# Teaching the Women, Peace and Security Agenda in MENA Law Schools

The Women, Peace and Security Agenda (WPS)<sup>2</sup> plays a critical role in global peace, stability and prosperity.<sup>3</sup> While the successful implementation of WPS is heavily dependent on the involvement and active participation of the legal community (legislators, scholars, legal practitioners), to date, a large number of legal educators, decisionmakers and legal professionals remain unaware of it or dismiss its importance.<sup>4</sup>

This article provides a synthetic overview of WPS and highlights its relevance in the Middle East and North Africa region, with a specific emphasis on its implementation in Oatar and lessons derived from the same.

'Agenda Femmes, Paix et Sécurité (FPS)
joue un rôle crucial dans la paix, la stabilité
et la prospérité mondiales. Si la réussite
de la mise en œuvre du FPS dépend fortement
de l'implication et de la participation active
de la communauté juridique (législateurs,
universitaires, praticiens du droit), à ce jour,
un grand nombre d'éducateurs, de décideurs
et de professionnels du droit l'ignorent ou
rejettent son importance.

Cet article fournit un aperçu synthétique du FPS et souligne son importance pour la région du Moyen-Orient et de l'Afrique du Nord, en mettant l'accent sur sa mise en œuvre au Qatar et les enseignements qui en découlent.



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<sup>2.</sup> See Joan Johnson-Freese, *Women, Peace and Security* (2019) (stating that "WPS" refers to a set of resolutions, statements, and initiatives regarding the importance of gender equality to peace and security efforts. Specifically referenced are United Nations Security Council Resolutions (UNSCR) UNSCR 1325 (2000), UNSCR 1820 (2008), UNSCR 1888 (2009), UNSCR 1889 (2009), UNSCR 1960 (2010), UNSCR 2106 (2013), UNSCR 2122 (2013), UNSCR 2242 (2015) Id. at 1 & 9.)

<sup>3.</sup> See Hillary Clinton, Remarks at the TEDWomen Conference (8 Dec. 2010) https://2009-2017.state.gov/secretary/20092013clinton/rm/2010/12/152670.htm (last accessed 28 Jul. 2019)

<sup>&</sup>quot;...women's equality is not just a moral issue, it's not just a humanitarian issue, it is not just a fairness issue. It is a security issue, it is a prosperity issue, and it is a peace issue. ...Give women equal rights and entire nations are more stable and secure. Deny women equal rights and the instability of nations is almost certain. The subjugation of women is therefore a threat to the common security of our world and to the national security of our country."

See also S.C. Res. 1325 (31 Oct. 2000) (http://unscr.com/en/resolutions/doc/1325). 4. Johnson-Freese, supra note 2 at 2-3.

### Women, Peace and Security: What is it?

WPS research demonstrates the importance of female participation and leadership in the prevention and resolution of conflicts, peace negotiations, peace-building, peacekeeping, humanitarian response, and post-conflict reconstruction.

WPS stresses the importance of female leadership and participation in peace and security efforts, highlighting that women's empowerment is a security, prosperity and peace issue, not a social justice issue. WPS research demonstrates the importance of female participation and leadership in the prevention and resolution of conflicts, peace negotiations, peace-building, peacekeeping, humanitarian response, and post-conflict reconstruction. For instance, WPS research shows:

- that the inclusion of local women in peace negotiations significantly increases the durability and sustainability of peace;<sup>7</sup>
- a link between gender inequity within a sovereign State and that sovereign State's use of military force in intrastate conflict;<sup>8</sup> and
- a direct correlation between women's control of household spending with human security.9

WPS is built on four pillars: (i) participation, (ii) conflict prevention, (iii) protection, and (iv) relief and recovery:<sup>10</sup>

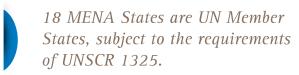
- (i) The participation pillar urges UN Member States to increase participation of women at all levels of decision–making, including in national, regional, and international institutions.<sup>11</sup>
- (ii) The conflict prevention pillar urges UN Member States to improve strategies for the prevention of violence against women; incorporate gender perspectives and women's participation in conflict prevention and disarmament strategies; strengthen women's rights under
- 5. Johnson-Freese, supra note 2 at 8, see generally Valerie M. Hudson & Patricia Leidl, The Hillary Doctrine: Sex & American Foreign Policy (2015)
- 6. See also Johnson-Freese, supra note 2.
- 7. See Marie O'Reilly et al., Reimagining Peacemaking: Women's Roles in Peace Processes, International Peace Institute, 12 (June 2015) (citing Laurel Stone, Women Transforming Conflict: A Quantitative Analysis of Female Peacemaking (Working Paper) (24 Aug. 2014) https://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract\_id=2485242) (highlighting Stone's findings that local women's participation in peace processes result in peace agreements 20% more likely to last at least for at least two years and 35% more likely to last for 15 years); see also Laurel Stone, Can women make the world more peaceful?, The Guardian (London), 11 Aug. 2014.
- 8. See Mary Caprioli, Gendered Conflict, 37 J. of Peace Research 53–68 (Jan. 2000) (Proving that "higher levels of gender equality correlate with lower levels of military action to settle international disputes" and that women's domestic equality impacts foreign policy because it correlates with lower levels of international militarism.) *Ibid.* at 65.; see also Johnson-Freese, supra note 2 at 92–93.
- 9. See Derek Thompson, *Women Are More Responsible With Money, Studies Show,* The Atlantic (31 Jan. 2011) https://www.theatlantic.com/business/archive/2011/01/womenare-more-responsible-with-money-studies-show/70539/; Johnson-Freese, *supra* note 2 at 41, Viviana A. Zelizer, *The Gender of Money,* WSJ (27 Jan. 2011) https://blogs.wsj.com/ideas-market/2011/01/27/the-gender-of-money/#; Jack Loughran, *Women in developing nations one third less likely to have internet access than men,* EET (8 Nov. 2016) https://eandt.theiet.org/content/articles/2016/11/women-from-developing-nations-one-third-less-likely-to-have-internet-access-than-men/.
- 10. Johnson-Freese, *supra* note 2 at 10; *see also* United States Institute of Peace, https://www.usip.org/gender\_peacebuilding/about\_UNSCR\_1325 (last visited Sept. 12, 2019).
- 11. Johnson-Freese, supra note 2 at 10.

