



Advancing Women, Peace and Security in the Middle East: from Policy Commitments to more Meaningful Practice

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Australia Assists

Communities of Practice Research Report
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Executive Summary

The Women, Peace and Security (WPS) agenda continues to advance despite global, regional and national level challenges. Landmark UN Security Council Resolution (UNSCR) 1325 has been complemented by seven additional resolutions that have expanded the scope and normative commitments to the WPS agenda. These range from meaningful political participation and inclusion in peace processes to protection from sexual violence and to more recent countering violent extremism measures.

The Middle East region is characterised by predominantly middle income contexts, historical grievances, high levels of economic and gender inequalityⁱ, and subsequent fragility including violent conflict and protracted displacement. These challenges are further exacerbated by discriminatory legal frameworks, strong social norms regulating women and girls behaviour, as well as new challenges from some non-state actors with an explicit agenda of extreme violence against women and girls.

Women featured prominently in the non-violent Arab Spring protest movement that swept parts of the region in 2011. Notwithstanding the strong presence of female protestors, as the protests were met with increasing violence and resistance, women have been less visible, though targeted for their participation, and most critically far less visible in peace processes. The WPS agenda is grounded in national civil society mobilisation. The agenda naturally converges with donor commitments to advancing gender equality, the localisation agenda and conditions for durable and quality peace. This research identifies challenges with current donor practices that are preventing direct support to empower grassroots women's movements, as well as long-standing structural challenges for advancing gender equality in the region.

National Action Plans (NAP) are one of the more concrete tools that capture government commitments to advancing WPS. However NAP's are a relatively new tool and remain a significant gap for several member states in the region including Syria and Yemen. At the time of writing only one of 24 countries in the Middle East region have a current NAP. While donor member states are competing in

the global arena to advance commitments to WPSⁱⁱ, concrete coordinated strategic donor action at the regional level remains a work in progress. There are significant opportunities for a more strategic and coordinated donor approach to advancing women's meaningful participation in the region, financial assistance mechanisms and technical deployments through the Australian Government's civilian deployment program, Australia Assists.

The following paper provides a succinct overview of the normative framework, the Middle East context and challenges, and offers some suggestions for Australia to more concretely advance WPS from policy and paper commitments to more meaningful practice. For an overview of the key messages please see opposite.

About the Author

Amra Lee is a humanitarian practitioner and researcher and current Peace Fellow at the Rotary Peace Centre hosted in Uppsala University Sweden. This paper is the product of extended field work responding to the protection needs arising from protracted conflict and displacement in the Middle East, and a strong desire to see progress on women's more meaningful inclusion in peace processes for durable peace in the region. Amra was deployed into UNHCR Lebanon as a Senior Protection Officer through the former Australian Civilian Corps program from 2016-17.

The author would like to extend sincere thanks to those interviewed for sharing their valuable expertise and insights.

Key messages on advancing WPS in the Middle East

- As highlighted by successive Australian Foreign Ministers, gender equality and women's empowerment are central to global peace and security, further empirical evidence shows women's inclusion in peace processes improves both the quality and durability of peace;
- New challenges have emerged globally, including in the Middle East, with the rise of conservatism and extremist ideology with explicit objectives to discriminate and commit extreme violence against women and girls;
- Old challenges persist, including finding practical ways for donors to support the local grass root action necessary to ensure women's meaningful participation in line with UNSCR 1325 (as well as renewed opportunity through donor commitments to localisation);
- The Australian Government Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade (DFAT) has advanced the WPS agenda through UN Security Council advocacy and continues to prioritise gender equality and women's empowerment through humanitarian and development action;
- Australia Assists is well placed to advance the WPS and localisation agendas through increasing and tracking technical deployments that can directly and indirectly contribute to WPS objectives.

