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WOMEN, PEACE AND SECURITY IN IRAQ

ZEYNEP N. KAYA

المرأة والسلام والأمن في العراق
ثافرهت، ئاشتى و ئاسايش له عيراق

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Cover image: Women police officers stand at attention during a ceremony marking the police forces' 93rd anniversary in the capital Baghdad on January 8, 2015. © AHMAD AL-RUBAYE/AFP/Getty Images.



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Women, Peace and Security in Iraq

Iraq's National Action Plan to Implement
Resolution 1325

Zeynep N. Kaya

LSE Middle East Centre Report | August 2016

مع ملخص تنفيذي و توصيات السياسة باللغة العربية
لهگهل پوختهی بهجیھێنان و پێشنیاره سهههکیهکان به کوردی

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Abbreviations

1325	UN Security Council Resolution 1325 on Women, Peace and Security
CEDAW	Convention on the Elimination of all forms of Discrimination Against Women
GICJ	Geneva International Centre for Justice
IAU	Inter-Agency Information and Analysis Unit
IDPs	Internally Displaced Persons
IFG	Iraqi Federal Government
INAP	Iraqi National Action Plan
IOM	International Organisation for Migration
ISIS	Islamic State of Iraq and Syria
KRG	Kurdistan Regional Government
KRI	Kurdistan Region of Iraq
UN	United Nations
WPS	Women, Peace and Security

Foreword

As a former representative of UN Women in Iraq, I welcome this report. The significance of the fact that Iraq is the first country in the Middle East to prepare a National Action Plan to implement UN Security Council Resolution 1325 has largely gone unremarked and yet it offers a real platform to improve women's rights in Iraq. It is true, as this report highlights, that the process of drawing up the Iraqi National Action Plan could have been more inclusive and there is always room for improvement in implementation. The key persisting issue is the lack of political will. Nevertheless, the launch of the Iraqi National Action Plan is a positive first step. The Iraqi National Action Plan was endorsed as one of the final actions of the Maliki government in 2014. Although Abadi is publicly committed to carrying it forward, the removal of the Minister of Women's Affairs from his first cabinet in August 2015 was not a positive sign. As Iraq tries to respond to the public's call for reform, I hope the Iraqi National Action Plan on 1325 can be built upon.

Frances Guy

Representative, UN Women, Iraq 2012–2014

Executive Summary

The launch of the Iraqi National Action Plan (INAP) to implement the United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325 (1325) on Women, Peace and Security (WPS) in 2014 is a significant step towards enabling women's participation and protection in the processes of conflict resolution and peace-building in Iraq.

Iraq's National Action Plan identifies actions for increasing women's participation at executive levels, enhancing gender equality in legal documents, removing legislation that violates women's rights and for preventing violence against women. It mainly focuses on political participation and improving rights in non-war contexts. However, it does not specifically address some of the key areas of 1325: women's participation in conflict resolution and reconciliation; prevention of violence against women; protection of women's rights; and women's specific relief needs in conflict and post-conflict.

The Plan also suffers from other limitations. It is not the outcome of a participatory drafting process that included a wide-range of civil society organisations, state institutions and security and military forces. It does not have well-defined timelines, comprehensive implementation and monitoring mechanisms or clearly allocated budgets. Most importantly, the Plan is not sufficiently focused on the issues covered by 1325 and hence its effectiveness is undermined.

Iraq is the first country in the Middle East to launch a national plan to implement 1325. This plan is an important and timely policy indicating the government's commitment to the 'Women, Peace and Security' agenda.¹ The current plan runs until 2018 and a revision should follow. This report offers recommendations for the next steps. INAP is a tremendously important development for Iraqi women and it is crucial to build on the positive momentum it has generated.

¹ The Women, Peace and Security Agenda consists of United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325, which was drafted and adopted in 2000, and the seven resolutions that followed it (1820, 1888, 1889, 1960, 2106, 2122 and 2242).

Introduction

Iraq launched its National Action Plan to implement 1325 on 6 February 2014 for the period 2014–2018.² The Plan was drafted by a group of civil society organisations and supported by the Norwegian Embassy, the European Feminist Initiative and the United Nations (UN). The Iraqi Federal Government (IFG) in Baghdad and the Kurdistan Regional Government (KRG) in Erbil launched the Plan together, making Iraq the first Middle Eastern country with such a plan.³

In 2015, the UN Assistance Mission for Iraq reported that Iraqi women, already affected by years of economic sanctions and armed conflicts, are under particular threat due to the deteriorating security situation since 2014.⁴ In its 57th session in 2014, the Committee for the Elimination of Violence against Women (CEDAW) expressed serious concerns over the increase in violence against women by state and non-state actors in Iraq.⁵

The content and aims of 1325 are highly relevant to issues women experience in Iraq and the launch of the INAP to implement 1325 is a welcome development for Iraqi women. 1325 draws attention to the impact of armed conflict on women and girls and to the need to develop effective institutional arrangements to guarantee women's protection during conflict. It aims at increasing the participation of women as active agents in the prevention and resolution of conflict, peacebuilding, peacekeeping, humanitarian response and reconstruction.⁶

This policy report offers an overview of the issues women face due to conflict in Iraq and provides an assessment of the INAP. It shows that the INAP fails to address specific issues related to conflict and insecurity in Iraq. It then offers recommendations to policymakers, international organisations and civil society organisations for the effective implementation of 1325.

The report aims to contribute to debates on how to refine and implement an appropriate policy response in Iraq to manage the effect of conflict and insecurity on women; and how to increase Iraqi women's participation in conflict resolution, peace negotiations and reconciliation.

² 'Iraq's National Action Plan', 2014. Available at: <http://www.peacewomen.org/nap-iraq> (accessed 4 July 2016).

³ As of December 2015, 55 nations had launched national action plans to implement 1325.

⁴ UN Iraq, 'Women In Iraq Factsheet: Displaced Women and Women in Conflict', 2015. Available at: <http://reliefweb.int/sites/reliefweb.int/files/resources/Woman-Day-English-FINAL.pdf> (accessed 4 July 2016).

⁵ CEDAW Committee, 'Concluding Observations on the Combined Fourth to Sixth Periodic Reports of Iraq', 18 February 2014. Available at: <http://docstore.ohchr.org/SelfServices/FilesHandler.ashx?enc=6QkG1d%2fPPRiCAqhKb7yhsgA84bcFRy75ulvS2cmS%2f%2bjh8crC8ecZAYmHONLh-dy%2brzfpRsiSEmRHg7ZbnOw4yEFfGnn9qrM5uYrnPJ6SAhXi7OkVHHWIXDWlmlw%2fYo6SK> (accessed 4 July 2016).

