

Women's Leadership and Empowerment for Peacebuilding

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1. EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

The burgeoning global economy, fueled by advancements in science and technology along with ever-greater globalization, has brought prosperity to much of the world. In many regions, however, these material improvements have proven to be divisive, as their benefits are unevenly distributed and economic inequality has grown. These disparities contribute to conflicts that destabilize socio-economic, political, and environmental conditions in many countries. It is therefore essential that we find a way to build bridges across political, economic and cultural divides, to help these societies adjust to these changes and resolve emerging conflicts. Diplomacy in the 20th century was focused primarily on “power sharing,” but the 21st century paradigm must address emerging human and environmental challenges, and requires us to create policies and actions that center on “responsibility sharing” (Anderlini, 2015).

In response to the need for a new paradigm for global transformation, the fourth Annual Ministerial Review (AMR), was convened by the Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC) in 2010. At this conference, Ban Ki-moon, Secretary-General of the United Nations, declared that “empowering women is an economic and social imperative” (ECOSOC, 2010, p. 14). This sentiment is echoed by Amartya Sen, Nobel laureate and founder of UNDP’s Human Development Index, where he asserted that empowering women and girls with more choices and more freedoms is crucial for enhancing inclusive and sustainable development, and that, “focusing on women’s agency may be precisely the role that such an agency can play in removing the iniquities that depress the well-being of women” (Sen, 1999, p. 191). A closer look of the implementation of Millennium Development Goal (MDG 3), *promote gender equality and empower women*, and Sustainable Development Goal (SDG Goal 5) *achieve gender equality and empower all women and girls*, reveal that while some progress has been made in this area, women continue to face discrimination, be disadvantaged in the labor market and have limited access to economic assets and participation in private and public decision-making (UN, 2015). To transform the state of our world with a much more inclusive and sustainable framework of development, the United Nations mandate makes this clear:

“Gender equality is not only a fundamental human right, but a necessary foundation for a peaceful, prosperous and sustainable world.”

UN Sustainable Development Goals, 2012

Gender equality is not only a fundamental human right, but a necessary foundation for a peaceful, prosperous and sustainable world. Providing women and girls with equal access to education, health care, decent work, and representation in political and economic decision-making processes will fuel sustainable economies and benefit societies and humanity at large (UN Sustainable Development Goals, para. 1)

1.1 RESEARCH GOALS

In this complex and dynamic era, the recognition of women's voices and needs is integral to achieving social and global transformation. Drawing on international literature and statistics, this review aims to provide an overview and summary of literature to highlight the contributions of women in leadership

and to provide research recommendations for their empowerment, specifically in the areas of prevention of violence, conflict and war, transformation of society through social justice and sustainable peacebuilding.

Researching how women act as leaders, and the ways in which women are empowered across various sectors, provides evidence that could inform future policy interventions. Undeniably, while decades of research on mainstream leadership abound, a comprehensive women-centered perspective on leadership still eludes us. The purpose of this literature review is to provide background on women's leadership empowerment and its link to global development, sustainability and peace. This report provides an overview of the role of women's leadership and empowerment in the context of SDG 5--- gender equality and empower of women through:

1. A survey of relevant literature and review of the main theoretical concepts related to women's leadership/empowerment and feminism studies.
2. A review and summary of key findings from existing studies.
3. A discussion of lessons learned through programs to promote women's leadership and empowerment.
4. A working draft of a research recommendation to further understand women's leadership and empowerment in a humanitarian crisis

This report does not claim to present definitive propositions or conclusions on women's leadership, nor does it assert any particular position on the questions that arise. Instead, it introduces the reader to current ideas, theories and evidence supporting the need to enhance women's participation in the global peace process. It is notable that the interdisciplinary trends in women's research have contributed to a vast array of perspectives on women's leadership and on the importance of including women's voices and insights, illustrating the critical role they play in peacebuilding efforts.

1.2 METHODOLOGY

The goal of this literature review is to locate and synthesize global research and documentary evidence on women's leadership, empowerment and feminist studies, as well as the role of women in peace and security activities. Note that the primary focus of this review is on public leadership for women. A wide-ranging search was undertaken, using major online catalogs and electronic databases, including Harvard Hollis (backronym for **H**arvard **O**n-**L**ine **L**ibrary **I**nformation **S**ystem), EBSCO and Proquest. This examination of the literature begins with the history of women rulers in the 15th century B.C. and then focuses primarily on the time period from the 1960s to the present as a critical phase of theoretical development. The following major key words, phrases, and their variants were used in researching the databases: women leadership, women empowerment, women's equality and parity, women's experiences, voices, and rights; as well as women's peace and security in humanitarian situations, and in relation to sustainable development. The aggregated chart below showing the number of citations from 1960 to 2016 illustrates the magnitude of scholarship on this topic:

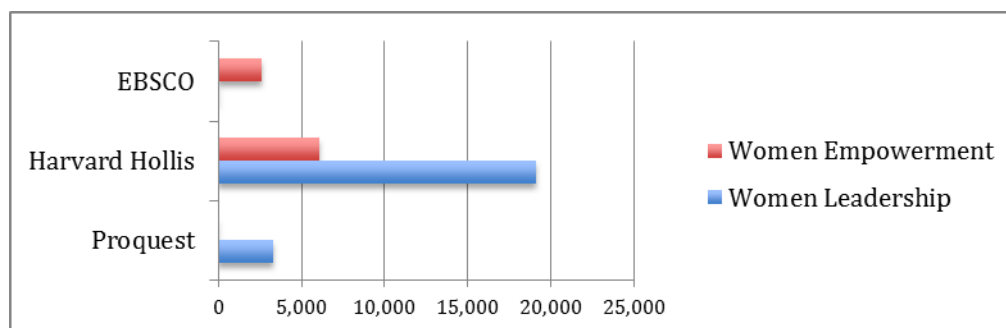


Figure 1: References Relating to Women’s Empowerment and Women’s Leadership

This report is designed to show the unique insights and theoretical paradigms offered by rigorous literature review using a multidisciplinary social science approach that addresses the contours of the women’s leadership literature (Adler, 2015). Official documents from organizations such as the UN, OECD, IMF, WB, IDB, and ODI are also a critical part of the reviewed materials, along with a comprehensive analysis of articles in peer-reviewed journals. In areas where we found the literature to be limited, we approached the editorial board and other experts in the field to inquire about further sources and references. The shortlisted body of knowledge eventually fell into four categories: women’s leadership, women’s empowerment, women’s contributions (e.g. economic, politics, societal, security, peace, humanitarian and sustainability), and issues and challenges in gender equality for sustainable and peaceful development.

1.3 SECTION OVERVIEW

Section 2 entitled, “Evolution of Women’s Leadership and Empowerment”, contains three subsections. The first, “Feminist Movement: History and Development” provides a concise review of the history of feminism, and of international organizations that have grown out of the feminist movement. It includes an overview of the history of the Commission on the Status of Women, a functional commission of the United Nations Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC), one of the main organs within the United Nations, as well as the history of UN Women.

The next subsection, “Leadership Theories: A Brief Overview,” introduces the major archetypes of leaders, and discusses their theoretical frameworks including the great man/trait theory, behavioral theory, contingency theory and contemporary theories such as transactional and transformational theories, charismatic leadership, servant leadership and most recently, global leadership.

The final subsection, “Women’s Leadership, Development and Empowerment” examines the social inquiry of feminist research, beginning with critical analysis of androcentric bias within various social disciplines. Through the introduction of Follett’s Relational Leadership Theory, concepts of feminist leadership, trends in women and development research and the burgeoning scholarship on women and empowerment, the reader’s attention is turned to feminist epistemologies of empowerment. This subsection is guided by a conceptual and analytical framework that draws together long-standing theories of both women’s leadership and empowerment with examples from around the globe that validate the structural changes that enable women to have substantial voices and effective positions of leadership in decision-making and governance structure.

Section 3, “Benefits of Empowering Women: An Overview of Dimensions of Transformation for 2030 Agenda for SDGs” highlights evidence-based findings on how the empowerment of women can bring about societal change. It delves into the ways that women can act as economic drivers, based on research showing the high return from investing in women as change agents and as global and transformational leaders. This is particularly critical in light of extremism and violence, civil unrest, economic crises, food insecurity, natural calamities and gender disparity across sectors in many parts of the world. The findings reveal that women leaders are more likely to focus on health and well-being at the individual and organizational levels. They are able to connect national policies to local needs, and tend to work to improve the lives of disadvantaged and impoverished people. In doing so, women leaders bring the concerns of these groups into the decision-making process, and give them new opportunities. They are also more likely to take a more equitable approach to power structures and succession planning, and reduce the level of corruption (Adler, 2015; Srivastva & Cooperrider, 1998). This research on women’s leadership and empowerment focuses on the public leadership for women.

Section 4, entitled “Women’s Contributions to Peace and Security during Humanitarian Crisis,” is the centerpiece of this study and suggests significant areas of further research dealing with humanitarian crisis in the 21st century to analyze mechanisms by which women contribute to the peace process. This section begins by describing the alarming geopolitical and security challenges facing in our world today. Traditional interstate warfare, with its devastating consequences, has mutated into clash of ideologies, fueling the explosive growth of extremism led by individuals who are terrifyingly successful in recruiting combatants from all over the world. The nature of peace has also changed. It is no longer the mere absence of violence, but rather includes social movements, a commitment to human rights in the post-war period, and attempts to deal with issues of justice and reconciliation. Research has consistently shown that **sustainable peace is only possible if there is inclusive peacemaking where women are strong participants, both in their numbers and in their authority**. Earlier research has also shown that along with women’s participation, a focus on justice and reconciliation, issues of particular importance to women, is also key to creating a sustainable peace.

Assessing the status of women, who often stimulate post-conflict peace mechanisms, is essential to understanding the anatomy of today’s conflicts and prevent them from propagating. This review documents the influence of women outside of formal peace negotiations, through facilitation and mediation, which is essential for these resolutions to take place. As women are often disproportionately affected by conflicts and their aftermath, they are playing a distinctly important role as advocates for peacebuilding and security. This concept is further supported by the ground-breaking United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325 in 2000, which was the first to tie women’s experiences of conflict to the international peace and security agenda, calling for women’s engagement in conflict resolution and peacebuilding. It validates the underrated and underutilized contributions women make to conflict prevention, peacekeeping, conflict resolution and maintaining peace.

The 2015 Global Study on the Implementation of Resolution 1325, by Ms. Radhika Coomaraswamy and the members of her UN High-Level Advisory Group, surveyed civil society organizations and generated responses from 317 organizations in 71 countries. It showed that **84 per cent of the respondents stated that the emerging issues of concern were violent extremism and counter-terrorism**. It also highlighted that women’s participation and inclusion makes humanitarian assistance more effective, strengthens the protection efforts of our peacekeepers, contributes to the conclusion of peace talks and the

achievement of sustainable peace, accelerates economic recovery, and helps counter violent extremism. The study also showed that women's participation is key to sustained peace. Another study showed that **a peace agreement is 35 percent more likely to last at least 15 years if women participate in its creation** (O'Reilly, Suilleabhain, & Paffenholz, 2015).

Furthermore, the UN Commission on Women, in their recent report, "Making Women Count- Not just Counting Women," has presented strong evidence suggesting that even if women's inclusion is still challenged or met with indifference by the negotiating parties and mediators, women have managed to make substantial contributions to constitution-making negotiations and eventually succeed at implementing peace and ensuring social justice.

This literature review highlights the importance and nature of women's participation in peace and security issues, identifies barriers that hinder women from participating in the peace process and suggests critical areas that need further study. It cites numerous examples that illustrate the crucial role that women play in transformative justice. Finally, the review presents evidence-based recommendations on how to achieve this long term goal while strengthening women's roles in peacebuilding to prevent conflict and extremism.

The report further recognizes the importance of future research in the Middle East and discusses the rationale behind it. The UN has declared that the world faces **"the worst refugee and humanitarian crisis since World War II"** resulting from the catastrophic civil wars in the Middle East, particularly in Syria, which is entering its sixth year. To show how research has informed our understanding of the crucial role that women play in peacebuilding, case studies conducted by the Institute for Inclusive Security have demonstrated that women in Jordan, both Syrians and Jordanians, could work together towards achieving sustainable peace ("10 More Ways Syrian Women Are Building Peace and Democracy," 2015).

This critical time is when it is most vital to invest in further research on women's leadership in peace and security. Women refugees in conflict zones are suddenly thrown into situations where they must negotiate with those around them to protect their children and families and engage in their new communities. The experience gained through these interactions gives them a legitimate role in becoming global citizens in their new communities and negotiating peace. It is thus critical to document the evolution of these peacemaking mechanisms in a comprehensive research study. This review affirms what previous research has shown; that **providing assistance to women refugees through capacity peacebuilding and leadership skills is effective in creating a sustainable peace** (McWilliams & Turner, 2015).

Building on this review of the literature, proposed further research focuses on assessing the potential for capacity development in the areas of peacebuilding and democratic education. To understand the contextual and analytical contour of capacity development, potential research inquiries will be carried out through:

1. Examination of the mental and general health of target women, and of their psychosocial perceptions of the current security situation in their communities, in preparation for designing further future capacity-building interventions.
2. Analysis of support mechanisms for existing women's social networks and areas of capacity development in peace-negotiation, leadership and civic engagement skills.

3. Identification and design of future income-generating opportunities such as occupational training that may improve women's socioeconomic status.

The findings and recommendations in this report reflect our current understanding of women's roles in peacebuilding and democratization during humanitarian crisis as elements of complex larger inter- and intra-state systems. Assumptions about the impact of women participation at the various levels of the peace process and over long periods remain untested. The research proposition presented in this report is a first step in the direction of reinforcing women peacebuilding initiatives worldwide, preventing propagation of radicalization or extremism and cultivating a culture of mutual respect and responsible global citizenship. The plan for this research proposal is also intended to spark further reflection on policy design and implementation and learning to test common assumptions about peace and democracy, especially in areas which are suffering from long standing conflicts and ongoing political turmoil.

1.4 CONCLUSION

While the spirit of the SDG Goal 5 *Gender equality and the empowerment of women* is acknowledged through good faith in legally binding agreements by member states, fundamental change and transformation requires parity in power, opportunities, and outcomes. Li Yong, UNIDO Director General's shared the following statements on International Women's Day:

Empowering women is empowering humanity. Gender equality and women's empowerment is central to UNIDO's work as it is not only a matter of human rights, but also a precondition for sustainable development and economic growth, which are drivers of poverty reduction and social integration. When women and men are more equal, economies grow faster, more people are lifted out of poverty and the overall well-being of societies is enhanced (UNIDO, 2015, para. 2).

In conclusion, this report lays out a framework for future study guided by three domains: capability development in mental and physical health, democratic and global citizenship education, and access to resources through global networking opportunities for securing and sustaining global security and peace. This report documents what is known about how women lead, and why women's leadership is crucial in the face of complex struggles facing the world today. Modern wars are driven by motivation and ideology, and women's roles at this point may though be ambiguous and need direction, but are fundamental and could be transformative. Women are often disproportionately affected by and vulnerable to violence and conflicts. Their voices are needed to help the warring factions to understand the effects of these conflicts and to motivate them to move towards peace. Furthermore, the social networks that easily form among women in their communities provide common ground and understanding on which operational peace efforts can be built. Thus it is of paramount importance to align all those efforts for policy design and implementation of efficient peacemaking. This exploration, which shows the effectiveness of women in peacemaking, gives them a legitimate place in all levels of negotiation. Ultimately, this is a global task and it is our responsibility to humanity to work towards inclusive and sustainable development for all, with the goal of achieving true lasting peace and security for our common future.

2. EVOLUTION OF WOMEN'S LEADERSHIP AND EMPOWERMENT

This section begins with a short overview of the evolution of feminism, commencing with the first women's movement in 1848 and a synopsis of the history of the Commission on the Status of Women

that is the principal global intergovernmental body exclusively dedicated to the promotion of gender equality and the empowerment of women at the United Nations.

Following this is a historical review of leadership theories since the 19th century as they relate to the history of feminism, where issues of gender and gender differences were mostly overlooked. The review then considers the relatively recently developed scholarship focused on women's development, leadership and empowerment to elucidate why these perspectives have been missing in the literature until lately.

This is followed by a brief overview of the mainstream leadership literature based on the evolution from great man and trait theories to transformational and global leadership. While the theoretical underpinnings of leadership theory have changed over time (with earlier theories focusing on characteristics and behaviors of successful leaders and later theories emphasizing the contextual nature of leadership), a gestalt of the leadership theories provides the necessary context for understanding the last half of the 20th century, during which management and business leadership was dominated by a top down approach, with multi-layered structures to establish control through rules and processes.

2.1 FEMINIST MOVEMENT: HISTORY AND DEVELOPMENT

Historically, women have been marginalized in terms of human and political rights. The following section traces the historical path and rocky terrain to provide a glimpse into women's roles, a timeline of women's rights, political events and the exclusion of women, their political, cultural and social repression and oppression, and violence against women. The chart below is a summation of the literature review on women's historical movement and development (National Women's History Museum, n.d.; The Women's Rights Movement, n.d.; Women's Rights Movement, 2014; Cochrane, 2013; Dicker, 2008; Ryan, 1992). It summarizes the four waves with key concerns and events.

FIRST WAVE: 19TH CENTURY TO EARLY 20TH CENTURY

- The first seed of feminism was planted by the Suffragettes (1840-1920). The first wave was primarily driven by white, middle and upper class, Western women calling for the right to vote, improved rights for women in marriage, and property ownership.
- It was borne out of the abolitionist movement with dominant themes centering on abolition of slavery and anti-slavery movements. The Seneca Falls Convention, the first Women's Rights Convention, held in Seneca Falls, NY, in 1848 was a landmark event, organized by abolitionists Elizabeth Cady Stanton (1815-1902) and Lucretia Mott (1793-1880).
- Following this convention, women fought for voting rights and property rights and finally in 1920, after 70 years, the passage of the 19th Amendment was ratified, giving American women the right to vote.

SECOND WAVE: 1960S AND 1970S

- The second wave unfolded amidst the backdrop of anti-war, civil rights movements and women-only organizations involving women of color. The protests against the Miss America pageant in Atlantic City in 1968 and 1969 served as a catalyst. Feminists satirized the parade, condemning men's reduction of women's beauty as rooted in patriarchy (e.g. sex as object).

- 1949- Simone de Beauvoir wrote *The Second Sex*, where she described the way in which men viewed women as "objects" rather than "subjects."
- 1963- Betty Friedan's *The Feminine Mystique* examined "the problem that has no name" which left women feeling frustrated and questioning their self-worth as middle class housewives.
- Time of radicalization of the feminist movement, where sexuality and reproductive rights became dominant issues. Women fought for sexual freedom, legislation to change sexist laws, integration into the workplace, equal funding, and integration into the political arena.

THIRD WAVE: 1990S

- Third wave feminism began around the 1990s, continued the progress as well as widened ideas on issues surrounding both first and second wave feminism, focusing on identity (women of color, ethnicities, nationalities, religions and cultural backgrounds).
- Unlike the first two waves of feminism that condemn commodification of the female body, third wave feminists celebrate sexuality and view it as a form of female power not sexual objects of patriarchy.
- Proponents challenge the notion of a universal female identity and over-emphasis on the narrative of middle/upper class white woman.

