Women, Peace and Security in Yemen

Ann Kangas and Sophie Stevens **2 February 2018**

Query: Please provide a brief summary of the existing literature on the following topics, commenting on the strength of the evidence, and the robustness of methodologies used to conduct research on women, peace and security (WPS) in Yemen to date.

- What factors (including violence against women and girls and the involvement of women/girls in combat roles) are driving and inhibiting the level and nature of engagement of women in peace-building and stabilisation activities;
- How these vary across contexts (geographical, social, sector, etc.) and for what reasons;
- How the conflict has affected/influenced women's engagement and the related drivers, for instance through women's experience of violence, or altering gender norms;
- Whether there has been any backlash, including violent backlash, to women's engagement in Yemen;
- Whether there is any evidence for how effective women's engagement in peacebuilding is in Yemen and the reasons for this;
- The potential risks of enhanced women's involvement in peacebuilding going forward;
- If available, any evidence of what has worked in the past to increase women's engagement in peacebuilding.

Enquirer: Alice Gore, DFID Yemen

Contents

1. Overview

Yemen consistently features at the bottom of the World Economic Forum's Global Gender Gap Index, revealing significant gender differences in access to education, political and labour force participation and high levels of violence against women and girls (VAWG). Despite these challenges, women have seen impressive gains in terms of representation. For example the National Dialogue[1] (2013-2014) which saw consistent and high levels of representation of women across delegates, stakeholders and committees, including in decision-making capacities.

This report has reviewed the evidence (and assessed the quality of the evidence) in relation to women, peace and security (WPS) in Yemen. It finds that women are active in multiple different ways to both influence the conflict and the peacebuilding efforts as well as negotiating and delivering relief to affected populations. Key findings include:

- **Research on WPS in Yemen tends to be geographically limited** with a focus on the Western/Highland region and the Tribal South, with less research in other parts of Yemen. This makes it hard to understand geographical differences and experiences of women in other parts of Yemen.
- **Research is primarily qualitative in nature**, with one significant exception (Gressman, 2016).
- **Research on WPS in Yemen tends to depict women as passive and primarily peaceful actors, with little consideration of them as political actors and as potential influencers and contributors to the conflict.**
- **The conflict has had a largescale negative impact on women and their rights**, including in leading to increased insecurity, VAWG, restrictions on movements and poverty.
- **Women have shown political skills by taking advantage of key opportunities to advocate for their rights, including during the Arab Spring.** This provides a platform and has set an example to inspire other women going forward.
- **Women's participation in the National Dialogue led to key gender inequality legislations being successfully challenged**, such as the low age of marriage for girls. However, these were never approved due to the escalation of the conflict. Women's rights advocates had campaigned for this for decades.
- **Women are often able to navigate conservative social norms and be active in a number of ways at the local level**, including as combatants, negotiating humanitarian access and providing humanitarian relief.
- **The space for women's participation has shrunk rapidly since the National Dialogue** concluded in January 2014, with all actors currently seeing women's rights and participation as of secondary importance. This limits the opportunities available for women to influence at the national level.
- In Yemen, as in many other countries in the region, **there has been a negative backlash against women's rights activists, with violence and intimidation reported across Yemen.**
- There is limited detailed risk analysis of potential interventions, or what has been tried and worked in the past in Yemen. **Priority support to women's participation should be based on detailed analysis to better understand risks to women in each locality,** and include both

[1] The National Dialogue Conference was a transitional dialogue process held in Sana'a 2013-2014as part of the Yemeni crisis reconciliation efforts. It was a key part of the agreement brokered by the UN and the Gulf Co-operation Council that saw long-time President Ali Abdullah Saleh hand over power to Mr Hadi in November 2011 after an uprising.

international advocacy and tailored support to encourage women's rights organisations (WROs) to work on the gender equality agenda.

2. Women, peace and security in the Middle East and North Africa

There is **significant global evidence to confirm the importance of women's participation at all levels as key to the operational effectiveness, success and sustainability of peace processes and peacebuilding** efforts. While there has been a substantial increase in frequency of gender-sensitive language in peace agreements, and the number of women, women's groups and gender experts who serve as official negotiators, mediators, signatories, witnesses or in advisory bodies, there is still a long way to go to implement Security Council Resolution 1325 fully. Women's official participation is still often temporary, their delegated roles may be more symbolic than substantive and their influential capacity may be directly resisted by cultural norms (Coomaraswamy, 2015).

Globally the literature largely identifies the following **key enablers/constraints of women's increased participation: skills, resources, collective action, quotas and norms** (Domingo et al, 2014; O'Neil and Domingo, 2016). More specifically, research suggests that women need to have more than basic education to participate; women need 'political skills' and an ability to think and work strategically; elite women are at an advantage; women need financial resources; and political transition, post-conflict peace processes and constitutional reform are critical moments when women can try to significantly renegotiate their access to rights and resources (O'Neil and Domingo, 2016; Domingo et al, 2015; O'Reilly et al, 2015).

Across the Middle East and North Africa (MENA), the progress to support women's participation has been slow. The region is ranked at the bottom globally on the Social Watch Gender Equity Index, which measures the gap between men and women in terms of education as well as at the economic and political levels. The region is also ranked as having one of the lowest regional averages in terms of women in Parliaments (Oxfam, 2016).

At the beginning of the Arab Spring there were initial encouraging signs of increased participation of women despite these not being gender-based revolutions. Women across several MENA countries were actively participating in popular uprisings including in Tunisia, Egypt, Yemen, Libya, Bahrain and Syria (Heideman and Youssef, 2012). The protests offered an opportunity for women to challenge the patriarchal norms of society and set an example for increased visibility of women (Arshad, 2014).

While the Arab Spring offered a brief hope for women across MENA, this was quickly followed by **a shrinking of the space for women activists to maneuver as countries faced major obstacles to creating conditions for sustainable peace and lasting economic and social security**. Attacks on women's rights and women's rights activists have been recorded in Libya, Egypt and Syria – often justified within the context where security has taken the front seat in government and media rhetoric, with women's rights being perceived as a humanitarian burden and beneficial for women alone (Rayman et al, 2016). The prevailing argument being made is that now is not the time for women's rights but that this will come later (Farhat, undated; Rayman et al, 2016; Anderson, 2017).

Even where significant international efforts have been made to support women's participation, such as in Syria, these often face heavy criticism including attracting misogynistic responses. For example despite the UN Women-facilitated creation of the Syrian Women's Advisory Board to the UN Special Envoy to support women's participation in the peace process, the initiative has seen significant criticism. This includes for being too elitist and not representing Syrian women, for minimizing the contribution of women political actors by highlighting women's roles mainly being as

peacemakers and 'advisors' rather than participants and for not being able to influence the actual peace negotiations (Kapur, 2017).

Within MENA, women's rights activists and women associated with male activists have faced multiple forms of violence and intimidation. In Egypt, WROs have faced verbal attacks and physical threats at their offices from members of the public (Bishop, 2017). In Libya, women activists have experienced killings, unlawful deprivation of liberty, abductions, torture and ill-treatment, physical and verbal assaults, death threats and other forms of intimidation (Farhat, undated). Research also suggest that in Libya, women's rights activists are more vulnerable to gender-based violence (GBV). A UN Support Mission in Libya found that women human rights defenders had received threats of sexual and other violence (SRSG-CSV, 2017:21).