- national law; and support peace by encouraging equality, human rights and human security for all.  $^{12}$
- (iii) The protection pillar urges UN Member States to adopt specific protections for women and girls from sexual and gender-based violence, including in conflict and post-conflict settings.<sup>13</sup>
- (iv) The relief and recovery pillar urges UN Member States to provide conflict relief and recovery measures that adequately address unique gender needs such as providing health services and trauma counseling to survivors of rape and assault and considering the needs of women and girls in the design of refugee camps.<sup>14</sup>

WPS is connected to the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs or "Global Goals") that were adopted by all UN Member States in 2015 as part of the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development. The Global Goals are a set of 17 comprehensive universal goals aimed at achieving economic, social and environmental sustainable development by reaching 169 people-centered targets. WPS bridges two Sustainable Development Goals: Global Goal five ("SDG 5") which relates to gender equality and Global Goal 16 ("SDG 16") which relates to peace, justice and strong institutions.

SDG 5 aims to achieve gender equality and empower all women and girls<sup>17</sup> while SDG 16 aims to promote peaceful and inclusive societies for sustainable development, provide access to justice for all, build effective, accountable and inclusive institutions at all levels, develop global standards of justice, and advance the rule of law.<sup>18</sup>

### Relevance for MENA Law Schools



18 MENA States<sup>19</sup> are UN Member States,<sup>20</sup> subject to the requirements of UNSCR 1325.<sup>21</sup> Furthermore, all MENA States, except for Iran, have ratified the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW).<sup>22</sup> However, in the MENA region:

- 12. *Ibid.; see also* United States **I**nstitute of Peace, *supra* note 10.
- 13. Ibid.
- 14. Johnson-Freese, *supra* note 2 at 10; *see also* United States Institute of Peace, *supra* note 10.
- 15. See G.A. Res, 70/1, Transforming our world: the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development (Sept. 25, 2015); see also UN Sustainable Development Knowledge Platform, Sustainable Development Goals, https://sustainabledevelopment.un.org/sdgs (last visited Sept. 12, 2019).
- 16. G.A. Res, 70/1 *supra* note 15.
- 17. See UN Sustainable Development Knowledge Platform, SDG 5, https://sustainable-development.un.org/sdg5 (last visited Sept. 12, 2019).
- 18. See UN Sustainable Development Knowledge Platform, SDG 16, https://sustainabledevelopment.un.org/sdg16 (last visited Sept. 12, 2019).
- 19. See The World Bank, Middle East and North Africa, https://www.worldbank.org/en/region/mena (last accessed Nov. 12, 2019)
- 20. See United Nations, Member States, https://www.un.org/en/member-states/ (last accessed Nov. 12, 2019).
- 21. See UN Charter, art. 25,  $\P$  1.
- 22. See United Nations High Commissioner on Human Rights, Status of Ratification Interactive Dashboard, https://indicators.ohchr.org/ (last accessed Nov. 12, 2019) (Noting that the dates of ratification are as follows: Algeria (1996), Bahrain (2002), Djibouti (1998), Egypt (1981), Iran (no action), Jordan (1992), Kuwait (1994), Lebanon (1997), Libya (1989 & the Optional Protocol in 2004), Morocco (1993), Oman (2006), Qatar (2009), Saudi Arabia (2000), Syria (2003), Tunisia (1985 & the Optional Protocol in 2008), United Arab Emirates (2004), and Yemen (1984)).

- women still only account for 23% of the labour force;<sup>23</sup>
- laws continue to discriminate against women freely participating in the economy;<sup>24</sup> and
- deep-rooted cultural attitudes continue to discourage women from working in many WPS fields including law, the judiciary, politics, security, and international diplomacy.<sup>25</sup>

Overwhelming research emphasises the importance of diversity, in particular gender diversity, in law and business 26 For instance, research conducted by the McKinsey Global Institute found that if all countries (worldwide) increased their progress toward gender parity to match the best performer in their region, annual global GDP would increase by as much as USD 12 trillion by 2025.27 Further, if all countries achieved actual gender parity in labour markets by 2025, annual global GDP would increase by as much as USD 28 trillion.<sup>28</sup> Yet, the World Bank, in its recent report related to women, business and the law, uncovered disheartening statistics about the legal gender gap in the MENA region.<sup>29</sup> The report, which analysed how laws affect women in their professional lives and looked at data pertaining to eight indicators of women's legal status,30 found that economies in the MENA region had the lowest average global score for the legal gender gap<sup>31</sup> and the lowest increase in average score during the past ten years.32 The World Bank went as far as reporting that the MENA region's pace of legal gender gap reform is so slow in

