A public forum held in conjunction with the 2011 Women PeaceMakers Program
Sponsored by the Fred J. Hansen Foundation

http://peace.sandiego.edu/womenmediarevolution

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INTRODUCTION
by Dee Aker

It has been said that the one who writes the stories determines history. Women correspondents, directors and citizen journalists who capture the broader array of community voices can open the doors to different futures, leading away from the seemingly endless cycles and costs of conflict. Women and men sensitive to gender-inclusive perspectives step toward justice by documenting more than the façades and remnants of events. In doing so, they take risks, confronting – and occasionally influencing – conventional reporting. They move beyond the comfortably entrenched traditional authorities who remain unable or unwilling to let go of habitual points of view.

While representing various forms of media, the journalists, filmmakers and social media citizen activists at the “Women, Media, Revolution” forum and in these pages have been successful in locating humanity in the myriad of troubles they have covered. Disclosing the stories of the venerable and vulnerable, the powerful and the humble, and those who risk everything in revolutionary calls for justice, these storytellers are courageous themselves. They bring ignored voices, dreams and possibilities forward. Using multiple avenues, they push the domain of media to be responsible, to use its power for actions that integrate justice with rights.

“Disclosing the stories of the venerable and the vulnerable, the powerful and the humble, and those who risk everything in revolutionary calls for justice, these storytellers are courageous themselves.”

“Women, Media, Revolution” explored how women and media can bring alternative, inclusive solutions to organizing efforts for democratic peacebuilding – and at what cost. In these pages, you will read the lively discussions about whether it is possible to transition old cultures of silence, secrecy and convention into rights movements via traditional journalism, citizen blogging and new media networks. The films, stories and experiences presented here are platforms for pondering how the messages and ethical messengers might provide better routes to creating histories with more peace, more justice.
Launching immediately into a long-standing controversy, the speakers on the opening panel debated the use of the term “gender-inclusive reporting.” Jina Moore, a regular correspondent with the Christian Science Monitor, said that though she is a woman and may look for different stories because of that, she does not – and cannot – set out with the agenda of solely telling women’s stories. “If I said that to an editor, that sends the wrong signals. That language is not helpful in my job.” Similarly, veteran journalist Prue Clarke remarked, “Journalists are just looking for the best stories,” and for her work in Congo, Rwanda, Uganda and Liberia over the past few years, the stories about what happens to women during war have been the “biggest stories.”

But for Sharon Moshavi of the International Center for Journalists (ICJ), the question is not about whether we should frame the approach as “gender-inclusive,” but that it is happening anyway. She focused on an ICJ project in India which uses mobile technology to help isolated communities report and disperse news that affects them, and says it is mostly women who are taking advantage of the technology and producing news reports. Women “seem to be the ones who want to make their voices heard.” But why does this matter? Moshavi emphasized that the women in the community are reporting on things that men could, but are not. The women gravitate toward stories about people and how governmental policies are affecting lives. Being a woman in that particular environment – rural, isolated, no access to news in their own language – means that they tend to report on things that directly impact the life of their community.

This led quickly to a discussion of objectivity and activism in journalism, with Moshavi asserting that objectivity does not necessarily mean telling all sides of a story equally, but it does mean verifiable, fact-based reporting and adhering to journalistic standards. “It doesn’t exclude passion, and who you are is going to affect the story.” She used the story of one of the ICJ’s Knight International Journalism Fellows in South Africa. HIV-positive for more than a decade, the Soweto woman covers health issues with a specific focus on HIV/AIDS. Moshavi concluded, “This doesn’t affect her credibility. It also doesn’t relieve her of the responsibility of being a responsible reporter.”
For Moore, the issue of activism in journalism is not the proper way to approach the issue. She sees the journalistic story and the activist space – which is clearly defined – as very separate spheres, but they can complement one another. A journalistic story can hold multiple meanings that activist stories often cannot.

Farah Abushwesha’s personal story of “accidental activism” as a Libyan-Irish filmmaker at this moment in history provided an alternate perspective on the issues. She has lived outside of Libya for 30 years, but felt compelled, despite the danger to her family in Libya, to write about the humanitarian crisis that was unfolding during the early days of the revolution. She spoke and wrote about the mass rapes of women, and more positively, about the women who were the first to take to the streets against Muammar Qaddafi. As a woman born into a family of “women who have broken the mold,” she was not afraid to raise her voice so that other women in Libya – who have suffered over 40 years of repression – can be free of the fear of ostracism and danger.

Clarke turned the conversation back to the United States and why it is so difficult to get solid, contextual reports about what is happening in other countries through to the U.S. media. Her recent *Newsweek* story on Liberian President Ellen Johnson Sirleaf shows the problem: Her original piece described the post-conflict country in a balanced manner, but the edited version that readers saw had a mention of “cannibalism” during the civil war – a nod to the U.S. media’s reliance on stories of war and sensationalism. “The media is doing Africans a disservice with its obsession with war.” Clarke summarizes the problem as lack of nuance in U.S. media and a tendency to dehumanize people in other countries, rather than humanizing them to show what we have in common.
Integrity and Responsibility in New Global Networks

This panel brought together four media network founders\(^1\) to discuss their projects and the major problems they see facing their work and the global media landscape. Frieda Werden, who started WINGS: Women’s International News Gathering Service more than 25 years ago at the end of the U.N.’s decade for women, moderated the panel. Though still focused on producing radio programs, WINGS is starting to use Facebook to aggregate women’s news from around the world.

Prue Clarke provided the history and impetus for her nascent project, New Narratives: Women Reporting Africa. Covering rape as a weapon of war had been a regular beat for her in other African countries, but in Congo in 2007, she realized the disconnect between what women in African conflict zones knew about the situation in their countries (very little, due to the lack of independent media on the continent), and what people internationally knew about the causes of war. Clarke saw how necessary it was for women to get this information and be able to distribute it to each other.

She started New Narratives in Liberia in 2010, with the goal of addressing the fundamental issues with media in Africa: that most stories are only given space because they are paid for, and correspondingly, that there is no incentive for telling truthful stories. New Narratives is trying to change this business model by partnering with the best media houses in Africa, providing training and international editors to raise journalistic standards and gain greater exposure.

