![ISS | INSTITUTE FOR SECURITY STUDIES]

Can a gendered approach improve responses to violent extremism?

Irene Ndung'u and Mothepa Shadung

It has been argued that 'terrorism and violent extremism are highly gendered activities.' In addition, gendered perspectives are already acknowledged in preventing violent extremism (PVE) and counter-terrorism (CT) policy frameworks. This report assesses how gendered approaches to policy and practices relating to PVE and CT could bring greater value, beyond the importance of gender in its own right. The findings presented here indicate that gender equality and women's empowerment may be key to the success of CT responses and PVE programming, but further research is required.

Introduction

A vibrant and sustainable democracy is underpinned by the democratic ideals of equality and human rights. While democracies should ideally promote and protect the equal rights of all women and men, global developments and security challenges such as violent extremism and terrorism limit the full enjoyment of such rights. Yet few studies have examined the relationship between gender and violent extremism and terrorism. This is notwithstanding extensive debate on gender in studies relating to conflict, especially on the interconnections between the status of women, gender equality and violent conflict.[1]

Researchers have argued that 'terrorism and violent extremism are highly gendered activities'.[2] Understanding how gender dynamics might perpetuate inequalities and have an impact on fundamental human rights could play an important role in guiding responses to these challenges.[3] Understanding how, for example, the status of women and men features in their motivations for joining extremist groups, as well as their roles in and the recruitment patterns of such groups, is central to tailoring effective prevention measures.

> Attention should be paid to questions of how gender considerations can bring value to PVE and CT policymaking and programmes

The basis for gender equality has already been established through various international frameworks. The promotion and protection of all human rights, in particular the right not to be discriminated against on the basis of sex and the right to equal protection of the law, are enshrined in international law. Legal instruments include the United Nations (UN) Universal Declaration of Human Rights,[4] the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women[5] and the Warsaw Declaration.[6] In the context of violent extremism and terrorism, preventing violent extremism (PVE) and counter-terrorism (CT) frameworks and strategies also recognise the importance of a gendered approach and the role of women.

It is clear from these international frameworks that gender is important in its own right. However, attention should also be paid to questions of how gender considerations can bring value to PVE and CT policymaking and programmes. This report seeks to contribute to the discourse on gender, violent extremism and terrorism by assessing how a gender analysis contributes to a better understanding of violent extremism and terrorism, and how gendered approaches to PVE and CT may enhance the impact of these responses.

A gender analysis gives equal consideration to the differing experiences of women and men, and builds understanding of their experiences in the context of violent extremism and terrorism. Such an analysis could provide insight on how women and men are likely to be impacted by responses

to violent extremism; how PVE and CT efforts may challenge, maintain or reinforce existing gender inequalities;[7] and how more effective PVE and CT responses may be constructed.

The report begins with a review of selected global policy frameworks on gender, PVE and CT, and briefly discusses how these could be further developed to enhance responses to violent extremism and terrorism. This is followed by an assessment of the extent to which gender is considered in PVE and CT practice, and a discussion on how gendered approaches to PVE and CT could enhance the impact of such responses. The report goes on to explore emerging and ongoing challenges relating to gender in the context of violent extremism and terrorism and in the lifecycle of PVE and CT policy and practice. It also gives targeted recommendations for relevant CT and PVE stakeholders on gender as a key consideration in policymaking and practice.

Use of terminology

Several terms used in this report are contested and do not have generally accepted definitions. Terms used in this report are defined as follows:

Counter-terrorism refers to 'the practices, tactics, techniques, and strategies that governments, militaries, police departments and corporations adopt in response to terrorist threats and/or acts, both real and imputed'.[8]

Gender is the 'socially or culturally constructed characteristics of women and men'[9] or 'the range of characteristics associated with man, woman, intersex, masculine, feminine, transgender, etc'.[10]

Gender analysis is an examination of the relationships between women and men; their access to resources; the constraints and opportunities they face relative to each other; and the different ways in which they are involved in political, economic, legal and social structures.[11] Inequality that emanates from different gender roles and norms, unequal gender power relations and contextual factors such as education, culture, tradition, ethnicity or employment status can be identified, assessed and addressed through gender analysis.[12]

A *gendered perspective/approach* entails an assessment of the ways in which issues related to violent extremism affect women and men differently and how they are differently involved in those issues.

Preventing violent extremism is a 'comprehensive approach encompassing not only essential security-based counter-terrorism measures but also systematic preventive steps to address the underlying conditions that drive individuals to radicalize and join violent extremist groups'.[13]

Radicalisation is the process through which individuals or groups develop or become susceptible to extremist ideologies, and may be a precursor to extremist activities and violence.[14]

Terrorism denotes the use or threat of violence for the purpose of intimidation or coercion for political, religious or ideological ends.[15]

Violent extremism indicates 'a willingness to use or support the use of violence to further particular beliefs, including those of a political, social or ideological nature and may include acts of terrorism'.[16]

Women's empowerment encompasses 'all those processes where women take control and ownership of their lives'.[17]

Global policy framework

The UN Global Counter-Terrorism Strategy underpins the international community's efforts to address terrorism.[18] Both the text of the strategy and its appended Plan of Action are silent on gender concerns, although the importance of human rights in CT efforts is emphasised.

> 'Terrorism and violent extremism are highly gendered activities because of their exploitation of gender stereotypes'

More recently, the UN secretary-general adopted a Plan of Action (PoA) for Preventing Violent Extremism.[19] This PoA dedicates significant attention to women and the importance of gender considerations when developing PVE strategies.[20] It calls on states to ensure that strategies devised to address terrorism and violent extremism place the protection and empowerment of women at the centre of such efforts, and that these efforts do not impact adversely on women's rights.[21]

Yet the PoA offers little guidance on tangible ways of overcoming culturally entrenched structural inequalities

that cause gender inequality in the first instance, and which have a bearing on the effectiveness of PVE programmes. Another concern with the PoA is that it fails to identify tools that stakeholders may use to track, monitor or measure the extent to which PVE efforts are gender-mainstreamed or -sensitive.

Other policy responses at the global level do acknowledge the importance of gender as a key element in the success of strategies aimed at eliminating violence more generally. These include UN Security Council resolutions (UNSCRs) such as UNSCR 1325 (2000)[22] on women, peace and security, and subsequent resolutions. These UNSCRs take note of the threat posed by violent extremism to the democratic gains made through the women, peace and security agenda, due to the significant impact violent extremism – and the responses to it – has on women. One of the most significant of these is UNSCR 2242 (2015),[23] which recognises the differential role and impact of terrorism and violent extremism on the human rights of women. It also emphasises the need for gender-sensitive research to understand the drivers of women's radicalisation in the context of counter-terrorism, as well as for increased consultations with women's organisations affected by violent extremism.[24]

> Policymakers need to focus more on emerging dynamics in relation to gender and violent extremism, such as the increasing victimisation of children, boys and men

Other resolutions relevant to women in the context of terrorism include UNSCR 2178 (2014)[25] and UNSCR 2129 (2013).[26] There are also resolutions on different thematic areas relating to women, peace and security issues that address the experiences of women in conflict-related violence,[27] including on sexual and gender-based violence, such as UNSCRs 1820 (2008)[28] and 1888 (2009).[29]

While significant policy attention has thus been paid to women in the context of the global peace and security agenda, policymakers need to focus more on emerging dynamics in relation to gender and violent extremism, such as the increasing victimisation of children, boys and men.

