6. Women, Peace, and Security

by Gabriella Nassif

Women, girls, and marginalized groups need to be able to access "fair, effective institutions to access justice and essential services. Without these, instability and injustice spread, and discrimination is perpetuated" (UN Women – Headquarters). In countries and regions where conflict and instability are rampant, discrimination remains unchecked and disproportionately impacts women and girls. Goal 16 "calls for efforts to promote peaceful and inclusive societies for sustainable development, provide access to justice for all and build effective, accountable and inclusive institutions at all levels" (Goetz & Jenkins, 2016, p. 131). While SDG 16 is criticized for not mainstreaming gender in its indicators, many women's rights organizations and activists around the world have been advocating for gender equality in ways that align with SDG 16's goals. These include promoting women's inclusion in peace and conflict resolution, ensuring equal participation in legislative and other government institutions, and ending violence against women and girls and impunity for perpetrators (Goetz & Jenkins). Promoting strong government institutions can protect women from threats of violence and can help build more equitable solutions, especially when women's parity is achieved within these institutions.

SDG 16's commitment to peace and justice around the world is key to ensuring gender equity. During times of conflict the breakdown of the rule of law leaves women, girls, and other marginalized groups at risk for violence, social exclusion, and poverty, among other issues. In 2022 alone, more than 600 million women and girls lived in conflict-affected countries, a "50% increase since 2017," according to UN Women (2023). Today, five of the

ten least peaceful countries are located in the region: Yemen, Syria, Somalia, Sudan, and Iraq (Institute for Economics and Peace, 2023). Globally, research shows that rates of sexual and gender-based violence increase and take specific forms, known as conflict-related sexual violence (CRSV) (Brown & Lavoie, 2022) and child, early, and forced marriage (CEFM) as a strategy for alleviating household poverty (Abu-Ismail, 2020). Conflict also disrupts many essential services, including reproductive and sexual healthcare services, that women and girls rely on for their well-being (United Nations Population Fund/UNFPA, 2002). Studies have also shown that conflict increases household-level drivers of GBV, resulting in increased levels of domestic violence (United Nations Development Program/UNDP, 2024). Additionally, women and girls face higher levels of socioeconomic violence due to conflict. Young girls and women are often the first to be pulled from school during times of conflict, with more than 21% of school-age girls out of school compared to only 15% of school-age boys (Durham et al., 2022): The number of women-headed households also increases during conflict; these households frequently face heightened levels of poverty and food insecurity, and only 20% of women are likely to have access to paid work compared to 69% of men during protracted crises.

Without strong institutions, survivors of CRSV and socioeconomic violence, more broadly, find themselves without recourse to legal justice. In many conflict settings, the lack of strong institutions also means a lack of accountability to survivors of CRSV and impunity for perpetrators (The Global Women's Institute, 2017). Women and girls' needs are often the last to be addressed during conflict by both country-level institutions and international humanitarian funding mechanisms, with "two-thirds of funding requests for GBV programs [going] unmet in the last three years," according to the International Rescue Committee (Peyton, 2019). Furthermore, women are underrepresented in peace processes and conflict negotiation, even though research shows that when women are involved in these processes, "there is a 35% increase in the probability that a peace agreement will last 15 years or more" (Lindborg, 2017). Additionally, research shows that gender equality and the status of women in a country are critical predictors of the levels of security and peace therein (The Womanstats Project). Gender equality is also a strong predictor of policies criminalizing violence against women and supporting survivors. Importantly, research shows that communities with low levels of violence against women are often communities with lower prevalence of violence overall (Ruane, 2019, p. 180; Goetz & Jenkins, 2016).

In 2000, the adoption of UN Security Council Resolution 1325 (UNSCR 1325) on Women, Peace and Security (WPS) was a landmark decision that acknowledged the disproportionate impacts of conflict and violence against women and girls and simultaneously acknowledged the critical role that women and girls can and should play in peacebuilding efforts. UNSCR 1325 is organized around four pillars of work: prevention, participation, protection, and peacebuilding and recovery. Together with nine other resolutions that have been passed, they form the WPS agenda. In the Arab

region, the WPS Agenda has been a key component of women's rights organizing and movement-building in the face of decades-long conflict across the region. Importantly, States in the region have continued to take positive steps towards implementing UNSCR 1325, including the adoption of national action plans (NAPs) to guide state-level actions on and accountability to the WPS agenda. In 2013, the League of Arab States adopted a Regional Strategy on WPS for the years 2015-2030 and developed a regional NAP that was supported by member States (League of Arab States, 2016). Furthermore, States across the region have recognized the important value of UNSCR 1325 in tackling gender discrimination and inequality more broadly, especially in relation to increasing women's political participation and their participation in conflict prevention and relief efforts (United Nations Economic and Social Commission for Western Asia/ UNESCWA, 2023).

The Institute's Work on Peace and Justice

From its inception, the AiW has highlighted the critical role that women can play in peace and peacebuilding. Reporting in the first-ever issue of *Al-Raida* on the World Conference of the International Women's Year held in Mexico, *Al-Raida* (1975) highlighted one of the conference's core principles: encouraging States and other actors to promote the role of women as potential peacemakers. Several years later, while covering the World Conference of the U.N. for Women, *Al-Raida* again underscored the importance of "providing women with new opportunities to become more closely involved both on a national and international level, in the process of preparing for peace," reflecting one of the conference's core resolutions and decisions (*Al-Raida*, 1981). At home, the staff of the Institute were concerned with women's real responsibilities toward peace and development as a result of the Civil War. In only the fourth issue of *Al-Raida* (1981, p. 1), Rose Ghurayyib reflects on the changes to women's roles because of the war:

Before the Lebanese war, when we women came across another woman whom we knew or did not know, we automatically started discussing her appearance…Times have changed. The responsibility of women in national development is no less important than that of men. Not only because ruined Lebanon needs a large number of working hands to rebuild it, but also because all the countries of the world…are demanding the participation of women in developmental activities. They are…hoping that [women] will become messengers of international peace and agents of general security and welfare.

