



A SEAT AT THE TABLE

Women's Leadership for Peace and Security in the Greater Horn of Africa

Annual Project Report

May 2009 – October 2010

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With thanks to the Governments of Belgium, Norway, Germany and Iceland and to the Institute for Inclusive Security



Compiled by Orla de Díez



Conference
“10 years of UNSCR 1325: Ensuring Women’s
Participation in Peace and Security”

Brussels, 9 September 2010

Hosted by
EU High Representative for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy Catherine Ashton
and the Belgian Minister of Foreign Affairs Steven Vanackere

“The Short History of G40 and the Road Ahead”
Speech delivered by Kamilia Kuku on behalf of G40

Baroness Catherine Ashton

Deputy Prime Minister Steven Vanackere

Distinguished panelists, ladies and gentlemen, thank you for this opportunity

My name is Kamilia Kuku and I am going to talk about the *Group of 40 Women Leaders (G40)*, to which I belong: a community of teachers, humanitarian workers, lawyers, grassroots peace activists, political scientists, business professionals, historians, social workers, human rights defenders and journalists that was formed in 2009 to bring fresh thinking to building peace in the Greater Horn of Africa and to push new ideas into action through the communal might of our networks and constituencies in Djibouti, Eritrea, Ethiopia, Somalia, Somaliland, Sudan and Uganda.

By way of a three-year strategy launched in October 2009, under the auspices of the African Union and the United Nations, and the pooled support of the Club de Madrid, Isis-WICCE and the Institute for Security Studies, we are forging new relations and partnerships with major stakeholders and powerbrokers in the region.

G40 meetings in Addis Ababa, Kampala, Djibouti and Nairobi have become springboards for new insights and ideas for rebuilding peace in Northern Uganda, the making of the constitution in Somalia, pre-empting violence in Sudan as the Referenda approaches, and the roll out of the IGAD’s Peace and Security Strategy in the Horn. The breadth of diversity at these strategic gatherings has stirred surprising, refreshing exchanges on transforming conflict and protecting women from violence.

In Africa, active conflict areas are mostly concentrated in the Horn. Therefore, the protection of women activists is a major issue. The sub-region covers an area of approximately 5 million square kilometres with a population of around 220 million, and nearly half of the population is under 14 years of age. The youth are strong but have been misused and exploited for the perpetuation of violent conflict rather than using their strength and vitality for more productive enterprises.

Somali civil society, including women's organisations, is under constant threat of brutal violence from the radical Al-Shabab militia –mostly young children or teenagers who have been forced or paid to join, or simply fascinated by the lure of the Al-Shabab. The solution for dealing with these young recruits is not military; they must be “defeated” with economic opportunities. In this regard, the Peace Recovery and Development Plan process for Northern Uganda contains powerful lesson learning references for women across the Greater Horn of Africa faced with vast challenges of post-conflict recovery and reconstruction. The situation in Northern Uganda can be compared to that of Somalia where the Al-Shabab is abducting children. Women played a crucial role at the household level to convince their sons in the Lord's Resistance Army to abandon the rebellion and return home, and they continue to advocate for children in captivity, and women in Somalia can replicate to reclaim their children. As Kim Campbell, former Prime Minister of Canada, explains: *“If you don't understand the role of certain women in their communities, you do not understand how they can be supporters in the process of creating order, and the mission will be a failure”*.

Decisions about local security problems should be made, as much as possible, by people close to the problem: by women with first-hand knowledge of the causes and extreme effects of the evolving situation on the ground. The information that emerges from this experience is considered crucial not only for the design effectiveness of a security blueprint for Somalia or of DDR packages for the LRA in Northern Uganda but also to heighten the quality of mediated outcomes in Sudan, such as identifying common ground between the parties and generating options for resolving deadlocks.

What, then, should be done to level the playing field for women's participation in the region? Firstly, all peace negotiations are sanctioned by the African Union and the United Nations. More pressure needs to be put on the multilateral organizations that support and finance the peace processes to include more women at the table in diversified roles, as mediators, negotiators, signatories, observers, technical advisors and so on. The appointment of Dame Rosalind Marsden as the new EU Special Representative for Sudan adds force to this purpose. Women have been fighting for peace for decades and yet their achievements have been mostly ignored. The main problem lies in the way “old school” negotiation/mediation processes have been structured. Current formulas of power sharing are merely encouraging the perpetuation of conflict. Today's challenges are about restructuring our societies, hence the need to involve the women that will have to cope with and shape these post-conflict societies. Secondly, regional plans for the implementation of Security Council Resolutions 1325 and 1820 need to be developed and incorporated into regional peace and security policies and architectures. The group of women leaders, who came together a year ago, from across the Greater Horn of Africa, represent a major force of peace and security related experience and expertise through which this may be realised.

Indeed, by connecting people, ideas, resources and influence across borders, cultures and institutions, the Group of 40 Women Leaders provides an enduring platform on which to craft new, inclusive visions of mediation and geopolitical decision-making.

Ladies and gentleman, we, G40 leaders are committed to gender equality and remain at the full disposal of leaders and institutions working towards inclusive democratic transition and consolidation in the Greater Horn of Africa.

We are deeply grateful to the Governments of Belgium, Germany, Norway and Iceland for supporting our objectives.

Thank you

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ACROYNMS

AMISOM	African Union Mission for Somalia
APSA	African Peace and Security Architecture
AU	African Union
AUC	African Union Commission
CBO	Community Based Organisation
CSO	Civil Society Organisation
CECORE	Centre for Conflict Resolution
CEDAW	Convention on the Elimination of Discrimination Against Women
CEWIGO	Centre for Women in Governance
CPMR	Conflict, Prevention, Management and Resolution Program (IGAD)
CDM	Club de Madrid
CFP	Country Focal Points
COGWO	Coalition for Grassroots Women Organization
COMESA	Common Market for East and Southern Africa
DDR	Disarmament Demobilisation and Reintegration
DRC	Democratic Republic of Congo
EAC	East African Commission
ECOSOC	Economic and Social Council
HOA	Horn of Africa
ICC	International Criminal Court
ICG	International Crisis Group
IDP	Internally Displaced Persons
IGAD	Inter Governmental Authority on Development
ISIS-WICCE	Isis Women's International Cross-Cultural Exchange
ISS	Institute for Security Studies
LC	Local Council
LRA	Lord's Resistance Army
OSCE	Organisation for Security and Cooperation in Europe
MOU	Memorandum of Understanding
NAADS	National Agricultural Advisory Services
NAP	National Action Plan

NGO	Non - Governmental Organisation
NUSAF	Northern Uganda Social Action Fund
NUWODU	National Union of Women with Disabilities of Uganda
OPM	Office of the Prime Minister
OSAGI	Special Advisor on Gender Issues and the Advancement of Women
PMC	Policy Monitoring Committee
POWL	Positive Women Leaders
PRAFORD	Participatory Rural Action for Development
PRC	Permanent Representative Committee (AU)
PRDP	Peace, Recovery and Development Plan for Northern Uganda
REC	Regional Economic Communities (AU)
SIHA	Strategic Initiative for Women in the Horn of Africa
SSR	Security Sector Reform
TFG	Transitional Federal Government
UNECA	United Nations Economic Commission for Africa
UNIFEM	United Nations Fund for Women
UNHCR	United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees
UNSCR	United Nations Security Council Resolution
UWOPA	Uganda Women Parliamentarians Association
WAWA	We Are Woman Activists

PROJECT OVERVIEW

The *Women's Leadership for Peace and Security in the Greater Horn of Africa* project is a partnership formed by the Club de Madrid (CdM), Isis Women's International Cross-Cultural Exchange (Isis-WICCE) and the Institute for Security Studies (ISS) in June 2009. The Secretariat of the SIHA network was a partner until December 2009, but has since ended its formal participation. Members of the SIHA network are part of the Group of 40 Women Leaders (G40) and are at the core of the project. This initiative is focused on the Greater Horn of Africa –Djibouti, Eritrea, Ethiopia, Somalia, Somaliland, Puntland, North and South Sudan and Uganda.