⁶ UN Security Council Resolution 1325, 2010.

Women and Conflict in Iraq

Issues women experience in Iraq due to conflict and insecurity are not new. The 1980–88 Iran–Iraq War, Iraq’s invasion of Kuwait in 1990, the Gulf War in 1991 and international sanctions in the 1990s had a devastating impact on women and society in general in Iraq. Women experienced violence, poverty and insecurity. The Shadow Report submitted to the CEDAW Committee at its 57th session stated that, despite women’s relatively better integration into society prior to the mid-1990s, the Ba’ath regime later came to rely on the support of conservative tribal and religious leaders, which pushed women back to traditional roles in society and further marginalised their rights.⁷

The Geneva International Centre for Justice (GICJ) argued that the intervention of the US-led coalition forces in Iraq in 2003 escalated problems for women. Sectarian and ethnic divisions and an increase in conservatism hindered women’s participation in social, political and economic life. Rising conflict and violence, destruction of infrastructure, corruption and increased poverty had particularly destructive effects on women. Moreover, the number of female-headed households increased, as male family members were killed or injured in conflict.⁸

Employment and educational attainment rates among women and girls decreased due to economic regression, insecurity and financial constraints. According to the UN Inter-Agency Information and Analysis Unit (IAU), as of 2012, the proportion of women in employment – working or actively seeking work – was very low and the illiteracy rate among women was more than double that of men (Figure 1).⁹

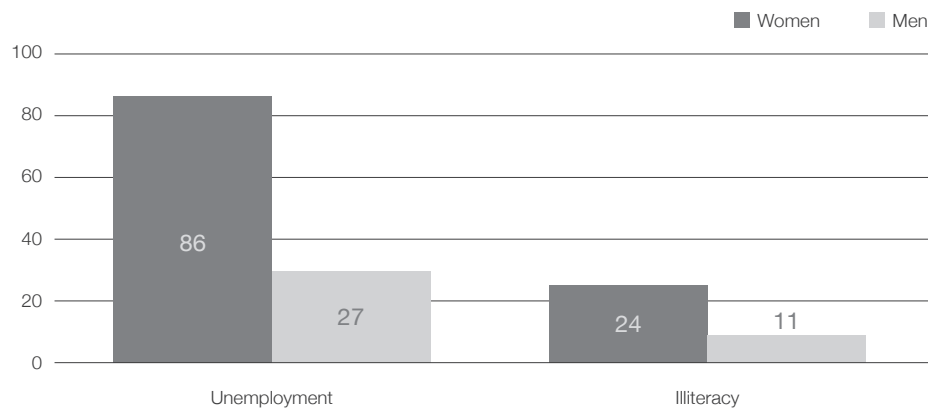
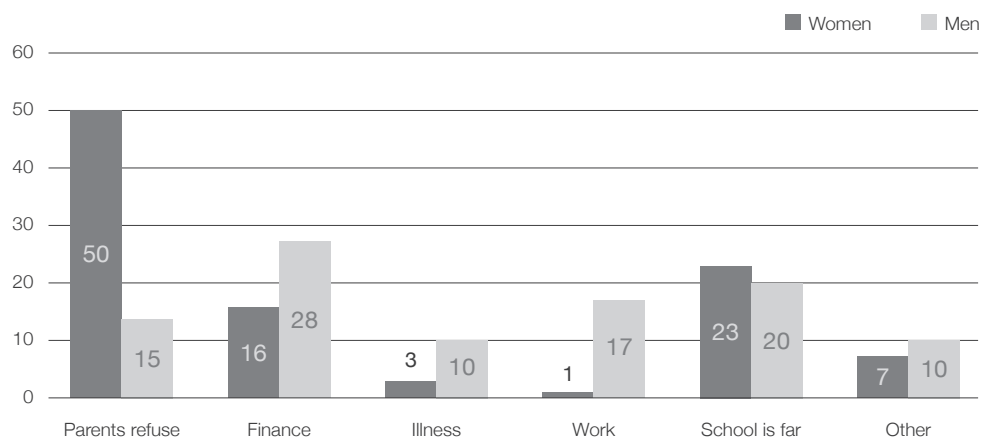
Polygamy, early marriage and pleasure marriages (marriages that enable short-term sexual relationships) rose partly due to the need for women to seek social protection, but also due to legal provisions that enabled such marriages.¹⁰ Article 41 of the Iraqi Constitution provides freedom to apply rules pertaining to family, marriage, children and inheritance based on religion, sect, belief or choice, and this enables clerics to approve polygamous marriages, for example.

⁷ Coalition of CEDAW Shadow Report, ‘Iraqi Women in Armed Conflict and Post-Conflict Situation’, submitted to the CEDAW Committee 57th Session, February 2014. Available at: http://iknowpolitics.org/sites/default/files/int_cedaw_ngo_irq_16192_e.pdf (accessed 4 July 2016).

⁸ GICJ, ‘Iraq’, submitted to the CEDAW Committee 57th Session, February 2014. Available at: http://tbinternet.ohchr.org/Treaties/CEDAW/Shared%20Documents/IRQ/INT_CEDAW_NGO_IRQ_16460_E.pdf (accessed 4 July 2016).

⁹ Inter-Agency Information and Analysis Unit, ‘Women in Iraq Fact Sheet’, March 2012.

¹⁰ GICJ, ‘Iraq’.

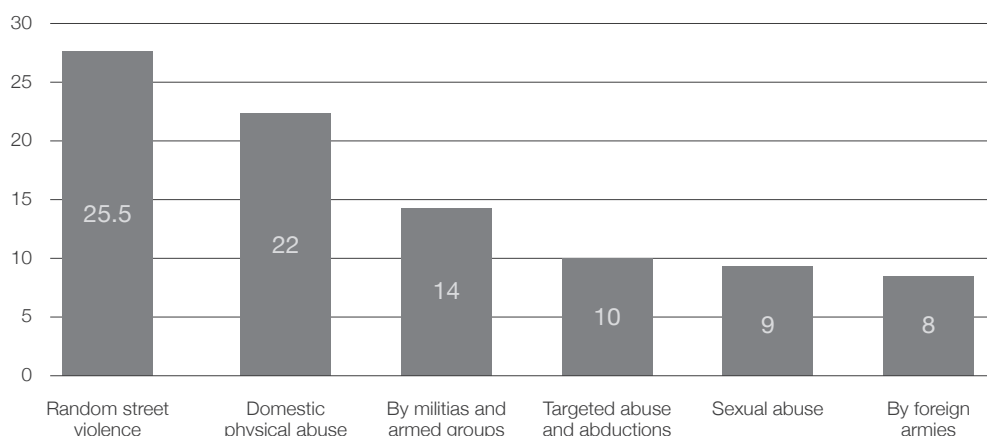
Figure 1: Unemployment and Illiteracy Rates among Iraqi Women and MenSource: IAU, *Women in Iraq Fact Sheet, 2012*.**Figure 2: Reasons for not Attending School among Young Illiterate Women and Men**Source: IAU, *Women in Iraq Fact Sheet, 2012*.