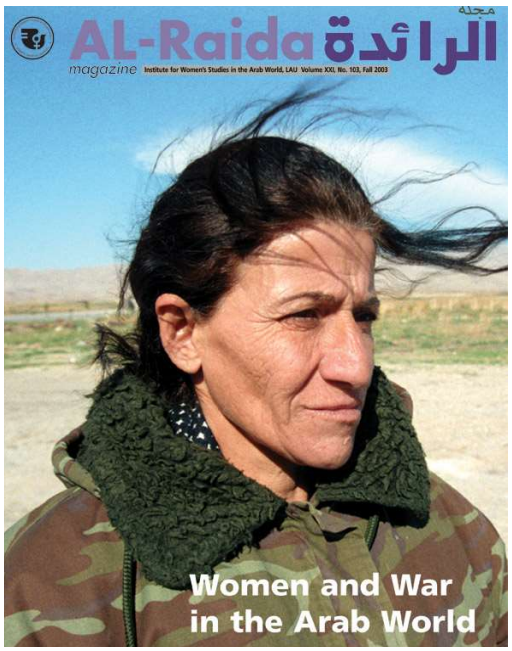

Figure 1. *Al-Raida*, Vol. XXI, N° 103, 2003

By this time, the Institute was implementing projects that supported women affected by war. One notable initiative was the development of a Peace Education Curriculum that trained women on "tolerance, understanding, mutual respect, and [building] friendships" across religious, class, and background differences (Abu-Saba, 1999). Many of these early programs focused on empowering marginalized women through consciousness-raising activities that educated them about their human rights. Additionally, livelihood skills training was provided to support these women in achieving independence (*Al-Raida*, 1995).

In 2003, *Al-Raida* published its first issue dedicated to the subject of women and war in the Arab region. The issue prominently featured discussions on women as peacebuilders and peacekeepers. Authors like Diana Moukalled, a Lebanese feminist multimedia journalist, critiqued the stereotypical portrayal of Arab women as "victims or silent defenders of their homes" in television and journalistic representations of war in the region (Moukalled, 2003). The issue explored resistance struggles in Palestine and Sudan, among other places, emphasizing that stereotypes about women's "innate" peacefulness are as damaging as those portraying them solely as passive victims. Instead, the issue highlighted how women have long been active participants in resistance movements, using various methods including but not limited to community-based welfare and other activities now recognized as integral to peacemaking interventions.

The Institute and the Women, Peace, and Security Agenda

It was also in this issue that the importance of the UNSCR 1325 became clear, not only relative to women's rights activists and advocates across the region but also to the Institute. The Institute's work on UNSCR 1325 has been expansive. By 2016, the Institute, in collaboration with the Centre for Women at the UN Economic and Social Commission for Western Asia (ESCWA) and the Danish Center for Gender, Equality, and Diversity (KVINFO), hosted one of the region's largest conferences dedicated to the WPS agenda. The conference, entitled "Towards Prioritizing Women, Peace and Security on the Arab Agenda," brought together grassroots women's rights advocates and organizations, Arab civil society leaders, and UN peacekeepers and officials to discuss the status of Arab women in the region and the effects of conflict on women's development. The conference emphasized the myriad roles that different actors and institutions can and must play in order to develop a strong political will among Arab governments to abide by their responsibilities as signatories to UNSCR 1325. Importantly, the conference ensured that women's voices remained at the forefront of the discussion, devoting the majority of the conference speaking time to on-the-ground women activists from Syria, Palestine, Iraq, and Yemen, among others (Institute for Women's Studies in the Arab World/IWSAW, 2017). The outcome of the conference was the

development of the Beirut Call for Action, which included 15 recommendations to ensure the inclusion of all women in peace and security initiatives across the Arab region (Arab Institute for Women, 2016). The Institute's work on UNSCR 1325 also includes a large portfolio of projects and research dedicated to mainstreaming gender in the security sector. Over the course of a two-year training project entitled Capacity Building for Law Enforcement Personnel on Gender-Based Violence Prevention and Response, funded by the Dutch Embassy, the Institute worked closely with members of the Lebanese General Security, the Internal Security Forces (ISF), and other civil society partners to develop key trainings to raise awareness about gender sensitivity among security sector actors in Lebanon. The project included several outputs, such as a customized set of trainings, a high-level panel discussion with Major General Kristin Lund, and a special issue of *Al-Raida*. This first training included approximately fifteen participants from the Lebanese security sector, including members of the ISF, General Security, and the Lebanese Armed Forces.

The Institute has also organized two other capacity-building programs to empower law enforcement and others in the security sector in Lebanon to mainstream gender. This included a two-year training program for law enforcement officers on human rights and ethical treatment of prisoners, and another program to increase awareness of law enforcement on GBV prevention and response. This latter project produced an entire volume of *Al-Raida* (2018), in which trainers and researchers affiliated with the project reflected on their experiences and critical next steps to continue mainstreaming gender and the UNSCR 1325 throughout Lebanon and the Arab region. Most recently, the Institute published another issue of *Al-Raida* (2023) focused on women and peacebuilding in the Arab region, featuring special guest editors from UNESCWA.

Lebanese Women and Peace: From the Civil War to the 2019 Uprising and the Explosion at the Port of Beirut

In the aftermath of the 2019 uprising and amidst the turmoil of the COVID-19 pandemic, the country's economic collapse, and the explosion at the Port of Beirut in 2020, the Institute focused its attention on the roles of women as peacebuilders and peacemakers. Immediately after these events, the Institute, alongside more than twenty other feminist and women's rights organizations and advocates, participated in a collaborative effort to develop what would come to be called a Charter of Demands by Feminist Activists and Women's Rights Organizations in Lebanon (Abaad et al., 2020). The Charter called for a "Gendered Disaster Response Plan" that centered the needs of both women and other marginalized groups in order to avoid the historical gender oversight of government-sponsored emergency response plans. The Charter demanded an "equitable and just" distribution of goods to both citizens and non-citizens, as well as gender nonconforming and queer populations, poor communities, women headed households, and elderly women and people, drawing attention to the populations that are most frequently overlooked in emergency response plans.