- 23. McKinsey Global Institute, *The Power of Parity: How Advancing Women's Equality Can Add \$12 Trillion to Global Growth*, 26 (Sept. 2015) https://www.mckinsey.com/featured-insights/employment-and-growth/how-advancing-womens-equality-can-add-12-trillion-to-global-growth.
- 24. Ferid Belhaj and Rabah Arezki, Fair Competition Is Needed for the Economic Empowerment of Women in the Arab World, The World Bank (9 Oct. 2019) https://www.worldbank.org/en/news/opinion/2019/10/09/fair-competition-is-needed-for-the-economic-empowerment-of-women-in-the-arab-world.
- 25. World Bank Group, Women, Business and the Law 2019: A Decade of Reform, Washington, DC (2019) https://openknowledge.worldbank.org/handle/10986/31327 (Women, Business and the Law 2019); see also Melissa Deehring, The Emerging Legal Profession in Qatar: Diversity Realities and Challenges, forthcoming 2019) https://dx.doi.org/10.2139/ssrn.3328067.
- 26. See as examples Melissa Deehring, supra note 25, citing Eli Wald, A Primer on Diversity, Discrimination, and Equality in the Legal Profession or Who is Responsible For Pursuing Diversity and Why, 24 Geo. J. Legal Ethics 1079, 1079-81 (2011); Deborah L. Rhode, Diversity and Gender Equality in Legal Practice, 82 U. Cin. L. Rev. 871 (Spring 2014); Paul M. George and Susan McGlamery, Women and Legal Scholarship: A Bibliography, Faculty Scholarship Paper 1248, (1991) http://scholarship.law.upenn. edu/faculty\_scholarship/1248 (last visited 25 Mar. 2018); *The Austin Manifesto*, Ctr. for Women in Law (1 May 2009) https://law.utexas.edu/cwil/austin-manifesto/ (last visited 25 Nov. 2019); Sandra Petersson, *New Zealand Bibliography of Women and the Law 1970-2000*, 32 Victoria U. Wellington L. Rev. [ix] (2001); Jason P. Nance & Paul E. Madsen, An Empirical Analysis of Diversity in the Legal Profession, CONN. L. REV. Vol. 47, No. 2, 217, 279-281 (Dec. 2014) (section II. Literature Review and Theory provides a well-written overview of pro-diversity arguments); ABA Women in the Prof. Resources, Articles, Reports, Research, & Organizations / Initiatives – By Topic, https://www.ame-ricanbar.org/groups/women/resources/articles\_reports\_research\_topic.html#diversity) (last visited 25 Mar. 2018); Cedric Herring, Does Diversity Pay?: Race, Gender, and the Business Case for Diversity, 74 AM. SOC. Rev. 208, (2009); Elizabeth Mannix & Margaret A. Neale, What Differences Make a Difference? The Promise and Reality of Diverse Teams on Organizations, 6 Psychol. Sci. Pub. Int. 31, (2005); Douglas E. Brayley & Eric S. Nguyen, Good Business: A Market-Based Argument for Law Firm Diversity, 34 J. Legal Prof. 1, (2009); Nat'l Ass'n of Women Lawyers, http://www.nawl.org/ (last visited 20 Mar. 2018); Mary Jane Mossman, The First Women Lawyers: A Comparative Study of Gender, Law and the Legal Professions 54 (2006); Jean McKenzie Leiper, Bar Codes: Women in the Legal Profession (2006); Cynthia Fuchs Epstein, Women in Law 37 (3rd ed. 2012); McKinsey & Company, Women Matter: Time to accelerate: Ten years of insights on gender diversity (Oct. 2017); Credit Suisse Research Inst., The CS Gender 3000: The Reward for Change, 25-27 (Sept. 2016).
- 27. McKinsey Global Institute supra note 23 at 2.
- 28. Ibid.
- 29. Women, Business and the Law 2019, supra note 25.
- 30. *Ibid*.
- 31. *Ibid.* at 8 (The average global score is a measurement of all the eight indicators examined. The average global score is 74.71, which indicates gender inequality in one fourth of the areas examined. The MENA average global score was 47.37 which indicates gender inequality in at least half of the areas examined.)
- 32. *Ibid.* at 10 (The average global score in 131 economies raised by 4.65 points during a ten-year period. The average global score in the MENA raised by only 2.86 points which was the lowest increase in average score by region.)

comparison to the other regions that the gap between the MENA region and the rest of the world will only continue to increase if nothing changes.<sup>33</sup> This is inconsistent with the MENA region's potential considering other research highlighting that,

"Female leaders in the GCC (Gulf Cooperation Council) countries exhibit four leadership behaviors correlated with organizational effectiveness more often than their male counterparts do: inspiration, people development, efficient communication, and participative decision–making." 34

It is time for the advancement of WPS in the MENA region and law schools and legal educators play a critical role in this regard.

It is time for the advancement of WPS in the MENA region and law schools and legal educators play a critical role in this regard. Teaching law students about WPS issues, such as restrictive laws, practices and social norms, in a way that encourages critical thinking and possible legal activism, may dramatically increase female participation, general contribution to WPS, and increased data collection on WPS issues. As Cynthia Fuchs Epstein argued more than 30 years ago, when women enter the legal world, they call for the reinterpretation of laws and their practice. The same is possible in the MENA region.

These women [in the legal world] represented a group, comprising over half the population, whose interests had not been adequately represented before. They raised issues whose importance had gone unrecognized in the past issues of equality of employment, equality in marriage and divorce, protection of victims of physical assault or rape, and guarantees of the right to enter normal business relations though access to credit and the negotiations of business affairs. Although certain male lawyers and judges were instrumental in the drive toward justice on these issues, the major battles were fought and won by women lawyers in the law schools, law practices, and centers devoted to human rights.<sup>37</sup>

## WPS Implementation: Global vs. Qatar

Unfortunately, the report concludes that, collectively, Member States are not attaining sufficient progress on WPS.