The Partners

- The **Club of Madrid**, whose members are 70 current and former Heads of State/Government from 50 countries with more than two millennia of collective political experience, works to strengthen “democracy that delivers”.
- The **Isis Women's International Cross-Cultural Exchange** (Isis-WICCE) is an international resource centre with a focus on women's human rights, armed conflict, violence against women, media and information dissemination, and region-wide training experience for advocacy and redress through documentation of women's experiences in armed conflict.
- The **Institute for Security Studies** (ISS) is an applied policy research institute that focuses on the promotion of human security. Its primary activities are centred on policy research, monitoring and evaluation, capacity building and implementation support.
- The **Strategic Initiative for Women in the Horn of Africa** (SIHA) is a network comprising 35 member organizations operating in Djibouti, Eritrea, Ethiopia, Somalia, Somaliland and Sudan and dedicated to gender equality in the Horn of Africa.

Objectives, Methodology and Activities

Often as targets of extreme forms of violence, women continue to experience the full impact of violent conflict as civilians and combatants, but continue to face significant structural disadvantages in politics and are generally excluded from the decision-making processes that ignite wars and put an end to hostilities. The **principal objective** of this 36-month regional project is to maximise the participation and contribution of women in national and regional peace and security decision-making and political dialogue in the Greater Horn of Africa. That is to strengthen the ability of women leaders and women's groups to participate in and shape policy-making by engaging in structured dialogue and targeted advocacy with key decision-makers of national and regional bodies.

The **specific objectives** are:

- 1) Learning and consolidating security fluency: building women's knowledge of and capacity to address peace and security issues; and,
- 2) Securing a seat at the decision-making table: advancing women's participation in, and influence on, security policy and practice.

We seek to:

- Strengthen relationships between the coalition of women leaders in the Horn and national governments, IGAD, AU, UN and EU and other diplomatic strategic partners
- Create an enabling environment: institutionalization of policy changes ranging from legal reform protecting women's rights, gender budgeting to security sector reform
- Increase knowledge and political skill of targeted groups to effect change

- Have new faces and able voices for peace
- Enhance mediation support functions played by women
- Strengthened women’s organizational capacity for impacting on peace and security policies and practices

The initiative takes a strategic approach to harnessing the diversity of female leadership at national, personal, professional and cultural levels-tapping a rich assortment of ideas and activity cross multiple skill sets and areas of expertise for dealing with emergencies and post-conflict situations –ranging from the community peace activists of Northern Uganda, Eritrean refugee advocates, Somali grassroots leaders and women’s rights defenders, Sudanese academics to the Ethiopian women lawyers, many of whom are, or have been, directly affected by war and/or displacement.

The Target groups

The main target group comprises 40 national women’s civil society organizations (CSOs) operating in Sudan, Eritrea, Ethiopia, Somaliland, Somalia, Djibouti and Uganda. The project seeks to realise the full potential of women’s impact through the formation of an active network of select female civil society leaders in the region – the Group of 40 Women Leaders (G40). The secondary target group includes top leadership at the country level, current Presidents and Prime Ministers, parliamentarians, representatives of the national gender bureaus, defence and international relations officials in the six countries and the international community.

Design and Conception of the Project

The two essential premises underlying this project are:

First, is that decisions about local security problems should be made, as much as possible, by people close to the problem, for example, by Somali women leaders with first-hand knowledge of the causes and extreme effects of the evolving security situation on the ground. The knowledge that emerges from this experience is crucial to the efficiency of the internationally assisted formulation process of a security blueprint for Somalia and subsequent allocation of resources;

Second, is that a large group of diverse individuals will deliver better forecasts and make more intelligent decisions than the most skilled “decision-maker” (in other words, that the group is always smarter than the individual)¹.

¹ Inspired by the theory of wisdom of crowds developed by James Surowiecki in “The Wisdom of Crowds: Why the Many are Smarter than the Few”, 2004, Random House, USA.

The Activities

- 1) Conduct a baseline study of the peace and security situation, and its impact on women in the region;
- 2) Convene a regional conference in Addis for women leaders and groups on mechanisms advancing/obstructing leadership roles of women in peace and security; and set up thematic working groups;
- 3) Under strategic counsel of CdM Members, conduct strategic policy development workshops in Addis, Kampala, Djibouti, Nairobi and Khartoum for women leaders to shape politically feasible policy options;
- 4) Convene CdM Member-led high-level missions to Djibouti, Kampala, Khartoum, Addis and Nairobi to engage national government and regional decision-makers in policy dialogue with women leaders;

Accomplishments

To date we have held seven high level missions in Addis Ababa, Kampala, Djibouti and Nairobi. Project outcomes and impact achievements are detailed in the following section.

GENERAL REPORT

1. IMPACT AND ACTION IN THE GREATER HORN OF AFRICA

Between May 2009 and October 2010, the Club de Madrid and its partners, the Strategic Initiative for Women in the Horn of Africa, the Institute for Security Studies and the Isis-WICCE organized seven high-level missions to Ethiopia, Uganda, Djibouti and Kenya. Over a 17-month period, the project has raised the level of attention and political commitment to expanding the numbers and roles of women (from the grassroots up) organising for peace and security in varied conflict and post-conflict settings. The project is taking a multi-pronged approach to building political capacity among women and women's groups targeted by the project: developing specialized knowledge and skills, fostering networking opportunities for women and creating fora for women to engage with policy and decision-makers from national, regional, continental and international institutions charged with peace and security.

The design and conception of this project is based on two essential premises. The first, that decisions about local security problems should be made, as much as possible, by people close to the problem; for example, by Somali women leaders with first-hand knowledge of the causes and extreme effects of the evolving security situation on the ground. The knowledge that emerges from this experience is crucial to the efficiency of the internationally assisted formulation process of a security blueprint for Somalia and subsequent allocation of resources. The second is that a large group of diverse individuals will come up with enhanced forecasts and make more intelligent decisions than the most skilled "decision-maker". In the Greater Horn of Africa, given the complexity of women's religious, political, cultural and ethnic identities, and women's place in the history of inter/intra-state conflicts for effective group performance to be fully realized, this compact of women leaders is working to overcome difficult issues and challenges of network empowerment, ownership and concerted action.

1.1. MAIN RESULTS

The principal outcomes of the initial project period are positive changes in relationships between targeted women leaders and stakeholders at different decision-making levels across national government and multilateral institutions that affect peace and security in the Greater Horn of Africa.