Box 1: Terminology – Peacebuilding and Statebuilding

While there is a lot of disagreement in the literature about how these two concepts should be defined, this report uses the following definitions:

Peacebuilding: defined by the UN as 'a range of measures targeted to reduce the risk of lapsing or relapsing into conflict, to strengthen national capacities at all levels for conflict management, and to lay the foundations for sustainable peace and development. Peacebuilding strategies must be coherent and tailored to the specific needs of the country concerned, based on national ownership, and should comprise a carefully prioritised, sequenced, and therefore relatively narrow set of activities aimed at achieving the above objectives'.

Stabilisation activities: activities conducted in situations of violent conflict, which are designed to protect and promote legitimate political authority, using a combination of integrated civilian and military actions to reduce violence, re-establish security and prepare for longer-term recovery by building an enabling environment for structural stability.

Sources: Haider, 2014; Bakrat, 2016; Stabilisation Unit, 2014

Research on the implementation of SCR 1325 in MENA (Egypt, Iraq, Israel, OPT and Tunisia) suggests that **many National Action Plans on Women, Peace and Security remain 'ink on the paper' with little political will to support women's increased participation** (Rayman et al, 2016). Despite this, women's organisations in MENA suggest that the resolution has been useful in creating a "common language" and an approach capable of uniting diverse women's groups at the national level (ibid).

3. Background to women's participation in Yemen

Yemen has a long tradition of women's participation in public life, but with stark regional differences. In Southern Yemen, following withdrawal of British colonial forces in 1967, women's rights became one of the priorities on the agenda through the policy of *taḥrīr al-mar'a* (women's emancipation). In line with this policy, women were encouraged to join public life whether in education, employment or politics and regardless of social or ethnic background, age or civil status. There were also significant reforms to the statutory family code (Law no. 1 of 1974), which limited the *mahr* (dowry) and were seen by women to encourage free-choice marriage. This set the scene for a vibrant civil society in Southern Yemen with women more educated and involved in the labour market (Dahlgren, 2013).

However, the northern regions of Yemen (called Yemen Arab Republic until Yemeni unity in 1990), were ruled by military technocrats with strong ties to the old tribal system, where a more conservative reading of Islamic law applied. A family code was enacted in 1978 (Law no. 3 of 1978) which, mixed

in with customary conventions, regulated family life and restricted the movement of women (Dahlgren, 2013). These historical differences led to regional variations in the views and activities of WROs across the different regions in Yemen. However, as the two Yemens unified, the women's rights agenda became more conservative. Since this period coincided with economic problems and high inflation that impoverished many Yemeni families, as well as civil war, **women's rights fell down the priority list**. The Personal Status Law was introduced in 1992, to align with Sharia, and removed many of the rights granted to Southern women. While Southern women activists have continued to fight the law, they have faced an uphill struggle. Further limitations were introduced, including tying marital age to a provision allowing the guardian of a minor to marry her off on the condition that she is fit for sexual intercourse, which encountered little resistance (Dahlgren, 2013). Further restrictions have been articulated, including by actors such as the Islah Party, but following successful lobbying by Southern activists including of President Saleh and foreign embassies, the amendments have not gone through.

It is therefore not surprising that as the Arab Spring swept through MENA, many women stood ready to take an active stance in pushing for their rights. Women effectively led the 2011 revolution by leading many of the demonstrations, and this was recognised in the negotiations where women held crucial positions within the National Dialogue Conference in 2014 which envisaged a new Yemen (Anderson, 2017), representing more than a quarter of participants (Gressman, 2016:29).

4. State of the evidence on women's engagement in peace-building and stabilisation activities

Data and research on women's engagement in peacebuilding and stabilisation activities in Yemen remains limited, with most studies tending to rely on small qualitative samples, particularly focusing on interviews with WROs and key informant interviews with women leaders as well as FGDs with women who are internally displaced persons (IDPs) and other women (Anderson, 2017; WILFP, 2017). This mirrors much of the evidence from other conflict-affected countries and humanitarian settings, where data collection tends to be challenging. The Saferworld (Heinze and Baabbad, 2017), Oxfam/International Alert (Anderson, 2017) and WILPF (2017) studies based their methodology around FGDs and key informant interviews with women and WROs.

There have also been **important efforts to reach more marginalised groups of women** to understand women's participation at the local level. A study conducted by WILPF (2017) for example actively sought out women leaders, IDP and ethnic minority women in Sana'a, Taiz and Aden, who the authors assumed would be doubly vulnerable to war-related violence. The Saferworld study also purposefully included IDPs to understand their specific vulnerabilities (Heinze and Baabbad, 2017).

However, of notable exception in Yemen is a study conducted by Oxfam in 2016 in which their research team was able to conduct 544 household interviews, 40 focus group discussions, and 32 in-depth interviews with 'key informants' such as activists and leaders in areas of Yemen with the most severe needs – Aden, Taiz, Hajjah and Abyan governorates. This report offers some of the best and most representative empirical data on impacts of the recent conflict on gender roles and norms, including data on levels of displacement, vulnerability to food and services shortages, exposure to violence and engagement in income-generating activities, as well as community activity for both men and women in different locations. This shows that **larger quantitative studies are possible in Yemen, including outside of Sana'a,** and suggests the need to continue investments in improving data collection.

In general, **methodological limitations across the studies are not always articulated**, but where they are they tend to include:

- **Geographical gaps** with much of the research conducted in Sana'a, Taiz, Aden and Ibb. There is thus a better representation of experiences from the Western/Highland region and the Tribal South, with limited research conducted in the rest of Yemen (WILPF, 2017; Heinze and Baabbad, 2017; Anderson, 2017; Gressman, 2016). Though it should be noted that most of the fighting has taken place in just three main areas, the Tribal South, the Western/Highland region and Mareb/Al Jawf (Salisbury, 2017).
- Research tend to be **concentrated in urban rather than rural areas** (Anderson, 2017).
- **Women and WROs that hold faith-based views are not as well represented** in most studies (Anderson, 2017).
- There is a **reliance on the same few empirical studies** in grey literature (Rohwerder, 2017).

5. Drivers and inhibitors of women's participation in public life

This section identifies a number of factors that drive women's engagement in peacebuilding and stabilisation activities in Yemen, as well as factors that inhibit women's participation.

Education: Yemen's education system saw significant improvements being made between 2008 and 2013 with the number of out of school girls reducing from 31% in 2008 to 21% in 2013, with boys' reduction reducing from 16% to 8% at the same over the same period (Global Partnership for Education, 2018). However, large inequalities remain, and data suggests that there has been a reversal in educational gains for girls since 2013. Literacy rates for women have historically been extremely low, with only 53% of Yemeni women being literate in 2013 (MoPHP and CSO, 2015). In 2015, the percentage was projected to rise again to 66% due to a rise in girls dropping out of school during the worsening conflict (Gressman, 2016). The Education Cluster estimates that 1.9 million children are currently missing out on education in Yemen, and that more than 4.1 million students need support (OCHA, 2017). Interestingly, the cluster estimate that more boys (2.3 million) are in need than girls (1.84 million), though it is not clear why as girls are identified as more likely to drop out than boys. Investments in girls' secondary education is further complicated by high rates of early and child marriages. Half of women are married by the age of 18, and in some regions the average marriage age for girls is as young as 15 (ibid) (discussed further below).

Social and gender norms: Social norms across Yemen are conservative with women traditionally the primary caregivers at household level, responsible for cooking, cleaning, collecting water and firewood, and childcare and care of the elderly, sick, and people with disabilities. Women contribute more than half of crop cultivation and more than 90% of livestock-tending labour, although they earn around a third less than men. It is expected that women are the first to eat less when food is scarce. Women still spend around four times as long compared to men on domestic chores and caring responsibilities, which significantly hinders their ability to participate in public life (Gressman, 2016).