In terms of policy implementation, practitioners involved in gender, peace and security efforts have noted that the exclusion of women from the formulation and implementation of PVE and CT measures threatens to undercut their democratic gains. As Dharmapuri notes:

> [P]romoting gender equality … is part of a larger conversation on women, peace and security that can help CVE policymakers and practitioners avoid the pitfalls of stereotyping or securitizing women's roles … and offers a framework of different strategies for practical application in analysing, designing and assessing CVE efforts.[30]

It has also been noted that these two communities of policymakers and practitioners at times ignore each other and do not seem to integrate, often because of mutual mistrust.[31] On the one side are those involved in rights

THE UN PLAN OF ACTION FOR PREVENTING VIOLENT EXTREMISM DEDICATES SIGNIFICANT ATTENTION TO WOMEN AND THE IMPORTANCE OF GENDER CONSIDERATIONS WHEN DEVELOPING PVE STRATEGIES

advocacy in security matters, primarily from civil society, and, on the other, those security agencies tasked with CT interventions. A key reason for this division is that human rights violations often result from securitised approaches to violent extremism and terrorism.[32]

CT policies and the impact of their application can be enhanced if policymakers and practitioners engage in targeted and pragmatic conversations about the evolving role of women in peace and security issues. This calls for more respectful relations between governments and civil society rights advocates. It is also of utmost importance that women are included and participate in these conversations. This is because women have multiple roles – as security agents, victims of security operations, citizens with a stake in the results of security operations, and human rights defenders.

Countries should ensure that PVE is integrated into the design and development of future national action plans

National action plans (NAPs) for the implementation of UNSCR 1325 are effective vehicles for addressing gender inequality, particularly in decision-making processes related to peace and security matters.[33] They can therefore provide entry points for engagement with relevant stakeholders in so far as CVE efforts are concerned. NAPs for UNSCR 1325 illustrate the importance of harnessing existing mechanisms in PVE responses and concentrating efforts on carrying out their implementation obligations. As of May 2017, 66 countries had developed NAPs for the implementation of UNSCR 1325.[34]

Kenya recently adopted a NAP and is one of the countries that acknowledge gender, with a specific focus on the impact of violent extremism on women.[35] Yet its NAP fails to take cognisance of the agency of women in violent extremism. It is also silent on how to address the specific rehabilitative and reintegration needs of women implicated in violent extremism. This is one of the areas that need to be further developed.

Countries should ensure that PVE is integrated into the design and development of future NAPs. However, as with all global policy frameworks, implementation is influenced by a number of factors, including resource constraints, weak institutions, limited skills and inadequate of political will.

The involvement of women in CT policy development and decision-making is critical, and institutions such as the UN and regional intergovernmental institutions can assist governments in facilitating exemplary processes that advance democratic practices such as participation. A good practice at the global level is the involvement of UN Women in the implementation of the UN Global Counterterrorism Strategy, where it serves as a member of the Counter-Terrorism Implementation Task Force.[36]

NATIONAL ACTION PLANS FOR THE IMPLEMENTATION OF UNSCR 1325 ARE EFFECTIVE VEHICLES FOR ADDRESSING GENDER INEQUALITY

CT practice

Apart from being the victims of terrorism, both women and men have been victims in the context of CT measures. While the Office of the UN High Commissioner for Human Rights (OHCHR) has raised concerns over the violation of human rights, democracy and the rule of law by terrorist organisations,[37] it has similarly described the serious impact of CT measures on fundamental human rights.[38] The violations committed by security agencies in the course of CT activities have included extrajudicial killings, arbitrary arrests, forced disappearances, torture, and ethnic and religious profiling.[39]

Evidence also shows that states' CT measures have a gendered impact. The report of the UN Special Rapporteur on the promotion and protection of human rights and fundamental freedoms emphasises the cost of overlooking and underreporting on the gendered aspects of CT measures.[40]

> Certain criminal justice responses to terrorism often fail to uphold the human rights of women and men

Scholars and practitioners alike note that national CT efforts rarely take a gendered dimension,[41] noting that gender tends to be ignored in CT strategies.[42] This has been attributed to law enforcement's lack of capacity to deal with gender issues, including practical and operational challenges.[43] A gendered approach could, therefore, enhance the impact of CT efforts by assessing their effects through a gendered lens and addressing the associated human rights violations, also in an appropriately gender-oriented manner.

Amnesty International describes how men, women and children have suffered verbal and physical abuse emanating from discriminatory CT measures by some European states and their security agents.[44] This is contrary to the pursuit of both effective CT measures and the protection of human rights, which ought to be complementary and mutually reinforcing objectives.[45] Many reports show that human rights violations resulting from CT measures can lead to alienation, profiling, isolation and exclusion, among others, and that such grievances are in turn used by terrorist organisations as fodder for propaganda aimed at recruitment.[46] For example, al-Shabaab has exploited police brutality during CT operations in Kenya to 'legitimise [its] extremist propaganda narratives'.[47] The group has also promised revenge to potential youth recruits, mostly young men, by exploiting the sense of injustice and desire for revenge emanating from such police conduct.[48]

Certain criminal justice responses to terrorism often fail to uphold the human rights of women and men during CT operations. Female and male family members suffer economic, social and other consequences emanating from enforced disappearances and the prolonged detention without trial of male family members.[49] A report by Nassar on the arbitrary arrest and detention

VIOLATIONS COMMITTED BY SECURITY AGENCIES IN THE COURSE OF CT ACTIVITIES HAVE INCLUDED EXTRAJUDICIAL KILLINGS, ARBITRARY ARRESTS, FORCED DISAPPEARANCES, TORTURE, AND ETHNIC AND RELIGIOUS PROFILING

of Syrian women highlights the impact of CT measures on them.[50] This includes the use of detained women as 'bargaining chips' in hostage exchanges; the extraction of false confessions through torture or threat of torture; degrading body searches and sexual violence; poor prison conditions; and unfair prosecution mechanisms that deprive women of their right to a fair trial.[51]

Reports also show the significant impact of military CT measures on boys and men. For example, Amnesty International reports that between 2013 and 2014, over 1 000 boys and men were killed in extrajudicial killings by the Nigerian military, in contravention of international humanitarian law.[52] The report further notes that since 2011, over 7 000 men and boys have died in military detention in Nigeria, with their deaths often neither recorded nor investigated.[53]

The unlawful detention and ill treatment of women who are not suspected of terrorist offences, to obtain information about male family members or to force male terrorist suspects to provide confessions or information, is of grave concern.[54] In some cases female and male terrorist suspects also experience forms of interrogation that violate international anti-torture frameworks.

> Gender norms can impede or encourage the voice and agency of women

Reports indicate that gender-based violence, including rape, has been used as a form of torture of detained female terrorist suspects.[55] In Iraq it has also been reported that male Muslim detainees have been subjected to interrogation techniques by the United States (US) and its private contractors that exploit 'perceived notions of male Muslim homophobia', such as forced sexual acts with other male detainees.[56]

The UN notes that because terrorism impacts both men and women, both should be integral to the solutions. It has urged states to take male and female views equally into account when developing CT strategies.[57] Fink et al. have argued that there is a need to increase the representation of women in the security sector as part of CT strategies, noting, for example, that they understand gender sensitivities and achieve information-driven results.[58]

Other scholars, however, caution that 'although a gender-balanced security sector does contribute to a more efficient approach to security, the advancement of women must never be equated with a security agenda'.[59] They argue that the inclusion of women should not be sought out in the interests of the state and security actors, but rather that promoting the human rights of women and achieving gender equality are crucial ends in themselves.[60]

It is therefore critical to develop a better understanding of gender dynamics so as to enhance CT responses to these challenges. Equally, this understanding needs to reduce the risk of contributing to the causal dynamics associated with violent extremism. Implementing CT measures that are gender focused and human rights compliant is thus likely to enhance their effectiveness and impact.