Figure 2. *Al-Raida*, Vol. 46, N° 2, 2022

The powerful response to the plan from outside actors, as well as the attention it continued to receive from women's rights actors, encouraged the Institute to set out to gather and collect the testimonies of women and other marginalized groups about their experiences of the Beirut Blast and the aftermath of the explosion. These testimonies would eventually form the basis for a special issue of *Al-Raida* dedicated to the memory of the Beirut blast. Working in collaboration with the Asfari Institute at the American University of Beirut and alongside Kohl: a Journal for Body and Gender Research, the Institute gathered powerful testimonies that highlighted the "additional vulnerabilities" marginalized communities faced in the aftermath of the explosion. The issue argued for the use of a gender analytical lens to explore the "situation in Lebanon both before and after the Blast" as a means of analyzing the Beirut Blast, why it happened, and the atrocities that continued to occur in its aftermath (Nassif et al., 2022). The issue also featured interviews and further analysis by gender experts in Lebanon and reviewed various multimedia productions created in the aftermath of the explosion, such as Carol Mansour's films Shattered Beirut 6.07 and Those Still Standing.

The year 2020 also marked the 45th anniversary of the Lebanese Civil War. To document this landmark, the Institute, in collaboration with the UN Human Rights Regional Office for the Middle East and North Africa and the UN Peace Building Fund, developed a powerful research report on the connections and divergences between women's wartime activism during the Civil War and their activism during the 2019 uprising in Lebanon. The report aimed to unravel the many stereotypes of women's peacebuilding and activism during both historical periods of turmoil and explored how women's participation in the political and public spheres in both of these moments of time contributed to larger peacebuilding efforts (Mourad, 2021). Importantly, the report documents the extensive work that the Institute did to recover and preserve the accounts of women activists from the Lebanese Civil War, both those who were well-known and those whose lives remained rather obscure. As Rose Ghurayyib noted in an editorial,

The women of this country have shown a heroic courage in facing the hardships imposed on them by war. Giving an accurate picture of their struggle requires a long and serious research which nobody has yet attempted. After ten years of suffering, they keep awaiting a rescuer. (Ghurayyib, 1984, p. 5)

Across the pages of *Al-Raida*, the effort to "rescue" the stories of women activists during the war and at other points of conflict and crisis throughout Lebanon's history can be seen. The profiles of anti-war activists like Laure Moghaizel, Wadad Halawani, Amal Dibo, and Iman Khalifeh, among others, are described and honored.

The Institute's 2021 report returns to the profiles of these four activists and pictures them alongside the work of women peacebuilders and activists during the 2019 uprising. Both during the war and the uprising, women's political participation in peacebuilding efforts might be seen as part of an "obligation to a country that [is] in chaos," as one interviewee reported. This obligation meant taking part in activities to "save the country": feeding the hungry, supporting the homeless, protecting vulnerable migrants and refugees, and standing up to gender inequality (Mourad, 2021, p. 29).

The Institute's 2021 report also reminds readers about the organization's own efforts to highlight the plight of women during conflict, particularly during the Lebanese Civil War. In 2015, the Institute produced one of its most famous reports in collaboration with the International Center for Transitional Justice on the realities faced by families with a loved one who was kidnapped or disappeared during the war (Yakinthou, 2015). The report highlighted the stories and experiences of 23 wives of missing or disappeared persons, detailing their fight for justice and truth in the aftermath of the Civil War. Challenging the stereotypical portrayal of women as "passive victims" of political conflict and crisis, the report underscored the women's political activism and their demands on the Lebanese government to provide answers. The women "offered a number of concrete recommendations [to the government and international stakeholders] for how the issue of enforced disappearance should be addressed by Lebanese policy makers and civil society" and encouraged the international community to support them in "finding ways to meet their right to justice and truth" (Yakinthou, vii-viii).

Figure 3. Yakinthou, 2015

The Institute's 2021 report on women peacebuilders is also accompanied by two powerful documentaries produced by the AiW that examine the role of women peacebuilders during the Civil War and the 2019 uprising, respectively. Both videos are now available on the AiW's YouTube channel.