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1. Situation overview

The Women, Peace and Security (WPS) agenda continues to advance and grow in the face of challenging trends globally and in the Middle East region. Several United Nations (UN) member states and security council members including Sweden and Canada have explicit feminist foreign policy agendas. Globally there are contradictory developments that play out in international fora, including a shift to conservative approaches by previously progressive member states, as well as a race among other member states to be the most progressive on WPS.ⁱⁱⁱ Australia has been a strong champion of the WPS agenda, including during its own term on the UN Security Council (UNSC) from 2013-14. The relationship between gender inequality and risk of violent conflict is well-established,^{iv} as are the risks of women's exclusion from peace processes and the diminished prospects for lasting and quality peace.

Landmark United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325 (2000) and subsequent resolutions (1820 (2008), 1888 (2009), 1889 (2009), 1960 (2009), 2106 (2013), 2122 (2013), 2242 (2015), 2272 (2016) and 2331 (2016))^v formalised recognition of the disproportionate impact of conflict on women and girls, including exposure to sexual and gender based violence (SGBV); and the unacceptably low levels of women's participation in peace processes. The WPS agenda has advanced recognition of women and gender issues in times of peace and conflict as a matter of international peace and security. These resolutions build on the Beijing Platform Action and Convention on the Elimination of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) commitments, and are further complimented by Sustainable Development Goal (SDG) Goal 5 gender equality and Goal 16 peace, justice and strong institutions, and the ongoing work of the Commission on the Status of Women (CSW).

The WPS agenda can be broken down into four broad pillars of participation, protection, conflict prevention, and relief and recovery. Practically it can be helpful to further break the agenda down into the following inter-connected sub-thematic issues: conflict prevention, disarmament, participation, peace processes, protection, sexual and gender-based violence, peacekeeping, displacement and humanitarian response, human rights, justice, rule of law and security sector reform, reconstruction

and peacebuilding and implementation. The most commonly represented element of the latter by member states is through the development of National Action Plans (NAP).

As highlighted by Australia's former Foreign Minister Julie Bishop gender equality and women's empowerment are central to global peace and security.^{vi} Australia championed the WPS agenda as a strategic priority during its 2 year term from 2013-14 as a non-permanent member on the UN Security Council. This is complimented by DFAT's humanitarian commitments to gender equality and women's empowerment in DFAT's 2016 Humanitarian Action Strategy and to preventing and responding to gender based violence (GBV) in the 2013 Protection in Humanitarian Action Framework. Australia's own WPS National Action Plan 2012-18 commits to 'integrate a gender perspective into Australia's policies on peace and security', 'increase women's participation in conflict prevention, peace-building, conflict resolution and relief and recovery' and 'promote women, peace and security implementation' internationally. The recently updated 2017 DFAT White Paper further outlines that countries that protect and fulfil human rights, including gender equality, are much more likely to enjoy productivity and stability. Some select facts from the region are highlighted below.

Structural challenge: gender equality and law, justice and accountability

- Despite largely middle income contexts the Middle East region performs the worst on the Global Gender Index
- Representation of female judges is very low across the region with Lebanon (20 per cent), Palestine (4 per cent) and Yemen (2 per cent)^{vii}
- Personal Status Laws which regulate women's marriage, divorce, property and custody rights entrench discrimination against women and girls, and are often seen as 'off limits' for reform^{viii}

The Middle East is one of the most militarised and conflict affected regions and host to several protracted conflicts including Syria, Iraq, Yemen^{ix}, the Arab-Israeli conflict and long standing occupation in Palestine. Despite the presence of several middle-income countries in the region, the national legal frameworks, policies and harmful social practices, combined with protracted violent conflict has further entrenched discrimination against women and girls. Concerning recent developments, including the explicit objectives of extreme discrimination and violence against women by extremist non-state actors has exacerbated an already weak protective environment for vulnerable and marginalised women and girls.

Concerning WPS trends: overt extreme sexual violence strategy by non state actor has tested member states and the international community

The overt sexual slavery and dehumanisation of minority women and girls under religious pretext in Iraq and Syria constituted mass atrocity crimes, tested weak legal and policy frameworks, resulting in lack of access to justice for survivors and lack of due process and human rights standards for both victims and perpetrators. Research into the gendered impacts of violent extremism under UNSCR 2242 **highlights challenges in overly securitised approaches and responses by member states to complex human, women and children's rights abuses.** Longer term development investments are needed to strengthen the legal and policy systems to meet new and old challenges to gender equality and women's empowerment in the region.