PVE practice

It is important to recognise the different roles men and women play in various communities. Gender norms can impede or encourage the voice and agency of women, and equally relegate men to certain roles, militating against the goal of achieving inclusivity in policy and programmes. An examination of women and men's engagement in PVE programming, and the gendered impacts of these programmes on them, may inform ways to improve PVE efforts. However, the evidence on this issue is currently limited.

As mothers, wives, caregivers, partners and sisters, women are thought to be in a position to be the first to detect and influence extremist thinking and behaviour in their families and communities. They are considered to have a unique position in 'early warning' and 'early response' as they are perceived as 'non-polarising' in families and communities, and as potentially helpful in developing young people's self-esteem and social cohesion.[61] In addition to these perceived roles, security policymakers are also interested in their potential as 'assets for fighting extremism'.[62]

However, it is argued that, in reality, women are often denied the chance to play these roles in many environments at the community level. In most countries, male elders and religious leaders take the lead in key PVE interventions.[63] Furthermore, according to Oudraat,

the idea that women can be a powerful force in the domestic sphere and are an untapped potential in PVE, especially in Islamic cultures, is a misguided assumption among some Western policymakers, as many women in such communities and countries do not feel they are listened to.[64] Oudraat cites the experiences of women leaders from Asia and Africa who participated in two pilot projects that examined women's roles and women's organisations in PVE.[65] The women said they felt that their voices were not heard and that wives and mothers were showed disrespect by their husbands and children.[66] If such women feel disrespected, how can they positively influence their husbands and children?[67] Their possible influential role will remain untapped if this situation remains unchanged.

PVE programming with a narrow view of women's roles runs the risk of instrumentalising and essentialising women

In working towards ensuring that women play a role in PVE efforts, gender-based programming must be designed in a manner that does not instrumentalise them. Women – and their roles as mothers, wives, etc. – should not be used as tools for reaching the targets of PVE programming, who are often difficult to influence.[68] Women should be included as agents rather than subjects, as underlined by Freeman and Mahmoud, who noted that

> women are often consulted as an afterthought in planning for PVE/CVE work and in many other security processes, to the point that if they are involved at all, they are relegated to secondary processes and structures. At all levels and in all policy agendas, women need to be recognised as more than wives and mothers: they are agents and activists.[69]

PVE programming with a narrow view of women's roles runs the risk of instrumentalising and essentialising women if they are not empowered to play a role, consulted, and included in programme design and implementation.

Couture's study found that 'an increase in female empowerment and gender equality has a positive effect on … the success, impact, and sustainability of countering violent extremism programming, as it does similarly in the peacebuilding and conflict prevention realm'.[70] This study, of gendered strategies to counter and prevent extremism in Bangladesh and Morocco, measured the success of CVE programmes by relying on relevant 'leading indicators behind proven best practices and their subsets (social, economic, political)'.[71]

In practice, however, while there are some noteworthy women's empowerment networks and organisations that have socio-economic, educational and political programmes aimed at PVE,[72] there is a need for not only more PVE programmes but also ones that take gender into account.

WOMEN SHOULD NOT BE USED AS TOOLS FOR REACHING THE TARGETS OF PVE PROGRAMMING

Research by Idris and Abdelaziz found that programmes that specifically focused on promoting women's roles in CVE were less common than those that involved women as participants/beneficiaries alongside men.[73] One such example is the US Agency for International Development's (USAID) Regional Peace for Development programme, which aimed to address socio-economic, political and cultural drivers of violent extremism by applying a holistic, community-led approach in Burkina Faso, Chad and Niger.[74] PVE programming, whether women-centric or not, should be gender-based. In other words, the different impacts it might have on both women and men, as well as the impact of women and men's involvement on it, should be taken into account.

In this context, a critical question is: what roles can fathers, husbands and other men in the community play in PVE efforts?

A study by Botha on recruitment and radicalisation by al-Shabaab and the Mombasa Republican Council in Kenya showed that, among individuals associated with these groups, father figures played the most significant role in their lives, which had a direct impact on the level of their interest in politics and, consequently, their political socialisation process.[75]

> To bridge the gender divide, the role and leadership of women in PVE need to be enhanced alongside efforts to promote men's involvement in achieving this goal

This study also found that where both parents were present, rules were made by the father in 100% of the cases in al-Shabaab families.[76] Where the father was not present in the household, the mother made the rules in only a few cases compared to a male relative.[77] In such contexts, where men have an overwhelmingly influential role in the decision-making of their children, their potential roles should be leveraged.

If men have a pre-existing dominance in peace and security issues, including at the community level, there should be expanded focus on designing human rights-based programming that raises their awareness of gender norms that impede women's empowerment. In other words, it is necessary to design gender-based PVE programming that includes men as key partners in women's empowerment.

As argued by Oudraat, men are gendered beings, but many analyses fail to recognise them as such.[78] Research on the gendered perspective of global security challenges weighs heavily on their impact on, and protection of, women's rights. In this case, while much-needed attention is increasingly being paid to women's involvement in PVE, CT and peacebuilding efforts, it is equally important to balance the focus on both sides of the gender equation.[79] To bridge the gender divide, the role and leadership of women in PVE need to be enhanced alongside efforts to promote men's involvement in achieving this goal.

IT IS NECESSARY TO DESIGN GENDER-BASED PVE PROGRAMMING THAT INCLUDES MEN AS KEY PARTNERS IN WOMEN'S EMPOWERMENT

These examples – demonstrating the role of both mothers and fathers in families and communities – highlight the increasing need to focus on parenting as part of preventative programming. This focus should be based on nuanced, targeted, realistic and context-driven responses that acknowledge and create space for both genders as equal actors in PVE responses.

In South-East Asia, for example, parents have been identified as key actors in counter-narrative efforts.[80] In Indonesian and Malaysian contexts, it is a common view that, before one can engage in jihad or seek martyrdom, the blessing and consent of one's parents, particularly mothers, is necessary.[81] This demonstrates the influence that parents have on their children's decision-making, and current counter-narrative strategies are thus tailored to this context.[82]

The Indonesian and Malaysian experiences differ from those in Kenya where, as previously discussed, fathers and male relatives play the more prominent role in families. Appreciating such local nuances is therefore key to the development of appropriate, context-driven and gender-based responses.

The value of integrating a gendered approach into PVE programming is two-fold: first, it enhances the role that women and men play, and, second, it ensures that programming is tailored to their needs based on ongoing consultations. This will, in turn, determine how women and men, as mothers and fathers, can effectively and collectively contribute to PVE interventions. Consequently, the democratic ideals of gender equality, inclusivity and respect for human rights can strengthen responses to violent extremism.

Emerging and ongoing challenges

A gender analysis of violent extremism and terrorism is needed to enhance the impact of PVE and CT responses, first, by developing an understanding of the gendered nature and dynamics of these phenomena, and second, by providing the evidence needed to anchor and inform the design, formulation and implementation of gender-sensitive and human rights-compliant responses. Such an analysis needs to continually address the emerging and ongoing challenges in this field to ensure that responses remain context-specific and relevant.