Regional Efforts: Women of Middle East Network for Peace Building

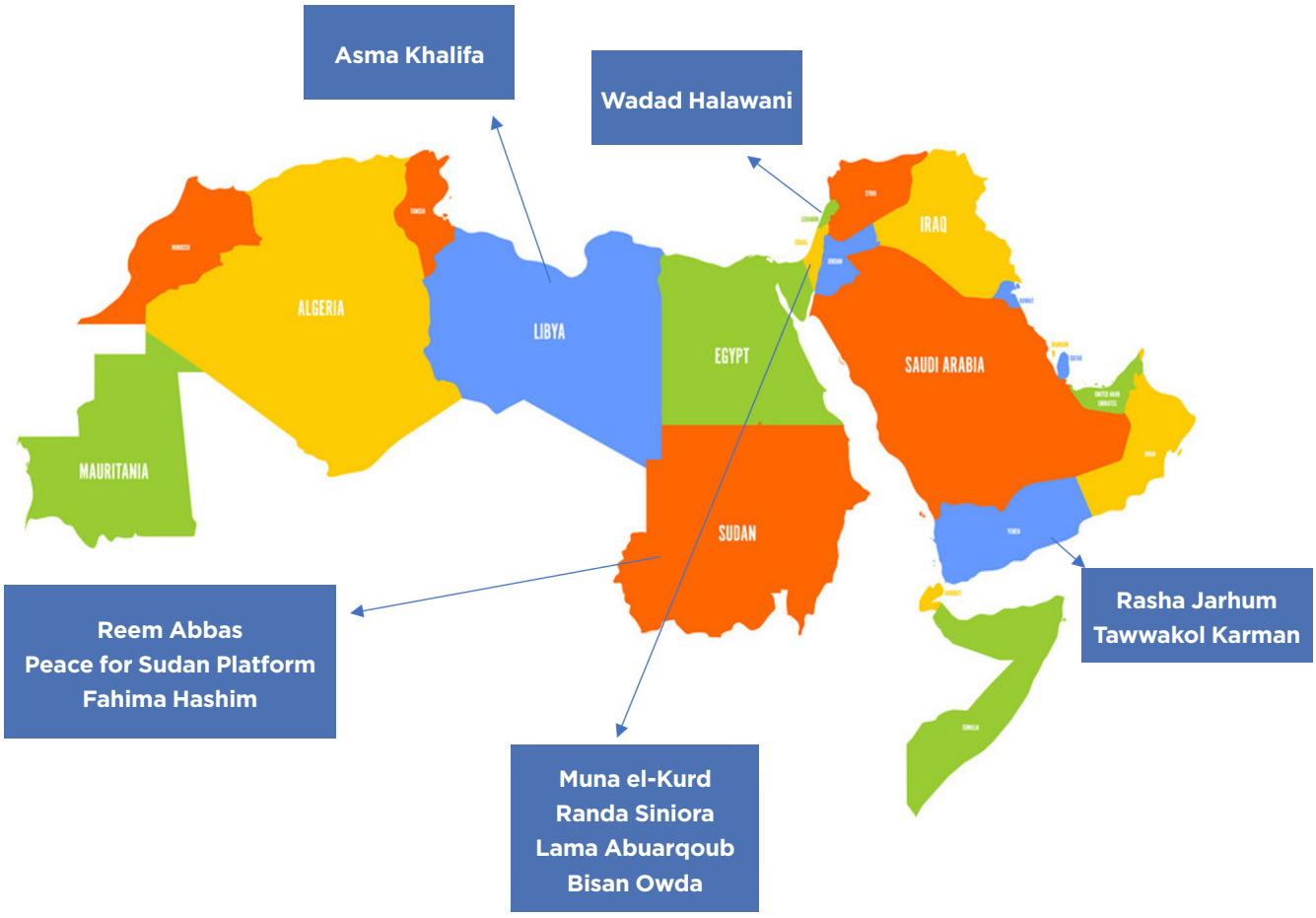

Figure 4. Map of Regional Efforts

Profiles

This section includes the profiles of people, organizations, networks, and projects in the MENA region working on issues related to women, peace, and security. This list is not meant to be all-inclusive but should serve as an introduction for readers unfamiliar with the work of women and feminist climate activists in the region. To find these profiles, a three-pronged approach was used:

1. **Gathering input from peace activists** who have worked with the AiW to identify women-led or gender-sensitive peacebuilding initiatives from the region.
2. **Conducting online research** using key search teams (Boolean) for "women-led initiatives," "Women, Peace and Security agenda," and "Arab States" or "Middle East," and "women peace activists."
3. **Cross-checking UN websites** in the region (e.g., UN Women, UNESCWA) for work featuring women and/or gender on issues related to conflict and peace. Specific focus was given to organizations, people, projects that align with the five SDGs related to peace and those whose work aligns with the UN Security Council Resolution 1325 (2000) and the WPS agenda.

Preference was given to initiatives, actors, and organizations whose work has been highlighted over the past 3-5 years. Additionally, preference was given to initiatives, actors, and organizations from a variety of MENA countries to ensure wide geographic coverage.

ASMA KHALIFA

Libyan Peace Activist

Inspiring the audience with her profound self-reflection, Asma Khalifa takes us on an emotional journey through her memories of the Libyan wars. Now an international activist and a recipient of the Luxembourg Peace Prize, her journey of social engagement began many years ago.

Around the beginning of the Arab Spring, Khalifa's best friend messaged her about organizing a local protest. Within three days of contacting her, he disappeared and soon became one of many victims of unlawful executions in detention (Khalifa, 2020). The impact of this event is still evident on Khalifa's face today when she speaks about it. Moved by grief for her friend, she joined the Libyan coalition movement. She describes this time as an eye-opening experience that prompted her to reflect on her emotional response to the war. Witnessing violence daily and not seeing it represented in the media channels available to her, Khalifa felt an increasing level of frustration:

All this rage and anger and hurt – and I thought that this is not me. So, the next day I went to the doctor and volunteered to be a nurse for Gaddafi's forces' soldiers. (Khalifa)

What might seem like an inexplicable decision to some, this was Khalifa's way of challenging her own feelings toward the ongoing conflict. Few of her colleagues were willing to work at the station with wounded soldiers from Gaddafi's forces, but she remained there for around two weeks (Oslo Women's Rights Initiative). In one of her talks, Khalifa recounts

an intimate memory from her time working at the soldiers' station. Refusing to speak to Gaddafi's soldiers, she initially avoided any contact with them. Until one day, when a patient confronted her about her behavior.

This young man looks at me [...] and said: 'You make me feel inhuman.' And what I saw was, he had the same pain, the same bewilderment. And I realized that we were both Libyans, drawn on opposite sides, as enemies of a war that we didn't decide or plan. [...] I never saw him again, but he was the one who showed me his humanity. I realized then, in war there is no black and white, and there are no sides. (Khalifa, 2020)

From that moment on, Khalifa's perspective on war changed. Since then, her dedication to fostering peace and rebuild the social fabric in Libya has been unwavering. Her work includes facilitating elections, participating in civil society initiatives, and advocating for women's rights across the country (Arab Reform Initiative, 2021). She leads by example, mentoring younger activists and facilitating dialogues between grassroots and policymakers (Swedish Dialogue Institute for the MENA). Khalifa's efforts to educate herself and others about the hidden aspects of the Libyan conflict have been incredibly impactful. In 2018, the African Women in Leadership Organization recognized this by selecting her as one of the 30 most extraordinary activists of the continent. Additionally, organizations like the Tamazight Women Movement and the Khalifa Ihler Institute, which she (co-)founded, continue to spread her message worldwide (Swedish Dialogue Institute for the MENA).

The questions Khalifa raises and the work that she undertakes are not only relevant to the Libyan context. Her insights into peace building in civil society and active participation in communities affected by violence are relevant across a variety of conflicts in the MENA region. Regardless of the time or place, Khalifa encourages everyone to join the discussion table together with actors from all sides. "We need to confront what divides us," she emphasizes. These are the words of a woman who has channeled her talent and knowledge to make the world around her a better place through activism, bravery, and integrity.