On 9 October 2019, H.E. António Guterres, the Secretary-General of the United Nations, issued his annual report on Women and Peace and Security and the implementation of United Nations Security Council Resolutions 1325 (2000) and 2122 (2013).<sup>38</sup> Unfortunately,

- 33. Women, Business and the Law 2019, *supra* note 25 at 20.
- 34. Melissa Deehring supra note 25, citing McKinsey & Company, supra note 26 at 16.
- 35. Belhaj and Arezki supra note 24; see also Women, Business and the Law 2019, supra note 25; see also Deehring supra note 25.
- 36. Melissa Deehring *supra* note 25, *citing* Cynthia Fuchs Epstein, *Women in Law*, 306 (1981).
- 37. Fuchs Epstein supra note 36 at 306.
- 38. UN Secretary-General, Report of the Secretary-General on Women and peace and security, UN Doc. S/2019/800 (9 Oct. 2019).

the report concludes that, collectively, Member States are not attaining sufficient progress on WPS.<sup>39</sup> Despite September 2020 marking the fifth anniversary of the Global Goals,<sup>40</sup> October 2020 marking the twentieth anniversary of United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325,<sup>41</sup> and September 2020 marking the 25<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action,<sup>42</sup> H.E. told the Security Council,

...The sad fact is, and we must be blunt about it, the commitment that is always reflected around this table, is not translating into real change around the world. It is not coming fast enough or far enough. Change is coming at a pace that is too slow for the women and girls whose lives depend on it and for the effectiveness of our efforts to maintain international peace and security.<sup>43</sup>

While 83 countries or 43% of UN Member States have affirmed their commitment to WPS by drafting National Action Plans for Women, Peace and Security, at this time, Qatar has not.<sup>44</sup> Having said that, in Qatar, gender equality and women's increased societal participation are expressed state priorities<sup>45</sup> with the Constitution,<sup>46</sup> Labour Law,<sup>47</sup> and Qatar National Vision 2030<sup>48</sup> all calling for improved gender equality and fostering women's empowerment.

- 39. *Ibid*. at para. 18.
- 40. See United Nations website, The Sustainable Development Agenda, https://www.un.org/sustainabledevelopment/development-agenda/ (last accessed 12 Nov. 2019) (The Global Goals were adopted by all UN Member States in 2015 as part of the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development), see a/so UN Sustainable Development Knowledge Platform, Sustainable Development Goals, https://sustainabledevelopment.un.org/sdgs (last visited 12 Sept. 2019).
- 41. S.C. Res. 1325 supra note 3.
- 42. United Nations, Beijing Declaration and Platform of Action, adopted at the Fourth World Conference on Women, A/CONF.177/20 and A/CONF.177/20/Add.1 (15 Sept. 1995).
- 43. UN News, 'Real change' involving women in peace and security, still too slow, Guterres tells Security Council (29 Oct. 2019) https://news.un.org/en/story/2019/10/1050151.
- 44. See Peace Women website, Member States page, https://www.peacewomen.org/member-states (last accessed 29 Nov. 2019) (However, it should be noted that the League of Arab States, of which Qatar is a member, has presented a regional action plan for WPS. See UN Women, Arab League Presents Regional Action Plan for Women, Peace and Security (13 Oct. 2015) http://arabstates.unwomen.org/en/news/stories/2015/10/arab-league-presents-regional-action-plan.
- 45. See Qatar News Agency, Qatar committed to the cause of women's empowerment, Gulf Times (30 Apr. 2019) https://www.gulf-times.com/story/630231/Qatar-committed-to-the-cause-of-women-s-empowermen; see also See U.N. Comm. on the Elimination of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW), Addendum Information provided by Qatar in follow-up to the concluding observations, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/QAT/CO/1/Add.1 (30 Aug. 2016) https://tbinternet.ohchr.org/\_layouts/15/treatybodyexternal/Download.aspx?symbolno=CEDAW%2fC%2fQAT%2fC0%2f1%2fAdd.1&tLang=en [CEDAW 2]

The State of Qatar attaches the utmost importance to women's issues. It supports women's access to leadership positions and participation in the public administration of the State. ...Women's rights are one of the most important core elements for the application of general human rights principles in Qatar.

Ibid. at 3, see also Deehring supra note 25.

- 46. Permanent Constitution of State of Qatar, Arts. 34–35, 49 (Qatar); see also Qatar's Ministry of Development Planning and Statistics, Qatar's Fourth National Human Development Report: Realising Qatar National Vision 2030, The Right to Development, 51, (June 2015) [HDR 4] http://hdr.undp.org/sites/default/files/qatar\_nhdr4\_english\_15june2015.pdf.
- 47. Law 14/2004 Promulgating the Labour Law, art. 93.
- 48. See General Secretariat For Development Planning, Qatar National Vision 2030, (July 2008) [QNV] https://www.gco.gov.qa/wp-content/uploads/2016/09/GCO-QNV-English.pdf; see also HDR 4, supra note 46, at 49–68.

# Teaching WPS in Qatar: Approach and Impact

Somewhat unsurprisingly, while Qatar increasingly plays a more significant role in world business and politics and encouraging peace, stability and prosperity in the Middle East, no students in these courses had previously heard about WPS and very few were familiar with Global Goals 5 & 16.

In Qatar, WPS concepts were introduced to students at Qatar University College of Law (QU Law) during spring semester 2019 (January through June 2019)<sup>49</sup> and a full-semester class regarding WPS, justice and equality was taught during fall semester 2019 (August through December 2019).<sup>50</sup> Somewhat unsurprisingly, while Qatar increasingly plays a more significant role in world business and politics<sup>51</sup> and encouraging peace, stability and prosperity in the Middle East,<sup>52</sup> no students in these courses had previously heard about WPS and very few were familiar with Global Goals 5 &t 16.<sup>53</sup> While the introduction and teaching of WPS in Qatar is recent, there are already noticeable positive outcomes both from educational and societal standpoints, with WPS and Global Goals 5 &t 16 now becoming topics of local conversation.<sup>54</sup> This article highlights some of the most high-profile, tangible, results.

