thing is I think we are capable.

Regarding your question, I feel that a role change is definitely needed. Husbands also have to provide support and men have to provide support, but this is not the only support. In my opinion, women's involvement in the peace process is about changing the ideology of what power means. This is not only the outcome. Women get involved in the political and become a minister or prime minister. There are countries where women have become prime minister, but nothing changes. What we are saying is that women's involvement in the peace process means a whole attitude and a whole ideology of peace exchange. We are not talking about the patriarchal hierarchical institution. We are talking about the peace-building process. We are talking about egalitarian institutions. These are things that need to be studied very closely.

I am not talking about all men, but the men who are in power. That is why they try to avoid bringing women into that position because they know that in this process, women are going to question the type of power that is being held so far. These are some very important things. Support is definitely required. I agree with that.

Shukria Dini

Actually, I would like to muddy the water because women are just like men. Especially in the context of Somalia, I think women are as capable as men of being part of the conflict. Women do contribute to conflict directly and indirectly. If we recognize women's agency in conflict, then we are going to recognize women's agency for peace. It is problematic to portray all women as peaceful. Yes, women are peaceful, but we also need to recognize women as having a role in conflict. In the example of Somalia, women have played a role. They recited poetry, they were cooking and cleaning. They were pressuring their clan mates to fight harder. When they lost the battle, women sold their jewelry. It is pivotal for us to recognize women's agency in conflict. If we do that, then we will be able to recognize that women do have a role to play in peace building.

An entry point factor that enabled and forced women to participate is that women have become cognizant of their marginalization within the current system. They use their marginality and use the margins as livable spaces. They use their multiple clan affiliations and linkages to their own advantages, because the current system is patrilineal. Women are at the bottom and considered as second-class citizens. Women use their marginalization for the

positive reasons of building bridges, promoting dialogue, and building peace.

The other thing is the perceptions of the international community and donors because perceptions are mixed. Not all donors are the same and not all international aid agencies are the same. However, the majority of Somalis do want international support. Al-Shabab is the exception. Al-Shabab is anti-international support and anti-international aid agencies. They do not want that. In 2011, there was a terrible drought in Somalia, and since Al-Shabab has banned a lot of aid agencies, many people died because aid agencies could not go and deliver much-needed humanitarian assistance to the people who were impacted by the drought.

The other thing is conflict. Is it always a dirty or dangerous thing? Conflict brings changes. It brings broad changes in gender roles and gender relations. Feminist scholars talk about the outcomes of conflict. In the midst of conflict, even the most conservative society will be open to women taking over the roles that were previously reserved for men. When a society is in conflict, the survival of the people depends on women's agency, women's leadership, and on women becoming the breadwinners, etc. The moment the guns die down, however, and we go to this post-conflict stage, society becomes very conservative again. Society says to women "okay, thank you very much, now move; now the men will take over the leadership." Thank you very much.



Conclusion

Fukui

Thank you very much. This brings to an end the international symposium “Peacebuilding and Women: from the Field of Women Support.” I would like to thank the panelists for giving up their precious time to join us here at Ochanomizu University today. Let’s hear another round of applause. And thanks to everyone present for spending many hours with us. On behalf of the organizers, I would like to express my appreciation to you all.

Profiles of Panelists

Rumiko SEYA

President, Japan Center for Conflict Prevention (JCCP)

She has an MA in Conflict Resolution from the University of Bradford, UK (2001). She has worked in countries including Rwanda, Sierra Leone, Afghanistan, and Côte d'Ivoire for the UN Peacekeeping Operations, the Japanese Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and NGOs. Her specialties include postconflict reconstruction, peacebuilding, improving public order, and disarmament, demobilization, and reintegration (DDR) of excombatants. She has headed the JCCP since 2013. In 2011, she received the 2nd Yutaka Akino Award and was listed among Newsweek Japan's "25 Japanese the world respects." In 2012, she was named Avon's Woman of the Year and runner-up for Nikkei Woman of the Year. She is among the weekly magazine Aera's "100 people who will rebuild Japan" and Nikkei Business's "100 most influential people for Japan." Her publications include *Shokugyō wa busō kaijō* (Occupation: disarmament, 2009).