The conflict has had a mixed effect on gender norms in Yemeni society. On the one hand, women are increasingly taking on typically "male" roles in employment, as primary breadwinners or in managing household income, and there is evidence of changing perceptions of "appropriate" behavior and work for both men and women – with women more engaged in employment (including industries previously considered "shameful" for women, such as butchers or barbers) and men taking on more domestic duties, reflecting an overall "improved sense of how gender roles are mutually reliant" (ibid:15). However there is also evidence that women's greater engagement in income-generation and household management has increased conflict between husband and wife, as men feel forced to take on more 'female' roles in the home.

As noted above, child marriage is prevalent and reportedly increasing as families marry off daughters as a financial coping mechanism to access dowry payments. Linked to this, polygamy is thought to be

increasingly used as a means by which men can increase their income through begging by multiple wives. This has been observed in both the north, where polygamy is traditionally more common, but also in the south (ibid: 21). Whilst this regressive trend has been triggered by a collapsing economy and loss of livelihoods, it reflects underlying norms which commodify women's lives and restrict their agency.

Political skills and financial resources: Practicing leadership skills and strategic thinking outside of the political spheres (for example through employment or civic activity) have been identified as important to advance women's political participation. However, in Yemen, women's labour market participation has been low, as in much of the MENA region. The 2013 DHS survey showed that only 10% of currently married women aged 15-49 were employed at some point in the 12 months preceding the survey, and almost half were not paid for this (MoPHP and CSO, 2015). Women's decision-making in the household is also limited, with only 37.5% reporting some ability to influence the spending of their husbands (ibid). However, recent quantitative research in Aden, Taiz, Hajjah and Abyan governorates suggests that older women, employed women, women living in urban areas and those who have more education are more likely to make decisions for themselves, and that women in Sana'a city and Aden governorate are most likely to participate in making household decisions (Gressman, 2016).

VAWG: There are no official statistics on the prevalence of VAWG in Yemen. However, numerous forms of VAWG exist including female genital mutilation/cutting, early, child and forced marriage, restrictions on the movements of women and girls, honour killings and violence within the family. The 2013 Yemen DHS found that **almost half (49%) of women reported that a husband is justified in hitting or beating his wife** (MoPHP and CSO, 2015). Women in Al-Baidha, Mareb, Abyan, and Amran governorates are particularly likely to say that wife beating is justified. Interestingly, women are most likely to report fathers and mothers as being the most common perpetrator of violence against women (37%), followed by sisters and brothers (35%), and daughters and sons (19%), with only 3% of women saying that husbands commit the most violence against women (MoPHP and CSO, 2015). VAWG is thought to have intensified as a result of the conflict.

Data from the Gender-Based Violence Information Management System (GBVIMS) in Yemen shows an **increase in reported cases of GBV**. Between March 2015 and September 2015, recorded GBV incidents increased by 70% (Gressman, 2016). In addition, in December 2017, OCHA (2017) reported a 36% rise in utilisation of GBV services in the last year. However, this is most likely to reflect an increase in awareness of the reporting mechanism and a significant underestimation of the actual number of GBV cases in the country.

Qualitative research also suggests that there has been an increase in kidnapping of females, usually "linked to [forced] marriage without parental consent" as marriage of girls and associated dowry payments are increasingly used as a financial coping strategy as a result of conflict (see above;

Box 2: Terminology – GBV and VAWG

Both VAWG (violence against women and girls) and GBV (gender-based violence) have been used in this report to describe very similar forms of violence. Whilst VAWG denotes violence exclusively committed against women and girls, and captures a large part of what GBV also describes, the term GBV explicitly recognizes that the violence perpetrated and experienced is as a direct result of the target's gender. The term GBV can also relate to violence experienced by boys or men as a result of their gender; GBV is therefore perhaps more suggestive of gender power imbalances and differences as a term than VAWG.

In this report, where a source used a particular term to describe a form of violence, that is the term that has been used to describe evidence that is cited from that source.

Gressman, 2016:27).

In line with social norms where a family's honour is dependent on the ability of women and girls to adhere to strict social norms including not interacting with anyone from the opposite sex, women and girls are increasingly facing restrictions on their movements outside of the household (Anderlini et al, 2017; Jarhum, 2016). Restrictions on women's movements have worsened as a result of conflict, as women are girls are seen as inherently more vulnerable and in need of protecting by male kin (see section 6 below).

Political transition: Women in Yemen have shown skills in taking advantage of opportunities available during political transitions to advocate for their rights, starting with the independence of South Yemen in 1967, to the Arab Spring. By engaging en-masse in 2011, women were able to secure a significant seat at the table during the National Dialogue. This led them to effectively being able to influence some of the major decisions that were made including issues around gender equality (such as raising the age of marriage – see above in section 3).

International legitimacy and support: Following the demand by women protestors, the international community recognized the legitimacy of women's claims by according the Nobel peace prize to young activist Tawakkol Karman, one of several female protest leaders, specifically for her role in the uprisings.

The UN Special Envoy to Yemen, Jamal Benomar (2011-2015), also took a strong stance on women's rights and pushed for the transition to be inclusive (particularly of women and youth). To overcome the many misgivings of other Yemeni stakeholders about the inclusion of women, he reportedly drew on UN norms and standards, stating that he could personally not be involved in the process[2] and the National Dialogue would have no international backing if it did not include a significant number of women (Zyck, 2014).

In addition to supporting women at the highest level, the international community also supported a number of women-only initiatives and conferences to prepare delegates for participation in the negotiations.

Role modeling: Qualitative research with women in Sana'a, Taiz and Aden showed that women protestors during the Arab Spring were seen as important role models for other women, inspiring them to take action for the first time (WILPF, 2017). This echoes research from other conflict-affected contexts which highlights the importance of female leader role models in influencing younger women to be active in public spheres (Parke et al, 2017).

6. The impact of conflict on women

Before the current crisis, **Yemen was ranked last out of 142 countries in the World Economic Forum's Global Gender Gap Index, reflecting the severe, complex and diverse inequalities faced by women and girls in all spheres of life**. The current conflict has had a devastating impact on the Yemeni population, but particularly on women and girls.

OCHA (2017) estimates that 22.2 million people (76% of the population) need some kind of humanitarian or protection assistance, including 11.3 million who are in acute need – an increase of more than one million people in acute need since June 2017. **All parties to the conflict have repeatedly violated their obligations under International Humanitarian Law** and civilian infrastructure, including schools, health facilities and markets have been subject to attack. There has also been extensive documentation of recruitment and use of children by all parties to the conflict, though only of boys (UN Secretary General, 2017).

[2] This was significant as Benomar was a trusted mediator and respected by different parties to the conflict.

Women and children bear the brunt of the impact of the war. Three million people are currently estimated to be internally displaced and of these, 52% live in women-headed households and of these 21% are headed by girls under the age of 18 (OCHA, 2017). As families try to cope with the loss of traditional livelihoods and conflict-related deaths in the family, many families are resorting to harmful coping strategies. For example child marriage rates have escalated, rising from 52% of girls under the age of 18 marrying in 2016 to close to 66% in 2017. In some governorates with high numbers of IDPs, such as Hajjah, Al Hudaydah and Ibb, 44% of all marriages involve girls under the age of 15 (UNICEF cited in OCHA, 2017). This is discussed further above in section 5.

