



A Roadmap to Sustainable Peace in Libya:

A Feminist Approach towards Achieving Peace and Security in the Face of Patriarchy, Militarism, and Fundamentalism

Executive Summary

Libya stands at the cusp of a transitional phase, within the shadow of a complex crisis in which dimensions of patriarchal culture overlap with ideas of masculinity, militarism and fundamentalism, giving rise to multiple political actors with competing interests, priorities and agendas. The interaction between these factors has increased the extent of women's exclusion and created obstacles to their participation in political efforts, which lack clarity on the issues of ending violence, ensuring security and achieving sustainable peace. This systemic exclusion of women from the political sphere and international dialogue on Libya has resulted in the smothering of women's participation and voices and the absence of a feminist approach to peace and security, rendering discourse on the gendered impact of the crisis invisible. This, in turn, inhibits the possibility of women's needs and priorities being included in any roadmap to peace or future agreements. Yet, women's resilience and their insistence on participation has created parallel and alternative routes, which have greatly contributed to preventing and decreasing violence in several regions. However, these women's initiatives will continue to be restricted to the individual and local levels so long as there is an absence of political will and concrete steps to engage women at all stages and in all regions. Thus, the attainment of a rights-based sustainable peace that attends to the individual needs and priorities of a diversity of communities and citizens will continue to lag.

Stemming from our belief in the importance of inclusively engaging women in peace processes while recognising their diverse needs, experiences and voices, the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom (WILPF) and Together We Build It (TWBI), insisted on acknowledging the Libyan feminist discourse around the crisis by organising three national consultations with different representatives of women's organisations in Sabha, Tripoli, and Benghazi in August 2018. These consultations aimed at ensuring women's representation from different regions; a total of 33 women and 3 men participated in the meetings, representing 20 civil society and feminist organisations. This policy brief aims to analyse the outcomes and specifics of the feminist discourse that was collated as an output of the three consultations.

What is Obstructing Women's Participation in the Transitional Phase?

Militarism and Machismo-Fuelled Political Hostility

Relevant literature¹ points out that the transitional phase is typically comprised of peace negotiations, peacekeeping programmes, governmental and social restructuring and elections, as well as drafting the constitution and laws. Armed conflict between different factions is still ongoing in Libya. This is despite political pledges and various international efforts to conduct elections, amend the constitution, and foster an ethos

conducive to peacekeeping and security in an attempt to catalyse the country into a post-conflict era, through a progressive motion towards stability and peace. Libya therefore remains on the brink of a transitional stage, though it has not yet exited the phase of direct conflict. Research also shows that despite challenges in the way of reaching national consensus and transitional justice, there are windows of opportunity for women as well as women and youth-led groups to participate effectively in this phase. This could be done through

the restructuring of societies and giving premise to women's rights and ending gender-based violence (GBV). To this end, women's rights and an agenda of empowerment would be propelled forward, through effective participation to achieve sustainable peace, democracy, gender justice, and the abolishment of a culture of impunity and escaping punishment.²

In applying such theoretical scenarios, and given that Libya is on the threshold of a transitional phase, it becomes clear that the political and security contexts are complex in nature, as a result of being closely tied up with patriarchy. This, renders women's participation in the transitional phase, and the country's political transition into a pluralistic democratic system more widely, unlikely. The feminist discourse in Libya has identified the main reasons behind women's exclusion from effective political participation as the existing culture of patriarchy, militarism, and fundamentalism, which have created tools to structurally exclude women from the public and political spheres.

Patriarchal Tools of Exclusion

The complex nature of the political, security and cultural systems that exist in Libya have produced various negative effects on women's effective participation in the transitional phase. Some of the major challenges that women face, which hinder their political participation, include: a) an increase in intensity of regional conflicts, b) the proliferation of arms and militias, c) inclusion of tribal feuds into the conflict, and d) competition to gain political power and control over resources. In all its complexity, the conflict has worsened and has worsened, and consequently the level of women's exclusion due to the domination of a patriarchal mentality that overlooks women's skills and knowledge. This patriarchal worldview is reflected in an inferior view of women, which is intensified through women's limited access and control over different resources, as well as the prevalence of various forms of gender-based violence, domestic violence, the use of sexual violence as a weapon of war, and an increase in child marriage, among others.