RASHA JARHUM

Yemeni Peace Activist

Having experienced gender inequality in peacebuilding processes repeatedly, Jarhum has been raising awareness on this matter for many years. Her remarkable story began as a humanitarian support worker, but she shifted her focus to work on peacemaking at the onset of the war in Yemen. Soon, she encountered the challenges common to women involved in this process. Misogynist arguments undermining the capacities of female negotiators were something she and fellow Yemeni women experienced regularly (Peace Track Initiative & Women Solidarity Network, 2021). When women were "granted" a rare seat at the table, their voices were ridiculed (Jarhum, 2019). Jarhum recalls that, "The most frustrating justification of all is that including women will upset the negotiating parties and disrupt a fragile peace process" (Peace Track Initiative & Women Solidarity Network, 2021).

While most would have been discouraged by these hurdles, Jarhum did not let this halt her political engagement. Instead, she saw it as an opportunity to be the vocal advocate for the many women who do not have the chance to speak up. Alongside other Yemeni women leaders, she drafted and signed a letter to the UN Special Envoy of the Secretary General for Yemen, demanding that women's concerns and needs be acknowledged (Yemen Women Voices, 2018). One point of criticism they highlighted included the very low numbers of women negotiators compared to men and their limited involvement in diplomatic negotiations. This, they argued, was in complete contrast to the realities on the ground where women are on the frontlines of peacekeeping efforts. Regardless of whether it's their daily efforts to feed their families, conduct community-level evacuations, or keep vulnerable people safe, women's contributions to peacekeeping and peacemaking are prominent across Yemeni society (Nobel Women's Initiative, 2017).

Dissatisfied with this situation, Jarhum realized her best chance of being heard as a woman peacemaker would be to gather women's groups across the country. Thus, the Women's Solidarity Network was born:

It was important for us in the Women Solidarity Network to have an open membership policy and to encourage pluralism. We did not impose conditions of consensus and acknowledged that we as women are entitled to having different political opinions. It is alright to disagree as long as we respect each other's views. (Jarhum, 2019)

The impact of The Women's Solidarity Network was quickly felt: Jarhum's organization publicly demanded an increase in women's visibility and presence across both formal and informal peacekeeping efforts, ultimately pressuring the UN Security Council to establish a quota for female peace negotiators. Jarhum (2019) noted that,

Finally, we acted on our calls for inclusion by sending a delegation of independent Yemeni women to the Geneva peace consultations in September 2018. We certainly do not need an invitation to help our country or participate in its peace process.

The Network has become a powerful and resourceful method for (re-) asserting women's agency. It also serves as an inspiration for societies across the Middle East and beyond that struggle for recognition. Just as her parents set an example by engaging in active political opposition to the government during their time, Jarhum is creating a platform for the next generation to engage politically and voice their concerns. Importantly, Jarhum is setting a powerful precedent for women activists, particularly Yemeni women. As she notes, "without women, and without gender, equality [and] peace is not an attainable goal."

TAWWAKOL KARMAN

Yemeni Peace Activist

Tawwakol Karman is referred to as "the lady of the Arab Spring" (Peace and Conflict Studies Institute/PACSI, 2018). The second-youngest Nobel Peace Prize winner, Karman is an advocate for freedom and democracy for Yemeni citizens: "For me, non-violence is the common denominator of all my actions. I have adopted it in what I say, in what I do and in my strategies. I never shy away from it, and I don't see any alternative" (Barrak & Xiaorong, 2018).

Karman's uncompromising dedication to peace is a testament to her strength, especially in the face of death threats, arrest warrants, and even attempted murder. Despite endless bullying and intimidating messages, the mother of three continues to stand up for the cause of Yemeni women to this day (Finn, 2011). Karman's story begins with the example set by her family, who raised her to respect law, justice, and truth. Her father's political activism against oppression and clientelism inspired Karman's courage (Barrak & Xiaorong). Years later, witnessing the brutal displacement of several rural settlements and families, Karman had had enough—she knew she had to take action (Finn). Her human rights activism in Yemen was and continues to be expansive. She not only participates in oppositional party activities but also advocates for the future prospects of young Yemenis who are left behind and unheard. Karman leads demonstrations for press freedom every week.

As a woman, gaining acknowledgment can be particularly challenging, especially in the context of Yemen. Karman notes, "the extremist people hate me. They speak about me in the mosques and pass around leaflets condemning me as un-Islamic. They say I'm trying to take women away from their houses" (Finn). Despite this vitriolic rhetoric, Karman has achieved what many would have deemed unimaginable. She is widely revered as the "mother of the revolution," having inspired thousands to join her peaceful protests and endorse her critique of the gender roles imposed on Yemeni women by dictators like Saleh (Goodman, 2011). As Hincks (2021) explains, "Yemeni women are not as Saleh portrayed. We are very strong. We have a great history of women leaders: the Queen of Sheba, Queen Arwa. Yemen under their rule was the richest country in the region. It's not in the blood or the soul of Yemeni women to play the traditional roles Saleh wanted for us."

Her work on human rights extends beyond organizing protests in Yemen. Karman leads the Women Journalists Without Chains NGO and the Peaceful Youth Revolution Council (Barrak & Xiaorong). She also chairs events advocating for solidarity with constrained, imprisoned, or endangered activists and journalists. Across these activities, Karman guides her audience, urging them to remain non-violent, stand up for themselves, and ensure their voices are heard and acknowledged. Her message is clear: While women disproportionally suffer from the war in Yemen, they continue to take on responsibility of peace building and reforming society, ensuring that their agency cannot be taken away from them (Hincks).

WADAD HALAWANI

Lebanese Peace Activist

It was an ordinary evening for Wadad Halawani and her family. While she was cooking a meal, her husband and sons watched TV. A typical day, until they received an unannounced visit. Two armed men knocked on the front door, demanding to see Halawani's husband for what seemed like a short appointment at the police station, nothing major. Little did they know Halawani would never see her husband again from that moment on. He never returned, becoming one of the many victims of abductions that were

growing day by day during the Lebanese civil war.