By creating and leveraging political space for dialogue, the targeted women CSO leaders are bolstering personal and collective communication efficacy and networking with policy-makers at national governments, UN, AU, IGAD and EU levels for (i) Peace Recovery and Development planning and implementation in Northern Uganda, a (ii) bottom up pre-referendum violence prevention in Sudan, (iii) security planning and constitutional development in Somalia, (iv) IGAD Peace and Security strategy roll out, and (v) a preliminary draft strategy for UNSCR 1325 regional planning. This is helping to break down negative stereotypes and heighten awareness about women's potential at the peace table(s) across the Greater Horn of Africa.

1.1.1. The EU Foreign Affairs Council Conclusions on Sudan – Brussels, 26 July 2010

Latvian Former Prime Minister Valdis Birkavs headed by a workshop in Nairobi (26-27 May 2010) to reflect on the performance of Sudan's recent elections and draw lessons for violence prevention in the run-up to the Referendum for Southern Sudan –among other goals, to inform "common" international approaches to supporting Sudan's transition period, including that of the EU. The Group of 40 Women Leaders (G40), representatives of Sudanese civil society organisations, relevant Kenyan organisations and members of the International Community deliberated on the key issues and possible triggers of violent conflict. Based on these

discussions, the G40 developed a set of recommendations addressed to all key stakeholders engaged in creating peace and security in the Sudan –stressing the importance of inclusive national dialogue for building trust between the parties, the enhancement of early warning and quick response mechanisms, the protection of civilians (human rights activists) and strengthened coordinated bi- and multi-lateral responses to peace-building and conflict management challenges in a fast changing political environment.

The G40 Recommendations were circulated widely among the European Council (EC) Secretariat technical staff charged with preparing the 3029th Foreign Affairs Council meeting conclusions, the relevant EC working groups (COAFR on Africa and the Political and Security Committee) and the Brussels-based EU Member States Permanent Representatives.

Thereafter, the Conclusions on Sudan issued by the European Union in Brussels on 26 July 2010 called for *inclusive* management of a number of key processes, including the popular consultations in Southern Kordofan and Blue Nile; the recent launch of negotiations on post-referendum issues; the ongoing AU/UN initiatives for a political solution in Darfur; and the negotiations between the Government of Sudan and the Liberation and Justice Movement (see paragraphs 2, 3, 9, and 10)². The Conclusions also called for the increased participation of women in stabilizing Darfur (paragraph 9) and the protection of human rights defenders (paragraph 8).

1.1.2. IGAD Peace and Security Strategy review process (sub-regional level)

The high-level mission to Djibouti was held in parallel to the Inter-Governmental Authority on Development (IGAD) Council of Ministers Meeting (7-8 December 2009), at which Member State representatives agreed to defer the approval of the IGAD Peace and Security Strategy (P&S) proposal and submit the 25-page draft to further review by in-country experts in consultation with the African Union. This created a window of opportunity for project leaders to analyze the strategy and present gender-responsive contributions to their respective IGAD member governments.

In particular, the women leaders participating in the Djibouti mission set up an *ad hoc* Steering Committee for the project to oversee the preparation and review of a work plan and budget to meet the following goals (i) influence the revision by filling the gender gaps of the IGAD P&S strategy via national channels (i.e. forming delegations to engage respective Foreign Ministry officials to advocate on the relevant issues) – with the expert support of project partner the Institute for Security Studies; and, (2) scale up civic education and awareness raising activities.

The IGAD is working to strengthen the role of civil society in promoting peace and security, democratic governance and economic integration. In conversation with CdM Member Valdis Birkavs, IGAD Executive Secretary Mahboub Maalim expressed interest in building synergies between the *Women's Leadership for Peace and Security in the Greater Horn of Africa* project and the IGAD's peace and security framework.

The women leaders participating in the project were encouraged to engage with the “revitalised” Regional/National Steering Committees of the IGAD Forum for Non-Governmental and Civil Society Organizations to advance thematic result areas of the Peace and Security Strategy. Following IGAD's recent revitalisation process, there are numerous prospects for the entry of women into newly created structures and posts, such as a mediation unit, a panel of the wise and others. The creation of a specific portfolio on *Women, Peace and*

²http://www.consilium.europa.eu/uedocs/cms_Data/docs/pressdata/EN/foraff/115963.pdf

Security within the Conflict, Prevention, Resolution and Management (CPRM) Program offers the project another possibility for exchange and liaison with the IGAD Secretariat.

1.1.3. Joint programming with UNECA and the AUC for project strategy roll-out (continental level)

Acting on advice from the UN Secretary General's Special Advisor on Gender Issues and the Advancement of Women (OSAGI), Rachel Mayanja, contacts were made early on with the United Nations Economic Commission for Africa (UNECA – regional arm of the UN in Africa) to coordinate with UNECA's³ work on the ground relative to women, peace and security, and its interactions with the regional bodies (AU, IGAD and others). Through initial successful collaboration between the Club de Madrid and UNECA at the project launch in Addis Ababa (6-9 October 2009), an MoU was drawn up to consolidate joint programming for the implementation of the *Women's Leadership for Peace and Security in the Greater Horn of Africa* project over the remaining two year period. The project is also cooperating with the African Union Commission's Gender Directorate.

All peace negotiations in the region, in which women continue to participate almost solely as note-takers, are sanctioned by the African Union. The type of expertise required at the peace table encompasses power-sharing, constitutional design, security sector and judicial reform – all eventually to be packaged into the peace deals. More pressure internally and externally needs to be exerted on the regional organizations that are supporting and financing these processes to recruit women to lead mediation/negotiation teams. By connecting people, ideas, resources and influence across borders, cultures and institutions, the G40 provides an enduring platform on which to craft inclusive visions of international mediation and geopolitical decision-making.

A dominant feature of the project's high-level missions in Addis Ababa (October 2009), Kampala (November 2009), Djibouti (December 2009), Nairobi (February 2010), Nairobi (May 2010); Kampala, Uganda (28-30 September 2010); and Addis Ababa, Ethiopia (19-21 October 2010) is the component on security sector knowledge building, imparted by leading SSR experts and practitioners. Among some of the most pressing challenges facing the sub-region is the general state of heightened insecurity and increasingly acute humanitarian situation in Somalia; and the threat of violent break up in Sudan on account of failed implementation of key provisions and principles of the Comprehensive Peace Agreement, the Darfur Peace Agreement and the East Sudan Peace Agreement. Women are developing proficiency in security sector issues⁴ in order to play a part in the debate.

1.2. MAKING IT HAPPEN: ACTIVITY SUMMARY

Under the leadership and guidance of Club de Madrid Members Valdis Birkavs (former Prime Minister of Latvia), Kjell Magne Bondevik (former Prime Minister of Norway), Kim Campbell (former Prime Minister of Canada), Mary Robinson (former President of Ireland), and other prominent leaders and experts, project partners and associates carried out seven missions to Addis Ababa, Ethiopia (6-9 October 2009); Kampala, Uganda (3-5 November 2009); Djibouti (8-10 December 2009); Nairobi, Kenya (23-25, February 2010) and Nairobi, Kenya (26-27, May

³ OSAGI together with ECA and ECLAC produced Assessment Reports and High-level Dialogue Reports on the National Implementation of UNSCR 1325 in Africa (2008) and Latin America (2007) respectively. To date, these are still among the most comprehensive reports of this nature.