This patriarchal mentality is not limited to the practices of conservative political parties or individuals but it is also prevailing among politicians from progressive leftist parties as well. Hence, women's exclusion from the political sphere has become normalised within all the political parties, regardless of their ideologies. This patriarchal mindset has also shaped the attitudes and practices of the United Nations and its various agencies, none of which have given priority to women's participation. As such, the general patriarchal atmosphere in Libya, which combines existing patriarchal cultural values with fundamentalism and militarism, has contributed to a structural and systematic exclusion of women from political participation.

Women in the Public Sphere in Libya: A Tumultuous Path

In reviewing the impact of the systematic and structural exclusion of women in the transitional phase that Libya is passing through, it is necessary to analyse: 1) the various contexts in which women's rights and participation existed before the crisis; 2) the initial stages of the crisis (when it was still a popular revolution, before turning into an armed conflict); 3) the second stage, which began in 2014; and finally 4) the current transitional phase. Within this current transitional phase lies the potential for real and effective change for Libya through elections and constitutional and electoral amendments so as to ensure equality and gender justice, within a rights-based approach.

Prior to the crisis (before 2011), Libya was one of the few Arab countries that benefited from a measure of equal stature between men and women in society, particularly in the job market, as well as some decision-making positions within the army, judicial system, police force and universities, among other institutions. However, structural challenges and a perception of women as inferior within the patriarchal culture remained. This manifested itself in the treatment of adult women as minors that require male quardians in the law, as well as in an increase in rates of domestic and intimate partner violence. According to Human Rights Watch, rates of domestic and intimate partner violence were underreported, as women often did not file a report or were forced to drop charges; a judge for a human rights organisation highlighted in 2006 that, "99% of women victims of violence are forced to drop charges against the perpetrator."

At the onset of the popular revolution in February 2011, before it transformed into an armed conflict dubbed "the democratic battle", women were participating effectively. Within that phase, women had the chance to prioritise issues and rights amended following the sociopolitical changes that were to come. However, with the increase in the severity of the conflict, the proliferation of weapons and militias, the inclusion of regional and tribal factions fighting over power and resources, and the propagation of fundamentalism, women found themselves systematically excluded from politics and policy making in the public domain.

Lack of International Efforts to Include Women

The general position of the United Nations and its agencies, which failed to give priority to women's participation in negotiations and consultation processes during the transitional phase, has contributed to this exclusion. Women in Tripoli, Benghazi, and Sabha, who took part in the national consultations mentioned above, indicated that their exclusion was systemic. Furthermore, they indicated that the United Nations Support Mission in Libya (UNSMIL) failed to consider the importance of women's participation or to ensure their representation. This was in spite of clear imperatives in UN Security Council Resolutions 2376 (2017) and UNSCR 2323 (2016), which called for "women's effective, full, and equal participation in all activities related to the government's democratic transition, ending conflict, peace-building, and peacekeeping, as well as [...] facilitating a wider base of women's participation of all the different demographic segments in Libya in the political and public sphere".

Through a feminist awareness and discourse, various forms of systemic exclusion by the United Nations and its agencies have been identified, including through women's exclusion from the Paris Convention, and from any consultations or negotiations. Women have highlighted the blatant contradictions in the United Nations discourse that insists, on one hand, on the implementation of UNSCR 1325, and ignores, on the other hand, the voices of women in Libya. Within feminist discourse, the United Nations is considered responsible for providing all women's groups and women's movements with information and updates on peace and security, at the global, regional, and national levels.

Feminist Roadmap to Sustainable Peace

A Feminist Approach vs. a Patriarchal Approach

Through reading UNSMIL statements, it becomes clear that their approach to and definition of security is limited to establishing a cease-fire and ending fighting and conflict. According to the United Nations, approach proposed peace for the transitional phase is centered upon setting in place security systems, addressing urgent economic and security challenges, conducting elections, and restructuring the constitution. Despite the importance of this approach to end violence, it is important to note that the efforts to achieve it are shortterm and often unsustainable. Such efforts, as such, fall short of reaching social and gender justice, since they lack an all-inclusive strategic and rights-based approach. The current approach reflects hegemonic gendered roles for men in society, particularly in economics, politics, and security, and keeps men in control of the public sphere. This unilateral patriarchal

approach to security falls in line with patriarchal attitudes towards militarism and armament, which push men further into their expected role of seeking conflict, violence, and control within patriarchal societies.