While interventions are present at the development, stabilisation and humanitarian levels, including those funded by the Australian Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade (DFAT) and other donors, there is an opportunity for a more strategic approach to advancing WPS and gender equality objectives

in the region. This could for example involve more strategic Australia Assists deployments as well as enhanced coordination and dialogue with national level civil society actors, and coordinating like-minded donors including Japan, New Zealand, the Department for International Development (DFID), Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency (SIDA) and the Canadian Department of Foreign Affairs among others.

2. Methodology

The methods used for this practitioner paper include a literature review, review of deployments to the region from 2011 to 2017 and key informant interviews with experts from academia, UN agencies, civil society and donors. Please see Annex II for further details on de-identified interviewees and general lines of inquiry as well as literature reviewed. Limitations include focus on the Syrian refugee crisis acknowledging the long-standing conflict and occupation in Palestine, an ongoing humanitarian crisis in Yemen, and protracted violence and instability in Iraq. There is the further challenge of the broad coverage of WPS and its many interconnected elements. While the focus is on humanitarian and stabilisation funding, WPS bridges the humanitarian-development-peace nexus. There are important investments to be made at the development level that contribute to an enabling environment for closing the gender equality gap and reducing discriminatory barriers to women's meaningful participation in line with Sustainable Development Goal 5.

3. Promising practice and opportunities

i) Australian support through humanitarian assistance and technical deployments

The Australian Government and its partners, including RedR Australia (RedR) through the Australia Assists program, are advancing WPS, and gender equality, protection and women's empowerment through humanitarian assistance and technical deployments. DFAT's 2016 Humanitarian Strategy and 2013 Protection in Humanitarian Action Framework reflect strategic commitments to gender equality and women's empowerment (GEWE) and preventing and responding to sexual and gender-based violence (SGBV) respectively.

To date technical deployments through RedR have bolstered women's participation and protection in displacement, from sexual and gender-based violence including access to life-saving sexual and reproductive health services. Australia Assists has advanced these humanitarian elements through deployment of technical experts into strategic partner organisations including UN Women, UNHCR, UNFPA and UNICEF. Examples include a Sexual and Reproductive Health expert deployed into UNFPA Jordan (2018), Protection and Psychosocial Specialist deployment into UN Women Jordan (2017) and Senior Protection

Officer into UNHCR Lebanon (2017)^x. These technical deployments compliment core and additional humanitarian funding from DFAT to UN and NGO actors to deliver protection and SGBV prevention and response services, as well as promoting gender mainstreaming into relief and recovery efforts.

Case study: protection and the situation of refugees and host communities

RedR deployed a psychosocial and protection specialist into UN Women Jordan to strengthen the protective environment for Syrian refugees in Zaatari and Azraq camps. The cash for work program UN Women implemented enabled a safe space for women to meet and talk, as well as provided a key opportunity to safely identify and refer the gendered protection risks the women were facing. The deployee utilised this space to undertake focus group discussions and key informant interviews with women, which informed her research and recommendations on how to better protect Syrian women and girls in displacement. [Link to short video](#)

It is important to note these deployments have focussed on the Syria crisis and deployment into UN agencies. There are opportunities to strengthen and expand deployments to increase attention to the participation pillar, as well as into other agencies including regional bodies such as UN Economic and Social Commission for Western Asia (ESCWA), host governments and national civil society, particularly on support related to the development, implementation and coordination of National Action Plans (NAP).