FOURTH WAVE: 2008-PRESENT

- While there has been global recognition of the importance of female rights (as an equality and human rights issue), fourth wave feminism is further challenging the cultural, political and social norms toward having their voices heard, conquering gender disparity, lobbying for the reproductive rights of women, and working together to end violence against women.
- Kira Cochrane (2013) highlighted the role of technology as an anchoring point of the contemporary feminist movement. Propelled by social media, the internet became a powerful venue allowing women to build and propagate their causes.
- Diana Diamond (2009) noted that the fourth wave feminism is a movement that "combines politics, psychology and spirituality in an overarching vision of change...[It is where] social action and spiritual/psychological practice converge" (p. 213).

2.1.1 THE COMMISSION ON THE STATUS OF WOMEN (CSW)

The UN Commission on the Status of Women (CSW), "is the principal global intergovernmental body exclusively dedicated to the promotion of gender equality and the empowerment of women" established in June 21, 1946 (Commission on the Status of Women, n.d., para. 1). It is responsible for promoting women's rights and gender equality as well as monitoring and reviewing the implementation of the Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action, and mainstreaming a gender perspective in UN activities (Barberet, 2014; UN Women Watch, n.d.). As part of the Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC), it is tasked with preparing research and recommendations on gender equality and women's empowerment to the Human Rights Council and ECOSOC (Barberet, 2014). Since its inception, CSW has been an influential UN body due to its strong connections to the international women's movement, with its political activities ranging from women's political and economic agendas to advancing women's

status (Winslow, 1995). Membership in CSW is predominantly women from the 45 member states of the UN, appropriated by geographic location with each term lasting 4 years (O'Brien, 2009). CSW spearheads the International Woman's Day celebration each year on March 8th. Appendix 1A shows the historical timeline of CSW.

2.1.2 UN WOMEN

The United Nations General Assembly created UN Women, the United Nations Entity for Gender Equality and the Empowerment of Women in July 2010 by merging and building on the existing tasks of the four distinct agencies of the UN system: Division for the Advancement of Women (DAW), International Research and Training Institute for the Advancement of Women (INSTRAW), Office of the Special Adviser on Gender Issues and Advancement of Women (OSAGI) and the United Nations Development Fund for Women (UNIFEM). The main roles of UN Women are:

- To support inter-governmental bodies, such as the Commission on the Status of Women (CSW), in their formulation of policies, global standards and norms.
- To help Member States implement these standards, standing ready to provide suitable technical and financial support to those countries that request it, and to forge effective partnerships with civil society.
- To lead and coordinate the UN system's work on gender equality and promote accountability through regular monitoring of system-wide progress (About UN Women, n.d., para. 1).

2.2 LEADERSHIP THEORIES: A BRIEF OVERVIEW

The purpose of this section is to present an overview of mainstream leadership theories and provide a synthesis of the voluminous literature on the subject. Through a historical account on how schools of leadership have changed over the past century, we begin to see shifts in thinking, with earlier theories focusing on the characteristics and behaviors of successful leaders and later theories emphasizing the role of followers and the surrounding context of leadership. Appendix 1B outlines this evolution.

Leadership is defined as “a process by which an individual influences a group of individuals to achieve common goals” (Northouse, 2013, p. 5). While often used interchangeably with the term management, leadership, considered more carefully, is a concept of wider scope. Leadership influences the structure, design, operation, and performance of individuals in organizations, and is therefore a key factor in synchronizing and aligning organizational processes (Lewis, Packard, & Lewis, 2007). Warren Bennis, a prolific writer and widely regarded leadership scholar, articulated this difference saying:

To survive in the 21st century, we're going to need a new generation of leaders — leaders, not managers. The distinction is an important one. Leaders conquer the context — the volatile, turbulent, ambiguous surrounding that sometimes seem to conspire against us and will surely suffocate us if we let them- while managers surrender to it (as cited in Lewis, 2002, p. 51).

Prior to the study of leadership, the need to understand organizational behavior began in the 1890s with the work of Frederick Taylor, who applied engineering principles to study the workers and their behaviors to improve labor-management relationships through the use of goal setting and a reward system (Nelson & Quick, 2003). In the late 1920s, Harvard Professor Elton Mayo and his colleagues studied worker productivity at Western Electric's Hawthorne plant in the United States where the famous “Hawthorne effect” (a principle that ties worker productivity and satisfaction to autonomy) was

established (Katyal, 2009). The years following the First World War, emphasized organizational studies on human factors due to the conceptual influence of the Hawthorne effect, with researchers like Chester Barnard, Henry Fayol, Frederick Herzberg, Abraham Maslow, David McClelland and Victor Vroom forming the Human Relations Movement (Katyal, 2009).

The first leadership theory emerged from the **Great Man/Trait Theories** in the 1930s, which was based on the male-centric assumption that great leaders were born and therefore possessed innate characteristics and inborn traits (Northouse, 2013). Gender differences were not even considered; therefore the notion of women as leaders would have been completely foreign during this time period (Moran, 1992). A key proponent, Ralph Melvin Stogdill (1974) identified the following traits and skills as critical to leaders.

Traits	Skills
Adaptable to situations	Clever (intelligent)
Alert to social environment	Conceptually skilled
Ambitious and achievement-orientated	Creative
Assertive	Diplomatic and tactful
Cooperative	Fluent in speaking
Decisive	Knowledgeable about group task
Dependable	Organized (administrative ability)
Dominant (desire to influence others)	Persuasive
Energetic (high activity level)	Socially skilled
Persistent	
Self-confident	
Tolerant of stress	
Willing to assume responsibility	

Table 1: Traits and Skills Critical to Leaders

Behavior theories emphasized two main kinds of leadership behaviors: task behaviors (e.g. facilitate goal accomplishment) and relationship behaviors (e.g. help subordinates feel comfortable with themselves and their work context) (Northouse, 2013). Key findings based on Stogdill's (1984) seminal work came out of The Ohio State University (Leader Behavior Description Questionnaire (LBDQ)) in the late 1940s, and the University of Michigan (impact of leadership behaviors on small groups). In the early 1960s, Blake and Mouton developed the Managerial Grid, known today as the Leadership Grid seen below (Blake & Mouton, 1985; Northouse, 2013). The grid was developed based on the assumption that effective leaders demonstrate concern for people (vertical axis) and concern for results (horizontal axis).



Figure 2: The Leadership Grid

Finally, Douglas McGregor's (1960) XY theory, popularized in his book *The Human Side of Enterprise*, suggested that there are two fundamental approaches to managing people. By moving away from a set of assumptions known as theory X (authoritarian, repressive, tight control), managers who use theory Y (empowering, liberating, developmental) tend to produce better results, because theory Y allows their people to grow and develop and therefore perform better (Northouse, 2013; Mantle & Litchy, 2013). This theory has been shown to be more prevalent in software and high-technology companies in cultures like Japan, Korea and China (Mantle & Lichty, 2013).

Contingency theories “represent[ed] a shift in leadership research from focusing on only the leader to focusing on the leader in conjunction with the situation in which the leader works” (Northouse, 2013, p. 135). Diverging from situational theory, which focused more on the behaviors that the leader should adopt, contingency theories take a broader view of the leadership context. Fred Fiedler's contingency theory asserted that effective leadership is dependent (contingent) upon the leader's psychological orientation relative to three contextual variables: leader-member relations, task structure, and positional power (Northouse, 2013).

Next, Robert House's Path-Goal theory was developed to describe the way that leaders encourage and support their followers in achieving the goals they have set by making the path they should take clear and easy. Toward achieving this, House and Mitchell (1974) described four types of leadership: supportive, directive, participative and achievement oriented. Vroom and Yetton's Decision Participation Contingency Theory hypothesized that the effectiveness of a decision procedure depends upon a number of aspects of the situation: the importance of the decision quality and acceptance; the amount of relevant information possessed by the leader and subordinates; the likelihood that subordinates will accept an autocratic decision or cooperate in trying to make a good decision if allowed to participate; the amount of disagreement among subordinates with respect to their preferred alternatives (Northouse, 2013).

Finally, Hersey and Blanchard's Situational Leadership Theory, an extension of Blake and Mouton's Managerial Grid Model and Reddin's 3-D management style theory, suggested that leaders should adapt their style to follower development style (or 'maturity'), based on how ready and willing the follower is to perform required tasks (that is, their competence and motivation). Based on this model, there are four leadership styles (S1 to S4) that match the development levels (D1 to D4) of the followers. The four

styles suggest that leaders should put greater or lesser focus on the task in question relative to the relationship between the leader and the follower, depending on the development level of the follower (Northouse, 2013).

Leader-Member Exchange (LMX) Theories focus on the relationship that develops between managers and members of their teams. The LMX proposed by Graen postulates that all relationships between managers and subordinates go through three stages: role taking, role making, and routinization (Northouse, 2013). The foundational research on LMX theories addressed the differing behaviors employed by managers with different subordinates, but later a revised version emphasized the need to develop high exchange relationships (characterized by high level of trust and respect) with all employees in order to achieve beneficial outcomes such as positive performance and attitudinal outcomes (O'Donnell, 2009).

Contemporary Leadership Theories

James MacGregor Burns (1978), a Pulitzer Prize winner, is known for his seminal work, *Leadership*, which introduced the concepts transactional and transformational leadership and led to a shift in research towards **transformational-transactional theories of leadership** during the 1980's. According to this perspective, a transactional leader engages others in the reciprocal activity of exchanging one thing for another (e.g. presidential candidates promising reform in exchange for votes). On the other hand, transformational leaders, also called visionaries or change agents, are recognized for their roles in examining and searching for the needs and motivating others through an agenda of more visionary needs (Burns, 1978).

Transformational and transactional theories served as the catalyst for the study of **charismatic leadership**, which describes a style of leadership marked by self-confidence, enthusiasm and influential ways to garner support and respect from followers (Bertocci, 2009). Conger and Kanungo (1998) described five behavioral attributes of charismatic leaders that contribute to a transformational style: vision and articulation; sensitivity to the environment; sensitivity to member needs; personal risk taking; and performing unconventional behavior.

In the same vein, the concept of **servant leadership** emerged, grounded in the belief that the servant leader serves others, rather than others serving the leader. Serving others involves helping others to achieve and improve. There are two criteria of servant leadership: (1) The people served grow as individuals, becoming 'healthier, wiser, more autonomous and more likely themselves to become servants [in the leadership sense]' (Greenleaf, 1977, p. 27); (2) Leadership benefits those who are least advantaged in society (or at least does not disadvantage them).

Over last two decades, **Global leadership theories** began as an interdisciplinary approach to studying effective leadership (Ngunjiri, & Madsen, 2015). This perspective "differs from domestic leadership in degree in terms of issues related to connectedness, boundary spanning, complexity, ethical challenges, dealing with tensions and paradoxes, pattern recognition, and building learning environments, teams and community and leading large-scale change efforts across diverse cultures" (Osland & Bird, 2006, p. 123). Meanwhile, studies on organizational behavior continue to flourish and influence the business sector by way of leading scholar-practitioners like Peter Drucker and Peter Senge (Katyal, 2009). Another area gaining traction in light of rapid technological and global advancement is the study of organizational culture. Edgar Schein (2010), a prominent scholar in the field of organizational development and former professor at the MIT Sloan School of Management expressed his views in

Organizational Culture and Leadership: (1) that leaders as entrepreneurs are the main architects of culture, (2) that after cultures are formed, the cultures influence what kind of leadership is possible, and (3) that if elements of culture become dysfunctional, leadership can and must do something to speed up culture change (p. xi).

2.3 WOMEN'S LEADERSHIP, DEVELOPMENT, AND EMPOWERMENT

This section shows the findings of an extensive literature review of studies on women's leadership and empowerment that were informed by global reports on development, sustainability and peace. The review of mainstream leadership theories has contributed to the general understanding of leadership, but of significance is the increasing trend of literature on transformational leadership, an aspect of leadership that creates lasting and sustainable change. Moreover, scholarship on the feminist perspective of leadership has drawn "from related theoretical debates about feminist theories of power, autonomy, citizenship, and representation to gain a better understanding of what feminist theories of leadership could and should look like" (O'Conner, 2010, p. 3). The evolution of theories of women's leadership is found in Appendix 1C.

2.3.1 FOLLETT'S RELATIONAL LEADERSHIP THEORY

While many leadership theories have been robustly developed and tested over the past 85 years, with an increasing amount of scholarship promoting women's leadership, to date there has been no cohesive leadership theory developed especially for women. Mary Parker Follett was a pioneer scholar and first female writer in the US to articulate her ideas about leadership, which were radically different from the prevailing theories of leadership in the 1920s (Witte, 2012). She was a woman ahead of her time, boldly reframing leadership from a relational perspective, emphasizing the role of communities (groups), creative experience and human cooperation (Schermerhorn, 2012). She was also one of the first to articulate a theory of followership, where the role of the follower is being in concert with the leader and both are working towards a common goal. In *The Essentials of Leadership*, Follett (1949/1987) clearly articulates the role of followers in leadership situations:

Their part is not merely to follow, they have a very active part to play and that is to keep the leader in control of a situation. Let us not think that we are either leaders or—nothing of much importance. . . The members of a group are not so much following a leader as helping to keep him in control of a situation (p. 55).

While adaptations of mainstream leadership theories have been made to include women, it was not until the 1960s-1970s when variations of contingency theories—situational, contingency, and path-goal theories of leadership in particular—"paved the way for women to begin to situate their own experiences within these theoretical leadership frameworks" (Witte, 2012, p. 28).

2.3.2 FEMINIST LEADERSHIP

The foregoing review of mainstream leadership theories contributes to the general understanding of leadership. However, of great significance is the growth of a feminist perspective on leadership, which "views leadership as a means to social transformation and a belief that collaborative styles of leadership are integral to achieving an equitable society" (O'Neil, Plank & Domingo, 2015, p. 6). Feminist researchers and scholars have endeavored to develop a comprehensive understanding of the diversity among women's experiences through various lenses, theoretical orientations and local/globalized contexts. Hesse-Biber (2012) noted "in some ways, the origins of feminist research's epistemological and

methodological focus draws on these insights and struggles; feminist empiricism, standpoint theories, postmodernism, and transnational perspectives all recognize the importance of women's lived experiences to the goal of unearthing subjugated knowledge" (p. 3).

Contemporary scholarship on women is highlighting "feminist reconstruction of leadership...involving women in meaningful discourse about organizational life and values as autonomous individuals rather than as objects of patriarchal discourse with the focus on relationships between individuals and leadership" (Blackmore, 1989, p. 113). Moreover, "central to feminist theory is the belief that the inferior status delegated to women is due to societal inequality, that the personal status of women is shaped by political, economic and social power relations and that women should have equal access to all forms of power" (Turner & Maschi, 2014, p. 152).

In her comparative review of mainstream leadership literature and feminist leadership, Srilatha Batliwala (2010), a prominent Indian scholar-activist, finds that, while a definitive characterization of feminist leadership is lacking, "the concept of feminist leadership has...been widely discussed, described and analyzed" (p.11). In her extensive review of various definitions of leadership, she created a composite definition of feminist leadership:

Women with a feminist perspective and vision of social justice, individually and collectively transforming themselves to use their power, resources and skills in non-oppressive, inclusive structures and processes to mobilize others – especially other women – around a shared agenda for social, cultural, economic and political transformation for equality and the realization of human rights for all (p. 14).

2.3.3 WOMEN AND DEVELOPMENT

Women who had been marginalized from mainstream literature (leadership or otherwise) began to find interdisciplinary and multi-disciplinary ways to articulate their own experiences. Noted female writers like Virginia Woolf, Simone de Beauvoir, and Betty Friedan expressed deep emotions "of exclusion from the dominant avenues of knowledge building, seeing their own experiences, concerns, and worth diminished and invalidated by the dominant powers of their society" and over the years contemporary feminist writers developed literary pieces and research that cemented the link "between feminism, activism, and the academy and women's everyday lives" (Hesse-Biber, 2012, p. 3). There are clearly common themes to women's experiences and underpinnings of identities. For example, in a meta-analysis of literature on women's psychosocial development, Caffarella and Olson's (1993) noted three emergent themes: (1) centrality of relationships, (2) issues of intimacy and identity, and (3) diverse and nonlinear patterns of development. While historical leadership theories failed to take into account how these three themes shape and form women's identity and leadership style, these themes are clearly resonating across theories on women's development, leadership and empowerment.

As feminist writers and researchers emerged from the trenches, their individual voices, unheard and unnoticed at first, became a chorus of activism and empowerment over time. Carol Gilligan, an American feminist scholar, ethicist and psychologist, published *In a Different Voice* in 1982, criticizing Kohlberg's theory of moral development by maintaining that women's moral development was different from men, with the former leaning towards an ethics of care and the latter toward an ethics of justice. In 1986, Mary Field Belenky, Blythe McVicker Clinchy, Nancy Rule Goldberger, and Jill Mattuck Tarule wrote *Women's Ways of Knowing: The Development of Self, Voice and Mind*, in which they described the cognitive development of women. Specifically, they noted five epistemological perspectives from which

women view reality and draw conclusions about truth, knowledge and authority: Silence, Received Knowledge, Subjective Knowledge, Procedural Knowledge and Constructed Knowledge.

In 1991, Susan Faludi, an American journalist and Pulitzer Prize winner for Explanatory Journalism published *Backlash: The Undeclared War Against American Women*, which highlighted the backlash against feminism in the 1980s as media targeted professional working women and fortified the arguments against the women's liberation movement. This is one of the early critical works addressing the work-life issues that women experience. These literary pieces were influential in giving rise to feminist research criticizing "androcentric" views within social sciences (Hesse-Biber, 2012). For example, Margrit Eichler and Jeanne Lapointe's (1985) research primer, *On the Treatment of the Sexes in Research*, cautioned feminist researchers against "treating Western sex roles as universal, transforming statistical differences into innate differences, and translating difference as inferiority" (p. 9).

In recent years, dialogue and statistics highlighting women in emerging economies have blossomed fueling diverse research like those of Mary Brinton (2001), a sociology professor at Harvard University. Brinton wrote *Women's working lives in East Asia*, addressing East Asian married women's economic participation in Japan, Taiwan and South Korea noting that married women "undergo the most dramatic transformation during late industrialization" (p. 2). In the last decade, the urgent need to restructure societies torn apart by war and fueled with violence has provoked literature that examines women's experience of sexual violence and armed conflict. A notable work is by Malala Yousafzai (2013), a Pakistani activist for female education and the youngest Nobel Prize Laureate, who wrote about her harrowing experience in *I am Malala: The girl who stood up for education and was shot by the Taliban*.

2.3.4 WOMEN AND EMPOWERMENT

The notion of women's empowerment began in the 60's but scholarship on the topic flourished around and after the 80s, after the United Nations declared the 'Women's Decade' in 1975 (Mandal, 2013). Now a major concern in the global arena, along with security and peace, the issue of women's empowerment is an imperative political, social and cultural agenda for many countries. The UN clearly states that:

The empowerment of women concerns women gaining power and control over their own lives. It involves awareness-raising, building self-confidence, expansion of choices, increased access to and control over resources and actions to transform the structures and institutions which reinforce and perpetuate gender discrimination and inequality...Increasing women's power in empowerment strategies does not refer to power over, or controlling forms of power, but rather to alternative forms of power: power to; power with and power from within which focus on utilizing individual and collective strengths to work towards common goals without coercion or domination (UN Training Center, 2001, para. 1).