Shukria DINI

Director of Somali Women's Studies Centre

She was born and grew up in Somalia. PhD in Women's Studies, University of York Canada. In 1991, when she was 18 years old, she became a refugee, fled first to Nairobi Kenya and later to Canada. She completed her post-secondary education in Canada. She supported Somali transitional government in 2010 and established Somali Women's Studies Centre in 2011. Since then, the centre has been working on gender equality, poverty reduction, and Somali women support. The centre also has a HQ in Mogadishu and a branch in Nairobi Kenya.



Renu RAJBHANDARI

Chairperson of Women's Rehabilitation Centre Nepal

She was born and grew up in Siraha District, Nepal. She was admitted to the Institute of Medicine, Kathmandu, after completing her high school education, went to the Moscow Medical Institute in Russia. After qualifying as a doctor, she started her work as a doctor in Nepal. Aiming to support female patients in the rural area, she established Women's Rehabilitation Centre Nepal (WOREC) in 1991. WOREC has an office in Kathmandu, is working on promotion of women and children rights and advocacy on human trafficking, and reproductive health and community development programme in 12 districts.

**Mitsugi ENDO**

Professor, Graduate School of Arts and Sciences, the University of Tokyo

He holds a PhD from the Centre for Southern African Studies of the University of York, UK (1993). A specialist in international politics and comparative politics, his research focuses on African area studies, democratization, civil society, and [states]. He was appointed assistant professor and then, in April 2007, professor of Advanced Social and International Studies in the Graduate School of Arts and Science, the University of Tokyo.

He has served on the boards of the Japan Association for Comparative Politics, the Japan Association of International Relations, the Japan Association for African Studies, and the Japan Association for Human Security Studies, among others. He received a Japan Association for African Studies Promotion Award in 1996, and the Taro Yamashita Award for Young Scientists in 2001.



Panel Discussion

I. Case Studies of Kenya and South Sudan

Rumiko Seya


平和構築と女性：
ケニアと南スーダンの事例から

Japan Committee Conflict Resolved
JCCP



認定NPO法人 日本紛争予防センター 理事長/
株式会社 JCCP M 取締役
瀬谷ルミ子

JCCPの活動



日本国内での活動
● 東北地方の復興支援
● 九州地方の復興支援
● 沖縄地方の復興支援
● 北海道地方の復興支援
● 東北地方の復興支援
● 九州地方の復興支援
● 沖縄地方の復興支援
● 北海道地方の復興支援

アジア・オセアニア
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紛争後の平和構築に必要なステップ

JCCP

1. 治安改善:安全に暮らせるようにする
2. BHN(Basic Human Needs)の確保:最低限の生活ができるようにする
3. 自立促進:自活できるようにする
4. 信頼醸成:和解と共存

どのステップにも必要:ガバナンス(良い統治)

JCCPの活動分野

JCCP

紛争地での人材育成・能力強化を通じて、

1. 治安の改善
2. 社会的自立
3. 和解と共存

を現地社会が維持し、「被害者・加害者」が「問題解決の担い手」となれるようにする。

1. 治安の改善



ケニアの暴動で家を焼き討ちされた親子
©Yasuyoshi Chiba




JCCP

2. 社会的自立

ケニア・マザレスラム



2. 社会的自立



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Peacebuilding and Women: Examples from Kenya and South Sudan

Rumiko Seya

President, Japan Center for Conflict Prevention (JCCP)

Director, JCCP M (*)

(*)www.jccpm.co.jp/

JCCP's Programs

Balkans (concluded)

- Promoting exchanges between ethnic groups
(joint tree-planting project by elementary school pupils)

Somalia

- Reintegration of youth and children associated with militias or at risk for crime
- Distribution of goods and psychosocial care for drought victims and internally displaced persons

South Sudan

- Support for improvement of living conditions and job training for war orphans and slum youth

Kenya

- Improving public order and capacity-building in slum communities
- Training sessions for soldiers, police officers, and civilians involved in peacekeeping operations (PKO)

East Africa* (concluded)

- Support for development of local NGOs working in conflict prevention

Afghanistan (concluded)

- Support for women's independence
- Disarmament, demobilization, and reintegration (DDR) project
- Support for mine clearance

Sri Lanka (concluded)

- Support for internally displaced persons
- Support for mine clearance

Cambodia (concluded)

- Literacy education for ethnic minorities
- Support for providing elementary school libraries
- Building elementary schools in remote areas