As an alternative to this approach, women's and feminist movements have proposed a comprehensive, feminist, long-term, and gender-sensitive approach to ending violence and conflict and achieve peace. Within this approach, sustainable peace cannot be achieved without 1) inclusion of all groups within society; 2) increasing intersectoral coordination among all security, political, social, and economic sectors; 3) acknowledging the differential effects of the conflict on specific groups, including women, men, boys, and girls, and the unequal power dynamics. All of this can only be achieved with a feminist and gender awareness of the need to acknowledge the intersectional and diverse needs and priorities for different subcategories of men and women (including the different demographic, cultural, regional, education, social, economic, and ethnic factors, among others) and; 4) revoking discriminatory laws against women and opposing decisions that subjugate women.

Women's Resilience and Grassroots Alternatives to Ending Violence

Women have shown great perseverance in increasing their efforts to participate in alternative or parallel routes to peace. With limited available resources and despite structural challenges, women have been able to achieve initial results towards achieving peace and ending violence. However, their efforts will remain limited to the grassroots level if they are not provided with an open political and cultural environment, and so long as there is an absence of serious political will, from all parties of the conflict and UN bodies, to include women effectively in all paths to achieving sustainable peace.

Causes of Women's Exclusion from the Local and International Political Scenes on Libya

Militarism and Fundamentalism as Patriarchal Tools for Exclusion

Women's movements have found themselves completely and systematically casted out from all parts of the transitional phase, which undermined any chance for participation following the popular revolution in 2011.

Libya has witnessed deteriorating political and security situations over the past seven years, culminating in a fierce armed conflict that has been ongoing since 2014. At the outset of the revolution, during what was known as "the democratic battle"³, Libyan women played a significant role through demonstrating in various cities, providing services for those affected by armed conflicts⁴, passing secret messages, and making food to sustain the opposition forces and demonstrators. In this way, the revolution provided great opportunity for Libyan women to enjoy many rights that were not afforded them prior to 2011. Many female activists have stated that overturning Gaddafi helped many women (and men) to raise issues that had been considered taboo before the revolution: "Many civil rights organisations were established after the revolution, and many women still own their own businesses and shops to this day."⁵

Within a few months, the armed conflict intensified with the entry of fundamentalist and tribal actors. It reached its peak in a relentless armed conflict in 2014 and since then, accurate and consistently genderdisaggregated documentation of conflict causalities has remained elusive. 6 The two main parties to the conflict are those in power in the East and West of the country, in addition to the different armed extremist groups in various towns and cities. The deterioration of the security and political situation is reflected by armed violence from Islamic militias, human trafficking (trafficking of women in particular), and violent feuds between tribal factions. This deterioration has contributed to an increase in gender-based violence and sexual violence, and the drastic and systematic exclusion of women from public and political life.7

The absence of accurate and consistent gender disaggregated data and statistics on the conflict casualties among women or as victims of sexual and gender-based violence serves to further the marginalisation of women. The critical gender-related implication of this ambiguity in data documentation is found in the erasure of the gendered impact of armed conflict on women.

Alongside the conflict, which is characterised by fundamentalism, armed conflict, and coups, exists a parallel political scene that is dominated by rivalry over positions of power, and is fueled by individual and economic interests, as well as fundamentalism. Following the June 2014 elections, when the country was in the flux of a power struggle between the two main political players, the newly elected Parliament took power in August 2014, supported by the national army, and the General National Congress, which declined to recognise the legitimacy of the Parliament, requesting an appeal and reelections. Patriarchal culture pervades the political and religious scenes, having experienced a powerful revival since the onset of the conflict. In addition to the existing patriarchal mindset, which views women as inferior in every way, the conflict played a role in leveraging patriarchal

discourse through: 1) limiting access and control over resources and information; 2) limiting individual movement and travel; and 3) instating religious and political policies that reinforce an inferior view of women and are conducive to an increase in violence against women, domestic violence, the use of sexual violence as a weapon of war and an increase in incidences of child marriage, among other crimes.