Within the plethora of scholarship on gender equality relating to issues of empowerment, it is clear that the concept of empowerment is multi-dimensional, and, while it is conceptually related to gender equality, it is distinctly different (Grown, Gupta & Kes). At the heart of empowerment is the ability of women to make choices. This "refers to the expansion in people's ability to make strategic life choices in a context where their ability was previously denied to them" (Kabeer, 1999, p. 437). This implies that to be empowered, women must not only have resources (a pre-condition in the empowerment process), they must also have the agency (or power within) to make strategic choices in order for them to achieve their capabilities (Kabeer, 1999; Sen, 1999; Gakiya, 2004).

Based on various definitions of empowerment, Mandal (2013) noted that literature on women's empowerment is categorized into five main parts: social, educational, economic, political and

psychological. Meanwhile, in a comprehensive review of women’s empowerment theories, Malhotra, Schuler and Boender (2002) found *resources* and *agency* as the two most common components of empowerment, with the former serving “as catalysts for empowerment or conditions under which empowerment is likely to occur” and the latter “as the process of removing various types of “unfreedoms” that constrain individual choice and agency” (pp. 8-9). Naila Kabeer (2001), a prominent British social economist and social justice writer, asserted that, from a process standpoint, “choice” comprises three inter-related dimensions: *resources*, which pre-conditions the ability to exercise choice; *agency*, which is the ability to “define one’s goals and act upon or (power within)”; and *achievements*, which refer to “the potential people have for living the lives they want” (p. 438). To achieve gender equality, the World Bank’s strategic report *Engendering Development through Gender Equality in Rights, Resources and Voice* (2001) outlined rights, resources, and voice as the three critical components. Similarly, the UNICEF has adopted the Women’s Empowerment Framework by Sara Longwe, which views empowerment as crucial in each of the five levels – welfare, access to resources, awareness-raising, participation, and control (UNICEF, 1994). Appendix 1C summarizes the primary ideas and theories focusing on women’s development, leadership or empowerment.

3. BENEFITS OF EMPOWERING WOMEN: AN OVERVIEW OF DIMENSIONS OF TRANSFORMATION FOR 2030 AGENDA FOR SDGS

The global development agenda “Transforming Our World: The 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development” declared 17 Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs). One such goal is *to achieve gender equality and empower all women and girls* (SDG 5). The agenda also specifically calls for “Peace and Security”, an ideal that was not clearly articulated in MDGs. The SDGs are built on the MDGs (intended for developing countries) and apply to all countries. The SDG primarily focuses on three dimensions of sustainable development: economic progress, social inclusion, and environmental protection and human rights (peace and security). To further reinforce the idea of an integrated and transformative global agenda, the UN introduced the six essential elements seen below.



Figure 3: The Six Essential Elements of the Sustainable Development Goals. Source: “The Road to Dignity by 2030 – Synthesis report of the Secretary General on the post-2015 Agenda”, UN, 4 December 2014.

Cross-sectorial realization of women’s significant roles and contributions would help advance other global development goals, since “the empowerment of women is not only a normative right but also vital to the achievement of other development goals, such as the reduction of poverty and environmental sustainability, and is therefore an important part of the economic and developmental strategy for attaining inclusive and sustainable industrial development” (UNIDO, n.d. p.3). Numerous studies have underscored the fact that investments in women yield multiple dividends in terms of improvement in economic, social and environmental progress and sustainability (e.g. UN Women, 2014; Goldman Sachs Equity Research, 2013; OECD, 2008; Catalyst, 2004). According to the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD), if female human capital were used globally:

- 1) Economic growth would increase in all countries;
- 2) Number of people living in poverty would decline in all countries;
- 3) Fertility rates would rise in OECD countries and decline in non-OECD countries;
- 4) Business performance and innovation would be enhanced;
- 5) Cost-effectiveness of health care and social programs would increase;
- 6) Government policies would better respond to the needs of all citizens; and
- 7) Environmental damage from unsustainable activities would decrease (OECD, 2008, p. 8)

A critical examination of women’s leadership and contributions in the areas of economic progress, governance, security and sustainability points to two dominant trends in the literature. The first is women’s fundamental role in economic growth, poverty reduction, food security, education, health, security and peace work. The second is essential attributes of women’s leadership that are predominantly based on adult development and contemporary learning theories (e.g. transformational leadership, servant leadership). In aggregate, the dimensions and benefits of women’s leadership and empowerment strongly relate to personal growth and societal transformation, because change operates at both personal and systemic levels.

To organize the vast amount of literature, we adopted a conceptual framework to categorize the benefits of empowering women into three dimensions: women as global and transformational leaders, women as economic drivers and women as change agents. These three dimensions are conceptually and empirically interrelated. These dimensions also correlate with Hacker and Roberts’ (2004) perspectives of transformational leadership – personal transformation (women as global and transformational leaders), relational transformation (women as change agents influenced by social and cultural norms and values) and enterprise transformation (women as economic drivers for innovation). A change in any one dimension impacts the other two. For example, the attainment of personal transformation increases the likelihood that women become change agents or participate in governance and peacekeeping but does not guarantee it. Similarly, when women become economic drivers, it may increase their agency and decrease the likelihood of violence. Clearly, like the turning gears shown below, change in any one dimension is crucial in meeting the global agenda, in particular, SDG5.

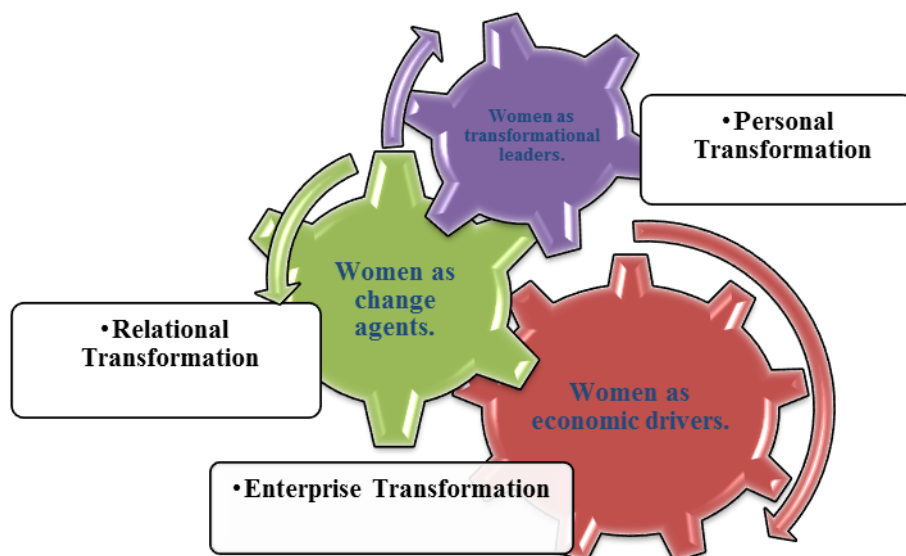


Figure 4: Interconnections between Personal, Relational and Enterprise Transformation.

3.1 WOMEN AS GLOBAL AND TRANSFORMATIONAL LEADERS

Numerous studies have shown that women leaders tend to employ different leadership styles than men (see Eagly & Carli, 2007; Eagly, Diekmann, Johannesen-Schmidt & Koenig, 2004; Eagly & Johannesen-Schmidt, 2007; Eagly, Johannesen-Schmidt & van Engen, 2003; Eagly & Johnson, 1990). For example, a meta-analysis conducted by Eagly and Johnson (1990) showed that women are more task-oriented as compared to men in roles that were gender congenial for females. In terms of traits, women are more communal in nature (Eagly & Steffen, 1984) and gravitate towards interpersonal group processes (Eagly & Karau, 1991). Their decision and negotiation styles are more focused on democratic processes.

Driven by the economic and social challenges of the 21st century and persistent exclusion of women's voices and representation in political/positional leadership and decision-making, there is a growing need to understand our current political and cultural context through transformational leadership. Tichy and Ulrich (1984) noted that transformational leaders bring about changes in political and cultural systems. Transformational leadership "occurs when one or more persons engage with others in such a way that leaders and followers raise one another to higher levels of motivation and morality" (Burns, 1978, p. 20). Jahan (1999) described the qualities of a transformational leader:

Vision and Commitment	Institutional Behavior
Equality	Participatory
Equity	Egalitarian
Empowerment	Responsive
Human rights	Transparent
Peace	Accountable
Sustainability	Non-corrupt
Shared power, responsibility,	Consensus-oriented
Well-being	Empowering

Table 2: Characteristics of a Transformational Leader

In line with this, Bass and Avolio's study (1994) showed that women managers have more idealized influence and are more inspirational and individually considerate. In contrast, men rated higher in management-by-exception and laissez-faire leadership styles. Moreover, women are shown to be self-directed and promote self-development. Women were rated more highly than men at self-development (Folkman, 2011). In this regard, Eagly & Carli (2007) affirmed that women leaders tend to be more transformational than male leaders.

Data also indicate that female leaders were rated more highly in the category "high integrity and honesty" in leadership positions (Folkman, 2011). National Democratic Institute (NDI), a nonprofit, nonpartisan, nongovernmental organization, support this with a strong message that "women are particularly effective in promoting honest government...countries where women are supported as leaders and at the ballot box have a correspondingly low level of corruption" (n.d. para 2). Their economic and political contributions are vital for a healthy and inclusive progress of our entire population, and, more importantly, for the development of sustainable peace and security worldwide.

3.2 WOMEN AS ECONOMIC DRIVERS.

Global indicators point to the fact that women are key economic drivers, controlling roughly \$28 trillion with total yearly earnings reaching \$18 trillion (Silverstein & Sayre, 2009). In other words, women represent the world's largest market opportunity, bigger than China and India combined, and potentially adding as much as \$12 trillion (11%) in annual global 2025 GDP (Silverstein & Sayre, 2009). Moreover, there is a strong correlation between women empowered with education and financial influence and healthy outcomes for their families and economic development for the society as a whole (World Development Report, 2012). An increase in female labor force participation—or a reduction in the gap between women's and men's labor force participation—results in faster economic growth (OECD, 2008). Evidence from a range of countries shows that increasing the share of household income controlled by women, either through their own earnings or cash transfers, changes spending in ways that benefit children (World Development Report, 2012).



Figure 5: Women are Key Drivers of Economic Growth Source:

http://i.dell.com/sites/doccontent/corporate/secure/en/Documents/HRC_Infographic_053013_1115a.pdf

Women's leadership has been shown to enhance productivity and financial performance. Studies have shown that having women in leadership position is good for business. Companies greatly benefit from

increasing leadership opportunities for women, which is shown to increase organizational effectiveness. It is estimated that companies with three or more women in senior management functions score higher in all dimensions of organizational effectiveness (McKinsey, 2014). Companies with higher female board representation also do better. These companies outperformed those with the least female representation by 53% in terms of return on equity, 42% in terms of return on sales and 66% in terms of return on invested capital (Catalyst, 2007).

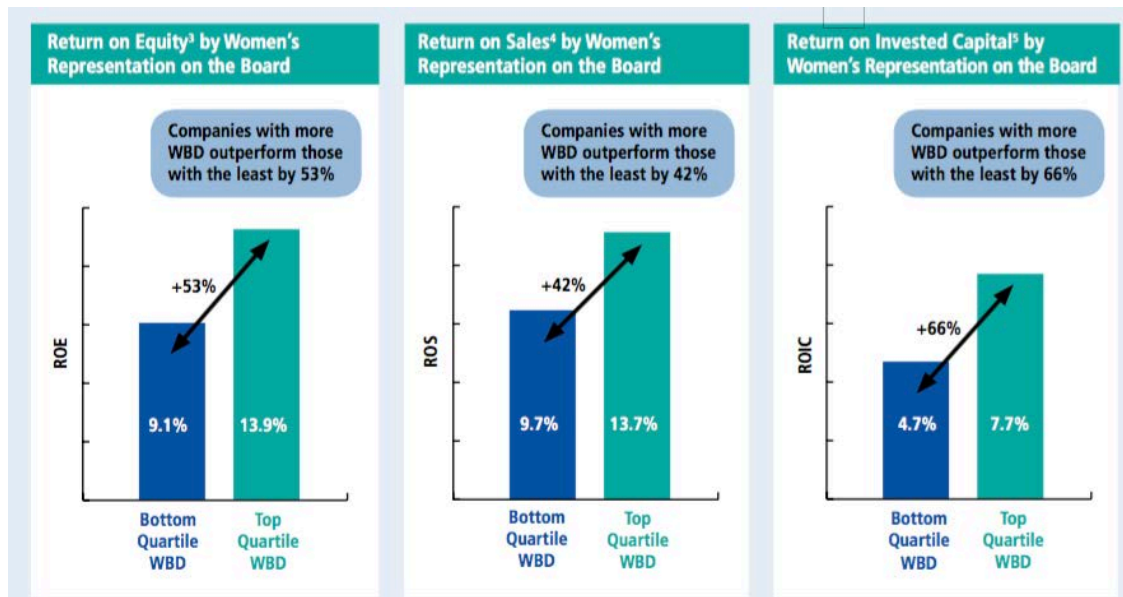


Figure 6: Women Board Directors (WBD) Align with Strong Performance at Fortune 500 Companies Source: Catalyst, 2007

In closing, healthy economic progress requires peace and security. Without stabilities in our economic and political spheres, our sustainable and inclusive development will not only suffer but very likely will prove unachievable. Accordingly, a greater investment in peace and security is a key ingredient of any viable development plan.

3.3 WOMEN AS CHANGE AGENTS.

Women leaders in strong trend exceed men in their attention to human relationships, particularly in delivering a more positive, reward oriented approach (Eagly, 2013). Women were also rated more highly than men in championing change and innovation (Folkman, 2011). Unfortunately, women continue to experience barriers to political participation. As the 2011 UN General Assembly resolution on women's political participation noted, "Women in every part of the world continue to be largely marginalized from the political sphere, often as a result of discriminatory laws, practices, attitudes and gender stereotypes, low levels of education, lack of access to health care and the disproportionate effect of poverty on women" (UN Women, n.d., [para. 1](#)).

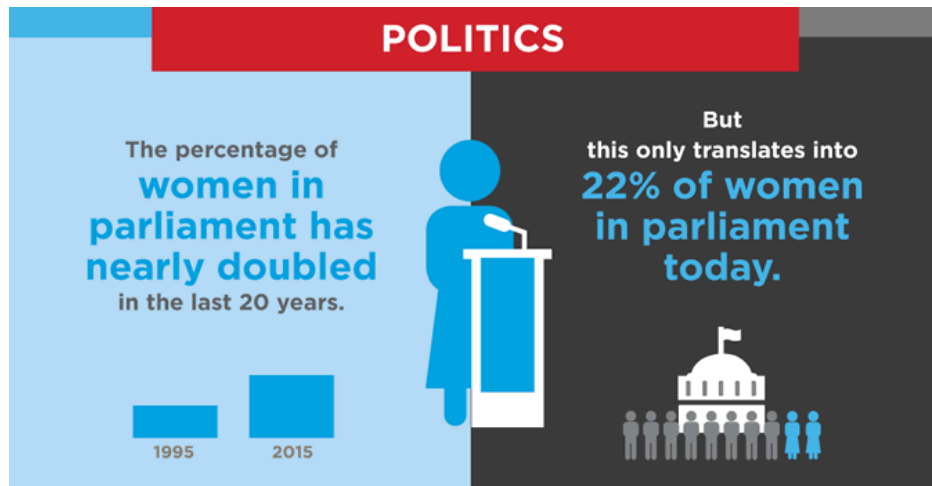


Figure 7: Women in Parliament Source: UN Women
https://twitter.com/un_women/status/705204858010411008

According to the National Democratic Institute (NDI), women are key change agents in civil society and the political arena because:

- Women are highly committed to promoting national and local policies that address the socio-economic and political challenges facing women, children and disadvantaged groups.
- Women are particularly effective in promoting honest government. Countries where women are supported as leaders and at the ballot box have a correspondingly low level of corruption.
- Women are strongly committed to peacebuilding, as they often disproportionately suffer the consequences of armed conflict. Reconstruction and reconciliation efforts take root more quickly and are more sustainable when women are involved. By helping women become participating members of a democracy, one can mitigate conflicts or stop conflicts before they begin.
- Women are strongly linked to positive developments in education, infrastructure and health standards at the local level. Where rates of gender development and empowerment are higher, human rates of development and standards of living are also higher.

Additionally, anecdotal evidence about particular notable cases suggests that women tend to use more inclusive and unifying strategies than men (Adler, 2015; Srivastva & Cooperrider, 1998). Some notable women leaders, change agents, 'movers', 'shakers' and 'provokers' include:

- Ireland's first female president, Mary Robinson, popular for her advocacy of women's and homosexuals' rights, pushed her agenda into the highest office and after her presidency continued to exercise her activism through organizations like Realizing Rights in New York, and the Mary Robinson Foundation—Climate Justice, in Dublin (Harvard Business Review, 2013).
- Aung San Suu Kyi, legally elected leader of Burma (formerly Myanmar), championed a non-violent approach to gaining democracy and used her house arrest as a platform for dialogue against human rights violations (Adler, 2015).

- Agatha Uwilingiyimana, former prime minister of Rwanda, courageously signed the peace treaty between Hutu and Tutsis in order to end the genocide but was later massacred by members of her own tribe (Adler, 2015).
- Corazon Aquino, the Philippines' first female president, rose to power after her husband's assassination and changed the political discourse through the People's Power Revolution (Adler, 2015).
- Taiwan's first female president, Tsai Ing-wen, a U.S. and U.K. trained lawyer, and leader of the Beijing-skeptic Democratic Progressive Party (DPP), was voted into office in January 2016, ending eight years of Nationalist Party (Kuomintang/KMT). She is known for outspoken views and the desire to unite DPP and KMT, support for LGBT issues, advocacy for women's rights, equality and female participation in politics, and a democratic stance toward improving bilateral relationship with China (Weigel, 2016).

3.4 TRANSFORMATIVE APPROACH TO WOMEN'S LEADERSHIP AND EMPOWERMENT

The benefits associated with investing in women's leadership are undeniable – not just for personal transformation, but relational and the whole enterprise as well. While a number of recent initiatives on women's leadership and empowerment have focused on implementing and investing in women's empowerment primarily through economic opportunities, there is still a crucial knowledge gap around the most effective interventions for women's overall empowerment. The interventions required to materialize these benefits are fast becoming mainstreamed particularly in light of activism on social media, however, implementation of these interventions remains lackluster and challenging due to lack of funding and government buy-in. As the Global Gender Gap Report 2015 (see appendix 1D) reported, strong and persistent investment in women reaps considerable social and economic returns and this in turn has implications for political stability, economic prosperity and global sustainability and peace. To catalyze these changes, our review of the pertinent literature (UN Women, 2012; Jahan, 1999) supports the following strategies: transform the political agenda, build a constituency, and strengthen the women's movement and affirmative action so that the participation of women in these processes reaches a critical mass. Specifically, we reiterate the following recommendations on Women's Human Rights and Gender Equality for the UN General Assembly Open Working Group on Sustainable Development Goals (OWG on SDGs):

- Reform macroeconomic policy to ensure gender equality and the fulfillment of human rights.
- Promote women's access to decent work and social protection, and address unpaid care work.
- Eliminate gender-based violence and discrimination.
- Ensure sexual and reproductive health and rights.
- Ensure gender-equitable distribution and safe use of natural resources.
- Address the gendered nature of armed conflict, peace-making, and transitions to peace. (UN-NGLS, n.d., p. 2)

A transformative approach to women's leadership and empowerment requires a comprehensive and integrated framework such as the UN System Wide Action Plan (UN SWAP), which laid out six key elements for promotion of gender equality and women's empowerment through:

- Strengthening accountability for gender equality results among staff at all levels in order to close implementation gaps both in policy areas and in the field.