Though Clarke did not want to alienate men by working exclusively with women, the first project in Liberia does work primarily with women in order to address the stark gender disparities in the country. As the participants become high-profile reporters, it gives them prestige in their community, thus creating incentives for good reporting among women and men alike. Clarke pointed to several success stories, including journalist Clara Mallah’s investigative piece, “I Sleep with More than 20 Men a Night,” which gave context to why teens become prostitutes. The article forced the president of Liberia to discuss the issue and, in turn, pressured the United Nations to investigate the behavior of its peacekeepers in the country.

Women in Media & News (WIMN), founded by journalist and media activist Jennifer Pozner, developed in the wake of 9/11 when Pozner observed that women’s voices in

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\(^1\) Unfortunately, Cristi Hegranes, founder of the Global Press Institute, intended to be on the panel but was unable to participate. Information on GPI can be found at the end of the report and at [www.globalpressinstitute.org](http://www.globalpressinstitute.org).
the media landscape became more invisible in the run-up to the wars in Afghanistan and Iraq, and perhaps as a result, the rest of the world was made to think that civilians in the United States were unified in support for the wars. She felt advocacy journalism was essential at that point, to show that women’s voices were being hidden.

Throughout her presentation and the forum, Pozner emphasized the necessity of an “inside-out” strategy for changing the media landscape and raising the voices of women and other marginalized groups. This approach includes advocating for structural change and accountability – fighting media consolidation that has led to only six companies controlling what media is consumed, as well as demanding that more women be included in the top leadership positions of news gathering and media services – and creating women-focused media platforms that can tell different stories than mainstream media.

Katharine Daniels, founder of The Women’s International Perspective (The WIP), zeroed in on three issues: 1) the Internet is under threat because of the potential loss of net neutrality, 2) low levels of women in media are altering the news landscape, and 3) websites like The WIP, WIMN, WINGS and other women-focused platforms need better fundraising models to sustain themselves.

Daniels believes that the Internet has provided the depth, context, diversity, investigation and analysis that have been lost in traditional reporting. However, all of this is threatened by the loss of net neutrality, or the accessing of all websites at the same speed. Cable and telephone providers have sought to charge website owners and others for quick access to their sites and applications, primarily through a tiered system: those who pay for the top tier will have no problems with fast access and service. In this model, corporations like CNN, Fox or Facebook would be able to afford to be in the top tier. Daniels reminded the audience that “our ability to respond to the corporate media relies solely on net neutrality.”

The low levels of women in leadership positions in media and news gathering organizations – 73 percent of those positions are occupied by men – skew priorities on what is determined to be news. The WIP asks its writers to report on what is most important to them and their communities, and their stories are in sharp contrast to what is found in mainstream media.

She concluded with a plea for more money and resources for websites like The WIP and those represented at the forum, pointing out that many of the women present work voluntarily on their sites and organizations, forcing them to set aside their work in journalism and activism to focus on fundraising.
Digital Bridges and Crucial Social Media

“From Tahrir Square to Occupy Wall Street, the need for social media is very evident,” opened moderator Milburn Line, IPJ executive director. The three panelists described their very different, yet all very innovative and interactive websites, which led to a lively discussion about getting more women into mainstream media, the dangers and benefits of self-reporting platforms and protecting the work of citizen journalists.

Sapna Shahani, founder of WAVE (Women Aloud for Videoblogging Empowerment) in India, explained how her network is facilitating social change and raising awareness about the diverse regions – and problems – within India. The project trains women from every region in India to use cameras, record stories and then post them online. Shahani emphasized that this model is challenging gender and social disparities – bridging the gap of who is accessing and uploading information to the Internet, as well as the gap in literacy, as even illiterate women can post a video online.

Heather Ford, a web ethnographer for Ushahidi, discussed the history and successes of her organization. According to its website, Ushahidi is “a nonprofit tech company that specializes in developing free and open source software for information collection, visualization and interactive mapping.” It began during the media blackout in Kenya following the elections in 2007, when violence erupted across the country. The organization’s name means “testimony” in Swahili, and it was started by Kenyans living both in that country and the United States as a simple way for people in Kenya to send a text message to report what was happening; the report then showed up on an interactive map on a website so the rest of the world could follow the violence and learn what was actually taking place.

The open-source software has since been used all over the world, including election monitoring in Sudan and Egypt, and as a “harass-map” in Egypt, where women can report cases of sexual harassment and violence. It is particularly effective in places where independent media is repressed or completely prohibited from reporting.

Jade Frank of World Pulse described her organization as “an action media network powered by women from 185 countries.” The idea began as a print magazine but has since expanded to include a social media platform, where any woman with access to a computer can speak for herself and her own concerns, and find a community of support online. The outlet’s PulseWire community now connects more than 11,000 women around the world.
PulseWire includes online journals for women to write, but also conducts Action Blogging Campaigns in which women from around the world can write letters and testimonies to complement other women’s policy work in different countries. There is also a Citizen Journalists Training and Empowerment Program, which trains 30 women from across the globe and pairs them with “editorial midwives” who help them craft their stories. Frank emphasized that the women are not just part of the PulseWire network to share stories, but also resources and strategies, as “a community of support can be one of the most empowering things for a woman.”

“In [self-reporting platforms] the story is going to have a huge life beyond that person and often outside the places they come from. This can be hugely problematic.”

Heather Ford

In the question-and-answer session, Line asked the panelists how women can enter and saturate mainstream media. While Frank and Shahani advocated building relationships with prominent women editors in traditional media houses and bridging the gap in access to training and educational resources, Ford highlighted how women should focus on “wikis,” which she calls “the frontline of culture.” She likened Wikipedia to the online equivalent of the mainstream 6 o’clock news, and said that only 13 percent of people writing content on it are women.

Responding to a question on self-reporting platforms such as Ushahidi and citizen journalist sites, Ford acknowledged that many times “the story is going to have a huge life beyond that person and often outside the places they come from. This can be hugely problematic.” What is learned from the success and spread of open source software and self-reporting tools is that “people are dying to be heard,” but the biggest problem is one of scale: both the scale of the problem being addressed and the scale of the impact the reporting is having. “We know so little about what people think when they look at … a Ushahidi map,” Ford reiterated, advocating for more research into people’s perceptions of these kinds of tools.
Global Exchange: Voices from the Ground

Friday afternoon’s virtual dialogue allowed participants in San Diego to interact with journalists Yasmine Ryan, based in Tunisia for Al Jazeera, Mandira Raut of Today’s Youth Asia (TYA) in Nepal, and Zélie Pollon, a freelance journalist based in New Mexico.2

Ryan explained some of the successes of social media tools during the Arab Spring, particularly in Tunisia, where the question of ordinary citizens’ influence on the media is “interesting because democracy is just beginning” (the first democratic elections – and the first prompted by the Arab Spring, were held on October 23, 2011). Ryan reminded the audience that in these formerly repressive, fledgling democracies, independent media had been denied for decades, so young activists and bloggers are in need of standard journalistic training. Furthermore, while bloggers – including many women who are “playing on equal terms” – were incredibly active during the Tunisian uprising, there is a disconnection between these educated activists with access to the Internet and those on the ground who do not have the same resources.