Violence against women has become a particularly pressing issue in Iraq. In particular, violence perpetrated by military groups such as the Islamic State of Iraq and Syria (ISIS) pushes women away from public spaces.¹¹ According to a 2009 OXFAM survey, 55% of Iraqi women experienced violence after 2003 and Figure 3 shows the types of violence experienced by these women.

Killing, rape, harassment and abduction of women are used to humiliate rival communities and settle scores in the sectarian war of Iraq. Women activists argue that there is substantial under-reporting of such violent crimes against women. Women receive death threats simply for working. They are beaten, harassed, raped or even killed for wearing western clothes or for not wearing the hijab.¹²

¹¹ Coalition of CEDAW Shadow Report, 'Iraqi Women in Armed Conflict and Post-Conflict Situation'.

¹² Peter Beaumont, 'Hidden Victims of a Brutal Conflict: Iraq's Women', *The Guardian*, 8 Oct 2006. Available at: <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2006/oct/08/iraq.peterbeaumont> (accessed 25 July 2016).

Figure 3: Types of Violence Women Experienced (in percentage)Source: Oxfam International Survey, 2009.¹³

As of May 2016, around 3.3 million Iraqis are considered internally displaced persons (IDPs).¹⁴ Surveys conducted by the International Organisation for Migration (IOM) in 2015 indicate that female IDPs face more disproportionate restrictions on their safety, dignity and privacy than males. Participation of women in these settings is very low – 91% of the committees in IDP camps lack female participation.¹⁵ Women IDPs face strong social stigmas, and are particularly exposed to gender-based violence, discrimination and poor living conditions. The lack of segregated living quarters, security, access to clean water and sanitation facilities intensifies the vulnerability experienced by displaced women and girls. Military groups such as ISIS target displaced women for sexual slavery, abduction and human trafficking.¹⁶

Iraq is one of the worst countries in the world for prostitution, sexual exploitation, and human trafficking – about 4,000 women, one fifth of them under the age of 18, disappeared in the first seven years after the war in 2003 and a huge number of girls and women (between thousands and tens of thousands) have been imprisoned for prostitution.¹⁷ The majority of women who are subjected to violence and assault do not report the incident due to family or societal pressure, or are sometimes killed to protect the ‘honour’ of the family. Women also experience harassment and abuse by police and security officers and are fearful of reporting these incidents because of the assailants’ status.¹⁸

¹³ Oxfam International, ‘In her Own Words: Iraqi Women Talk about their Greatest Concerns and Challenges’, *Oxfam*, 2009. Available at: <https://www.oxfam.org/sites/www.oxfam.org/files/oxfam-in-her-own-words-iraqi-women-survey-08mar2009.pdf> (accessed 25 July 2016).

¹⁴ See IOM Iraq’s Displacement Tracking Matrix. Available at: <http://iomiraq.net/dtm-page>.

¹⁵ IOM Iraq, ‘A Gendered Perspective: Safety, Dignity and Privacy of Camp and Camp-Like Settings in Iraq’, February 2016, p. 6. Available at: <http://iomiraq.net/reports/gendered-perspective-safety-dignity-and-privacy-camp-and-camp-settings-iraq> (accessed 25 July 2016).

¹⁶ UN Iraq, ‘Women in Iraq Factsheet: Displaced Women and Women in Conflict’, March 2015.

¹⁷ GCIJ, ‘Iraq’.

¹⁸ Coalition of CEDAW Shadow Report, ‘Iraqi Women in Armed Conflict and Post-Conflict Situation’.

Women in detention in Iraq are routinely raped and tortured.¹⁹ Women are also often targeted by the Iraqi Security Forces in order to harass male relatives.²⁰ Moreover, thousands of women are illegally held in detention for years without seeing a judge and they are subjected to torture. Many women are held in custody in order to extract information about their male relatives' activities rather than crimes in which they are said to be involved themselves.²¹

The GCIJ Report criticises the Iraqi government for having done little to combat trafficking of girls and women, to prosecute criminals engaged in human trafficking, and to support the victims of trafficking and prostitution. The report also points out that the Iraqi judicial system has a tendency to punish the victim rather than the offender, and the security services are unqualified to carry out operations against the perpetrators of violence against women in war and conflict.

Assessing Iraq's National Action Plan on 1325

National Action Plans on 1325 are expected to embody five features:

- result from a participatory and transparent drafting process;
- involve an assessment of women's issues and policy priorities;
- have concrete, relevant and clear goals relevant to all aspects of the WPS agenda;
- introduce clear plans for responsibilities in implementation, monitoring and evaluation;
- and include a timeframe and budget with specific indicators and results.

This section uses these five features to evaluate the strength and capacity of the INAP in fulfilling the aims of 1325. It highlights the important contribution the INAP has made, but also draws attention to the Plan's failure to realise its full transformative potential for women in conflict in Iraq.

Drafting Process

The INAP was drafted by a small group of local women's organisations, the 'INAP Initiative' with the support of external actors, mainly the Norwegian Embassy in Amman and the European Feminist Initiative.²² UN Women in Iraq also supported this process.

¹⁹ Human Rights Watch, 'Iraq: Security Forces Abusing Women in Detention', 6 Feb 2014. Available at: <https://www.hrw.org/news/2014/02/06/iraq-security-forces-abusing-women-detention> (accessed 23 July 2016).

²⁰ Foreign and Commonwealth Office, 'Iraq – Country of Concern: Latest Update', 31 March 2013, updated on 21 Jan 2015. Available at: <https://www.gov.uk/government/publications/iraq-country-of-concern/iraq-country-of-concern-latest-update-31-march-2013> (accessed 4 July 2016).

²¹ GCIJ, 'Iraq'.

²² European Feminist Initiative, 'Strategic Meeting-Civil Society Reference Group Report', 2012. Available at: http://www.efi-ife.org/sites/default/files/6%20report_strategic_meeting_for_developing_of_nap_1325_in_iraq_28-29_july_2012_beirut.pdf (accessed 4 July 2016).