Additional opportunities for Australia as a donor to strengthen WPS implementation in the Middle East based on literature and expert interview data

- Opportunity for greater coherence between Australia's own NAP and engagement overseas
- Continue to engage in and support WPS dialogue in relevant forums including the Stabilisation Leaders Forum (SLF) through DFAT staff and RedR technical specialists as appropriate
- Find ways to support region-region/peer-peer lessons on WPS, such as lessons from the Balkans
- Consider expanding the scope of deployments and actors receiving technical WPS deployments to development and national stakeholders (civil society, government) through Australia Assists

ii) National Action Plans (NAP)

Significant work is being undertaken at the regional coordination and national levels to advance the development of country level National Action Plans (NAP) with regional support from the League of Arab States (LAS), UN Women, ESCWA, and in varying levels of partnership with national civil society. Iraq was the first country in the region to develop a NAP in February 2014^{xi} that expired at the end of 2018. Challenges have been documented concerning meaningful inclusion of displaced women's voices in NAP plans and processes.^{xii} At present only one of 24 states in the Middle East have a current NAP according to Women's International League for Peace and Freedom (WILPF). The below table provides an overview of prioritised conflict-affected states NAP status:

Country	Gender Gap Index ^{xiii}	NAP	Timeframe	Notes
Iraq	N/A	Expired	2014-18	First country in Middle East to adopt a NAP ^{xiv} .
Lebanon	137/144	Pending approval.	2018-22	Lebanon's first, expected to be endorsed late 2018. Funded by Finland and Japan.
Syria	142/144	No	N/A	No NAP or current WPS commitments.
Jordan	135/144	No	2016	A national dialogue held in 2016 committed "to accelerating the adoption of a National Action Plan" ^{xv}
Palestine	N/A	Yes	2017-19	First WPS for Palestine. ^{xvi}
Yemen	144/144	No	N/A	No NAP or current WPS commitments.

As highlighted above, progress has been made on the development of NAPs in the region within a short timeframe, with more investment needed to continue the critical work started, and ensure more consistent coverage across conflict-affected states and inclusion of displaced women's voices in particular.

The **Stabilisations Leader Forum hosted in May 2018** provided an opportunity to bring like-minded countries^{xvii} together and **consider ways to work better together to support women's movements** in the region. This includes coordination of technical and financial support to national actors including government and national civil society on WPS, joint strategic advocacy with key counterparts and interlocutors including with parties to conflicts in the region, while recognising the leadership of the United Nations Economic and Social Commission for Western Asia (ESCWA) and opportunities to compliment their work on WPS through technical and/or financial support.

iii) Meaningful participation and the triple nexus: humanitarian-development-peace

The WPS UNSCR's can be broken down into distinct yet inter-connected themes of women's leadership in peace making and conflict prevention; and the prevention of and response to conflict-related sexual violence. With the latter dominating media coverage of many crises, at the expense of recognising the necessary critical investment in the former to enable prevention of the latter. Finding ways to promote and enable women's meaningful participation in both times of peace and conflict is necessary to overcome the significant barriers presented by discriminatory legal frameworks, state policies and harmful social practices. Empirically there is a strong correlation between vulnerability to violent conflict and gender inequality, with the inverse relationship also holding true – countries that are more equal are much less vulnerable to engaging in and experiencing violent conflict.^{xviii} Recognising the significant risks for durable and quality peace in Syria, ensuring women's meaningful participation in peace talks is a concrete measure to positively contribute to future durable peace in Syria.

Meaningful participation and durable peace

- Globally there has been no progress on women's participation in peace talks since UNSCR1325 despite the empirically demonstrated impact on the quality and durability of peace
- A woman has never been selected as the head of a peace mediation team in peace talks sponsored by the UN
- While slow progress is being made, the 2010 Iraq and 2011 Yemen peace agreements failed to include any female representation in the mediation, signatories or witnesses^{xix}
- It is not simply an 'add women and stir' formula^{xx}: "Numbers aren't enough. Women must also have meaningful access and influence."^{xxi}

Participation and the Syria crisis

The significant barriers to ensuring women's meaningful access and participation in peace processes should not be underestimated. Through strong advocacy, political will and UNSCR 2254 in particular, consultation and capacity building progress has been made on women's inclusion in Syria peace talks to 3 out of the 15 members of both negotiating teams and an advisory board of 12 Syrian women.^{xxii}

It is the combined effect of a female decision-maker and their access to women civil society representatives that empirically has been shown to improve both the quality and durability of the peace.^{xxiii}

WPS and gender equality traverse the humanitarian-development-peace nexus and require multi-year commitments to respond to the distinct yet inter-connected needs across all three levels. For Australia Assists this could involve technical deployments related to supporting the facilitation of NAP development and/or secretariat support to

national civil society led women, peace and security coalitions. Recognising the **critical role of national actors including government and civil society** in driving this agenda there is a crucial need to find concrete ways to directly support national actors and practically **advance the localisation agenda**. Stepping outside the humanitarian aspects, we must ensure **women's equal and meaningful participation in Syria peace talks for durable and quality peace outcomes**, as well as future rehabilitation and peacebuilding plans.