It is becoming increasingly evident that extremists actively exploit gender dynamics in their recruitment methods and in the roles assigned to both genders in such organisations. Dharmapuri argues that terrorism and violent extremism are highly gendered activities because of their exploitation of rigid stereotypes of femininity and masculinity.[83]

While some similarities exist, there are also some important gender differences in the dynamics associated with joining extremist organisations. In the Middle East and North Africa region, for example, the lure of violence seems to motivate male recruits more than female recruits, who find motivation in adventure and a perceived romanticism around engagement in violent extremist groups.[84] For many young women in this region, gender
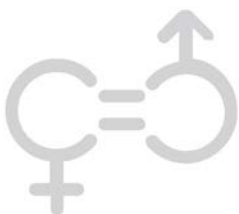
THE THREAT OF VIOLENT EXTREMIST ATTACKS IS INCREASINGLY BEING OBSERVED IN COUNTRIES THAT HAVE HIGH GENDER EQUALITY INDICATORS, SUCH AS BRITAIN, FRANCE, GERMANY AND THE US

subordination or exclusion has also been found to be a motivating factor in joining these organisations.[85]

Various factors influence the roles different genders play and occupy in extremist groups. Gender stereotypes of women as peaceful or non-threatening have been exploited by terror groups, for instance in the perpetration of suicide terrorist attacks in crowded places, because women are perceived as more likely to slip past security checks undetected.[86] Women's agency can also be seen in the various roles they play as sympathisers with violent extremism; for instance, some women actively choose to become jihadi brides. In the case of Boko Haram, women gather intelligence, assist in recruitment, promote radical ideologies and indoctrinate abductees and converts.[87]

Gender stereotypes of women as peaceful or non-threatening have been exploited by terror groups

Research into the forms and extent of sexual violence against women in the context of violent extremism has begun to emerge, showing how violent extremists use sexual violence as a deliberate warfare tactic. Terrorist groups exploit the subordinate status of women to their advantage by coercing them into the roles of sex slaves or into marrying jihadists.[88] However, the victimisation of boys and men in this context has been largely overlooked. Ngari notes that men and boys are 'wars' silent sufferers' and argues that they are as much at risk from sexual violence as women and girls.[89] He also notes that such violence is employed not only as a war tactic to 'humiliate, dominate and instil fear'[90] but also increasingly as a tactic of terrorism.[91]

Sexual violence against men and boys in the course of CT operations has also been overlooked. For example, the US policy of instructing American soldiers and marines to ignore the sexual abuse of boys by their Afghan allies – which occurs through the local practise of bacha bazi or 'boy play' – has come under increased scrutiny due to the rampant sexual abuse of these children, particularly by armed militia commanders in military bases.[92] Cases of sexual violence against men and boys in Syrian detention centres have also been widely documented and denounced by the UN.[93]

Understanding such dynamics in terrorism and CT through further research could reveal 'the complex patterns involving power, peer driven affiliation and gender inequalities',[94] and the influence of gender norms and rigidities in this regard.[95] This in turn could translate into better-informed CT responses that respond equally to the needs of female and male victims.

In addition, the threat of violent extremist attacks is increasingly also being observed in countries that have high gender equality indicators, such as Britain, France, Germany and the US. Although it is not clear to what extent gender dynamics such as inequality are at play in driving this violent extremism (particularly by women), owing to limited empirical data, it is important to explore such emerging dynamics. In France, for example, cases of female terrorists have been reported,[96] and in Britain the problem of radicalised 'jihadi brides' is an emerging trend.[97] Furthermore, perceptions of alienation, marginalisation and identity problems among young men and women from Muslim minority communities in Britain and Belgium, for example, have been identified as drivers of radicalisation. More research is needed to understand these emerging trends in advanced democracies.

Sexual violence against men and boys in the course of counter-terrorism operations has been overlooked

The dynamics discussed above are of concern for democracies already struggling to deal with inequalities arising from structural, religious or cultural factors. Democracies working towards strengthening the right to equality in the context of PVE and CT must consider gender differences in order to prevent extremist organisations from exploiting women and men's vulnerabilities. Addressing the challenge of violent extremism also means adapting PVE and CT efforts to the complex and changing milieu in which violent extremism and terrorism manifest, as well as their modus operandi, to ensure the gains already made in democratic contexts are not undermined.

In such contexts, it is crucial to address democratic deficits in women's political participation and social empowerment. There are several avenues to empower

women, including expanding the options available to them and their abilities to take advantage of these. This may reduce their support for violent extremism in cases where gender subordination has been identified as a major recruitment driver.[98] PVE strategies that are designed to ensure women's inclusion and participation also become crucial in addressing the factors that motivate them to search for inclusion and relevance in extremist groups.

Despite provisions in global frameworks and policies, the reality is that some PVE efforts have failed to take a gendered approach – this at best weakens policy or programming and at worst does actual harm.[99] PVE interventions that fail to incorporate a gendered perspective risk bolstering regressive and stereotypical gender norms, which can cripple the quality of such interventions. The differential threats to and opportunities for women and men's security can be identified when gender considerations and perspectives are used when determining the implications of any planned CVE intervention.[100]

> ## PVE interventions that fail to incorporate a gendered perspective risk bolstering regressive and stereotypical gender norms

A key indicator of PVE responses should thus be the extent to which gender considerations and gender equality have been factored into the design and implementation of policy and programming. Gender equality must be treated as an explicit objective of democracy building, and not as an 'add-on'.[101] Context and local dynamics are key to building effective PVE programming and, as practitioners note, further research is needed to better understand the relationship between structural gender inequalities and violent extremism in different contexts, as well as the influence of gender norms and rigidities.[102]

In developing and implementing global frameworks the risks associated with essentialising and instrumentalising the role of women in PVE and CT are also key concerns. Essentialising women's roles risks overlooking their agency in violent extremism by paying more attention to the roles they can play in prevention efforts. Women's voices and rights should not be securitised or be seen as tools for addressing the problem of male radicalisation and for countering and preventing violent extremism.[103]

It has been noted that when women's advocacy becomes closely connected to a country's CT agenda, there is an increased risk of reprisal against women's rights defenders and women's rights issues.[104] Securitisation, in the form of broad-based CT measures that seek to explicitly involve women, can have the effect of further alienating women and increasing their insecurity, rather than empowering them.[105] Balancing inclusion, protection and other gender equality rights with human rights-compliant CT responses thus becomes crucial.

Another ongoing challenge is the need to measure the gendered impacts of PVE and CT activities. While methods to integrate CVE-specific and CVE-

BALANCING INCLUSION, PROTECTION AND OTHER GENDER EQUALITY RIGHTS WITH HUMAN RIGHTS-COMPLIANT CT RESPONSES IS CRUCIAL

relevant measures remain a challenge,[106] gender-specific and gender-relevant measures in the context of PVE and CT are also open to further development. In determining whether existing PVE programming is gendered, practitioners have noted the complexities in evaluating such programming, especially the manner in which evaluations should be conducted.[107]

Apart from the matter of gender, there are also conceptual challenges to evaluating PVE programming, such as the lack of clear, generally accepted definitions in policies and strategies, which consequently leads to inconsistent application.[108] A further challenge is the elaborate processes necessary for programme design (including research). There are also operational challenges, such as the shortage of expertise specifically in PVE programmes evaluations.[109]

The impact of a gendered approach to PVE and CT policy and practice thus becomes more difficult to assess without evaluations. Some explanations have been offered for the limited documentation of PVE programme evaluations in the area of women's empowerment. These include the shortage of such programmes due to the infancy of women-centric P/CVE programming; the continued progression of non-gender specific PVE programming; reluctance to publicise such evaluations;[110] and the complexities of conducting such evaluations.