Government offices in Erbil and Baghdad became involved in the process at its final stages. What is impressive about the INAP is that, despite political disagreements between Erbil and Baghdad, the two governments jointly endorsed the single document.

However, there were significant issues with the drafting process. Firstly, despite the involvement of some local organisations, it was not a sufficiently inclusive and participatory process. For example, it did not involve other local initiatives on 1325, such as the Iraqi Women's Network, which had been carrying out activities since 2005.²³

Secondly, another document with significantly overlapping content, the Shadow Report, was prepared by another group of civil society organisations and was submitted to the CEDAW Committee in February 2014, exactly at the same time as the INAP was launched. The Shadow Report offered a more comprehensive analysis of women's issues in conflict than the INAP. The fact that these two documents were prepared at the same time by different women's organisations indicates a lack of coordination between them.

Thirdly, the same external actors supported the drafting of both the INAP and the Shadow Report.²⁴ Rather than supporting the two initiatives separately, they could have encouraged more cooperation amongst civil society organisations thus contributing to a more inclusive National Action Plan drafting process. This indicates an additional lack of coordination, this time between local and international actors.

Women's Issues and Policy Priorities

In its assessment of the issues women face in Iraq, the INAP mainly focuses on political participation, the impact of wars on women and the existing provisions that discriminate against women in the Iraqi Constitution, the Personal Status Law and the Penal Code.

The IFG and the KRG, through the INAP, declare their policy priorities to be as follows:

- intensify efforts to increase women's participation in decision-making;
- provide protection to women;
- amend discriminatory legislation to enhance and promote gender equality.

Women played an important role in the movement for democracy-building after 2003, achieving the 25 percent quota for female members of parliament and provincial councils. The KRG increased this quota to 30 percent in 2009. The INAP mentions women's willingness to further increase their active political participation, and draws attention to their absence at ministerial level and in the legislative committees and negotiations, however it does not suggest methods for improving women's participation as ministers or members of such committees.

²³ Frances Guy, 'Can a National Action Plan to Implement UN Security Council Resolution 1325 in Iraq Lead to Practical Changes for Women', paper presented at LSE Gender and Statebuilding Conference, 30 March 2015.

²⁴ Coalition of CEDAW Shadow Report, 'Iraqi Women in Armed Conflict and Post-Conflict Situation'.

The Plan discusses how armed conflict and invasion increased domestic violence and sexual assault against women in Iraq. It states that wars and sanctions made women more vulnerable in a patriarchal society because, in the absence of a male relative, a woman lacks economic, physical and social protection and support. However, in relation to the protection of women, the INAP does not specify whether it refers to prevention of violence or protection of women from further violence.

In general, the Plan remains limited in relating its assessment of the issues women face in Iraq to the policy priorities of 1325 and WPS. This creates a problem of detachment from the experiences and needs of women in times of conflict and insecurity and the necessity to include women in peace-building processes.

Goals and Actions

In setting goals and actions, the INAP is relatively more successful in speaking to the provisions of 1325. However, there are two main limitations in this area. Firstly, the actions listed in the Plan do not fully address all the pillars of 1325 – participation, prevention of conflict, rights protection and specific relief needs. Secondly, the Plan extensively discusses areas of action in ‘social and economic empowerment’ and ‘legislation and law enforcement’. Although important in gender mainstreaming – the overarching aim of 1325 – these issues do not directly relate to conflict and post-conflict contexts.

Four Pillars: Participation, Protection, Prevention and Relief

1325 aims to achieve equal participation of women and to promote gender equality in peace and security decision-making processes at local, national, regional and international levels. The INAP offers relevant goals to 1325’s aims of increasing women’s participation, by taking a broad view that includes decision-making at legislative, executive, judicial positions at local and national levels and in reconciliation committees and peacebuilding negotiations.

In order to achieve the goals related to ‘participation’, the INAP sets out the following actions:

- review and amend existing policies to promote women’s participation in negotiations, legislative councils and executive levels;
- organise a national campaign to promote fair representation in political parties;²⁵
- provide gender awareness and capacity building training for female candidates;
- allocate gender experts to senior positions in the government, civil services, military institutions and special forces;
- organise reconciliation committees on 1325.

²⁵ The INAP does not specify what is meant by ‘fair’.

The ‘protection’ pillar of 1325 refers to protecting and promoting women and girls’ rights in conflict and post-conflict situations. It suggests changing legislation to provide better protection for women vis-à-vis perpetrators of sexual assault and violence against women in conflict, trafficking and prostitution, forced and early marriage, and disappearance. In this area, the INAP specifies its goals as gender mainstreaming in policies and processes related to conflict prevention, conflict resolution and peace-building, awareness-raising, and empowering women through a rights-based approach. However, in setting out actions, the Plan takes a broad approach by mostly focusing on the protection of women in society and family, and not directly addressing conflict and post-conflict contexts.

The INAP sets out the following actions on ‘protection’:

- appoint focal persons in reconciliation committees to build capacity on 1325;
- train police forces on gender-based violence;
- amend articles of the Penal Code and the law on shelters for women;
- create a commission on monitoring the implementation of legal changes;
- introduce gender mainstreaming at the governmental level;
- develop networks of communication between state and governmental institutions and women’s rights organisations;
- enhance partnerships with civil society and the judiciary to achieve gender equality and organise awareness raising and advocacy campaigns;
- review state policies and political party programmes to include WPS;
- review the educational curricula to include gender perspectives and organise training in schools to foster positive attitudes and behaviour.

Resolution 1325 aims at the prevention of all forms of violence against women and girls in conflict and post-conflict situations. The INAP adopts two strategies to prevent gender-based violence: integrating women’s rights into the justice and security system, and empowering women. The Plan mainly focuses on the impact of conflict and discriminatory legislation on vulnerable female members of society, such as female heads of households, widows, and displaced, poor and unemployed women.

The Plan sets out the following actions on ‘prevention’:

- reduce gender-based violence through changing discriminatory articles in the Penal Code and awareness-raising campaigns;
- train the police and security forces on gender-based violence;
- amend legislation on violence against women and enact policies of gender balance in pensions, labour and social security and policies of empowerment;
- create a commission to monitor the implementation of legal changes.

According to 1325, meeting the specific relief needs of women and girls is about reinforcing women’s capacities to act as agents in relief and recovery. It calls for the advancement of relief and recovery measures to address humanitarian crises through a gendered perspective and urges taking into account the particular needs of women and girls in the camps and settlements for refugees and IDPs.