4. Key Findings and Recommendations

Findings

- Women Peace and Security and gender equality and women's empowerment are inextricably interlinked, and of strategic priority to DFAT as reflected in several policy documents including 2017 White Paper, GEWE Strategy, Humanitarian Strategy (2016) and Protection in Humanitarian Action Strategy (2013);
- There is clear empirical evidence linking gender equality and stability, with the meaningful inclusion of women in peace talks increasing both the quality and durability of peace;
- Australia Assists supports implementation of the humanitarian elements of WPS through technical deployments into UN agencies, and has the capacity for more strategic support to advancing the WPS agenda;
- Mapping good practice and opportunities for strengthening WPS support in the region is an important step towards a more strategic approach to women's empowerment, protection and meaningful participation in the Middle East;
- Challenges persists through the current discriminatory legal frameworks that entrench structural inequality and are unable to respond appropriately to new challenges including terrorism and related sexual violence committed by some non-state actors and foreign fighters;
- Global and regional disconnect between the WPS agenda and conflict-related displacement, with neither internally displaced or refugee women's experiences and needs adequately integrated in NAPs;

- Need for congruence in WPS advocacy and domestic actions, for example meaningful implementation of domestic WPS NAP provisions by member states including Australia;
- Implementation of localisation commitments requires finding appropriate mechanisms to directly support grassroots activists and movements with small scale grants (less than 10,000USD)
- Establish internal monitoring and evaluation tool to track deployments that contribute to WPS participation and protection outcomes both directly and indirectly and report on these annually;
- Consider piloting an integrated gender, age and disability marker for assessing incoming requests for Australia Assists personnel, including a mainstreaming checklist for sector personnel requests (ie WASH, food security, shelter and education).

Recommendations

DFAT

- Consider strengthening strategic coherence through regional and/or crisis-level WPS strategies that commit to advancing meaningful participation as well as protection, and coordinate and/or compliment activities of like-minded donors, such as the UK, Japan, New Zealand, Canada and Sweden, on technical deployments, program assistance and advocacy;
- In partnership with like-minded donors find ways to facilitate relevant region-region/ global WPS lessons from countries that have recovered from violent conflict such as the Balkans, and how these experiences could be contextualised for Syria;
- Support meaningful implementation of the localisation agenda that finds appropriate mechanisms to directly support civil society WPS movements through diplomatic advocacy, technical support, including deployments, and financial assistance.

Australia Assists

- Pilot initiative for WPS-specific deployments and deliverables such as NAP development and consider setting a target for deployments to provide direct technical assistance to host governments and national civil society;

Annex I: Summary of WPS Resolutions (Credit: DFAT's Implementation of UNSCR 1325 2015, additions in italics from UN Women Summary of key UNSCR's and Security Council Report)

Resolution 1325 (2000): Addresses the impact of conflict on women and recognises the contribution of women in preventing and resolving conflict and their role in maintaining international peace and security.

Resolution 1820 (2008): Recognises conflict-related sexual violence as a tactic of war used by warring parties to achieve military or political end and resulting in impunity, which requires specialised military and police responses.

Resolution 1888 (2009): Provides for more effective implementation of Resolution 1820, including by establishing a Special Representative of the Secretary-General on Sexual Violence in Conflict to provide high-level leadership, and establishing women protection advisers within peacekeeping missions.

Resolution 1889 (2009): Focuses on post-conflict peacebuilding, includes a strategy for increasing the number of women participating in peace talks, and calls for the development of global indicators to measure the implementation of Resolution 1325 by the UN and Member States.