⁴ Encompassing military, police and intelligence systems, as well as the justice sector and law-making bodies.

2010); Kampala, Uganda (28-30 September 2010); and Addis Ababa, Ethiopia (19-21 October 2010). The success of these meetings was possible thanks to the organisations and institutions that co-hosted/co-chaired the workshop and roundtable meetings, including the African Union Commission, United Nations Economic Commission for Africa, the Office of the Prime Minister the Presidential Affairs Committee of Uganda, the Ugandan Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Djiboutian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Intergovernmental Authority on Development, the Bender Djedid Community Organisation, the Transitional Federal Government of Somalia, UNDP-Somalia, United Nations Political Office for Somalia, UNDP-Kenya, UNIFEM, and UNHCR.

These missions were preceded by a strategic partner planning meeting in Kampala (1-3 June) in order to officially launch the project and produce project action plans for 2009: activity review/scheduling until 31 December 2009 and broad-brush design of the content and formats of the workshops and high-level political dialogue meetings; the identification of actual or potential constraints (political or otherwise) and their significance for project activities and strategies (see sub-section 2 for more detail of the substantive outcomes of the Kampala planning meeting).

Project partners SIHA (Sudan) and Isis-WICCE (Uganda) selected and recruited a group of 40 women leaders from across Djibouti, Eritrea, Ethiopia, Somalia, Sudan and Uganda (see Sub-section 3 for recruitment criteria and procedures). They came together for the first time in the Addis workshop (6-9 October 2009) as a “compact of women leaders”, which this project is ultimately seeking to position for influence and impact on peace and security decision-making, at national, sub-regional (IGAD), regional (African Union, European Union) and international levels (United Nations and others) over the course of the next three years.

The first mission to Addis Ababa led by CdM Members Kim Campbell and Mary Robinson was carried out in collaboration with the United Nations Economic Commission for Africa (UNECA) and the African Union Commission (AUC). Combining intensive training, thematic group work and high-level roundtable discussion, the inaugural regional workshop focused on the challenges and opportunities of the political process for realizing the full potential of women’s engagement in the African Peace and Security Architecture (see Section II of this report for a more detailed account of the workshop proceedings).

The second mission to Kampala led by CdM Member Valdis Birkavs concentrated on the Peace Recovery and Development Plan (PRDP) for northern Uganda. A smaller group of women⁵ from the countries targeted by the project were joined by 15 CSO/CBO peers from across Uganda. Knowledge networking and political communication skill-building sessions delved into key post-war reconstruction issues in preparation for the ensuing roundtable discussions with legislators and top-level executive branch leaders mandated with PRDP roll out⁶.

⁵ Representing the recently established compact of 40 women leaders

⁶ Principally the Presidential Affairs Committee in Parliament and the Prime Ministers Office mandated with overseeing the implementation, monitoring and evaluation of the Peace, Reconstruction and Development Plan (PRDP) in Northern Uganda.

The Djiboutian mission⁷, headed by Prime Minister Birkavs, centred on four key themes: (i) the status of gender equality and issues affecting the human security of women in Djibouti; (ii) the impact of regional peace and security issues on Djibouti; (iv) the Security Plan for Somalia and its implications for women; (iv) IGAD's peace and security architecture and its activities to bring peace to the region. Notwithstanding the border disputes with Eritrea, Djibouti is the most stable country in the Greater Horn of Africa. Both the stability and strategic location of Djibouti has turned this small country into an important regional player and peace broker. Djibouti is also host to the Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD) whose mission is to achieve, amongst other purposes, the promotion and maintenance of peace and security and humanitarian affairs. Marking a first time for high-level dialogue on the issues and implications of UNSCR 1325 in Djibouti, the mission was highly publicized in the local media, and Prime Minister Birkavs met with President Ismail Omar Guellah to convey the mission conclusions and recommendations.

Club de Madrid Members Birkavs and Bondevik co-led a delegation to Nairobi for workshop meetings and high-level political dialogue sessions focusing on Somalia's main peace and security challenges and opportunities. Participants reviewed (i) critical issues and challenges of impending elections in the region in 2010-2011, and implications for women's participation in the electoral processes; (ii) Internationally assisted plans and processes supporting peace and security in Somalia and the engagement of women in national and international decision-making fora: constitutional development processes and policymaking and strategies to address the security challenges facing the Somalia population. The CoM Member-led high-level roundtable discussion on the third day (25 February) held under the auspices of the UNPOS, brought together a select group of Somali political leaders and CSO activists, senior representatives of the United Nations, African Union, the European Union, the diplomatic missions and academics to examine women's potential and agency in Somalia's peace-building and security planning efforts in the face of unprecedented levels of violence unleashed by the Al-Shabab and Hizbul Islam militia (for more detail on content and outcomes see proceedings in Section 2 of this report).

Member Birkavs led a second mission to Nairobi (May 2010), organized in collaboration with UNDP Kenya, to reflect on Sudan's violence prevention challenges ahead of the 2011 referendum. Workshop participants generated a comprehensive set of recommendations for implementation through joint north/south government and civil society co-operation addressing all Sudanese stakeholders and international partners engaged in creating peace and security in the Sudan (see Annexes). The work meeting brought together women from the Greater Horn of Africa to engage with relevant Sudanese stakeholders, UN, AU, EU and diplomatic mission officials, Kenyan officials, peace activists and CSO leaders, drawing lessons and relevant practices from Kenya's post-crisis national dialogue and reconciliation process and institutions (Interim Independent Electoral Commission, Independent Boundaries Review Commission, Committee of Experts on Constitutional Review, Truth, Justice and Reconciliation and National Cohesion Commissions and others).

⁷ The mission to Djibouti brought together 22 women leaders from across the Horn (including 12 Djiboutian women leaders representing different sectors of political, social and economic activity) and a group of experts from the region and beyond: Lorna Amutojo (Uganda), Thelma Awori (Uganda-Liberia Former UN Assistant Secretary General); Anna Balletbó (Catalonia/Spain - former Spanish MP); Ximena Jimenez (Chile - Expert Advisor to United Nations on SCR 1325); Emelang Leteane (South Africa - United Nations Economic Commission for Africa) Berouk Mesfin (Ethiopia - ISS Conflict Prevention Programme Senior Researcher); Simon Mulongo (Uganda - Former Director East Africa Standby Brigade); Jeanne Flora Kayitesi (Rwanda - African Union Commission).

More recently, on the eve of the Ministerial Meeting in the Security Council on Women, Peace and Security (26 October 2010), a two-stage workshop process executed by mission to Kampala (28-30 September) and Addis Ababa (19-21 October) was led by member Birkavs. Both high level missions focused on connecting people with ideas and influence to develop a G40-driven roadmap for 1325 regional action planning in the Greater Horn of Africa. During the first mission, following two consecutive days of workshops focused on skill building and knowledge networking, the Group of 40 Women Leaders met with the Ugandan Foreign Affairs State Minister Sam Kutesa and the Diplomatic Friends of 1325 -including the Ambassadors of Denmark and France (both of whom are women)- to convey and discuss preliminary workshop conclusions and recommendations for UNSCR 1325 regional action plan development in the lead up to the Security Council Ministerial Meeting on Women, Peace and Security under the Presidency of Uganda. Considering that worldwide only 16 other countries have instituted such a plan, Uganda could take a lead in regional cooperation for the development and roll out of a Horn of Africa strategy through the operationalisation of its own national action plan.