Activities in Japan

- Holding symposia and seminars
- Providing speakers and lecturers
- Hosting study tours
- Research and policy proposals

[p. 2]

The Necessary Steps in Postconflict Peacebuilding

1. Improving public order: enabling people to live safely

2. Securing Basic Human Needs (BHN): enabling people to meet a minimum standard of living
3. Promotion independence: enabling people to be self-sufficient
4. Fostering trust: reconciliation and coexistence

Necessary to each of these steps: governance (good government)

JCCP's Fields of Activity

Through training and capacity-building in conflict areas, JCCP works to enable local communities to maintain

1. improved public order
2. social independence
3. reconciliation and coexistence

and to enable a shift from a “victims and perpetrators”(*) dynamic to being problem-solvers.

(*)www.jccp.gr.jp/english/Project/overseaprojects/kenyacomunitybased/Kenya_top.html

[p. 3]

1. Improving public order

A mother and child whose house was burned in the Kenyan riots

[p. 4]

2. Social independence
- Mathare Slum, Kenya

[p. 6]

3. Reconciliation and coexistence

Kenya

Reconciliation among ethnic groups through raising livestock

[p. 7]

2. Social independence
2. Social independence

[p. 8]

2. Social independence

[p. 10]

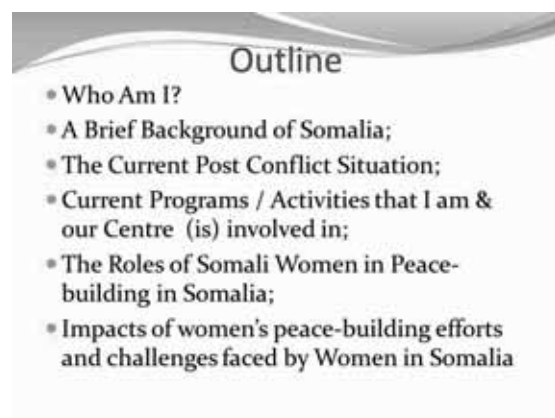
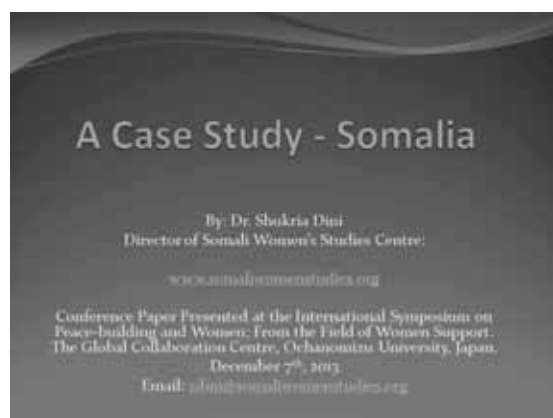
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Panel Discussion

II. A Case Study: Somalia

Shukria Dini





The Roles of Women in Peace-building in Somalia

- Serve as peace envoys (ambassadors) who in times of conflict reach out to warring groups;
- Make direct and indirect appeal to clan leaders and warring groups to stop the violence;
- Mobilize women and youth whose clans are involved in the violence and urge them to pressure their clan leaders to end hostilities and build peace.
- They come to the aid of those who are affected by the violence (danger and risk);

The Roles of Women...Cont'd...

- Use their extended clan affiliations / linkages to provide protection (*magangelyo*) to family members, friends, neighbors & other vulnerable individuals.
- Organize and hold peace prayers (*Allabari*) and rallies to avert violence and promote reconciliation.
- Compose poetry known as '*buraanburs*' to express their support for peace.
- Women played important roles in local reconciliation conference all over Somalia (as observers);
- They have contributed to disarmament, demobilization and reintegration processes.

Using poetry to promote Peace & avert violence



Impacts of Women's Peace-building Efforts

- Assisted war-affected population to recover from the effects of protracted war and statelessness;
- Resisted violence against civilians including women, children and minority groups,;
- Challenged traditional and patriarchal institutions and values that violate women's rights and minority groups;
- Advocated for inclusive in peace-building and post-conflict transformation approaches.

Impacts of Women's ...Cont'd...

- Build social capital, social cohesion and trust;
- Build Peace from the bottom-up (Social Peace-building);
- Contribute to Disarmament, Demobilization and Reintegration processes (DDR);
- Contribute to the institutional building such as schools, health clinics and wells.