- 49. Male and Female law students were taught to critically rethink social norms during their mandatory capstone graduation course entitled "Externship Seminar".
- 50. The class was an elective special topics section for female law students entitled "Justice, Equality and Leadership in Law".
- 51. See also Saeed Shah et al., 'Taliban Five,' Once Held at Guantanamo, Join Insurgency's Political Office in Qatar, Wall. St. J. (30 Oct. 2018) https://www.wsj.com/articles/taliban-five-once-held-at-guantanamo-join-insurgencys-political-office-in-qatar-1540890148, See also Eric Knecht, Qatar Investment Authority aims to reach \$45 billion in U.S. investments: CEO, Reuters (13 Jan. 2019) https://www.reuters.com/article/us-qatar-investments-united-states/qatar-investment-authority-aims-to-reach-45-billion-in-u-s-investments-ceo-idUSKCN1P7090, see also Qatar's investment in Germany to reach &35bn in next 5 years, The Peninsula (Qatar) (18 C2018) https://www.thepeninsulaqatar.com/article/18/10/2018/Qatar%E2%80%995-investment-in-Germany-to-reach-%E2%82%AC35bn-in-next-5-years, see also Mark Brown, Qatar's Sheikha Mayassa tops art power list, The Guardian (London) (24 Oct. 2013), see also The Office of Her Highness Sheikha Moza bint Nasser, UN Secretary-General re-appoints HH Sheikha Maza as UN Sustainable Development Goals' Advocate, Doha (9 May 2019) https://www.mozabintnasser.qa/en/news/un-secretary-general-re-appoints-hh-sheikha-moza-un-sustainable-development-goals%E2%80%99-advocate%C2%AO.
- 52. See Qatar Ministry of Foreign Affairs website, Foreign Policy, Preventative Diplomacy page https://www.mofa.gov.qa/en/foreign-policy/preventive-diplomacy (last visited 28 Jul. 2019) [Foreign Policy]; see also #IPU140 Assembly in Doha to focus on education, gender equality and counter-terrorism, Inter-Parliamentary Union Press Release (1 Apr. 2019) https://www.ipu.org/news/press-releases/2019-04/ipu140-assembly-in-doha-focus-education-gender-equality-and-counter-terrorism; see also Shereena Qazi, Intra-Afghan talks with Taliban under way in Qatar, Allazeera (Doha) (7 Jul. 2019) https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2019/07/qatar-hosts-intra-afghan-summit-peace-talks-taliban-190706134720995.html; see also Rupam Jain, Intra-Afghan peace meeting in Qatar aimed at building trust, Reuters (Doha) (3 Jul. 2019) https://www.reuters.com/article/us-usa-afghanistan-talks/intra-afghan-peace-meeting-in-qatar-aimed-at-building-trust-idUSKCN1TY1LN; See Brad Lendon, Qatar hosts largest US military base in Mideast, CNN (6 Jun. 2017) https://edition.cnn.com/2017/06/05/middleeast/qatar-us-largest-base-in-mideast/index.html
- 53. Johnson-Freese, supra note 2 at 2-3 (showing that this is unsurprising as WPS has been slow to mainstream in academics)
- Al Raya Newspaper Qatar, في ختام أعمال المؤتمر الدولي التاسع عشر للجمعية الدولية لعلم الجرية, (31 Oct. 2019).

To teach WPS in Qatar, this author relied heavily on the UNODC's Education for Justice (E4J) initiative, 55 part of the Doha Declaration, 56 which provides educational resources supporting curriculum related to WPS and gender-related issues. 57 This author used a combination of ethics and integrity lectures, 58 experiential exercises, 59 street law and community activism experiences, 60 local and international research, and WPS videos to explain and highlight justice, equality and WPS concerns.

QU Law faculty and students used social media and small community presentations to promote WPS in Doha and used reports related to Qatar's CEDAW obligations<sup>61</sup> as well as news reports relating to

Students were also shown official labour statistics from 2018 that confirm women's participation in the Qatari workforce remains low as well as other government reports showing obstacles to women's equal participation in leadership.

- 55. See UNODC, Education for Justice website, https://www.unodc.org/e4j/en/index. html (last accessed 31 Jul. 2019) (E4J) (The E4J initiative is a joint initiative to promote the rule of law through education between the United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC) and the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO).)
- 56. See UNODC, Doha Declaration website, https://www.unodc.org/dohadeclaration/index.html (last accessed 31 Jul. 2019).
- 57. See E4J supra note 55 (showing tertiary education modules regarding gender dimension of trafficking in persons, gender dimension of ethics, and violence against women and girls, amongst other relevant topics)
- 58. E4J University Module Series: Integrity & Ethics https://www.unodc.org/e4j/en/tertiary/integrity-ethics.html (last visited 29 Nov. 2019); see also Harvard University's Justice with Michael Sandel http://justiceharvard.org/justicecourse/ (last visited 29 Nov. 2019).
- 59. Justice with Michael Sandel *supra* note 58; *see also* E4J University Module Series: Integrity & Ethics, Module 9: Gender Dimensions of Ethics, Exercises, https://www.unodc.org/e4j/en/integrity-ethics/module-9/exercises.html (last visited 29 Nov. 2019) (Module 9 Exercises).
- 60. The Peninsula Qatar, "QU law students, faculty participate in HBKU's 'Maker-Majlis: Islam in a Global World' event" (24 Oct. 2019) https://www.thepeninsulagatar.com/article/24/10/2019/QU-law-students,-faculty-participate-in-HBKU%E2%80%99s-%6E2%880%98Maker-Majlis-Islam-in-a-Global-World%E2%80%99-event; Qatar Leadership Conference, 2019 Conference Schedule, https://qatar.thimun.org/qlc/workshopsqlc2019/ (last visited 29 Nov. 2019); Gulf Times, CU law students take part in HBKU's cybersecurity contest (11 Nov 2019) https://www.gulf-times.com/sto-y/647229/QU-law-students-take-part-in-HBKU-s-cybersecurity-; Campus ft Student Life in Qatar (@students\_qatar) Instagram, https://www.instagram.com/tv/B47g6mB H5D1/?igshid=mxppcwc6e7va (last visited 29 Nov. 2019); Community Connect Doha (@communityconnectdoha) Instagram, https://www.instagram.com/p/B468GywATU// ?igshid=Tucpuqy4x4q (last visited 29 Nov. 2019); ILYP SDG Forum (@sdgforum) Instagram, https://www.instagram.com/p/B5NIs7WoVVM/ (last visited 29 Nov. 2019).
- 61. See UN Comm. on the Elimination of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW), Consideration of reports submitted by States parties under article 18 of the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women: initial reports of States parties / Oatar, at 3, U.N. Doc. CEDAW/C/QAT/1 (10 Mar. 2014) [CEDAW 1], see also Qatar 'committed to protecting rights of women', Gulf Times (11 Oct. 2017, 11:34 PM) https://www.gulf-times.com/story/567060/Qatar-committed-to-protecting-rights-of-women.

high-profile Qatari WPS supporters<sup>62</sup> to communicate about Qatar's role as a UN Member State and its corresponding obligations at the international level.