Resolution 1960 (2010): Reaffirms the earlier commitments required to address sexual violence in conflict and mandates the creation of tools to combat impunity by listing perpetrators and establishing monitoring, analysis and reporting arrangements.

Resolution 2106 (2013): Requests all actors, including the Security Council, to do more to implement earlier resolutions and to combat impunity for perpetrators of sexual violence in conflict. Acknowledges the importance of civil society, including women's organisations, in preventing and responding to sexual violence in conflict.

Resolution 2122 (2013): Sets in place stronger measures to improve women's participation and representation in conflict resolution, especially through leadership positions. Reaffirms that gender equality is central to achieving international peace and security. Sets out the need for humanitarian aid to ensure access to the full range of sexual and reproductive health services, including for pregnancies resulting from rape.

Resolution 2242 (2015): Establishes the Informal Experts Group (IEG); addresses persistent obstacles to implementation including financing and institutional reforms; focuses on greater integration of the agendas on WPS and counter-terrorism and countering violent extremism; calls for improved Security Council working methods on WPS.

Resolution 2272 (2016): Resolution addressing sexual exploitation and abuse in peace operations.

Resolution 2331 (2016): The first resolution on human trafficking, which condemned the practice and highlighted how it can exacerbate conflict and insecurity.

Annex II: Literature review, lines of enquiry and stakeholders

Literature review and online resources for further reading

DFAT

- Australian Government National Action Plan 2018-2022
- DFAT Humanitarian Strategy 2016. <https://dfat.gov.au/about-us/publications/Pages/humanitarian-strategy.aspx>
- DFAT Protection Framework 2013. <https://dfat.gov.au/about-us/publications/Pages/protection-in-humanitarian-action-framework.aspx>
- DFAT Women, Peace and Security: DFAT's implementation of UNSCR 1325 (2015). <http://dfat.gov.au/about-us/publications/Pages/women-peace-security-dfats-implementation-uns-resolution-1325.aspx>

General

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- Williams, Kristin. Infographic: Women's Inclusion in the Syria Peace Talks. 10 March 2016 <https://www.inclusivesecurity.org/2016/03/10/infographic-womens-inclusion-in-the-syria-peace-talks/>
- Women, Peace and Security Index. <https://giwps.georgetown.edu/the-index/>
- World Economic Forum. The Global Gender Gap Report 2017. http://www3.weforum.org/docs/WEF_GGGR_2017.pdf
- World Inequality Report 2018. <https://wir2018.wid.world>

UN

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- UN Women Summary Poster of Key UN Security Council Resolutions on Women, Peace and Security (women's leadership in peace making and conflict prevention; and prevention of and response to conflict-related sexual violence) <http://www.unwomen.org/media/headquarters/attachments/sections/library/publications/2017/wps-resolutions-poster-en.pdf?la=en&vs=4004>

Interviewees and lines of inquiry

10 interviewees in total across national and regional UN agencies, donors, research institutes, civil society and RedR employees.

The interviews comprised of semi-structured interviews with specialists covering their individual role and scope of their employing organisation, as well as opportunities, challenges and recommendations to strengthen implementation of the WPS agenda from their perspective.

WPS Middle East Stakeholders

- Women and girls, men and boys
- Refugees, migrants and internally displaced
- Civil society organisations
 - National actors
 - International actors supporting:
 - WILFP
 - Peace Women
- Regional actors
 - League of Arab States
 - ESCWA
 - UN Women
- Local and regional academics and research institutes
 - Lebanese American University (LAU)
 - London School of Economics (project)
- State security actors
- Non state armed actors
- Host government ministries for foreign affairs and women's affairs
- Key donor states
 - DFID (most recent NAP 2018-22 focuses on 6 priority countries including Iraq and Syria)
 - Canadian Foreign Affairs
 - Swedish Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Swedish International Development Agency (SIDA)
 - USAID
 - Japan
 - Finland