The Way Forward

- Improve women's literacy;
- International support – key for advocacy;
- Affirmative action / quota system;
- Adopt gender sensitive policies and programs;

- To solidify and sustain their gains particularly their leadership in the public space, it is pivotal that Somali women to carry out more advocacy work to improve women's representation and participation in decision-making processes;

The Way Forward Cont'd...

- Women also need to hold critical actors (traditional and religious leaders, policy-makers) accountable for their marginalization;
- Exert pressure on various stakeholders including political actors, clan and religious leaders to support gender equality in post-conflict Somalia.
- Bring gender discussions into political debates;

Panel Discussion

III. Women's Agency and Role in Peacebuilding Process of Nepal

Renu Rajbhandari

Women's agency and role in peace building process of Nepal

RENU RAJBHANDARI

Paper prepared for International Symposium
"PEACE BUILDING AND WOMEN" from the field of women Support

Brief background of Nepal and the impact of the conflict on women:

Geo-political background of Nepal:



Known as a country of Mt. Everest (8848m) & Birth place of Lord Buddha

Total area : 147181 sq km

Population: around 30 million

Brief background of Nepal and the impact of the conflict on women:

Geo-political background of Nepal:

- ▶ There were Number of national movement for democracy resisting Kingship .
- ▶ 1951 (2007 SA)- RANA'S TO KING
- ▶ 1991 establish constitutional monarchy .
- ▶ 2006 transformation of power bringing issue of ethnic minority, women and dalits among others.
- ▶ 2006 transformation democratically elected government.

Brief background of Nepal and the impact of the conflict on women:

- ▶ signing of International human right instruments by Government of Nepal(specially CEDAW)
- ▶ subordination of women got surfaced only after Maoist led political struggle.
- ▶ Thousands of women joined and forced to join Maoist party with a view To transform feudal-patriarchal structure of power and establish women's right through their political mobilization.
- ▶ women from socially excluded communities and groups joined in Maoist army this to change social perception towards women

Brief background of Nepal and the impact of the conflict on women:

Geo-political back ground of Nepal:

- ▶ In 1995, before Maoist declared "people's war" government initiated Romeo operation in Maoist base area and deployed thousands of police.
- ▶ That resulted in the arbitrary arrest and detention of hundreds of members of left-of-centre parties, rape, executions and disappearances.
- ▶ Between 1996 and 2001, almost every government (of which there were eight) responded to the Maoist uprising through police oppression.

During this violent political struggle women suffered the most

- ▶ Women were detained, tortured, raped and killed for suspected association with the Maoists, and also for belonging to the families of security forces personnel.
- ▶ The wives, mothers and daughters of men who were displaced, killed, disappeared or tortured, suffered greatly as a result of the conflict.
- ▶ carrying economic and social responsibilities, acting as both breadwinners and care-givers, and defending their families. Some were also active as combatants. Conflict has effected women socially, mentally and economically

Role of women in Peace-building in Nepal.

- ▶ dominant struggle in Nepal for long was for democracy.
- ▶ Historical events suggest that in all democratic movements women took decisive role.
- ▶ However due to strong patriarchal mindset of the leaders and society women's role has always been taken as secondary

Role of women in Peace-building in Nepal.

- ▶ All of these activities in my view are part of peace building process.
- ▶ Women were most affected by the conflict
- ▶ Several discussions at community level took place in leadership of women.



WOREC influenced numbers of policy changes and policy formulation to ensure women's right and social justice and works with 1.7 million women

WOREC, Nepal and her activities:

- ▶ WOREC Nepal is an organization established in 1991
- ▶ works against trafficking in women in Nepal and support to survivors of trafficking without any forms of stigma with dignity and full respect.
- ▶ started her work from Nuwakot Nepal.
- ▶ has community level office and training center in 9 districts.
- ▶ works in all 75 districts in collaboration with National Alliance of Women Human Right Defenders.



- ▶ denial of culture of silence against VAW
- ▶ advocates to ensure socio-economic rights of marginalized communities in general and women.
- ▶ climate change : supporting women and sustenance farmers for organic eco friendly farming.
- ▶ 100's of organize model farms has been created by women and farmers group.
- ▶ for two yrs WOREC has initiate to create model villages with 10 indicators among those free from VAW and gender equality are key.