Regarding the fate of traditional, government-controlled, national media in Tunisia, Ryan explained how citizens tuned out from them and into Al Jazeera or other international news channels and social media outlets; they saw what was happening in the streets and the discrepancy in what the national media was saying. And as the national media is trying to win back credibility, those who are launching online media outlets to fill in the space are facing difficulties – from gaining press passes to a lack of training.

Due to technical difficulties with the connection to Nepal, Santosh Shah, founder of TYA who was in the audience, stepped in to introduce the 25-year-old Raut and her women-produced television programs. TYA shows – written, produced and hosted almost entirely by women – are now aired on Nepali national television, including one program which is on primetime every evening. Raut is now working with a young woman in New Delhi to expand TYA to India.

2 Unfortunately, documentarian Meriam “Yam” Palma of the Mindanao Peoples Caucus in the Philippines, who was originally scheduled to be on the panel, was unable to participate. She sent a written statement that emphasized the importance of journalists immersing themselves in the community they are covering to understand more fully the struggles and issues at play, and to get “proper grounding” before reporting on the situation.
Shah also stated some of the problems facing progressive media outlets in Nepal, including the 4 to 18 hours a day that electricity can be cut, limiting the use of computers and television; the lack of affordability for any media consumption beyond radio or newspapers; and the reality of social media activists not being taken seriously. “They are putting out content on social media, but it is not being picked up by newspapers or other major outlets,” he said. But on a positive note, that means that social media activists and independent journalists are staying relatively safe from danger in reporting human rights abuses or other social concerns.

Shah closed his remarks with a return to Raut and the affirmation that TYA operates by: “We never say, ‘Let’s give women space.’ We just give women the space.”

The freelance journalist Pollon, whose book of interviews with survivors of the Khmer Rouge in Cambodia has recently been published, focused on the difficulty of reducing necessary context in stories to 140 characters on Twitter and the fear that journalistic standards are not being upheld in social media platforms. She also sees, because of the rise of social media tools, an increasing mistrust around the world toward traditional modes of journalism. Pollon noted how most people learned of the death of Osama bin Laden via Twitter before there were any confirmed news reports.

But she cautioned against full reliance on these new media tools, because they are largely being owned and controlled by those who have access to them – a danger for marginalized groups, including women, around the world.
FILMS AND POST-SCREENING DISCUSSIONS

“Acting Together on the World Stage”

The first film screened at the forum was an homage to a previous IPJ event, the 2009 arts festival “Bearing Exquisite Witness.” Cynthia Cohen, co-producer of the film “Acting Together on the World Stage,” and playwright Catherine Filloux, featured in the film, first showed the trailer in 2009 and returned to screen the full-length documentary, six years in the making. 3

The documentary and accompanying anthology highlight cases of theater groups around the world that are “performing peace” and engaging conflict in productive, meaningful ways. Organized according to three Rs – Resistance, Rehumanization and Reconciliation – the film travels the world to explore how peacebuilding performances allow individuals and communities – both on stage and in the audience – to encounter the “other” and face their own experiences of conflict.

In interviews with artists in places as diverse as Peru, Serbia and Cambodia, the film articulates the necessity of counter-narratives. During conflict and its aftermath, governments and those in power often control the narrative of what is taking place in a country – and the media by which that narrative is spread. For instance, Argentine dictatorships in the 1970s and 1980s claimed they were protecting civilians while at the same time disappearing them.

Dijana Milosevic, founder of DAH Theatre in Belgrade, Serbia, relates in the film how Serb citizens felt almost “schizophrenic” as they heard stories of wars splintering their Yugoslav federation while the government willfully denied it was at war with its neighboring republics. But courageous and unflinching artists, theater directors and actors forced these governments and their fellow citizens to confront the truth. Artist Charles Mulekwa of Uganda called the act “reminding the population that power is with the people, not the people they put in power.”

Some governments, in turn, have learned to recognize and harness the power of theater in their attempts to rebuild after war or as a method of reconciliation. Following the war in Peru, the official Truth and Reconciliation Commission traveled the country to collect testimonies of what took place during those years. It asked the Grupo Cultural

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3 Unfortunately, Roberta Levitow of Theatre Without Borders, who was also at 2009’s “Bearing Exquisite Witness,” was unable to join us at the last minute.
Yuyachkani to precede the commission’s entry into communities to help prepare people for what they would be asked to recall and share with the commission. The performances became moments of healing for rural communities that had yet to look deeply into what had taken place during the war.

The group's director, Augusto Casafranca, called the plays and the approach to the community “a more sensible angle which is more human” than the formal interviews the commission would be undertaking. The encounters between performers and audience members “were not things that we can understand rationally. … We were cleaning and healing each other.”

In Australia, years of localized performances and rituals in which white Australians learned the stories of the Aborigines and the “stolen generation” became the foundation for a national process of reconciliation, culminating in Prime Minister Kevin Rudd’s state apology to the Aboriginal people in 2008 – for many, a long-delayed but cathartic moment of recognition and a step toward reconciliation.

In the spirit of the forum and the journalists and media professionals gathered, Filloux reminded viewers that this work – documenting and remembering – are revolutionary acts in our time.

“Documenting and remembering are revolutionary acts in our time.”

Catherine Filloux
“Weapon of War”

The forum’s second screening, “Weapon of War,” is the second documentary in a trilogy on the Democratic Republic of Congo by filmmakers Ilse and Femke van Velzen. “Weapon of War” boldly addresses the neglected subject of the guilt and trauma experienced by perpetrators of rape, used as a deliberate weapon of war for years in the Congo. With more than 30,000 soldiers in the national army and 50,000 rebels divided into at least 60 armed groups, perpetrators of rape are plentiful, but the film focuses primarily on the story of an ex-rebel, Alain Kasharu, and his attempt to seek forgiveness from a young girl he and three fellow rebels raped.