Co-hosted by PM Valdis Birkavs, and Florence Butegwa, UNIFEM Representative before the African Union and UNECA, the Addis Ababa high level mission (19-21 October 2010) was an opportunity for the Group of 40 Women Leaders to engage with Karel Kovanda, Deputy Director General of the EU Council Secretariat, UNECA Deputy Director Jennifer Kargbo, EU Special Representative Rosalind Marsden and the Addis-based Friends of 1325, including the Kenyan Ambassador heading the AU Peace and Security Council, to share recommendations and UNSCR 1325 roadmap.

2. POINT OF DEPARTURE IN THE GREATER HORN OF AFRICA

In the context of the Women's Leadership for Peace and Security in the Greater Horn of Africa project, on 1-3 June, 2009, project partners and associates, SIHA Network, Isis-WICCE, ISS, CdM and iKNOW Politics came together in Kampala for a three-day coordination meeting to launch the project and produce a 7-month activity roadmap.

The partners reviewed the expected project results as listed in the project M&E framework, which focus on changes in relationships between people at different levels and changes in institutions that affect peace and security; subsequent ideas and comments are detailed below:

Result 1 - Strengthened relationships between the coalition of women leaders from across the Horn and national government, IGAD, AU, EU and other diplomatic or strategic partners, re-negotiation processes and agreement crafting.

Several issues and questions were raised regarding inclusive approaches to peace and security decision-making: What does it take to get women to the 'peace table' in the sub-region? How can we make it happen? How do we define peace and security leadership? Do women at the table make a difference? Amid suggestions that there was more interest and invested energy in achieving female representation at the table than actually influencing the peace agenda *per se*, partners felt that different professional types of leaders⁸ was needed, emphasizing the empowerment of women at grassroots level and the grooming of younger women as crucial components of this process.

⁸ Women's rights activists, grassroots, community based leaders, academics and/or erstwhile observers to peace talks in the region

As the political environment becomes increasingly more complicated and difficult in the countries of the Horn of Africa, important questions regarding the personal security and safety of women activists were raised from the outset –whether their involvement be made more or less public and visible at the risk of harassment and intimidation.

In Ethiopia, civil society organisations are focussed on how to cope with the new NGO law, which came into force in January 2010. According to Amnesty International and Human Rights Watch reports, the Charities and Societies Proclamation Law (CSO law), designed to strictly control and monitor civil society, can criminalize the human rights activities of both foreign and domestic non-governmental organizations (NGO)⁹. Local NGOs are not allowed to accept more than 10 per cent of its entire budget from foreign sources. Furthermore, it seems that the recently passed Anti-Terrorism law could lead to political space shutdown¹⁰ reining in fundamental freedoms of speech and peaceful assembly. Civil society is particularly vulnerable, as the use of NGO acts and anti-terrorism legislation is increasingly being used against this sector. In Uganda, the NGO Bill¹¹ has been taken to the constitutional court to be contested. This is taking place ahead of the elections.

Women from the ruling parties should be engaged from the outset. The general sense is that women's voices in the political structures remain weak. In the wake of elections in Sudan, Ethiopia, Somaliland and Uganda and for Somalia's fragile Transitional Government, female party members have been let down by their political parties now that the stakes are so high.

For the most part, women in Uganda are polarised. There are deep divisions among women in politics (along party lines), as well as between female politicians and civil society leaders/activists. The women's political caucus and organised civil society groups need to come together to influence the parliament committees, and push for a conceptualisation of security in terms of human security that transcends and minimises north/south, tribal and ethnic issues rifts.

Meanwhile in Somalia, competent, experienced women observe the political process from the sidelines. Exactly 275 members were appointed on the basis of an agreement made in 2004. An additional 275 members were appointed based on a peace agreement signed in Djibouti in November 2008, of which at least 12 per cent of seats are reserved for women, yet out of the 2000 Transition Government Agreement that allocated 25 per cent in the seat Transitional National Assembly, women achieved only 12 per cent. Apparently, the Djibouti peace process took away a further 5 seats leaving women with only 37 (roughly 6,78 per cent of the 550 TFP seats ^[1]). Civil society at large, including women's organisations, is under constant threat of brutal violence from the radical Al Shabab youth militia. Strengthening relations between women leaders and national government in Somalia should include a meeting with the President.

Result 2 - Enabling environment: Institutionalisation of (incremental) policy changes ranging from legal reform protecting women's rights, to gender spending to elements of security sector reform.

⁹<http://www.amnesty.org/en/news-and-updates/news/ethiopian-parliament-adopts-repressive-new-ngo-law-20090108>

¹⁰ Human Rights Watch also warned that the law could provide a new and potent tool for suppressing political opposition and independent criticism of government policy

¹¹ <http://www.freedomhouse.org/template.cfm?page=70&release=389>: "This bill amends an existing NGO registration statute and requires NGOs, including those already in existence, to re-register annually. This process is administered by a politicized National Board made up of government appointees, including members of the "Internal Security Organization" and the "External Security Organization." See: <http://www.icnl.org/knowledge/globaltrends/glotrends1-1.htm> for NGO legal trends.

Result 3 - *Increased knowledge and political skill of individuals and groups interacting internally/externally to effect change to increase women's participation on peace and security issues.*

Key issues and challenges: How to influence gender-sensitive security sector reform and governance (SSRG) when women have remained largely been excluded from government? What measures and tools can be employed to get men involved in closing the peace and security gaps? What happened in Rwanda that delivered a smoother sailing for women's bills? Security is a menacing term in most countries: loaded with negative, threatening, oppressive connotations including torture. Partnerships need to be developed with men and the issues need to be communicated in a language that they understand and recognize. Greater fluency in security sector issues is required at the 'table'.

Security Sector Reform should aspire to be affordable, adaptable, adequate and accountable. Local ownership of the process is also crucial. In order to attain this, as many voices as possible, inclusive of those of women, need to be heard and accommodated. We need to build more representative security sector institutions. This also will enable us to further the implementation of UNSCR 1325, which calls for more women to be involved in peacekeeping; for this to happen more women need to be part of the military and police forces¹².

Result 4 - *New faces and able voices for peace: national/sub-regional opportunities for women's participation at peace table are identified, and enabled by negotiation teams and/or ad hoc mediation efforts, and other decision makers.*

Peacebuilding is a complex and multidimensional process, which takes place, directly or indirectly, over a long period of time, long after the conflict is over. Women have been fighting for peace for decades and yet, their gains and contributions re the peace-building process have been mostly ignored. The main problem lies in the way "old school" negotiation/mediation processes have been structured. The current paradigm and formulas of power sharing are encouraging the perpetuation of conflict. There are women on the ground looking for the entire transformation of the situation. Today's challenges are about restructuring our societies, hence the need to involve the women that will have to cope with and shape these post-conflict societies.

