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WOMEN, PEACE AND SECURITY IN LIBYA

COMPARATIVE SUMMARY OF THE WPS BASELINE STUDY

PHASE I AND PHASE II

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FOREWORD

FOREWORD

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This report is the first of its kind, presenting a comparative summary of a Baseline Study on Women, Peace and Security in Libya. The overall objective of this summary is to provide an overview of particular results from a two-phased baseline study on commonalities and differences in women's and men's perceptions of women, peace and security in Libya. The United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) hopes that this publication will prove a useful tool for all those working on this critical area, enabling deeper understanding and analysis, stimulating debate around key development issues and supporting development partners in programme development,

This summary is part of our efforts to identify priority areas needing urgent attention in the current Libyan context and we trust it will serve as a useful reference point for relevant stakeholders in their development interventions

in Libya. It is presented as a concise summary of results from the two-phased baseline study and it covers three key areas: participation of women in the security sector and political process, prevention of violence against women and the protection of women's political rights and the right to security.

Libya is currently at a crossroads and the ongoing crisis has compromised the transition to state building and democracy, reversed some of the progress made on human development and negatively affected the wellbeing of its citizens. However, despite this ongoing crisis, I would like to reiterate the commitment of UNDP to working closely with all partners in supporting the aspirations of the Libyan people and women in particular, to building a state based on democracy and the rule of law. Given these current challenges, UNDP offers this report in order to facilitate informed, evidence-based programming

on ending violence against women and supporting women's access to justice and rule of law.

I would like to particularly thank the Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency (SIDA) for their continued financial support, which made this publication possible.

Finally, my thanks go out to all partners who have supported UNDP in producing this report, especially the Women's Empowerment Section in UNSMIL and UNDP colleagues who have been instrumental in finalizing this comparative analysis.

I wish you pleasant reading.

Thank you,

Selva Ramachandran

Country Director



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This report presents a comparative summary of the two-part baseline study on “Women, Peace and Security” (WPS) in Libya, conducted December 2013 through April 2014. The overall objective of the baseline study is to provide an overview of WPS issues in Libya to offer potential programming advice for development partners working on this critical area.

The specific aim of this comparative summary report is to present the most important results from the studies, with a special focus on the commonalities and differences in women’s and men’s perceptions of WPS. The report draws on a thorough fact base established during Phase I and II of the baseline: 34 Key Informant interviews with experts and local leaders, 14 Focus Groups Discussion with over 120 Libyan men and women in Tripoli, Benghazi, Sabha and Derna, and desktop research of relevant literature. The analytical frame is built drawing on three pillars of UNSCR Resolution 1325 on Women, Peace and Security: participation, prevention and protection. In addition, the study includes a brief consideration of local level power structures, to map how these structures – playing a large role in the Libyan society - impact women’s security with an emphasis on women’s access to justice. As such, the study includes four main areas:

- *Local level power structures’ impact on women’s access to justice*
- *Participation of women in the security sector and in the political process*
- *Prevention of violence against women*
- *Protection of women’s political rights and rights to security.*

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Women avoid the formal justice systems and turn to alternative systems

In Libya, three types of justice systems exist for women to seek justice: formal (the judiciary), informal (mainly tribal) and traditional (based in traditional law Urf). Female victims seeking justice avoid using the formal justice system, as this makes the crime public knowledge – exposing the victim to the risk of being publically shamed or blamed for the crime. Due to this fear – rooted in the social sensitivity towards violence against women (VAW) – it is most common that women seek justice for a violation via their family (outside all three justice systems). If choosing to engage with any of the local level power structures to gain justice for a crime, it is most common that this is done through informal channels, predominantly through the tribal structure.

Women’s participation is very limited in the security sector and politics

Women’s participation in the formal security sector is limited. This is due to societal disapproval, stemming from a general cultural aversion towards including women in the traditionally male-dominated sphere of security, and a specific social stigma towards women in the security sector related to the use and inclusion of female security staff during the Gaddafi era. Women’s participation in politics is also limited. While quotas have ensured that 10-16% in elected bodies are women, this nominal participation has not been translated into political influence. According to the men and women participating in the focus group discussion, this is due to two main obstacles that the elected women face: exclusionary practices hindering them from full participation (e.g. meetings scheduled late at night when it is not viewed acceptable for women

to be out or at places unsafe for women to attend), and a cultural obstacle of not being accepted as men's peer in power sharing (e.g. expressed through verbal intimidation from male counterparts).

There is no desire for increased women participation in the security sector from neither men nor women; women desire increased political participation but men do not agree

In the security sector, men and women commonly agree that increased women participation is not desired or needed, especially in the army (less so in police, and the least in judiciary). However, the reasons differ slightly. Women do not think that female security staff is needed, because they do not think women would be able to contribute to a better security situation because the lack of respect for female security staff in Libya. Men, on the other hand, do not think women are needed in security because women are too weak. However, in terms of VAW specifically, the interviewed women do believe that more women in the security sector would increase the security actors' response towards VAW. In politics, men are more satisfied with the current extent of female political participation than women. Men think that it is enough that women participate in politics to represent specific 'women-issues', and that these issues are currently being represented. Women, on the other hand, are dissatisfied with their current representation, as they think that there are too few women in politics, and as they think that the influence of the women that do participate is too limited.

Widespread underreporting due to weak reporting structures and social barriers

Libyan reporting structures for victims of VAW are weak, due to a lack of confidentiality, specialized staff, and physical reporting outlets. The weak structures, combined with a social stigma surrounding reporting, have resulted in a widespread underreporting of VAW. Reports of VAW that do get filed are met with a limited response from the formal security actors (the police), due to the lack of professionalism in the police force, and the difficulty for the police to act in the fragile security situation. In the absence of response from formal channels, informal channels (family, tribe, armed groups) in some case provide response. However, the informal channels also remain largely unresponsive unless the crime relates to severe sexual violations. In such cases, both the victim's family and the victim's tribe have the potential to react very quickly and severely.

Women believe the main reason not to report is risk of social repercussions, while men believe the main reason is risk of continued violence from the offender

Regarding the reason for the underreporting of VAW, the men and women disagree. Women believe the main deterrent for women not to report is the lack of social support and acceptance to do so. Men on the other hand think the main deterrent is that women are afraid to risk being subject to reprisals and continued violence from the offender and the offender's family. Regarding response to VAW, men and women both think informal channels are more

responsive than formal. However, men therefore think that informal channels are preferable, while women still prefer to report to official channels. As for men's role of the prevention of VAW, men do not think it is their responsibility to intervene if they witness VAW. Men state that they do not intervene for two reasons: 1) it is not socially appropriate for them to do so, and 2) they fear that it would cause personal risk. Overall, women confirm that the 'man on street' does not intervene if he witnesses VAW. However, in a situation when the men perceived that it would be socially accepted for them to intervene (e.g. if the victim is a family member), the men do think that they have a responsibility to intervene. Also, the men are open to playing a general role in preventing VAW on a societal level. The men would be willing to e.g. participate in awareness activities that address the problems of VAW, talk to their children about the importance of non-violence in the home and advise other men against VAW in general terms.

Women's legal protection is weak and their right to physical security is not safeguarded

The legal framework to protect women is weak in Libya, as there is no legislation in place regarding domestic violence and harassment, and only weak legal protection regarding sexual violence. Women's legal rights are further weakened by the current interim constitution as well as the draft new constitution (of December 2014), which do not specifically address women's rights. Women's right to security is limited in Libya, largely related to the general fragile security situation in the country. One expression of the weakly protected right to physical security is

barriers to women's access to public spaces, especially at night or alone. Further, women's right to health is not protected, as access to women-specific health clinics and access to response services for sexual violence, is limited. This is due to the lack of such clinics, services and established referral chains, difficulties for women to travel to existing clinics, and due to the previously addressed cultural sensitively connected to VAW, discouraging women from utilizing women-specific health facilities even when they are available.