The van Velzens let the Congolese tell the story: There is no narration, only the voices of those the filmmakers followed and interviewed, including a captain in the national army, himself a former rapist who is now educating soldiers and newly integrated ex-rebels about the consequences of sexual violence and how they can reform and move beyond the acts they committed.

“Weapon of War” brings up numerous issues and controversies: whether perpetrators’ suffering and isolation should be brought to light when victims themselves are still not heard, the potential for films like this to re-traumatize both victim and perpetrator, and even the very basic argument of whether such a culturally taboo subject should be raised in Congo.

In a discussion following the screening, the van Velzens described how the first film in their series, “Fighting the Silence,” which exposed the reality of rape in the Congo, is being used throughout the country. They have partnered with the nongovernmental organization (NGO) Search for Common Ground to set up mobile cinemas across the country and have even gone to rural areas where taboos against rape are more prevalent.

They have yet to screen “Weapon of War” in its entirety because of the risk of re-traumatizing audiences, but based on many workshops with local groups, they have produced six different training videos to educate the national army on the issue. Like being a victim of rape, discussing soldier/rebel trauma is also a strong taboo in Congo.

Sylvia Maunga Mbanga, a 2008 IPJ Woman PeaceMaker from Congo, joined the stage with the filmmakers after the screening. Mbanga affirmed that despite the controversies and very real questions the film raises, one of its strengths is its redemptive quality: that perpetrators and victims alike can and must become the actors of peace in Congo. She urged the van Velzens to use the film to open doors to discussions of national and local reconciliation in her country.
“The Sari Soldiers”

“The Sari Soldiers,” directed by Julie Bridgham, follows six Nepali women from various backgrounds as they navigate the political and social landscape after the Nepali king virtually closes the country and shuts down the government nearly a decade into the civil war with the Maoists. As in “Weapon of War,” the filmmaker lets the subjects narrate the film. The weaving narrative provides an acutely nuanced understanding of the impact of conflict on women, and how there is never just two sides of a war.

Post-film discussion with Bridgham centered on her process of making the film, the security of those she profiled, and how the film is being used now in Nepal. Having lived in Nepal for a time, she was sensitive to the issues of the civil war and temperaments of different groups of people. So when she began filming in February 2005 after the king shut down the government, Bridgham witnessed a very distinct change in attitude among the people. But she could not foresee how quickly the political landscape would change. She filmed for about eight months, but rapidly changing events meant she needed to fly back and forth to Nepal for a year and a half – until the nonviolent people’s movement ousted the king and led to a democratically elected constituent assembly.

Concerning the danger the women faced by being filmed, Bridgham acknowledges that while many lower-level activists were fearful of being followed and having their phones tapped, the six women in the film were already fairly high-profile and had been threatened for some time. Being filmed didn’t greatly increase their danger. Bridgham did credit her “extremely brave” Nepali co-producer, Ramyata Limbu, who put herself at great risk during the making of the documentary.

Bridgham sought and secured final permission from all six women before finalizing the film. In a meeting in Kathmandu, the women came together to meet one another for the first time and view it as a group. Since then, the women travel in pairs or as a group to locations around the country – it has been shown in 25 districts so far – to share their insights and how, despite their sometimes clashing views on politics and the direction of their country, they have developed new respect for one another’s viewpoints through the making of this film.
“Peace Unveiled”

The third episode in the five-part PBS series *Women, War & Peace*, “Peace Unveiled” trails several women in Kabul and Kandahar, Afghanistan, during recent heightened violence from fundamentalist groups including the Taliban. Director **Gini Reticker**, who was present at the forum for a post-screening discussion, shows their struggle for political inclusion in national politics and the peace negotiations between the government and the Taliban in 2010 and 2011. The danger for the women is palpable throughout the documentary: “I never know if I’ll be coming home or not.”

The film was finalized a mere three weeks prior to the forum, before the assassination of Burhanuddin Rabbani, a former Afghan president and the head of the High Peace Council, which was negotiating with the Taliban. But even without that event in perspective, the documentary ends on an ominous statement from the narrator, actress **Tilda Swinton**: “For women, peace has never looked so threatening.”

“Peace Unveiled” premiered on PBS on October 25, and Reticker informed the audience of an online interactive discussion the following day with the featured Afghan women, who would be online from Kabul to offer feedback and answer viewers’ questions.

The *Women, War & Peace* series challenges the conventional wisdom that war and peace are men’s domain, spotlighting the stories of women active in the conflict-affected countries of Colombia, Bosnia, Afghanistan and Liberia. The second documentary in the series, “Pray the Devil Back to Hell,” showcases how the efforts of **Leymah Gbowee** – a joint winner of this year’s Nobel Peace Prize – and other Liberian women led to peace in that war-torn country.
“The Price of Sex”

The investigative documentary “The Price of Sex,” by photojournalist and filmmaker Mimi Chakarova, was the final film to be screened, closing the forum on a somber and challenging note. In the film, Chakarova follows Eastern European women survivors of the lucrative sex trade and travels to Istanbul and other major destination cities for trafficking in Europe and the Middle East to expose the elements behind the trade. The result is a devastating exposé of an illegal trade that continues to thrive because of the corruption and collusion of a complex number of groups.

After the screening of the film, which took 10 years to make, Chakarova explained that she didn’t start out intending to produce a documentary. She was angry and frustrated with male journalists who exploited the “shock value” of sex trafficking by going undercover and writing stories about how much a night with a prostitute cost; she felt they were perpetuating the problem. Knowing she could cover the issue better, she set out with her camera to take photos of the women survivors she met. She soon realized that only a video camera could capture what needed to be shown – the brokenness and helplessness the women were speaking about, their stories of being deceived by their traffickers and then their struggles to escape.

Chakarova emphasized how essential it is to change perceptions and strategize on how to decrease demand for prostitution, and the imperative of involving men in these discussions. Typically, following screenings of the film, she rarely gets questions from men, but she’ll return home to find several well-articulated emails from them about how the film affected them and asking how they can help end the practice.

Though the audience appeared overwhelmed by the scale and breadth of the problem, Chakarova related a recent success story: The U.S. State Department is now using the film in its training materials for embassy staff around the world.