- Enhancing results-based management for gender equality by utilizing common-system indicators and measurement protocols.
- Establishing oversight through monitoring, evaluation and reporting by utilizing inter alia, peer reviews, gender audits as well as collecting sex-disaggregated data.
- Allocating sufficient human and financial resources including better utilization of current resources, joint programming, allocation of additional resources where required, alignment of resources with expected outcomes and tracking the utilization of resources.
- Developing and/or strengthening staff capacity and competency in gender mainstreaming by adopting both common-system and individual organizations' capacity development approaches.
- Ensuring coherence/coordination and knowledge/information management at the global, regional and national levels (UN Women UNSWAP, 2012, pp. 1-2).

3.4.1 SUGGESTED FRAMEWORK FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

In our analysis of recommendations from the literature, and having learned from the previous implementation strategies at UN, we refer to the three dimensions developed by the UN Millennium Project Task Force on Education and Gender Equality – the capabilities domain, access to resources and opportunities, and the security domain (Grown, Gupta & Kes, 2006). The *capabilities domain* “refers to basic human abilities as measured by education, health, and nutrition.” These capabilities are fundamental to individual well-being and are the means through which individuals access other forms of well-being” (Grown, Gupta & Kes, 2006, p. 1-2). The *access to resources and opportunities domain* “refers primarily to equality in the opportunity to use or apply basic capabilities through access to economic assets (e.g. land or housing) and resources (e.g. income and employment)...political opportunity (e.g. representation in parliaments and other political bodies)” (Grown, Gupta & Kes, 2006, p. 2). The *security domain* focuses on “reduced vulnerability to violence and conflict [because] violence directed specifically at women and girls often aims at keeping them in “their place” through fear (Grown, Gupta & Kes, 2006, p. 2). These three dimensions are intricately connected and the attainment of all three is integral in achieving both MDG3 and SDG5 (Grown, Gupta & Kes, 2006). The table below shows recommendations across seven categories: governance, humanitarian action, peace and security, business, food security, health and well-being.

	Capabilities Domain	Access to Resources and Opportunities Domain	Security Domain
Governance	To provide financial incentives and support to spur women's economic empowerment	To construct alternate promotional systems for women and men, career tracks that will complement work-life balance (Bureau of Economic and Business Affairs, 2012)	To implement and monitor progress outlined in the Security Council Resolution 1325
Humanitarian Action			
Peace and Security			
Business	To provide microfinance, educational and legal aid interventions (Centre for Economic	To craft and implement initiatives	To effectively enforce women's equal and full participation as active change agents in conflict resolution
Food Security			
Health and Well-Being			

Development and Sustainability	and Business Research, 2008)	for women to gain access to land, credit, agricultural inputs and education, training and extension services (FAO, 2003.)	and peace building. To promote awareness of policy on sexual harassment, on gender discrimination or gender biased approach and the complaint process
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Table 3: Recommendations for Expanding Women's Leadership

The three domains are essential in empowering women as well as formulating the future research plan for peacebuilding and have thus contributed significantly to the research proposal in Section 4. Recommendations made based on these domains are critical in meeting SDG5 in order to pave the way for transformation in women's lives through equitable distribution of power, opportunity and outcomes. We close section 3 by reiterating two points: 1) that gender equality is a basic human right and the fulcrum for peace development and sustainability; 2) that interventions designed to empower women must be programmatically agile to meet the changing global context and shifting dynamics of gender and power; and 3) that initiatives on women's leadership and empowerment require sustained commitment and long term vision in order to transcend barriers like shortages in funding and shifting power relations. The crucial work towards realizing SDG5 is beyond the scope of one entity, one organization, and one country. It requires a fundamental shift in paradigm and through collective responsibility and commitment, coordination and collaboration among all government actors, NGOs, and other stakeholders. With this new perspective, transformative change can begin to happen.

4. WOMEN'S CONTRIBUTIONS TO PEACE AND SECURITY DURING HUMANITARIAN CRISIS

The inclusion of women in peace talks is imperative to building sustainable peace. Women are more likely to speak for other disenfranchised groups, and to recognize the collateral injustices that are side-effects of war. By giving voice to the entire community, and addressing their needs and concerns, all members are able to exercise their fundamental democratic rights. Through shared empowerment, everyone contributes to a healthy and enduring process of rebuilding these fractured nations.

The WHO ("World Health Official: 2013 Saw 'Unprecedented Period' Of Humanitarian Disasters," 2013) has described the years since 2011, as "worst years that the international community has seen in almost a century" for the following reasons":

1. **Facing the abyss:** Extremist groups, such as the Islamic State "ISIS", have emerged, creating chaos in Iraq, Syria, and other Middle Eastern countries, and, more recently are extending their reach into Europe.
2. **Suffering from famine:** South Sudan, Yemen, and other nations are suffering through years of ethnically-driven political instability and wars, disrupting the growing and distribution of food.

3. **Waiting for rescue:** Central African Republic's sectarian civil war has turned a once peaceful nation to a war zone, creating a humanitarian crisis for its internally displaced citizens.
4. **Clinging to hope:** Syria's civil war has been declared by the UN as **"the worst humanitarian crisis of the 21st century."** It has resulted into the highest number of refugees from one country worldwide. Millions of displaced people are beginning to rebuild their lives in a foreign land.

This section reviews women's role in the peace process, highlights research needs to increase the understanding of women's contemporary and evolving roles in the context of a humanitarian crisis and proposes an example of research initiative in Jordan to help design an intervention that enhances women's participation in global peace and security in the future.

4.1 INTRODUCTION AND BACKGROUND

Unlike the major wars of the 20th century, contemporary wars are more than territorial disputes between nations. Many are driven by cultural and ideological divisions enhanced by political instability and the collapse of dictatorships. Our understanding of what peace means has also expanded to include more than the absence of violence. Preventing and resolving these fanatical conflicts calls for new approaches that include the voices of all members of the affected communities. Our understanding of how women contribute to the peace process in the context of the UN SDGs and the interactions between SDG5 and other SDGs, is incomplete, and offers a rich area for scholarly research.

Much is known about the victimization of women through rape, trafficking, and early marriages, but less visible is the role that women play in the peace process and how it can be encouraged and expanded. Recent analyses of female peacemaking found much evidence that women do make significant contributions to the peace process, as described in a report by the UN women (Cohn, Kinsella, & Gibbings, 2004). The recommendation for female leadership in the peace process has gained greater force with success stories showing the power of women's peace activism in Liberia (Gbowee, 2009) and most recently in Tunisia (Pedersen & Salib, 2013). Based on research undertaken by the Graduate Institute in Geneva from 2011 to 2015, an in-depth analysis of 40 peace processes since the end of the Cold War, academics have shown that in cases where women's groups were able to exercise a strong influence on the negotiation process, there was a much higher chance that an agreement would be reached than when women's groups exercised weak or no influence (O'Reilly, Suilleabhain, & Paffenholz, 2015). **In fact, in cases of women's participation and strong influence, an agreement was almost always reached. Furthermore, strong influence of women in negotiation processes also positively correlated with a greater likelihood of agreements being implemented.**

Despite these results, the average number of women participating in official roles at peace negotiations remains remarkably low. UN Women recently reviewed a sample of 31 major peace processes between 1992 and 2011 which revealed that only 4 percent of signatories, 2.4 percent of chief mediators, 3.7 percent of witnesses and 9 percent of negotiators were women (Cohn et al., 2004). These numbers haven't improved significantly since the adoption of the landmark UN Security Council Resolution 1325 on women and peace and security in 2000. Nonetheless, this resolution serves as a cornerstone for the advancement and recognition of women's vital role in peace-building and post-conflict reconstruction. As global turmoil continues year upon year, it is crucial that women's peace activism be protected and supported so that they can work to prevent violent conflicts, ensure social justice, and protect human rights when conflict does arise, and build and maintain peace after the conflict has ended. Also, it is

important for institutions that work towards global peace to broaden and deepen their understanding of effective women's peace activism in different settings all around the world.

In this time of global instability and wars, the UN declared the Syrian Civil War to be **"the worst humanitarian crisis of the 21st century"** ("Urging global assistance for Syrian refugees, European Union at UN says 'everyone can offer help'," 2015). Women are particularly affected by this conflict. According to the UNHCR 2016 report "Woman Alone: The fight for survival by Syria's refugee women," women and children make up more than 75% of the Syrian refugees who have fled to neighboring countries such as Jordan. Women are the sole providers for one in four Syrian refugee families in Jordan. The report concludes:

Syria's refugee women are struggling to make ends meet in an unfamiliar and sometimes hostile environment. Many face a double trauma: the pain of losing or being separated from their families, coupled with the distress of living in exile alone (UNHCR, 2014).

According to the World Bank report, *World Development Indicators 2012*, empowering women improves outcomes in any sector. Investments in education and health, both key issues in the Syrian crisis, have proven to have a large impact when focused on girls and women. Increasing the amount spent on key health interventions for women and children by \$5 per person per year can yield a nine-fold return on investment. Ensuring that all students in low-income countries, including girls, gain basic reading skills before leaving school could cut extreme poverty by as much as 12% (United Nations Secretary-General, 2012).

This section of the literature review will examine the evidence that giving women a seat at the table where issues of war and peace are discussed is a powerful tool in resolving conflict. Part 4.2 shows how the international community mobilizes support for women's activism in peace and security issues. Then 4.3 lays out the benefits and contributions of women's participation in resolving conflicts and maintaining peace. Part 4.4 identifies the barriers that inhibit women's participation in these processes, especially at a global level. This leads to 4.5, which lays out research recommendations for broadening and solidifying women's place at the peace table in areas affected by conflict to stand against today's new face of war.

Dr. Rim Turkmani, a Syrian astrophysicist and co-founder of "Building the Syrian State" says: "Women who have not taken up arms in Syria are still a power of peace and symbol of peace; if these women and other civil society figures are not included, I don't see peace in my country" (Better Peace Tool, 2015)

4.2 INTERNATIONAL MOMENTUM

The international community has set the stage for women's inclusion in the peace process, establishing priorities and creating a framework for countries to follow. The idea that women's voices should be part of the peace process was catalyzed by conversations that began in Beijing in 1995, the year after the genocide in Rwanda and the rape camps of Bosnia. It was the year women in Northern Ireland and the Middle East mobilized public support, giving voice to the silent majority who wanted peace. This was shown in their strong participation in the Palestinian-Israeli peace negotiations. In 'Gender and Peace Work: An Unofficial History of Israeli-Palestinian Peace Negotiations', Dr. Sarai Aharoni (Katz, 2012) specifically addresses the roles women played within the Middle East conflict resolution negotiations.

She notes that while women were very much involved in the Oslo Process, they were restricted to the backstage roles in the formal negotiations. She found that women in the occupied territory, Israel and Jordan (with half of its population originally Palestinian) acted as 'mid-level negotiators and professional and legal advisors, and also served as spokeswomen and secretaries' (Aharoni, 2011). Aharoni's work analyzes the role of women in the Israeli-Palestinian peace negotiations since the 1991 Madrid Conference, focusing on the role of two leading women negotiators, Dr. Hanan Ashrawi from the Occupied Territories and Ms. Tzipi Livni from Israel, who managed to emerge from the sidelines and force their way into central roles in the Israeli-Palestinian negotiations. They were able to overcome a male-dominated environment to make their mark on two decades of efforts to find a peaceful resolution to the conflict (Finkel, 2012). Both were strong and effective mediators for peace. There were times when the Israel/occupied territory area was consumed by civil unrest and the leaders of both countries refused to participate in negotiations of any kind. Yet these two women, Dr. Ashrawi, a former professor of English literature and leader in Palestinian politics and civil society, and Ms. Tzipi Livni, an Israeli lawyer and politician who, as the Foreign Minister of Israel in 2007, was appointed by Prime Minister Ehud Olmert to lead the Israeli delegation to the negotiations, were able to bring their countries' leaders back to the peace negotiation table in 2008.

Both women continue to be active in politics and in promoting peace. Dr. Ashrawi is currently the Chairperson of the Executive Committee of MIFTAH (the Palestinian Initiative for the Promotion of Global Dialogue and Democracy), a member of the Palestine Liberation Organization's (PLO) Executive Committee and a member of the Palestinian Legislative Council. Ms. Livni is currently the leader of Kadima, the largest party in the Knesset, and the Head of the Opposition – the first female leader of the opposition in Israeli history.

Former US President Bill Clinton summarized in one simple remark the consequences of excluding women from peace negotiations generally and in the Middle East specifically: *"If we'd had women at Camp David, we'd have an agreement."* ("Women give peace a chance," 2011).

Dr. Hanan Ashrawi was once asked if she could connect with Tzipi Livni because, although they represent opposite sides of the conflict, they are both female politicians working in gender-biased, male-dominated environments. She replied: *"I understand that she has an added burden, she has more challenges. I know what it means to be a female in an exclusively male club where the attacks can be very vicious, where attempts happen at de-legitimization or exclusion or undermining the standing of a woman...I know what she is facing. But I also know that to succeed you must not adopt the current or prevailing male ethos, or attitude, or politics of power and intimidation. If a woman is to succeed in politics she has to bring her gender with her. Attempting to be a watered-down version of the male politician won't get you anywhere...She must be true to her gender"*(MIFTAH, 2009)

"If a woman is to succeed in politics she has to bring her gender with her. Attempting to be a watered-down version of the male politician won't get you anywhere...She must be true to her gender".

- Dr. Hanan Ashrawi

Dr. Hanan Ashrawi remains a highly influential woman within Palestinian society and, when asked in an interview by Lior Finkel (Finkel, 2012) if she feels that as a woman she had a different contribution or

perspectives to bring the peace process, she replied: *“As a woman I certainly brought my gender approach and awareness to the talks...women deal with the issues...I believe I was more daring and standing up to saying things than men. Not that I was confrontational, but things that I could not approve of or had to condemn, I said so. We tried to get collective work, I worked with people, with teams, collectively, and the decisions we’ve arrived at also collectively...we tried to build consensus on issues. We used persuasion without using intimidation, we never ask what is in it for me. We ask how we can serve the cause”*

The Fourth World Conference on Women in Beijing in 1995, which was sponsored by the United Nations, specifically addressed women’s agency in resolving conflicts, rather than maintaining the usual focus on women’s victimization. This created a call to action that inspired women’s activism in peace and security, especially in conflict-ridden countries.

Since the Beijing conference, local, national and international networks for women’s participation in peacemaking and security-related issues have grown exponentially, with the help of robust support from many sectors. They have been aided by the international community through nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) and some seminal donors including the Ford Foundation, bilateral aid agencies, and the UN Development Fund for Women (UNIFEM). The demand for political inclusion of women’s rights in peace and security culminated in 2000, after the fifth anniversary review conference of the Beijing declaration, with the “Windhoek Declaration and the Namibia Plan of Action on Mainstreaming a Gender Perspective in Multidimensional Peace Support Operations”, which was followed by UN Security Council Resolution 1325. For the first time the council recognized women’s right to protection *and* a role for women in maintaining peace and security. This led to a global constituency of women’s advocates. This international recognition and prioritization has empowered and mobilized women on a global scale to demand participation at the peace table. Appendix 2 summarizes key moments in the history of women’s contribution to peace and security.

4.3 BENEFITS AND CONTRIBUTIONS OF WOMEN AT THE PEACE TABLE

At the intersection of democratization and global citizenship education lies the potential to empower women as they emerge from life under authoritarian regimes. The collapse of dictatorships in the Middle East reverberates in ways that reshape the entire world, and creates opportunities for women’s leadership that will affect generations to come. While the instability that follows in the wake of such changes has the potential to heighten ideological divisions and foster radicalization, it is also an opportunity for women to assume new roles in this altered social landscape. To achieve sustainable development in these evolving societies and alleviate human suffering through these transitions, it is crucial to recognize and support the role of women in propagating the expanding circles of change. Few methodological studies have been done with the primary goal of understanding the needs of women in humanitarian crisis, and how to increase their participation in the peace process. As the world reacts to the immediate needs created by the chaos in the Middle East, scant attention has been paid to the question of how women could help resolve these crises. This is unfortunate, since these situations call for developing a new paradigm based on a better understanding of how women cope with humanitarian crisis and how they organize themselves to have a collective role in a society in the face of challenges to their health and livelihoods, and socioeconomic disparities. These issues are intertwined and need critical attention through systematic scientific study.

PREVENTING CONFLICT

Concerning prevention, Marie O'Reilly (O'Reilly, 2012), leading researcher of the Institute of Inclusive Security, argues that gender equality is a better predictor of a state's peacefulness than wealth, religion, democracy or GDP. Her claim is supported by work being done at the Clinton Foundation, which observed that 14 of the 17 countries at the bottom of the OECD's index for gender discrimination also experienced violent conflict during the last two decades. Valerie Hudson (2012), author of *Sex and World Peace*, analyzes the argument, finding that inequitable treatment of women can lead to famine, malnutrition, poverty, illness, and poor governance, ultimately making conflict more likely. Quantitatively, this is supported by the research of Mary Caprioli and Mark Boyer, who use four decades of the International Crisis Behavior (ICB) data set and multinomial logistic regression to test the level of violence during international crises by states with varying levels of domestic gender equality, using the record of female leaders as primary decision makers during international crises. Ultimately, Caprioli and Boyer found that when female participation in parliament increases by 5%, a state is 5 times less likely to use violence when faced with an international crisis (Caprioli, 2000). In the recent literature, numerous academic studies document the benefits of women's inclusion in preventing conflict:

First, women have a broader definition of security. As described in detail by Swanee Hunt (2011), in discussing security, women include key social and economic issues that would otherwise be ignored, such as safe food, clean water and protection from gender-based violence. These concerns affect areas such as humanitarian relief, refugee return, demining, civilian policing and nation building. Historically, the Middle East has suffered from decades of wars and internal conflicts. Jordan was home for first Palestinian, then Iraqi and now Syrian refugees. Women have played a dynamic but hidden role in opening dialogue and peacebuilding in both the Palestinian and Iraqi refugee crises according to Ann Marie Lizin and Patricia Lalonde, who are active in the arena of women's rights and protections. The authors attended the recent Middle East Peace Initiative program in Jerusalem and are leading the development of a UPF (Universal Peace Federation) sponsored meeting of women in Geneva at the same time as the Geneva-II talks. ("Washington DC Forum: Women's Role in Syria's Transition and Reconciliation," 2014) It is notable that in the case of women refugees, through making friendships with other women from the host country and emphasizing small networks, women are believed to become proactively engaged in a larger and more sustainable informal peace process that would affect the entire society (Finkle, 2012).