"After 2011, the Mufti issued a Fatwa declaring that women were not allowed to travel without a male guardian "Muhram". This encouraged many religious extremist groups to take decisions at the level of society based on nothing more than personal opinion and attitudes."

 Women's Focus Group Discussion in Tripoli, held as part of the national consultations on Women, Peace, and Security

It is therefore necessary to consider patriarchal culture and its relationship to the deteriorating security situation in the country when looking at the general political situation. Patriarchal ideology, exercised through a hierarchical system that demands control and male dominance, is exacerbated in times of conflict, taking form in features of traditional and gendered ideas of masculinity. In this worldview, masculinity is defined by physical strength, an appetite for violence and hypersexuality, reinforcing the role of men as protectors and providers, and as having a monopoly over the political scene. Patriarchal ideology likewise dictates that men control the public sphere (including roads and neighbourhoods), rendering the concept of protection and security purely a male domain. In this way, women's movements have experienced systematic and blanket exclusion from all stages of the transitional phase, rendering obsolete any opportunities afforded women in the first stages of the popular revolution in 2011.

United Nations: Ignoring Women's Voices in Paths to Peace and Peacekeeping

The United Nation's insincerity regarding women's participation in peace processes and ending violence are in clear contradiction to the attitudes and behaviors regarding enhancing women's participation as part of the international framework and Security Council resolutions. The exclusion of women is reinforced through a simplified unilateral approach to peace, that reflects traditional and hegemonic attitudes to gender, and which limits solutions to the

expected roles of men as providers (as part of the economic solution) and in control of the public sphere (as part of the political solution).

Following an increase in violence and armed conflict in different cities in Libya in 2014, the United Nations intervened and called for a meeting for all the factions to convene in Skheirat, Morocco in December 2015, with a view to ending the armed conflict. This meeting produced the "Skheirat Agreement", which led to the Libyan National Agreement (LNA), as well as the Government of National Reconciliation, Presidential Council, and Supreme Council. The Supreme Council was responsible for executing the political agreement and supporting national unity. Despite the election of these transitional structures, political discord remained at a heightened level between those in power and the regional political factions, which considered the new structures to be illegitimate. Consequently, Libya remained in a state of armed conflict.

Women were not fully represented in the political dialogue took place in Skheirat. It was a false representation. One could by no means represent all the women's groups, through inviting two women to the Conference."

- Women's Focus Group Discussion in Benghazi

In December 2016, the Security Council mandated the UN Support Mission to Libya "to mediate and support in executing the Libyan Political Agreement and promote good governance and security measures for the Government of National Reconciliation, as well as for future stages of the transitional phase."8 The Mission provided an opportunity for many women that wanted to effectively participate in drawing the roadmap of Libya's exit from armed conflict towards democracy and peace. However, contrary to hopes, and considering the various security and political challenges, according to women's groups, UNSMIL did not make any serious efforts to include women in any phase of the negotiations, and even undermined them in consultations with different factions and groups in the different regions in Libya.

Meanwhile, armed conflict in Libya has continued unabated for several years, with the intensity of clashes increasing in the past few months in different cities within Libya, as the mission's endeavours to reach a cease-fire continue. The conflict is ongoing in spite of an agreement between different factions to a cease-fire on 4 September 2018. Political bickering has also continued between politicians in

parliament. According to news reports, members of the parliament are stalling and sabotaging any efforts to restructure the constitutional structure of elections and agree upon a new electoral law. This comes just months after the Paris Conference, where different factions in Libya agreed to conducting legislative and presidential elections by 10 December 2018 and to form a new electoral law prior to elections.⁹

A Gender-Traditional Approach to Peace and Security by the Political Factions and the United Nations

It has become apparent that there is lack of serious will to stop the conflict in Libya and that the United Nations approach to peace and security is unilateral and short-term. Upon reviewing statements from UNSMIL, it becomes clear that the rhetoric is concentrated on: reaching a cease-fire, taking steps to build security institutions, reviewing security protocol in Libya, facing urgent economic and security challenges, conducting legislative and presidential elections, setting a constitutional structure for the elections, agreeing on electoral laws, and so on. Whilst such subjects are very important for stabilisation and security during the stage of transitional rule, they lack any notion of planning to set in-place a path for sustainable peace in the country. Feminist and right-based discourses are essential in setting constitutional structures. Women and youth, and different subcategories of society need to be heard and included in forming the structure for the country within a framework of rights, freedoms, democracy and good governance.