She closed her remarks with words the other filmmakers and journalists gathered no doubt would echo: “I can’t give you easy answers. The most important thing we can do as documentarians is to present the truth.”
DISTINGUISHED LECTURE SERIES – ZAINAB SALBI

The forum coincided with a Distinguished Lecture by Women for Women International founder Zainab Salbi. Women for Women is a grassroots humanitarian and development organization helping women survivors of war to rebuild their lives. Since 1993, the organization has helped 250,000 women access social and economic opportunities through rights awareness training, vocational education and access to income-generating opportunities.

While Salbi’s conversation with IPJ Senior Program Officer Diana Kutlow was entitled “Building Bridges, Rebuilding Societies,” she had much to offer regarding the role of the media during war, in post-conflict countries and in regard to her own organization. As a native of Iraq and survivor of the Iran-Iraq war, Salbi spoke of how the media tends to cover only the frontline perspective of war – men fighting men and the violence that happens at the “front.” But “we need the frontline and backline perspective of war to tell the full story.” She emphasized, women “keep life going in the midst of war.”

In addition to the very direct support women survivors of war receive from Women for Women, Salbi also mentioned how her work has moved into the policy realm. She said that while legislative changes are still needed in many countries recovering from war, some have progressive laws that are intended to protect women’s rights. The main push needed is for implementation. But many women in these countries don’t know the laws exist, so “knowledge is as important as access to resources.”

When asked about how young women can get involved in these issues and make social change, Salbi advocated for more young women to go into the political, economic and media sectors, rather than the traditional modes of employment they have tended toward: social services and the civil society sector. “We can’t continue to be overpopulated in civil society and underpopulated in the others.”

Women for Women has grown exponentially over the years. In 2000, the organization was supporting 70 women around the world on a budget of $600,000. Today, it supports 300,000 women, operating on a $35 million budget. Salbi linked this directly to the organization being profiled on “The Oprah Winfrey Show” 10 times; each time they raised somewhere between $2.5 and $5 million. There is a direct correlation between growth as an organization and media coverage. Salbi sees the media as “the best way for your cause” to raise funds, and pointed out the importance of embracing social media.
CONCLUSION

“Women, Media, Revolution” closed with remarks from the 2011 Women PeaceMakers and Peace Writers\(^4\) in residence at the IPJ, moderated by Necla Tschirgi, professor of practice in human security and peacebuilding at the University of San Diego. She began the session commending those gathered with the words, “I think knowledge is power, and without the work you do, I couldn’t do the work I do.”

This year’s peacemakers are from Haiti, India, Iraq and Kenya, and all had much to say reflecting on the forum and how to move forward. Wahu Kaara of Kenya implored the audience, “Get out of the box of the media that lets us accept news of war, rape, trafficking as acceptable. It is not acceptable. Life is the story to be told. It is you in the media that must affirm the stories of life. There is a way out of this box.”

Claudette Werleigh, the first female prime minister of Haiti, was grateful for the media activists who “bring humanity to what you do, so that all of us, wherever we come from, can relate to it.” But she also warned of the danger that new media and new technology could increase the gap between people, whether of young and old, rich and poor, or global north and south.

\(^4\) The Women PeaceMakers Program, supported by the Fred J. Hansen Foundation, is now in its ninth year. Four women from conflict-affected areas are in residence each fall, and each is paired with a Peace Writer to document her story of building peace in her community.
For the Peace Writers, the media forum was a resounding reminder of the purpose of their work, giving writers like Amy S. Choi, who is documenting the story of Manjula Pradeep of India, a “renewed sense of commitment and responsibility, as a seeker, shaper and custodian” of stories. Though there was much discussion during the forum of social media tools and their impact in recent events, Choi “still thinks traditional media is one of the most effective ways to reach an audience that is new to the subject matter.”

Nikki Lyn Pugh, writer for Rashad Zaydan of Iraq, closed the panel and forum with a message of hope: “Where is the hope in these situations? The hope is in the telling of them, the bravery of the people who have allowed themselves to be filmed, the journalists. Those singular acts of courage give me hope.”

“Get out of the box of the media that lets us accept news of war, rape, trafficking as acceptable. It is not acceptable. … There is a way out of this box.”

Wahu Kaara
APPENDICES

Biographies

Farah Abushwesha, a Libyan-Irish writer and filmmaker, is one of the founders of Women4Libya, a campaign to get more women into leadership positions in the Libyan National Transitional Council. Her writings on women in Libya have been widely published. http://farah-fabstar.blogspot.com

Dee (Dianne) Aker, Ph.D., deputy director of the Joan B. Kroc Institute for Peace & Justice (IPJ) at the University of San Diego, is a psychological anthropologist and conflict resolution professional. She produced and hosted a television series of 234 30-minute interviews with women leaders, pioneers and survivors from around the world. At the IPJ, Aker created and directs the Nepal Peacebuilding Initiative, WorldLink and the Women PeaceMakers Program. http://peace.sandiego.edu

Kaitlin Barker Davis is editor at the Joan B. Kroc Institute for Peace & Justice, where she initially was a peace writer for the Women PeaceMakers Program in 2009, documenting the life and work of Rubina Feroze Bhatti of Pakistan. Barker Davis has also interned as an editorial assistant for Sojourners, a faith-based social justice magazine in Washington, D.C. http://peace.sandiego.edu/womenpeacemakers

Julie Bridgham, a Sundance Institute Documentary Fellow, is the director and producer of the award-winning documentary “The Sari Soldiers,” for which she received the 2008 Nestor Almendros Prize for courage and commitment in human rights filmmaking. She has traveled extensively and produced and directed numerous documentaries, including for the United Nations, the BBC, the Discovery Channel and TLC. www.sarisoldiers.com/the-film/filmmakers

Mimi Chakarova, a photographer and filmmaker, has covered global issues examining conflict, corruption and the sex trade for the past decade. Her most recent project is “The Price of Sex,” a feature-length documentary about young Eastern European women drawn into a netherworld of sex trafficking. www.mclight.com


Prue Clarke is an Edward R. Murrow Award-winning reporter and media educator. She is an Africa contributor to the British newspaper The Times, CBC (Canadian Broadcasting Corporation) and National Public Radio. A visiting associate professor at the Graduate School of Journalism at the City University of New York, she is also
founder of New Narratives: Women Reporting Africa, a project training women journalists in Africa. [www.pruclarke.com](http://www.pruclarke.com)