Peace assemblies

- ▶ From 2003 WOREC took lead in organizing peace assemblies.
- ▶ First was organized on Nov 11-12 in Biratnagar
- ▶ 2004 peace assemblies were concluded in all 4 development regions.
- ▶ Final national assembly was held in Kathmandu on August 26-28, 2004.





- In 2005 again women started the struggle for peace using different fronts of interventions.
- WHRD network analyzed the situation politically and prepared intervention action plan.
- WOREC Played key facilitators role from civil society in peace building process as well (WOREC was presence in Bangkok meeting, establishment of Nepal advocacy center in delhi)



Role of women in Peace-building in Nepal.

- Intervention at UN human rights committee and lobbied along with other friends for OHCHR Nepal office.
- Monitor and supporter in 19 days peoples movement
- after 2007 several donors offered grant for peace building and facilitated growth of several new women organization to work in peace. Several women networks got established.



- women's leadership remains at the bottom of priority.
- There were no women in any of peace negotiation formal processes, in interim constitution drafting committee, women struggled and got included.



- There were 33 percent women as CA member, political parties continued to deny their agency and leadership
- Women along with 1325 working group wrote letter to SG and lobbied for gender expert in UNMIN



WOREC drafted women's charter for peace and equitable justice and lobbied with the political parties to get this integrated in CA.



- WOREC organized 24 days hunger strike – reflected on draft law against DV, together with other women network organized nation wide peace rally for inclusion of women's agenda in constitution, organized a protest in front of CA for constitution in time-.
- NAWHRD influenced to include women's agenda in 1325 national plan of action

Women's influence at various level

- Raise awareness of GBV, identity and women's right to control over their own body.
- continuously raise the issue of women's right.
- Demand to address VAW occurred during the conflict and create appropriate reparation mechanism for women affected by conflict and effective socio-economic and cultural transformation of structures of governance and ingrained attitude of the people.
- Although women are not very much seen in official peace building process of country, they are deeply involved in peace building at individual, community and societal level!!

- 5 emblematic cases of VAW NAWHRD organized protest which later on got converted into OCCUPY BALUWATAR MOVEMENT
- National consultations were organized against VAW. Makwanpur ghodsana patra was presented to PM and other government authorities. Women from all 75 districts stood together
- Demand for fast track court
- Demand for TRC from women's perspective
- Redefining justice from women's perspectives



WOREC, Nepal and her activities:

- WOREC has 6 safe houses in 5 regions for survivors of violence.
- works with feminist ideology "victim hood to agency" and rights based approach.
- has been successful to organize numbers of self representative organizations.
- runs 30 communities based counseling centers and 15 women health centers.



Comment Mitsugi Endo

Peacebuilding and Women Notes for Comments

Mitsugi Endo

Structure of Comments

- 7 areas for action in the UN Secretary-General's report on women and peacebuilding
- Issues in the usual "liberal peacebuilding" approach
- Questions to the three panelists

7 areas for action in the UN Secretary-General's report (A/65/354-S/2010/466) 1

1. Conflict resolution

UN entities will take more systematic action to ensure women's participation in, and the availability of gender expertise to, peace processes. [para. 28]

- a) Appointment of women as chief mediator/special envoy to UN-led peace processes. [para. 28]
- b) UN will include gender expertise, at senior levels, in mediation support activities. [para. 28]
- c) UN will invest in strategies for the inclusion of more women in negotiating parties. [para. 28]
- d) UN entities will assist in establish women's CSO forums to ensure that mediation teams and negotiating teams engage in consultation with women's CSOs. [para. 28]

→ The case seen in *Pray the Devil Back to Hell* (Liberia): action by local women

7 areas for action in the UN Secretary-General's report (A/65/354-S/2010/466) 2

2. Post-conflict planning

The UN system will more systematically institutionalize women's participation in (and apply gender analysis to) all post-conflict planning processes so that women's and girl's specific needs and gender discrimination are addressed at every stage.

- a) Relevant UN entities will undertake a **comprehensive review of existing institutional arrangements for incorporating gender issues into post-conflict planning**. Principles will apply to all post-conflict strategy & planning processes. [para. 32]
- b) Standard procedures to be developed on donor conferences – to ensure not only that a cross-section of women's representatives from civil and political society are invited, but that they are provided access to all conference documentation, space on the agenda to present issues of concern and assistance in convening preparatory meetings and developing policy papers. [para. 33]

7 areas for action in the UN Secretary-General's report (A/65/354-S/2010/466) 3

3. Post-conflict financing

The UN commits to increasing financing for gender equality and women's and girl's empowerment in post-conflict situations.