A gender analysis of the approach to peace and security suggested by the United Nations reveals it to be patriarchal through its adoption of traditional gender roles for men, based on hegemonic gender norms. Within this approach the economic, political, and security priorities are on top of the list of efforts to end conflict and achieve peace and security. This patriarchal and unilateral approach to security is in line with concepts of militarism, armament, and violent ideologies, the existence of which relies on the patriarchal mindset as well as the economic interests of the parties to the conflict, which subsequently have an interest in the continuation of the conflict. In times of transition, as in times of peace, men are expected to take on economic and political roles. Consequently, the United Nations' solution centers on the traditional roles of men as economic providers (economic solution) who dominate the public sphere (political solution).

Feminist Approach to Achieving Sustainable Peace

A rights-based feminist approach based on partnership, acknowledging diversity, and awareness of the gendered impact of the conflict, which aims at making gender and social justice a foundation for sustainable peace.

"Women's participation is essential for peace building at all levels. However, women's roles were limited to the community level, as they were pushed to the back during national consultations or dialogues."

- Women's Focus Group Discussion in Benghazi

Women's and feminist groups from different regions amassed at national consultations to present a rightbased, gendered, grassroots, and long-term approach to ending violence and achieving peace and security. The approach was in line with the Women, Peace, and Security agenda and opposed traditional patriarchal views on reaching peace and security. The women that took part in the consultations may not be familiar with the Women, Peace, and Security agenda, nor with terms like Sustainable Peace or Feminist Peace. However, they provided an approach based on a gender analysis and a rights-based grassroots discourse, as they believed that any other rhetoric or initiative would not lead to a comprehensive and sustainable solution. In their suggestions for political alternatives to achieving sustainable peace and ending conflict, women's groups saw that the following factors need to be achieved:

1. Applying a comprehensive, gender-sensitive, multi-sectoral, and long-term approach to ending violence and achieving peace

The shortcomings in negotiations and the failure to end the violence for the past years confirms the necessity of a new approach that would be different from previously used approaches and from patriarchal approaches. Women's organisations view that the only way to achieve peace and end violence is through including all subcategories of society, especially men, women, and young fighters as well as political institutions, local governments, and the United Nations. Women's organisations also consider working with security and judicial bodies to be essential in order to draw up long-term plans to end violence, as well as reaching, empowering, and raising the awareness of youth as to the dangers of violence in society.

"Engaging men in efforts to end violence."

- FGD with Women in Sabha

"Work on empowering women at all levels."

- FGD with Women in Benghazi

"Targeting the younger generations to raise awareness on the dangers of violence."

- FGD with Women in Tripoli

"Importance of working on formal and non-formal education to end violence in the community."

- FGD with Women in Benghazi

"Importance of working with the security sector to raise the awareness of police forces, security forces, and judges."

- FGD with Women in Benghazi

2. Acknowledging diversity and recognising intersectionality across all echelons of Libyan society

Women demonstrated an acute awareness of feminism and gender during discussions on the importance of taking the population's diversity into account. They stressed that a population cannot be considered homogenous, and that individuals within a population have different needs, experiences, and priorities. This approach aims to contribute to creating a culture of long-term feminist peace, based on gender justice and an awareness of the different needs and priorities of men and women in times of armed conflict. They also indicated the importance of taking into account the intersectionality of different demographic, cultural, regional, educational, social, economic and ethnic particularities, among other categories. This is especially pertinent when looking at the effects of these factors on the impact of conflict on the different groups within society: "One should take into consideration the cultural specificities affecting women's access to rights; in the eastern region there is the notion of the kinship-based ownership, which can hinder women from enjoying their full rights" (Focus Group Discussion in Sabha, as part of national consultations on Women, Peace, and Security).