While women and men disagree on the current protection of women's right, they agree that the framework to protect women's legal and security rights should be strengthened

Women do not believe that their rights are currently being protected, while the men do think women's rights (defined as women-specific rights, not equal rights as men) are being protected. However, men and women agree that a stricter legal system is needed to increase the protection of women's rights. Women think this should be done through the enforcement of existing laws, while men think it should be strengthened through the drafting of new laws. Regarding security, men and women agree that women are restricted from using public

spaces, as the formal and informal security channels are unable to protect women. The men therefore think that a woman's primary option to keep safe is to dress modestly and avoid unsafe places.

Lessons Learned: Opportunities and Challenges for WPS in Libya

Based on the implications of the study results, as described above, the comparative summary report identifies seven key challenges and opportunities for programming.

Challenges and Opportunities to Programming

		Challenge	Opportunity
Participation	Security	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Low priority of women's increased participation among both men and women 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Capitalize on existing support for certain aspects of women participation, e.g. border control in military, report staff in police. This work provides opportunity for increased gender balancing, a step to gender mainstreaming
	Politics	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Lack of awareness among men and women on where and how to participate in politics 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Existing openness to women in politics to represent women perspective. Utilize drive towards women's inclusion as put forward in the draft constitution
Prevention	Reporting	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Lack of understanding of VAW due to underreporting, hindering the development of well tailored initiatives to prevent VAW 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Work towards increased social acceptance of VAW reporting, drawing on men's tendency to intervene against VAW when socially acceptable
	Response	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Victims' low incentive to engage with formal security due to the limited gains: risk being publically shamed and likely no response 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ¾ of interviewed women believe more female security personnel would increase the response VAW from security actors
	Role of Men	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Men's lax view on certain types of VAW (domestic violence and harassment) may hinder programming 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Take advantage of men's openness to prevent VAW on a societal level, to raise awareness of the severity of all types of VAW
Protection	Political Rights	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Cultural sensitivity towards (S)VAW may hinder attempts to strengthen legal framework, as shown by mixed reaction to recognizing conflict-related SV victims as war victims 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Continue to build on international community's work to strengthen women's legal protection. Complement with advocacy campaigns tailored to local leaders encouraging their participation in the process.
	Rights to Security	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Prevalence of victim-blaming attitude towards VAW victims, resulting in low priority of strengthening legal protection 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Existing support among men and women to strengthen – and engage in – increased protection offer opportunity for programming

*The draft constitution of Dec. 2014 state that every electoral system shall secure at least a 30% share for women for 3 consecutive elections.

Figure 1: Challenges and Opportunities to WPS Programming in Libya

INTRODUCTION

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The overall objective of the two-part baseline study is to provide an overview of Women, Peace and Security issues in Libya to offer potential programming advice for development partners working on this critical area. This baseline was conducted from December 2013 through April 2014 and explores the intersection of women and peace and security issues within the political, socio-economic and cultural context in Libya, and explores how men and women are differently affected by security threats, discrimination and violence.

The specific aim of this comparative summary report is to present the most important results from the studies with a special focus on the commonalities and differences in women's and men's perceptions of WPS. The comparative report is to serve UNDP as a knowledge

product for dissemination, and to be presented at a launch event in Tunis, in May 2015. The report synthesizes the findings of the WPS baseline study, highlighting the differences and commonalities in men's and women's perceptions on WPS, illustrating challenges and opportunities for WPS programming, and offering potential programming advice for UNDP and other development partners working on this critical area. Particularly, the report examines key areas of women's role in peace and security, drawing on the pillars put forward in the UNSCR Resolution 1325 on Women, Peace and Security. In addition, the study includes a brief consideration of local level power structures, to map how these structures impact women's security, with an emphasis on women's access to justice. As such, the study includes four main areas:

- *Local level power structures' impact on women's access to justice*
- *Participation of women in the security sector and in the political process*
- *Prevention of violence against women*
- *Protection of women's political rights and rights to security.*

The report is structured around these areas, each section accounting for the fact base as developed in the baseline study, and the commonalities and difference on men's and women's perspectives. In the final section, the report identifies challenges and opportunities to programming.

WPS METHODOLOGY

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The methodology of the baseline study is based on the development of an analytical framework drawing on the four pillars of the UNSCR Resolution 1325 on Women, Peace and Security: participation, prevention, protection and relief & recovery.¹ Drawing on the resolution pillars, informed by existing UN reports, relevant country and topic literature, and interviews with gender and security experts, the analytical framework is structured according to four main themes:

• Local level power structures' impact on women's access to justice

- **Prevention of violence against women**
- **Participation of women in the security sector and political process**
- **Protection of women's political rights and rights to security.**

The study has been conducted in two phases, where Phase I focused on exploring these themes from women's perspective. Phase II adds to Phase I by exploring the perspectives, attitudes and role of men in strengthening women's situation in security and peace processes in Libya. Phase II contributes to the understanding of Libyan WPS issues with particular emphasis on identifying ways to promote a stronger role for women in conflict prevention and post-conflict development programmes through the strategic engagement of men and boys.

The baseline study is based on the following data sources:

- **Desk review of relevant theoretical and country specific literature**²
- **4 Focus Group Discussions (FGD) with Libyan women (total 39 participants)**
- **10 Focus Group Discussions with Libyan men (total 80 participants)**
- **16 Key Informant Interviews with formal and informal local leaders**
- **18 Key Informant interviews with representatives from the civil society, various ministries, international organizations and key experts.**

The FGD participants were sampled across four cities (Tripoli, Benghazi,

Sabha, Derna), three geographical regions (West, East, South), two age groups (18-40 years, >40 years), urban/rural areas, and education level (no high school diploma, high school diploma, university education). The sampling technique ensures representation of voices across these characteristics, and enables comparative analysis across the groups. The findings of the comparison are referenced throughout the reports for Phase I and II, and notable differences in perspectives are noted in this comparative summary.

The FGD material was further informed by 16 interviews with formal and informal local leaders, in the same cities (Tripoli, Benghazi, Sabha, Derna). To shed light on local leaders' different perspectives, continuous comparison has been made between the types of leaders throughout the study. Notable differences in perspectives are noted in this comparative summary report.

- **Formal leaders: local council members and local council leaders**
- **Informal leaders: local tribal leaders, local elders and local religious leaders**
- **"Societal leaders": CSO members and CSO leaders, university board members.**

In addition, the baseline fact base draws on information gathered from 18 Key Informant interviews with representatives from the civil society, various ministries, international organizations in Libya, as well as key experts within Women, Peace and Security in Libya.

¹ (United Nation Security Council, 2000)

² (Human Rights Watch, 2013) (Abdul-Latif, 2013) (International Legal Assistance Consortium, 2013) (SaferWorld, 2013) (Eguiguren, 2014) (UK's Foreign Secretary, 2013) (Shand, Herstad, Pawlak, Paine, Nkurunziza, Khanyile, Tall, 2013) (Shand, Herstad, Pawlak, Paine, Nkurunziza, Khanyile, Tall, 2013) (Bastick & Torres, 2010) (UNFPA, 2013) (Lockett & Bishop, 2012) (Pawlak, Sleggh, & Barker, 2012) (Promundo, 2014) (COMEN, 2014) (Flood, 2004) (Pawlak et al., 2012)



THE LIBYAN CONTEXT AND LOCAL LEVEL POWER STRUCTURES

Starting in December 2010 a wave of uprisings swept across the Middle East and North Africa (MENA). In the wake of the uprisings some countries, such as Egypt, Libya and Tunisia, experienced fundamental changes to both the regimes and society. On February 17, 2011 Libyans took to the street in a revolt against the Gaddafi regime that had ruled Libya since 1969. Following months of violent battles and NATO bombings, the Gaddafi regime fell.