Other forms of **GBV are also prevalent and have been aggravated by the conflict, including sexual exploitation and abuse, domestic abuse and increased cultural restrictions on women's movements**. The number of reports of GBV has significantly increased since 2015 (Gressman, 2016, OCHA, 2017). There are also reports that the worsening economic situation has sparked a rise in prostitution (Anderlini et al, 2017), though no data is presented to support this conclusion. FGDs with women also reveal reports of psychological distress due to violence, fear for family members and fear of arrest or detention, whilst men report distress due to loss of livelihoods, restricted mobility and being forced to perform "women-specific roles" (OCHA, 2017). The SRSG-CVS also raised concerns in 2017 about possible linkages between migration, trafficking, and conflict-related sexual violence by armed groups, including violent extremist groups, operating in Yemen (SRSG-CSV, 2017). However, actors have struggled to document actual cases of conflict-related sexual violence.

Restrictions on women's movements have become more intense due to a combination of more conservative interpretations of Islam now being practiced and a deterioration in security. Many women are now forced to have a *mahram* (male guardian) every time they leave their house. In areas controlled by radical Islamic groups such as Al-Qaeda in the Arabian Peninsula (AQAP), FGDs with women reveal that men at checkpoints increasingly insist on *mahram.* This is particularly problematic in areas such as Abyan, which has the highest number of women working in public services including hospitals and schools, which means that unless a woman has a male companion she may not be able to get to work (Gressman, 2016).

Wider security issues affect restrictions on women's movement and participation more than for men. Research in Aden and Ibb found that general violence and insecurity have had a bigger impact on restricting the movements of women and girls due to the cultural norms that they need to be protected, which leads many women to feel isolated (Heinze and Baabbad, 2017). These restrictions have a direct effect on their ability to occupy public space and influence public life, and thus the advancement of women's rights (ibid). Research by WILPF (2017) also found that women's decreasing safety is more than physical and that despite many women becoming more fluent in using the agenda of women, peace and security to frame their political observations and concerns, it has **become more dangerous for them to try to identify and understand, let alone comment on or critique, 'national security' decision-making and actions.**

Recent research has also looked at the impact of the conflict on mental health. While there is a **lack of adequate data on the general status of mental health in Yemen, the available information suggests that many in the population are likely suffering adverse psychosocial and emotional well-being consequences**, and that some groups such as women are more likely to face barriers in accessing needed treatment (Al-Ammar et al, 2017).

7. Women's participation in the current conflict and peace processes

The Arab Spring offered an unprecedented opportunity for women in Yemen to claim a stronger role in their communities and country as a whole. **Women and youth were instrumental in leading the revolution, through taking to the streets to demand a better future and working tirelessly to**

maintain nonviolent protests (Wilson Centre, 2016; WILPF, 2017; Anderlini et al, 2017). The 2011 Uprising challenged the norm of women's limited participation domestically. It was widely recognized by the international community, particularly the role of young women activists. In addition to awarding the Nobel peace prize to Tawakkol Karman, the international community widely supported the strong inclusion of women and youth in the National Dialogue (2013-2014) in response to their campaigning.

While the 2011 revolution offered hope for the sustainable inclusion of women in key decision-making capacities, the current conflict has dashed these hopes. As in many other MENA countries (see section 2), parties to the conflict in Yemen have been unsupportive towards including women. However, it is important to see women's exclusion in wider context. **The international peace processes since the National Dialogue have not only excluded women but also a wide variety of groups and actors**. Observers to the conflict have noted that the two sides at the negotiating table do not really command the support of many of those battling it out on the ground; this includes the Southern movement (made up of several militias), AQAP and others (Slemrod, 2016; Salisbury, 2017). Salisbury (2017) has argued that Yemen should be considered a 'chaos state' where many state-like functions are fulfilled, to a greater or lesser extent, by a diverse collection of non-state actors and competing 'state' actors, including armed groups, tribes and groups of militants, all with varying degrees and different kinds of legitimacy, and with no central body to regulate and coordinate them. Despite this, peace processes are designed to include only two parties to the conflict (Houthis and the Hadi Government), with diplomats and other officials arguing that bringing more parties into the Yemen mediation process at this stage would add unnecessary complexity to proceedings and slow talks down (Salisbury, 2017).

It is within this context that women are pushing for greater inclusion. This has led WILPF (2017) to conclude that "**both state and non-state actors are determined to exclude women from any public decision-making** – whether motivated by a narrow interpretation of Islam and a desire to homogenously enforce its cultural expression among local communities, or by patriarchal cultural beliefs – and this goal finds a willing and equally patriarchal counterpart in the great majority of international diplomats, donors and other interlocutors" (WILPF, 2017:24).

Early success in the National Dialogue (2013-2014)

Following the successes achieved by Yemeni women and youth during the Arab Spring, the international community took an active stance in supporting women's participation through significant support to the National Dialogue. **The National Dialogue is often held up as an example of what can be achieved when gender equality is placed at the heart of a political process**. Coomaraswamy (2015:51) notes that it "illustrates how the design of the rules and structures of a political dialogue, and the influence of the mediator's role, can determine the extent to which women's voices are heard". In fact the National Dialogue made significant achievements for women, including (outlined in Coomaraswamy, 2015):

- The National Dialogue's Preparatory Committee consisted of 19% women, but after lobbying from women's groups and the Special Advisor, the committee ultimately agreed on a **30% quota for women across all constituencies**.
- **Most constituencies included women as part of their delegation as required, apart from the Houthis who left seats in their delegation empty** rather than include women. Overall, 28% of participants were therefore women (161 out of 565).
- Conference resolutions were drafted by thematic working groups, which were led by a chairperson, two vice-chairpersons, and a rapporteur, and at least one of these leadership positions had to be filled by a woman. **Three out of nine working groups were chaired by women.**

- Resolutions at the working group and conference level required 90% approval to be adopted, which made it **impossible to pass resolutions over the objections of the majority of women in the conference**.

To support women, a focal point for women and a focal point for youth were recruited within the Special Advisor's team and a consultant hired to support women's civil society and political groups on engaging in Yemen's transition (ibid). Women-only spaces were also supported by both the UN and USAID to support women to come together on key issues before engaging with other delegates on key gender equality issues.

The National Dialogue ended up discussing many issues related to gender inequality. This included increasing the age of marriage to 18 years, a 30% quota in parliament, the right to education, paid maternity leave and criminalisation of violence against women and sex trafficking, amongst others. The recommendations were submitted to the Constitutional Drafting Committee (where women were represented in the same proportion as in the National Dialogue), but this was suspended due to the deterioration of the security situation (Coomaraswamy, 2015).

However, in addition to these concrete achievements by women, **women who participated in the National Dialogue reportedly also experienced substantial empowerment through networking, developing new political skills, and learning to lobby, including the ability to speak out in the company of men**, which many had never done before (Coomaraswamy, 2015).

Participation in national peace processes since the National Dialogue

With the re-escalation of the conflict, women's voices have been systematically marginalised at the national level by all actors (as explained above). To reignite efforts, UN Women supported a number of women from across different spectrums including political parties, media, civil society, independent individuals and WROs to come together in September 2015 to form the Women's Pact for Peace and Security in order to promote a unified front towards including women. As the Pact is facilitated by UN Women, it reportedly has a direct communication channel with the UN Special Envoy (Jarhum, 2016). According to a UN representative, it proved difficult to get the Pact off the ground as women were more focused on their own political divisions and struggled to find common ground and form a unified message. They also highlighted the difficulty of achieving equal representation of women activists from the South in the Pact, partly because meetings were held in Sana'a (Anderson, 2017).

Despite this initiative, **women were not invited to the second round of peace talks in December 2015** (the first was held in June 2015). Women were poorly represented among delegates and were not welcomed as observers to the talks. Women's exclusion from these talks reflects a wider exclusionary approach which has also failed to involve youth and other typically marginalized groups, as discussed above (Al Naami and Moodley, 2016).