3. Looking at the causes and effects of the conflict and the differential power dynamics between men and women from a gender perspective

The feminist approach to conflict gives importance to finding sustainable solutions to ending violence. Within this approach, sustainable peace is deemed impossible without a gender analysis of the differential effects of the conflict on women, men, boys, and girls. The different experiences of men and women from different regions should also be considered. Through applying the feminist approach, the gendered cost of the conflict was identified through the interaction of several factors, the most prominent of which are:

- fundamentalist ideologies combined with existing patriarchal societal structures and social norms;
- women's internalisation of the patriarchal belief of female inferiority and their lack of belief in themselves, which further exacerbates the unbalanced power dynamics between men and women;
- the effect of the conflict on the gendered roles of men and women, taking into account how the roles differ when the experience of women and educational, regional, and cultural backgrounds differ:
- the effects of conflict on women's access to resources (restrictions on movement, as well as to accessing money, information, services, etc.) and the disparity between women and men regarding control over access;
- the effects of the conflict on legislation, whereby certain laws, as well as political, and military decisions reify the inferiority of women and their exclusion from the public sphere;
- gender-based violence and sexual violence that girls and women are subjected to, which has increased as a result of the conflict (domestic violence, early marriage, various forms of sexual violence).

4. Recognising the importance of empowering women, enhancing their participation, and providing them with resources and information

Women's participation in politics, and public life more broadly, is a new phenomenon that began during the popular revolution in 2011. In a short period, women and women's groups in Libya have been able to gain an impressive level of rights-based feminist and gender-sensitive awareness. Despite the efforts that women's groups are making individually and unaided to face violence and provide services and relief, the systemisation of support would contribute to enhancing empowerment among and across groups of women. Training and coaching, as well as providing women

with the latest in knowledge and information around the different international efforts would enhance the sustainability of these efforts: "We should raise Libyan women's awareness, while acknowledging that civil and feminist movements could be fruitful in the long run" (Focus Group Discussion in Sabha as part of national consultations on Women, Peace, and Security).

Women's Persistence and Grassroots Alternatives to Ending Violence

Women's persistence in pursuing alternative grassroots routes to peace in spite of structural challenges.

Women continue to face several challenges at the legislative, societal, cultural, military, and political levels. These challenges have resulted in the systematic and structural exclusion of women, especially at the national level. Nevertheless, women have persisted and refused to succumb to this exclusion. On the contrary, they found alternative routes to participation, through initiating grassroots movements, and organically grouping themselves to end violence and conflict, and contribute to peacekeeping efforts. Successes include negotiating the opening of schools with militias, and communicating with mothers to monitor any changes in their children in order to prevent the recruitment of children into armed groups. Women's participation has produced impressive results, whilst remaining at the grassroots level. In keeping with their efforts, women have shown attitudes and behaviours that can be attributed to their persistence and perseverance to participate in alternative paths to peace. In spite of limited resources and structural challenges, women have made progress in peacekeeping and ending conflict. Yet these efforts are set to remain limited to the grassroots and sub-regional levels until an open political and cultural environment is made a reality, and real political will from all factions of the conflict and the United Nations to guarantee women's participation in all contexts and routes to achieving sustainable peace and security.

"We used to demonstrate in the hundreds to call on militias to leave Tripoli, for a unified army, and to buildstate institutions."

"Women's participation is essential for peace building at all levels. But their role has been restricted to the community level, as they were pushed to the back during national consultations or dialogues."

Recommendations

General recommendation:

• Sustainable peace, conflict prevention and effective political processes can only be achieved and sustained through collective and multi-sectoral coordination and collaboration among all stakeholders and policy actors (government, security, judiciary, local governments, women's organisations, and religious leaders).

Political powers and the presidential council:

- Amend discriminatory laws and legislation against women; criminalise violence against women; end impunity of perpetrators of violence; set a minimum of 30% quota to ensure women's presence in political positions.
- Reaffirm commitment to ensure full and effective participation of women in the peace process within the Libya
 political Agreement. Publicly declare a commitment to implement all articles of CEDAW; and to implement UNSCR
 1325 in Libya, through setting a National Action Plan (NAP) that would encourage women's participation in the
 transitional political phase.
- Disarm all non-governmental forces and establish rehabilitation programmes for ex-militants.