The Libyan revolution opened doors to both new opportunities and insecurities. Since 2011, women have made significant progress in engaging in and through civil

society organizations, secured minimal representation in the parliament, ministries and other official bodies and participated to a greater extent in society at large. However, the revolution has also brought with it an increasingly destabilized country and setbacks to women's rights.

The gradual deterioration of the security situation in Libya since early 2013 has been exacerbated by the armed conflict the country has faced since July 2014. Growing pressure from armed groups as well as other political interests is proving to be a great threat to women, peace and security.

It is common that women do not use the formal justice systems, but use alternative systems

To understand the workings of women's participation in security and politics, the prevention of violence against women and the protection of women's right in the Libyan society, an understanding of the local level power structures is needed, in light of Libya's fragmented and localized political context. Due to the current transitional situation in Libya, the organization and effectiveness of formal security providers (the police, military, judiciary and local councils) is weak, and informal channels (tribes/tribal councils, elders/elder councils, sheiks/religious leaders, armed groups and powerful individual families) play an important role.

Four key features contribute to the understanding of how the local level power structures affect WPS issues. Firstly, there are three justice systems are at play in Libya concurrently: formal (the judiciary), informal (mainly tribal) and traditional (based in traditional law Urf). There is no distinct separation between the three, but they draw on and inform each other.³ Secondly, it is socially preferred not to deal with culturally sensitive crimes (e.g. sexual violence) in the formal system as that risks making the crime public knowledge, subjecting the victims and the victim's family to slander and social repercussions. In this vein, all women interviewed state that they would make more use of the formal justice system if they believed that their case would be treated in a fair and respectful manner. Thirdly, in Libya it is most common that victims seek justice through the family, outside all three local level power structures.⁴ The fourth feature is that if a woman is seeking justice for a crime outside the family (feature 3), it is most common that the victim turns to the tribal justice system. This can be done through e.g. asking her family to report the violation to a tribal council; settling the case through negotiations between representatives of the victim's and offender's tribes, or a tribe elder can take charge of the case. Together these features help form and understanding of Libya's local level power structures and how they impact WPS.

³ Example of the interaction of the justice systems: A victim's family member reports the crime at a police station (formal system), and the police proceeds to arrest and interrogate the suspect. Following, the suspect is transferred to the district attorney, most often the tribe of the suspect (informal system). The tribe of the suspect then initiates a dialogue with the violated part, to reach an agreement between them, based on traditional laws (traditional system).

⁴ Example of the process to seek justice through the family: the victim reports the incident to her immediate family (parents or husband). Following, the family talks with the offender's family to reach a solution. With the exception of cases of sexual violence, which is viewed as a very severe crime that requires severe action, the interviewed men portray the 'family-justice' as a relatively calm and violence-free approach.

The section is introduced by two brief accounts of the fact base on women's participation in security and in politics, establishing that women's current participation is limited in both areas. This is followed by a comparison of men's and women's perception of this participation, showing that women would like to play an increased role in politics, while men are more satisfied with the current political participation. As for the security, neither men nor women believe that increased women participation is needed.

PARTICIPATION OF WOMEN IN SECURITY AND POLITICS



○ No
● Full

Participation: Fact base and Comparison of Men and Women

	Fact base	Women's Perspectives	Men's Perspectives	Level of Agreement
Security	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Very limited women participation in the military and police with more in the judiciary 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> More women participation in security (esp. army) not prioritized/needed but may increase VAW response 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> More women participation in security is not prioritized or needed, esp. not in military 	●
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Social stigma associated with women participation is main reason for non-participation, stemming from aversion to include women in traditional male-dominated spheres and the historic legacy of female security guards in the Gaddafi era 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> There is widespread stigma and lack of respect towards female security staff, hindering women's meaningful participation in security 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Female security staff is not socially accepted, but men do not think the stigma is as widespread as women do 	●
Politics	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Participation is limited despite quotas ensuring 10-16% women in elected bodies 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Women participation in politics is weak 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Women participation in politics is weak 	●
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Nominal inclusion of women has not translated into political influence due to 1) exclusionary practices, 2) cultural obstacles and 3) locally: self-exclusion due to fear of slander 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Dissatisfied with current women representation 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Rather satisfied with current representation, as women in politics only are needed to represent "women's issues" 	○
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Limited inclusion of women also in local politics 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Men are not supportive of women engaging in local politics 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Men are largely supportive of women in local politics 	○

Figure 2: Fact base and Comparative Analysis on Women's Participation in Security and Politics

Women's participation in the formal security sector is limited due to societal disapproval, and even more limited in the informal security sector

Women participation in the formal security sector (the military, the police force and the judiciary) is limited, particularly in the military and the police.⁵ The main reason for the limited participation in the security sector is the widespread societal disapproval of women's participation. The disapproval stems from two main sources: 1) a general cultural aversion towards including women in the traditionally male-dominated sphere of security, 2) a specific social stigma towards women in the security sector related to the use and inclusion of female security staff during the Gaddafi era. Gaddafi's use of female body guards has created a legacy of two stereotypes towards female security staff. First, the female security staff is seen as connected to the former regime. The Gaddafi regime actively pursued the inclusion of women as a political and ideological strategy, through e.g. mandatory military training for both boys and girls.⁶ The participation and exposure of women in the security sector created a profile of Libyan women possibly different from other women in the MENA region. However, this profile was to a large extent a façade, and women's power was restricted also during the former regime. The second legacy of the Gaddafi era for women in the military is that female security staff

is seen to not actually contribute to the security work, but instead seen to have served Gaddafi privately. In several of the interviews for the study, Libyan female soldiers have been described as “slaves,” “whores” and “prostitutes”, indicating that women security staff is not only judged as agents of the former regime, but also as not having been actually working parts of the security sector even when participating. In this sense, the progressive position of the pre-revolution Libya seems to have had the opposite effect on the status of women in the military today.

While quotas have aided women's political participation, participation remains limited and women political influence has not been realized

Libya's three national elections since the fall of Gaddafi in 2011 have all included quotas, aiding the election of women as representatives in national politics.⁷ The progressive quota with vertical and horizontal zippers in the election to the General National Congress (GNC) 2012 yielded 33 women (16.5%) to be elected in to the GNC. However, the progressive quota was not extended to 2013 election for the Constitutional Drafting Assembly (CDA). Initially women's groups advocated for up to 33% of the seats, which gained substantial support from the international community. But due to a large conservative push back on the women's caucus it ended up conceding to the agreement of just 10% (6 out of 60

seats). In the most recent election to the House of Representatives, a somewhat higher women's quota was established at 15%. Despite some hurdles in filling the seats slotted to women and an ongoing debate on the appropriateness of quota indicating a non-unified support for the quota system, the three implemented quotas have generally been successful in ensuring that 10-16% of the elected bodies are women. Also at the local level quotas have been successful in supporting the number of women elected into local councils.⁸ However, the nominal inclusion of women into representative bodies is not sufficient to achieve political influence. The report finds that the women participation has not translated into influence due to two main obstacles, based on the data from focus group discussions with both men and women. The most commonly addressed obstacle by the FGD participants is that the elected women are faced with exclusionary practices hindering their full participation, such as meeting being scheduled late at night when it is not socially acceptable or safe to attend or in places where the security situations limit women from attending. Secondly, the elected women are faced with cultural obstacles, not being accepted as men's peer in power-sharing and meeting verbal intimidation from male counterparts. On the local level, a third obstacle to women's meaningful participation is a self-exclusion of women to take an active role in politics due to the

⁵ Estimated women participation 2014: Military: 600 females; Police force: 500-1500 female police officers (1-3% of the police force); Judiciary: 20% of judges, 15-20% of prosecutors.