> To help ensure that programming protects and enhances women's equality, gendered impacts must be monitored throughout the lifecycle of an intervention

Satterthwaite found that CVE programming can be 'implicitly gendered but overtly gender-blind'.[111] In assessing USAID's programming to counter violent extremism, she found that the agency had an outdated perspective on gender by assuming that analysis of gendered impacts is not required for CVE programming aimed at men.[112] The same can be said about other programming aimed at women – it should not be assumed that gendered impacts need not be evaluated. It is crucial to design and employ indicators that can measure not only the impacts of programming on violent extremism but also the gendered, rights-based impacts.[113]

To help ensure that programming protects and enhances women's equality, gendered impacts must be monitored throughout the lifecycle of an intervention, and the different impacts of such programming on women and men must be determined.[114] Bearing in mind the complexities of challenges such as the additional capacity needed for evaluating gendered impacts, the funding of specialists with a gender and monitoring and evaluation focus must be prioritised in project proposals. In addition, funding should also be ring-fenced for the entire process of including gender in PVE and CT programming, as well as for monitoring and evaluation processes.

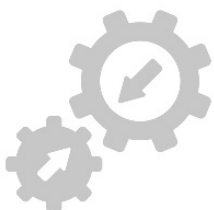FUNDING SHOULD ALSO BE RING-FENCED FOR THE ENTIRE PROCESS OF INCLUDING GENDER IN PVE AND CT PROGRAMMING

Importantly, it is difficult to gauge the impact of gendered approaches to PVE and CT without empirical data. Therefore, donors should consider funding empirical research as a key component of PVE and CT responses. Potential areas for further research could include the impact of PVE and CT policies and programming on women and men; how women's inclusion affect policy debates, formulation and programme design and their subsequent implementation; the topics of women as preventers of terrorism[115] and their unique position to prevent radicalisation; and changes in attitudes and behaviours that should be integrated with gender-specific metrics.[116]

Conclusion

This report has shown how a gender analysis of violent extremism and terrorism can contribute to a better understanding of these phenomena. It has also highlighted existing global policy frameworks, noting that while there have been significant strides in the development of gender-responsive policies, gaps still remain with implementation, including in ensuring that gender is clearly mainstreamed. Policy frameworks need to be further developed and be more responsive to emerging challenges such as the increasing victimisation of men and boys. The integration of a gender analysis into PVE and CT practice is crucial to the effectiveness of such responses. It is thus evident that it is critical to have an evidence base that is targeted, context-driven and gender-sensitive. PVE and CT responses must also be compliant with gender equality and human rights frameworks.

> Gender equality and female empowerment remain key democratic ideals, and their promotion has a positive effect on the success and sustainability of PVE efforts

Analyses of gender relations in the context of democracy and violent extremism could provide greater insight into those who are likely to directly or indirectly benefit – or not – from PVE and CT programming, and into how PVE and CT programming may challenge or maintain existing gender inequalities. Emerging and ongoing challenges have affected the development of the gender, violent extremism and terrorism debate, policy and practice, demonstrating the need to direct more programmes at raising men's awareness of gender in PVE and CT efforts. Finally, gender equality and female empowerment remain key democratic ideals, and their promotion has a positive effect on the impact, success and sustainability of PVE efforts.

Recommendations

Research institutions should conduct further research into gender, violent extremism and terrorism

Research should address how gender constructs of femininity and masculinity and structural inequalities drive radicalisation and violent extremism. There is

THE INTEGRATION OF A GENDER ANALYSIS INTO PVE AND CT PRACTICE IS CRUCIAL TO THE EFFECTIVENESS OF SUCH RESPONSES

a need for research that examines how such constructs contribute to the effectiveness or otherwise of PVE and CT efforts. Moreover, how women and men are differently involved in, have an impact on, and are impacted by PVE programming should also be further investigated.

> Both mothers and fathers have a role to play in PVE in their families and communities

Governments should develop PVE and CT frameworks through a gender analysis

In addressing the security, development and human rights challenges posed by violent extremism, governments should integrate gender as a key component in PVE and CT policy frameworks and develop indicators that effectively monitor progress of their implementation. More UN member states should ensure that they develop plans of action for the implementation of UNSCR 1325 on women, peace and security, and that these address women's agency in violent extremism, as well as in PVE and CT efforts, in line with relevant UN resolutions such as UNSCR 2242 (2015).

Reporting on and documentation of the gendered impact of CT operations should be strengthened

Current human rights reports of violations during CT operations are often generalised and not necessarily gendered. Human rights defenders and advocacy groups should strive to ensure that their reporting on CT operations captures these differential impacts on the rights of women and men, boys and girls.

States need to fulfil their obligations under international human rights law, including those related to the treatment of individuals accused of terrorism related offences

The chronic accusations against security agencies of unlawful detention, extrajudicial killings, torture and forced disappearances are emblematic of impunity and a lack of political will among many states. It is therefore essential that oversight mechanisms on human rights at the national level and accountability mechanisms at the international level be reinforced. This could be done

through reporting, documentation, transparency and cooperation with relevant stakeholders.

Governments and women's empowerment organisations should enhance women's preventative roles

Women are not just victims of and participants in violent extremism, they are also active in PVE and CT efforts, especially at the local and community levels. Their inclusion, especially in formal and informal preventative policy and programmatic processes, in both the formulation and implementation of PVE and CT efforts, will reinforce democratic gains made in the gender, peace and security agenda. To this end, governments are encouraged to integrate and enhance women's engagement in decision-making and leadership in PVE and CT.

Governments and civil society organisations should conduct community consultations to ensure gender inclusivity

PVE programming must appeal to both women and men, and their roles in PVE should be coordinated. Community consultations, particularly identifying the needs of women and men, should be an integral part of the development and implementation of PVE strategies and programmes. This will promote and enhance women and men's trust in and support of PVE responses.

Practitioners should place greater emphasis on parenting in PVE

Family-focused PVE activities should increasingly engage with fathers and their work, rather than instrumentalising women. Both mothers and fathers have a role to play in PVE in their families and communities.

Donors are encouraged to invest in both empirical research and evaluation

Donors should consider funding empirical research as a key component of PVE and CT responses. They should also fund specialists with a gender and monitoring and evaluation focus to conduct programme-specific research for the purpose of building evidence on the impact of gendered approaches on PVE and CT policy and practice. Documenting and sharing good practices and lessons learned among states and civil society organisations is key in guiding further action and avoiding pitfalls in ongoing responses.

Notes

1   See selected publications by researchers at Peace Research Institute Oslo (PRIO), Gender, peace and conflict, http://file.prio.no/publication_files/Prio/PRIO%20Publications%20-%20Gender%2C%20Peace%20and%20Conflict.pdf

2   S Dharmapuri, UN Security Council Resolution 1325 and countering violent extremism: using a gender perspective to enhance operational effectiveness, in NC Fink, S Zeiger and R Bhulai (eds), *A man's world? Exploring the roles of women in terrorism and violent extremism*, Hedayah and Global Center on Cooperative Security, 2016, http://wiisglobal.org/wp-content/uploads/2016/07/AMansWorld_FULL.pdf

3   Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE), Women and terrorist radicalisation: final report, February 2013, www.osce.org/secretariat/99919?download=true

4   United Nations (UN), Universal Declaration of Human Rights, www.un.org/en/universal-declaration-human-rights/

5   UN Women, Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women, www.un.o,rg/womenwatch/daw/cedaw/text/econvention.htm

6   Community of Democracies, Warsaw Declaration, www.community-democracies.org/values/warsaw-declaration/

7   UN Women and Peace Operations Training Institute (POTI), Implementation of the UN Security Council resolutions on the women, peace, and security agenda in Latin America and the Caribbean, 2011, http://cdn.peaceopstraining.org/course_promos/wps_lac/wps_lac_english.pdf

8   B Kolodkin, What is counterterrorism?, ThoughtCo., 20 May 2017, www.thoughtco.com/what-is-counterterrorism-3310298

9   World Health Organization (WHO), Gender, equity and human rights: gender, www.who.int/gender-equity-rights/understanding/gender-definition/en/

10   Reaching Critical Will, Gender and disarmament, www.reachingcriticalwill.org/resources/fact-sheets/critical-issues/4741-gender-and-disarmament

11   Government of Canada, Gender analysis, http://international.gc.ca/world-monde/funding-financement/gender_analysis-analyse_comparative.aspx?lang=eng&_ga=2.73264982.470822469.1503066733-796878901.1503066733

12   WHO, Gender, equity and human rights: gender, www.who.int/gender-equity-rights/understanding/gender-definition/en/

13   UN Counterterrorism Implementation Task Force (CTIF), Plan of action to prevent violent extremism, www.un.org/counterterrorism/ctitf/plan-action-prevent-violent-extremism

14   R Borum, Radicalization into violent extremism I: a review of social science theories, *Journal of Strategic Security*, 4:4, Winter 2011, http://scholarcommons.usf.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1139&context=jss

15   C Peoples and N Vaughan-Williams, *Critical security studies: an introduction*, 2nd ed., London: Routledge, 2015, 141.