However, **through the Pact, seven members gained an invitation from the UN Special Envoy for Yemen, Ismail Ould Cheikh Ahmed, to peace talks in Kuwait in May 2016** where they conveyed key priorities including protecting women and children, guaranteeing the continuation of education and health services and demanding the release of prisoners, detainees, and the captured. However, women were **limited to sideline meetings in parallel to the talks, separate from official delegate meetings** (Anderlini, et al, 2017).

In Kuwait, only three out of 26 delegates were women, two from the Hadi delegation and one from a delegation of Yemen's political party, the General People's Congress with the Houthi delegation having no women at all. In addition, **de-escalation committees formed to contribute to a cessation of hostilities had no women representatives either** (Anderlini et al, 2017).

The literature highlights that **many women feel very disappointed at the weak stance taken by the UN, which they believe should have insisted on the process including more women, and fear that the gains made during the National Dialogue will go to waste** (Anderson, 2017)

Participation in combat roles

It is important to note that **women are not only involved in peaceful roles in the current conflict, but rather their experiences must be understood in a wider context of participation**. Research with women specifically quotes one female activist rejecting the notion of women as 'peaceful doves' (WILPF, 2017). However, less research has tried to understand or been able to identify widespread evidence of women's involvement with armed actors.

There are **some suggestions in the literature that women are active within armed groups, including as armed combatants** (Anderlini et al, 2017; Anderson, 2017; Heinze and Baabbad, 2017). However, the evidence appears anecdotal and based on footage of armed women on YouTube and reference to a small number of key informants. For example in one study, a research participant representing a WRO explained that in the tribal area of Al Jawf governorate women are armed, can drive cars and have a role in decision-making despite the fact that they are subject to other "conservative" norms such as wearing the niqab (Anderson, 2017). In another study, a girl in an FGD indicated her readiness to join an armed group as long as it would bring an income for her family (Gressman, 2016). In some parts of Ibb and Taiz, women have been found to smuggle arms to resistance forces and man checkpoints to help search women (Heinze and Baabbad, 2017).

There are also suggestions that **women support armed actors in other ways**, such as delivering food and water to fighters, caring for the wounded (fighters and civilians), fundraising to support the wounded and guarding checkpoints (Heinze and Baabbad, 2017; Anderlini et al, 2017). Women are also thought to take an active role in encouraging their husbands and sons to fight (Heinze and Baabbad, 2017) and as volunteers supporting armed groups when family members and relatives are active, especially in Aden and Taiz (Gressman, 2016).

8. Differences in women's engagement in peacebuilding and stabilisation activities

There are a number of differences noted in the literature in terms of how women participate in different geographical regions and sectors.

National level participation

As the conflict has escalated and become more complex, **research with women reveals the fragmentation of women's voices across Yemen and the international community's simplification of their demands** (WILPF, 2017). One FGD participant in the WILPF research asked: "*Why do we always have to stand together, whether we're from the north or the south, given Yemen's history? Men don't have to work from a common, consensual space, which is as impossible for women as for men in wartime. Just like the men, we disagree and we argue, and we want that to be respected*" (WILPF, 2017:4). One activist even stated that the Women's Pact for Peace and Security (established by UN Women in October 2015) was being used to further marginalise women's participation, as this was the only group of women with which the UN is now seen to consult and where diversified political opinions are not encouraged (ibid). One of the criticisms is that the UN has not included Southern specific issues, such as acknowledging the calls for self-determination or fully representing southern factions (including women) in peace talks (ibid).

Activists also note that Southern women are forced to make the dangerous journey to Sana'a to participate in UN-facilitated peace consultations, with the UN making the activists sign a waiver that they are not responsible if anything happens on the journey (WILPF, 2017). They also noted that while the Secretary General's Special Envoy has been to Aden once, he did not meet with women. However, in Sana'a he has met with women representatives numerous times, but only with Pact members (WILPF, 2017).

While the Pact has grown to 120 women, there are also reports of a number of women withdrawing from the Pact as they did not feel that it facilitated meaningful participation (Gressman, 2016; Anderlini et al, 2017)

An emerging challenge is also the impact donors are having on setting the agenda of WROs. Research with WROs in Sana'a and Aden highlights how a significant number of women activists and organisations are diverting their efforts from a focus on gender inequality to humanitarian activities (Anderson, 2017). This is as a result of decreased funding for gender inequality work and more funding becoming available for humanitarian interventions. However, this has long-term impacts and will compromise the future of gender equality in Yemen.

Geographical differences and local engagement

Qualitative research suggests that women are involved in conflict mitigation and peacebuilding processes in a number of different ways. Many of these efforts vary across geographical areas and reflect customs and norms, not all of which are contrary to women's leadership. For example in some tribal areas, such as Al Jawf governorate, tribal norms and customs are not explicitly contrary to women's participation and rights, and offer significant space for women's informal leadership, even though women are subject to wearing the niqab (Anderson, 2017). Some examples of women's leadership at the local level include:

- **In Aden women are focusing on countering violent extremism and radicalisation, supporting social cohesion, disarmament and reintegration of combatants including children, and promoting psychosocial support and relief.** This includes conducting awareness sessions on disarmament for a city free of weapons, observing early warning signs of radicalisation amongst youth and conducting awareness sessions to reverse or de-radicalise (WILPF, 2017).
- **In Taiz women have been involved in negotiating with militia leaders for the release of prisoners of war**, including through negotiating across kinship groups they are tied to through marriage (WILPF, 2017).
- **In Sana'a women have organised themselves to advocate for the release of detainees** (WILPF, 2017).
- **In Aden, Abyyan and Taiz women have been more active in community committees** formed to distribute aid and help to provide basic services as a result of the conflict. These committees are often supported by international NGOs (Gressman, 2016:31).

Other local peace initiatives include:

- **Partners to Peace**: an initiative that formed in 2015, which focuses on building capacities of local community members on peace building and conflict resolution (Jarhum, 2016).
- **Journalists Making Peace**: an initiative led by female journalists to combat hate speech and prompt reconciliation (Jarhum, 2016).

The current conflict, with growing tensions across sectarian lines, has also impacted the capacity of CSOs. While divisions in Yemen are determined by geography (South, middle, or North), clan (Hashemite or not), tribe, religion (Zaidi or Sunni), location (urban or rural), and political affiliation, CSOs are often labeled according to the identities of their leaders. This affects their ability to work in certain regions or conduct projects on certain topics (Al-Shami, 2015).

Research has highlighted the following problems experienced by WROs and CSOs in Yemen in relation to donors (Anderson, 2017):

- The creation of "the CSO-free market" system, where CSOs, and particularly WROs have to compete with each other for project based funding (noting the limited other options available to them for funding). This has reportedly resulted in **Yemeni WROs becoming more secretive and averse to coordinating and sharing information with other organisations** (Anderson, 2017). This echoes the experiences of WROs in Somalia who were similarly affected by a significant humanitarian donor "market" which contributed to a culture of competition (Parke et al, 2017).
- Donors and international NGOs are described as being risk-averse about engaging with new constituencies or trying new approaches. This makes **physical access to donors crucial for local organisations, and seriously disadvantages WROs based in more remote areas, but also independent WROs**.
- **The top-down model of priority setting by donors translates into inappropriate responses** and projects at the local context.
- **Donors avoiding certain geographies due to what they perceive to be an intolerable security or political risk to themselves** (for example working in areas with a high presence of extremist non-state actors such as al-Qaeda).