⁶ (Walker-Cousins, 2012)

⁷ Election to House of Representative 2014: 15% quota; Election to Constitution Drafting Assembly 2013: 10% quota; Election to General National Congress 2012: quota with vertical (every other candidate should be female) and horizontal (every other party list should have women at the top) zipper, yielding 16.5% women to be elected.

⁸ Quota: 1 female member per local council (consisting of 5-7 members).

fear of slander or gossip. This obstacle is more pronounced at the local level due to the close-knit constituencies.

Men and women commonly agree that increased women participation in the security sector is not desired or needed

The interviews conducted for the baseline study show that Libyan women do not think that increased women participation in security is a priority, or even needed – particularly not in the military. However, women noted that if more women were employed in police services related to case investigation on VAW, they would feel more comfortable reporting to the police. Overall, the surveyed women question the usefulness of increasing female security personnel, as they do not think that female security staff would be able to contribute to a better protection of women due to the lack of respect for female security staff in the Libyan society. Overall, the interviewed men agree. However, it should be noted that the interviewed men do not perceive the stigma towards women in the security sector, and particularly the military, to be as widespread as women do. While the negative connotations connected to female security staff is the interviewed men – most notably by men in Benghazi – it is substantially less mentioned by the men than the women, and when mentioned it is not described as severe as the women perceive it to be. The men are generally negative towards women in the military, but the reasoning is more connected to the fact that women are seen as too weak to participate

rather than a social non-acceptance of women in the security sector as a legacy of Gaddafi's commitment to push for women's participation in the security sector.⁹

Women and men think the current representation of women in national politics is weak; women call for increased broad participation of women, while men call for women's participation that is limited to 'women's issues'

All women interviewed for the baseline study - across cities, age groups and education levels - perceive that women's representation in national politics is very weak. The interviewed men agree. The weakness is perceived to stem from two sources: both the limited number of women in politics, and the limited influence of women that are in politics. Comparatively, the interviewed women to a larger extent than the men address the limited number of women as the core reason for the limited representation. The interviewed men instead more often than the interviewed women think that the limited influence of women in politics so far, is the core reason for women's weak representation. Overall, both the interviewed men and women think that the performance of women national politics¹⁰ has been unsatisfactory so far, contributing to the limited representation. Further, the study finds that women are more dissatisfied with the current extent of representation and influence than men. Overall, the men think that female political participation is only needed to represent "women's

issues", and that this is achieved in the current participation level, while women seek broader representation than that. A 2013 public opinion poll implemented by JMW Consulting confirms this, as it is found that women feel that there is a greater need for increased women's participation than men: 79% of women agree, or strongly agree, that 'political participation by women has not yet reached a satisfactory high level', compared to 64% of men. A further difference between men and women's perspectives on political participation regard the use of quotas. According to the 2013 public opinion poll, 37 % of women support a quota for the election to the House of Representatives in 2014, compared to 15% of men. However, the women interviewed for this study are not uniformly supportive of quotas. The baseline study interviews find that a majority of the interviewed women from the East (Benghazi and Derna) do not support the quota, but thinks that it is unfair and instils a prejudice against women participating. As for men, the baseline study finds that men do not support quotas for two main reasons: 1) the quota itself is seen as unequal as it separates women from men, and 2) candidates should be chosen on qualifications only, not sex.

At the local level, men and women disagree on the extent of support men show women in local politics. Women perceive that men are even less supportive of local political participation compared to national, while most of the men interviewed think that they are

⁹ In his Green Book of 1975, laying out his political vision, Gaddafi declared the gender equality is one of the four pillars of the Libyan state (along with socialism, Arabism and anti-imperialism). Determined to push women into the public domain, Gaddafi adopted radical measures, such as requiring women to undertake military training and obtain a military certificate before getting married (in 1979), and not allowing families to travel abroad or exchange the local currency without military training (for further reference, see (Spellman-Poots, 2011))

¹⁰ The interview question related to women's role in national politics related to the women elected to the GNC.

supportive of local political participation. Interviews with 16 formal and informal local leaders (formal leaders: elected local council¹¹ members and elected local council leaders; informal leaders: local tribal leaders, local elders and local religious leaders), show that local leader – both formal and informal – are less open to women participation than the men interviewed in FGDs. However, comparatively, the interviews show that local councils members and leaders are more open to women's participation than informal local leaders.

Regional differences: Local leaders in Tripoli and FGD participants in Derna are more positive to women's participation than leaders and men from other cities

According to local leaders (formal and informal) from other cities than Tripoli, Tripoli is an exception where local leaders in Tripoli are seen as much more open to, and in favour of, women's participation in local and national governance than other local leaders. However, this is not confirmed by the interviews with the FGD participants in Tripoli. Paradoxically, the men in Tripoli are generally against women's participation in national and local governance.¹² Instead, it is the men in Derna that display the most positive and open view towards women in national governance. In Derna all the FGD participants are in favour of women in the GNC and would also consider voting for a woman in the next election. The men think it would be 'useful and excellent' to have women in the national council in the future, and that it is a good idea to have women in the GNC.¹³ As such, the report

finds that men in Derna are more positive to women's participation in politics than men in Tripoli and Benghazi – where there are stronger women's rights movements and closer proximity to women in power (in Tripoli).

¹¹ The local councils represent the local level government in Libya.

¹² FGD "Tripoli Young" P3

¹³ FGD "Derna Young" and "Derna Old"

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PREVENTION OF VIOLENCE TOWARDS WOMEN

The baseline study explores three aspects of how prevention of Violence against Women (VAW) is treated in

Libya: reporting of VAW, the response by various security actors, and the role of men in VAW prevention. The fact base on reporting and response shows that Libya has weak reporting structures and high social barriers to report, resulting in underreporting of VAW and in that formal and informal security actors provide limited response to VAW reports. Comparatively, men and women disagree on the main deterrent to report (women: social repercussions; men: risk of continued violence), and agree that informal channels are more responsive than formal. However, men therefore think that informal channels are preferable, while women still prefer to report to official channels.



Prevention: Fact base and Comparison of Men and Women

	Fact base	Women's Perspectives	Men's Perspectives	Level of Agreement
Reporting	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Weak reporting structures due to lack of 1) confidentiality, 2) specialized staff, and 3) reporting outlets 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Lack of sound reporting structures, which is a pressing issue. If more women to report to, reporting would increase 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Lack of sound reporting structures, but not a pressing issue as reports to be kept in the family 	
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Weak report structures combined with social stigma has led to widespread underreporting 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Social stigma/fear of social repercussions is main deterrent to report 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Fear of continued violence is main deterrent : stigma is secondary reason 	
Response	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Responsiveness from formal security actors is weak due to 1) lack of professionalism in police force, and 2) difficult to act in the fragile security 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Formal channel's response is weak and should be strengthened 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Formal channel's response is weak and should be strengthened for severe crimes, not domestic violence or harassment 	
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Informal channels (family, tribe, armed groups) can provide response but are largely unresponsive, unless related to sexual violence 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Informal channel can be more responsive, but still preferable to report to formal channels 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> As informal channels are more responsive, preferable to report to informal channel 	
Role of Men	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Men 'on the street' play a limited role in prevention: leaders play a somewhat larger role 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Men do not prevent VAW if they see it, and leaders are not fulfilling their potential to prevent VAW 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Men do not prevent VAW if they see it. Some leaders fulfil their potential to prevent VAW 	

Figure 3: Fact base and Comparative Analysis on the Prevention of Violence Against Women

Libya has weak reporting structures, which in combination with social barriers to report, contribute to widespread underreporting of VAW

Libya reporting structures for victims of VAW are weak. The weakness stems from three main reasons: 1) lack of confidentiality, 2) lack of specialized staff, and 3) lack of reporting outlets. The lack of confidentiality is expressed in the lack of privacy and special arrangements for vulnerable groups at police stations, and the widespread lack of confidentiality in offices, hospitals and consultations areas, in some case resulting in that the offender is informed about the report, exposing the reporting victim to the risk of repercussions.¹⁴ As for staff, the staff at police stations are in many cases not trained in how to handle report of VAW, and the baseline study finds that formal security personnel (primarily, in the police), are seen as unable to interact with the victim respectfully. The lack of reporting outlets include both a lack of actual, physical outlets to go to and a perceived unavailability of the outlets that do exist: less than 10% of the interviewees view police stations as a possible place to report.