The INAP's goals on 'specific relief needs' are to eliminate violence against women, to provide safe houses for victims, and to update government support to the victims of war and human trafficking. In order to achieve these goals, the Plan offers to:

- identify women affected by conflict (for example widows and victims of trafficking and prostitution);
- rehabilitate and reintegrate victims and survivors of violence;
- establish shelters and safe spaces for physical and social support;
- establish separate cells and provide free legal advice for all women;
- reform the prison system and amend the act on shelters;
- organise training programmes for women's organisations and judges.

Overall, the INAP's goals and actions are all very important, and if implemented, would increase women's participation in politics at executive levels and potentially have a positive impact on women and benefit Iraqi society in the long-term. However, only a small proportion of the actions are directly relevant to 1325 and to the particular issues women and girls face in conflict and post-conflict contexts. This issue renders the INAP partly detached from 1325.

Some suggestions for overcoming these limitations are:

- Incorporate gender perspectives into reconstruction programmes and the recruitment policies for women in military and civilian services.
- Specifically define what is meant by 'reconciliation committees' – are these committees meant to resolve issues between victims of violence and perpetrators, or between local militia groups?
- Propose clear actions in relation to conflict-related issues, such as harassment and abduction of women and girls, including refugee and women IDPs, by non-state military groups and the treatment of women by security forces (rather than just addressing domestic violence).
- Help women who are forced into prostitution as a result of conflict and recommend methods to stop the prosecution of girls and women in such situations.
- Propose procedures to ensure women and girls who are arrested or detained, for whatever reason, have access to a court, so that they can challenge the legality of detention.

Supporting Local Women's Initiatives

Resolution 1325 advises relevant agents to support local women's initiatives and indigenous processes for conflict resolution. In the INAP, the Iraqi and Kurdish regional governments declare their willingness to cooperate with women's rights organisations for the benefit of all women. They consider this cooperation part of governmental efforts to contribute to regional stability, peace and justice.

Although the INAP lists civil society organisations among responsible agents for implementing and monitoring the Plan, it does not provide an overview of other existing local

women's initiatives for reconciliation, conflict resolution and protection. It does not assess the governmental support for such initiatives and does not provide plans to include a wide range of civil society organisations in implementation and monitoring. Therefore, the aspect of supporting local women's initiatives in the Plan is weak.

Rights Protection and Promotion through Legal Regulations

The INAP provides a list of gender discriminatory laws that are still present in the legal system. It also provides a number of legal and policy changes necessary to combat violence against women and introduce gender balance.

The INAP sets out the following actions in this area:

- raise awareness on discriminative laws against women and amend these laws;
- comply with the international standards and mechanisms of women's rights;
- promote laws that deal with violence against women;
- train judges on new laws and discriminative legislation.

However, similar to other areas of the Plan, the area of rights protection and promotion also suffers from being too broad and is not specifically relevant to the goals and principles of 1325. Interestingly, according to the INAP, the Kurdistan Region of Iraq (KRI) has achieved higher levels of gender mainstreaming in legislation by adopting the Domestic Violence Law, which deals with the discriminatory articles in the Iraqi Penal Code and the Personal Status Law. A special directory was established in the KRI to follow up on cases of violence against women, and special domestic violence courts in all three Kurdish governorates were set up.

Implementation, Monitoring and Evaluation

The INAP identifies objectives and actions with expected results and indicators. It also provides a list of governmental agents responsible for implementing and monitoring in the KRI and in the rest of Iraq separately. The range of responsible governmental and parliamentary agents is impressively wide. Nonetheless, the Plan lacks clear and specific activities, implementation plans and mechanisms for realising them. This raises questions on the possibility of realising the Plan's goals.

Moreover, the name of a small umbrella group, INAP1325 (the group that drafted the Plan), is mentioned in the Plan but it is not clear which groups constituted INAP1325. Most importantly, no other local women's rights organisations, apart from the umbrella group INAP1325, or international non-governmental organisations are listed as agents to implement, monitor and assess.

Timeframe and Budget

The timeframe of the INAP is 2014–2018. However, the Plan does not have a detailed timeline for activities and implementation and despite having a budget, no specific activities are linked to the budget. Sources of the funding and to which agencies these will be allocated are not indicated. All these issues render the possibility of implementing INAP largely implausible and unrealistic.

Conclusion

The INAP is a significant step towards achieving Iraqi women's equal and full participation as active agents in the prevention and resolution of conflicts, negotiations, peacebuilding and reconstruction and in incorporating gender perspective into such processes. Achieving these goals and protecting women could serve as essential components to end the conflict in Iraq.

However, despite the significance of its launch and its several valuable recommendations, especially in gender mainstreaming at executive levels and in legal regulations, it falls short of fulfilling what national action plans on 1325 should address and achieve. Key problems this report has identified with the INAP are:

- The preparation and drafting of the Plan does not reflect a participatory, inclusive and transparent process.
- Many of the goals and actions set out in the Plan are not directly focused on issues concerning 1325.
- Although a range of governmental, parliamentary, civil society and international actors have responsibilities for implementing, monitoring and evaluating goals, the Plan does not offer clear action plans with allocated timeframes and budget.

These issues cast doubt on the likelihood of successful implementation of the INAP and hinder the possibility that the goals will be achieved in Iraq. The recommendations made by this report provide insights and suggestions for revising the INAP and contribute to further developing the implementation of 1325 and giving resonance to and promoting the WPS agenda in Iraq. It is written with the hope of contributing to the efforts in raising awareness on the plight of women in Iraq due to conflict, war, insecurity and displacement, adding to the struggle to end violence against women and achieve gender equality, and to including women in processes related to ending conflict and building peace.

Policy Recommendations

For the Iraqi and Kurdish governments when revising the INAP

- Generate a more participatory and widely inclusive revision/drafting process that includes civil society and political party factions, as well as women from various class, ethnicity, and religious backgrounds.
- Develop clearer procedures to involve women in peace negotiations, resolutions and reconciliations at every stage; improve the procedures for involving women in security and police forces.
- Develop efficient policies to help internally displaced and refugee women and to ensure women and girls' participation in camp management in order to promote women's safety and access to services.
- Generate more detailed procedures for training and monitoring the military and the police on measures to prevent violence against women; develop a vetting process to exclude those who have committed crimes against women from being recruited to the police and armed forces.
- Improve the procedures for prosecuting human traffickers, militias, death squads, coalition forces and Iraqi police and armed forces that commit crimes against women.
- Increase access to medical treatment for all survivors of gender-based violence, including emergency contraception in case of rape, safe and legal abortion, and psycho-social and mental health services.