- a) All UN-funded projects in support of **peacebuilding must demonstrate how they will benefit men and women**. [para. 35]
- b) Each UN entity will initiate a process, in line with its specific institutional mandate and governance arrangements, for laying groundwork and investing in systems to track gender post-conflict financing, and to work toward a **goal of ensuring that at least 15 percent of UN-managed funds in support of peacebuilding is dedicated to projects whose principal objective (consistent with existing mandates) is to address women's specific needs, advance gender equality or empower women**. [para. 36]

7 areas for action in the UN Secretary-General's report (A/65/354-S/2010/466) 4

4. Gender-responsive civilian capacity

Civilian capacity will include specialized skills to meet women's urgent needs and expertise in rebuilding state institutions to make them more accessible to women and girls and less prone to gender-based discrimination. UN leaders will ensure that **missions and humanitarian planners revise their procedures to improve the UN's ability to address women's and girls' post-conflict needs**. [para. 39]

7 areas for action in the UN Secretary-General's report (A/65/354-S/2010/466) 5

5. Women's representation in post-conflict governance

The UN will ensure that technical assistance to conflict-resolution processes and countries emerging from conflict promotes women's participation as decision-makers in public institutions, appointed and elected, including through the use of temporary special measures such as positive action, preferential treatment and quota-based systems, as enshrined in international human rights law

- a) To build structures of inclusive governance, the UN will ensure that technical assistance to conflict-resolution processes and countries emerging from conflict includes rigorous assessment of the potential value of temporary special measures, including quotas for women. [para. 42]
- b) As part of its assistance, the UN will ensure that gender discrimination is addressed at every stage in the political process. [para. 43]
- c) UN technical assistance to public administrative reform will ensure full consideration of measures, including quotas and fast-tracking promotion schemes, to increase the proportion of women in state institutions at all levels, and capacity-building to improve their effectiveness. [para. 44]

7 areas for action in the UN Secretary-General's report (A/65/354-S/2010/466) 6

6. Rule of Law

The UN's approach to the rule of law – before, during and after conflict – will systematically promote women's and girls' rights to security and justice.

- a) Peace operations to initiate immediate and longer term efforts to prevent and respond to SGBV as detailed in para 46 of the SG's Report on Women's Peacebuilding. [para. 46]
- b) Legal Support Services (LSSs) for women and girls – implemented early and on a scale sufficient to demonstrate commitment to ending impunity and protecting victims – will become a standard component of the UN's rule-of-law response in the immediate post-conflict period. [para. 47]
- c) Minimum standards of gender responsiveness to be established (and options for ensuring their implementation incorporated into the technical advice activities of relevant UN actors) for TRCs, reparations programmes and related bodies. [para. 48]

7 areas for action in the UN Secretary-General's report (A/65/354-S/2010/466) 7

7. Economic recovery

The UN system will ensure women's equal involvement as participants and beneficiaries in local-development, employment-creation, frontline service-delivery and DDR programmes in post-conflict situations.

- a) Where local development and infrastructure programs are based on a participatory/community-development approach, these should require direct involvement of women and women CSOs in setting priorities, identifying beneficiaries, and monitoring implementation. [para. 50]
- b) Post-conflict employment programs should specifically target women as a beneficiary group. A range-of-parity principle should be applied to ensure that neither sex receives more than 60 percent of employment person-days. In addition employment programmes must ensure that women workers receive daily payments directly and that barriers to equitable participation are addressed. [para. 50]
- c) Women should be promoted as "frontline" service-delivery agents – e.g., in health, agricultural extension, education, and the management of natural resources, including forests. [para. 51]
- d) Ensure women's equal participation in all stages of DDR – from negotiation of peace agreements and establishment of national institutions to the design and implementation of programmes. [para. 52]

The issues in liberal peacebuilding

- The difficulty of defining "post-conflict"
- The diversity of conflicts and how they end
- The fragility of governments in post-conflict societies
- The difficulty of outside support for fragile governments
- The many meanings of "post-conflict": the existence of various "fields"
- The need to fully consider the particular locality (its needs and capacities)

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