Among the various topics addressed in the WPS teaching modules, QU Law faculty and students discussed how structural barriers in Qatar pose challenges for women's participation in peace processes and decision–making, <sup>63</sup> as well as how cultural obstacles and restrictive social norms arguably create the biggest barrier for advancing women's leadership. <sup>64</sup> QU Law faculty used ethics and integrity materials from the E4J modules to discuss the notion of privilege <sup>65</sup> and help students understand how to critically discuss local social norms that discourage women from participating in WPS fields. <sup>66</sup> Students were also shown official labour statistics from 2018 that confirm women's participation in the Qatari workforce remains low<sup>67</sup> as well

- 62. See generally Qatar News Agency, Qatar spares no effort to empower women, Gulf Times (14 Mar. 2019) https://www.gulf-times.com/story/624918/Qatar-sparesno-effort-to-empower-women (mentioning Qatar had provided financial support to the UN Entity for Gender Equality and the Empowerment of Women, a study on women, peace and security, and publication of a book documenting the contributions of the UN's leading women in strengthening peace and security efforts.); Qatar has made great strides in gender equality: Mayassa, Gulf Times (14 Mar. 2019) https:// www.gulf-times.com/story/624915/Qatar-has-made-great-strides-in-gender-equality-Ma; Sheikha Hind underlines interconnection between education, sustainable development, The Peninsula (Qatar) (9 Jul. 2019) https://thepeninsulaqatar.com/ article/11/07/2019/Sheikha-Hind-underlines-interconnection-between-education,-sustainable-development; *Gender Equality*, The Peninsula (Qatar) (20 Mar. 2019) https://www.thepeninsulagatar.com/article/20/03/2019/Gender-equality; Qatar strengthening women's role in peace-building, The Peninsula (Qatar) (29 Oct. 2017) https://www.thepeninsulagatar.com/article/29/10/2017/Qatar-strengthening women%E2%80%99s-role-in-peace-building; see also The Washington Diplomat, Her Excellency Sheikha Alya Bint Ahmed Bin Saif Bin Ahmed Al-Thani page, https://www. washdiplomat.com/index.php?option=com\_content&view=article&id=2759&tltem id=178 (last accessed 28 Jul. 2019); Oatar Embassy in Ottawa website, HH the Amir Announces Qatar's Pledge to Provide Good Education for One Million Girls by 2021 (24 Sep. 2018) http://ottawa.embassy.qa/en/news/detail/2018/09/25/hh-the-amirannounces-qatar's-pledge-to-provide-good-education-for-one-million-girls-by-2021 (through Qatar's "Educate A Child" initiative which has already formed 82 partnerships in 50 countries.); see also U.S. Department of State, 2018 Country Reports on Human Rights Practices: Qatar, Section 3. Freedom to Participate in the Political Process (13 Mar. 2019) https://www.state.gov/reports/2018-country-reports-on-human-rightspractices/gatar/ (stating that,
- "Although traditional attitudes and societal roles continued to limit women's participation in politics, women served in various roles in public office, such as minister of public health, chair of the Qatar Foundation, head of the Qatar Museum Authority, permanent representative to the United Nations, and ambassadors to Croatia and the Holy See. In November 2017 the Amir appointed four women to the Shura Council for the first time in the legislative body's history."
- 63. As an example, See Law 14/2004 Promulgating the Labour Law, art. 94 (Qatar) ("Women shall not be employed in dangerous arduous works, works detrimental to their health, morals or other works to be specified by a Decision of the Minister"), see also Ibid. at art. 95 ("Women shall not be employed otherwise than in the times to be specified by a Decision of the Minister."); see Middle East Monitor, Women to Serve in Qator Armed Forces (6 Apr. 2018) https://www.middleeastmonitor.com/20180406-women-to-serve-in-qatar-armed-forces/, (showing women, over the age of 18 years old, have been allowed to volunteer for military since April 2018, previously they were allowed to hold administrative positions), see also Panel Begins Selecting Women Candidates for Military Officers, Gulf Times (26 Jul. 2018) https://www.gulf-times.com/story/600773/Panel-begins-selecting-women-candidates-for-milita (showing that while women will be able to become officers, they will "doing technical jobs and not pure field jobs".)
- 64. See Deehring supra note 25, see also Middle East Media Research Institute, Qatari TV Host Ali Al-Muhannadi: Women Must Leave the House as Little as Possible and Obtain Husband's Permission Whenever They Do, TV Monitor Project, Clip 7316 (3 Jun. 2019) https://www.memri.org/tv/qatari-host-rashid-muhannadi-woman-wife-leave-house-husband-permission-enter-paradise-sin/transcript.
- 65. See as example Module 9 Exercises supra note 59 at Exercise 2: Role play: the power walk.
- 66. Dr. Kaltham Al-Ghanim, *Transitional society and participation of women in the public sphere: A survey of Qatar society,* INI'L J. OF HUMANITIES AND SOCIAL SCIENCE RESEARCH, Volume 3, Issue 2, 51–63 (Feb. 2017).
- 67. State of Qatar, Ministry of Development Planning and Statistics, Statistics, Topics Listing, Labour Force, *Quarterly Bulletin Labour Force Survey, First Quarter (Q1) 2018*, table 1, Figure 1 (2018) (on file with author) (showing that for Q1 of 2018, there were 66,985 economically active Qatari males and 37,720 economically active Qatari females. 68% of Qatari men were economically active while only 37% of Qatari women were economically active).