For the Iraqi and Kurdish governments in ensuring a more conducive legal context for the implementation of the National Action Plan on 1325

- Amend laws and regulations as suggested by the CEDAW Committee in its 2014 report on Iraq and show commitment to implementing gender-equal policies and new laws by following set timelines.
- Increase women's educational attainment through the provision of grants and transport assistance, providing vocational training and generating employment.
- Allocate sufficient resources and provide training for staff to ensure the effective implementation of the new laws that are aimed at enhancing women's rights in the Iraqi Personal Status Law and Criminal Law.
- Ensure that women and girls are not detained to put pressure on male relatives and that they are not prosecuted for harbouring them unless this was done with knowledge of the crimes committed.
- Develop better policies to tackle the circumstances that force women and girls into prostitution in conflict.

For international actors working in Iraq

- Effectively implement 1325 in all peacebuilding, humanitarian and military activities in Iraq and develop methods for monitoring implementation closely.
- Improve training of military and relief staff in Iraq on 1325.
- Carry out open discussions on crimes committed by multinational forces against women.
- Provide funding to women civil society organisations and make sure to distribute support amongst different groups; adopt a balanced and inclusive approach by working with organisations from a variety of backgrounds, including class, ethnicity, political affiliation and geographical location.

For local women's NGOs in Iraq

- Improve communication between organisations to generate more influential advocacy work on the implementation of 1325.
- Identify common areas to overcome political and ideological divisions and cooperate with other local women's organisations.
- Share experience and skills with other women's organisations in advocacy, project development and funding applications.
- Apply transparency in financial dealings, sources of income and its use.

بۆ ھەردوو حوکمەتی عێراقی و کوردی، ئەبێت سستیمیک یاسایی ھەبێت بۆ دُنیا بوون لە جێ بەجێ کردنی پلانی نشتەمانی عێراقی ۱۳۲۵

- راست کردنەوێ یاسا و پێسا ھەروەك پێشنیاز کرابوو لە لایان لێژنە (CEDAW) لە راپۆرتەکە ی سالی ۲۰۱۴ و پیشان دانی پابەند بوون بەرامبەر جێ بەجێ کردنی سیاسەتی یەکسانی پەگەزو دانانی یاسای نوێ لە کاتیکی دیارکردا.
- بەرزکردنەوێ رادە ی پۆشنیری ئافەرەتان بە بەخشیانیان پارە و یارمەتی دانیان بۆ ھاتوو چۆ و دابیێن کردنی مەشقی پیشە ی و پەیاکردنی کار بۆیان.
- دابیێن کردنی سەرجاوە ی پێویست و ئامادەکردنی مەشق بۆ ستافەکان بۆ دُنیا کردنی کاریگەری جێبەجێکردنی یاسا نوییەکان کە ئامانجی بە ھێز کردنی مافی ئافەرەت لە یاسای (احوالی شخصی) و یاسای سزا (قانون الجنائی)
- دَلنیا کردن کە ژن و کچ دەستیان بەسەرا نەکراوە فشاریان لە سەر نییە بۆ دروست کردنی پەيوەندی لەگەڵ پیاوان وە دادگاش نەکرین بۆ شاردنەوێ ئەم جۆرە بابەتە، تەنھا لە کاتی ئەو دانەبێت کە زانیویانە شاردنەوێ ئەم جۆرە بابەتە تاوانە.
- دانانی پێسای باشتەر بۆ پوو بە پوو کردنی ئەم بار و دۆخە ی کە وا لە ئافەرەت ئەکات تووشی داوێن پیسی بکات لە کاتی دووبەرەکی دا.

بۆ ئەم لایانە ی کە رۆلیان ھەبە لە عێراق

- جێ بە جێکردنێکی کاریگەری بپاری ۱۳۲۵ لە ھەموو تەلارە ئاشتەکان، مروفایەتی و جالاکەکانی سوپا.
- جاکردنی مەشقی سوپا لەگەڵ کارمەندانی فریاکەوتن لە عێراق لەسەر یاسای ۱۳۲۵.
- بەردەوام بوونی گفتوگۆ کردن بە شێوەیەکی کراوە لە سەر ئەم تاوانانە ی کە کراون لە لایان ھێزی ھەمە جۆری نەتەوايەتی دژی ئافەرەت.
- ئامادەکردنی پارە بۆ پێکخراوەکانی ئافەرەتەکانی ناوخوا لەگەڵ دَلنیا کردن بۆ دابەش کردنی یارمەتی لە لایان کۆمەڵ و گروپی جیاواز، بۆ بەدیھێنانی ھاوسەنگی لە پێی کارکردن لەگەڵ پێکخراوی جیاواز لە چین، لە پەگەز، پاشەوای جیاواز (خلفیە مختلفە)، جیاوازی شیوە ی پامیاری و شوینی جوگرافی.

بۆ پێکخراوە ناھوکمیە ناوخوايەکانی ئافەرەتان لە عێراق

- جاکردنی پەيوەندی لە نێوان پێکخراوەکان بۆ زیادکردی کاریگەری یاسای ئیش لە سەر جێبەجێکردنی یاسای ۱۳۲۵.
- دیارخستنی شوینی گشتی بۆ زāl بوون بەسەر جیاوازی پامیاری، پێبازی جیاواز وە ھاوکاری کردن لەگەڵ پێکخراوی ژنان.
- ھاوبەشی کردن لە کارامایی و شارەزای و ھاوکاری کردن لەگەڵ پێکخراوی ژنان بەکارھێنانی.
- مامەلکردن بە شێوەیەکی پوو لە پوو دارایی و سەرجاوە ی داھات و چونیەتی.

پوخته‌ی جی به‌جی کردن

دهست پیکردنی پلانی کاری نشتمانی عیراقی بۆ جی به‌جیکردنی بریاری ته‌نجومه‌نی ئاسایشی نه‌ته‌وه‌یه‌ک‌گرتوه‌کان ژماره ۱۳۲۵ سه‌بارهت به ژنان، بریاری ناشتی و ئاسایش له سالی ۲۰۱۴ هه‌نگاوێکی گرنه‌گه به‌ره‌و توانینی ئافرهت له به‌شداربوون و پاراستن له پرۆسای دووبه‌له‌کی و دروست کردنی ناشتی له عیراق.