Security Council:

- Ensure the implementation of UNSCR 1325 in Libya, and draft a National Action Plan that would encourage women's participation in the transitional phase.
- Pressure the Libyan government to commit to all the international agreements and conventions it is a signatory to.
- Step up efforts geared towards disarmament, arms control and investigating illegal online methods to purchase arms.
- Ensure the systematic involvement of women in all phases of Disarmament, Demobilization and Reintegration processes.

International community and UN:

- Support women's and feminist groups (at all levels) in peace processes and political processes to ensure political stability.
- Pressure the different political factions to end the political discord and commit to international laws.
- Include all echelons of society in Libya, especially women, in negotiation processes and national dialogues at the national, regional, and grassroots levels, while taking into consideration the different needs, concerns, and priorities of social groups; take a feminist approach to setting the frameworks and programmes for future interventions to ensure the attainment of sustainable peace.
- Lobby the Libyan government and stakeholders to amend legislation and include a 30% minimum quota for women to ensure the just and effective representation of women.
- Share resources and information with civil society groups, including women's and feminist organisations, on all aspects of peace process and political processes, including tools, information, trainings, and so on.
- Support local organisations to become acquainted with concepts of human security, and pressure the government to prioritise human security (specifically addressed to the international NGOs and UN Agencies).
- Urge all political parties to ensure women are represented in all meetings and consultation processes, in line with UNSCR 2376.

Women's rights organisations and feminist organisations:

- Increase coordination and networking efforts to end violence and conflict in Libyan communities.
- · Educate and raise women's and men's awareness of gender-based violence and sexual violence.
- Advocate for, support, and monitor the government's implementation of its international obligations towards human rights and women's rights conventions and treaties.
- Develop scientific studies that document violations of human rights, especially concerning women's rights and the changes within society.
- Enhance solidarity among women and feminists by supporting and empowering Libyan women to strengthen women's movements in a manner that strengthens coordination between them.
- Provide technical support for the government through providing necessary consultations for the government, and trainings for law enforcement and judiciary personnel in dealing with cases of gender-based violence.
- · Pressure the government and remind it of its international responsibilities towards conventions and treaties.

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Endnotes

- 1 Bouta and Frerks, 2002; Moser, 2007
- 2 As above
- 3 Libyan Women: Their Role in Conflict Resolution and Peace Building, The Voice of Libyan Women Organisation (publication)
- 4 As above
- 5 Activist Fayza Ramadan, The New Arab Newspaper: https://www.alaraby.co.uk/english/indepth/2017/9/15/life-for-libyan-women-six-years-after-the-revolution, September 2017
- 6 Salama, Hana, Counting casualties: operationalising SDG indicator 16.1.2 in Libya, February 2018
- 7 As above
- 8 https://bit.ly/2uLelGm (Last accessed on October 30, 2018)
- 9 https://bit.ly/2zK6nCS (Last accessed on October 30, 2018)



Women's International League for Peace and Freedom

Since the foundation of the League in 1915, the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom has united women from around the globe to work for peace by non-violent means and by promoting political, economic and social justice for all. The League addresses the root causes of war and violence through a feminist lens and constantly challenges systems of oppression, militarism, patriarchy and neoliberalism.

www.wilpf.org



Together We Build It Organization

Together We Build It, is a non-profit organisation that was founded and launched in 2011 to support a peaceful democratic transition in Libya, through empowering women and youth to participate in the political and public sphere, and emphasizing the relevant role of women and youth in the peace-building process.

www.togetherwebuildit.org

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The Women's International League for Peace and Freedom (WILPF) and Together We Build It Organization (TWBI) have come together to highlight the importance of acknowledging the Libyan feminist discourse around the ongoing crisis.

This policy brief aims to analyse the outcomes of three national consultations which were held in Sabha, Tripoli, and Benghazi in August 2018 bringing different representatives of women activists, groups and organisations.

We aim to capture the grassroots vision and present it from a feminist perspective that provides a right-based, gendered, and long-term vision to ending violence and achieving peace and security in Libya. We hope to highlight the importance of inclusively engaging women in peace processes while recognising their diverse needs, experiences and voices.





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