Women need to train and rehearse to go to the table to speak confidently. The art and science of negotiation is usually neglected –women continue to participate at the peace tables almost solely as note-takers. More pressure needs to be put on the regional organisations that support and finance peace processes to include more women at the table in diversified roles: mediators, negotiators, observers, signatories, technical advisors and so on.

Result 5 - *Enhanced mediation support functions played by women leaders and groups: e.g. relaying messages to/from communities, keeping political middle ground alive, helping to obtain community buy-in for a process.*

We need to take a close look at the way women have built peace in their communities. Nearly 50 per cent of present day negotiated settlements fail. These initiatives should draw on some of the practices of the community-level initiatives for more context specific sustainable settlements (there are numerous examples of women at the community level negotiating peace with fighters, religious and traditional leaders).

¹² As emphasised by Dr. Cheryl Hendricks (ISS).

Result 6 - *Strengthened women's networking and organisational capacity for impact on multi-level peace and security policymaking and practice, through the member organisations of the Strategic Initiative for Women in the Horn of Africa (SIHA) and peace activist groups in Uganda.*

Peace and conflict is the lowest thematic denominator of SIHA's member organisations. Listed below are some of the challenges/opportunities that the network and its member organisations contend with:

- Navigating idiosyncratic and cultural differences
- Pre-electoral political environments
- Short term versus long term visions and interests
- Effective utilization of pre-existing experiences that exist among the women (as opposed to parachuting in with outside knowledge)
- The set up of mechanisms that will ensure continuity and impact beyond the lifespan of the project
- A heterogeneous group of women from different walks and professional backgrounds

3. RECRUITMENT OF WOMEN LEADERS

As mentioned earlier, the Group of 40 women leaders (G40) was selected and recruited by the Strategic Initiative for Women in the Greater Horn of Africa (SIHA) and Isis-WICCE. The group combines women of assorted ages and occupations, many of whom are, or have been, directly affected by war and/or displacement: teachers and veteran community peace activists from Northern Uganda supporting PRDP implementation, grassroots leaders working with displacement and the humanitarian situation in Somalia, lawyers, journalists and social workers from Ethiopia, Eritrean law professionals, Djiboutian teachers and trainers, human rights campaigners and political scientists from Sudan (to name but a few).

3.1. WOMEN LEADERS (G40) SELECTION PROCESS: STRATEGIC INITIATIVE FOR WOMEN IN THE HORN OF AFRICA NETWORK (SIHA)

Drawing on its network of civil society organisations in the Horn of Africa, the SIHA Network called for the participation of 35 women leaders in the region (South Central Somalia, Somaliland, Puntland, North and South Sudan, Ethiopia, Eritrea, Djibouti) in the WLPS project.

Country Focal Points (CFPs) were utilised to steer the selection process in each country. A *Call for Participation and Women Leaders Criteria*, developed by the SIHA Secretariat, which outlined the project and the requirements for participation, was disseminated amongst the network of civil society organisations and its associates.

The *Women Leaders Criteria* called for women that: were able to commit to fulfil the project's objectives; were aware of local political and socio-economic conditions and politically orientated, had an interactive position within women rights and held an influential position within the community; possessed familiarity with international and regional mechanisms; held recognisable achievements within their community or region; possessed the communication skills to be able to present their case and were flexible with travel to be able to attend missions.

There were no contingents made on academic background, age or social status. The selection process aimed to attract a diverse range of women leaders from different age groups, communities and work experience.

Interested participants were asked to submit a curriculum vitae/resume, a cover letter and the name of three referees (two of which had to be SIHA network members in the country) directly to their CFPs and SIHA Secretariat.

The Secretariat received numerous applications through the CFPs over a number of weeks. Applications ranged from grassroots women in remote locations in South Sudan to more established women leaders and activists in Somalia. A quota was designated for each country representation, which allocated a specific number of women leaders to be short listed and selected per country.

Applications that demonstrated a diverse work experience, impact at the grassroots level, dedication to issues of women, peace, security and the Horn of Africa and willingness and capacity to learn new skills and engage at a higher level were short-listed.

The final selection of the women leaders was determined on a number of factors; CFP recommendations (having had the experience of working and meeting personally with many of the applicants), referee endorsements, applicant's response to the selection process through the

completion of all the selection requirements and one to one interviews conducted by CFPs and SIHA Secretariat.

The final group of 35 Women Leaders selected is illustrative of the achievements of the selection processes; the WLPS database of women leaders has brought together women of all ages, from students to mothers, of different cultural backgrounds and clans, of valuable, rich and cross cutting skills and experiences and of absolute determination to see the WLPS project reach its goals in increasing women's participation in peace processes and securing peace and security in the region.

3.2. ISIS-WICCE SELECTION PROCESS FOR UGANDAN WOMEN PARTICIPANTS

The *Women's Leadership for Peace and Security in the Greater Horn of Africa initiative* aims to enhance the participation and contribution of women in national and regional peace and security decision-making. Similarly, Isis-WICCE seeks to engender the peace, recovery and development plan (PRDP) for Northern Uganda and to ensure that women contribute to and benefit from the PRDP process in North and North Eastern Uganda.

Following a consultative meeting with members of the women's movement in 2008, the Women's Task Force for a Gender Responsive PRDP was constituted to include eight women's organisations from North and North Eastern Uganda (West Nile, Acholi, Lango, Teso and Karamoja sub regions) and 10 women's organisations based in Kampala with interventions in Northern Uganda, to ensure regional and sectoral representation and influence at different levels.

In selecting women leaders to participate in the *Women's Leadership for Peace and Security in the Greater Horn of Africa project*, Isis-WICCE considered members of the Women's Task Force because of the linkages between both projects, for synergy and continuity in women's advocacy efforts.

The criteria used to select the five women participants were:

Geographical representation: Each woman leader was selected to represent the grassroots women, women's groups/organizations and networks or coalitions of their sub region (West Nile, Acholi, Lango, Teso and Karamoja).

Diversity of individual and organizational profiles: Women leaders of varied ages, academic and professional backgrounds, representing organizations with different focuses were selected.

Personal motivation and commitment to the work of women's rights as well as the availability to participate in project activities and the reporting process was considered, as well as the candidate's track record on the Women's Task Force for a Gender Responsive PRDP, influence of the woman leader and her group or organization in the community, at sub county, district and sub-regional levels.

4. PROJECT OUTCOMES: BREAKING THE MOULD AND CHALLENGING STEREOTYPES

"If you want to truly understand something, try to change it" - Kurt Lewin

There is a rising appreciation of the unique opportunities afforded by the project to alter the stereotypes that keep women out of formal peace and security sector reform processes. Space, voice and resources are provided by the project (2009 – 2012) for women to engage leaders on real-world problems and solutions. A growing number of men who have participated in project activities are becoming stronger advocates of the inclusive peacemaking principles espoused by the initiative.

Club of Madrid Members involved in the project have also been key players determining progress, using the spotlight to foster focus on gender as a matter of strategic importance. In the words of Kim Campbell: *"If you don't understand the role of certain women in their communities, you do not understand how they can be supporters in the process of creating order, and the mission will be a failure"*. The gradual transformation of stereotypes into useful relationships is the result of carefully crafted environments for dialogue where participants' capabilities are optimised to bridge and innovate, including first-rate group work facilitation provided by versatile professionals from Africa and beyond.