Second, women's participation in politics lowers the chances of human rights abuses. Utilizing two indicators of political gender quality, the first being whether the chief executive of state is a woman and the second being the percentage of women in parliament, Erik Melander (2005) used a dataset spanning most countries of the world from 1977-1996 along with multiple regression techniques to determine the relationship between political gender equality and personal integrity rights abuse. He found that the higher the proportion of women in parliament the lower the chances of the state carrying out human rights abuses including political imprisonments, torture killings and disappearances. These results even hold when controlling for factors affecting human rights behavior including democracy, military regime, population, wealth, military regime and more. Milan Svolik (2012), a Professor of Political Science at Yale, discusses in his book *The Politics of the Authoritarian Rule* the dictatorship in Syria and how it hampered the capacity of women to engage in the society, because they grew up in this "you cannot talk about politics" culture. (Svolik, 2012) He highlighted the potential of engaging Syrians in politics and how that might positively affect the development of their people.

Third, women act as mediators or as members of mediation teams. The United Nations has never officially appointed a woman to be the chief mediator of a peace process. Taking a deeper look, however, reveals that a number of women have played a lead mediation role in recent decades. In particular, female Special Representatives of the Secretary-General have occasionally played an active role in facilitating negotiations. For instance, Dame Margaret Anstee was the Special Representative of the Secretary-General in the Republic of Angola in the early 1990s and served as lead mediator during part of the UN-led peace process. Similarly, a few years later, Dame Ann Hercus conducted shuttle talks in the Republic of Cyprus when she was the Special Advisor of the Secretary-General. In 2008, Graça Machel was one of three mediators in the peace negotiations, led by the African Union (AU) that ended the post-election crisis in the Republic of Kenya. In 2011, the United Nations was the (co-) lead mediator in fourteen conflicts, four of which resulted in an agreement. In these processes, women experts were included in 12 of the 14 UN mediation support teams (Women, 2012).

Fourth, women fight extremism and radicalization. In their policy analysis, Michelle Dunne and Frederic Wehrey iterate that women in civic groups spread the values of tolerance and pluralism to combat radicals' appeal (Dunne & Wehrey, 2014). Brave female figures such as "Malala", the young Pakistani female activist who actively combatted the Taliban, inspired the international community and other young women who share the same interest in human rights. The Tunisian "National Dialogue Quartet," which won the 2015 Nobel Peace Prize, included Wided Bouchamaoui, a powerful woman, who, according to the Nobel committee is "the second Arab woman to win this prize and has made a decisive contribution to the building of a pluralistic democracy in Tunisia in the wake of the 2011 Jasmine Revolution." Yemeni journalist and politician Tawakkol Abdel-Salam Karman, another Nobel Prize Laureate of 2011, was the first Arab woman to win this award, and was honored for her work toward peace in her embattled country. Both demonstrate that giving the floor to women will be a legitimized counter-strategy to combat extremists. Extremist groups were brutal to women and treated them with utter indignity. It is in the best interests of women to make sure such groups or ideologies do not thrive.

RESOLVING CONFLICT

When preventive efforts fail, women's participation at the peace table facilitates the resolution of conflict. Thania Paffenholz (2016), Director of the Inclusive Peace and Transition Initiative, has studied 40 peace processes in 35 countries over the last three decades. Her work, summarized in Table 4 shows that when women's groups influenced a peace process, an agreement was almost always reached (save for only one exception) and when women did not participate, the rate of reaching an agreement was significantly lower. She also notes that once an agreement was reached, women's participation led to higher rates of implementation.

Overall influence of Women

Influence of Women in the Process	Ongoing negotiations	No agreement reached	Agreement reached/ No implementation	Agreement reached/ Partial Implementation	Agreement reached/ Implemented	Agreement reached/ Ongoing implementation
None to weak		Aceh Colombia Georgia/ Abkhazia Moldova Cyprus	Rwanda Turkey Armenia Israel Palestine - Geneva process	Israel Palestine - Oslo Mali	Tajikistan	Kyrgyzstan
Moderate	Turkish-Kurdish	Egypt Sri Lanka	Eritrea Somalia I Somalia II Darfur Somalia III Togo	Solomon Islands Macedonia Nepal	Afghanistan Benin El Salvador	
Strong		Fiji		Guatemala Mexico (Chiapas) Burundi Mali Northern	DR Congo Kenya Liberia Northern Ireland Papua New Guinea Somaliland South Africa	Yemen

* underline cases were completed before the passage of Resolution 1325

Table 4: The Overall Influence of Women in Peace Processes

This can be attributed to the rejection of hierarchies based on group belonging, and to the tendency of women to build coalitions when preventing conflict, which was documented by a National Institute of Health's study of more than 50,000 respondents across 22 countries on 5 continents. Patterns of women building coalitions and reconciling groups have been reported in Colombia, Guatemala, Iraq, Kenya, Northern Ireland, Somalia, and South Africa, as documented by Patty Chang of the Georgetown Institute for Women, but we look to the country case study of the Philippines as a detailed example:

Both the government of the Philippines, through the Office of the Presidential Advisor on the Peace Process (OPAPP), and the Asia Foundation draw lessons from events in the southern region of Mindanao, where women have reported a long tradition of using community-level tactics to manage dispute resolution, ranging from mediating between conflicting clans to negotiating with the national army. The women of the region call for a broader base of support across the Filipino community, mobilizing coalitions by integrating public opinion and consulting with civil society organizations. Leading consultations across 13 regions, they ensure that participants fairly represent the diverse religious, indigenous, youth and other groups. When violence was threatened instead of talks, the women led a peaceful protest in 2012 and from both opposing sides demonstrated the value of negotiation to the public. Finally, in 2014, a peace agreement between the government and the Moro Islamic Liberation Front was produced.

In addition, especially with regard to current events and the waves of terrorism plaguing the global community, the participation of women in peace talks helps resolve conflict because women moderate terrorism. Karima Bennouna (2013), author of *Your Fatwa Does Not Apply Here: Untold Stories from the Fight Against Muslim Fundamentalism*, interviewed 286 people in 30 countries across the Middle East, North Africa and South Asia, and found that women are often the first to stand up against terrorism,

since they are usually the first targets of fundamentalism, which often restricts their rights and increases domestic violence.

POST-CONFLICT PEACEBUILDING

As clearly shown in World Bank publication *Breaking the Conflict Trap (2003)*, strengthening women's political and social participation diminishes the chances of conflict relapse after a war has ended. This is evidenced by Jaqueline H.R. DeMeritt's study of 58 conflict-affected states between 1980 and 2003. DeMeritt assessed the risk of civil war relapse in a given year, using a Cox proportional hazards estimator accounting for the duration of postwar peace and the independent variables of female participation and national attributes. She found that when 35% of parliament members are women, the risk of relapse was near zero. The World Bank attributes this to the increased trustworthiness and decreased corruption of women in politics, maintaining the public's confidence in new political institutions.

This is illustrated by the case of Rwanda: According to extensive analysis by the Institute of Inclusive Security (Paffenholz, 2016)), when Rwanda's first two conflicts ended in relapse, women held 13% of parliamentary seats and the female-to-male literacy rate was .58 on average. In the following decade, after the 1994 genocide, women held 21% of parliamentary seats and the literacy ratio reached .85. The sustenance of peace in Rwanda can be attributed to Aloisea INyumba, the country's first Minister of Family, Gender and Social Affairs and senator until 2011. She strengthened women's voices in local government and embodied the growing trust in the nation through women-led recuperation. Some of her efforts included the resettlement of refugees, the launch of a national adoption campaign reducing the number of genocide orphans from 500,000 to 3,000, and the leadership of the Reconciliation Commission using public dialogues to promote reconciliation between Hutus and Tutsis.

At the global level, women have long been active in peace and disarmament issues. Individually and in groups, women have lobbied for disarmament. During the first World War, nearly 1,200 women from warring and neutral countries came together to protest against the conflict, and formed the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom Women, Peace and Security 54 (WILPF), an organization that continues to advocate internationally for disarmament and human rights. In Geneva last January, the UN Special Envoy also made an explicit commitment to including women in the talks, and recently said in a November 2015 article in *The Guardian* that "Women's leadership and participation in conflict resolution are critical for sustainable solutions. In a globalized world, the engagement of women in shaping the future of the Middle East region and ultimately the entire world is more important now than ever before." Appendix 3 lists key players in the promotion of women's role in peace and security.

4.4 BARRIERS TO WOMEN'S PARTICIPATION IN THE PEACE PROCESS

We are currently living in a world where only eight days of military spending (\$36 billion) can provide the free Universal Education (primary and secondary combined) to all the children around the world. There is a substantial need for the global community to put an end to this myopic view of what is best for humanity and future generations. A huge number of peace activists, builders and defenders are disappearing due to either being killed, threatened or simply discouraged by the lack of encouragement. Only a few weeks ago and on International Women's day, March 3rd, 2016, the indigenous peace activist Berta Caceres was killed (UN Women, 2016) and her story of why she was killed is similar to the stories of many other female peace activists from all over the world. See Appendix 4 for more examples of women peace activist who have fallen victim to violence.

In the May/June 2007 issue of *Foreign Affairs*, Swanee Hunt argued in detail that the most of the best and brightest women have eschewed politics, perceiving it to be a dirty game, and are more likely to pursue and hold influential positions in non-governmental organizations than public office. Factors inhibiting their inclusion are often based around prevailing social norms. The traditional role society expects women to play does not inspire political leadership. There are also financial barriers to entry when women have financial obligations within the household, limited support networks, insufficient access to power brokers, and disparities in educational attainment levels. As summarized by Rebecca Grynspan, former VP of Costa Rica, “society doesn’t provide conditions under which we can do our jobs with tranquility and leave our children home with peace of mind, even if we can count on stable, supportive partners.”

Likewise, Nannerl Keohane, former President of Wellesley College and Duke University, discusses in her 2010 book, *Thinking about Leadership*, women’s tendency to lead “behind the scenes.” She cites similar barriers to leadership as Hunt, including childcare and other family responsibilities, lack of appropriate mentors, gender stereotypes and the influence of popular culture showcasing women’s leadership in negative ways. She argues for a future where a choice to pursue leadership ‘behind the scenes’ is deemed of equal validity.

4.5 HOW TO MOVE FORWARD

Areas of conflict around the globe demand adaptive mechanisms for humanitarian relief that respond to each community’s needs, cultural values and the nature of distress resulted from conflict. Our proposition to conduct research on a specific population affected by conflict is just one of way to understand such mechanisms and advance applied sciences in this field. Strategies developed using this proposed research are destined to help women not only in this particular humanitarian crisis, but in countless other similar situations that affect humanity as a whole. Anticipated research results could be replicated in other humanitarian crises affecting other populations of women.

As in other parts of the world, women in the Middle East are disproportionately affected by the violence that has erupted in the region over the past few years. The Arab spring, which refers to the democratic uprisings that arose independently and spread across the Arab world in 2011 starting from Tunisia, followed by Egypt then Libya, Yemen, Bahrian, Kuwait, Sudan and Syria, forms an interesting phenomena where human resilience and efforts towards peace can be tested. This is a rich area in which to study the resilience of populations, particularly women, as well as their journey toward achieving peace through securing basic human rights such as health, education and socioeconomic development.

With ISIS and other extremist groups growing in size and power amidst the chaos of failed states in the Middle East and North Africa, the killings and rape in Darfur, resurgent strife in Yemen and South Sudan, ongoing struggles between Israelis and Palestinians, and continued conflict in Libya, Sri Lanka, Nepal and much of West Africa, women are needed now more than ever to bridge the extreme divides. Billions of dollars are being spent for peacekeeping operations and peacekeepers are being deployed, yet sustainable peace remains elusive and so is women’s representation on the peace table. Deals struck between warring parties have amounted to little more than pieces of paper.

Jordan, a small country of originally 5 million people and very limited resources, is now home to more than a million Syrian refugees (Appendix 6). Although a very stable country with a sizeable presence of

NGOs and international agencies that have been working on development issues for decades, Jordan is now faced with a 20% increase in its population due to the Syrian refugees who began arriving in 2011. Many sectors are overwhelmed by this influx, which interferes with the ongoing development of women's roles in the democratic and peace processes within Jordan. However, the ways in which Jordan has accommodated and adjusted to the presence of the refugees has not been systematically studied and documented.

The evidence examined in this review reveals a need for comprehensive research that considers women's civic and peace engagement in many sectors at the same time. There is much evidence suggesting that for female refugees, the mental and physical health impact of being a refugee can be ameliorated by appropriate interventions that provide them with the tools to navigate the new landscape of their lives and become better global citizens and active peacebuilders. A recent health needs assessment study was carried out in Jordan by Dr. Al-Rousan between Oct-Dec 2015. The study, which was recently accepted at the *WHO's Eastern Mediterranean Health Journal*, was a mixed quantitative and qualitative study that sampled refugees living in camps and outside camps, as well as healthcare providers and Jordanian neighbors (See Appendix 5 for findings). This preliminary study revealed research gaps in social determinants of health in this population. The paper stressed the need for greater focus on studying these issues and testing assumptions and hypothesis of social cohesion and peace with validated tools such as The Peace Evaluation Across Communities, Cultures and Environments (**PEACE**) Scale.

In light of this urgency, we propose the following research recommendations:

QUOTA SYSTEM + TRAINING: INDIVIDUAL, INSTITUTIONAL AND POLITICAL LEVELS CHANGE

Quotas are a measure to reverse women's exclusion from decision-making, and allocate responsibility to monitor that equality is indeed achieved. The Overseas Development Institute, a leading independent think tank in the UK, has conducted research demonstrating that gender quotas in post-conflict contexts make it more likely that other disadvantaged groups will gain access to parliament, which in turn correlates with conflict prevention indicators. This practice has proven successful in several country contexts (see Appendix 3). However, it can only be a preliminary step. According to the Inter-Parliamentary Union, some 97 countries have some sort of gender quota system for government positions, yet women only fill 17% of parliamentary seats worldwide and 14% of ministerial-level positions, usually related to family, youth, the disabled and elderly.

As described by UN Women (2013), mere inclusion as measured by the number of women does not increase the likelihood of peace. However, the story is different when women actually have an influence on a process – the strength of women's influence is positively correlated with agreements being reached and implemented. Their participation goes beyond the negotiation table; it can contribute to pre-negotiation, post-agreement implementation, through consultations, inclusive commissions, problem-solving workshops and more.

One model of grass-root programming to help recruit and train women across the political spectrum is the interactive workshops and consultations that combine skills-building with content provided by the Institute of Inclusive Security. These workshops connect women leaders to policy makers from Colombia to Congo to Canada and international organizations like the UN and African Union, training women in Afghanistan, Pakistan, South Sudan, Sudan and Syria to influence decision making on conflict

resolutions, and help governments design policies geared towards women's participation in peace and security. Therefore, institutional or higher level interventions go hand in hand with capacity building on the individual or group levels. With regard to participation in peace negotiations, women must be enabled to demand a seat at the peace table and increased political participation post-accord, at both local and national levels, and often in the form of quotas, affirmative action measures or non-discrimination guarantees.

To enhance the effectiveness of women throughout the process, it is important to research women's roles in Middle Eastern countries that are experiencing a humanitarian crisis. Understanding the changing policies that affect women displaced by violence, and researching the democratic conversations and ongoing efforts in quotas and trainings that women receive to increase their capacities are highly recommended by UN SDG 5 .

CONNECTING POLICY AND PRACTICE WHEN IT COMES TO REFUGEES

Ensuring the creation and implantation of policies that reflect real-life needs is a particular concern for refugees. With the current crisis in Syria and the increasing influx of refugees across the world, it is important that policy and practice are connected to support displaced populations. This calls for a shift in the human security paradigm. Sanam Naraghi Anderlin (2007) in her book, *Women Building Peace*, written from the findings of the Women Waging Peace Policy Commission she directed, talks about the disconnect between policy and practice, between headquarters and field offices, between rhetoric and resources, all prevalent in international agencies affecting women on the ground. In 1992, Sudanese statesman Francis Deng, the UN Secretary-General's Representative on Internally Displaced Persons, sought to shift the human security paradigm from a focus of state sovereignty and the right to non-interference toward a discourse of states' responsibility to protect citizens. He emphasized "human security...provides an appropriate framework for bringing non-state actors into parameters of accountability." This parallels the previously noted women's advantage in building coalitions and calling for open dialogue from civil society.

The issues of human security being faced by displaced populations are issues to which women can relate and advocate for with their broader definition of security. Military forces cannot resolve problems of poverty, war-related psychological trauma, domestic violence, etc. We are now seeing refugees from the Middle East being returned from Europe, as European borders are being closed. This means that other Middle Eastern countries, including Jordan, Lebanon and Turkey will continue to host refugees from these regional conflicts. Therefore, it is important to mobilize all stakeholders to address the needs of refugees and the aftermath that affects the host population. By addressing the need for comprehensive research, and using the expertise of highly qualified local and international staff, the findings will be catalytic to the local government and humanitarian agencies that advance women's roles in peace and social justice. Researching perceptual constructs affecting women refugees as well as vulnerable women in host countries who are facing radicalized ideologies and extremism are an extremely important and timely research areas in which to work toward building global peace and security.

PUBLIC-PRIVATE-CIVIL SOCIETY PARTNERSHIPS

It is highly recommended to activate effective and measurable collaboration among key stakeholders. As previously stated, the convergence of women's civil society groups at the national and international

levels has been a crucial contributor to the changes and developments in implementing and advocating for women at the peace table. Collaboration is key when moving forward. Beyond public institutions, private corporations and donors play a fundamental role in pushing women's work forward in issues of peace and security. Partnerships have helped investigate disappearances, document human rights violations, raise awareness among women in communities, and have provided psychosocial support to victims and witnesses.

For example, the Norwegian Refugee Council (NRC) in Jordan is very active and is already working on creating multi-layered partnerships to improve the lives of Syrian refugees. Their recent report highlights the problem of Syrian parents' lack of civil documentation proving marriage. Due to cultural differences between the marriage processes especially in rural Syria, many of the marriages are not documented and happen verbally. Children born to these parents, whose number is still unknown but is believed to be in thousands, are denied access to healthcare, education and other services. This poses great unaddressed risks not only to these children but also to their primary caregivers, who are mostly women.

Many international and local NGOs in Jordan are moving away from classic workshops and lecturing techniques to more empowering and engaging activities through which target groups feel accountable and respected. The German Technical Organization for Development (GIZ) has implemented a project to train Syrian and Jordanian women on how to become water-wise plumbers. In the second phase of the project, they provide psychosocial support and monitoring to participants through a partnership with the Ministry of Health, and offer free mental health care services and monitoring. This was a great success, increasing participants' productivity. Each plumber became a trainer and trained others in her neighborhood. Approaches like these have yielded tangible outcomes that not only brought about economic gain but also psychological and social wellbeing that fruited into the exercise of civic engagement. These approaches can be duplicated in other conflict-riven countries in the Middle East and elsewhere.

According to the United Nations Global Compact, the private sector can make important contributions through business practices. Because companies face challenges operating in environments of conflict, when companies and investors work to address these issues they can mitigate the risks and negative impacts and support peace and development while ensuring the long-term financial performance of their businesses. Companies can cross national and cultural lines, creating relationships of shared identity and purpose, working with women to build coalitions and mobilize support through public dialogue. There have been many active partnership engagements implemented on the ground. However, these kinds of relationships have not been well described in the women's studies literature. This research proposal aims at documenting such partnerships and endeavors and studying their nature and effect over periods of time.