16   JL Striegher, Violent-extremism: an examination of a definitional dilemma, Edith Cowan University, 2015, http://ro.ecu.edu.au/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1046&context=asi

17   N Strandberg, Conceptualising empowerment as a transformative strategy for poverty eradication and the Implications for measuring progress, UN Division for the Advancement of Women (DAW), Expert group meeting on empowerment of women throughout the life cycle as a transformative strategy for poverty eradication, New Delhi, 26–29 November 2001, www.un.org/womenwatch/daw/csw/empower/documents/Strandberg-EP6.pdf

18   UN Counter-Terrorism Implementation Task Force, UN global counterterrorism strategy, www.un.org/counterterrorism/ctitf/en/un-global-counter-terrorism-strategy

19   UN General Assembly, Plan of action to prevent violent extremism: report of the secretary-general (A/70/674), 24 December 2015, www.un.org/en/ga/search/view_doc.asp?symbol=A/70/674

20   Ibid.

21   Ibid.

22   UN Security Council, Resolution 1325 (2000), S/RES/1325 (2000), www.securitycouncilreport.org/atf/cf/%7B65BFCF9B-6D27-4E9C-8CD3-CF6E4FF96FF9%7D/WPS%20SRES1325%20.pdf

23   UN Security Council, Resolution 2242 (2015), S/RES/2242 (2015), www.un.org/en/sc/documents/resolutions/2013.shtml

24   Ibid.

25   UN Security Council, Resolution 2178 (2014), S/RES/2178 (2014), www.un.org/en/ga/search/view_doc.asp?symbol=S/RES/2178%20(2014). The resolution encourages UN member states to develop strategies to counter violent extremism narratives that can incite terrorist acts and address the conditions conducive to the spread of violent extremism, which can be conducive to terrorism, including empowering women.

26   UN Security Council, Resolution 2129 (2013), /RES/2129 (2013), www.un.org/en/sc/documents/resolutions/2013.shtml. The resolution calls for increased 'attention to women, peace and security issues in all relevant thematic areas of work' on its agenda, including threats to international peace and security caused by terrorist acts.

27   Ibid. These include resolutions 1889 (2010), 1960 (2011), 2106 (2013) and 2122 (2013).

28   UN Security Council, Resolution 1820 (2008), S/RES/1820 (2008), www.securitycouncilreport.org/atf/cf/%7B65BFCF9B-6D27-4E9C-8CD3-CF6E4FF96FF9%7D/CAC%20S%20RES%201820.pdf

29   See UN Security Council, Security Council resolutions, www.un.org/en/sc/documents/resolutions/

30   S Dharmapuri, UN Security Council Resolution 1325 and countering violent extremism: using a gender perspective to enhance operational effectiveness, in NC Fink, S Zeiger and R Bhulai (eds), *A man's world? Exploring the roles of women in terrorism and violent extremism*, Hedayah and Global Center on Cooperative Security, 2016, 40, http://wiisglobal.org/wp-content/uploads/2016/07/AMansWorld_FULL.pdf

31   Women in International Security (WIIS), Countering terrorism and violent extremism: women, terrorism and violent extremism, http://wiisglobal.org/countering-terrorism-and-violent-extremism/

32   Ibid.

33   See PeaceWomen, Member states: national action plans for the implementation of UNSCR 1325 on women, peace and security, www.peacewomen.org/member-states

34   Ibid.

35   PeaceWomen, Kenya National Action Plan for the implementation of United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325 and related resolutions, 2016–2018, http://peacewomen.org/sites/default/files/Kenya%20NAP-with-cover-final.pdf

36   UN Counter-Terrorism Implementation Task Force, Entities, https://www.un.org/counterterrorism/ctitf/en/structure

37   Ibid.

38   Ibid.

39   See Human Rights Watch, Terrorism / counterterrorism, www.hrw.org/topic/terrorism-counterterrorism

40 UN General Assembly, Protection of human rights and fundamental freedoms while countering terrorism, A/64/211, 3 August 2009, https://documents-dds-ny.un.org/doc/UNDOC/GEN/N09/437/55/PDF/N0943755.pdf?OpenElement

41 NC Fink, R Barakat and L Shetret, The roles of women in terrorism, conflict and violent extremism: lessons for the United Nations and international actors, Center on Global Counterterrorism Cooperation (CGCC), Policy Brief, April 2013, www.globalcenter.org/wp-content/uploads/2013/04/NCF_RB_LS_policybrief_1320.pdf

42 ML Sutten, The rising importance of women in terrorism and the need to reform counterterrorism strategy, School of Advanced Military Studies, United States Army Command and General Staff College, Fort Leavenworth, Kansas, 2009.

43 NC Fink, R Barakat and L Shetret, The roles of women in terrorism, conflict and violent extremism: lessons for the United Nations and international actors, CGCC, Policy Brief, April 2013, www.globalcenter.org/wp-content/uploads/2013/04/NCF_RB_LS_policybrief_1320.pdf

44 Amnesty International, Dangerously disproportionate: the ever expanding security state in Europe, 17 January 2017, www.amnesty.org/en/documents/eur01/5342/2017/en/

45 OSCE, Women and terrorist radicalisation, Final Report, February 2013, www.osce.org/secretariat/99919?download=true

46 Ibid.

47 C Villa-Vincencio, S Buchanan-Clarke and A Humphrey, Community perceptions of violent extremism in Kenya, Institute for Justice and Reconciliation (IJR), Occasional Paper 21, 2016, http://ijr.org.za/home/wp-content/uploads/2012/07/IJR-Violent-Extremism-in-Kenya-final-web-.pdf

48 Ibid. See also A Botha, Radicalisation in Kenya: recruitment to al-Shabaab and the Mombasa Republican Council, Institute for Security Studies (ISS), Paper 266, 4 September 2014, https://issafrica.s3.amazonaws.com/site/uploads/Paper266.pdf

49 UN General Assembly, Protection of human rights and fundamental freedoms while countering terrorism, A/64/211, 3 August 2009, https://documents-dds-ny.un.org/doc/UNDOC/GEN/N09/437/55/PDF/N0943755.pdf?OpenElement

50 S Nassar, Detention of women in Syria: a weapon of war and terror, Euro-Mediterranean Human Rights Network, May 2015, http://euromedrights.org/wp-content/uploads/2015/06/EMHRN_Womenindetention_EN.pdf