Endnotes

- i World Inequality Report 2018 <https://wir2018.wid.world> and Global Gender Gap Report 2017 http://www3.weforum.org/docs/WEF_GGGR_2017.pdf
- ii Tryggestad, Torunn L, PRIO Blog, The Feminist Foreign Policy Agenda: Resolution 1325's Legacy. 28 October 2018. <https://blogs.prio.org/2018/10/the-feminist-foreign-policy-agenda-resolution-1325s-legacy/>
- iii Ibid.
- iv See Cohen, Dara Kay, Explaining rape during civil war: Cross-National Evidence (1980-2009), Harvard University, American Political Science Review, Vol 107, No.3 August 2013; Krause, Jana, Krause, Werner & Branfors Piia (2018), Women's Participation in Peace Negotiations and the Durability of Peace *International Interactions* 44(6): 985-1016.
- v See Annex I for summary of key UNSCR's on WPS.
- vi See following link for more details: <http://dfat.gov.au/about-us/publications/Pages/women-peace-security-dfats-implementation-UNSC-resolution-1325.aspx>
- vii Oxfam, Factsheet: Women, Peace and Security in the Middle East and North Africa Region. https://iknowpolitics.org/sites/default/files/oxfam_women-peace-and-security-in-the-middle-east-and-north-africa-region-factsheet.pdf
- viii Human Rights Watch. Top 5 Reforms Middle East Governments can make in 2018. <https://www.hrw.org/news/2018/01/18/top-5-reforms-middle-east-governments-can-make-2018>
- ix While Yemen is considered part of the broader Middle East and North Africa region it has been included here due to the scale of the conflict, humanitarian impacts and need for greater investment in women's meaningful participation in the peace process.
- x The latter through the former ACC program.
- xi See <http://www.peacewomen.org/nap-iraq>
- xii Kaya, Zeynep, 2018, Connecting Conflict-Related Displacement with WPS. <https://blogs.lse.ac.uk/mec/2019/01/15/connecting-conflict-related-displacement-with-wps/>
- xiii World Economic Forum, The Global Gender Gap Report 2017. http://www3.weforum.org/docs/WEF_GGGR_2017.pdf
- xiv See <https://www.peacewomen.org/nap-iraq>
- xv See <http://jordan.unwomen.org/en/digital-library/publications/8/a-national-dialogue-on-UNSCR-1325-women-peace-and-security-in-jordan-a-resolution-in-action#view>
- xvi See <https://www.peacewomen.org/action-plan/national-action-plan-palestine>
- xvii Australia, Canada, Denmark, France, Germany, the Netherlands, the United Kingdom, and the United States.
- xviii Krause, Jana, Krause, Werner & Branfors Piia (2018), Women's Participation in Peace Negotiations and the Durability of Peace *International Interactions* 44(6): 985-1016 and Caprioli, M. 2005. Primed for Violence: The Role of Gender Inequality in Predicting Internal Conflict. <https://www.amherst.edu/media/view/233359/original/>
- xix All three points credited to: <https://www.inclusivesecurity.org/2016/03/10/infographic-womens-inclusion-in-the-syria-peace-talks/> More recent Yemen peace talks included one female delegate in the negotiations and a board of eight female representatives with consultative status: <https://www.thenational.ae/world/mena/yemeni-women-seek-greater-role-in-peace-talks-1.800270>
- xx Commonly used phrase by feminist and WPS scholars critiquing ineffective WPS responses.
- xxi See <https://www.inclusivesecurity.org/2016/03/10/infographic-womens-inclusion-in-the-syria-peace-talks/>
- xxii Summary of key facts and figures from infographic: <https://www.inclusivesecurity.org/2016/03/10/infographic-womens-inclusion-in-the-syria-peace-talks/>
- xxiii Krause, Jana, Krause, Werner & Branfors Piia (2018), Women's Participation in Peace Negotiations and the Durability of Peace *International Interactions* 44(6): 985-1016. Further evidence demonstrates inclusion of women increases the chances of a peace agreement lasting at least 15 years by 35% <https://www.inclusivesecurity.org/2016/03/10/infographic-womens-inclusion-in-the-syria-peace-talks/>



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