Listed below are the project achievements as highlighted by the Group of 40 Women Leaders (G40) and project implementing partners during high-level mission discussions in Nairobi, on 26 February 2010.

4.1. STRENGTHENED RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN WOMEN AND DECISION-MAKERS ISIS-WICCE SELECTION PROCESS FOR UGANDAN WOMEN PARTICIPANTS

- Bridging the gap between grassroots' action and high-level decision-making: connecting women with top-level leaders and officials – making policy makers aware of the crucial issues and obtaining commitments.
- Gradually removing the perceived barriers between the civil society and government.
- Linking women from [often remote] locations with representatives of the international community through direct dialogue and exchange.
- Gradual forging of a strategic partnership between CSOs, national government and multilateral agencies on peace and security in the Greater Horn of Africa.
- Sharing best practices. From current positions of invisibility, women's alternative approaches to peace and security challenges are being showcased and acknowledged.
- Capacity development, confidence building and empowerment of all stakeholders in the project: CSO leaders, through partners and institutional decision-makers (gender desks, etc.).

4.2. THE CREATION OF AN ENABLING ENVIRONMENT

- Enhanced understanding of the different bodies and institutions in Africa that make up the African Peace and Security Architecture (APSA) –recognizing its limitations and suggesting alternative courses of action or mechanisms.
- Putting practical issues and priorities on the sub-regional and international agendas.
- Project outcomes and achievements are helping to influence donor-funding priorities and objectives to reflect peace and security interests of women.

- Reviewed and prioritized instruments subject to UNSCR 1325 mainstreaming: Peace Recovery and Development Plan for Northern Uganda, African Peace and Security Architecture (APSA), IGAD Peace and Security Strategy and national NGO legislation, etc.

4.3. INCREASED KNOWLEDGE AND POLITICAL SKILL

- Learning about the interconnectedness of conflict in the region and how to work collectively to solve symptoms and causes.
- Bigger picture thinking about conflict management and resolution in the Horn: connecting the dots through national, sub regional and regional levels of peace and security architectures –allowing women to acquire the necessary expertise to overcome their fears and multiply their impact and influence by helping with challenges in other countries.
- Regional approach embraced by the women’s movement to deal with issues of peace and security at local/national level.
- Skills and capacities have been measurably strengthened – increased security fluency and knowledge has led to greater group member self-confidence.
- Keener awareness among women of their rights and roles vis-à-vis decision-making.
- Enhanced knowledge of country-specific peace and security dynamics and challenges

4.4. STRENGTHENED WOMEN’S NETWORKING: NEW FACES AND ABLE VOICES FOR PEACE

- Increasingly cohesive Group of 40 Women Leaders (G40) from across the Horn established and functioning.
- A collective voice: the sense of sisterhood strength and unity is reinforced among the Group of 40 women leaders through the promotion of a common agenda for women in the Horn in direct dialogue with national State and multilateral stakeholders.
- Women are taking responsibility ownership for the challenges faced –acknowledging individual and collective strengths and weaknesses (as part of the sustainability of the project).
- Project partners and targeted leaders are accessing more resources –one Ugandan leader and her group have successfully mobilised funding to replicate project methods in her region in Northern Uganda.
- Bridging the generation gap in women’s leadership for peace and security, which requires deepened understanding and awareness about how these leaders of different think, and what’s important to them (whether they are entrepreneurial, structured, technology users, acceptance of diversity, hardworking, hierarchical, rule changers and so on).
- Keeping women participants safe during mission activities while dealing with highly sensitive political issues.
- Increasing awareness of women’s early warning roles in the region.
- An Internet forum is up and running to exchange ideas and plan activities.

5. THE ROAD AHEAD

Listed below are the project challenges as pointed out by the Group of 40 Women Leaders and implementing partners during high-level mission discussions in Nairobi, on 26 February 2010:

- How do we continue to create enabling spaces for women in this project?
- Revise and reform the baseline study on the state of play in the implementation of UNSCR 1325 with the contributions of the Group of 40 women leaders.
- How do we keep up information flows between missions?
- Working with policy-influencing opportunities currently on the table, including the AU 2010 Year of Peace and Security in Africa. What initiatives are we supporting for UNSCR1325 Tenth Anniversary?
- Interspersing skills-building activities with high-level missions.
- Putting in place an efficient follow up system for commitments made at national government, IGAD, AU levels.
- Developing a participatory Monitoring and Evaluation plan and strategy that should also detect value-added.
- An effective communications strategy that will help to raise the profile of, and gain greater community, national and international support for, the project and the Group of 40 women leaders (including newspaper inserts).
- Greater clarification of roles and responsibilities of the partners vis-à-vis project roll out.
- Logo branding of the *Women's Leadership for Peace and Security in the Greater Horn of Africa* project.
- Set up of own project internet space:
<http://wlpshoa.ning.com/main/authorization/signIn?target=http%3A%2F%2Fwlpshoa.ning.com%2F>
- How to make the project different: continue to explore ways to innovate.
- Financial resource mobilisation.
- Time management.
- How to ensure the trickledown effect of the benefits of the project to the constituencies represented by the Group of 40 women leaders.
- Addressing representation issues: reporting back to organizations and constituencies.
- The Group of 40 needs to develop and establish its own self-governance framework and think through how other women should be brought on board.
- How do we identify consultants and deal with them?
- Assess and scrutinize all aspects of sustainability of the initiative beyond the life span of the partnership.
- Ensuring a safe, secure environment for project participants.

6. PUBLICATIONS PRODUCED DURING THE PROJECT

1. SIHA Baseline Study Horn of Africa June 2010
2. Women, Peace and Security E-Bulletin March-April 2010
3. Women, Peace and Security E-BRIEF, June 2010

7. NEW MEDIA INNOVATIONS IN THE GREATER HORN OF AFRICA

The Women Leadership for Peace and Security in the Greater Horn of Africa project utilises a range of social media and online technology in order to build the capacity and meet the communication needs of the project and the G40.

GOOGLE GROUP: The WLPS Google group has emerged as the most valuable resource to the G40 and the project. A Google group supports discussion groups based on common interests and allows users to participate in threaded conversations through e-mail. This service has allowed the G40 to share and update information in relation to common interests, mission preparation, organisation and debriefing, group revisions of project documents (baseline study, communiqués, statements etc) and, more importantly, has allowed the G40 to effectively and independently bridge the communication gap.

Access Google Group: wl-peace-security-horn-of-africa@googlegroups.com

NING: Ning is a self-created social networking site. The project is growing to fully utilise this valuable resource to provide a platform for the G40 to 'connect' on a number of levels. The WLPS Ning site allows users to; create and participate in pre and post mission online discussions, create profiles and share information with other users, create and view photo galleries of past missions and other events, create and view upcoming events in relation to the project and the region and access news feeds on issues of women, peace and security.

This ability to 'self create' allows the G40 to fully engage with and own their individual space as per their needs and requirements. The WLPS Ning site is only accessible to users that have been invited by the project and therefore also ensures the security of project participants and associates in the discussion of sensitive issues.

Access NING: www.wlpshoa.ning.com

iKNOW Politics (International Knowledge Network of Women in Politics): iKNOW Politics is an online workspace designed to serve the needs of elected officials, candidates, political party leaders and members, researchers, students and other practitioners interested in advancing women in politics. iKNOW Politics' goal is to increase the participation and effectiveness of women in political life by utilizing a technology enabled forum to provide access to critical resources and expertise, stimulate dialogue, create knowledge, and share experiences on women's political participation.