Women's participation and influence in remaining local government structures and as community and traditional leaders has declined since the recent outbreak of conflict, and **traditional (male) authorities remain the main channels for local decision-making** (Gressman, 2016:31). Research suggests that sheikhs and tribal leaders, almost exclusively men, remain the main decision-makers at community level, with women tending to access these decision-makers via their wives (ibid). Furthermore, whilst armed groups existed previously, their decision-making power at community level has reportedly "increased substantially" in Aden, Abyan, Hajjah and Taiz as a result of the conflict. These groups are exclusively led by men; this trend has therefore further reduced local decision-making space for women (ibid).

Humanitarian response

Women have had more opportunities to be active in response to the humanitarian situation. One Yemeni activist is quoted as saying, following the escalation of the conflict in 2015, that all development work to support women's rights was all of a sudden gone, with only a focus on humanitarian effort remaining (Anderson, 2017). Many organisations have therefore focused on providing humanitarian support to meet the increasing needs of the population. However, WRO representatives consulted in one study affirmed that working on gender justice and equality in parallel to humanitarian programming is critical to the resolution of the conflict and the long-term stability of Yemen (Anderson, 2017).

Research indicates that **whilst women are still excluded from higher circles of decision-making in humanitarian aid, they are more active at the lower levels** (Anderson, 2017; Gressman, 2016). At the local level women are actively working on key issues including negotiating with militia leaders to reopen schools and allow humanitarian aid (WILPF, 2017) and in distributing aid via community

committees or pre-existing women-led charitable societies, many of which are now being supported by international NGOs. The majority of such societies stopped their activities in northern governorates due to the conflict, whilst the number of societies in Aden and Abyan has increased due to more external funding for humanitarian assistance (Gressman, 2016). Women are also documented as being engaged in humanitarian relief efforts by mapping IDPs and war-affected households, smuggling food and medicine to besieged areas, and providing first aid and psychosocial support (Anderlini et al, 2017). Interestingly, despite notable women's leadership in local humanitarian activities, when facing concerns regarding their own access to aid women have reported a preference for dealing with community leaders, largely men (Gressman, 2016).

However, key achievements have also been made. For example the GenCap advisor worked with a supportive Humanitarian Coordinator to get the Humanitarian Country Team to make five explicit commitments on gender in 2014/15. Gender was also factored into the Yemen Humanitarian Response Plan in that year as a Strategic Objective with indicators, and in 2014 83% of projects rated 2a or 2b in the IASC Gender Marker and 86% of assessments by cluster partners had female assessors, enabling greater participation of women and girls from the affected communities. Furthermore, **92% of clusters collected sex and age disaggregated data** (Mollett, 2017).

The UN Strategic Framework for Yemen 2017-2019 also defines one of its four strategic outcomes as '[e]ffective leadership, participation and engagement of women, youth and civil society are promoted to strengthen their contribution to peace and security in Yemen' (UN, undated). The plan identifies the need to develop mechanisms for youth and women's representation in each of the 22 governorates, using technical assistance to ensure that Yemeni women play an active role in the peace process and all future decision-making processes shaping the future of their country.

9. Backlash against women's increased participation

While it is clear that the conflict has been used as an excuse to sideline women, there is limited information about the extent of violent backlash against women's increased participation whether at the household level or at the local/national level. However, **a number of qualitative studies and testimonies from activists indicate that women do often face violence because of their involvement participation in decision-making whether at the national, local or household level**. This section looks at the evidence of each of these in turn.

National level

At the national level there have been reports of women being systematically targeted because of their political participation. For example, **during the National Dialogue, women delegates were in many cases publicly threatened for participating**, and in some instances were even physically attacked (Gressman, 2016). Media and female activists have also documented attacks against activists and female politicians/activists. For example:

- **Majda Al-Haddad**, a human rights defender received threats by phone and on social media, which forced her to flee her country in 2015. She had also been attacked in her home and subject to a smear campaign (Gulf Centre for Human Rights, 2015).
- **Samia al-Aghbari**, an activist, was accused by the Islah party in late December 2012 of being an infidel and in 2015, with the Houthis in power also trying to **tarnish her reputation**, she is accused of being affiliated with the Islamic State (IS). She is now reported to always wear a niqab to cover her face in order to protect herself by hiding her identify (Shuja al-Deen, 2015; Gulf Centre for Human Rights, 2015).

- **Dr Shafiqah Saed Abdo**, Chairperson for the Women's National Committee, a member of the Yemeni Women Pact for Peace and Security and the Nasserite Political Party, was **banned from travelling outside the country for official missions**. This included going to Egypt to participate in the Executive Council meeting of the Arab Women Organization and to go to Jordan to sign a partnership with donors and to discuss the WNC's national plan for 2016. The official letter banning her travel came from the Acting Prime Minister's Office - controlled by Houthis. Despite a social media storm, she was banned from traveling three further times after those incidents, but the subsequent bans were issued verbally rather than in writing (Jarhum, 2016).
- Women who were brought to the Kuwait talks were allegedly also subject to a **shaming campaign on social media which trivialised their involvement**. This included suggesting that the women were 'opportunists' and that women's rights right were unimportant considering the dire situation the country is in (Anderson, 2017).
- **Kidnapping of girls/family members of activists**: In Taiz, a 12 year old girl was kidnapped for 23 days in February 2016. The family refused to provide more information, but media reports indicate that her father is engaged in activism. The perpetrators are not known. Demonstrations were organised demanding the release of the girl (Jarhum, 2016).

It is notable that **while human rights organisations such as Amnesty International, Human Rights Watch and OHCHR have recorded arbitrary detention, torture, and forcible disappearances against male activists, journalists, human rights defenders, lawyers and religious minorities, few reports of threats and violence against women have been documented** (AI, 2016; HRW, 2016; OHCHR, 2017). The exception being Amnesty International's documentation of the arbitrary arrests of 65 people, including 14 women and six children under the age of 18 at a Bahá'í youth workshop in Sana'a on 10 August by armed officers in balaclavas from Yemen's National Security Bureau (NSB), an intelligence agency, which works hand in hand with the armed Houthi authorities (AI, 2016).

However, there are some reports of local NGOs documenting violence against women. A report written by a Yemeni woman human rights activist in the diaspora[3] notes that local NGOs documented cases of arbitrary detention for 10 women and 159 of children, though the source and timeline for this is unclear (Jarhum, 2016).

Local level

At the local level, women also face a number of challenges to their safety. Research with IDP women, ethnic minority women and women leaders in Sana'a, Taiz and Aden indicate that **women face widespread safety threats due to the proliferation of weapons, high levels of sexual and gender-based violence against women, death threats, forced disappearances, physical attacks, lack of qualified security personnel, and the use of illegal prisons** (Anderson, 2017; WILPF, 2017). In addition, respondents in Aden also raised concerns about threats of assassinations, including to women's rights defenders, and restrictions of freedom of expression, and identified the support for women and families of martyrs and injured persons as a priority (WILPF, 2017).

Restrictions on women's movements since the breakout of the conflict must also be seen as a way to restrict women's participation in public life. However, there are local variations. Female staff of WROs report being stopped at checkpoints and having more difficulty moving about than their male counterparts, even if they are often perceived as being less 'political' than men (Anderson, 2017). Despite this, WROs are reporting that they continue their work in unstable areas. In Sana'a,

[3] The activist is also a member of the Yemeni Women Pact for Peace and Security and Yemeni NGOs Coalition to Monitor Human Rights Violations

women working in civil society organisations indicated that they are not required to have a *mahram*, but explained that some women choose to have one for safety reasons, particularly when they go to areas that are not within their usual territory. In other areas such as Saada, women are always obliged to have a *mahram* when moving outside of their homes (WILPF, 2017).