Forty years on, the journey to uncover the truth behind this incident continues. Like thousands of others—wives, mothers, siblings—Halawani has not been able to find peace in knowing what happened to her loved one who was ripped out of her life and kidnapped. Standing with those who share her pain, Halawani guides the parts of the Lebanese population who suffer from the same fate as her. She protests, advocates for transparency, demands accountability from politicians, and raises awareness about the abductions that have happened during the last few decades.

Halawani's activism extends beyond recounting her own family being ruptured by an anonymous kidnapper. She brings together fellow women who share similar stories, regardless of their background or the specifics of their case. They gather under the Committee of the Families of the Kidnapped and Missing in Lebanon, an inclusive organization that has provided support since 1982, to people of all ages and religious denominations who are united by the same cause.

We were told by high-ranking state officials that if we continue to demand the truth, we would be threatening civil peace and sparking a new war.

Facing numerous political obstacles, Halawani's work has been exceedingly difficult and slowed down. What began as a demand based on hopes to swiftly reunite with their family members turned into a lifelong struggle for Halawani and others affected by these forced disappearances, extending way past the end of the Civil War itself. Halawani was underestimated constantly and encountered ignorance and lack of interest. She recalls:

All I wanted was some tall adult-looking women to accompany me so that we would be taken seriously, since I was extremely young and petite.

Nevertheless, Halawani's inner strength left a lasting impression on those she met. She would lead with pragmatism, while being vocal and empathetic—defying societal expectations of women at the time.

When our voice started becoming loud, those in power asked us to sit at home because we are women. People used to tell us what we were doing was forbidden, that we should be ashamed of raising our voice in the street.

What these critics failed to realize was that Halawani's activism was not just about the families immediately affected by the forced disappearance of a family member during the war; her work would influence future policymaking to protect other families from the painful realities of dealing with a family member who had been forcibly disappeared. It would also contribute towards rebuilding a cohesive Lebanese society after the Civil War.

To know about our missing beloved ones then became a national case to help in the construction of a real homeland that embraces all its people.

Her advocacy has yielded significant results. Since 2015, the Lebanese judiciary acknowledges, after 36 years, that affected families have the right to access files that might reveal information about the fate of kidnapped family members. Today, Halawani's work continues, documented in numerous articles and

research reports in Lebanon and beyond. Additionally, her impactful work has been featured in a powerful documentary titled "Women Peacebuilders in the Civil War," directed and produced by the Arab Institute for Women (2022).

WOMEN OF MIDDLE EAST NETWORK FOR PEACE BUILDING

Supported by the European Council on Foreign Relations, the Women of Middle East Network for Peacebuilding serves as a hub for activists, researchers, and others interested in learning more about the efforts of women toward peace in the MENA region. The initiative features a list of 23 vetted women experts on peacekeeping and peacebuilding in the region and highlights each of these specialists in various episodes of the network's newly established podcast, ECFR WOMENP. The miniseries "explores avenues for de-escalation, emerging opportunities, and risks in the face of developments in the region and beyond" from the lens of these "leading women experts," and foregrounds the voices of women from across the region (European Council on Foreign Relations).

WOMEN'S RESISTANCE IN ALL ITS DIVERSITY

This next section takes a look at feminist organizers, women-led initiatives and organizations, as well as women human rights defenders and peacekeepers operating in two of the direst geopolitical conflicts raging today: the active occupation and genocide in Gaza and the war in Sudan. The two sections attempt to chronicle the work of women, especially young women, in each of these conflicts and their work to support their communities during these challenging times.

The Concept of Sumūd and the Realities of Women's Resistances

Sumūd—which translates to "steadfastness or perseverance"—is a term that frequently emerges in discussions with Palestinian activists, including women. In one study, Palestinian women described *sumūd* "mainly [in relation] to the land: to stay on the land, not to sell our land, to stay here even though there are many problems, not to emigrate, to host people from all over the world, to stay even though we are suffering, to bear what is happening, to stay on [our] land not to leave it" (Richter-Devroe, 2018, p. 97). *Sumūd*, however, takes on a dual meaning, as one Palestinian woman explained: "*Sumūd* is *amal* (hope) and *'amal* (work/action). We need action, and we need hope for there to be action." In her work with Palestinian women's everyday resistances, Sophie Richter-Devroe charts this double meaning of sumūd as both "a proactive

survival strategy resisting the material effects of Israeli settler colonialism through continuous daily *'amal* (work/action), and an ideational strategy of maintaining *amal* (hope), thus resisting the colonization of the mind." This double meaning, she notes, can be traced back throughout the long history of Palestinian women's resistance(s) and troubles the normative understanding, in Western liberal theory, of what exactly "counts" as political action. To emphasize this point, Richter-Devroe quotes Rosemary Sayigh, a longtime feminist scholar and activist whose work focused on Palestine, at length:

We need to take account of actions that are not directly political, but, by being carried out in a particular place and time, carry political charge, for example, carrying on lives in conditions like those of Israeli occupation or in camps in Lebanon. The unique difficulty of the Palestinian struggle, its imbalance of forces, makes sumūd (steadfastness, staying put) an essential form of resistance on a level with political and military struggle. In addition, Palestinian women have been in the fore focus of institution building, social work, and cultural production. To focus then only on "organized" women would be to miss these other kinds of struggle. (Sayigh, 1992, p.4, as cited in Richter-Devoe, pp. 98-99)

This section on Palestinian women's resistances and women peacebuilders aims to highlight *sumūd* across its diverse meanings to shed light on the myriad ways that Palestinian women are currently, and have historically always been, involved in resistances to the current occupation.