This valuable resource provides a wealth of reference material, access to experts and interesting and beneficial discussion and engagement opportunities for the G40.

Access iKNOW Politics: www.iknowpolitics.org

PBWorks: PBWorks is a shared online workspace and document storage for colleagues, clients and partners. Mainly used by the project secretariat, it allows the project partners to work collaboratively online and access common documents.

8. PROGRAM MONITORING, EVALUATION, AND PARTICIPANT FEEDBACK

The G40 participants were asked to complete a short evaluation at the end of 4 missions: Addis Ababa, Kampala, Djibouti, and Nairobi. While the questions varied between the evaluations, all of the surveys assessed what the participants liked or learned from the mission, what they felt were the key take-away messages, and solicited improvements for the next mission.

Overall, participants have been quite positive about their experience with the Women, Peace and Security project in the Horn of Africa. Three areas of feedback were particularly insightful: the women's personal reflections on their increased confidence with advocacy and messaging;

their growth as a group and the sense of collective responsibility and cohesion; and their comfort and improved fluency in analyzing resolutions such as UNSCR 1325, national legislation, and international policy and actors.

8.1. PERSONAL CAPACITY: CONFIDENCE AND SKILL-BUILDING

One of the most popular aspects of this program was the leadership skill-building sessions that trained participants on lobbying and advocacy, conflict-resolution, and team building. The participants felt they learned how to develop messages and how to effectively communicate them. The sessions with former Latvian Prime Minister Valdis Birkavs and former U.S. State Representative Jackie Weatherspoon were especially well received, with many mentioning them by name. Participants found that their confidence and participation levels increased from session to session, particularly in regards to their ability to analyze and communicate policy to elected and high-level officials.

8.2. GROUP CAPACITY: "VOICING OUT COLLECTIVELY"

A reoccurring theme in all of the evaluations was the sense of an emerging regional sisterhood with a common cause. Comments constantly reinforced the importance of learning from other women, relating to each other's stories despite national or linguistic differences, and sharing failures and successes. One participant stated, *"I find the most beneficial thing about these meetings is that I have many friends now in the Horn of Africa."*

Participants see the importance of working as a group toward a common mission, emphasizing the advantage of "voicing out collectively," as a participant termed it. *"It is imperative to bring our voices together if we want to make a change,"* said another.

Most of all, the participants clearly value the quality, diversity, and dynamic nature of their fellow women leaders who are participating in the G40. As one participant commented, *"with more women like this we could change the world."*

8.3. POLICY FLUENCY: KNOWLEDGE DEVELOPMENT

The participants were resoundingly supportive of the gendered focus on peace and security in all of the missions, regularly emphasizing the role that women can and should play in the peace process. One participant summarized that *"women have a unique strength as a solution for African women."*

Participants in all missions mentioned how much they benefited from in-depth sessions on UNSCR Resolutions 1325, 1820, 1880, and the extensive conversations on conflict in various regions. The participants were very positive about the quality of the facilitators, high-level officials, and experts in attendance. While occasionally long, they found the experts' talks and the discussions that followed "topical" and "important." By the fourth evaluation, participants said that they felt they had developed an "expertise" and "insight" on these complex security policies and regional political affairs.

Participants felt that this program provided a variety of critical opportunities to engage with top officials in national, regional, and international communities. They believed their messages were effectively delivered to the high-level attendees, as seen in comments like *"strong women's voices were heard by international government and other important figures and bodies"* and *"It is also the first time that the civil society organizations, government and international funding agencies have come together and talked openly - great opportunity."* Participants felt that the stakeholders and

actors involved were truly committed to having a strong dialogue on matters of women and security in the Horn of Africa.

8.4. AREAS FOR FUTURE ASSESSMENT

The most consistent request from participants called for additional training sessions on communication and advocacy. The participants were overwhelmingly positive about the instruction they received in these areas during the first few sessions. While they repeatedly ask for more practice with these tactics, each mission is designed to build and improve upon these skills. Consciously or unconsciously, the women are practicing and improving their public speaking, lobbying skills, and building confidence as they interact with and speak in front of high-level officials and experts.

Participants also requested improved communication and further advance notice of mission logistics and topics. The missions continue to be refined given this feedback from individual participants, and the participants have noticed and appreciated the improvements in programmatic and logistical communication.

During the recent Kampala high-level mission (September 2010) the independent evaluation consultant, Junko Kim provided a comprehensive overview of the main outcomes and recommendations the recent mid-term appraisal of the project. This prompted the following reactions and observations:

- “The report lays great responsibility on G40 to take action regarding the next generation [of women leaders] and the sustainability of the project (...) it enlightens me about what to strategically and sustainably to keep us connected and builds the constituency of the G40 on the ground” (G40 Member, Sudan)
- The gap between grassroots women and the global decision-making regarding women’s rights and participation in politics needs to be urgently addressed (G40 Member, Uganda)
- The project has led to a significant boost of self-confidence in communicating publicly and at the highest levels (G40 Member, Uganda)
- “Focusing on our roles as G40 members in our countries encouraging women to work together and communicate the issues across levels is a big challenge” (G40 Sudan).
- G40 needs to build IT skills: A major challenge faced by G40 in terms of accessing information is severely limited internet access, and the high cost of using it. In addition, there are frequent power cuts, the internet connection is often slow and unavailable when carrying out field work, so it can take up to a week to read a message, and “some of us still need training on how to use the available communication tools”.

9. FUTURE PROGRAMMING FOR THE GREATER HORN OF AFRICA

During the latest Kampala and Addis missions, members of the G40 present at the meetings agreed to seek to position G40 as a regional advisory group to EU, AU and UN on peace and security issues in the Horn. It will also work towards full ownership of an integrated, regional approach to designing and securing 1325-based participation, prevention, protection and recovery deliverables at the grassroots. The G40 roadmap for the next year proposes the establishment of a rotational G40 secretariat, website development, intensive in-country training (2011-2012) and fundraising. Stepping up focused skills building in: mediation & negotiation, persuasive writing, PR & media, Public Speaking, Fundraising, Online Tools, Movement Building, Planning and Execution, would be part of the broader, long term process of strategic consolidation of entry points for women in the peace and security architectures and strategies of the IGAD and the African Union as proposed by G40 in Addis Ababa (October 2010).

For the project period 2011-2012, Club de Madrid intends to concentrate on what has been described in this original proposal as specific objective n°2: Securing a seat at the decision-making table. Through performing high level policy dialogues and advocacy activities, Club de Madrid members will convey G40 messages to high level officials and facilitate the participation of G40 members in high-level meetings. The Club de Madrid will place greater emphasis on its major asset and value added: the direct engagement of its members through high-level policy dialogue, sharing member experience, access, convening power and capacity to advocate on women, peace and security issues. We will also continue knowledge-building activities with the women's groups focusing on specific objective n°1: Learning security fluency. The ISS and Isis-WICCE will be responsible for providing trainings and capacity-building, organising policy development workshops on requested issues identified during the first year of implementation (communication, messaging, website design, fundraising, advocacy, etc.).