QU Law faculty and students also analysed deep-seated cultural beliefs regarding gender-based violence, typically tied to specific religious interpretations, and discussed how these equally pose challenges to combatting violence against women.

as other government reports showing obstacles to women's equal participation in leadership.  $^{\rm 68}$ 

As for combatting violence against women, QU law faculty introduced students to official state strategies<sup>69</sup> and previous work done by QU Law students,<sup>70</sup> while highlighting that, to date, no specific law has been enacted in Qatar to criminalise domestic violence.<sup>71</sup> QU Law faculty and students discussed how to address this issue while creating a synchronised multi-pronged approach to raise awareness, revise criminal laws, collect data, and establish networks for educating and supporting victims of violence,<sup>72</sup> including female domestic migrant workers,<sup>73</sup> and victims of human trafficking.<sup>74</sup> QU Law faculty and students further discussed structural barriers that pose challenges for protecting women from gender-based violence

68. Qatar General Secretariat for Development Planning, *Qatar National Development Strategy 2011–2016, Towards Qatar National Vision 2030,* 175–176 (March 2011) [NDS], https://www.mdps.gov.qa/en/nds/Documents/Downloads/NDS\_EN\_0.pdf

... traditional views about appropriate avenues for women's employment (educational, administrative or clerical) prevail, despite the new opportunities created by Qatar's economic development ... Although women have higher average educational attainment level than men, there appears to be a "glass ceiling" in employment and promotion for women.

See also HDR 4 supra note 46, at 67-68

While society recognises the capacities of women as workers, it does not recognise their capacities as leaders, with only 32% viewing women capable of performing a leadership role ... there is an obvious need for public education on the advantages of women's leadership and gender equalities.

- 69. See HDR 4 supra note 46, at 64-66.
- 70. See Mary Pat Treuthart and Stephen A. Rosenbaum, Engendering a clinic: Lessons learned from a domestic violence clinical course in Qatar, INT'L REV. L. 1–24 (2013) http://dx.doi.org/10.5339/irl.2013.dv.1.
- 71. See Ibid. at 5; see also Kaltham Ali al-Ghanim, Violence Against Women in Qatari Society, J. of Middle East Women's Studies, Vol. 5, No. 1 (Jan. 2009); See also Law No. 11/2004 Promulgating the Penal Code, art. 279–280 (Rape is a crime punishable heath or imprisonment in Qatar, however spousal rape is not explicitly criminalised), see also Lina M. Kassem, Fatema M. Ali and Tamadher S. Al-Malek, Domestic Violence Legislation and Reform Efforts in Qatar, Heinrich Böll Stiftung Perspectives Middle East #4: Qatar aspirations and realities, 29–34 (Nov. 2012) https://www.boell.de/en/2012/11/20/perspectives-middle-east-4-qatar-aspirations-and-realities; see also U.S. Department of State, supra note 62, at Section 6. Discrimination, Societal Abuses, and Trafficking in Persons.

No specific law criminalises domestic violence. According to the [National Human Rights Committee] NHRC, authorities may prosecute domestic violence as "general" violence under the criminal law. According to the Protection and Social Rehabilitation Center shelter (PSRC), rape and domestic violence against women continued to be a problem. Police treated domestic violence as a private family matter rather than a criminal matter and were reluctant to investigate or prosecute reports.

- 72. See Al-Ghanim supra note 71, at 91.
- 73. See Amnesty International, Foreign Domestic Workers in Qatar: Shocking Cases of Deception, Forced Labour, Violence (23 Apr. 2014) https://www.amnesty.org/en/latest/news/2014/04/foreign-domestic-workers-qatar-shocking-cases-deception-forced-labour-violence/, see also Amnesty International, 'My Sleep is my Break': Exploitation of Migrant Domestic Workers in Qatar, Index number: MDE 22/004/2014 (23 Apr. 2014) https://www.amnesty.org/download/Documents/8000/mde220042014en.pdf (referring to the UN Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women's "deep concern" at the "high prevalence of domestic and sexual violence against women and girls, including women migrant domestic workers." See CEDAW 1 supra note 61 at 5.
- 74. See Amnesty International, 'My Sleep is my Break' supra note 73, at 54-60.

and exploitation in Qatar,<sup>75</sup> and how the lack of relevant data,<sup>76</sup> or adequate training for first responders and legal actors,<sup>77</sup> combined with barriers in accessing justice, compounds the problem.<sup>78</sup> QU Law faculty and students also analysed deep-seated cultural beliefs regarding gender-based violence, typically tied to specific religious interpretations,<sup>79</sup> and discussed how these equally pose challenges to combatting violence against women.<sup>80</sup> Local research examples were used when applicable and appropriate.<sup>81</sup>

#### **Practical Outcomes**

Aside from academic/teaching results, probably the most visible and popular outcome from teaching WPS in Qatar is the oral history project entitled *Voices of Qatari Women in Law & International Diplomacy*, which evolved into an interactive art installation displayed in various educational institutions throughout Qatar such as Education City and the Qatar National Convention Center.

Voices of Qatari Women memorialises the stories of female pioneers in law, development, international law, and diplomacy in Qatar while inspiring youth by introducing them to new role models, and encouraging advancement of Global Goals 5 &t 16 and the WPS Agenda. The exhibit combines biographies of Qatari female WPS leaders with research supporting why female leadership is important, official quotes from Qatari leaders alluding to the importance of female empowerment, and sentimental items donated by each of the women profiled. The exhibit also includes an interactive component by allowing visitors to leave messages, promises for the future, and/or physically pledge their support to the SDGs, thank the women involved, or express pride in their leaders and country's efforts towards WPS.