**Cynthia E. Cohen** is director of Brandeis University’s Peacebuilding and the Arts Program and the principal investigator for the Acting Together project, in collaboration with Theatre Without Borders. Cohen is the author of *Working with Integrity: A Guidebook for Peacebuilders Asking Ethical Questions* and many other articles and papers on the aesthetic and ethical dimensions of conflict transformation. [www.brandeis.edu/ethics/about/bios/ccohen.html](http://www.brandeis.edu/ethics/about/bios/ccohen.html)

**Katharine Daniels** is the founder and executive editor of The WIP, Women’s International Perspectives, a global source for news and women’s perspectives. She is a member of the Global Women’s Leadership Network and a graduate of their Women Leaders for the World program at Santa Clara University’s Leavey School of Business. She is an adjunct instructor in the women’s studies department at Monterey Peninsula College. [www.thewip.net](http://www.thewip.net)

**Bijoyeta Das**, a freelance photographer and multimedia journalist based in New Delhi, is a 2011 peace writer for the Women PeaceMakers Program. Her work has been published in *Women’s eNews*, Deutsche Welle, All India Radio, Tribal Truth, FotoWitness and SocialDocumentary.net. Her photo story “Dreams of a Goddess” won the Silver Medal at the TashkentAle-2010 photo festival in Uzbekistan, and her short documentary “Branded Girls” was a finalist at the 2011 Women’s Voices Now Film Festival in Los Angeles. [http://peace.sandiego.edu/womenpeacemakers](http://peace.sandiego.edu/womenpeacemakers)

**Catherine Filloux** is an award-winning playwright who has been writing about human rights and social justice for the past 20 years. Her new play “Action Hero” (working title) will premiere in 2012 at La MaMa in New York City, where she is an artist in residence. She is a co-founder of Theatre Without Borders and is featured in the documentary film “Acting Together on the World Stage.” [www.catherinefilloux.com](http://www.catherinefilloux.com)

**Melissa Fitzgerald** is an actor, producer and social activist. She is best known for playing the role of Carol on the award-winning political drama *The West Wing*. In 1995, she co-founded Voices in Harmony, a nonprofit youth arts organization committed to empowering at-risk teens by cultivating personal, academic and artistic excellence. She produced the recently completed “Staging Hope,” a documentary that tells the riveting story of a cross-cultural collaboration between a group of American actors and 14 Ugandan teenagers as they work together on a theater program in war-torn northern Uganda. [www.melissafitzgerald.com/page5.html](http://www.melissafitzgerald.com/page5.html)

**Heather Ford** is an anthropologist and web ethnographer who works for Ushahidi, a nonprofit company that develops open source software for information collection, visualization and interactive mapping. She is the former executive director of iCommons, an international organization started by Creative Commons to connect the world’s open-education, free-culture communities. She was a co-founder of Creative
Commons South Africa and of the South African nonprofit The African Commons Project, as well as a community-building initiative called the GeekRetreat. 
http://hblog.org

Jade Frank, in three years, has built World Pulse’s online community of 10,000-plus grassroots women leaders and citizen journalists from 185 countries. She developed campaigns to connect the testimonies of women globally to support gender equality advocacy efforts at the U.S. Department of State and the United Nations. She designed the World Pulse community leadership model, a tool to recognize leaders in an online community and empower them to activate, manage and grow a global online movement. www.worldpulse.com

Jennifer Freeman is program officer for the Women PeaceMakers (WPM) Program at the Joan B. Kroc Institute for Peace & Justice. Freeman has worked with nongovernmental organizations in Ghana, Northern Ireland, Canada and in Ugandan refugee settlements on issues of women’s rights and peacebuilding. In the WPM Program, she has served as peace writer for Sylvie Maunga Mbanga of the Democratic Republic of the Congo, and for Zeinab Mohamed Blandia of Sudan. http://peace.sandiego.edu/womenpeacemakers

Zahra Ismail is a program officer at the Joan B. Kroc Institute for Peace & Justice. Ismail has extensive experience in designing and facilitating mediation, peacebuilding and training programs for a variety of audiences, most recently in Sri Lanka and South Sudan with Nonviolent Peaceforce. She has worked with various nongovernmental organizations engaged in community level mediation, international development, human rights and conflict resolution in Canada, Belgium, Austria, Thailand and Kenya. http://peace.sandiego.edu

Wahu Kaara, 2011 Woman PeaceMaker at the Joan B. Kroc Institute for Peace & Justice, is a Kenyan educator and pro-democracy activist nominated for the Nobel Peace Prize in 2005 and named a 2009 Project Concern Global Humanitarian. An educator and girls’ school headmistress, her pro-democracy activism turned toward the release of political prisoners in the early ‘90s. She next founded Kenya Debt Relief Network, now a well-respected research and policy analysis group. http://peace.sandiego.edu/womenpeacemakers

Diana Kutlow is senior program officer at the Joan B. Kroc Institute for Peace & Justice at the University of San Diego (USD). Kutlow has managed the Joan B. Kroc Distinguished Lecture Series for eight years, bringing world leaders in peacemaking, human rights and conflict prevention to the Institute. Kutlow has represented the Institute throughout the world, including the historic International Colloquium on Women’s Empowerment, Leadership Development, International Peace and Security in Monrovia, Liberia. She is a former public relations and journalism professional. http://peace.sandiego.edu/dls
Milburn Line is executive director at the Joan B. Kroc Institute for Peace & Justice at the University of San Diego. Before joining the IPJ, Line served as director of a $37 million human rights program in Colombia funded by the U.S. Agency for International Development. He has also directed a human rights and reconciliation project in Guatemala, and worked for the Club of Madrid; the Office of the High Representative and the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Bosnia and Herzegovina; the U.N. Human Rights Verification Mission in Guatemala; and Catholic Relief Services. http://peace.sandiego.edu

Sylvie Maunga Mbanga, an attorney, works with local organizations in the fight against sexual violence against women in the eastern region of the Democratic Republic of Congo. An IPJ Woman PeaceMaker in 2008, Mbanga was coordinator of the program against sexual violence for the Interchurch Organization for Development Cooperation and Church in Action, as well as a program officer at the Life and Peace Institute. http://peace.sandiego.edu/womenpeacemakers