WROs also face particular challenges when working on GBV. A study which included consultations with six WROs found that upon reporting a rape case in late 2016, one WRO was threatened by extremists and had to hibernate its activities for a month (Anderson, 2017).

Household level

At the household level the conflict has led to significant changes to how families survive. These vary across families, but as discussed above, there are widespread reports of men increasingly taking on 'women-specific roles' in the household, including collecting water, cooking and childcare and women taking on more responsibility for earning an income and managing the household (Gressman, 2016). As noted above, both men and women report that men are **increasingly experiencing psychological stress as a result of their changing roles, which in turn is increasing conflict between husband and wife and leading to an increase in domestic violence** (Gressman, 2016). It should be noted however that levels of intimate partner violence have not been systematically documented.

10. Risks to supporting women's increased participation

This report has presented the complexity surrounding how women have been affected by conflict, and their engagement in peacebuilding and conflict resolution activities. Conflict has had both negative and positive consequences for the position of women in Yemeni society and their ability to participate in public life: evidence shows that GBV has increased, and that food shortages, displacement and restrictions on movement have had particularly adverse effects for women. However, women have simultaneously become more active economically, which has had positive knock-on effects for their role in household and financial decision-making, and they have played a significant role in local humanitarian aid distribution. There are important regional variations, with southern women's organisations benefitting much more from humanitarian funding than in the north.

Whilst this evidence provides a basis for identifying opportunities and risks in promoting greater participation of women in peacebuilding and conflict resolution activities, **this review has identified very little concrete data on what was been tried, and what has worked**, in the past (evaluations or similar studies) nor detailed risk analysis of potential interventions. This will be a priority area for the follow-on research project.

Particular opportunities indicated by this review, and echoed in policy recommendations made in recent reports, are as follows:

- **Gendered conflict analysis which is locally contextualised is needed to understand how women are acting in support of or against the conflict.** Research has highlighted the disconnect between what men and women perceive about women's roles – often presenting a very passive role – and the reality, in which they may be exercising varying degrees of influence (Heinze and Baabbad, 2017). This is reflected in the studies reviewed for this report which largely present women as neutral or passive victims or primarily focused on a women's rights and humanitarian agenda. Less is understood about women's diverse political views and how they are influencing their kin, networks and local authorities who may be parties to the conflict.

- **The international community should take a strong stand to support women's inclusion**. The UN Women's Pact for Peace and Security has not effectively engaged nor facilitated the involvement of a broad and diverse group of women within the UN-supported peace process. At its worst, the Pact has been accused of damaging the peace process by its focus on activities in Sana'a to the exclusion of southern-based CSOs. Influencing this process to include women from a broader range of backgrounds and geographies – for example by holding consultations in a range of cities in the north, south and east – would be a positive step. In addition, strong messaging from the new Special Envoy and the wider international community of women's rights to participation including in peace negotiations as a corner stone of any peace agreement is important as shown by the gains made in the National Dialogue.
- An understandably heavy focus on humanitarian response from donors, coupled with leaning on women's organisations as humanitarian partners, has contributed to a depoliticization of WROs. This seems to have undermined a gender equality agenda in Yemen. **There are missed opportunities in supporting WROs to capitalise on changing gender norms and cement gains** – for example around women's increased employment and decision-making in the home. Greater targeted funding for women's rights-related activities – particularly smaller-scale funds for more grassroots/non-elite organisations – may help to rebalance this. Some actors have recommended that donors help to protect and facilitate freedom of movement for women activists inside and outside of Yemen.
- Women participants in local dialogue or peacebuilding activities face particular threats to their safety and challenges in moving around publicly. Research, consultations, trainings or other activities in support of peace **should be designed following investigation of those specific threats in each locality, and should be as locally-based as possible** (i.e. avoiding women having to travel to Sana'a to participate in meetings etc).
- **Donor engagement of women activists and organisations in the design of humanitarian interventions has been disappointingly limited,** despite their recognised leadership in local humanitarian efforts. This would be a simple step which should be promoted by leading donors and humanitarian agencies.
- While the conflict is challenging gender dynamics at a household level, with both positive changes and evidence of backlash from male partners – these changes could be laying the ground for greater women's empowerment after the conflict but the gains are likely to be fragile and easily reversed. There may be an opportunity to **promote public discussion** (radio shows, public meetings) of the contribution of both men and women to economic activity as well as peacebuilding engaging traditional and religious authorities.

In terms of risks, the recent research by Saferworld (Heinze and Baabbad, 2016) highlights the diversity in how women are involved in the conflict and peacebuilding activities and the significant regional variation. Alongside this, **a key risk that could affect any intervention is therefore that activities are not based on a sufficiently detailed and nuanced understanding of how women are currently positioned in that locality.**

11. REFERENCES

Al-Ammar, F. et al (2017) *The impact of war on mental health in Yemen: A neglected crisis,* Sana'a Center for Strategic Studies (SCSS), Columbia Law School Human Rights Clinic, Columbia University's Mailman School of Public Health, http://sanaacenter.org/files/THE_IMPACT_OF_WAR_ON_MENTAL_HEALTH_IN_YEMEN.pdf

Al Naami, A. and Moodley, S (2016) *We won't wait: As war ravages Yemen, its women strive to build peace*, Oxfam/SaferWorld http://policy-practice.oxfam.org.uk/publications/we-wont-wait-as-war-ravages-yemen-its-women-strive-to-build-peace-620182

Al-Shami, M. (2015) *Youth and civil society: The missing powers in Yemen*, The Wilson Centre, https://www.scribd.com/document/274076561/Youth-and-Civil-Society-The-Missing-Powers-in-Yemen#download&from_embed

Amnesty International (2016), *Yemen: Huthi authorities must release detained Bahá'ís, end crackdown on minorities*, 17 August 2016, https://www.amnesty.org/en/latest/news/2016/08/yemen-huthi-authorities-must-release-detained-bahais-end-crackdown-on-minorities/

Anderlini, S. et al (2017) *Bringing peace to Yemen by having women at the table: What the U.S. must do and why it matters*, U.S. Civil Society Working Group on Women, Peace, and Security, Policy brief August 2017, https://www.usip.org/sites/default/files/9th%20US%20CSWG%20Policy%20Brief%20August%2028%202017%20v3%20%28002%29.pdf

Anderson, K. (2017) *Now is the time: Research on gender justice, conflict and fragility in the Middle East and North Africa*, Oxfam/International Alert/FCO. https://www.oxfam.org/sites/www.oxfam.org/files/file_attachments/rr-gender-justice-conflict-fragility-mena-050617-en.pdf

Arshad, S. (2014) 'The Arab Spring: What did it do for women?' in *Middle East Monitor*, 24 January 2014, https://www.middleeastmonitor.com/20140124-the-arab-spring-what-did-it-do-for-women/

Bakrat, S. (2016) *Stablisation*, Professional Development Reading Pack No. 47, Governance and Social Development Resource Centre, http://www.gsdrc.org/wp-content/uploads/2016/07/Stabilisation_RP.pdf

Bishop, K. (2017) *Women- and trans-led organisations respond to closing space for civil society*, Amsterdam: Mama Cash https://www.mamacash.org/media/publications/mc_closing_space_report_def.pdf

Domingo, P., Holmes,R., O'Neil,T., Jones, N., Bird, K., Larson, A., Presler-Marshall, E., Valters, C. (2015) *Women's voice and leadership in decision-making Assessing the evidence*, London: Overseas Development Institute (ODI), https://www.odi.org/sites/odi.org.uk/files/odi-assets/publications-opinion-files/9627.pdf