Preserving the work of Palestinian Writers and Artists in *Al-Raida*

Women's Role in Peacebuilding in Palestine

In 2022, UN Women published a brief report entitled Women's Role in Local Peacebuilding that provided a set of key recommendations to better support the work of Palestinian women-led grassroots organizations. Drawing on concepts like sumūd and feminist definitions of resistance and work, the report built on interviews with local women peacebuilders, defined as "women who, in the context of the Israeli occupation, respond to crises, deliver services and accelerate peace in their communities" who continue to "serve their communities regardless of the continuously changing circumstances and ongoing challenges" of living under active occupation. The report outlines three key barriers to women's peacebuilding activities and their limited involvement in formal peacekeeping processes: the Israeli occupation and a lack of concrete international community (re)action to this occupation; a lack of decision-making power within their own communities with respect to both formal and informal institutions and governing bodies; and lastly, a lack of funding to support their work. The report concludes with a set of 15 recommendations to support Palestinian women peacebuilders, six targeting Palestinian political leadership and nine targeting the international community.

Across the pages of *Al-Raida* can be found the written works of Palestinian feminists and activists, educators, travelers, and many others. In particular, the addition of Rosemary Sayigh, the famous feminist anthropologist who studied Palestinian women, to the editorial team of *Al-Raida*—initially as a guest contributor and later as the editor of a new section entitled "Book Reviews"—helped ensure that the writings of Palestinians, whether they were considered "famous" in the literary world or otherwise, were included among the journal's pages. In 1983, *Al-Raida* published a biography on Anbara Salam Al Khalidy, a founder of one of the first Arab women's associations known as Jamyiatu Yakthat al Fatat al-Arabiyya (Arab Girls' Awakening Association). Al Khalidy would later join the Lebanese Women's Union and the Union of Arab Women (founded by Egyptian feminist Huda Sha'rawi) (Stephan, 1983, pp. 2-3). Known for her feminist politics and actions, including her public removal of her veil in Lebanon, Al Khalidy married a Palestinian man and moved to Palestine, where she continued her feminist work, becoming active in the Palestinian Women's Movement (Guinée, 2022). Importantly, Al Khalidy's biography mentions her personal memoir, A Trip in Memory between Lebanon and Palestine (Jawlatun Fil Thikrayat Bayna Lubnan wa Falastine, Dar al Nahar, 1978), which references important historical moments, including the Arab Nationalist movement and the growing Women's Liberation Movement. A few years later, in 1986, *Al-Raida* published a full book review of A Trip in Memory between Lebanon and Palestine (Al-Khalidy, 1986). Later, in the early 1990s, Rose Ghurayyib would publish a book review of Hala Sakakini's book Jerusalem and I, an autobiography documenting Sakakini's childhood growing up as a young woman in Jerusalem. Similar to Al Khalidy's biography, Sakakini's memoir bridges the personal and the political, examining her "feeling and thoughts with regard to the Palestine question and Jerusalem" (Ghurayyib, 1991, p. 10).

Beyond these memoirs, *Al-Raida* included various other types of work on the question of Palestine. Randa Abul-Husn (1992) wrote a book review of Kitty Warnock's Land Before Honor (1990), which is built from interviews with Palestinian women and their daughters and examines the ways these two generations of women experience wholly different understandings of Palestine and their relationship to the "Palestine question." In 1997, in honor of International Women's Day, the AiW, in collaboration with Dar al-Adab, a publishing company, would invite the well-known Palestinian author Sahar Khalifeh to speak not only about Palestine but about the work of feminist writers from Palestine and beyond (*Al-Raida*, 1997).

INTERVIEW

CRAFTING HARMONY:
The Art Works of Jumana Sayegh

by Laurie King-Irani

A harmonious blending of materials, ideas and influences characterizes the art works of Jumana Sayegh. Her arresting multi-media pieces, which cannot be accurately described as either paintings, sculptures, tapestries, or pottery, since they combine elements of all of these genres, link east and west, urban and rural, tradition and modernity. Perhaps this harmonization of diverse and sometimes contradictory themes is not surprising, given the artist's childhood experience of living in more than one cultural context. Sayegh, who now lives in Cyprus with her two young daughters, grew up in Beirut in the 1960s and 1970s, the daughter of a Palestinian father and a British mother, both of whom are respected academics.

Sayegh remembers being drawn to colors and shapes as a small child. Her early fascination with patterns and colors gradually developed into a strong desire to explore the arts seriously. At the age of fifteen, Sayegh took her first formal art class—pottery lessons—at the Beirut studio of the Iraqi artist Nuha Al-Radi. Soon afterwards, while she was still a high school student, Sayegh took a pottery course at Beirut University College (now LAU) with the late Dorothy Al-Kazemi. Sayegh's delight in the texture and possibilities of clay convinced her to pursue further studies in the Fine Arts. "I suddenly realized that studying the arts would be very tempting for me. So, my mother made all the necessary inquiries at the British Council concerning the different art courses available in Britain. She also managed to convince my father that this was a serious course of study, at the end of which I would obtain a B.A."

In 1974, Sayegh began her university studies at Hornsey College of Art in Britain, where she had been accepted to begin a one-year foundation course. The following year, she began a four-year program of intensive study at Middlesex Polytechnic, where she focused on three-dimensional design, specifically ceramics. Sayegh also studied metal-working, woodwork, and photography while taking required courses in art theory and art history. Sayegh recalls these years fondly as a time of freedom to explore creative possibilities with the help of generous and caring teachers who endeavored to give their students a solid grounding in the basics of art. Over the years, Sayegh has come to appreciate the importance of such a thorough educational background, and advises any talented young artist to take courses in various art media. "I believe an artist needs a basic foundation course, and preferably a specialization in a particular field, to allow the student to learn and experiment in an art environment before setting up his or her own studio."

After marrying a journalist and moving to Cyprus in the early 1980s, Sayegh began working in her own ceramics studio, where her fascination with clay grew and deepened. "Although I had many opportunities to work in other media while at art college, clay was my preferred medium. Clay combines so many different stages: the initial soft stage when you can make whatever shape you want by using a variety of techniques, such as slab, coil, or wheel-thrown pottery. Then there is the leather-hard stage, when you can stamp the clay, mark it, in-lay it, or incise and cut bits out to make intricate patterns. The dry stage is useful for sanding down unwanted areas. Finally, there is the firing stage, which, although quite nerve-wracking, is also exciting and unpredictable."