- 75. See U.S. Department of State, supra note 62, at Section 6. Discrimination, Societal Abuses, and Trafficking in Persons, see also Kassem et al. supra note 72; Treuthart and Rosenbaum supra note 70, at 14 (stating that when student's searched the Penal Code for relevant domestic violence provisions, they found articles addressing general elements of a crime and related sanctions but nothing regarding crimes as battery, kidnapping, false imprisonment, sexual assault (apart from arts. 279–289), harassment, criminal mischief, or even homicide), Law No. 11/2004 Promulgating the Penal Code, arts. 21–37, 268, 279, 290, 308–09, &t 325.
- 76. See al-Ghanim supra note 71 at 92, see also HDR 4, supra note 25, at 64-65.
- 77. Al-Ghanim supra note 71 at 92.
- 78. See CEDAW 1 supra note 61, at 5.

The Committee [on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women] takes note of the various measures initiated by the State party ... However, the Committee notes with deep concern the high prevalence of domestic and sexual violence against women and girls, including women migrant domestic workers, in the State party. It is further concerned about the gaps in legislation on violence against women, in particular the lack of a specific law criminalizing domestic violence and marital rape; barriers in accessing justice for women domestic workers who are victims of violence; the lack of awareness and training on violence against women among judges, prosecutors, police officers and health professionals; the absence of a data collection system on cases of violence against women, as well as on prosecution and conviction rates and on the number, capacity and funding of shelters, counselling and rehabilitation services. The Committee is further concerned that domestic and sexual violence are underreported, as many women fear losing custody of their children or women, particularly migrant domestic workers face risk of being accused of and charged with 'illicit relations' and are subject to imprisonment.

- 79. See Treuthart and Rosenbaum supra note 70 at 9–11 (stating that traditional interpretation of Qur'anic verse 4:34 remains one of the most significant justifications for gender-based violence).
- 80. See as example Treuthart and Rosenbaum supra note 70 at 9 (recounting an incident during which high-school students insisted that the teachings of the Qur'an permitted husbands to beat their wives and argued with the law students advocating otherwise).
- 81. Al-Ghanim supra note 71; see also M. Nizam Khan and Hanan Abdul Rahim, Attitudes Toward Wife Beating Among Qatari Men and Women: An Analysis of Survey Data, Social and Economic Survey Research Institute, Qatar University, pages 2-3 (2 Dec. 2013) https://iussp.org/sites/default/files/event\_call\_for\_papers/khan\_wifeBeating.pdf, see also M. Nizam Khan's slides for a Doha International Family Institute (DIFI) presentation, https://www.difi.org.qa/wp-content/uploads/2017/11/Mohammad\_Khan.pdf, slide 20.

To date, thousands of students and visitors have viewed the exhibit and hundreds have left well wishes as the exhibit has been shown at HBKU College of Islamic Studies' *Maker Majlis: Islam in a Global World* event, THIMIUN Qatar's *Qatar Leadership Conference*, Qatar University and the Police College's *XIX World Congress of Criminology*, and *Doha Learning Days*, a pre-event in the lead up to the WISE Summit.

#### Conclusion

It is undeniable that women's empowerment and WPS are top priorities of the UN and countries within the MENA region as it is now understood that WPS plays a critical role in global peace, stability and prosperity.<sup>82</sup> In Qatar, and in the MENA region overall,

82. UN News *supra* note 43; see also UN Women, In Focus: Women, peace and security, https://www.unwomen.org/en/news/in-focus/women-peace-security (last accessed 30 Nov. 2019).

there is great potential for WPS to increase equality, peace, and justice through greater awareness and education. However, advancement of WPS in the MENA region will require active participation of the local legal communities and in particular, legal educators. Significant practical outcomes are possible in relatively short periods of time, but teaching law students how to critically analyse WPS issues and when necessary, engage in legal activism is crucial. Qatar has seen exciting results and positive signs for the future after teaching WPS to QU Law students. This author extends a heartfelt plea to other legal academics in the MENA region: please join the movement in advancing WPS in MENA law schools.

يؤدّي جدول أعمال المرأة والسلام والأمن (WPS) دورًا حاسمًا في السلام والاستقرار والازدهار العالمي. وعلى الرغم من أنّ نجاح تنفيذ هذا البرنامج يعتمد إلى حدّ كبير على مشاركة المجتمع القانوني النشطة (المشرّعون والأكاديميون والممارسون القانونيون)، لا يزال حتى الآن، عدد كبيرٌ من أساتذة القانون وصناع القرار والعاملون في المهن القانونية غافلين عن الأهمية التي يكتسيها أو يصرفون النظر عنها. تقدّم هذه المقالة نظرة عامة وموجزة عن جدول أعمال المرأة والسلام والأمن وتسلّط الضوء على أهميته في منطقة الشرق الأوسط وشمال أفريقيا، مع التركيز بشكل خاص، على تنفيذه في قطر والدروس المستقاة منه.

#### **BIOGRAPHY**

MELISSA DEEHRING is an attorney and Clinical Assistant Professor of Law at Qatar University (QU) College of Law in Doha, Qatar. She was the founding director and creator of the College of Law's Externship Program and has taught advocacy, ethics and professionalism concepts to QU law students since 2011. Professor Deehring's research focuses on SDGs 5 (gender equality) & 16 (peace, justice & strong institutions) and how culture affects local legal professions, legal education, and professional responsibility notions. As one of her the College of Law's first female faculty members, she has been a prominent voice encouraging women to join Qatar's legal profession. She hosted Qatar's first Women in Law Conference during March 2018, was awarded her college's Excellence in Community Service Award during August 2018, was named a NIFTEP (National Institute for Teaching Ethics & Professionalism) fellow in December 2018 and was awarded an Education for Justice (E4J) Champion Consultancy with the UNODC in 2019.



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