Jina Moore is a freelance multimedia journalist who covers human rights, foreign affairs and Africa. A regular correspondent for the Christian Science Monitor, her work also has appeared in Newsweek, Foreign Policy, the Boston Globe and elsewhere. Her work on the ethics in journalism about rape was a finalist for the 2011 Mirror Awards for Media Criticism. A Pulitzer Center on Crisis Reporting grantee, Moore has won a Fulbright Fellowship in Journalism and an Ochberg Fellowship with the Dart Society on Journalism and Trauma. This year, Moore is a visiting scholar at New York University's Arthur L. Carter Journalism Institute. www.jinamoore.com

Alison Morse, a 2011 peace writer for the Women PeaceMakers Program, is a freelance writer and educator. She received her M.F.A. from Hamline University in St. Paul, Minn., where her thesis, a novel-in-progress about the war in the former Yugoslavia, won the Outstanding Thesis Award. Her articles, short stories and poetry have been published widely in print and online. For 20 years prior to becoming a writer, Morse was an animator for documentary, artistic and commercial projects and a teacher of animation. http://peace.sandiego.edu/womenpeacemakers

Sharon Moshavi oversees new project development for the International Center for Journalists, with an emphasis on digital media projects. She also oversees projects in India and Malaysia. Previously she reported from Asia and the Middle East for more than a decade, based in New Delhi, Jerusalem and Tokyo, returning to the United States in 2003. She has written for the Boston Globe, Newsday, Business Week, Forbes, The New Republic and US News & World Report, among others. www.icfj.org

Emiko Noma is consulting editor for the Joan B. Kroc Institute for Peace & Justice (IPJ), where she has written or edited nearly two dozen narratives in the Women PeaceMakers (WPM) Program. She has also served as editor, interim program coordinator and peace writer for the WPM Program, and contributed to program
development. In 2008, she joined the IPJ’s film partner Sun & Moon Vision Productions in Cameroon to document the work of Woman PeaceMaker Susan Tenjoh-Okwen for the documentary “Rhythms to Peace.” [http://peace.sandiego.edu/womenpeacemakers]

Zélie Pollon is a U.S.-based freelance journalist. Between 2003 and 2005, she covered Iraq for The Baghdad Project: One Hundred Voices, One Hundred Faces – A Story about War. On a Rotary Peace Fellowship, she spent time in Cambodia, where she interviewed hundreds of survivors of the Khmer Rouge genocide. [www.baghdadproject.com]

Jennifer L. Pozner is founder of Women in Media & News (WIMN), a media analysis and advocacy group. She is also managing editor of WIMN’s Voices, the popular group blog on women and the media. Her book, *Reality Bites Back: The Troubling Truth about Guilty Pleasure TV* (2010), grew out of WIMN’s media analysis program. Pozner’s work has appeared in *Newsday, Chicago Tribune, Ms. magazine, The American Prospect* and online media outlets. [www.wimnonline.org]

Manjula Pradeep, a 2011 Woman PeaceMaker at the Joan B. Kroc Institute for Peace & Justice, is a human rights activist and lawyer who defends the rights of India’s women and Dalits, the “untouchables” of the Hindu caste system. A Dalit herself, Pradeep is executive director of Navsarjan Trust, a nationally influential grassroots Dalit rights organization based in India’s Gujarat state. In her 19 years with Navsarjan, she has trained hundreds of Dalit activists, provided legal aid and intervention for sexual violence and caste-based atrocities. [http://peace.sandiego.edu/womenpeacemakers]

Nikki Lyn Pugh, a 2011 peace writer in the Women PeaceMakers Program, is a writer, editor and teacher. She has worked as media coordinator for the Support Committee for Maquiladora Workers in San Diego and with homeless rights organizations in Los Angeles. She assisted in gathering dozens of narratives after Hurricane Katrina as part of the two-part anthology *Voices Rising*. As editor of the San Diego-based *Vision Magazine* and a freelance journalist, she has published articles on human rights, cross-border organizing, personal development, alternative health and education. [http://peace.sandiego.edu/womenpeacemakers]

Mandira Raut is the projects director of Kathmandu-based Today’s Youth Asia (TYA), a multimedia youth news organization. She also is the producer of TYA Television shows, which air daily on Nepal Television Plus. Raut joined TYA in 2003 as a trainee of the School Representative Media Training project. [www.todaysyouthasia.com]

Gini Reticker, a multiple Emmy Award winner, is an executive producer of the five-part PBS series, *Women, War & Peace*. She directed the second episode set in Liberia, “Pray the Devil Back to Hell,” and the third in Afghanistan, “Peace Unveiled.” Reticker produced “Asylum,” the 2004 Academy Award-nominated short focusing on a Ghanaian woman who fled female genital mutilation to seek asylum in the U.S. She also produced
and directed the 2005 Emmy Award-winning documentary *Ladies First*, which focuses on the role of women in rebuilding post-genocide Rwanda. [www.pbs.org/wnet/women-war-and-peace](http://www.pbs.org/wnet/women-war-and-peace)

**Yasmine Ryan** is a journalist for Al Jazeera English. She was covering last winter’s Tunisian Uprising well before other English-speaking journalists realized the significance of the protest movement that would soon spread throughout much of the rest of the Arab world. She was also the first journalist to examine the battles for freedom of expression between cyber dissidents and the authorities that have since received so much attention, in an article titled “Tunisia’s bitter cyberwar.” [http://english.aljazeera.net](http://english.aljazeera.net)

**Zainab Salbi** is founder of Women for Women International, a grassroots humanitarian and development organization helping women survivors of wars to rebuild their lives. Recipient of numerous awards, Salbi was recently nominated by former President Bill Clinton as one of the *Harper’s Bazaar* 21st Century Heroines. She is a member of the U.N. Secretary-General’s Civil Society Advisory Group focusing on U.N. Security Council Resolution 1325. [www.womenforwomen.org/index.php](http://www.womenforwomen.org/index.php)

**Santosh Shah** is founder and president of Today’s Youth Asia, a multimedia and youth organization that empowers young emerging leaders in Nepal with leadership skills to confront local, regional, national and global issues. He is an award-winning journalist and the anchor and producer of the television talk show “POWER TALKS.” Shah recently was recognized by *Diplomatic Courier* as one of the “Top 99 Most Influential International Professionals Under 33.” [www.todaysyouthasia.com](http://www.todaysyouthasia.com)

**Sapna Shahani** is the founder-director of WAVE India (Women Aloud Videoblogging for Empowerment). A native of Bombay (Mumbai), Shahani worked for over five years at *India West* newspaper and a Berkeley public access TV station. Back in India and armed with support from the MacArthur Foundation, Shahani established WAVE India to mentor low-income young women as videobloggers. [www.waveindia.org](http://www.waveindia.org)