The weak reporting structures (due to lack of confidentiality, specialized staff and reporting outlets), in combination with a widespread social stigma¹⁵ surrounding reporting, have resulted in a widespread underreporting of VAW. While the report is unable to source reliable numbers on the number of reports, anecdotal evidence suggests that a police station may receive about 3 VAW reports per month.¹⁶ The baseline report finds that the extent of VAW far exceeds this reporting level: one key informant states that it has been found that 89% of women have violence in their homes,¹⁷ and another interview stated that they received 8900 reports of harassment via social media.¹⁸

Formal and informal security actors provide limited response to VAW reports

The reports of VAW that are filed are met with a limited response. The responsiveness from the formal security actors (the police) is weak, due to 1) the lack of professionalism in the police force, and 2) the difficulty to act in the fragile security situation. The baseline study finds that the formal security sector is unstructured with a lack of

professionalism, as it is perceived that the police force is under-qualified and unable to accept and respond to a violation report. Even the interviewed local council members (representing the formal security channels), portray the formal channels' ability to protect women as very low.¹⁹ Further, the baseline study finds that the response by the formal security actors is limited by the fragile security situation, limiting the police's space to act.

In the absence of response from formal channels, the informal channels in some case provide response to VAW reports. However, overall, informal channels also remain largely unresponsive, unless the crime relates to severe sexual violations. In such cases, both the victim's family and the victim's tribe have the potential to react very quickly and severely. The main actors for responding to a violation are 1) the family, 2) the tribe and 3) in very few cases, the armed groups. The type of response that the informal channels may provide²⁰ is traditional, including forced marriage between the victim and offender in sexual violence cases, physical mutilation as a response to sexual harassment (e.g. to cut off the offender's tongue), or armed violence.

¹⁴ (KI18) (KI2)

¹⁵ The fact base for the existence of a widespread social stigma is thoroughly anchored in the report: the societal disapproval and the prejudice that victims that report VAW is subjected to, is confirmed across the 30+ key informant interviews, and the male and female Focus Groups Discussions. The stigma affects victims reporting VAW, and particularly victims reporting sexual violence. The baseline study finds that victims likely will be subject to social repercussions, e.g. an unmarried girl that reports sexual violence will find it difficult to get married and a married woman that report will be accused of cheating. In the direct aftermath of the revolution in 2011/2012 the social stigma was perceived to be comparatively limited and the support for SV victims was stronger, but the baseline study finds that even women that made VAW reports at this time now state that they regret doing so, due to the harsh cultural response.

¹⁶ (UK's Foreign Secretary, 2013)

¹⁷ (KI14)

¹⁸ (KI13)

¹⁹ In assessing various security actor's ability to response to VAW reports on a scale of 1-5, the local council (2.2/5) and the local police (2.5/5) receive the lowest total score by 16 key informants. It is further noteworthy that the formal leaders (the 6 key informants that are local council members) have very little trust in their own ability: the formal KIs (which are local councils members) rate the local council's ability to protect women to be 1.6/5 – the lowest rating of all.

²⁰ As the informal channels operate outside the formal systems, also the response is outside the formal system of police arrest and juridical treatment of the case.

Women believe the main deterrent to report VAW is social repercussions, while men believe the main deterrent is risk of continued violence

Libyan men and women agree that there is a lack of sound reporting structures in Libya, but overall the women think that is a more pressing issue than the men do. Men to a larger extent than the women prefer that reports of VAW should be kept inside the family, and therefore see less of a need to strengthen the available reporting structures. Regarding the reason for the underreporting of VAW, the men and women disagree on the main reason. Women believe that the main deterrent for women not to report if they have been subjected to violence is the lack of social support and acceptance to do so: they believe that women refrain from reporting to avoid social repercussion. The Libyan men interviewed, on the other hand, think that the main deterrent is that women are afraid to risk being subject to reprisals and continued violence from the offender and the offender's family.

As for regional difference in the view of obstacles to reporting, the FGDs with men show that it is more common for men in Eastern Libya, Benghazi and Derna, to think that the main deterrent for women reporting crimes as directly tied to the potential social and physical risks, compared with men in the other regions. In the FGDs with women, no such regional disparity is detected, but the main difference in opinion is linked to age. The older participants (age group > 40 years) were more likely to think that customs and traditions is the main reason women do not report, than the younger women.

Men and women think informal channels are more responsive than formal: men therefore think informal channels are preferable, women still prefer formal channels

Comparing the responsiveness of formal and informal security channels, men and women agree that informal channels are more responsive than formal. This notion leads the interviewed men to think that it is preferable that women seek response from informal channels: primarily from the family structure, secondly from the tribes. The interviewed women do not share this opinion, but still prefer to report and seek response from formal channels. Women prefer this because informal channels are seen as unreliable and unpredictable in their response. However, a minority of the interviewed women, mainly in Sabha, agrees with the male perspective (that it is preferable to ask the tribes to dispense justice). The Sabha women think base this reasoning on that they think that informal channels treat victim with more sympathy than formal channels. Going forward, both men and women see agree that there is a need to increase the police's ability to respond to VAW. However, men has a more limited view on the types of VAW that needs strengthened response: only response to very severe cases and cases of sexual violence needs to be strengthened (not cases of verbal sexual harassment or domestic violence), while women think response needs to be strengthened across the board.

Men do not intervene to prevent VAW as it is not socially accepted for them to do so

The interviewed men do not think it is their responsibility to intervene if they witness VAW, if they are not related to the victim. The men state that they do not intervene for two reasons: 1) it is not socially appropriate for them to do so, and 2) they fear that it would cause personal risk.²¹ If the man is related to the victim, he is much more likely to intervene as the first deterrent no longer applies: in this case it is socially appropriate for him intervene. The interviewed women in Tripoli and Benghazi confirm that this is the current role men play in the protection of VAW: men do not take the responsibility to intervene if the victim is outside his own family circle, but may do so if he is related. However, women in the smaller towns of Derna and Sabha do believe that men would intervene to protect a woman if they witness VAW, even if it is not a family member.

There is a relatively sharp divide between the view of the interviewed men and the interviewed local leaders. The local leaders overall think that men should directly intervene if they observe VAW, through seeing or hearing of sexual harassment, domestic violence and sexual violence. However, the interviewed women do not confirm that this conviction is translated into practice, as the woman tend not to believe that local and religious leaders live up to their responsibility of preventing VAW, and they express disappointment with the performance of male leaders so far. Regarding the role of religious leaders especially, the interviewed men and women agree that religious men have the potential to help prevent violence through e.g. giving moderate speeches,

²¹ Risks include e.g. angering the victim's or the offender's family, becoming subject to embarrassment or humiliation from neighbours, or being accused of having an affair with the woman they are protecting.

through cooperating with the security sector to raise officers' awareness and to more broadly cooperate with the security sector to reduce violence.²² The interviewed men think that there is a strand of religious leaders progressive to women's rights that have lived up to this potential, while the interviewed women do not think that religious men have lived up to this potential.

While the men do not think they have a responsibility to directly intervene or report violations towards women, they are more open to playing a general role in preventing violence against women on a societal level. To do this the men state that they are willing to e.g. participate in awareness activities that address the problems of VAW, talk to their children about the importance of non-violence in the home and advise men in general against violence against women. The men are open to intervene in these types of ways because it means playing a role in public, not interfering in someone's private issues (as they perceive direct interference or reporting to be).²³ Suggested interventions that men would like to take part in are:

*"Each father must talk to his children about issues of violence against women, to make them understand the negativity of violence and the importance of being an active member of society"*²⁴

*"We can talk to our male relatives in order to help in the reduction of any negative behaviour towards women."*²⁵

*"We have a big role in guiding young teenagers: to educate about harassing or hazing women."*²⁶

²² (Sabha FGD)

²³ FGD: "Derna Young"

²⁴ FGD: "Derna Old"

²⁵ FGD "Sabha Old" P6

²⁶ FGD "Sabha Old" P9

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PROTECTION OF WOMEN'S POLITICAL RIGHTS AND RIGHTS TO SECURITY

The fact base on the current protection of women's political rights and rights to security suggests that women's political rights are not adequately protected

in a weak legal framework for crimes of VAW, and that women's rights to security currently are weakly protected. Comparatively, men think that women's rights are currently being protected while women disagree, but both men and women agree that the framework to protect women's rights should be strengthened. Regarding security, men and women agree that women's access to public space is limited, and agree that there is a lack of women-specific health clinics and access to response services for sexual violence, and that access is further limited by a social discouragement for women to use such facilities.



Protection: Fact base and Comparison of Men and Women

	Fact base	Women's Perspectives	Men's Perspectives	Level of Agreement
Political Rights	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Legal framework to protect women weak: no legislation on domestic violence/ harassment, weak laws on rape, abortion criminalized etc. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Current legal framework protecting women's rights should be strengthened, through the enforcement of existing laws 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Current legal framework protecting women's rights should be strengthened, through drafting of new laws 	
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Current interim constitution and new draft constitution do not address women's rights 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Women's political rights are not currently being protected in Libya 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Women's rights (interpreted as 'women-specific rights', not equal rights) are currently being protected 	
Rights to Physical Security	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Women's right to security is limited due to weak security actors and fragile security situation 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Formal security actors unable to protect women 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> As formal security actors unable to protect, women should safeguard their own security 	
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Women's access to public space is limited hindering traveling, attending meetings, participating in society 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Women's access to public space is limited, esp. at night or travelling alone 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Women's access to public space is limited, esp. at night or travelling alone* 	
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Access to VAW health clinics is limited, due to lack of clinics and referral chains, and difficulties to travel to the clinics 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> There is lack of VAW health clinics, and access is further limited by social discouragement to use such facilities 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> There is lack of VAW health clinics, and access is further limited by social discouragement to use such facilities 	

*Note: Local leaders do not agree: they think women's access to public space is not limited.

Figure 4: Fact base and Comparative Analysis on the Protection of Women's Rights

Both women's legal and security rights are weakly protected

The current protection of women's political rights is weak in Libya. The legal and institutional frameworks to protect women are weak, evident by that there is no legislation in place in Libya on domestic violence and sexual harassment and only generalized and poorly implemented legislation in place concerning rape.²⁷ Further, the primary criminal legislation is the 1953 Penal Code which is largely based on Sharia laws, and does not recognize marital rape and criminalizes abortion. The legal protection of women's rights are further weakened by that the current interim constitution, which does not specifically address women's rights.

Women's right to security is limited in Libya, largely related to the general fragile security situation in the country. Assessing the current security situation from 1 (very bad) to 5 (very good), the interviewed women assess that the Libyan situation a 1.3 (Tripoli:1, Derna:1, Benghazi:1.5 and Sabha: 1.75). One expression of the weakly protected right to physical security for women is the barriers to accessing public spaces that women meet. Women's access to public space is limited across the country, and is particularly severe in the eastern region. Due to the limitation women face difficulties in using public spaces to attend meetings and participate in society, particularly at night and for women traveling alone. Regarding women right's to health, this is not currently protected. Access to women-specific health clinics and access to

response services for sexual violence is limited. This is due to a lack of such clinics, services and established referral chains, and due to difficulties for women to travel to these clinics and place to access these services when available. Further, the previously addressed cultural stigma connected to VAW, discourages women from utilizing such facilities even when they are available.

While women and men disagree on the current protection of women's right, they agree that the framework to protect women's rights should be strengthened

Women do not believe that their rights are currently being protected by the state, while the men do think that women's rights (defined as women-specific rights, not equal rights as men) are currently being protected in Libya. The men do not think that women and men should have equal rights²⁸ as women are not seen as men's peers.

Women would prefer that the current legal framework protecting their rights is strengthened, particularly the right to pass on nationality to children, the right to political participation, the right to education and the right to be protected from domestic violence. Men agree that a stricter legal system is needed to increase the protection of women's right (in line with the above caveat: that it should only concern women specific right). However, men and women disagree on the most effective approach to strengthen the legal framework. Women believe that the most effective measure for the state to ensure women's rights would be to increase the enforcement of existing

law, and law enforcement is perceived as more important than drafting new laws. Men on the other hand place greater faith in the drafting of new and stricter laws, and - somewhat surprisingly, given the overall low trust in the ability of the formal channels to respond to reports of violations of women's rights and safety - also believe that a stricter state law would indeed be enforced by formal channels and therefore have effect.

Reading women's right to justice, women do not feel they similar access to the justice system as men. ¾ of the interviewed women state that they would bring a man to a court hearing, as they believe that this would enhance their chances for a fair trial. The interviewed men agree that women face some gender-related barriers to accessing justice, but argue that the core obstacle for a woman to seek formal justice in Libya women is not the gender barriers but the general difficulty for both men women to seek justice. The men identify two gender specific obstacles for a women to seek formal justice: 1) the social pressure not to cause a public scandal for the family and 2) the fear that addressing the violation through the formal justice system will cause her husband (if the woman is married) to divorce her. The second point was not addressed by the women and is a male-specific opinion.

Women and men agree that women's access to public space is limited, and that the access to women specific health facilities is further limited by a social discouragement for women to use such facilities

²⁷ (OECD 2012, *Gender, Institutions and Development Database*)

²⁸ 95% of the interviewed men (86/90 interviewees) do not believe that men and women should have equal rights.

Women from all the locations that interviews were conducted in (Tripoli, Benghazi, Sabha and Derna) feel restricted from public spaces. They perceive that are able to access public spaces better during the day than at night, and if traveling in group rather than alone. The interviewed agree with the women's perceptive, that women cannot access public spaces, especially not at night or alone. The formal and informal security channels both are unable to protect women, and therefore women's best option to keep safe is – according to men – to dress modestly and avoid unsafe places. The women do not portray that they should hold the responsibility for protecting themselves (through using more conservative clothing or avoiding men), but they agree with the men that no actor is able to protect them. However, the local leaders interviewed for Phase II, disagree with the men and women participating in the focus groups. The local leaders do not think that women's access to public space is limited, but advocate for the women can access public spaces if they wish. Regarding the access to health facilities, women feel that they are discouraged due to social norms from utilizing such facilities even when they are available. Overall, Libyan women require better access to female-specific health facilities. Men agree with on that there is need for greater availability of health clinics that can provide services to women and to women who have been victims of violence, and they also agree with women that as VAW is culturally sensitive, it can be difficult for women to seek health care for it.