RALLYING THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY AROUND A SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT GOAL

In regards to the SDG number 5 entitled, "Achieve gender quality and empower all women and girls," the international community must link women's empowerment especially at the peace table to attaining sustainable development. The policy department of EU Women, in its analysis of the UN World Survey on the Role of Women, finds proven synergies between women's empowerment and economic, social and environmental sustainability including the maintenance of peace. While progress has been slow

with a lack of implementation and underinvestment, the international community and ratifying countries must be held accountable to their commitment to SDG 5.

“Future Pioneers for Empowering Communities (FPEC)” and “Al-Hayat Center for Civil Society Development” are target local NGOs while working in Jordan. They have demonstrated success in creating sustainable impact and their goals and philosophy align well with this proposed work, described below. For example, they are a trusted partner by the government and one of their projects has been funded by *Hans Seidel Stiftung* and *Oxfam* to mediate dialogue and conflict resolution between Syrian refugees and the hosting community at one of the areas with the highest concentration of Syrian refugees. The project consists of one program for 215 schools students and another program for 150 Syrian & Jordanian women. Although very young, the project has gained a great deal of local support and continues to flourish in this area of Jordan. (“Mediating Dialogue & Conflict Resolution Between Syrian Refugees & Hosting Community At Mafraq Governorate: Funded by Hans Seidel Stiftung,” 2015)

A pressing need to design tailored interventions that address long term human needs during a humanitarian crisis such as: health, education, socioeconomic development and leadership skills, may greatly benefit from landscape analysis research. Prioritizing needs of women to deal with a crisis and advance their roles as peace negotiators and activists on the individual, organizational and global levels will help inform future interventions and policies. This will thus require a long term vision and plan for formative empirical research.

5. CONCLUSION: EMPOWERING WOMEN AND PROMOTING SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT TO SECURE AND MAINTAIN PEACE

This review documents the power of women’s leadership to improve the lives of women, their families, their communities and most importantly for all of humanity. It shows the evolution of women’s roles in society, and how notions of justice and human rights have been expanded as women bring their experiences into the public realm, legitimizing issues that had been previously brushed aside. Women’s orientation towards equality and egalitarianism can profoundly shape public policy and our common ethical framework to secure and maintain peace.

Given the urgent humanitarian crises facing our world today, our attention has focused on women’s leadership in peace and security. Political instability and escalating conflicts, particularly in the Middle East, are characteristic of war in the 21st century and make it clear that new strategies are needed to prevent differences in ideology and economics from devolving into armed conflict, and to lead warring groups towards sustained peace and security. This report has presented evidence that facilitating leadership by women is a powerful tool to prevent and resolve these multi-dimensional disagreements. The review outlines the many ways that the involvement of women at all levels of decision-making helps prevent and resolve conflict. Women’s leadership styles tend to focus on communities and cooperation, with a high priority placed on meeting the needs of the disadvantaged and impoverished members of society. This agenda, which focuses on **peacebuilding**, assures that all members of the society feel that their voices are heard. In this way, women leaders tend to defuse potential conflicts before they arise. In ongoing disagreements, women are often able to build mutual trust, so that all sides feel assured that an equitable solution will be found. This report has also provided numerous examples of how women have contributed to peace negotiations, sometimes behind the scenes, and sometimes at the negotiating table.

The presence of women at all levels of governance tends to have a stabilizing effect on communities and countries throughout peacemaking processes. Increasing the participation of women in leadership is always a worthy goal of research, but it is especially important in conflict zones. This report proposes further research to improve the leadership skills and activities of women waging peace particularly in the Middle East, with a focus on ensuring the mental and general health of the women, supporting social networks and building women's capacities in peace-negotiation, leadership and civic engagement skills, as well as expanding their income-generating opportunities through occupational training to improve socioeconomic status. The overarching theme of this research is to examine how peacebuilding initiatives and policies are designed and implemented, outcomes can be used to measure the potential impact of the intervention in the proposed areas, with the goal of refining policy recommendations for securing peace for global outreach.

This proposed research initiative will provide an opportunity to apply knowledge gained through policy research on women's leadership styles and the benefits of empowerment to a group of women who are enduring the consequences of the worst humanitarian crisis of this century. In the long term, with their basic health needs met, they will be able to learn new job and leadership skills, and will become key participants in building a peaceful society out of a catastrophic war. As these women gain a voice in their new communities with the necessary provisions of capacity development, their voices will be heard, their experiences will be shared with the world and they eventually will be empowered to heal the divisions that have given rise to war and extremism. It is through these small and steady steps that these women will make progress towards inclusive and sustainable development for all, with peace and security.

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Appendix 1: History and Leadership Theories

Appendix 1A: Historical Timeline of CSW

1946: Birth of the Commission on Status of Women

- United Nations commitments to the advancement of women began with the signing of the UN Charter in San Francisco in 1945. Of the 160 signatories, only four were women.
- During the inaugural meetings of the UN General Assembly in London in February 1946, Eleanor Roosevelt, a United States delegate, read an open letter addressed to “the women of the world”: “To this end, we call on the Governments of the world to encourage women everywhere to take a more active part in national and international affairs, and on women who are conscious of their opportunities to come forward and share in the work of peace and reconstruction as they did in war and resistance.”

1947-1962: Securing the Legal Foundations of Gender Equality

- First session: The Commission meets at Lake Success New York, in February 1947. At that session, all of the 15 government representatives were women. From its inception, the Commission also forged a close relationship with non- governmental organizations and built close working relationships with the international human rights treaty bodies, the Commission on Human Rights, the Social Commission and the Sub-Commission on the Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities, and specialized agencies such as UNESCO and UNICEF.
- During its first meeting, Commission members affirmed that the Commission should have a voice in upcoming discussions on the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

- During the period 1946-1962, the Commission focused its attention on promoting women's rights and equality by setting standards and formulating international conventions aiming at changing discriminatory legislation and fostering global awareness of women's issues.
- The Commission made women's political rights a high priority in the early years of its work. The Convention on the Political Rights of Women, drafted by the Commission, was adopted by the General Assembly on 20 December 1952. It was the first international law instrument to recognize and protect the political rights of women everywhere by spelling out that women, on an equal basis with men, were entitled to vote in any election, run for election to any office, and hold any public office or exercise any public function under national law.
- Throughout the 1950's the Commission turned its attention on the issue of discrimination in marriage by drafting several measures which represent the first international agreements on women's rights in relation to marriage and were later adopted by the UN.
- The Commission worked with UNESCO to develop programs and advocate for increasing women's literacy and equality in access to education.
- It also undertook work on women's economic rights.
- In the early 1950s, the Commission also began focusing on the issue of traditional practices harmful to women and girls (e.g. female genital mutilation/cutting).
- The work of the Commission centered on women's needs in community and rural development, agricultural work, family planning and the impact of scientific and technological advances.

1963: Declaration on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women

1975: the International Women's Year

- The World Conference of the International Women's Year was subsequently held in Mexico City in 1975.

1976-1985: The Commission on the Status of Women and the United Nations Decade for Women

- The Decade contributed to bringing legitimacy to the international women's movement, and moved women's issues forward on the global agenda.
- From the Declaration to the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) The drafting of the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) was a major task for the Commission during the Decade.
- The Convention was the first international instrument to define discrimination against women, as follows: "any distinction, exclusion or restriction made on the basis of sex which has the effect or purpose of impairing or nullifying the recognition, enjoyment or exercise by women, irrespective of their marital status, on a basis of equality of men and women, of human rights and fundamental freedoms in the political, economic, social, cultural, civil or any other field". (art. 1)

1980: Second World Conference during the United Nations Decade for Women

- 145 Member States gathered for the mid-decade World Conference of the United Nations Decade for Women organized in Copenhagen. It focused on three areas of urgent concern for women: employment, health and education.
- New organizations dedicated to women had been established, such as the United Nations Fund for Women (UNIFEM) and the International Research and Training Institute for the Advancement of Women (INSTRAW).

1986-1995: Putting Women on the Global Agenda

- The Commission's efforts shifted to promote women's equality as a cross-cutting theme in economic development, human rights, political, cultural as well as social policy issues.
- Exposing violence against women as a public matter by drafting of the Declaration for the Elimination of Violence against Women in the early 1990s.
- In March 1994, a Special Rapporteur on violence against women, its causes and consequences was appointed, with a mandate to investigate and report on all aspects of violence against women.

1995: The Fourth World Conference on Women, Beijing

- One of the greatest achievements of the Commission on the Status of Women was the Fourth World Conference on Women, which significantly advanced the global agenda for women's human rights and gender equality.
- The Beijing Declaration and the Platform for Action, adopted unanimously by 189 countries, built on political agreements reached at the three previous global conferences on women and consolidated five decades of legal advances aimed at securing the equality of women with men in law and in practice.

1996-2006: Consolidating the advancement of women

- The Commission on the Status of Women reviews its methods of work
- Review and appraisal of the Beijing Platform for Action: "Beijing +5" took place in New York at UN Headquarters in 2000.
- The Commission has also regularly considered the issue of women in armed conflicts, thus contributing to the work that led to the adoption of Security Council Resolution 1325 on Women and Peace and Security. In its 2004 agreed conclusions, the Commission addressed women's equal participation in conflict prevention, management and conflict resolution and in post-conflict peace-building.

2013: Priority theme: Elimination and prevention of all forms of violence against women and girls

2014: Priority theme: Challenges and achievements in the implementation of the MDGs for women and girls.

2015: Review and appraisal of the implementation of the Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action and the outcomes of the 23th session of the General Assembly 3, including current challenges that affect the implementation of the Platform for Action and the achievement of gender equality and empowerment of women, as well as opportunities for strengthening gender equality and the empowerment of women in the post 2015 development agenda through the integration of a gender perspective.

2016: Priority theme: Women's empowerment and the link to sustainable development

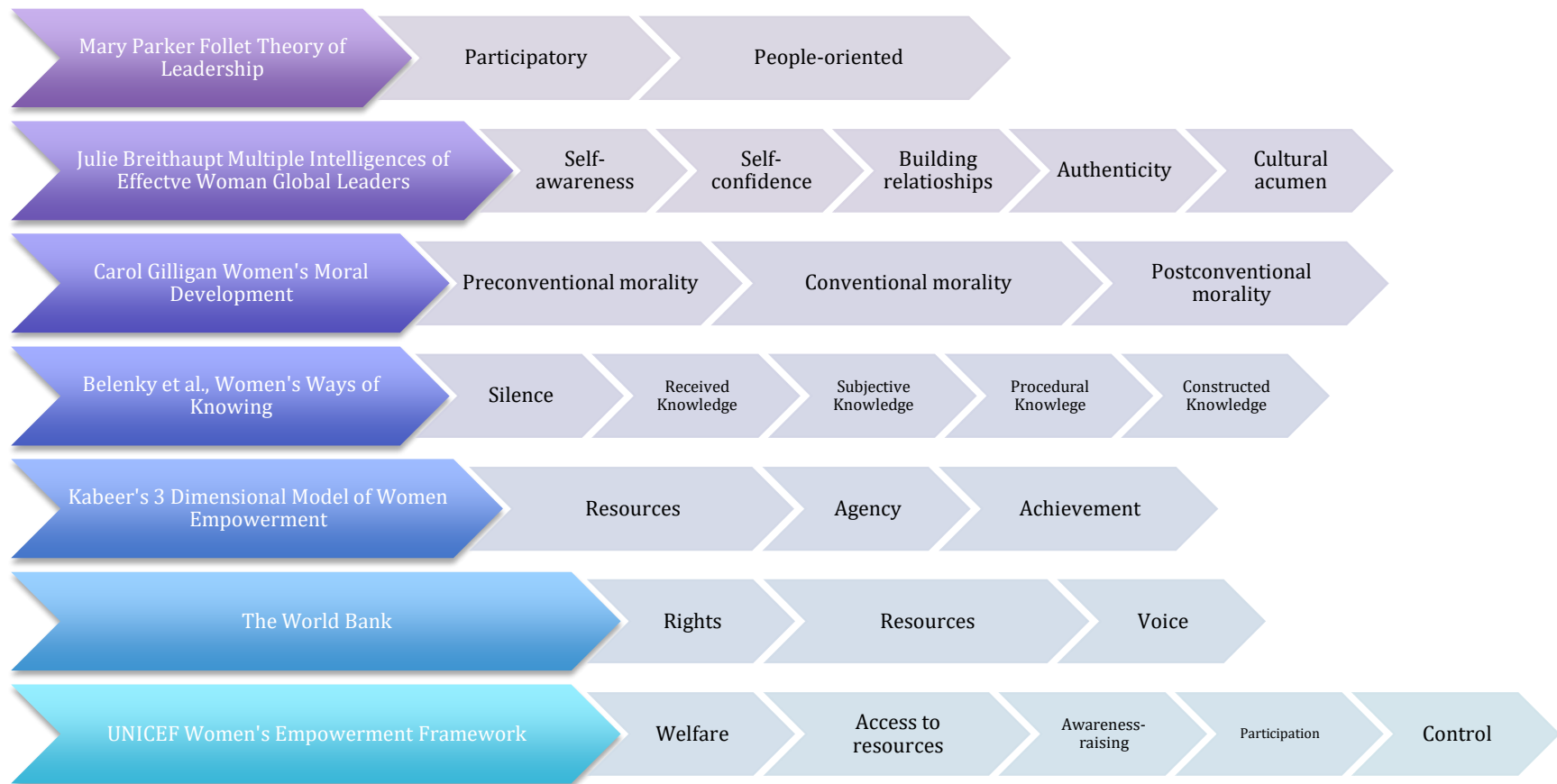
Appendix 1B: History of Theories on Leadership

Leadership Theory	When Introduced	Major Tenets	Key Proponent/s	How Do Women Fit In?
Great Man/Trait Theories	1930s	Effective leaders are born, not made, thus the idea of the "great man" theory.	Ralph Stogdill	Women were overlooked.
Behavior Theories	1940s-1950s	Behaviors exhibited by leaders are more important than their physical, mental, or emotional traits.	Ohio State University study University of Michigan study Robert Blake and Jane Mouton (Managerial Leadership) Grid) Douglas McGregor (Theory X and Theory Y)	Women were overlooked.
Contingency Theories/ Situational Theories	1960s-1970s	Organizational or work group context affects the extent to which given leader traits and behaviors will be effective.	Fred Fiedler (Contingency theory) Robert House (Path-Goal theory)	Since many of the authors were writing in the 1970s, women's role and leadership were not implicitly addressed in the literature (e.g. no

			<p>Victor Vroom and Phillip Yetton (the Vroom-Yetton-Jago decision-making model of leadership)</p> <p>Hershey and Blanchard (Situational Leadership)</p>	<p>female subjects used). However, most of their research and writings reflect attributes that are later found and articulated in women leadership literature.</p> <p>Around the late 1970s/early 1980s,</p>
Leader-Member Exchange Theories	Late 1970s	Emphasizes the dyadic (i.e., one-on-one) relationships between leaders and individual subordinates, instead of the traits or behaviors of leaders or situational characteristics.	George Graen	<p>studies about women's leadership began to emerge mainly focusing on the differences in competencies between male and female leaders.</p>
<p>Modern Leadership Theories</p> <p>(Transactional, Transformational, Charismatic, Servant Leadership)</p>	Late 1970s to present	<p>The power of transactional leaders comes from their formal authority and responsibility in the organization. The main goal of the follower is to obey the instructions of the leader.</p> <p>Transformational Leadership occurs where the leader takes a visionary</p>	<p>James MacGregor Burns</p> <p>Bernard Bass</p> <p>Conger and Kanungo's (Charismatic leadership theory)</p> <p>Robert Greenleaf (Servant Leadership)</p>	

		<p>position and inspires people to follow.</p> <p>The Charismatic Leader gathers followers through dint of personality and charm, rather than any form of external power or authority.</p> <p>A servant-leader focuses primarily on the growth and well-being of people and the communities to which they belong.</p>		
Global Leadership	1990s	<p>The process of influencing others to adopt a shared vision through structures and methods that facilitate positive change while fostering individual and collective growth in a context characterized by significant levels of complexity, flow and presence (Mendenhall et al., 2012, p.500)</p>	<p>Mendenhall & Osland (Competency studies)</p> <p>Caliguiri (Job Analysis)</p> <p>Osland et al. (Expert Cognition)</p>	<p>Nancy Adler was the first to study women global leaders.</p> <p>While the proposed idea of “androgynous” leadership is appealing, feminist scholars continue to demand for the development of a critical leadership theory that takes into account differing racial, ethnic and gender perspectives.</p>


Appendix 1C: Overview of Theories of Women's Development, Leadership or Empowerment



Appendix 1D: Global Gender Gap Report, 2015: WEF

The Global Gender Gap Index was developed in 2006 to provide an empirical measure and track a country's progress on gender parity over time. This report showed the aggregate data over the past 10 years and the progress made in some areas, but the alarmingly slow rate of improvement is deeply damaging to women's quality of life globally. Results from the Global Gender Report 2015 are summarized below (World Economic Forum, 2015):

- In 2015, no country in the world has achieved gender equality.
- On average over 96% of the gap in health outcomes, 95% of the gap in educational attainment, 59% of the gap in economic participation and 23% of the gap in political empowerment has been closed.
- The highest ranked countries—Iceland, Norway, Finland, Sweden and Ireland —have closed over 80% of their gender gaps, while the lowest ranked country—Yemen—has closed a little less than half of its gender gap (48%).

	Global Top 10
	The Global Gender Gap Index Global rank*
Iceland	1
Norway	2
Finland	3
Sweden	4
Ireland	5
Rwanda	6
Philippines	7
Switzerland	8
Slovenia	9
New Zealand	10

Source: The Global Gender Gap Report 2015
Note: *2015 rank out of 145 countries

- Nordic countries, the United States, the Philippines, Canada, New Zealand and Australia have made substantial investments in women's health and education and see the returns on this investment in terms of women's economic and political participation. However, gaps still exist in the form of wage inequality and lack of women in senior and leadership positions.
- Japan, United Arab Emirates, Chile and Brazil have made strategic investments in women's education, but barriers to women's participation in the workforce persist. Hence returns on investing in women's development have not been substantial.
- Yemen, Pakistan, India, and Mauritania have alarmingly large education and economic gender gaps, but the greatest concern about these countries is that the most basic investments in girls'

and women's education are yet to be made, and fundamental rights (e.g. legal frameworks around inheritance, reproductive rights and violence) are grossly overlooked.

- Guinea, Chad, Mozambique and Burundi have large education gender gaps but economic gaps are smaller due to higher levels of economic empowerment through strong participation in low-skilled labor by women.

Appendix 2: Key Moments Contributing to Women in Peace and Security (Since Beijing)

This document focuses on the events immediately leading up to and following the landmark UN Security Council Resolution 1325 in the year 2000. But of course, the movement of women tackling war is a story that dates back to long before UNSCR 1325. For example, peace activist Baroness Bertha Sophie Felicita von Suttner became the first woman to receive a Nobel Peace Prize for her 1889 anti-war novel, Lay Down Your Arms. In 1931, the Nobel Peace Prize was awarded to Jane Addams, founder of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom. In 1976, two Northern Irish women, Betty Williams and Mairead Corrigan - one Catholic, one Protestant - received the Nobel Peace Prize for their work towards bridging divides. And just as the 4th World Conference on Women in Beijing in 1995 led to UNSCR 1325 in the year 2000, the 3rd World Conference on Women in Mexico City in 1975 led to the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) in 1979.