**Necla Tschirgi**, Ph.D., is professor of practice in human security and peacebuilding in the Joan B. Kroc School of Peace Studies at the University of San Diego. A native of Turkey, her extensive international career has spanned research, policy analysis, teaching, research management and grant making. In the last 15 years, she has increasingly specialized in conflict prevention and peacebuilding – focusing on the nexus between security and development. [www.sandiego.edu/peacestudies](http://www.sandiego.edu/peacestudies)

**Femke and Ilse van Velzen** are identical twin sisters and a documentary filmmaking team from the Netherlands who aim to expose cultural injustices. The sisters studied social and cultural development in Amsterdam and Utrecht and then began their own production company IF PRODUCTIONS in March 2003. Among the films they have made are “Bush Kids,” “Return to Angola,” “Fighting the Silence,” and most recently
“Weapon of War,” which won the Gouden Kalf award (the Dutch Oscar) at the Dutch Film Festival.  

**Frieda Werden** is co-founder and series producer of WINGS: Women’s International News Gathering Service, a syndicated weekly radio program by and about women around the world. She worked for NPR and other public broadcasting entities, helped the Foundation for a Compassionate Society establish Women’s Access to Electronic Resources, provided media consultation to the Ford Foundation and sat on the International Telecommunications Union Task Force on Gender Issues. She served as president of the International Association of Women in Radio and TV and vice-president of l’Association Mondiale des Radiodiffuseurs Communautaires.  

www.wings.org

**Claudette Werleigh**, a 2011 Woman PeaceMaker at the Joan B. Kroc Institute for Peace & Justice, began her work for justice and peace in Haiti with a school for adults. Under the dictatorship of Jean-Claude Duvalier, Werleigh served as secretary general of Caritas Haiti for 10 years. She made history as Haiti’s first female prime minister during the Aristide administration in 1995. Her peace work has also taken her outside of Haiti’s borders, first as director of conflict transformation programs at the Life and Peace Institute in Sweden until 2007, and then with Pax Christi where she was secretary general until this year and now serves as a peace envoy.  

http://peace.sandiego.edu/womenpeacemakers

**Rashad Zaydan**, an Iraqi pharmacist and 2011 Woman PeaceMaker at the Joan B. Kroc Institute for Peace & Justice, is the founder and head of the development organization Knowledge for Iraqi Women Society (K4IWS). Throughout multiple wars in Iraq, she helped in charity clinics and distributed survival goods. At the beginning of the U.S.-led invasion, she organized basic first aid emergency training for women before founding K4IWS, which responded to the Fallujah attacks in 2004 with relief and medical aid. Through K4IWS, Dr. Zaydan seeks to rebuild the lives of Iraqi women and children through educational, financial, occupational and medical services.  

http://peace.sandiego.edu/womenpeacemakers
Partners

**Acting Together** is a project between Brandeis University and Theatre Without Borders and involves scholars and practitioners working in 15 conflict regions, collaborating on an anthology, documentary and a website, while building a learning community and strengthening networks.

**Fork Films** LLC is a film production company based in New York City. It was founded in 2007, dedicated to the development and production of films that move, inspire and enlighten. Its films include “Pray the Devil Back to Hell,” which is part of the PBS series *Women, War & Peace*.

**Global Press Institute** (GPI) is a not-for-profit media organization that trains and employs women from the developing world to be ethical investigative journalists. Since 2006, GPI has trained 117 women across 24 countries in Africa, Asia, Latin America and Eastern Europe.

**IF Productions** and filmmakers Ilse and Femke van Velzen specialize in documentaries. They expose injustice in developing countries to a worldwide audience. An essential part of their work is to use the documentaries as sustainable educational projects.

**International Center for Journalists**, a nonprofit professional organization, promotes quality journalism worldwide in the belief that independent, vigorous media are crucial in improving the human condition.

**New Narratives** is an innovative support program for independent media in Africa. The project works with Africa’s best and largest media houses to build independent business models that reward media for truthful, independent reporting. Its pilot project is in Liberia.

**San Diego Asian Film Foundation** is one of the largest media arts organizations in North America that focuses on Asian American and Asian international cinema.

**The Women’s International Perspective** (WIP), based in Monterey, Calif., is the global source for women’s perspectives. The WIP reports news, world opinion and commentary with the mission to provide quality articles from the unique perspectives of women, accessible worldwide, and free to readers.

**Theatre Without Borders** is an informal, volunteer, virtual community that shares information and builds connections between individuals and institutions interested in international theatre exchange.

**Ushahidi** is a nonprofit tech company that develops free and open-source software for information collecting, visualization and interactive mapping. Ushahidi builds tools for
democratizing information, increasing transparency and lowering the barriers for individuals to share their stories.

**WAVE** (Women Aloud Videoblogging for Empowerment) is a unique digital platform for young, semi-urban, Indian women to voice their perspectives on issues that matter through video blogs.

**Women In Media & News** (WIMN), a media analysis, education and advocacy group, works to increase women's presence and power in the public debate. WIMN promotes equity for women as subjects, sources and producers because accurate, diverse news and entertainment media are essential to a vibrant democracy and an informed public.

**Women Make Movies** is a multicultural, multiracial, nonprofit media arts organization that facilitates the production, promotion, distribution and exhibition of independent films and videotapes by and about women.

**Women’s International News Gathering Service** (WINGS) is an all-woman independent radio production company that produces and distributes news and current affairs programs by and about women around the world.

**World Pulse** is a global media and communication network devoted to bringing women a global voice. It broadcasts and unites women’s voices from around the world into a powerful force for change.
Acknowledgements

The Women PeaceMakers Program and the “Women, Media, Revolution” forum were made possible by the Fred J. Hansen Foundation.

Thank you to all of the IPJ and USD staff who worked on the forum:

Dee Aker, Kaitlin Barker Davis, Anne Birkel, Jennifer Freeman, Kendra Galante, Christopher Groth, Zahra Ismail, Diana Kutlow, Milburn Line, Elisa Lurkis, Debbie Martinez, Elena McCollim, Anita Palmer, Melissa Wagoner, Ge Wang and the Operations team at the Kroc School of Peace Studies.

No IPJ event would run smoothly without our dedicated volunteers. Those who worked on the forum include: