



CENTRE OF EXCELLENCE  
DEFENCE AGAINST TERRORISM



# GENDER AND COUNTER-TERRORISM: ENHANCING WOMEN'S ROLE AND EMPOWERING WOMEN

Workshop Report by the NATO  
Centre of Excellence Defence Against Terrorism

# **Gender and Counter-terrorism: Enhancing Women's Role and Empowering Women**

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## **DISCLAIMER**

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Being the Workshop Director since 2019, it is an honour for me to see the success of such an important COE-DAT event and its product. It would not be possible to achieve our goal without the contribution of some specific people that I would like to mention and thank specially for making this success possible.

First, I would like to express my sincere thanks to previous COE-DAT Director and the current COE-DAT Director for their support to sustain the vision about our workshop that we created in 2019.

As it was stated by our Academic Advisor in the first workshop report, COE-DAT Deputy Director deserves the deepest appreciation as the person who initiated this workshop with his brilliant ideas and who has been a very valuable member of the workshop team by supporting the others at the every stage of the workshops and reports.

I would like to express my deepest gratitude and give the biggest thank to our Academic Advisor, who provided an enormous contribution to the workshops and reports from the very beginning with her ambition to work and research, her professionalism, her endless energy and her commitment to the workshops.

COE-DAT CIS Specialist deserves a special and big thank for her terrific support before and during the workshop to ensure a smooth conduct, since we had to transform our in-residence workshop to an online format in 2020 because of the COVID-19 pandemic.

I would like to thank warmly workshop rapporteurs for adding a great value to this report with their conscientious work.

I would like to convey my special thanks to our Keynote Speaker, Ms. Clare Hutchinson for appending a significant value to the workshop and also for appreciating our work among the community of interest in NATO.

Also, I would like to thank our distinguished speakers and participants for their participations and for contributing to the success of the workshop.

Ms. Demet Uzunoğlu  
Workshop Director

## WELCOME ADDRESS

Col. Şükrü Bilir  
Director  
COE-DAT

Ladies and Gentlemen, Distinguished Speakers, and Distinguished Participants,

I would like to give you a warm virtual welcome to our second workshop concerning women and gender in terrorism!

As you know, we initially planned this activity as a residential activity in Ankara for earlier this year, but we had to postpone it due to the COVID-19 Crisis. Thanks to the constant and dedicated effort made by the entire staff of COE-DAT over the last five months, we have been able to adapt our concept into an on-line forum.

I am very pleased with the great interest this workshop has received. We have more than 43 participants from 4 different continents, and 29 organizations ranging from academia, regional organizations, the United Nations, national war colleges, combatant commands, to NATO headquarters. Truly an impressive array of knowledge and expertise.

The role of women in terrorism and counter-terrorism is an underappreciated understudied topic. COE-DAT initiated this series of workshops on the role of women in terrorism based on the combat experience of current COE-DAT personnel. At critical issue was the roles women played on the battlefield and how this was diametrically opposed to how women are commonly viewed in matters of Terrorism and Counter-terrorism. Traditionally, women are viewed through the lens of “victim” or at best as a mother who can de-radicalize her children. Essentially women are viewed through traditional “women’s” roles in society.

As in all things, reality is significantly richer and more complex. Women, just like men, are represented across the entire spectrum from apathetic viewer, preventer, radicalizer, financier, foot soldier, leader, and all areas in between of terrorist organizations. The specific roles and level of involvement may change between left-wing, right wing, environmental, or religiously motivated terror groups, but what is clear is women have agency in terrorism just as they have agency in their normal lives.

There are major gaps today in our understanding of women in terrorism. This gap in knowledge leads to gaps in policy and academia regarding women’s agency in terrorism.

COE-DAT organized its first workshop on women in terrorism in May of 2019 to begin addressing this discrepancy in knowledge and policy. Our first workshop developed policy recommendations and identified areas requiring future research and analysis.

That first workshop also led us to this workshop, which broadens the scope from women in terrorism to gender in terrorism. Major focus areas this workshop examines concern gender-sensitive prevention and countering of violent extremism; the views of counter-terrorism practitioners of gender and counter-terrorism; and children, terrorism, and counter-terrorism. Our focus is not just for knowledge but also for recommendations of what can be done to address each of these areas.

I would like to thank our distinguished speakers from academia, international organizations and civil society as well as military, both for their efforts to enlighten us, increase our awareness, and lead our discussions to find out what can and should be done in relation to the gender aspect of countering terrorism. I would also like to thank our NATO and UN colleagues for their support and cooperation in our efforts in the area of “gender and counter-terrorism”. Last, but not least, I should note that we, as COE-DAT, highly appreciate Ms. Clare Hutchinson’s participation in our workshop as the keynote speaker.

I would like to wish all of you a productive workshop and I sincerely hope that everybody will benefit from and contribute to our learning environment, while also taking this opportunity to make new contacts to improve our community of interest dedicated to counter-terrorism.

## FOREWORD

NATO's Counter-terrorism (CT) objectives are to project stability and support cooperative security<sup>1</sup>, which is closely linked to NATO's three essential core tasks: collective defense, crisis management, and cooperative security. The reality is military power alone will not be able to deter, defend against, defeat, nor address the root causes of terrorism. The best methods to address root causes of terrorism are through Whole of Government (WoG) and Whole of Society (WoS) approaches. NATO must engage with Allies, Partner Nations, Nations of Interest, the International Community, Non-Governmental Organizations, and Civil Society to set conditions inside of nations to address the grievances and root causes of terrorism through the application of diplomacy and soft power by, with, and through nations.

To address the root causes of terrorism, nations must address the roles of women in terrorism and CT. Failure to do so will present serious challenges to all nations. By addressing and including women and gender in CT strategies, effective policies designed to build cooperation and coordination across government and civil society are possible. Policies must include gender analysis because terror organizations understand gender in relation to terrorism. If nations fail to take women and gender into consideration, terrorist organizations will continue to exploit gaps in policy to the detriment of society.

Terrorist organizations exploit women and gender roles. Terrorist groups are also experts at exploiting the gaps in CT policies in regards to women and gender. To fill the gender gaps in policy, participation of women's organizations in developing CT strategies is a key to success. Policies should address women as having agency and control over their lives. These policies should address the possibility that women could be an active violent participant in a terrorist organization, to a mother keeping her children from radicalization to an apathetic outside viewer, and everything in-between. Policies should empower women and provide them the means to overcome problems such as poverty, education, and equality.

The following workshop report presents terrorism threats and opportunities in the near term in light of women and gender.

Daniel W. Stone  
Colonel (USAF)  
Deputy Director, COE-DAT

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<sup>1</sup> MC 0472/1 Military Committee Concept for Counter-Terrorism



## INTRODUCTION

There is increasing attention to the gender aspect of terrorism and counter-terrorism, but it is still far from being 'sufficient'. There are still areas that require new or further research and there are still requirements for devising new policies and to revise existing ones to adequately address the gaps in the terrorist threat assessment stemming from the lack of a gender-sensitive approach. Accordingly, COE-DAT is committed to increase awareness towards the agential power of women in terrorism and counter-terrorism. COE-DAT chose to continue its efforts which started with the conduct of the first workshop on Women in Terrorism and Counter-terrorism on 27-28 May 2019 in Ankara, Turkey. COE-DAT's conducted a second workshop on Gender and Counter-terrorism: Enhancing Women's Role and Empowering Women with the purpose of dealing with some of the gaps identified during the first workshop. Although the workshop was planned as an in-residence activity at the beginning of the year 2020, due to the global limitations on travel stemming from the Covid-19 pandemic, it is converted to an online activity.

The workshop was composed of three sessions, which are respectively: Gender-sensitive P/CVE and Counter-terrorism Programming; Gender and Counter-terrorism (views from the practitioners) and Children, Terrorism and Counter-terrorism.<sup>1</sup> Each session included both presentations by the speakers and an open discussion.

The first session was dedicated to the cases studies on the gender-sensitive P/CVE and CT programming. One of the presentations in this session was on "Gendered Narratives and Counter-narratives" by Dr. Harmonie Toros, looking at the gendered narratives surrounding the return of women from Daesh-controlled territory in Syria and Iraq to the MENA region and how this affected policies toward the women in Morocco and Tunisia. The second presentation was on "Gender-sensitive P/CVE policy and programming: Reflections from Turkish Civil Society's Views on Women and Radicalization" by Dr. Gülriz Şen, addressing the perspectives of Turkish civil society on women's role in fighting radicalization in the context of Daesh.

The second session aimed at listening to women practitioners who fought to enhance women's roles and empowering women as well as peace and security. In this session, Ms. Wazhma Frogh shared her experiences with the local community in the post-Taliban Afghanistan for building peace and security as well as women rights. Maj. Heba Alnusairat illustrated her experience in Task Force 240 in line with her duties of search and security with the rest of Jordanian Armed Forces (JAF) participants. Lt.Col. Natalie M. Trogus discussed her personal experiences while serving as the Gender Advisor to the Afghan Ministry of Defense Human Rights and Gender Integration Directorate. She described her gender advising mission in order to provide insight in how gender advisers contribute to changing operational and organizational culture.

The third session was about the issue of children and terrorism, which occupies a large place in security agendas due to the increasing complexity of the issue in different contexts predominantly after foreign terrorist fighters started returning to their countries of origin with their family members from the Daesh-controlled territory. Mr. Ulrich Garms elaborated on child recruitment by terrorist organizations and underlined that any measures regarding prevention of child recruitment by terrorist organisations, repatriation, rehabilitation and reintegration of children associated with terrorism should primarily focus on the best interest of children. Dr. Conrad Nyamutata discussed the issue of children and terrorism in regard to the media's portrayal of the issue and how it affected the way states reacted, and the dichotomy between domestic and humanitarian approaches to the issue.

With this report, COE-DAT attempts to transfer the main ideas of the discussions during the workshop. For that reason, it is designed as a compilation of summaries of the presentations, which were written by the speakers themselves, and the discussions held during the workshop summarized and categorized by the rapporteurs and the editor. COE-DAT hopes that this report will provide insights for and contributes to the efforts of the researchers, practitioners and policymakers who are striving to achieve gender equality and gender mainstreaming in the field of counter-terrorism.

Dr. Zeynep Sütalan  
Workshop Academic Advisor

<sup>1</sup> See the Workshop Program in Annex-A.

## ACRONYMS AND ABBREVIATIONS

|          |  |
|----------|--|
| ANP      | : Afghan National Police   |
| CSOs     | : Civil Society Organisations  |
| CT       | : Counter-terrorism  |
| CTED     | : Counter-Terrorism Committee Executive Directorate                      |
| CVE      | : Countering Violent Extremism   |
| DDR      | : Disarmament, Demobilisation and Reintegration                          |
| FTF      | : Foreign Terrorist Fighter  |
| IHL      | : International Humanitarian Law   |
| IHRL     | : International Human Rights Law   |
| JAF      | : Jordanian Armed Forces   |
| NATO     | : North Atlantic Treaty Organisation                                     |
| MENA     | : Middle East and North Africa   |
| OSCE     | : Organisation for Security and Co-Operation in Europe                   |
| PVE      | : Preventing Violent Extremism   |
| UK       | : United Kingdom   |
| UN       | : United Nations   |
| UNDP     | : United Nations Development Programme                                   |
| UNSC     | : United Nations Security Council  |
| UNSCR    | : United Nations Security Council Resolution                             |
| UN Women | : United Nations Entity for Gender Equality and the Empowerment of Women |
| US       | : United States  |
| WPS      | : Women, Peace and Security  |

## KEYNOTE SPEECH

Ms. Clare Hutchinson

NATO Secretary General's Special Representative for Women, Peace and Security

Dear friends, colleagues, gentlewomen and gentlemen,

Thank you, Colonel and thank you Demet, so for your warm words of welcome and for inviting me to join you today. It is such a pleasure to be with you— live from Brussels - as you kick off this workshop. I recall with fondness my last visit to your centre and so I want to take the opportunity to commend the work that you are doing at the Centre of Excellence - it is so important to NATO – and to the international community writ large.

And this workshop is an excellent example of how innovative your work is – and demonstrates the importance of integrating gender into all areas of security – including in our conversations around countering terrorism.

The fight against terrorism is one to which all NATO Allies are deeply committed. We have seen the devastating effects in our own countries. From Istanbul to Paris, London to Ottawa. We know this is a threat that knows no borders. But we also know that terrorism is a challenge we can counter best when we work together. More importantly, NATO recognises the importance of integrating a gender perspective into its work on countering terrorism.

While recent events in the political arena have led to more in-depth mainstream analysis on the roots of terrorism, the role of women within and around this remains an invisible topic.

But we know that women are essential to peace and security because they play both multiple roles, including in the context of terrorism.

Women can be **perpetrators of terrorism**, they can be sympathisers or enablers and they can be mobilisers and recruiters.

They can be **victims of violence** – survivors of atrocities, as well as powerful **preventers**, peace activists and community leaders.

So it is critical as we think more broadly about the role of women in connection to violence and acts of terror.

### Women as terrorists

Women participating in political violence is not new. The history of women's involvement may go back as far as the genesis of terrorism itself, even if their role has generally been discounted within the traditional political discourse. The constructed idea that women are not capable or innately prohibited from carrying out acts of violence because of her sex falls short when placed within a gendered or feminist context. Women have been agents in countless uprisings, revolutions and covert operations.

Globally, there has been a steady rise in the number of women suicide bombers. The Counterterrorism Center reported that between 2014, when Boko Haram reportedly deployed its first female suicide bomber, and 2018, about 468 women and girls were deployed or arrested for suicide attacks, the most by any terrorist movement.

The rise of Daesh and other armed groups in the MENA region has pivoted global attention to the roles women play in relation to violence and terrorism. It is estimated that 13% of Daesh foreign recruits were women.

Women can also be instrumental in raising the 'next generation' of terrorists, including by passing on terrorist ideology and radicalising children. Terrorist groups frequently exploit gender dynamics, including in propaganda and recruitment as well as in the planning and execution of attacks.

But, while accepting that women can and do carry out attacks, it is critical to recognise the hidden roles that women play within terrorist organizations – as recruiters, supporters, and strategists.

Women play many roles and often they feel the pulse of their community. As teachers, community organisers and leaders, they can be well placed to counter and prevent violent ideology. They can often spot the early signs of radicalization and thus play a preventative role in stopping family members joining terrorist organisations.

In the run up to the siege by Daesh of the City of Marawi in the Philippines, later reported they had witnessed an escalation in violence in the period of time leading up to the siege, they knew the signs that strife was coming. Some heard from local community members that Daesh was coming. Recognising these early warning signs of radicalisation, women are well placed to play a preventative role.

And while we are generally moving towards recognition – finally – that women can and do play a critical role, understanding the why if not fully formed. There is no single factor that pushes women to the brink of taking life or promoting violence.

What is critical for us to note, that our intuitive assumptions on who is a terrorist - our assumptions that presume terrorism and acts of violence are a man's preserve – are very wrong. It is these assumptions, these stereotypical lens that are dangerous and a fault line in the adequate response.

If we fail to recognise fully the diverse roles women play, and we fail to integrate gender throughout our work to counter violent extremism and terrorism, we are missing a key aspect in this global fight - a dangerous and needless risk to take.

But NATO is not taking that risk. We are aware of the many roles women play. And we are working as part of the international community to ensure that we take this work forward. We are ensuring that we are properly equipped in the fight against terrorism by integrating a gendered perspective across all efforts to counter violent extremism and terrorism, as well as in our work to project stability.

### **What does NATO do to support these efforts?**

NATO, as a political-military Alliance, has unique strengths to contribute to the Global efforts to counter terrorism through supporting prevention efforts and building states' capacity.

In 2012, the Alliance adopted its Counter Terrorism Policy Guidelines. Which focuses on three pillars:

- Awareness of the threat through intelligence exchange;
- Capabilities to ensure NATO action remains possible despite terrorism;
- Engagement with partner nations and other international organisations to ensure a cohesive international approach.

In May 2017, NATO Heads of State and Government endorsed an ambitious and detailed Action Plan to enhance NATO's role in international efforts to counter terrorism. This was recently updated.

This action plan aims to strengthen and expand NATO's contribution to the broader international fight against terrorism including through cooperation with and capacity building on behalf of partners and support to operations.

And NATO recognises the need to better understand gendered aspects around terrorism as a way to robustly prevent and respond to violent extremism and terrorism but also importantly to make sure that our work does not have an adverse impact on women and girls.

Through the NATO Science for Peace and Security Programme, we have undertaken several projects to consider how women can play a greater role in prevention of terrorism. An advanced research project led by Morocco and the United States looked at preventing the recruitment of women to Daesh and other terrorist groups – focussing on concrete measures to prevent them travelling to join terrorist groups and identifying how to respond to the tactics used by Daesh to recruit women and girls. We are also developing gender sensitive early warning indicators, which feed into our intelligence gathering and analysis. And we are promoting the integration of gender into training and education opportunities in the field of counter-terrorism for our Allies and Partners.

### **Conclusion**

As the Secretary General affirmed earlier this month, the fight against terrorism and violent extremism requires a whole of society approach.

Women make unique and valuable contributions to various aspects of countering terrorism, including analysis, field work and policy development. They also play vital roles in prevention.

Women's empowerment and participation is crucial. When women are empowered socially and economically, violent extremism is less likely to spread.

However, we should not be simplistic in our understanding of the roles of women. It is clear that women can be powerful forces. Only in understanding the complex and important roles women play can we shape effective responses to countering terror and creating more secure and stable societies.

In closing, thank you again to the Centre of Excellence for your valuable work especially in organising this specialised course on gender and terrorism for the second year in a row.

And I wish you a very successful conference.

## **GENDERED NARRATIVES AND COUNTER-NARRATIVES IN COUNTERTERRORISM<sup>1</sup>**

Dr. Harmonie Toros

University of Kent

The complex question of the Foreign Terrorist Fighters and their families returning from areas once controlled by DAESH is a high priority policy area for NATO members and its partners, particularly in the South. Indeed, although much international attention has focused on those returning to Europe, the question of returnees is central to many countries in the MENA region with thousands of fighters and family members still in prisons, detention centers, or in camps in Syria, Iraq and Libya. Simultaneously, increasing attention has been given to the importance of narratives and counter-narratives in countering violent extremism –and nowhere has this been clearer than in the fight against DAESH.

The aim of this research project is thus to bring together these two important questions –the fate of returnees to the MENA region and the role of narratives in the battle against violent extremism. More specifically, it investigated the gendered narratives surrounding the return of women from DAESH-controlled territory in Syria and Iraq to the MENA region and how this has affected policies toward the women. This analysis is then used to examine the counter-narrative initiatives available in the region and set out policy recommendations.

The research paper –based on an extensive review of academic and policy literature as well as an original analysis of primary material in the form of narratives on women returnees in Arabic, French, English, Spanish, Italian, German, and Turkish –begins by offering a policy-relevant discussion of gender and gendered narratives. It notes that gender and understandings of how men, women, and non-binary gender identities should behave impact on all aspects of human life, including how they engage with, support, or are subjected to violence. Crucially, as noted by NATO’s definition of concepts, a gendered analysis reveals important power inequalities. Such inequalities become visible through an analysis of gendered narratives, which aim to make sense of events. Narratives make sense of how individuals go from A to B –in this case from their home countries in the MENA region to DAESH-controlled territories and then back. These narratives in turn impact on the policy options that are put forward –they help determine which policies “make sense” and which do not.

The paper examines DAESH’s relatively articulate gendered narratives aimed at attracting women to join the Caliphate and notes that the group’s narratives were different for women living in Europe and those in the MENA region. Narratives aimed at MENA women stressed how they would become empowered in joining the Caliphate by promising opportunities for study and employment, but also by drawing on the history of Muslim women engaging in battle. The narrative has failed to gain widespread appeal in the region although there is no dominant counter-narrative in the MENA region. Indeed, the research finds that there are few regional counter-narrative initiatives challenging the DAESH narratives on women. Although some regional initiatives and some national initiatives with the potential for regional impact are discussed, an initial conclusion reached by the paper is that the question of women returnees and narratives surrounding them needs to be given greater attention by regional organisations and in cooperative initiatives among regional states. The paper advances that dominant narratives on women returnees can only be identified at the national level. The level of analysis needs to be at national or possibly even local level and not at regional level. As such, the paper offers two detailed case studies on Morocco and Tunisia investigating the dominant and contending narratives on women returnees and any initiatives aimed at engaging with them. The sharp contrast between the two countries demonstrates the importance of political and security contexts in determining which narratives come to dominate a political landscape. Indeed, although geographically very close, they offer starkly different dominant narratives on women returnees, with Moroccan political circles and news outlets dominated by narratives of “victimhood,” while in Tunisia, the dominant narrative was one that identified women as potential security threats. These narratives had important implications in terms of the policies directed at women returnees and the initiatives available to them.

In Morocco, analysis of narratives from women returnees, from women seeking to return, and most importantly narratives about them, stress their lack of agency in their travel to DAESH-controlled territory. They are presented as victims of their husbands and other male relatives, whom they are forced to follow due to traditional gender roles. As such, they should be allowed to return home, as they have often not been involved in any violence. Stressing that the necessary

<sup>1</sup> This summary is derived from the paper titled “*Victim*” or “*Security Threat*”: *Gendered Narratives on Women Returnees to the MENA Region* and published by NATO Strategic Direction – South in July 2020. The whole paper can be found at <https://thesouthernhub.org/publications/nsds-hub-publications/gendered-narratives-on-women-returnees-to-the-mena-region>

security checks are carried out, authorities have said that most women are unlikely to face criminal charges and will be allowed to return “to their families.” This dominant narrative has thus contributed to justifying a policy of reintegration within society. It has also meant that women returnees have largely fallen through the cracks of programmes and initiatives aimed at supporting the rehabilitation and reintegration of returnees, most of which happen in prison or upon release. Since women have not been imprisoned, they have not benefitted for the programmes available to male returnees. It has also meant that women’s subordination to their families may be reinforced, as they become again dependent on family to survive. Finally, an implication beyond Morocco is that women who have dual nationality with a European country are seeking to return to Morocco as they try to avoid jail terms in Europe.

Research revealed a very different narrative in neighbouring Tunisia. Indeed, the dominant narrative in Tunisia is that of women returnees as potential security threats aiming to carry out attacks or spread DAESH ideology once they return. This has contributed to supporting clear statements by authorities that all women returnees will go through the judicial system. Appeals by family members and human rights NGOs trying to portray them as victims, again of their husbands or of DAESH itself, have failed to unseat the dominant narrative, which is supported in the wider population as shown by demonstrations opposing proposals of amnesties or more generally against the return. Interestingly, the security threat narrative has been further reinforced by concerns regarding the fate of children returnees, with the debate in Tunisia revolving around whether the children can be returned without their mothers. The threat narrative has thus contributed to policies that focus primarily on the criminalisation of returnees and on the potential separation of family units. It has also probably contributed too little in public or political support for initiatives to facilitate the rehabilitation and reintegration of women returnees, with few initiatives largely left to NGOs and CSOs. Experts warn that this can also have repercussions beyond Tunisia if entire families of returnees chose to relocate elsewhere, such as in the Sahel raising the prospect of a rise of violent extremism there.

The paper examines the reasons behind such a sharp contrast in the narratives in the two countries and concludes that the role of national political and security contexts cannot be understated. A relatively low incidence of terrorist attacks in Morocco along with legislative reforms have contributed to an environment that is viewed as capable of assimilating and reintegrating the returnees. A higher incidence of terrorist violence in Tunisia, the highly publicised role of Tunisian women in DAESH, as well as a political transition process has made such a reintegration far more fraught politically. Indeed, if the question of women returnees is broadly uncontroversial in Morocco, it is highly politicised in Tunisia, which accounts for the difference in dominant narratives. As such, the paper concludes that, firstly, political and security contexts play a key role in determining which narratives will dominate a political landscape and, secondly, that these narratives play an important role in laying the groundwork for justifying policy responses. Without a gendered analysis of narratives surrounding women returnees it is thus difficult to understand such stark differences in policy across the region. It is also difficult to address the lack of attention currently being granted to women returnees and to understand how to increase cooperation between state institutions, NGOs, and CSOs in this policy area.

## TOWARDS A GENDER-SENSITIVE APPROACH TO C/PVE:

### REFLECTIONS FROM TURKISH CIVIL SOCIETY'S VIEWS ON WOMEN AND RADICALIZATION

Dr. Gülriz Şen<sup>1</sup>

TOBB University of Economics and Technology

Women's diverse relationship with radicalization started to receive greater attention in the context of female recruitment to Daesh.<sup>2</sup> New research moved away from depicting women as passive victims, recognized their agency as sympathizers, recruiters and perpetrators and scrutinized women's roles in fighting radicalization. In addition to these studies aptly highlighting the missing gender dimension, the literature on Countering and Preventing Violent Extremism (henceforth CVE and PVE) transcends the heavy emphasis of counterterrorism research on the role of law enforcement forces and calls for a civilian perspective by incorporating civil society actors further into design and implementation of policies against violent extremism.<sup>3</sup>

This paper addresses the perspectives of Turkish civil society on women's role in fighting radicalization in the context of Daesh. It builds upon the major findings of the research entitled "Assessing the Role of Women in Fighting Radicalization", which has been designed as the gender module of a broader project named "Improving Effectiveness of Measures to Tackle the Foreign Terrorist Fighters and Radicalization Threat" and co-sponsored by the European Union and Turkey's Ministry of Foreign Affairs.<sup>4</sup> Conducted by the research team Dr. Başak Yavçan, Dr. Gülriz Şen and project assistant Eyyüp Baytok, the research was structured on an initial comprehensive desk review, followed by an extensive field research during September-December 2018 in eight provinces of Turkey (Adana, Adiyaman, Ankara, Diyarbakır, Gaziantep, Hatay, İstanbul and Kilis) selected on the basis of political, socio-economic and geographical setting making them prone to radicalization. The project aimed to probe:

- how women's NGOs and humanitarian aid NGOs in Turkish civil society conceive radicalization and violent extremism,
- what sort of perspectives these actors adopt vis-à-vis CVE and PVE,
- whether they embarked upon gender-specific programmes to reach out women,
- what kind of tools, instruments and resources they have at their disposal,
- how they evaluate past and present efforts to cope with the challenges of countering radicalization and violent extremism,
- what kind of durable and viable institutional mechanisms and approaches they propose for the future.

The findings derived from a total of eighty semi-structured interviews with a wide spectrum of civil society actors reveal the absence of an all-agreed definition of radicalization. Instead the research team found out varying conceptions of it in tandem with the political setting and social histories of the cities and regions. Furthermore, despite relative familiarity with

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<sup>2</sup> Katarina Van Knop, "The Female Jihad: Al Qaeda's Women". *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism*, 30, 2006, pp. 397–414; Jessica Davis, "Evolution of the Global Jihad: Female Suicide Bombers in Iraq", *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism*, 36, 2013, pp. 279–291; Naureen Fink, Sara Zeiger, Rafia Bhulai (eds.), *A Man's World? Exploring the Roles of Women in Countering Terrorism and Violent Extremism*. Hedayah and The Global Center on Cooperative Security, 2016; Lucy Lebnun, "Women as Victims And Perpetrators Of Daesh Violence", *CFFP*, 2017. Retrieved from <https://centreforforemistrforeignpolicy.org/journal/2017/1/17/women-as-victims-and-perpetrators-of-daesh-violence>; Sophie Giscard d'Estaing, "Engaging women in countering violent extremism: avoiding instrumentalisation and furthering agency". *Gender & Development*, 25:1, 2017, pp. 103-118; Meredith Loken and Anna Zelenz, "Explaining Extremism: Western Women in Daesh", *European Journal of International Security*, 3:1, 2018, 45-68; Elizabeth Pearson and Emily Winterbotham, "Women, Gender and Daesh Radicalisation" *The RUSI Journal*, 162: 3, 2017, 60-72; Beverley Milton-Edwards and Sumaya Attia, "Female Terrorists and Their Role in Jihadi Groups", *Brookings*, May 9, 2017. Retrieved from <https://www.brookings.edu/opinions/female-terrorists-and-their-role-in-jihadi-groups/>; Aymenn Jawad Al-Tamimi, "Daesh' Female Suicide Bombers Are No Myth", *Foreign Affairs*, 22 September 2017; Joana Cook and Gina Vale, *From Daesh to 'Diaspora': Tracing the Women and Minors of Daesh*, International Centre for the Study of Radicalisation, King's College London, 2018.

<sup>3</sup> Peter R. Neumann, "Countering Violent Extremism and Radicalisation that Lead to Terrorism: Ideas, Recommendations, and Good Practices from the OSCE Region". *OSCE Report*, September 2017. Retrieved from <http://www.osce.org/Chairmanship/346841>; Humera Khan, "Why Countering Extremism Fails", *Foreign Affairs*, 18 February 2015; Owen Frazer and Christian Nunlist, "The Concept of Countering Violent Extremism", *CSS Analyses in Security Policy*. No. 183, 2015; Iffat Idris and Ayat Abdelaziz, "Women and countering violent extremism", *GSDRC Helpdesk Research Report*, 4 May 2017.

<sup>4</sup> Başak Yavçan and Gülriz Şen, "Assessing the Role of Women in Fighting Radicalization." Research Report for Gender Module of Icare4all Project: Improving Effectiveness of Measures to Tackle the Foreign Terrorist Fighters and Radicalization Threat, 2019. The report can be accessed at [https://www.academia.edu/42168483/Assessing\\_the\\_Role\\_of\\_Women\\_in\\_Fighting\\_Radicalization](https://www.academia.edu/42168483/Assessing_the_Role_of_Women_in_Fighting_Radicalization)

the term of radicalization, violent extremism sounded unfamiliar and abstract. As to the presence of women both for and against radicalization, a gender-sensitive perspective was largely missing in civil society's understanding of radicalization. The presence of women from Turkey in Daesh and al-Nusra front (HTS), the push and pull factors for radicalization, diverse roles they play in these networks mostly went unnoticed, unspoken or poorly attended. This was also the case for women's NGOs who were no strangers to women-violence nexus with years of established experience on struggle against domestic violence and for women's empowerment. But they haven't specifically addressed this nexus from a radicalization perspective and haven't yet devised a gender-specific programme to reach out women to prevent and counter radicalization. The research as such introduced a novel dimension for these NGOs to rethink women's multifaceted relationship with violence by integrating radicalization and violent extremism into analysis.

That being said, the research demonstrated that women's NGOs and humanitarian NGOs of both secular and faith-based origin do possess various tools at their disposal to address and tackle the underlying push and pull factors of radicalization. In this regard the research team categorized the works and activities pursued by these civil society actors under three major headings: i) Casework and Door-to-Door Data Collection, ii) Skills Training and Educational Support; iii) Psychological & Theological Counselling and Rehabilitation and it assessed the likely merits of these activities in fighting the socio-economic, psychological and ideological roots of radicalization in the Turkish case. The desk review and interviews in the field found out highly systematic and programmatic work aimed at protecting Syrian refugees with the examples of humanitarian and refugee-related NGOs operating in Istanbul's major refugee neighbourhoods as well as cities such as Gaziantep, Kilis, Adiyaman and Diyarbakır. Humanitarian aid NGOs seemed to hold extensive capability, logistics and network to provide socio-economic assistance to the deprived neighbourhoods via casework and door-to-door data collection. We have observed closer cooperation between established local women's NGOs and the NGOs working with refugees in Adana, Adiyaman and Diyarbakır with regard to raising awareness on the social and legal rights of refugee women as well as women's health issues. Besides, women's NGOs both at the local and national level possessed remarkable experience in dealing with issues of domestic violence, sexual abuse and harassment through extensive cooperation with academia, municipalities, relevant state institutions and international organizations.

14 Reflecting on their past and present activities, the interviewed civil society actors volunteered for greater future role particularly in promoting and disseminating counter-narrative strategy alongside preventive and rehabilitative components of a CVE/PVE strategy, which they believed would reap greater benefits than the direct involvement of the state. They bolstered a more civilian strategy based on active presence of civil society networks, for these actors claimed that they hold a better knowledge of their neighbourhoods. However, they strongly emphasized the need for a coherent and well-communicated national strategy offered by the state that shall integrate civil society as an indispensable partner and open up greater space and scope for their contribution in CVE and PVE efforts.

The research confirmed that women from Turkey as elsewhere assumed varying roles as sympathizers, perpetrators, recruiters, possible preventers and victims in their relationship to religious radicalization. Of utmost significance for our research was how to build a gender-sensitive approach in designing strategies against radicalization and incorporating women into these strategies. In that regard, the research underlined the necessity of understanding the complexity of women's conditions, roles and motivations as well as the unique push and pull factors implicating on their choices, addressing the structural constraints such as socio-economic deprivation and patriarchy as fundamental obstacles to women's empowerment and defining empowerment in broad terms of women's access to education, employment and decision-making as individuals on their own as well as citizens. Such a perspective also calls for empowerment of women's NGOs and ensuring participation and leadership of women and women's organizations in developing strategies for counterterrorism and countering and preventing violent extremism, whilst avoiding instrumentalization of women's role in CVE and PVE.

To conclude, as demonstrated by our research in quest for assessing the likely potentials of civil society for a gender-sensitive approach for CVE and PVE, particularly women's NGOs and humanitarian aid NGOs do possess immense potential and a robust repertoire of tools and experience to address the diverse material and normative contexts underpinning the processes of radicalization. However, these actors need a clearly defined perspective of violent extremism and radicalization as much as a deeper understanding and awareness of women's various roles both for and against radicalization in order to offer an effective agency in design and implementation of these strategies.



## ***BUILDING PEACE IN THE POST-WAR ON TERROR: THE QUEST OF WOMEN FOR A PLACE***

Ms. Wazhma FROGH

Founder-Women & Peace Studies Organization (WPSO)

Afghanistan

To begin with, the period between the years 2001 and 2009 was a “golden-opportunity” for advocating and advancing women’s rights in Afghanistan until the Taliban again gained more power after 2010. Therefore, the past twenty years in Afghanistan has been a “quest for peace” for women organizations.

Following the US-led war on terror and the end of the Taliban’s Islamic Emirate in 2001, the transitional administration was started in 2002. This included the foundation of the Ministry of Women’s Affairs, giving more space for women. In 2004, Afghanistan adopted the Constitution which also included a gender equality provision for the first time in the country’s history. In addition to the new constitution, an election to the office of the President of Afghanistan was held in 2004, and the country’s first direct democratic election brought women all over the country for voting while women participation to this election reached over 40%. In 2005, Parliamentary elections were held with 25% women’s quota.

The first Elimination of Violence against Women (EVAW) Law was adopted in 2009 which criminalized violence against women. However, 2009 was also the year in which the Taliban insurgency and terrorism activities intensified in Afghanistan. This led me and my colleagues in different women’s networks to advocate for the national Peace and Reconciliation Programme in order to bring all these insurgent groups together and open up an opportunity for peace.

The Afghanistan High Peace Council, a body of the Afghanistan Peace and Reintegration Program, was established in 2012 to negotiate with the elements of the Taliban. In 2015, the Second Peace and Reconciliation Plan and the first National Action Plan for UNSCR 1325 were adopted. The first National Action Plan has a great importance and relevance for the Afghan women because this document includes a clear commitment to ensure that women have a strong role and contribution in the governance of the country and the development of Afghanistan. In 2018, a significant shift in the US foreign policy in Afghanistan took place in which the US Special Envoy started direct talks and negotiations with the Taliban. In 2020, the USA-Taliban Deal was reached as well as the Intra-Afghan Dialogues between the Afghan government, the representatives of the Islamic Republic of Afghanistan and the Taliban started in Doha. At the same time, these negotiations have raised concerns and perspectives for women’s organizations of how to help turn these talks into real peace negotiations.

Based on my experiences and in line with the focus of WPSO, local peace is a prerequisite for addressing terrorism. Afghanistan has experienced a lot of local insurgency and has a lot of local terrorist and insurgent groups that has a high potential for turning violent and joining regional armed groups. According to the National Directorate of Security, there are currently around 20 regional terrorist groups that support local insurgency in Afghanistan. These terrorist organizations have also provided insurgents in Afghanistan with ammunition, platform and training in which insurgents carry out terrorist activities. As such, peaceful resolution of conflicts is crucial to alter violent extremism and empower peace efforts in Afghanistan.

Women’s traditional and community roles are very important in tackling violent extremism. For instance, in traditional societies, elderly women have important roles to play since they are respected and listened to and they have the ability to bring women together to resolve certain issues within tribes. In addition to women’s traditional and community roles, new emerging roles in the post-Taliban era are also starting to gain influence. As such, many women joined security institutions as well as became diplomats and ministers. These new emerging roles have influence in terms of contributing to local and national peacebuilding initiatives and in a way, became a strategy.

Moreover, after Taliban terrorist attacks intensified in Afghanistan, and especially after the Kabul and Kandahar bombings, insurgents encouraged many women to hide and carry bombs under burqas. Therefore, women organizations such as WPSO, started to introduce billboards along highways, showing female police in a culturally appropriate way. As such, these female police on checkpoints could identify and search other female passengers for possible bombs. These posters were used in populated areas and designed for the traditional setting while giving a message to women of police in traditional attire and not looking alien to the local population. These initiatives helped to get women into the peace and security agenda such as being involved in local peace initiatives as well as in formal security institutions like the police and the army.

Furthermore, many women networks in Afghanistan started to advocate for NATO when the first consultations between the NATO and Afghanistan started in 2008, including UNSCR 1325 guidelines. Women play a significant role in information sharing and notifying the society of crucial security issues. For instance, one of the women organization was giving language and computer courses for women and on one day, a lot of women did not attend the course while telling the teacher that an explosion was going to happen in the area. While at the time, the teacher was astonished by the fact of how did these women know about such security threats, it was later revealed that these women knew because of their relations with family members who knew about such bombings and were thus able to address such threats. Such examples show women's access to crucial information as well as their ability to promote local peace, identify threats and sources of insecurity.

There was a pilot project that started in 2012 for a small group of mothers, seven women, in Helmand province where suicide bombings had increased at the time. Additionally, Afghanistan's largest amount of widows came from Helmand. Within the project, there were mothers whose sons had joined suicide attacks within the Taliban insurgency. As such, the project aimed to see whether these women could identify and stop their sons in joining the insurgency and participating in suicide attacks. She emphasized that the project was operating secretly as there was always a threat of Taliban interfering. Moreover, the mothers whose sons had joined the insurgency, started to share and track the changes in behaviour of their sons, while monitoring them before and after they came in contact with extremism and insurgency as a trend to watch by other mothers. For instance, mothers noted that many of their sons turned violent towards their sisters; or sons coming home late; or mother's cleaning their sons' clothes and identifying evidence such as certain terrorist organizations' propaganda.

Terrorist and insurgent groups use a lot of emotional appeal when recruiting new members to the group while countering insurgency or counter-terrorism does not account for much of emotional appealing but focus on hard-core security approaches. For instance, the insurgents would hold a session during Friday prayers, showing a video of women being sexually abused by a man in a military uniform and this would provoke younger people to take up arms and join the insurgency as they were believing that foreign forces would be attacking their honour. Also, this was appealing for young people who were unemployed and saw themselves as not having social recognition in the society or where not bringing 'honour' to the family. Therefore, such terrorist platforms seemed appealing for these young people who were promised "honour" as people would look at them as a commander, combatant and a fighter within the insurgency.

I was also involved in reintegration programs in which former Taliban fighters were reintegrated back to the society and talking to women from their own communities. Thus, these women who were involved in such reintegration programs started to see the reasons why these men turned to violence and insurgency. It also created a possibility for these women to be involved in local peace and reintegration initiatives.

A lot of such local work went into a national advocacy such as Peace Assemblies and High Peace Council. As I am coming from the local society and later joined the government, it was easy to help the young women in police and army to see counter-terrorism from a more peaceful perspective. In conclusion, in regard to the case of Afghanistan, I can say that local peacebuilding is as a prerequisite for counter-terrorism. Fighting insurgency and terrorism should not be limited to hard-core security tactics but has to include local initiatives.

## **EMPOWERING WOMEN IN COUNTERING TERRORISM**

Maj. Heba Alnusairat  
Special Operation Command  
Jordanian Armed Forces

I would like to shed some light on my experience in Task Force 240 on female participation as my duties involved both search and security with the rest of Jordanian Armed Forces (JAF) participants whom were two officers and five NCOs.

We basically were performing our duties by having the NCOs assuming the responsibility of searching the Afghan women who enter the base on two different gates under the supervision of the officers and to be more specific; at Abbey Gate where the working day was starting from 0530 to 1200 searching the Afghan women via two methods: either by hand searching using garret device for the body search and the scan device for bags, or by the second method which is all about searching the body using scan device. On the other hand, the second gate is the North Gate where working hours start from 0800 to 1200 searching the Afghan women and kids upon the certain procedure which involves receiving them on the gate, taking their eye print, and searching them using the scan device.

There are significant points that should be mentioned about the JAF personnel's engagement with the Afghan women, which facilitates the duties of JAF personnel and also contributes in their appreciation by the Afghan women in particular and the Afghan society at large. For instance, Jordanian women are Muslims from a country led by a Hashemite King descending from Prophet Mohammed and that makes their task to be accomplished in an easier way. Besides, smiling at Afghan people and handling their kids gently, explaining the purpose why we are here, while showing commitment to Islam, and lastly, displaying that Jordanian women are there for help not for fight help JAF personnel's being well-received by the Afghan people.

Here are certain lessons learned that we acquired during our deployment that I would like to share with you;

- The Afghan women accepted the Jordanians more than any other nationality.
- The Jordanian women did their job professionally although it was their first.
- The Jordanian women handled the stress despite the explosions.
- Team Work made the work easier.
- The Jordanian women mixed easily with other nationalities.

The women's role is nothing less important than the men and they worked side by side. We highly recommend that keeping the humane image as well as dealing with others according to Islam virtues is very substantial. Undoubtedly, we need to keep in mind that this country suffered a lot from wars for decades so everyone should resemble peace.

## **GENDER ADVISORS: CHANGING OPERATIONAL AND ORGANIZATIONAL CULTURE**

Lt.Col. Natalie M. Trogus  
Afghanistan Pakistan Hands Advisor  
Strategy and Plans  
United States Marine Corps

18 The purpose of my brief was to discuss personal experiences while serving as the Gender Advisor to the Afghan Ministry of Defense Human Rights and Gender Integration Directorate. The brief centered on answering the following two questions: 1) How does being a female officer change the patriarchal culture in the military? 2) How does/can a Gender advisor effect the patriarchal culture in the military? In order to provide insight in changing operational and organizational culture, understanding of the gender advising mission is crucial. While serving at the Ministerial level, my role was to support the Ministry of Defense (MOD) with the implementation of UNSCR 1325 and their Afghan National Action Plan 1325 which calls for 5% of females recruited into the security and defense sectors. Understanding Women, Peace and Security (WPS) research and overarching ideas which academia, policy reports and articles discuss are critical in problem framing using a comprehensive gender analysis. Studies and real world observations show key patterns and themes of gendered perspectives in operations such as women as primary care takers, gender diverse organizations thrive, women with different decision making perspectives, women having access to other women, during conflict women are disproportionately affected and targeted, rape used as a strategy and weapon of war. The aforementioned observations are heavily focused on civil society gendered aspects. For women in the defense sector, their presence fosters access to the female population and are able to gather intelligence on indications and warnings of instability, women serve as searchers to enhance security at checkpoints, gatherings and military operations. Additionally, women in the defense sector have also instigated the refinement of policies, procedures, and the status quo of how militaries are organized. These can be seen in updated recruiting policies that are gender inclusive, physical standards that are gender neutral, assignment policies consider parental concerns which benefit both males and females. The most important aspect through gender integration is cognitive diversity brought to military operations to ensure the best decisions are being made with gender perspectives mainstreamed in decision making.

A key area for changing operational and organizational culture is gender advisor pre-deployment training. In order to change culture, having an educational background in WPS and gender perspectives, coupled with training, enhances the ability for the application of WPS and gender perspective implementation. Education and training develops the necessary knowledge, skills and attributes to successfully engage command leadership, with meaningful engaging narratives on how to include gender perspectives into military planning and operations.

Understanding the organization to which gender advising is being applied, relies on gender advisors to know whose perspectives they are trying to change, whom they are changing, and to what effect they are changing. It is the gender advisor who is executing cultural change, sensitive to gender perspectives. Gender advisors must be knowledgeable of speaking the same language and military language as their counterparts. Terms such as objectives, end states and effects in easy to understand military terms with gender perspectives incorporated yields results which will facilitate gender mainstreaming across the organization.

Gender advising landscape is vast and encompasses an intricate knowledge of the interaction of civil society, defense and security sector WPS efforts. In environments where military operations are heavily engaged, collaboration between civil sectors, defense and security sectors cannot be overstated. Gender advisors must be knowledgeable of each organizations WPS focus areas to be able to influence the command by being able to translate into military tactical terms, WPS efforts across each sector. This understanding fosters an environment where gender perspectives are then included and mainstreamed into daily operations.

Gender advisors are the tip of the spear for ensuring WPS/gender initiatives are implemented and are responsible for synchronizing WPS efforts within the gender advising team. Having the depth of knowledge of WPS/gender perspectives,

each member of the advising team will meaningfully contribute their own perspectives towards a common end state. Another key area of gender advising to change operational culture, is having a firm understanding of the partner you are advising. Understanding cultural constraints and restraints will allow the gender advisor to develop their gender advising strategies which are culturally appropriate for the environment. This insight results in successful outcomes and effects. Building and fostering trust to support a gender advisors partner will allow them to thrive in an environment which solutions will have long lasting impact because they are culturally driven and implemented rather than being forced upon in a way that is not culturally appropriate.

Assessment, monitoring, and evaluate (AM&E) is the most critical aspect of any gender advisory mission in which organizational and cultural change is sought after. Gender advising effects must be measurable, observable and repeatable. Tangible results of gender advising and gender sensitive programs is more than a woman in uniform. It is all the processes, procedures, and policies behind women recruitment that is imperative with the effect being a women recruited and in uniform. In military terms, this is the means and ways with the ends being a woman in uniform. This understanding also influences budgeting and execution to ensure gender sensitive procurement law supports meaningful participation of women. Budget execution is the foundation and underpinning of all gender initiatives to foster individual women partner capacity programs to give women the soft skills needed to thrive in the workforce.

The end state of gender advisors in organizational and operational change is to seek gender mainstreaming across all elements of the command. Gender advising should be a stand-alone assignment and inclusive of the requisite authorities to have meaningful impact for change. Gender perspectives need to be the norm, not the exception. Leadership need to embrace gender perspectives and be the champions of change to see true military effects of gender perspectives.

## **CHILD RECRUITMENT BY TERRORIST ORGANIZATIONS**

Dr. Ulrich Garms<sup>1</sup>

United Nations Office on Drugs & Crime

For two decades, the United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC) has been helping make the world safer from drugs, organized crime, corruption and terrorism. We are committed to achieving health, security and justice for all by tackling these threats and promoting peace and sustainable well-being as deterrents to them.

With regard to child recruitment by terrorist groups, it is important to note that in addition to UNODC's counterterrorism expertise in the Terrorism Prevention Branch, we also have a team of experts on juvenile justice and preventing violence against children. Bringing these two fields of expertise together is really at the heart of our work on children, terrorism and counter-terrorism.

UNODC started its project on children associated with terrorist and violent extremist groups in 2015, responding to requests for assistance from Lake Chad Basin states dealing with numerous children associated with Boko Haram. Since then, UNODC has been providing technical assistance in many regions of the world, including South-East Asia, Central Asia, Middle East and North Africa, West Africa.

The challenges these Member States face include:

- How can we effectively prevent child recruitment?
- Who are the actors responsible for dealing with child alleged offenders in the counter-terrorism context?
- How should children involved with terrorism-related offences be treated by the justice system?
- Can children be both victims and perpetrators?
- How to ensure the effectiveness of rehabilitation and reintegration programmes?

If you were to look at the 2006 Global Counter-Terrorism Strategy or at the international conventions and protocols against terrorism, you will note that they make no mention of children. The 2016 and 2018 Global Counter-Terrorism Strategy review resolutions and very prominently Security Council resolution 2396 of December 2017 and the Addenda to the Madrid Guiding Principles on FTF from December 2018 all contain language regarding children. Based on this comparison, you may be forgiven if you thought that child recruitment by terrorist groups is a new phenomenon that emerged in the last couple of years.

Child recruitment is not a new phenomenon. Children have always been exploited by armed groups, and already in the nineties the international community took important steps to prohibit child recruitment and provide for a legal framework to enhance protection and support to children associated with armed groups. However, the involvement of terrorist and violent extremist groups has added a new dimension and at least the perception of considerable new developments and new challenges.

One fundamental aspect of UNODC's approach regarding child recruitment is to first focus on why terrorist groups are recruiting children.

Some factors are common to child soldier recruitment by armed groups, others specific to the violent extremism context.

Child recruitment

- IS NOT A NEW Phenomenon
- Cheaper than adults
- Psychologically malleable

<sup>1</sup> Programme Officer, Terrorism Prevention Branch, UNODC

- Lesser aware of risks
- Arise less suspicion
- Propaganda value

Children's vulnerability to recruitment

- Children's brains and personalities are developing
- Role of economic and social marginalization/ vulnerability
- Role of peers, families and communities – « pro-social » factors
- Recruitment strategies are strongly gendered
- It is important not to overstate the role of « radicalization »
- Recruitment always leads to violence against children
- Stigma and secondary victimization

UNODC's counter-parts in the many countries affected by child recruitment ask for assistance in three main areas:

- First, **how can prevention of child recruitment by terrorist groups be more effective?**
- Second, **how can these children be reintegrated?** Can they overcome the violence they have witnessed and sometimes been involved with? Will communities be able to accept these children back? The cross-border dimension adds one more layer of complication, with its connection to issue of family separation, repatriation, and statelessness.
- Third, **what should be done when children are involved in terrorism-related offences?** Many children are potentially in violation of terrorism legislation. A number of questions arise, such as: what is the applicable law? What is the legal status of the children? what are the competent authorities and procedures to deal with those children?

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## THE UNODC APPROACH

Our approach to assisting Member States in dealing with the challenges posed by the recruitment and exploitation of children by terrorist and violent extremist groups has a twofold foundation in: i) **international law**; and ii) **the knowledge of the context on the ground**.

**Basing the approach to the treatment of these children in law** requires understanding the interconnection between different legal regimes, at the international and at the national level.

- Child rights as a part of human rights law;
- Counter-terrorism law and policy
- Laws against trafficking-in-persons
- International humanitarian law and
- International criminal law

The other crucial point is that **we cannot rely on one-size fits-all approaches to deal with this issue**. We must keep in mind how complex realities on the ground are and design tailored responses. Recruitment of children is anchored in development issue, political grievances, as well as rule of law questions. Confronting them requires an in-depth knowledge of national contexts and their challenges, and should not be reduced to the immediate threat to national security.

On this basis, and building on the contributions of our counter-parts, UNODC has developed its approach, which guides all of our work in this area. Let me introduce its key elements:

- 1) First, we need to **overcome the perceived dichotomy between security interests and child rights**. Too often issues of terrorism are framed as implicating a choice: either public safety is effectively protected, or human rights are fully enforced. This attitude presumes a fundamental conflict between these two interests, and in doing so, it become damaging, and counter-productive. These are complementary objectives. Society as a whole will be safer from terrorism when children will be better protected, and vice versa.
- 2) Recruitment of children by terrorist and violent extremist groups **is a serious form of violence against children**. It **leads to their exploitation** in different roles as spies, for sexual and labour exploitation, for the purpose of committing offences.

It is prohibited by a number of international legal instruments and States have the obligation to prevent and criminalise it, and to bring those responsible to justice.

- 3) Accordingly, **children should be considered and treated primarily as victims of a crime**. This does not mean that impunity should prevail whenever children have been involved in terrorism-related offences. However, it does **mean that any action taken against a child victim of recruitment should aim at promoting his or her rehabilitation and social reintegration, and that emphasis should be placed on overcoming the harm that has been inflicted upon these children**.
- 4) Prevention is a priority: focus on recruitment, not on “radicalization”.
- 5) **The best interests of the child** must always be the **primary consideration**.
- 6) The **key objective must be** to promote **rehabilitation and reintegration**.

One key area where this plays out is the question of **repatriation** of children in camps in Syria. The United Nations’ position, as reflected in the “Key principles for the protection, repatriation, prosecution, rehabilitation and reintegration of women and children with links to United Nations listed terrorist groups” published by the Secretary-General in April 2019, is that “Member States should also ensure that their nationals who are family members of suspected foreign terrorist fighters and do not face serious charges are repatriated for the purposes of prosecution, rehabilitation and/or reintegration, as appropriate.”

- 7) Children alleged as, accused of, or recognized as having infringed the penal law are entitled to all **rights** established by International law in relation to **Juvenile Justice**.
- 8) In the prevention of recruitment, in rehabilitation and reintegration efforts, and in the justice system’s response, we need to be always mindful that girls and boys are differently affected by terrorism and counter-terrorism measures, and must adopt gender sensitive measures that take this into account.
- 9) Regardless of different circumstances, **child recruitment is not only a crime problem, but first and foremost it is a developmental issue**.
- 10) This brings us to the final point: we are dealing with **a very complex phenomenon for which multi-disciplinarity plays a key role**. The solution to the problem will not be given by one system (for example the justice system), but effective responses require concerted efforts by different systems, and cooperation across different entities.

For more information and tools, Mr. Garms referred workshop participants to the “UNODC Roadmap on the Treatment of Children Associated with Terrorist and Violent Extremist Groups” (<https://indd.adobe.com/view/80b10d95-cbd1-4e20-9acb-148b2f7181d6> ) and the UNODC Handbook on Children Recruited and Exploited by Terrorist and Violent Extremist Groups ([https://www.unodc.org/documents/terrorism/Publications/HB%20Children/Handbook\\_on\\_Children\\_Recruited\\_and\\_Exploited\\_by\\_Terrorist\\_and\\_Violent\\_Extremist\\_Groups\\_the\\_Role\\_of\\_the\\_Justice\\_System.E.pdf](https://www.unodc.org/documents/terrorism/Publications/HB%20Children/Handbook_on_Children_Recruited_and_Exploited_by_Terrorist_and_Violent_Extremist_Groups_the_Role_of_the_Justice_System.E.pdf) ).



## **CHILDREN IN DAESH: A DISCOURSE AND LEGAL ANALYSIS**

Dr. Conrad Nyamutata<sup>1</sup>  
De Montfort University

The paper focuses on children in Daesh. These are commonly known as child soldier but the legal term *is children associated with an armed force or armed group*.

The presentation is drawn from two papers<sup>2</sup> I published recently, one of the perception or construction of females from the West who have associated with the Daesh, that includes girls. We are aware that some children travelled from their Western domiciles to join Daesh. My interest is on the females or girls.

And secondly, the presentation on another paper on the status of these children in law – are they child soldiers or terrorists? The question is important to establish if these children fall under the legal framework which protects ‘child soldiers.’ Generally, this comes against the emerging literature on whether the children are victims or perpetrators, and if the latter, are liable to criminal prosecution. The question becomes even more complex when involves so-called “young terrorists” and their repatriation from terrorists to countries of origin.

The two discussions (discourse analysis and status under the law) are not mutual exclusive – how societies perceive certain individuals or groups, can have an impact on politics, law and policy-making and law enforcement.

### *Brief Background*

I attempt to frame the discussion from a Western perspective. It is common knowledge that quite a significant number of people/citizens of other countries left their domiciles, including from Europe and US to join Daesh after it declared the establishment of “state” or “caliphate”.

### *Recruitment*

Daesh had become adept at using the internet, publishing their propaganda videos and penetrating those spaces patronized by children. Of the 42,000 FTF, more than 5,000 reportedly have departed from Europe.<sup>3</sup> Exact numbers are difficult to establish; one source estimates that more than 42,000<sup>4</sup> foreign terrorist fighters have travelled to join Daesh from over 120 countries (between 2011- 2016).

Most young are attracted to armed groups by several reasons and incentives, among them, material goods, such as food and money. Daesh appeal, however, went beyond physical goods. While Daesh offered or promised a geographical space, a caliphate, it portrayed its mission as a ‘cosmic war’ – a fight between good and evil<sup>5</sup> - the organisation also offered the metaphysical, the transcendental, promise and rewards beyond the earth.

Young men and women in Western societies, disenchanted by Western lifestyles, sometimes subjected to discrimination, found appeal in these messages, which Wazhma Frogh<sup>6</sup> described as ‘moral appeals’. So, some of them responded to these appeals by travelling to join Daesh in the MENA region.

In the interests of time, I will not rehearse in any detail the fate of Daesh and the caliphate: in short, the caliphate has collapsed but not Daesh itself. Some of those who travelled to join the group, are now older, have left Daesh, had their own children, and stranded and seeking to return or repatriation. Presently, thousands are detained, including 850 FTFs from Europe. 750 children of FTFs from Europe born in the conflict or orphaned. Some Western states have accepted the babies, but generally there is resistance to accept them, more so the parents.

<sup>1</sup> Institute Head of Research Students - Institute for Law, Justice and Society ; Faculty of Business and Law

<sup>2</sup> Conrad Nyamutata, ‘Young Terrorists or Child Soldiers? DAESH Children, International Law and Victimhood, *Journal of Conflict and Security Law*, Volume 25, Issue 2, July 2020, Pages 237–261, <https://doi.org/10.1093/jcs/krz034>; Conrad Nyamutata ‘The ideological construction of Western DAESH-associated females’ *Journal of Language and Politics* Vol. 19:5 (2020) pp. 766–785

<sup>3</sup> RAN Manual ‘Responses to returnees: Foreign terrorist fighters and their families’ RAN Centre of Excellence, 2017

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid*, p.15

<sup>5</sup> See Mark Juergensmeyer *Terror in the Mind of God: The Global Rise of Religious Violence* University of California Press; 3rd edition (2003)

<sup>6</sup> Building Peace in the Post-War on Terror: The Quest of Women for a Place - Ms. Wazhma FROGH (Women & PEACE Studies Organization, Afghanistan)

### *Discourse Analysis*

Discourse analysis studies written or spoken language in relation to its social context. It aims to understand how language is used in real life situations. Western media have reported on the children with Daesh, in not to charitable ways. So, could the way they have been portrayed have contributed to the attitudes of the states towards repatriation? I would argue most likely.

In one of the journal papers<sup>7</sup>, I discuss how these females have been constructed in Western media. In this paper, I analysed some headlines from a number of Western publications.

You will find that this part of the discussion is in harmony with Harmonie's excellent presentation on gender narratives and counter-narratives.<sup>8</sup> Headlines are central to discourse analysis. Newspapers do not randomly or thoughtlessly create headlines. Instead, newspaper headlines, as the first things we see on a story, are strategic; they have certain ideologies they seek to propagate. They do so through labels which carry certain messages. That is why I titled the paper 'The "ideological construction" of these females.

I sampled 30 headlines randomly. The recurrent terms in describing these females, collectively, were 'Jihadi brides' or 'Daesh brides.' As Harmonie noted, gendered narratives occur in terrorism. From the sample, labels were recurrent in the description of females who joined Daesh and married, irrespective of age.

It is significant to note that no similar terms exist in the description of the males; for example, there was no reference to 'Jihadi husbands' or 'Jihadi bridegrooms.'

So, what is evident here is that, through these constructs, women placed into matrimony, not with individuals, but an organization, a violent organization; we seeing women, perhaps through misunderstanding of the word, again being wedded to 'acts of violence'. Contrary to some suggestions that these labels were/are designed to infantilize the women, the Western media deploys them to, primarily, associate them with violence and portray them as dangerous to Western societies.<sup>9</sup>

These labels have become routinized and acceptable ad descriptions of the females.

Could these portrayals influence perceptions of societies and government's approaches? Most likely. Most children remained in refugee camps where they have grown into adulthood. Their presence back in the West has been described as not conducive to the public good.

### *International law and Daesh children*

International law on children has generally treated child soldiers as victims, the effects of the horrors of war persisting into adulthood. So where can we locate the DAESH-associated children? The legal framework for child soldiers comprises of mainly IHL and IHRL:

*The 2 Additional Protocols (1977) to the Geneva Conventions of 1949*

*The United Nations Conventions on the Rights of the Child & the Optional Protocol*

*The Rome Statute Establishing the International Criminal Court (ICC).*

Notably, the ICC does not prosecute anyone under the age of 18. The jurisprudence in the ICC (see e.g. *Lubanga* case) and Special Court for Sierra Leone, all affirm the illegality of conscripting, enlisting and the using children under age of 15 to participate actively in hostilities.

According to the Paris Principles:

A child associated with an armed force or armed group refers to any person below 18 years of age who is or who has been recruited or used by an armed force or armed group in any capacity, including but not limited to children, boys and girls, used as fighters, cooks, porters, messengers, spies or for sexual purposes. It does not only refer to a child who is taking or has taken a direct part in hostilities.

<sup>7</sup> Nyamutata 'The Ideological construction..'

<sup>8</sup> Dr. Harmonie Toros 'Gendered Narratives and Counter-narratives in Counterterrorism' (University of Kent, UK)

<sup>9</sup> The question of infantilization and subordination of women in particular religious' groups is an already settled matter with Western discourse.

These instruments and principles are complemented by laws on child trafficking.

Given the law on child soldiering, it would appear children or these “young terrorists”, under 15 or 18, affiliated to DAESH, would fit the definition of a child soldier, who performed different roles. In that regard, it is plausible to argue they should benefit from the protections in the international legal framework. Child soldiers are generally regarded as victims. Children lured by DAESH are also victims of trafficking. However, little reference has been made to their status as ‘child soldiers’ and victims of trafficking by states.

States of origin have responded randomly, some influenced by internal discourses and right-wing groups. Some states have taken back fighters and children, some children only. However, because of the media construction or ideological construction of the children, some states have refused out rightly to repatriate them. Some have indicated intentions to prosecute.

However, any successful prosecution requires evidence, and battlefield evidence is difficult to establish. It could be the reason some states have opted to revoke their citizenship, some such decisions made without due process - a point which was emphasized by the UN Special Rapporteur on the Promotion and Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms while Combatting Terrorism.

To conclude, there is a conflict between domestic and humanitarian approaches. However, it is also important to note that a broader debate on child soldiers has emerged. The humanitarian approaches are now facing a challenge, on whether the premise that children are faultless, passive victims and lacking agency, is tenable. Some argue it is false premise; children can have agency.<sup>10</sup>

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<sup>10</sup> Mark A. Drumbl, *Reimagining Child Soldiers in International Law and Policy* (Oxford University Press, 2012)

## **KEY FINDINGS**

### **Whole of society approach**

- Fighting against terrorism requires a whole of society approach, and achieving a whole of society approach can only be possible through the inclusion of women in the design and implementation of terrorism and counter-violent extremism strategies.

### **FTFs and women returnees**

- FTFs and the issue of returnees is a global security challenge. In the case of women returnees much attention has been paid to women returning to Europe while there is less focus on women returning to regions other than Europe like the Middle East and North Africa (MENA).

- States have different reactions towards the women returnees in line with their gendered perception of the threat. Some policies towards women returnees are a reflection of seeing women as passive actors or victims of their male family members and have no agency in their travel to the Daesh-controlled territories. Policies indicating that women returnees should go through judicial system is based on the perception that women returnees might constitute a security threat in line with their differing engagement with Daesh. These different policy responses to women returnees lead to different responses to minors associated to women as well.

### **Terrorist narratives and counter-narratives**

- Terrorist organizations like Daesh produce different narratives for different context for recruitment. Daesh's gendered narratives aimed at attracting women to join the terrorist organization have been different for women living in Europe and those in the MENA region. Narratives aimed at MENA women stressed how they would become empowered in joining Daesh by promising opportunities for study and employment, but also by drawing on the history of Muslim women engaging in battle.

- Mainstream media has often portrayed a narrative that women have been victims to terrorism when they stressed that women were forced to join Daesh by their male relatives. On the other hand, this narrative on victimhood was used by Daesh as an empowering narrative by underlining that "women can do this". What is important here is how this dichotomy between empowering and disempowering women narratives were perceived by women.

- Terrorist organizations use a lot of emotional appeal when recruiting new members to the group which is missed when focused heavily on hard-power counterterrorism measures.

- Counter-narratives need to take into consideration that narratives and counter-narratives are in constant dialogue with each other and feed off from each other. Therefore, having separate mainstream counter-narratives may not bring in the desired outcomes.

- Since there are different terrorist narratives produced for different target audience in different contexts, national and local contexts turn out to be of high importance in designing counter-narratives. One counter-narrative of a country cannot work for another country. For instance, while in Morocco, political circles and news outlets were dominated by narratives of "victimhood" of women; in Tunisia, the dominant narrative was based on identification of women returnees as a potential security threat.

### **The role of women in P/CVE**

- Women's potential in recognising early warning signs of radicalisation should be recognised and well-placed in P/CVE programs taking into account the context-specific gender roles.

- One of the weaknesses of the P/CVE programs including women, especially women as 'mothers' have been claimed to endanger the security of the women included. To tackle this problem, local civil society initiatives with small communities of mothers can be executed with keeping a low profile.

- P/CVE programming targeting women should not only be based on women's potential to recognising early warning signs of radicalization of family members as mothers and sisters. Bearing in mind the fact that women can play and are playing different roles in terrorism from being sympathizers to perpetrators, P/CVE programs should aim at empowering women as a means to overcome structural problems such as socio-economic deprivation and patriarchy which are

influential in women involvement in terrorism. On the other hand, women empowerment is also important in terms of increasing parental capabilities of women as mothers. Women's empowerment should include women's access to education, employment and decision-making.

- Research on different national contexts reveal the importance of local actors like civil society organization such as women's NGOs or humanitarian aid organisations both in peace-building in post-war or post-conflict societies and in P/CVE in societies facing the terrorist threat. The experiences as well as the instruments and resources of these local actors should be considered as valuable assets especially in the efforts for preventing and countering violent extremism that leads to terrorism. Therefore, developing effective cooperation with the local civil society organizations is necessary for developing efficient P/CVE programs.

### **Gender Advisors**

- Different sets of skills are required for advise the command and the foreign defence ministerial level. The knowledge skills and attributes that a gender advisor has at the command level cannot be directly applicable to the high ministerial level where there are other political and institutional factors to be taken into consideration. In a post-conflict/post-war context like Afghanistan, if a gender advisor is to advise the Afghan Defence Ministry, she/he has to understand the Afghan constitution, Afghan laws and the role Afghan parliament plays in order to make proper policy recommendations for assisting rebuilding the institutions in the defence security and civil sectors.

- Gender Advisor pre-deployment training is key to success for achieving cultural change towards gender-sensitiveness. It is through education and training that a gender advisor can develop the necessary skills to engage command leadership to adopt a gender perspective into military planning and operations.

- The most important aspect through gender integration is cognitive diversity brought to military operations to ensure the best decisions are being made with gender perspectives.

- Having an articulate understanding of the partner advised is crucial for the gender advisor. Understanding cultural constraints and restraints will allow the gender advisor to develop their gender advising strategies which are culturally appropriate for the environment.

- It is all the processes, procedures, and policies behind women recruitment that is imperative with the effect being a women recruited and in uniform. In military terms, this is the means and ways with the ends being a woman in uniform. This understanding also influences budgeting and execution to ensure gender sensitive procurement law supports meaningful participation of women. Budget execution is the foundation and underpinning of all gender initiatives to foster individual women partner capacity programs to give women the soft skills needed to thrive in the workforce.

- Gender perspectives need to be the norm, not the exception.
- Gender advising should be a stand-alone assignment not burdened by extra-work.
- Gender advising is still grasped as an extra-program and seen as another requirement to be fulfilled.

### **Children with links to terrorism**

- Child recruitment is not a new phenomenon.
- Children should be considered and treated primarily as victims.
- Child recruitment by terrorist organizations is a very complex phenomenon. It is not only a criminal justice issue, but has several other dimensions including development. Therefore, a multidisciplinary and multiagency approach is needed to address the issue of child recruitment to terrorist organizations.

- The shorter the affiliation of the child with the terrorist groups is, the greater are the chances for successful reintegration.
- Children have increasingly become vulnerable to terrorist recruitment in the Covid-19 era due to the social distancing and isolation caused by the pandemic and their increasing engagement with internet.

- Recruitment of children by terrorist and violent extremist groups is a serious form of violence against children. It leads to their exploitation in different roles as spies, for sexual and labour exploitation, for the purpose of committing offences.

- The best interests of the child must always be the primary consideration in any counterterrorism policy.
- The key objective must be to promote rehabilitation and reintegration
- There is no one-size fits-all approaches to deal with child recruitment by terrorist organizations.

## **RECOMMENDATIONS**

### **RESEARCH RECOMMENDATIONS**

- More research should be done on how different narratives –empowering and disempowering- about women were received by women.
- There is still a need to research more on the evolution of the gendered narratives by Daesh.
- Since children are spending more time on the computer due to online classes, and having the internet as a primary means of communication and entertainment, they have become increasingly vulnerable to online recruitment and radicalization by terrorist organizations. Research needs to be done about the digital platforms focusing on children and their use of internet.

### **POLICY RECOMMENDATIONS**

- Producing counter-narratives is a dynamic process, which needs to take into account the changing terrorist narratives for different audiences and contexts.
- The question of women returnees and narratives about them needs to be given greater attention by regional organizations and in cooperative initiatives among regional states.
- Local peacebuilding is as a prerequisite for counter-terrorism. Fighting against terrorism should not be limited to hard-power security tactics but has to also include local initiatives utilizing soft-power.
- Participation of women's organizations and relevant NGOs in developing CT and P/CVE strategies should be included to achieve a multi-actor and multi-layered strategy as a key to success. Building effective cooperation and coordination between civil society and the State in designing and implementing context-specific P/CVE and CT strategies is crucial.
- Recognizing the importance of empowering women in building and maintaining security and its impact on building and maintaining peace and security should not be translated into compelling women's organizations adopting a P/CVE agenda to get funding.
- Any policy on repatriation, prosecution, rehabilitation and reintegration of children with links to terrorist organizations should prioritize the best interest of the child and avoid statelessness.
- Policies aimed at preventing children's involvement in terrorism should focus on preventing children recruitment by terrorist organizations, which is based on gendered strategies which are different for boys and girls.
- Efforts on the prevention of child recruitment by terrorist organizations, on the rehabilitation and reintegration of these children and responses of the justice system should be mindful that girls and boys are affected differently by terrorism and counter-terrorism measures, and must adopt gender sensitive measures to take this into account.
- A multidisciplinary and multiagency approach both to prevent child recruitment by terrorist organizations and to reintegrate children affiliated to terrorism is a requirement.

## ANNEX-A



### COE-DAT ONLINE WORKSHOP

#### Gender and Counterterrorism: Enhancing Women's Role and Empowering Women

22-24 September 2020

COE-DAT, Ankara, Turkey

**Workshop Director:** Ms. Demet UZUNOĞLU (TUR)

**Workshop Academic Advisor:** Dr. Zeynep SÜTALAN (TUR)

**Workshop Assistant:** Ms. Aslıhan SEVİM (TUR)

**Rapporteur:** Ms. Alice LÖHMUS (EST)

**Rapporteur:** Mrs. Nebahat TANRIVERDİ YAŞAR (TUR)

### WORKSHOP PROGRAM

#### Tuesday, 22 September 2020 (1<sup>st</sup> Day)

|                      |   |
|----------------------|---|
| 14.00 - 14.05        | <b>Welcome Address</b> , Col. Şükrü BİLİR (TUR A), Director, COE-DAT  |
| 14.05 - 14.30        | <b>COE-DAT Introduction &amp; Admin Briefing</b> Ms. Demet UZUNOĞLU, WS Director  |
| 14.30 - 14.50        | <b>Keynote Speech</b> , Ms. Clare HUTCHINSON (NATO Secretary General's Special Representative for Women, Peace and Security)  |
| 14.50 - 15.00        | Break   |
| <b>15.00 - 16.30</b> | <b>Session – 1 Gender-sensitive P/CVE and Counterterrorism Programming</b><br><b>Moderator:</b> Dr. Zeynep SÜTALAN (TUR)  |
| 15.00 - 15.20        | <i>Gendered Narratives and Counter-narratives in Counterterrorism</i> – Dr. Harmonie TOROS (University of Kent, UK)   |
| 15.20 - 15.40        | <i>Gender-sensitive P/CVE policy and programming: Reflections from Turkish Civil Society's Views on Women and Radicalization</i> – Dr. Gülriz ŞEN (TOBB-ETU University, Turkey) |
| 15.40 - 16.30        | Open Discussion   |
| 16.30 - 16.35        | 'Hot wash-up' of day 1 discussions  |

#### Wednesday, 23 September 2020 (2<sup>nd</sup> Day)

|                      |  |
|----------------------|--|
| <b>14.00 - 16.30</b> | <b>Session – 2 Gender and Counterterrorism- Views from Practitioners</b><br><b>Moderator:</b> Dr. Zeynep SÜTALAN (TUR)                               |
| 14.00 - 14.20        | <i>Building Peace in the Post-War on Terror: The Quest of Women for a Place</i> - Ms. Wazhma FROGH (Women & PEACE Studies Organization, Afghanistan) |
| 14.20 - 14.40        | <i>Empowering Women in Countering Terrorism</i> - Maj. Heba ALNUSAIRAT (JOR A)   |
| 14.40 - 15.00        | <i>Gender Advisors: Changing Operational and Organizational Culture</i> - Lt.Col. Natalie M. TROGUS (USMC)   |
| 15.00 - 16.30        | Open Discussion  |
| 16.30 - 16.35        | 'Hot wash-up' of day 2 discussions   |

#### Thursday, 24 September 2020 (3<sup>rd</sup> Day)

|                      |   |
|----------------------|---|
| <b>14.00 - 15.30</b> | <b>Session – 3 Children, Terrorism and Counterterrorism</b><br><b>Moderator:</b> Dr. Zeynep SÜTALAN (TUR) |
| 14.00 - 14.20        | <i>Child Recruitment by Terrorist Organizations</i> - Dr. Ulrich GARMS (UNODC)                            |
| 14.20 - 14.40        | <i>Child Soldiers in Daesh</i> – Dr. Conrad NYAMUTATA (De Montfort University, UK)                        |
| 14.40 - 15.30        | Open Discussion   |
| 15.30 - 15.45        | 'Hot wash-up' of day 3 discussions and Closing Remarks  |

## ANNEX-B

### *Biographies of the Speakers (according to the order of presentations)*

#### **CLARE HUTCHINSON**

The Secretary General appointed Clare Hutchinson as NATO Secretary General's Special Representative for Women, Peace and Security in January 2018. She is charged with helping the Alliance to shape and drive its contributions to the Women, Peace and Security agenda as well as NATO's approach to Human Security. She facilitates an enterprise-wide approach to an ambitious agenda, providing strategic and practical guidance to support NATO in its objectives to achieve gender equality and to bolster its approach to Human Security. She also serves as NATO's High Level Focal Point for Children and Armed Conflict.



Ms. Hutchinson worked as a Senior Gender Adviser with the United Nations for over a decade. She was instrumental in setting the strategic development of Women, Peace and Security for the United Nations Department of Peacekeeping in New York and in many peacekeeping missions. Her experience in the field includes directing implementation of the UN's Women, Peace and Security agenda in Kosovo and Lebanon.

Born and educated in Newcastle Upon Tyne, UK, Ms. Hutchinson studied theatre and started her career in broadcasting and public relations, working in public radio and freelance reporting in Canada and the UK. She later obtained her Master's Degree in International Relations and a further Master's Degree in Political Research from Newcastle University. She moved to Canada in 1991 and is a Canadian citizen, hailing from Halifax, Nova Scotia.

Ms. Hutchinson has long been a champion for women's issues, supporting projects for women's empowerment across a broad spectrum of industries. In 1992 she worked in the burgeoning ICT industry as a communications expert for internet start-ups and led projects that helped women and young people to utilise technology effectively. She continues to support women-specific technology projects.



## HARMONIE TOROS

Harmonie Toros is Reader in International Conflict Analysis at the University of Kent. Her research lies at the crossroad between conflict resolution/conflict transformation, peace studies, and terrorism studies. She has published seminal work developing a critical theory-based approach to terrorism and examining the transformation of conflicts marked by terrorist violence. She has carried out extensive field research in Europe, the Middle East, South East Asia, and Africa Her current research focuses on incorporating war experience into the study of conflict, examining some of the key methodological and epistemological challenges involved in translating war experience into knowledge. In 2015, Harmonie was awarded the University's Inaugural Research Prize (Early Career Researchers Category). She is an editor of the journal *Critical Studies on Terrorism* and a member of the International Studies Association (ISA) and British International Studies Association (BISA). Following a BA in Contemporary History (Sussex) and a Maîtrise in History (Paris IV- Sorbonne), she worked as reporter and editor for major international news agencies (The Associated Press and Agence France-Presse) before returning to academia in 2003 to complete a Masters in Conflict Resolution (Bradford). She completed her PhD at the Department of International Politics of Aberystwyth University in 2010.



## GÜLRİZ ŞEN

Dr. Gülriz Şen is an Assistant Professor of Political Science and International Relations at TOBB University of Economics and Technology, Ankara, Turkey.

Dr. Şen received her PhD from Middle East Technical University, Department of International Relations in 2013 and holds an MA degree in Conflict and Sustainable Peace Studies from Katholieke Universiteit Leuven, Belgium. Her major academic interests comprise contemporary politics of the Middle East with a particular focus on Iran's foreign policy and its affairs with the Levant and Gulf countries; and gender in International Relations with specific attention to the role of women and dynamics of gender in processes of radicalization and de-radicalization.



She published Turkish translation of her award-winning PhD thesis from METU Press in 2016 on the theme of Iran's post-revolutionary foreign policy toward the United States alongside articles, book chapters and policy briefs both in English and Turkish on various dimensions of Iran's foreign policy. Her recent collaborative research focuses on ways of building gender-sensitive analysis of CVE and PVE and assesses women's possible roles in countering and preventing violent extremism through an analysis of Turkish civil society's -mainly women's NGOs and humanitarian NGOs'- perspective of radicalization in the context of ISIS.

## WAZHMA FROGH

Wazhma Frogh has been the Founder of the Women & Peace Studies Organization (WPSO) — Afghanistan co-founded in 2012. One of the few civil society organizations in Afghanistan that is working for women inclusion in the security sector reform processes with a particular focus on women in the police force. Frogh continues to oversee the work of the organization on the ground & develops the mission & vision further to ensure Afghan women are part of the national and local peace building and peace-making efforts. Recently, Frogh worked with the Afghan Women's Network international campaign to raise the concerns of Afghan women in the peace process and the campaign mobilized over 2 million women in Afghanistan & provides strategic support, mobilization & campaigning for the inclusion of women in the peace negotiations in Afghanistan.



As part of her longstanding activism for the past 25 years, Frogh lobbies for women's inclusion in the security sector. With the Ministry of Interior, she helped develop a five-year strategy for women's recruitment, retention, capacity building and protection within the police force. Based on fieldwork in Kunduz on the role of private madrassas, Frogh and WPSO campaigned for the government for a national strategy for countering violent extremism. Frogh has worked with the Ministry of Defence and Ministry of Interior in Afghanistan during 2014 to 2016.

Frogh has a master's degree in Law and Human Rights from the University of Warwick, UK and has been trained in women and public policy and leadership at the George Washington and Harvard Universities. She has the former Country Director of Global Rights, worked with the first Initiative to Promote Afghan Civil Society with Counterpart International, Canadian International Development Agency, UNWOMEN, WFP in Afghanistan and with Afghanaid and HealthNet International in Peshawar since 1999.

She was also elected co-chair of the Women, Peace and Security Working Group for the implementation of the National Action Plan on U.N. Security Council Resolution 1325 for 3 years in Afghanistan. In 2017, nominated by the civil society and women rights groups, the President appointed Frogh and other key women leaders at the High Peace Council to ensure women's meaningful participation in the Afghanistan peace processes, where she & her colleagues initiated the national dialogue consultations across the country.

Frogh has been extensively part of the WPS trainings & women inclusion programs at the international level that includes the International Civil Society Action Network(ICAN), The Folke-Bernoditte Academy in Sweden, Uppsala University Peace & Conflict Studies programs. In 2017-2018, she was selected as part of the Women's Peace Maker Fellowship at Joan B. Kroc Institute for Peace and Justice and is also part of the Women Waging Peace Network, a partnership between the and the Institute for Inclusive Security.

For years, Ms Frogh has been part of the Afghanistan and Pakistan track 1.5 and track 2 dialogues to increase the dialogue and people to people relations between Afghanistan and Pakistan. She is part of the regional women networks between the leaders of women in the south Asian region.

## HEBA NUASIRAT

Heba has been the head of preparation and coordination branch in military women training center who is responsible for preparing the training programs. She joined the army first in 2005 as a field officer after one year of training at the Royal Military Academy (RMA) to join later in 2006 the intelligence directorate, counter terrorism branch, and spent 5 years in that position. Later on she moved to RMA, where she graduated, to work there 8 years training officers like herself.

During her 16 years of service she served for 6 months in Afghanistan as a platoon leader in 2012, and served with UN in Congo for one year as a logistic officer.

Heba is now trying to translate all the experience she gained during her participations and positions to help develop the Jordanian Military Women for better.



## NATALIE TROGUS

Natalie Trogus, is an active duty Lieutenant Colonel in the United States Marine Corps. Throughout her 21 years of service and six combat deployments, she has served as a combat engineer and gender advisor, responsible for numerous gender integration initiatives such as female training and mentoring while assigned as an instructor at The Basic School, Quantico Virginia or while integrating Lioness Program in Combat Operations in Western Al Anbar province in Iraq. In July 2020, she returned from a year long deployment where she served as a Gender Advisor to the Afghanistan Ministry of Defense Gender and Human Rights directorate. In this capacity she helped the MOD implement the Afghan National Action Plan 1325, increase female recruiting into the Afghan National Army, and establish the Ministry of Defense Gender Advisor and Focal Point Network.



Lt.Col. Trogus is a Regional Affairs Officer specializing in South Asia and is a student at the South Central Asia Program at the National Defense University.

## ULRICH GARMS

Ulrich Garms works for the Terrorism Prevention Branch of the UN Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC). He provides advice to requesting States on their counter-terrorism laws and policies, and designs and delivers training on the investigation and prosecution of terrorism cases to investigators, prosecutors and judges, primarily in countries in Sub-Saharan Africa. He has led the development of several UNODC publications on human rights and gender aspects of criminal justice in terrorism cases.



Since 2015, Ulrich has developed, together with UNODC's experts on violence against children and juvenile justice, UNODC's technical assistance project on the treatment of children recruited and exploited by terrorist and violent extremist groups. The project advises governments on policies and laws related to children associated with terrorist groups; trains criminal justice, counter-terrorism and child protection officials and civil society actors; engages in advocacy; and has published several manuals to assist governments, civil society and international organizations and to provide a basis for training.

Prior to joining UNODC, Ulrich worked for the Office of the UN High Commissioner for Human Rights, the UN peace-keeping mission in Sudan, the Special Tribunal for Lebanon (the first international tribunal adjudicating terrorism cases) and the ICTY. He also served as the Registrar of the Human Rights Chamber for Bosnia and Herzegovina. Ulrich Garms holds law degrees from Italy and the United States.

## CONRAD NYAMUTATA

Dr. Conrad Nyamutata is a lecturer in law and institute head of research students (Institute for Law, Justice and Society) at De Montfort University, Leicester, United Kingdom. He is a former journalist in Zimbabwe. He has worked for the Leicester Racial Equality Council and the British Red Cross in the UK. He holds Diploma in Mass Communications (Harare Polytechnic); MA in Mass Communications (University of Leicester); an LLM in International human rights and International humanitarian law (Lancaster University) and a PhD in Law (De Montfort University).



Conrad's teaching and research interests lie in the broader areas of international criminal law, international human rights, international humanitarian law and terrorism. His PhD focused on children and armed conflict and the philosophy of international law. He has published widely on child soldiering and human rights. The publications include: International *Child Law* - 4th Edition Routledge (2020) (with Rajnaara C. Akhtar) 'Do Civil Liberties Really Matter During Pandemics?' 9 (1) International Human Rights Law Review (2020) 'The ideological construction of Western ISIS-associated females' Journal of Language and Politics (2020) 'The Decolonisation of Children's Rights and the Colonial Contours of the Convention on the Rights of the Child' 28 (1) The International Journal of Children's Rights (2020) (with E. Faulkner) ; Young Terrorists or Child Soldiers? ISIS Children, International Law and Victimhood' Journal of Conflict and Security Law (2020)

The other publications are: 'Commentary on *Prosecutor v Thomas Lubanga Dyilo*' in Stalford, H, Hollingworth, C and Gilmore, S *Rewriting Children's Judgments: From Academic Vision to New Practice*: Hart Publishing, pp.439-446 (2017); 'From Heroes to Victims: An Analysis of the Mutation of the Social Meaning of Child Soldiering' International Criminal Law Review 14 (3) pp.619 – 640 (2014) 'Engaging or Shaming? An Analysis of UN's Naming and Shaming of Child Abusers in Armed Conflict' Journal of International Humanitarian Legal Studies 4 (1) pp.151–173 (2014); 'Self-Referrals Contra Objectives of International Criminal Justice' Journal of Philosophy of International Law 4 (1) pp.30-55 (2013); and 'Electoral Conflict and Justice: The Case of Zimbabwe' African Journal of Legal Studies 5 (1) pp. 63-89 (2012)

## ANNEX-C

### *Biographies of the Workshop Team (in alphabetical order)*

#### **ALICE LÖHMUS**

Alice Lõhmus is a MA student and a research assistant in the International Relations Department in Bilkent University, Turkey where she focuses on violent non-state actor - superpower dynamics in Syria.

Previously, she completed her MA degree in the University of Tartu, Estonia and an undergraduate degree in the University of Aberdeen, United Kingdom. She has also worked as a desk officer in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Estonia during the Estonian Presidency of the Council of the European Union.



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#### **DEMET UZUNOĞLU**

Demet Uzunoğlu is the Quality Management Coordinator at Centre of Excellence Defence Against Terrorism (COE-DAT) since 2017. She worked in different departments at the COE-DAT between 2005 and 2017. She, as Workshop Director, has been running gender related workshops at the COE-DAT since 2019.

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## NEBAHAT TANRIVERDİ YAŞAR

Nebahat Tanrıverdi Yaşar is a researcher and has been studying the topics such as North African politics, foreign policies of North African countries, social movements, the Arab Spring, and the transformation processes. Currently, she is a IPC-Mercator Stiftung Fellow at the Centre for Applied Turkey Studies (CATS) of Stiftung Wissenschaft und Politik (the German Institute for International and Security Affairs, SWP). She holds an MA degree in Middle East Studies from Middle East Technical University and is pursuing a Ph.D. degree at the Department of International Relations at Middle East Technical University on foreign policies of North African countries.



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Zeynep Sütalan is an adjunct instructor at the Department of International Relations, Atılım University (Ankara, Turkey). Her research interests include war, conflict and terrorism as well as history and politics of the Middle East. Her current research is focused on the gender aspect of terrorism and counterterrorism.

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## ANNEX-D

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