CHALLENGES AND OPPORTUNITIES TO PROGRAMMING

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Based on the implications of the baseline study fact base and the analysis of women and men's perspectives (as described above) the comparative summary report identifies seven key challenges and opportunities for programming. These are displayed in Figure 5. For further details on the identified challenges and opportunities, see Annex 1.

In order for the identified challenges and opportunities to further inform specific programming efforts, the report provides suggested recommendations for how to translate the opportunities into programming. The recommendations are tailored to the UN organs and other development partner engaging in WPS matter in Libya. The recommendations are developed by taking a starting point in the recommendations developed during Phase I and Phase II. These recommendations are evaluated against the seven identified opportunities,

and through a lens of the development of the Libyan context following the intensification of violence since July 2014. Based on this analysis, the report identifies seven recommended options for programming, as displayed in Figure 6. All recommendations should be pursued under the coordinating mechanism of the National Women Machinery, and aim to support the establishment and development of the national gender machinery to monitor issues of women's rights.

Challenges and Opportunities to Programming

		Challenge	Opportunity
Participation	Security	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Low priority of women's increased participation among both men and women 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Capitalize on existing support for certain aspects of women participation, e.g. border control in military, report staff in police. This work provides opportunity for increased gender balancing, a step to gender mainstreaming
	Politics	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Lack of awareness among men and women on where and how to participate in politics 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Existing openness to women in politics to represent women perspective. Utilize drive towards women's inclusion as put forward in the draft constitution*
Prevention	Reporting	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Lack of understanding of VAW due to underreporting, hindering the development of well tailored initiatives to prevent VAW 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Work towards increased social acceptance of VAW reporting, drawing on men's tendency to intervene against VAW when socially acceptable
	Response	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Victims' low incentive to engage with formal security due to the limited gains: risk being publically shamed and likely no response 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ¾ of interviewed women believe more female security personnel would increase the response VAW from security actors
	Role of Men	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Men's lax view on certain types of VAW (domestic violence and harassment) may hinder programming 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Take advantage of men's openness to prevent VAW on a societal level, to raise awareness of the severity of all types of VAW
Protection	Political Rights	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Cultural sensitivity towards (S)VAW may hinder attempts to strengthen legal framework, as shown by mixed reaction to recognizing conflict-related SV victims as war victims 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Continue to build on international community's work to strengthen women's legal protection. Complement with advocacy campaigns tailored to local leaders encouraging their participation in the process.
	Rights to Security	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Prevalence of victim-blaming attitude towards VAW victims, resulting in low priority of strengthening legal protection 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Existing support among men and women to strengthen – and engage in – increased protection offer opportunity for programming

*The draft constitution of Dec. 2014 state that every electoral system shall secure at least a 30% share for women for 3 consecutive elections.

Figure 5: Challenges and Opportunities to WPS Programming in Libya

Opportunities and Recommendations in the Libyan Context

	Opportunity	Context	Recommendations*
Participation	Security	Capitalize on existing support for certain aspects of women participation, in military and police	<p>Participation not prioritized neither among the elite not the public</p> <p>Adopt pragmatic approach to strengthen women's inclusion, setting clearly delineated goals starting in areas with existing support e.g. border control (military); reporting centers and female police for VAW cases (police). Also, train police to handle VAW reports through e.g. providing private interview rooms establishing protocols for interviewing for female victims, and supporting establishment of referral chains.</p> <p>Adopt dual efforts to both support women politicians and support national authorities to welcome and enable women's meaningful participation. In this work, conduct information campaigns on the features and importance of women quotas with key opinion leaders, and public information campaigns on the functions of local councils and women's role in local councils.</p>
	Politics	Utilize existing openness to women in politics, and existing drive to women's inclusion	
Prevention	Reporting	Women security staff would increase reporting	<p>Formal security channels have crumpled and have limited capability to influence WPS issues</p> <p>Support establishment of reporting centers and hotlines with female staff, to increase social acceptance of women reporting VAW.</p> <p>Support the development of a National Strategy for ending VAW, to complement the Nation Action Plan of WPS. Ensure strategy promotes heighted coordination of actors (the police, prosecutors, courts and front-line medical personnel) to increase response.</p> <p>Initiate programs providing education, practical tools and skills for men to be active participants in preventing VAW. For local leaders, initiate engagement campaigns and set up supporting networks, to support the leaders to discuss gender issues with their constituents</p>
	Response	Take advantage of women's view that more women security staff increase VAW response	
	Role of Men	Take advantage of men's – and some leaders' - openness to prevent VAW on a societal level	
Protection	Political Rights	Continue to build on international community's work to strengthen legal protection	<p>Overall justice system needs strengthening before able to benefit from gender specific strengthening</p> <p>Support development of the National Action Plan of WPS. Also, continue building on ongoing efforts to ensure that new constitution guarantees equality before the law and campaign for the review, repeal, and revision of outdated laws and policies on VAW, (to e.g. amend laws classifying sexual violence as a "crime against a woman's honor).</p> <p>Support practical improvements in the public to strengthen physical security e.g. better street lighting, public transport. Also, support improvement of privacy arrangements in offices, hospitals and consultations areas to increase the confidentiality of reporting VAW.</p>
	Rights to Security	Existing support among men and women to strengthen protection	

Figure 6: Programming Recommendations on WPS in Libya for Development Partners

11

ANNEX 1: CHALLENGES AND OPPORTUNITIES TO PROGRAMMING

The comparative summary report identifies seven key challenges and opportunities to WPS programming in Libya, drawing on the fact base developed in the baseline study and the comparative analysis of men's and women's perceptions and perspectives, as accounted for in Section 8. To support these findings, the details of the challenges and opportunities are displayed below, drawing on analysis of the baseline studies and the comparative analysis of men's and women's perceptions.

11.1 CHALLENGES AND OPPORTUNITIES: PARTICIPATION

The interviewed men and women identify two challenges to women's meaningful participation: low priority of the issue and lack of awareness of channels to participate

From the interview material, the interviewed men and women identify two core central challenges to women's meaningful participation. The first central challenge to the establishment of women's meaningful participation in WPS issues, is the low priority of women's increased participation among both men and women. As shown in the report, this is particularly pronounced for women's participation in the security sector, as neither men nor

women view this as an important priority. Secondly, regarding women's political participation, there is a challenge of a lack of awareness among men and women on how and where to participate. Using local councils as an example – according to the men interviewed, a viable option for women's participation – there is a widespread lack of knowledge among Libyans of the existence of local councils. Most women, both candidates and voters, need additional knowledge on the dynamics and influence of these councils, in order for this to become an avenue for increased female political participation.

There are opportunities for programming to capitalize on the openness to women's inclusion in certain specific areas, such as border control and reporting within security, and to represent female perspectives within politics

Drawing on the findings of the baseline study on the role of women in security, one opportunity for programming efforts to contribute to the meaningful increase of women's participation in the security sector is to capitalize on the support that exists for certain aspects of women participation. Within the military sector, there is openness towards employing

women within the border control, as it is recognized that female staff can be an asset (to e.g. conduct body search on women).²⁹ Within the police, there is an openness to employing more women that women could report to, as it is recognized that this might make it easier for female victims to report (however, this female staff would be stationed at the police station, and not be fully qualified staff). Capitalizing on this openness provides an opportunity to support an increased gender balancing (more equal gender shares in the staff), which in turn can provide a first step towards gender mainstreaming (widespread change to include women in all areas, policies and programmes). Increase number of females to report to, or in the border control, could be a step towards balancing, which can set into a motion to more acceptance of female staff, in turn opening up for mainstreaming.