51 Ibid.

52 Amnesty International, Stars on their shoulders. Blood on their hands. War crimes committed by the Nigerian military, 2015, www.amnestyusa.org/files/report.compressed.pdf. See also C Hogan, In Nigeria, campaign against Boko Haram militants brings fears of military excesses, *The Washington Post*, 7 August 2014, https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/national-security/in-nigeria-campaign-against-boko-haram-militants-brings-fears-of-military-excesses/2014/08/07/2308b700-1db0-11e4-ae54-0cfe1f974f8a_story.html?utm_term=.18e62179096b

53 Ibid.

54 UN General Assembly, Protection of human rights and fundamental freedoms while countering terrorism, A/64/211, 3 August 2009, https://documents-dds-ny.un.org/doc/UNDOC/GEN/N09/437/55/PDF/N0943755.pdf?OpenElement

55 Ibid.

56 Ibid.

57 UN Security Council Counter-Terrorism Committee, Terrorism has a 'very real and direct impact' on human rights, High Commissioner Navi Pillay tells committee, 24 October 2013, www.un.org/en/sc/ctc/news/2013-10-31_UNHCHR_CTC_Briefing.html

58 NC Fink, R Barakat and L Shetret, The roles of women in terrorism, conflict and violent extremism: lessons for the United Nations and international actors, CGCC, Policy Brief, April 2013, www.globalcenter.org/wp-content/uploads/2013/04/NCF_RB_LS_policybrief_1320.pdf

59 OSCE, Recommendations and findings: gender mainstreaming in operational responses to VERLT, 22–23 November 2016, Vienna, 2, www.osce.org/secretariat/305056?download=true

60 Ibid.

61 UN Development Programme (UNDP), Preventing violent extremism through promoting inclusive development, tolerance and respect for diversity, 14 July 2016, 18, www.undp.org/content/undp/en/home/librarypage/democratic-governance/preventing-violent-extremism-through-promoting-inclusive-develop.html; I Idris and A Abdelaziz, Women and countering violent extremism, Governance and Social Development Resource Centre (GSDRC), 4 May 2017, www.gsdrc.org/wp-content/uploads/2017/05/HDR_1408.pdf; G Holmer, Building resilience to violent extremism, in *Charting a new course: women preventing violent extremism: thought for action kit*, Washington, DC: Endowment of the United States Institute of Peace, 2015, www.women-without-borders.org/files/downloads/Women-Preventing-Violent-Extremism-Charting-New-Course.pdf

62 S Giscard d'Estaing, Engaging women in countering violent extremism: avoiding instrumentalisation and furthering agency, *Gender & Development*, 25:1, 2017, 106; UN Security Council, Plan of action to prevent violent extremism, Report of the Secretary-General (A/70/674), www.un.org/en/ga/search/view_doc.asp?symbol=A/70/674

63 UNDP, Preventing violent extremism through promoting inclusive development, tolerance and respect for diversity, 14 July 2016, www.undp.org/content/undp/en/home/librarypage/democratic-governance/preventing-violent-extremism-through-promoting-inclusive-develop.html

64 C de J Oudraat, Preventing and countering violent extremism: the role of women and women's organisation, in NC Fink, S Zeiger and R Bhulai (eds), *A man's world? Exploring the roles of women in terrorism and violent extremism*, Hedayah and Global Center on Cooperative Security, 2016, http://wiisglobal.org/wp-content/uploads/2016/07/AMansWorld_FULL.pdf

65 Ibid.

66 Ibid.

67 Ibid.

68 These targets include individuals and groups. S Giscard d'Estaing, Engaging women in countering violent extremism: avoiding instrumentalisation and furthering agency, *Gender & Development*, 25:1, 2017.

69 Ibid., 110.

70 KL Couture, A gendered approach to countering violent extremism: lessons learned from women in peacebuilding and conflict prevention applied successfully in Bangladesh and Morocco, Center for 21st Century Security and Intelligence, Policy Paper, 30 July 2014, 3, www.brookings.edu/wp-content/uploads/2016/06/Women-CVE-Formatted-72914-Couture-FINAL2.pdf

71 Ibid.

72 I Idris and A Abdelaziz, Women and countering violent extremism, GSDRC, 4 May 2017, www.gsdrc.org/wp-content/uploads/2017/05/HDR_1408.pdf

73 Ibid.

74 US Agency for International Development (USAID), Peace through Development II (PDEV II), 6 August 2014, www.usaid.gov/west-africa-regional/fact-sheets/peace-through-development-ii-pdev-ii

75 A Botha, Radicalisation in Kenya: recruitment to al-Shabaab and the Mombasa Republican Council, ISS, Paper 266, 4 September 2014, https://issafrica.s3.amazonaws.com/site/uploads/Paper266.pdf

76 Ibid.

77 Ibid.

78 C de J Oudraat, Preventing and countering violent extremism: the role of women and women's organisation, in NC Fink, S Zeiger and R Bhulai (eds), *A man's world? Exploring the roles of women in terrorism and violent extremism*, Hedayah and Global Center on Cooperative Security, 2016, http://wiisglobal.org/wp-content/uploads/2016/07/AMansWorld_FULL.pdf

79 Ibid.

80 S Zeiger, Counter-narratives for countering violent extremism (CVE) in South East Asia, Hedayah, May 2016, http://www.hedayahcenter.org/Admin/Content/File-2792016102253.pdf

81 Ibid.

82 Ibid.

83 S Dharmapuri, UN Security Council Resolution 1325 and countering violent extremism: using a gender perspective to enhance operational effectiveness, in NC Fink, S Zeiger and R Bhulai (eds), *A man's world? Exploring the roles of women in terrorism and violent extremism*, Hedayah and Global Center on Cooperative Security, 2016, http://wiisglobal.org/wp-content/uploads/2016/07/AMansWorld_FULL.pdf

84 USAID, People not pawns: women and violent extremism across MENA, Research Brief 1, September 2015, www.fhi360.org/resource/people-not-pawns-womens-participation-violent-extremism-across-mena

85 Ibid.

86 See US Department of State, S Sewall, Remarks on women and countering violent extremism, 12 September 2016, https://2009-2017.state.gov/j/remarks/261911.htm

87 Insight on Conflict, The role of women in countering violence extremism: the Nigerian experience with Boko Haram, 20 March 2017, www.insightonconflict.org/blog/2017/03/role-women-countering-violence-extremism-nigerian-experience-boko-haram/

88 See C de J Oudraat, Preventing and countering violent extremism: the role of women and women's organisation, in NC Fink, S Zeiger and R Bhulai (eds), *A man's world? Exploring the roles of women in terrorism and violent extremism*, Hedayah and Global Center on Cooperative Security, 2016, http://wiisglobal.org/wp-content/uploads/2016/07/AMansWorld_FULL.pdf

89 A Ngari, Male victims of sexual violence: war's silent sufferers, ISS Today, 10 June 2016, https://issafrica.org/iss-today/male-victims-of-sexual-violence-wars-silent-sufferers. Ngari notes that stigma, shame and destroyed livelihoods are the consequences of sexual violence against boys and men in conflict situations.

90 Ibid.

91 Ibid.

92 J Goldstein, US soldiers told to ignore sexual abuse of boys by Afghan allies, *New York Times*, 20 September 2015, www.nytimes.com/2015/09/21/world/asia/us-soldiers-told-to-ignore-afghan-allies-abuse-of-boys.html?_r=1. According to this article, 'the practice is called bacha bazi, literally "boy play," and American soldiers and Marines have been instructed not to intervene'.