Farhat, H. (undated) *The status of women human rights defenders in Libya*, The WHRD Coalition in the Middle East and North Africa. http://whrdmena.org/wp-content/uploads/2017/06/Libya-Eng.pdf

Global Partnership for Education (2018) *Yemen*, Global Partnership for Education, https://www.globalpartnership.org/country/yemen

Gressmann, W. (2016), *From the ground up: Gender and conflict analysis in Yemen*, Oxfam

Gulf Centre for Human Rights (2015) *Special Report: Yemeni journalists and human rights defenders at risk during wartime,* GC4HR, http://www.gc4hr.org/report/view/36

Haider, H. (2014) *Statebuilding and peacebuilding in situations of conflict and fragility*. Topic Guide Supplement. Revised edition with A. Strachan. Birmingham: GSDRC, University of Birmingham, http://www.gsdrc.org/wp-content/uploads/2015/07/CON87.pdf

Heideman, K. and Youssef, M. (eds) (2012) *Reflections on women in the Arab Spring*, the Wilson Centre, https://www.wilsoncenter.org/sites/default/files/International%20Women%27s%20Day%202012_4.pdf

Heinze, M and Baabbad, M. (2017) "*Women nowadays do anything." Women's role in conflict, peace and security in Yemen*, SaferWorld, CARPO and YPC https://www.saferworld.org.uk/resources/publications/1125-awomen-nowadays-do-anythinga-womenas-role-in-conflict-peace-and-security-in-yemen

Human Rights Watch (2016) *Yemen: Abusive detention rife under Houthis: Release those held arbitrarily, resolve 'disappearances'*, HRW 17 November, 2016, https://www.hrw.org/news/2016/11/17/yemen-abusive-detention-rife-under-houthis

Human Rights Watch (2017) *Yemen events of 2016*, Human Rights Watch: New York, https://www.hrw.org/world-report/2017/country-chapters/yemen

Jarhum, R. (2016) *Status of women during conflict in Yemen: Reflections on WPS UNSC 1325 & CEDAW 30th recommendation,* To Be For Rights and Freedoms, https://jarhum.files.wordpress.com/2016/03/yemen-wsp-and-cedaw-30-to-be.pdf

Kapur, B. (2017) *Syrian women in political processes 2012-2016: Literature review*, Kvinna till Kvinna Foundation, https://kvinnatillkvinna.se/wp-content/uploads/2017/11/syrian-women-in-political-processes-ktk.pdf

Ministry of Public Health and Population and Central Statistical Organization et al (2015) *Yemen: National health and demographic survey 2013*, Rockville, Maryland, USA: MOPHP, CSO, PAPFAM, and ICF International, https://dhsprogram.com/pubs/pdf/FR296/FR296.pdf

Mollett, H. (2017) *She is a humanitarian: Women's participation in humanitarian action drawing on global trends and evidence from Jordan and the Philippines*, London: CARE International, https://reliefweb.int/sites/reliefweb.int/files/resources/CARE_She-is-a-humanitarian-report_Feb-2017_high-res.pdf

OCHA, (2017) *Yemen humanitarian needs overview 2018*, https://reliefweb.int/sites/reliefweb.int/files/resources/yemen_humanitarian_needs_overview_hno_2018_20171204_0.pdf

O'Neil, T. and Domingo, P. (2016) *Women and power: Overcoming barriers to leadership and influence*. London: Overseas Development Institute, https://www.odi.org/sites/odi.org.uk/files/resource-documents/10443.pdf

O'Reilly, M., O Suillebhain, A., Paffenholz, T. (2015) *Reimagining Peacemaking: Women's roles in peace processes*, New York: International Peace Institute, https://www.ipinst.org/wp-content/uploads/2015/06/IPI-E-pub-Reimagining-Peacemaking.pdf

Oxfam (2016) *Factsheet: Women, peace and security in the Middle East and North Africa region*, Oxfam.

Parke, A., Stevens, S. and Walls, M., Gaid, S., Ali, S., Butterfield, S., Elder, C., Le Déaut, D. (2017) 'Somali women's political participation and leadership-evidence and opportunities', produced for UK Department for International Development, London: Social Development Direct and Forcier Consulting

Rayman, P. et al, (2016) *UNSCR 1325 in the Middle East and North Africa: Women and security*, Washington: United States Institute of Peace https://www.files.ethz.ch/isn/196915/SR388-UNSCR-1325-in-the-Middle-East-and-North-Africa-Women-and-Security.pdf

Rohwerder, B. (2017) *Conflict and gender dynamics in Yemen*, K4D Helpdesk Report http://www.gsdrc.org/wp-content/uploads/2017/07/068_Conflict-and-Gender-dynamics-in-Yemen.pdf

Salisbury, P. (2017) *Yemen: National chaos, local order*, London: Chatham House, https://www.chathamhouse.org/sites/files/chathamhouse/publications/research/2017-12-20-yemen-national-chaos-local-order-salisbury2.pdf

Shuja al-Deen, M. (2015) 'What a Houthi-controlled Yemen means for women', in *Al-Monitor* 18 March 2015, https://www.al-monitor.com/pulse/originals/2015/03/yemen-women-activists-revolution-houthis-saleh.html

Slemrod, A. (2016) 'Who and what is missing from the Yemen peace process?', *IRIN News* 4 August 2016, https://www.irinnews.org/analysis/2016/08/04/who-and-what-missing-yemen-peace-process

SRSG-SVC (2017) *Report of the Secretary-General on conflict-related sexual violence*, New York: Office of the Special Representative of the Secretary-General on Sexual Violence in Conflict (SRSG-SVC) http://www.un.org/en/events/elimination-of-sexual-violence-in-conflict/pdf/1494280398.pdf

Stabilisation Unit (2014) *The UK government's approach to stabilisation*, FCO, MOD, DFID, http://webcache.googleusercontent.com/search?q=cache:Cq3QRGwVpbUJ:sclr.stabilisationunit.gov.uk/publications/stabilisation-series/487-uk-approach-to-stabilisation-2014+&cd=1&hl=en&ct=clnk&gl=uk

Women's International League for Peace and Freedom (WILPF) (2017) *Feminism at the frontline: addressing women's multidimensional insecurity in Yemen and Libya* http://wilpf.org/wp-content/uploads/2017/08/LIBYA-YEMEN-WEB.pdf

UN Secretary General (2017) *Children and Armed Conflict: Report of the Secretary General*, New York: UN Security Council A/72/361–S/2017/821 https://reliefweb.int/sites/reliefweb.int/files/resources/N1726811.pdf

Zyck, S. (2014) *Mediating transition in Yemen: Achievements and lessons*, International Peace Institute, https://www.odi.org/sites/odi.org.uk/files/odi-assets/publications-opinion-files/9205.pdf

About Helpdesk reports: The VAWG Helpdesk is funded by the UK Department for International Development, contracted through the Inclusive Societies Department. This helpdesk report is based on 9 days of desk-based research.

VAWG Helpdesk services are provided by a consortium of leading organisations and individual experts on VAWG, including Social Development Direct, International Rescue Committee, ActionAid, Womankind, and the Institute of Development Studies (IDS). Expert advice may be sought from this Group, as well as from the wider academic and practitioner community, and those able to provide input within the short time-frame are acknowledged. Any views or opinions expressed do not necessarily reflect those of DFID, the VAWG Helpdesk or any of the contributing organisations/experts.

For any further request or enquiry, contact enquiries@VAWGHelpdesk.org.uk

Suggested citation:

Kangas, A. and Stevens, S. (2018) *Women, Peace and Security in Yemen,* Helpdesk Research Report No. 158. London, UK: VAWG Helpdesk