پلانی کاری نشتمانی عیراق ئه‌و کردارانه پێناسه ده‌کات که ده‌بێته زیادکردنی به‌شداربوونی ئافرهت له ئاستی جی به‌جی کردن و زیادکردنی ئاستی یه‌کسانی ره‌گه‌ز له به‌لگه‌ نامه‌کانی یاسایی. لابردنی ئه‌و یاسایانه‌ی که مافی ئافرهت داگیر ئه‌کات وه به‌شیوه‌یه‌کی سه‌ره‌کی راگرتنی توندو تیژی به‌رامبه‌ر به‌ ئافرهت وه هه‌روها خاڵ ده‌خاته سه‌ر به‌شداربوونیان له‌رووی رامیاری و به‌تایبه‌تی له کاتی ناشتی دا. هه‌رچه‌نده هه‌ندێ شوێنه سه‌ره‌کیه‌کانی ۱۳۲۵ باس ناکات، وه‌کو به‌شداربوونی ژنان له جاره سه‌رکردنی ناکۆکی راگرتنی توندو تیژی دژی ئافرهت، پارێزگاری کردنی مافی ئافرهت، پێویسته‌کانی هه‌سه‌نه‌وه‌یان له کاتی و دوا‌ی ناکۆکی دا.

پلانه‌که دووجاری هه‌ندێ به‌ربه‌ستی تر بووه بۆیه زۆر کاریگه‌ر نه‌بوو، پێک نه‌هاتبوو له ئاکامی هاوبه‌شی کردنی چه‌ند رێک‌خراوێکی فراوان و ده‌زگای ده‌وله‌ت و هێزی سوپای وه هه‌روها پێناسه‌ی نه‌خشه‌ی کاته‌که و بودجه‌یه‌کی پروو دانه‌نرابوو، له هه‌مووی گرنه‌گه ئه‌وه بوو که پلانه‌که بایه‌خی به‌و بابه‌تانه نه‌داوو که خاڵه‌کانی ۱۳۲۵ ده‌کرێته‌وه.

عیراق یه‌که‌م ووله‌ته له پۆژه‌ه‌لاتی ناوه‌راست که پلانیکی ته‌واوی دانابوو بۆ جی به‌جی کردن پلانی ۱۳۲۵ که پلانیکی گرنه‌گه بۆ پێشان دانی جونیته‌تی پابه‌نده دانی حوکمه‌ت به کارنامه‌ی ئافرهت و ناشتی و ئاسایش. ئه‌م پلانه به‌کاره تا‌کو سالی ۲۰۱۸ و پێدا‌جونه‌وه‌ی پلانه‌که ئه‌بێت به‌دی بکری. ئه‌م راپۆرته راسپارده پێشکه‌ش ده‌کات بۆ هه‌نگاوه‌کانی داها‌توو. پلانی کاری نشتمانی عیراقی پێشکه‌وتنیکی یه‌که‌جار گرنه‌گه بۆ ئافره‌تی عیراق.

پێشنیاری رێسا (سیاسه‌ت)

بۆ حکومه‌تی عیراق و حکومه‌تی کوردی کاتی پێدا‌جونه‌ و ه پلانی کاری نشتمانی عیراق

- هه‌مانه‌دی هاوبه‌شی کردنی خه‌لکیکی زیاتری ناوخوی کۆمه‌لکا و پارتیه سیاسی‌ه‌کان و ئافره‌تان و به‌شیوه‌یه‌کی فراوانتر له هه‌موو ئاستیکی جیا‌وا‌زا وه‌کو، ره‌گه‌ز، نه‌ته‌وايه‌تی و ئایین.
- دانانی رێ و شوێنی دیاری کراو بۆ به‌شداروونی ئافره‌تان له ووتوو وێژی ناشتی و بریاره‌کانی له هه‌وو قوناغێکدا. وه هه‌روها به‌شداربوونیان له ئاسایش و هیزی پولیس.
- پێش‌خستنی رێسا بۆ یارمه‌تی دانی ئافره‌تی ئاواره له ده‌ره‌وه و ناوخۆ. هه‌بوونی پیلانیکی کاریگه‌ر بۆ دُنیا بوون له به‌شداربوونی ئافره‌ت له به‌رپۆیه‌ چوونی ئوردووگا و به‌رزبوونه‌وه‌ی راده‌ی ئاسایشی ئافره‌تان وه‌هه‌روها وه‌رگرتیان له خزمه‌ت گوزاریه‌کان.
- دانانی پێشنیاری فراوانتر به‌شیوه‌یه‌کی وورد بۆ مه‌شق کردن و چاودێری کردنی سوپا و پولیس بۆ قه‌ده‌غه‌کردنی توند و تیژی دژ به ئافره‌ت گه‌شه‌پێدانی ئه‌م هه‌نگاوه‌ی که بوته‌ هۆی دوورخستنه‌وه‌ی ئه‌و که‌سانه‌ی که تاوانیان کردوه به‌رامبه‌ر به ئافره‌ت له وه‌رگرتیان له هیزی پولیس و سوپا.
- چاک‌کردنی شیوه‌ی جی به‌جی کردنی داد‌کردنی ئه‌و لایانه‌ی که تاوانیان کردوه به‌رامبه‌ر به ئافره‌ت وه‌کو ئه‌و که‌سانه‌ی بازرگانی به‌ مروف ئه‌که‌ن، تیپی له سیداره‌دان، میلشیات، پولیس عیراقی و سوپای جه‌ک‌دار.
- زیاد‌کردنی رێگا بۆ وه‌رگرتنی تیمار کردنی ته‌ندروستی بۆ رزگا‌روه‌کان له شیوه‌کانی توند و تیژی و تازاردان وه هه‌روها فریا‌که‌وتنیان له سک پریان و ئه‌تک پیکردنیان و یارمه‌تی دانیان له به‌رچوونی منداڵ به‌شیوه‌یه‌کی یاسایی و سه‌لامه‌تی. وه‌هه‌روها یارمه‌تی دانیان له بواری ده‌روونی و مێشک دا.

للحكومتين العراقية والكردية لضمان سياق قانوني أكثر ملاءمة لتطبيق خطة العمل الوطنية وفق القرار ١٣٢٥

- تعديل القوانين واللوائح على النحو الذي اقترحتته لجنة القضاء على التمييز ضد المرأة في تقريرها عام ٢٠١٤ عن العراق والتدليل على الالتزام بتنفيذ سياسات المساواة بين الجنسين والقوانين الجديدة باتباع أطر زمنية محددة.
- زيادة التحصيل العلمي للمرأة من خلال تقديم المنح والمساعدة في مجال النقل وتوفير التدريب المهني وخلق فرص العمل.
- تخصيص الموارد الكافية وتوفير التدريب للموظفين لضمان التنفيذ الفعال للقوانين الجديدة التي تهدف إلى تعزيز حقوق المرأة في قانون الأحوال الشخصية العراقي والقانون الجنائي.
- ضمان عدم احتجاز النساء والفتيات للضغط على أقاربهن الذكور وعدم ملاحقتهن قانونياً بسبب إيوائهم إلا إذا ترافق ذلك مع معرفة الجرائم التي ارتكبت.
- وضع سياسات أفضل للتعامل مع الظروف التي تجبر النساء والفتيات على ممارسة الدعارة في الصراع.