93 C Hoyle, Sexual violence as a tool of terror in Syria's war, *The New Arab*, 4 May 2017, https://www.alaraby.co.uk/english/indepth/2017/5/4/sexual-violence-a-tool-of-terror-in-syrias-war

94 C de J Oudraat, Preventing and countering violent extremism: the role of women and women's organisation, in NC Fink, S Zeiger and R Bhulai (eds), *A man's world? Exploring the roles of women in terrorism and violent extremism*, Hedayah and Global Center on Cooperative Security, 2016, 22, http://wiisglobal.org/wp-content/uploads/2016/07/AMansWorld_FULL.pdf

95 Ibid.

96 *France24*, The young women behind France's 'terrorist commando' network, 15 September 2016, http://www.france24.com/en/20160914-france-terrorism-women-jihad-paris-gas-cylinder-islamic-state-terrorist-commando

97 B Farmer and J Ensor, British jihadi brides return home after being widowed or sent back by husbands preparing last Isil stand, *The New Telegraph*, 22 May 2017, http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/2017/05/22/british-jihadi-brides-returning-home-widowed-sent-home-husbands/

98 USAID, People not pawns: women and violent extremism across MENA, Research Brief 1, September 2015, www.fhi360.org/resource/people-not-pawns-womens-participation-violent-extremism-across-mena

99 S Dharmapuri, UN Security Council Resolution 1325 and countering violent extremism: using a gender perspective to enhance operational effectiveness, in NC Fink, S Zeiger and R Bhulai (eds), *A man's world? Exploring the roles of women in terrorism and violent extremism*, Hedayah and Global Center on Cooperative Security, 2016, 22, http://wiisglobal.org/wp-content/uploads/2016/07/AMansWorld_FULL.pdf

100 S Dharmapuri, UN Security Council Resolution 1325 and countering violent extremism: using a gender perspective to enhance operational effectiveness, in NC Fink, S Zeiger and R Bhulai (eds), *A man's world? Exploring the roles of women in terrorism and violent extremism*, Hedayah and Global Center on Cooperative Security, 2016, http://wiisglobal.org/wp-content/uploads/2016/07/AMansWorld_FULL.pdf

101 International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance (International IDEA), Democracy and gender equality: the role of the UN, Discussion Paper, September 2013, www.idea.int/sites/default/files/publications/democracy-and-gender-equality-the-role-of-the-united-nations.pdf

102 C de J Oudraat, Preventing and countering violent extremism: the role of women and women's organisation, in NC Fink, S Zeiger and R Bhulai (eds), *A man's world? Exploring the roles of women in terrorism and violent extremism*, Hedayah and Global Center on Cooperative Security, 2016, http://wiisglobal.org/wp-content/uploads/2016/07/AMansWorld_FULL.pdf

103 R Coomaraswamy, Preventing conflict, transforming justice, securing the peace: a global study on the implementation of United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325, UN Women, 2015, http://www.peacewomen.org/sites/default/files/UNW-GLOBAL-STUDY-1325-2015%20(1).pdf

104 Ibid.

105 Ibid.

106 NC Fink, P Romaniuk and R Barakat, Evaluating countering violent extremism programming: practice and progress, CGCC, Policy Brief, April 2013, http://globalcenter.org/wp-content/uploads/2013/07/Fink_Romaniuk_Barakat_EVALUATING-CVE-PROGRAMMING_20132.pdf

107 Ibid.

108 Ibid.

109 Ibid.

110 I Idris and A Abdelaziz, Women and countering violent extremism, GSDRC, 4 May 2017, www.gsdrc.org/wp-content/uploads/2017/05/HDR_1408.pdf

111 ML Satterthwaite, Missing indicators, disappearing gender: measuring USAID's programming to counter violent extremism, in ML Satterthwaite and JC Huckerby (eds.), *Gender, national security, and counter-terrorism*, London and New York: Routledge, 2013, 99.

112 Ibid.

113 Ibid.

114 Ibid.

115 KL Couture, A gendered approach to countering violent extremism: lessons learned from women in peacebuilding and conflict prevention applied successfully in Bangladesh and Morocco, Center for 21st Century Security and Intelligence, Policy Paper, 30 July 2014, www.brookings.edu/wp-content/uploads/2016/06/Women-CVE-Formatted-72914-Couture-FINAL2.pdf

116 Ibid.

![ISS Institute for Security Studies logo]

The Institute for Security Studies partners to build knowledge and skills that secure Africa's future

Visit our website for the latest analysis, insight and news

www.issafrica.org
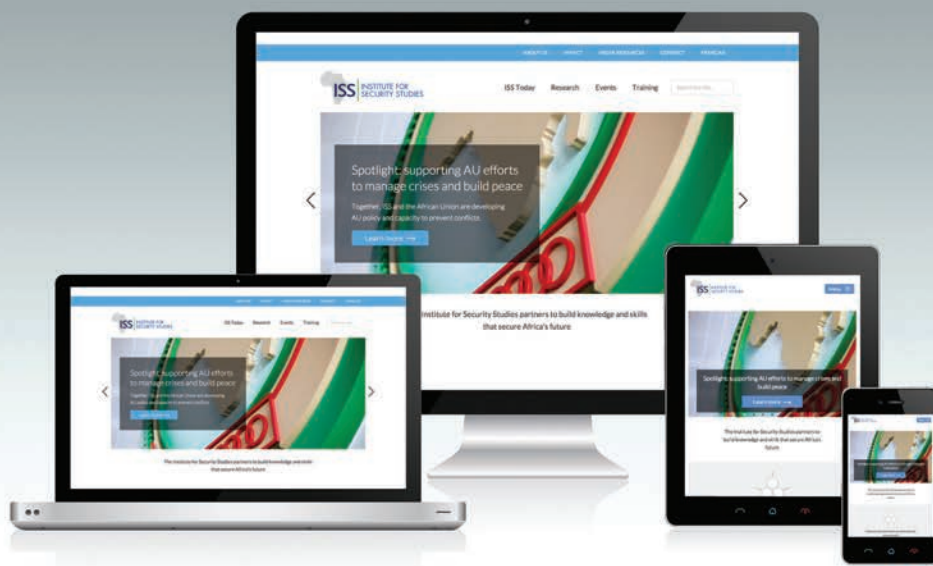
Step 1 Go to www.issafrica.org

Step 2 Go to bottom right of the ISS home page and provide your subscription details

ISS | INSTITUTE FOR SECURITY STUDIES

About the project

This report is part of a series of papers on democracy, security, and violent extremism prepared for the Community of Democracies' Democracy and Security Dialogue. The project seeks to foster greater collaboration among democratic governments, donors, civil society and academics to improve security outcomes and create a more conducive environment for the strengthening of democracy around the world. For more on the project and related materials, including the final report, visit www.brookings.edu/democracy-security-dialogue

About ISS Africa in the World Reports

Africa in the World Reports consider the implications and lessons from Africa for global policy. The ISS works on complex threats that have transnational and global impact, and require innovative solutions at the international and local level. These reports cover topics like terrorism, organised crime, the impact of migration, and long-term futures analysis of conflict, development and governance in Africa.

About the authors

Irene Ndung'u is a researcher in the Transnational Threats and International Crime Programme of the ISS.

Mothepa Shadung is a junior researcher in the Transnational Threats and International Crime Programme of the ISS.

About the ISS

The Institute for Security Studies (ISS) partners to build knowledge and skills that secure Africa's future. Our goal is to enhance human security as a means to achieve sustainable peace and prosperity. The ISS is an African non-profit organisation with offices in South Africa, Kenya, Ethiopia and Senegal. Our work covers transnational crimes, migration, peacekeeping, crime prevention and criminal justice, peacebuilding, and the analysis of conflict and governance.

The ISS uses its networks and influence to provide timely and credible analysis, practical training and technical assistance to governments and civil society. This promotes better policy and practice, because senior officials can make informed decisions about how to deal with Africa's human security challenges.

Acknowledgements