Within politics, a similar approach can be applied to capitalize on the general openness that exists towards women in politics to represent a female perspective. While this is only a small step towards real, broad and meaningful female political participation, it can function as a step towards gender balancing – as described above. Further, these efforts can capitalize on the drive towards women's inclusion in politics as put forward in the draft constitution December 2014, starting that every electoral system shall secure at least a 30% share for women for three consecutive elections.³⁰

²⁹ For future programming this could be an option also for the police, in addition to the military. However, the key informants interviewed for this study, addressed the openness towards female staff to conduct body searches as solely in connection to border control.

³⁰ (International IDEA, 2014)

11.2 CHALLENGES AND OPPORTUNITIES: PREVENTION

The lack of understanding of the VAW issue in Libya due to underreporting, the low incentive to report due to limited response and men's lax attitude towards certain types of VAW, are challenges to strengthened prevention

An immediate challenge to strengthen the prevention of VAW is the difficulties to understand and monitor the dimensions of the issue, due to the widespread underreporting.³¹ The limited understanding of the issue hinders the development of well-tailored initiatives to prevent VAW. In a first instance, reporting could be strengthened through the support of better reporting structures, such as setting up a hotline that women can use, establishing a specific unit in the police to address VAW issues or recruiting female staff to reporting centres inside the police. The second challenge is the low incentive for victims to report violations, due to the limited gains in doing so. In the current Libyan context, the interviewed women report that the incentive to report or engage with the formal security after having been subjected to violence is minimal, as the women perceive that likely the victim will get publically shamed for the incident and likely not receive any benefits from it, as the response is so limited. In addition, a third challenge to strengthening prevention is the attitude of men towards certain types of VAW. It will be challenging to encourage men to participate in the prevention of verbal sexual harassment

and domestic violence, as men do not think that these are crimes that necessarily need to be prevented. The interviewed men do not think that sexual harassment is a crime, or even an issue, and regarding domestic violence the men think that this a private issue that should be solved at home, without the involvement of external actors.

Opportunities for WPS programming to strengthen VAW prevention are to increase female personnel in security, capitalize on men's openness prevent VAW in society and to work to increase the social acceptance of intervening against VAW

Based on the fact base, male/female comparison and the above challenges, four opportunities for WPS programming are to:

- 1) *Draw on men's tendency to intervene against VAW when it is socially acceptable*
- 2) *Strengthen VAW prevention to increase the number of female personnel in the security sector*
- 3) *Capitalize on men's openness to playing a larger societal role to prevent VAW*
- 4) *Engage religious and community leaders to leverage their unique role to prevent VAW.*

The first opportunity involves drawing on the interviewed men's openness play a larger role in the prevention of VAW on a societal level, encouraging men to e.g. participate in awareness activities that address the problems of VAW, talk to their children about the importance of non-violence in the home and advise

men in general against violence against women. This could be done through a peer education campaign, including public information campaigns drawing on the popularity of social media in Libya. The interviewed men state that they are open to intervene in these types of ways because it means playing a role in public, not interfering in someone's private issues. Programming aimed to capitalize on this opportunity could leverage the experience of the global (originally, Indian) "Ring the Bell" campaign which seeks to support men to broach the issue of domestic violence with their peers in a non-accusatory manner and become positive role models.³² The second opportunity (women in security) is reflected in that ¾ of the interviewed women think that more female security personnel would increase the response rate of VAW.³³ Related to the notion that men are open to work against VAW as long as it does not interfere with accepted social norms, the third opportunity for programming is to work towards increasing the space for that is perceived to be socially accepted. The baseline study finds that the main deterrent for men not to intervene if they witness VAW is that they do not think that it socially accepted: in the cases when it is socially accepted (e.g. if the victim is a family member), they state they are much more open to intervene. This shows that men are capable and willing to intervene, if they situation allows. This presents an opportunity for programming to draw on this willingness and capability, to find ways to extend the space when men feel able and capable to act against VAW. Lastly, the

³¹ In turn due to the above addressed reasons: weak reporting structures of limited confidentiality, trained staff and outlets, exacerbated by a social stigma to report.

³² (Breakthrough, 2015)

³³ More female personnel in the judiciary: 90% of women believe it would help; More female personnel in the police force: 50% of women believe it would help.

fourth opportunity the baseline study finds is to work with religious and community leaders to leverage their unique role to prevent VAW, through advocacy and response, referring through appropriate channels when required. Religious men have the potential to work to prevent VAW through e.g. giving moderate speeches, through cooperating with the security sector to raise officers' awareness and to more broadly cooperate with the security sector to reduce violence, and the men interviewed for this study think that some religious leaders are living up to this potential. Capitalizing on this existing work is an opportunity for programming.

11.3 CHALLENGES AND OPPORTUNITIES: PREVENTION

The cultural sensitivity of VAW and a predisposition to blame the victim, may hinder attempts to strengthen the legal framework

A cultural sensitivity towards VAW, and particularly sexual violations, may hinder attempts to strengthen the legal framework, as reflected in the baseline study's findings on the attempt to legally recognize conflict-related SV victims as war victims. The attempt was met by a strong reaction when discussed by the female interviewees, where about half on the participants were supportive of the law, but the other half views the law as humiliating to women. The law is viewed as humiliating to women, as it could be seen (according to the interviewees) as the victims are being paid/monetarily rewarded for the violence. This reveals a cultural barrier towards supporting victims of sexual violence, as

it may be viewed as they were subjected to.. A second challenge to the is the prevalence of a victim-blaming attitude towards victims of VAW and other violence – resulting in that the strengthening of victims' legal protection is not viewed as pressing. The lack of formal protection has led men to think that women should safeguard their own security, which feeds a victim-blaming attitude where it is viewed that a victim 'chooses' to be violated by dressing a certain way or being in a certain place. The interview material include an ample amount of quotes from the men about how Libyan women should protect themselves, and how they should: choose the appropriate time for going out; be careful of the way they dress; only go out in groups or with a family member; avoid crowded places as much as possible; avoid encouraging contact by men 'even by a look' or even stay at home unless it is an absolutely necessity to go out.

Continue to build on the international community's involvement to strengthen the legal protection of women provides an opportunity for further programming to strengthen women's politics rights

The efforts to prevent women's rights violation in Libya are currently led by the civil society and the international community. The Resolution 1325 itself spearheads the UN system's effort to prevent violations of women's rights, and Libya is one the UN's system focus areas pertaining to women, peace and security. While interference from the international community can be sensitive at times, the women interviewed for

this study positioned themselves rather favourably to increased engagement from the international community. A number of the respondents addressed that they think that increase international commitment to preventing women's rights violations in Libya would have positive effects. The women perceived increased monitoring of the state's actions as the most conducive role for international organization. Building on this positive attitude towards the international community's current involvement to strengthen the legal protection of women provides an opportunity for further programming to strengthen women's politics rights.

Regarding the strengthening of women's right to physical security, one opportunity for programming is to capitalizing on men's state desire – established in the baseline study – that women right's to physical security should be strengthened. This can be done through pursuing programming to enlist men as 'agents of change', through efforts to provide education, awareness-raising, and practical tools and skills for men to be active participants in protecting women's right to physical security. Focus on highlighting men's critical role in upholding security through being a role model in his relationships with women and other men, in speaking out in his community and to intervene and report violations that he witnesses. In these programmes, design programming aimed to raise societal awareness that efforts to increase women's safety in the public space should not be done by removing women from the public space but increasing the safety of the public space.

³⁴ On February 19 2014, the Libyan Minister of Justice, Mr. Salah El Marghany, adopted a memorandum to protect victims of sexual violence by ministerial decree. It recognizes victims of sexual violence perpetrated during the revolution in Libya as victims of war and provides them with access to reparation necessary to enable them to rebuild their lives. The decree specifies that victims of sexual violence during the conflict will be entitled to a monthly grant, to physical and psychological health services, to education opportunities, and various support in legal matter to receive justice.

³⁵ (The UN Security Council, 2013)

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