GEOGRAPHIC REPRESENTATION:

Latin America: 7

Africa: 20

Asia: 6

MENA: 7

Europe & Central Asia: 13

SE Asia: 4

Year	Event	Why it's important
1995	4th World Women Conference in Beijing takes place and adopts the Beijing Platform for Action.	<p>(1) Changed how the UN operates by breaking down the walls between civil society and officials. 40,000 women from civil society came (didn't happen in Mexico nor Vienna). Civil society became an organized voice that influences the halls of power – a phenomenon that UNSCR 1325 itself tried to capture. So Beijing was a process hallmark.</p> <p>(2) Also first recognition of WPS as a new realm that needed its own separate action plan. Occurred because Beijing connected civil society activists with survivors from Bosnia and Rwanda, who were the first to openly and boldly speak about rape in war.</p> <p>(3) Adopted by 189 countries, was a turning point for the global agenda for gender equality, setting strategic objectives and actions for the advancement of women in 12 areas, including VAW, women in armed conflict, and women in power and decision-making.</p>
1996	Virginia Military Institute is forced to admit women.	

1996	UNGA Resolution 50/166 establishes UN Trust Fund to Eliminate Violence Against Women.	Since its establishment, the Trust Fund has awarded USD 103 million to 393 initiatives in 136 countries and territories that demonstrate that VAW can be systematically addressed, reduced, and eliminated.
1996	Guatemalan peace process takes place.	First peace process to include female negotiators in the opposition (Luz Mendez) and the government. Also created an innovative platform for including civil society in negotiations, becoming the model for inclusive, multi-track diplomacy.
1996	Pumla Gobodo-Madikizela initiates the South African Truth and Reconciliation Commission's first outreach program, giving victims of human rights violations a chance to speak about their abuse in public hearings.	A large majority of witnesses were women. TRC became a model for transitional justice processes.
1996	Northern Ireland Women's Coalition forms, wins two seats on the Members of the Northern Ireland Forum and participates in the peace talks.	Demonstrated women's agency in bridging divides, promoting inclusive peace processes, and elevating issues that would otherwise not be put on the table. Became an example of women's ability to mobilize across communities to participate in and influence peace processes.
1996	Cambodian government initiates its main reform program, SEILA, which decentralizes development to Village Development Committees and establishes a 40% committee quota for women.	Paved the way for Cambodian women to participate in rural development and local governance. When commune council elections were held for the first time in 2002 as a major step towards democratization, women were elected to 8% of the seats. That percentage doubled in the next elections and continued to grow thereafter. Became a model for integrating women into government from the bottom-up.
1997	The OECD Development Assistance Committee issues Guidelines on Conflict, Peace and Development Cooperation.	Explicitly recognized women's special roles "as bridging partners in dialogue, peace negotiations, reconstruction and rehabilitation strategies" and charged agencies with developing efficient strategies to empower and encourage women to play a more assertive role in peace fora and activities.
1997	Janet Rosenberg Jagan becomes President of Guyana.	First women to serve as President of Guyana.
1997	Madeleine Albright becomes U.S. Secretary of State.	First woman to serve as Secretary of State.

1998	International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda finds rape was used to perpetrate genocide.	First international court to find an accused person guilty of rape as a crime of genocide.
1999	As UN Chief of Mission in Cyprus, Ann Hercus conducts shuttle talks between the two sides.	Hercus serves as a high-level (track one) mediator.
1999	Vaira Vīķe-Freiberga becomes President of Latvia.	First woman to serve as President of Latvia.
1999	Mireya Moscoso becomes President of Panama.	First woman to serve as President of Panama.
1999	Women Waging Peace Network forms (later becomes The Institute for Inclusive Security).	Connected more than 2,000 women leaders and peacemakers from conflict areas across the globe, allowing them to share knowledge, experience and support.
2000	The All-Party Burundi Women's Conference produces a set of recommendations for the Burundi peace process.	Despite being barred from formal peace negotiations that began in 1998, the women at this conference succeed in getting their recommendations included in the final peace accords in August 2000.
2000	Tarja Halonen becomes President of Finland.	First woman to serve as President of Finland.
2000	UNTAET, the East Timor UN peacekeeping mission deploys.	First UN Peacekeeping mission to have a gender affairs unit address gender throughout its operations.
2000	OSCE member states approve the OSCE Gender Action Plan.	Addressed gender balance and equality within the OSCE and in participating OSCE states, with an emphasis on including gender dimensions in the planning of field operations and staff appointment.
2000	Special Session of the UNGA convened for Beijing + 5 Review	Highlighted achievements and areas of progress in the Beijing Platform for Action. Noted existing obstacles and challenges and identified concrete steps to implement the Platform.
2000	European Parliament adopts the (non binding) Participation of Women in Peaceful Conflict Resolution.	Highlighted the deficiencies in international protection and judicial mechanisms available to women victims of war. Recommendations included greater recruitment of women into diplomatic services and more nominations of women to international diplomatic assignments and senior UN positions. Suggests quota of at least 40% of women in all areas, including posts in reconciliation, peacekeeping, peace enforcement, peacebuilding and conflict prevention.

2000	UNSCR 1325	First SCR to link women to peace and security; unifying framework for WPS and legal foundation for National Action Plans (NAPs).
2000	Orit Adato (Israel) becomes three-star general.	First Israeli woman to reach the rank of three-star general.
2001	Megawati Sukarnoputri becomes President of Indonesia.	First woman to serve as President of Indonesia.
2001	G8 Foreign Ministers meeting in Rome announces its Initiative on Conflict Prevention, including "Strengthening the Role of Women in Conflict Prevention."	First comprehensive G8 recognition of women's role in preventing conflict and commitment. Encouraged their full and equal participation in conflict prevention, resolution and peacebuilding.
2001	Women activists from Guinea, Sierra Leone and Liberia mediate (as part of the Mano River Union Women Peace Network or MARWOPNET) between conflict parties in Guinea and Liberia despite being excluded from the formal peace process.	Demonstration of women's roles in advancing stalled peace processes and bringing together warring leaders.
2001	International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia finds an accused person guilty of rape as a crime against humanity.	First international court to do so.
2002	Michelle Bachelet appointed Minister of Defense of Chile.	First woman to be appointed Minister of Defense in Latin America, later to be elected as Chile's first female president in 2006.
2002	African women come together to develop the Durban Declaration on Gender Mainstreaming in the African Union. Its recommendations are adopted by the Heads of State assembly into the Statutes of the Commission of the AU.	Secured equal representation of women and men in the AU Commission, which is the only regional body with an equal number of men and women commissioners.
2002	Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court includes rape and sexual slavery as crimes against humanity when committed in widespread or systematic way.	Conflict-related sexual violence now firmly recognized as an international crime.

2002	Nataša Mičić becomes President of Serbia.	First woman to serve as President of Serbia.
2002	Ruth Yaron becomes Chief Spokesperson of the Israel Defense Forces .	First woman in Israel to serve on the Israeli Joint Chiefs of Staff.
2002	As peace talks in Sri Lanka falter, Visaka Dharmadasa facilitates dialogue between the Sri Lankan government and the LTTE.	Set a precedent for high-level insider mediation led by a woman.
2003	Nino Burjanadze becomes President of Georgia.	First woman to serve as President of Georgia.
2003	OAS foreign ministers sign the Declaration on Security in the Americas, including a section that reaffirms "the importance of enhancing the participation of women in all efforts to promote peace and security [and] the need to increase women's decision-making role at all levels in relation to conflict prevention, management, and resolution."	Represented a strong commitment on the part of OAS member states to women's inclusion. Language from the declaration has since been used in subsequent documents to reiterate the role of women in hemispheric security. NGOs regularly call upon this language for advocacy purposes.
2003	Women of Liberia Mass Action for Peace campaign forms.	Persuaded Liberian President Charles Taylor and the LURD rebel leaders to attend peace talks. Pressured peace delegates to sign the Comprehensive Peace Agreement. Brought world's attention to women's powerful abilities to mobilize, facilitate, and pressure their countries towards peace.
2003	The Arab Women's Organization (AWO) is established within the League of Arab States and launches the Regional Strategy for the Advancement of Arab Women.	Furthered inter-Arab cooperation on building women's capacities in all areas and raising awareness about their vital role as equal partners in development, society and decision-making. Although the AWO's stated goals did not initially explicitly encompass peace and security, it would later become the chief advocate for Arab NAPs to implement UNSCR 1325.
2003	US Marine Corps pilots "Lioness" teams of US women soldiers to engage Iraqi women.	Set precedent for more permanent mechanisms (Female Engagement Teams) in Afghanistan and beyond.

2003	Protocol to the African Charter on Human and People's Rights on the Rights of Women in Africa is passed. Ratifying countries commit to combat all forms of discrimination and violence against women.	By 2007, over 15 African countries had ratified the Protocol.
2004	UN Presidential Statement encourages Member States to develop National Action Plans to implement UNSCR 1325.	
2004	Commonwealth Ministers Responsible for Women's/Gender Affairs come together with over 200 civil society organizations to develop the Commonwealth Secretariat's Plan of Action (POA) for Gender Equality 2005-2015.	Building off its 1995 POA, the 2005-2015 POA prioritized four critical areas, including gender, democracy, peace and conflict. Specifically, it aims to address gender-based violence and women's full participation in leadership and decision-making.
2004	Asha Hagi Elmi becomes the only woman to co-chair the final phase of the Somali National Reconciliation Conference and the first woman to sign the peace accord.	
2004	Afghanistan ratifies a new constitution that enshrines a parliamentary quota for women.	Set a precedent for inclusive transition processes elsewhere.
2005	10-year review of the Beijing Platform for Action takes place.	Identified achievements, gaps and challenges in national-level implementation of the Platform and the most urgent Platform initiative to implement going forward.
2005	Ellen Johnson Sirleaf becomes President of Liberia.	First woman to serve as president of an African country.
2005	Betty Bigombe brings together Ugandan government ministers and Joseph Kony's warlords for ceasefire talks.	First face-to-face meeting between ministers and warlords, laying the ground for the 2006-2008 Juba talks. Demonstrated women's powerful abilities to bridge divisions, win access, and mediate.
2005-2006	7th round of Inter-Sudanese Peace Talks on the Conflict in Darfur takes place.	By the 7th round, all parties included women in their official negotiating and preparatory workshops. The subsequent Darfur Peace Agreement became one of the most gender-sensitive peace agreements yet created.

2007	Indian all-female UN peacekeeping team arrives in Liberia.	First all-female UN peacekeeping team to be deployed.
2007	The Southern African Development Community (SADC), comprised of 14 member states, endorses a Gender Protocol in July 2007 that requires governments to promote women's empowerment, including in government and conflict resolution.	As of 2005, three countries in SADC had attained 30 percent participation of women in decision-making structures.
2007	Pratibha Patil becomes President of India.	First woman to serve as President of India.
2007	First organized consultations between Afghan women and NATO PRTs in Afghanistan (Kandahar).	Became model of engagement for NATO officials throughout the country
2007	G8 Summit in Germany highlights gender equality as a pathway to development and good governance.	Several measures were put forward that focused on the vital role of women, including the empowerment of women through education and economic programs, fighting the rise of HIV/AIDS in women and girls, protecting women's human rights, and working toward the prevention of sexual violence.
2008	Graca Machel serves as one of three high-level mediators ending post-election violence in Kenya.	In addition to mediating peace, Machel helped to bring more women's perspectives into the mediation effort.
2008	Women are elected to more than 50% of the seats in Rwanda's parliament.	First country to have a majority women in its parliament.
2008	UNSCR 1820	First SCR to recognize conflict-related sexual violence as detrimental to peace processes. Encouraged greater deployment of women in peacekeeping, requested trainings for humanitarian and peacekeeping personnel and better enforcement of zero tolerance policy for UN peacekeepers engaging in sexual exploitation.
2009	Rose Francine Rogombé becomes President of Gabon.	First woman to serve as President of Gabon.
2009	Dalia Grybauskaitė becomes President of Lithuania.	First woman to serve as President of Lithuania.

2009	UNSCR 1888	Building on SCR 1820, strengthened monitoring, reporting and accountability, including "teams of experts" to situations of particular concern, special reps to lead efforts to end sexual violence, gender guidelines for peacekeeping ops and annual reports on implementation of SCRs 1820 and 1888
2009	UNSCR 1889	Building on SCR 1325, strengthened monitoring and reporting potential, including welcoming state NAPs and a UN Steering Committee. Requested global indicators and gender-disaggregated data.
2009	Liberia passes NAP.	First post-conflict country to adopt a NAP.
2010	Laura Chinchilla becomes President of Costa Rica.	First woman to serve as President of Costa Rica.
2010	Roza Otunbayeva becomes President of Kyrgyzstan.	First woman to serve as President of Kyrgyzstan.
2010	UNSCR 1960	Building on SCRs 1820 and 1888, further strengthened monitoring and reporting, including reporting on specific parties responsible for sexual violence and referral to sanctions committees, better coordination around data collection and indicator analysis, and sexual violence criteria in sanctions designations.
2010	UN Women becomes operational.	Merged four UN divisions that focused on gender parity, combining their mandates and resources towards greater impact.
2010	UN Secretary General introduces his 'Seven-Point Plan.'	Guided the UN system and committed 15% of UN post-conflict funds to projects principally aimed at addressing women's needs.
2010	Special Representative for the Secretary General on Sexual Violence in Conflict is appointed and establishes office.	First Special Representative on Sexual Violence in Conflict to be appointed.
2011	Dilma Rousseff becomes President of Brazil.	First woman to serve as President of Brazil.
2011	Atifete Jahjaga becomes President of Kosovo.	First woman to serve as President of Kosovo.
2011	Nobel Peace Prize awarded to Leymah Gbowee, Ellen Johnson Sirleaf, Tawakkol Karman.	Symbolic achievement designed to propel women's role in promoting peace and democracy.
2011	US passes NAP.	
2012	Colombian peace talks between the government and the FARC begin.	16 gender experts are included.

2012	Monique Ohsan Bellepeau becomes President of Mauritius.	First woman to serve as President of Mauritius.
2012	Joyce Banda becomes President of Malawi.	First woman to serve as President of Malawi.
2012	UN System-Wide Action Plan on Gender is adopted.	One of three mechanisms designed to establish a comprehensive UN accountability framework for achieving gender parity.
2012	The League of Arab State, Arab Women Organization, and UN Women publish Regional Strategy Protection of Arab Women: Peace and Security.	The first regional strategy to connect women's protection to their participation in peace and security. Calls on Arab states to develop NAPs and provides "necessary steps" for doing so.
2013	Park Geun-hye becomes President of South Korea.	First female head of state in the modern history of Northeast Asia.
2013	UNSCR 2106	Called for increased efforts against impunity for sexual violence and stressed consistent, rigorous investigation and prosecution for deterrence and prevention.
2013	UNSCR 2122	Provided roadmap for more systematic UN approach to implementing WPS commitments, including technical expertise for peacekeeping missions and mediation. Also filled holes such as gender-sensitive humanitarian aid, particularly for pregnant survivors.
2013	Mary Robinson appointed as UN Special Envoy and chief negotiator for the Great Lakes region.	First woman to be appointed as UN Special Envoy/chief negotiator.
2013	The CEDAW Committee adopts General Recommendation 30 on women in conflict prevention, conflict, and post-conflict situations.	Linked CEDAW to the WPS agenda and recommended that states adopt NAPs.
2014	Catherine Samba-Panza becomes President of the Central African Republic.	First woman to serve as President of the Central African Republic.
2014	UNSCR 2178	Recognized women's role in countering violent extremism.
2014	Tunisia becomes the first post-Arab Spring state to pass a new constitution.	The constitution was groundbreaking its provisions to assure women's equality, its commitment to eliminate VAW, promote women's participation in all sectors, and work towards parity in all elected bodies within the country.
2014	Iraq passes NAP.	First country in the MENA region to create a NAP.

2014	Maj. Gen. Kristin Lund becomes commander of the Cyprus UN peacekeeping force.	First female commander of a UN peacekeeping force.
2014	Philippine government and the Moro Islamic Liberation Front sign peace agreement.	50% of the government's negotiating team and 25% of the signatories were women--a historic high for women's participation in any formal peace process. Miriam Coronel Ferrer becomes the first female chief negotiator in the world to sign a final peace accord with a rebel group.
2014	1/3 of the UN Security Council seats are filled by women for the first time in history.	
2015	Afghanistan passes NAP.	The world's 50th NAP to be passed.
2015	Kolinda Grabar-Kitarović President of Croatia.	First woman to serve as President of Croatia.
2015	20 year anniversary of Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action (and 15 year anniversary of Resolution 1325)	
2015	Sustainable Development Goals (to be adopted in September) include a goal on "peaceful and inclusive" societies as well as standalone goal on gender equality.	Goal 16 on "peaceful and inclusive" societies indicates global acceptance of the link between inclusivity and peace, further bolstering the women, peace, and security agenda. (The SDGs also include guidelines for gender-disaggregated data collection, badly needed in conflict contexts.)
2012 - present	Colombian peace talks between the government and the FARC.	Includes 16 gender experts (all women) and two women negotiators on behalf of the government.