للجهات الدولية الفاعلة في عملهم في العراق

- تنفيذ القرار ١٣٢٥ بشكل فعال في كل نشاطات بناء السلام والأنشطة الإنسانية والعسكرية في العراق، وتطوير أساليب لرصد التنفيذ عن كثب.
- تحسين تدريب العسكريين وعمال الإغاثة في العراق بحسب القرار ١٣٢٥.
- إجراء مناقشات مفتوحة حول الجرائم التي ارتكبتها قوات متعددة الجنسيات ضد المرأة.
- توفير التمويل لمنظمات المجتمع المدني النسائية، والتأكد من توزيع الدعم بين المجموعات المختلفة واعتماد نهج متوازن وشامل من خلال العمل مع منظمات ذات خلفيات متنوعة، بما في ذلك الطبقة والعرق والانتماء السياسي والموقع الجغرافي.

للمنظمات المحلية النسائية غير الحكومية في العراق

- تحسين الاتصال بين المنظمات لخلق عمل دعاوي أكثر تأثيراً على تنفيذ القرار ١٣٢٥.
- تحديد المجالات المشتركة للتغلب على الانقسامات السياسية والأيدولوجية والتعاون مع المنظمات النسائية المحلية الأخرى.
- تشاطر الخبرة والمهارات مع المنظمات النسائية الأخرى في العمل الدعاوي وتطوير المشاريع وتمويل الطلبات.
- تطبيق الشفافية في التعاملات المالية ومصادر الدخل و كيفية استخدامه.

الملخص التنفيذي

يعد إطلاق خطة العمل الوطنية العراقية لتنفيذ قرار مجلس الأمن التابع للأمم المتحدة ١٣٢٥ بشأن المرأة والسلام والأمن في عام ٢٠١٤، خطوة هامة نحو تمكين مشاركة المرأة وحمايتها في عمليات حل النزاعات وبناء السلام في العراق.

تحدد خطة العمل الوطنية العراقية الإجراءات لزيادة مشاركة المرأة على المستويات التنفيذية، وتعزيز المساواة بين الجنسين في وثائق قانونية، وإزالة القوانين التي تنتهك حقوق المرأة ومنع العنف ضد المرأة. وتركز خطة العمل بشكل رئيسي على المشاركة السياسية وتحسين الحقوق في سياقات غير حالة الحرب. ومع ذلك، فهي لا تتناول على وجه التحديد بعض المجالات الرئيسية من القرار ١٣٢٥: مشاركة المرأة في حل النزاعات والمصالحة؛ الوقاية من العنف ضد المرأة؛ حماية حقوق المرأة؛ وحاجات الإغاثة الخاصة بها في الصراع وما بعد الصراع.

تعاني الخطة أيضا من قيود أخرى. فهي ليست نتيجة عملية صياغة تشاركية تشمل مجموعة واسعة من منظمات المجتمع المدني ومؤسسات الدولة وقوات الأمن والجيش. ليس لديها جداول زمنية واضحة المعالم، وآليات تنفيذ ورصد شاملة، وميزانيات مخصصة بشكل واضح. الأهم من ذلك، لا تركز الخطة بما فيه الكفاية على القضايا التي غطاها القرار ١٣٢٥، وبالتالي قوضت فعاليتها.

العراق هو البلد الأول في الشرق الأوسط الذي أطلق خطة وطنية لتنفيذ القرار ١٣٢٥. وهذه الخطة هي سياسة هامة ومناسبة تدل على التزام الحكومة بجدول أعمال "المرأة والسلام والأمن".^١ تمتد الخطة الحالية حتى عام ٢٠١٨، ينبغي أن يتبعها مراجعة للخطة. يقدم هذا التقرير توصيات بشأن الخطوات المقبلة. خطة العمل الوطنية العراقية هي تطور مهم جدا للمرأة العراقية ولا بد من البناء على الزخم الإيجابي الذي ولدته.

توصيات السياسة

للحكومتين العراقية والكردية عند تنقيح خطة العمل الوطنية العراقية

- استحداث عملية مراجعة/ صياغة أكثر تشاركية وشاملة على نطاق واسع تضم المجتمع المدني والفصائل الحزبية السياسية والنساء من طبقات وأعراق وخلفيات دينية مختلفة.
- وضع إجراءات أكثر وضوحا لإشراك النساء في مفاوضات السلام والقرارات والمصالحات في كل مرحلة. تحسين إجراءات إشراك المرأة في قوات الأمن والشرطة.
- وضع سياسات فعالة لمساعدة النازحات داخليا واللاجئات وضمان مشاركة النساء والفتيات في إدارة المخيمات من أجل تعزيز سلامة المرأة والحصول على الخدمات.
- خلق إجراءات أكثر تفصيلا لتدريب الجيش والشرطة ومراقبتهم بشأن التدابير الرامية إلى منع العنف ضد المرأة؛ تطوير عملية التدقيق لاستبعاد أولئك الذين ارتكبوا جرائم ضد النساء من التجنيد في صفوف الشرطة والقوات المسلحة.
- تحسين إجراءات مقاضاة المتاجرين بالبشر والمليشيات وفرق الموت وقوات التحالف والشرطة العراقية والقوات المسلحة التي ترتكب جرائم ضد المرأة.
- زيادة فرص الحصول على العلاج الطبي لجميع الناجيات من العنف القائم على نوع الجنس، بما في ذلك وسائل منع الحمل طارئة في حالة الاغتصاب، والإجهاض الآمن والقانوني، وخدمات الصحة النفسية والعقلية.

^١ جدول أعمال المرأة والسلام والأمن يتكون من قرار مجلس الأمن في الأمم المتحدة رقم ١٣٢٥ الذي تمت صياغته وأقر في عام ٢٠٠٠، والقرارات السبعة التي تلتها (١٨٢٠، ١٨٨٨، ١٨٨٩، ١٩٦٠، ٢١٠٦، ٢١٢٢ و ٢٢٤٣).

المرأة والسلام والأمن في العراق

خطة العمل الوطنية العراقية لتنفيذ قرار رقم ١٣٢٥

زينب كايا

ثافرهت، ئاشتى و ئاسايش له عيراق

پلانى كارى نيشتماني عيراقى بو جيبه جيكردى بريارى ١٣٢٥

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