Source: The Institute for Inclusive Security, 2016

Appendix 3: Key scholars and practitioners for women in peace and security

First Name	Last Name	Specialty	Title	Organization	Website
Reem	Abu Hassan	Law, Human rights	Minister of Social Development. President, Jordanian Society for Protecting Victims of Family Violence. Member, Board of Directors, Leadership Foundation, International Women Forum. Member, Board of Directors, National Center for Human Rights.	Ministry of Social Development in Jordan, International Women Forum, National Center for Human Rights, Jordanian Society for Protecting Victims of Family Violence	https://www.weforum.org/people/reem-abu-hassan
Lena	Ag	Women's Rights and Peace	Secretary General	Kvinna till Kvinna	http://kvinnatillkvinna.se/en/about-us/staff/
Louise	Allen		Executive Coordinator	NGO Working Group, Women Peace and Security	http://womenpeacesecurity.org/about/staff/
Tala	Al-Rousan	Refugee physical and mental health	Principal Investigator, Physician	The Low N Syrian Refugees Health Study, Harvard T.H. School of Public Health	https://www.facebook.com/LowN Syrianrefugees/photos_stream
Michelle	Barsa	Women in peace and security processes globally	Deputy Director for Policy and Conflict Programs	Institute for Inclusive Security	https://www.inclusivesecurity.org/about-us/leadership-and-staff/michelle-barsa/
Christine	Bell	Human rights, conflict resolution, constitutional law, gender	Professor	University of Edinburgh, Law School	http://www.law.ed.ac.uk/people/christinebell
Cate	Buchanan	Violence prevention and reduction.	Senior Peacebuilding Adviser	Nyein (Shalom) Foundation	http://www.athenaconsortium.org/about-us/cate-buchanan
Ann	Burton	Public Health	Senior Public Health Officer at UNHCR Jordan	UNHCR-Jordan	http://www.unhcr.org/51265bf44.html

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First Name	Last Name	Specialty	Title	Organization	Website
Mary	Caprioli	Peace/Conflict	Associate Professor of Political Science / Director, International Studies Program	University of Minnesota Duluth	http://www.d.umn.edu/pol/main/faculty_staff.php
Christine	Chinkin	International law and human rights.	Director	London School of Economics, Centre for Women Peace and Security	http://www.lse.ac.uk/WomenPeaceSecurity/people/christineChinkin.aspx
Dara	Cohen	CRSV	Assistant Professor of Public Policy	Ash Center for Democratic Governance and Innovation	http://www.hks.harvard.edu/index.php/about/faculty-staff-directory/dara-kay-cohen
Carol	Cohn	Gender and Security	Director	Consortium on Gender, Security and Human Rights	http://genderandsecurity.org/who-we-are/staff/carol-cohn
Manuel	Contreras-Urbina	VAW	Director of Research at Global Women's Institute at GWU, formerly at ICRW	George Washington University	http://globalwomensinstitute.gwu.edu/manuel-contreras-urbina
Benjamin	de Carvalho	Protection of civilians sexual and gender-based violence.	Senior Researcher Fellow	Norwegian Institute of International Affairs	http://www.nupi.no/en/About-NUPI/Employees/Researchers/Benjamin-de-Carvalho
Chantal	de Jonge Oudraat		President	Women in International Security (WIIS)	http://wiisglobal.org/about-wiis/wiis-staff/
Alice	Eagly	Gender and leadership	Professor	North Western	http://www.psychology.northwestern.edu/people/faculty/core/profiles/alice-eagly.html
Kara	Ellerby	Peace processes	Assistant Professor Political Science and International Relations	University of Delaware	http://www.wgs.udel.edu/faculty-and-staff/Pages/bio.aspx?i=81

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First Name	Last Name	Specialty	Title	Organization	Website
Mary	Ellsberg	VAW	Director of Global Women's Institute at GWU, former VP at ICRW	George Washington University	http://globalwomensinstitute.gwu.edu/dr-mary-ellsberg-director
Cynthia	Enloe	Women and militarized culture	Research Professor	Clark University	http://www.clarku.edu/faculty/facultybio.cfm?id=343
Theodora - Ismene	Gizelis	Peace Keeping, conflict resolution and gender	Professor	University of Essex	https://www.essex.ac.uk/government/staff/profile.aspx?ID=1941
Anne Marie	Goetz	Governance, Peace and Security	Currently Professor of Global Affairs, Previous: Professor of Chief Advisor, Governance Peace and Security at UNIFM	NYU School of Professional Studies Center for Global Affairs	https://twitter.com/amgoetz?lang=en
Valerie	Hudson	Peace/Conflict	Professor and George H.W. Bush Chair in the Bush School of Government and Public Service	at Texas A&M University	http://vmrhudson.org/
Swanee	Hunt	Women's leadership in peace and security	Founder and Chair	Institute for Inclusive Security	https://www.inclusivesecurity.org/about-us/leadership-and-staff/ambassador-swanee-hunt/
Miki	Jacevic	Training, strategic partnerships, and curriculum development	Vice Chair	Institute for Inclusive Security	https://www.inclusivesecurity.org/about-us/leadership-and-staff/miki-jacevic/
Paula	Johnson	Cradiology, Public health, Women's health	Professor, Wellesley College President	Wellesley College	http://www.wellesley.edu/news/14thpresident
Karen	Korabik	Gender and diversity in organization and leadership and conflict management	Professor	University of Guelph	https://www.uoguelph.ca/psychology/users/karen-korabik
Laura	Kray	Gender in negotiation	Professor	University of California - Berkley	http://kray.socialpsychology.org/

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First Name	Last Name	Specialty	Title	Organization	Website
Kathleen	Kuehnast	Women and peace building	Senior Gender Advisor	United States Peace Institute	http://www.usip.org/experts/kathleen-kuehnast
Bernard	Lown	Nobel Prize Laureate for Peace, cardiologist, inventor, author	Professor Emeritus	Harvard University, Lown institute	http://www.hsph.harvard.edu/lownscholars/dr-bernard-lown/
Dyan	Mazurana	Women and children's rights during armed conflict	Associate research professor	Tufts	http://fletcher.tufts.edu/Fletcher_Directory/Directory/Faculty%20Profile?personkey=0A34D179-C70C-4140-A6FD-89EFE601480D
Monica	McWilliams	Multi-Party Peace Negotiations, domestic violence, human security and the role of women in peace processes	Institute for Transitional Justice	Univeristy of Ulster	http://www.ulster.ac.uk/aboutus/people-finder/staff/school-of-crim-politics-and-social-policy/mcwilliams-2
Phumzile	Mlambo-Ngcuka	Human rights, equality and social justice	Executive Director	UN Women	http://www.unwomen.org/en/about-us/directorate/executive-director/ed-bio
Henri	Myrttinen	Conflict resolution and peace	Head of Gender and Peacebuilding	International Alert	http://www.international-alert.org/users/henri-myrttinen
Sanam	Naraghi-Anderlini	Conflict prevention and peace building.	Co-Founder and Executive Director	International Civil Society Action Network	http://www.icanpeacework.org/our-team/
Ragnhild	Nordas	Political Violence / Sexual Violence in Armed Conflict	Research Director for the Conditions of Violence and Peace Department and a Senior Researcher / Deputy Editor	Peace Research Institute Oslo (Prio) / Journal of Peace Research	https://ragnhildnordas.wordpress.com/
Isis	Nusair	Middle East and perception of Muslim women	Associate Professor and Chair of International Studies	Denison University	http://denison.edu/people/isis-nusair

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First Name	Last Name	Specialty	Title	Organization	Website
Eleanor	O'Gorman	Conflict prevention and peace building.	Director of Policy and Practice	Conciliation Resources	http://www.c-r.org/news-and-views/news/new-director-policy-and-practice
Louise	Olsson	Gender, Conflict resolution, peace building, United Nations	Head of Research and Policy on Gender, Peace and Security	Uppsala Universitet	http://www.pcr.uu.se/about/staff/olsson_l/
Carrie	O'Neil	Training and leadership development for inclusive security	Deputy Director for Training and Leadership Development	Institute for Inclusive Security	https://www.inclusivesecurity.org/about-us/leadership-and-staff/carrie-oneil/
Jacqueline	O'Neill	National Action Plans, SSR, Peace Processes, Women	Director	Institute for Inclusive Security	https://www.inclusivesecurity.org/about-us/leadership-and-staff/jacqueline-oneill/
Marie	O'Reilly	Women & peace processes	Head of Research	Institute for Inclusive Security	https://www.inclusivesecurity.org/about-us/leadership-and-staff/marie-oreilly/
Thania	Paffenholz	Inclusive peace and transition processes	Director of the Inclusive Peace and Transition Initiative / Research Associate at the Graduate Institute's Centre on Conflict	The Graduate Institute Geneva	http://graduateinstitute.ch/home/research/centresandprogrammes/ccdp/who-we-are/affiliates/paffenholz-thania.html
David	Perkins	Individual and organizational learning, and the teaching of thinking skills.	Carl H. Pforzheimer, Jr. Research Professor of Teaching and Learning	Harvard School of Education, Harvard Project Zero	https://www.gse.harvard.edu/faculty/david-perkins
Elisabeth	Porter	Women and politics	Professor	University of South Australia	http://www.unisanet.unisa.edu.au/staff/Homepage.asp?Name=elisabeth.porter
Antonia	Potter Prentice	Peace Building	Senior Manager on Mediation Support, Gender and Inclusion	Crisis Management Initiative	http://www.cmi.fi/en/about-us/our-people/staff/264-gender-inclusion/785-antonia-potter-prentice-senior-manager

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First Name	Last Name	Specialty	Title	Organization	Website
Meredith	Preston-McGhee	Post-conflict reconstruction, Disarmament, Demobilization and Reintegration (DDR) and small-arms control, with a particular emphasis on gender,	Regional Director, Africa	HD Centre for Humanitarian Dialogue	http://www.hdcentre.org/en/about-us/who-we-are/staff/
Madeleine	Rees	Human Rights	Secretary General	Women's International League for Peace and Freedom	http://wilpf.org/madeleine-rees/
Hannah	Riley Bowles	Gender and Negotiation (in domestic/professional settings)	Senior Lecturer in Public Policy	Harvard Kennedy School	https://www.hks.harvard.edu/about/faculty-staff-directory/hannah-riley-bowles
Anita	Schjolset	Security sector reform	Head of Department	Oslo and Akershus University	https://www.hioa.no/eng/employee/anisch
Laura	Shepard	Gender politics, international relations, and critical security studies	Associate Professor	School of Social Sciences, Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences, The University of New South Wales	https://research.unsw.edu.au/people/associate-professor-laura-shepherd
Laura	Sjoberg	Feminist International Relations	Associate Professor	University of Florida	http://polisci.ufl.edu/laura-sjoberg/
Jill	Steans	Gender and international relations	Senior Lecturer	University of Birmingham	http://www.birmingham.ac.uk/schools/government-society/departments/political-science-international-studies/staff/profiles/steans-jill.aspx

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First Name	Last Name	Specialty	Title	Organization	Website
Maria	Stern	Gender and security sector	Professor	University of Gothenburg	http://www.gu.se/english/about_the_university/staff/?languageId=100001&userId=xstern
Aisling	Swaine	Women Peace and Security, violence against women in armed conflict	Associate Professor	George Washington University	https://elliott.gwu.edu/swaine

Appendix 4: Women Peace Activists Whom Fallen Victim to Violence

Name	Country	Date Killed	Context
Nadia Vera	Mexico	13 Jul 2015	<u>Nadia Vera</u> was found dead in her flat in Mexico City. She had been raped, tortured and shot in the head alongside four other people, including three women and a male journalist, Rubén Espinosa. She was the 36th female human rights defender to be killed in Mexico since 2010. Vera campaigned against attacks on journalists and the selling off of oil reserves. Her activism had led to death threats, prompting her move from Xalapa, the capital of Veracruz, to Mexico City last year.
Francela Mendez	El Salvador	31 May 2015	Francela Méndez defended the rights of the transgender community in El Salvador. She was on the board of the Colectivo Alejandría (Alejandría Collective), which promotes the rights of lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgender people in the country. She was also involved in implementing a programme to address HIV, tuberculosis and malaria, and was a member of the Salvadoran Human Rights Defenders Network. Méndez was killed at the home of a friend in Sonsonate, outside San Salvador. The Inter-American Commission on Human Rights condemned the killing.
Intisar al-Hasairi	Libya	24 Feb 2015	The bodies of Intisar al-Hasairi and her aunt were found in the boot of a car in Tripoli. Both had been shot. Al-Hasairi was the co-founder of the Tanweer Movement, a group that promotes peace and culture in Libya. She was involved in pro-democracy protests in the country.
Joan Kagezi	Uganda	30 Mar 2015	Joan Kagezi, a Ugandan lawyer and prosecutor, was shot dead on her way home from work. She headed the directorate of public prosecutions in the international crimes and anti-terrorism division. At the time of her death, Kagezi was the lead prosecutor in a trial involving 13 men accused of involvement in an al-Shabaab terrorist attack. She also helped prosecute Thomas Kwoyelo, a former commander of the Lord's Resistance Army, for crimes of murder and kidnapping. "Her murder ended what some lawyers described as one of the most brilliant and fearless top-notch criminal prosecuting careers," wrote the Observer newspaper in Kampala at the time of her death.
Sabeen Mahmud	Pakistan	24 April 2015	Sabeen Mahmud was shot dead in her car after leaving an event in Karachi with her mother. She was one of Pakistan's most prominent human rights activists, and the director of a pioneering cafe and community arts space called T2F (originally The Second Floor). On the evening she was killed, T2F had hosted an event highlighting the cases of those in Balochistan who have been "disappeared", allegedly at the hands of the Pakistani government. Mahmud had received death threats – she was not afraid of rocking the boat or taking on religious fundamentalists. "This was a woman equally at home soldering wires, discussing Urdu poetry, playing cricket, attending every progressive political demonstration in Karachi, singing the back catalogue of Pink Floyd, and being my self-proclaimed 'geek-squad for life'," wrote her friend, the novelist Kamila Shamsie, after her death.
Norma Angélica Bruno Román	Mexico	13 Feb 2015	Norma Angélica Bruno Román was killed in front of her children on her way to attend the funeral of another young activist.

			She was understood to be a member of a group in Iguala that worked with families whose relatives had disappeared.
Catherine Han Montoya	US	13 Apr 2015	Catherine Han Montoya, who campaigned for civil and human rights, was killed in her home in Atlanta. She championed the rights of lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgender people, as well as immigrants and female Asian-Americans and Pacific Islanders. She co-founded the Southeast Immigrant Rights Network. Montoya worked for the Leadership Conference on Civil and Human Rights, which paid tribute to her as “an extraordinarily talented leader and skilled organiser who devoted her life to empowering people, including immigrants, communities of colour, and LGBTQ individuals and their families. She leaves a legacy of building bridges of unity and opportunity across multi-ethnic communities”.
Losana McGowan	Fiji	4 Apr 2015	Losana McGowan, a journalist and women’s rights campaigner, was killed at home. Her partner has been charged with her murder. McGowan combined her work as a journalist, reporting for the Fiji Times and the Fiji Broadcasting Corporation, with her activism for the Fiji Women’s Crisis Centre and Fiji Women’s Rights Movement, which works to change laws that discriminate against women. She was most recently the media and communications coordinator for the Secretariat of the Pacific Community. Her death has prompted calls for greater action to tackle violence against women.
Angiza Shinwari	Afghanistan	16 Feb 2015	Angiza Shinwari had recently started a second term as an active provincial council member in Nangarhar when she was killed following a bomb attack on the vehicle in which she was travelling. Before being elected to council, Shinwari was an activist and staunch defender of women’s rights and the right to education. Her killing highlights the dangers women face when taking up political positions in Afghanistan. Reuters reported that, despite keeping a low profile, Shinwari had asked Afghan and foreign officials for protection, fearing her life could be in danger. “All women working in government are in great danger. And the situation is especially bad for provincial council members,” she said.

Appendix 4: Findings of the Syrian Refugee Needs Assessment

Results from focus group discussions and Q-methodology factor analysis needs assessment study.

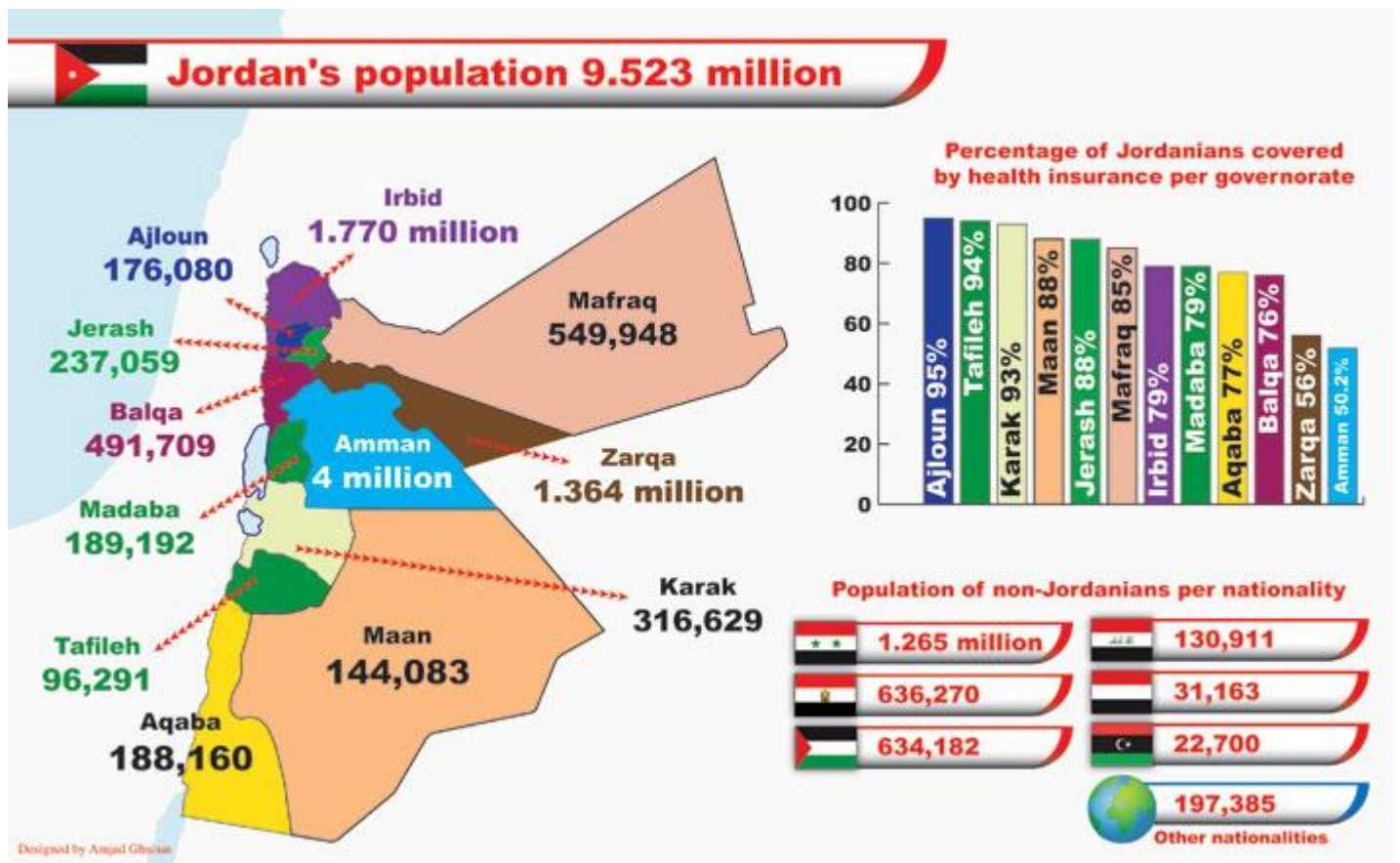
Al-Rousan, et al.

Area	Amman	Ramtha	Irbid	Mafrqa	Zaatari camp	Azraq camp
Number of participants	25	22	45	18	30	15
Age n:						
• 15-18	2	0	4	1	0	0
• 18-29	10	9	22	11	13	8
• 30-64	10	11	12	6	16	7
• 65+	3	2	7	0	1	0
Gender n(%):						
• Females	15	19	20	11	15	6
• Male	10	3	25	7	15	9
Mean years since relocation	3.5	3.0	3.5	2.5	3.0	1.0

Main findings Include (All are statistically significant):

1. Non-Communicable Diseases (NCDs) are very prevalent among Syrian refugees
2. Very high rates of smoking especially among young female Syrian refugees
3. Syrian refugees often feel discriminated against by local healthcare providers and treated badly by Jordanians in general
4. Low rates of health literacy especially in prevention of NCDs
5. Stigma against receiving mental health care is common among both Syrian refugees and Jordanians
6. Cost is the main barrier to health care access especially for tertiary care and complex diseases
7. Syrian refugees lack trust of the local government and its policies. One example is that they believe that the generic cheaper medications that the government offers at pharmacies allocated for Syrian refugees are of lower efficacy or expired.
8. High rates of undiagnosed and undetected mental illnesses due to war trauma
9. Lack of awareness on what health services are available for refugees such as counseling and psychosocial support.
10. Women prefer to be seen by female doctors and health care providers

Appendix 6: Map of Jordan Showing Population of non-Jordanians by Nationality



Source: Jordanian Ministry of Statistics 2016

Graphic from: *The Jordan Times* "Population stands at around 9.5 million, including 2.9 million guests" by Mohammad Ghazal January 30, 2016.