Figure 5. Cover page from King-Irani article on Jumana Sayegh (1996)

Al-Raida also chronicled the work of Palestinian artists and filmmakers, as well as media products produced by women that focus on Palestine. In Issue 34, *Al-Raida* honored the work of Palestinian journalist Raymonda al-Taweel, whose work was awarded the French-Arab Friendship prize for its "role in raising the status of Arab women in the international circles" (*Al-Raida*, 1985). Issue 72 would document the work of Mai Masri, who produced a biographical film about Dr. Hanan Ashrawi, Hanan Ashrawi: A Woman of Her Time, about her work as a Palestinian woman human rights activist and scholar (*Al-Raida*, 1996). The subsequent issue, Laurie King (then King-Irani) wrote about the Palestinian mixed-media artist Jumana Sayegh and reviewed her work (Figure 5). This article was featured in a special issue dedicated to Arab women in the fine arts, which also chronicled the works of Palestinian artists like Leila Shawwa and Mona El-Saoudi.

MUNA EL-KURD

Palestinian Activist and Journalist

Muna el-Kurd, a young Palestinian activist, rose to fame in 2021 through social media when she launched the hashtag #SaveSheikhJarrah in response to the violent evictions of communities in East Jerusalem by Israeli occupying forces (Guinée, 2022). While Sheikh Jarrah has historically been a focus of settler violence, in 2021, families in Sheikh Jarrah experienced unprecedented violence that culminated in the forcible removal of many families from their homes and ancestral lands. El-Kurd began documenting these evictions and the violence committed by Israeli settlers; her own family experienced such violence in 2009 when settlers "took over half of the El-Kurds' family home." The el-Kurd family would eventually take their case to court; however, it was only through the awareness raised by el-Kurd and her twin, Mohammed, primarily across social media using their hashtag #SaveSheikhJarah, that enough international and local pressure led the Israeli Supreme Court to eventually annul the expulsion orders against the el-Kurd family and three others (Eghbariah & Khoury, 2022).

In an interview, el-Kurd describes herself as an "ordinary girl" who realized, after settlers attempted to claim her family's house, "that there is no alternative to resistance and that [resistance] has to continue." Even though there were times when, she admits, she wanted to give up, she remembers:

Nevertheless, from a very young age I've always had this idea that I wasn't going to let anyone suffocate me to death. By which I mean that for me it's not okay to die without anybody knowing about it. When this Muna you see here dies, she wants people to know that there was a person named Muna El-Kurd who in her life did x, y, and z. As far as I was concerned there was no way we were going to be expelled from our land without people knowing that there were Palestinians resisting and holding fast, who never sold out or sold their homes or lands, and who are staying put and fighting to their last breath. I had to face the dilemma of either allowing myself to lose hope or of being unable to sleep at night because I hadn't told the story of the neighborhood to every single person I met. Because if—God forbid—we were indeed expelled, then people would know that the people of Sheikh Jarrah didn't sell out, like some others, but held

on and stayed strong. People need to know that millions of dollars couldn't buy us off. (Eghbariah & Khoury, p. 64)

Muna el-Kurd's commitment to the struggle for a free Palestine earned her, along with her twin brother, a place on the Time's 100 Most Influential People of 2021 list (Mansour, 2021). Today the el-Kurd siblings continue to work tirelessly, creating social media content that informs those living outside of the Occupied Palestinian Territories (OPT) about the realities faced by the most marginalized Palestinians under Israeli rule.

RANDA SINIORA

Deputy Director General, the Women's Center for Legal Aid and Counseling (WCLAC)

Randa Siniora is a Palestinian women's human rights defender living and working in Ramallah, serving as the Deputy Director General of the Women's Center for Legal Aid and Counseling. With over three decades of activism, Siniora has held significant positions, including General Director of al-Haq, one of the first human rights organizations in the Arab region, as well as a Senior Executive Director of the Palestinian Independent Commission for Human Rights. Siniora's dedication to Palestinian women's rights and the broader rights of Palestinians living under Israeli occupation led her to become the first Palestinian woman from a civil society organization invited to brief the UN Security Council in 2018 (Jerusalem Story, 2023). She has also played a key role in the Palestinian Women's Coalition for UNSCR 1325 and helped develop the Palestinian national action plan (NAP) to fulfill Palestine's obligations under UNSCR 1325 (NGO Working Group on Women, Peace and Security). In recognition of her efforts, Siniora would later be named to Apolitical's Gender Equality Top 100 Most Influential People in Global Policy in 2019.

LAMA ABUARQOUB

Palestinian Activist

Lama Abuarqoub, a Palestinian peace activist, attributes her activism to her experiences growing up in the West Bank. One of the few members of her family that speaks Hebrew, she has frequently found herself quite literally standing in between members of her family and Israeli occupation soldiers and forces. At 16, she remembers Israeli soldiers illegally entering her house and demanding that her sick father get up out of bed to help them move some roadblocks that had been set up outside of their house. Instead of allowing them to move her father, Abuarquob went herself. In her twenties, she faced a similar incident when Israeli soldiers stormed her house, demanding to take her 12-year-old brother into custody because, they claimed, he had thrown stones at the soldiers earlier that evening. Once again, Abuarquob positioned herself directly between the soldiers and her brother, insisting he had been with her all day in the house. Years later, an almost identical incident happened, she recalls, but this time it involved her own son. "I started yelling at them and pushing them away. They thought I was crazy or something," she remembers; but eventually, the soldiers left.

These experiences, she recalls, drove her to join her sister, who was already working as a peace activist, in meetings aimed at preventing such incidents from occurring and, more importantly, raising awareness about Palestinians among Israelis. The goal of her own work, she notes, is to try and "find a better way, a less painful way" for Israelis and Palestinians to learn about each other than through the "same agony, the same sadness" that both sides feel every time a child is hurt or lost. "I listened to the Palestinian mothers who lost their sons and their daughters, and it's the same [pain] whether it's an Israeli mother or Palestinian mother," she says. Abuarqoub wants to change this through learning and teaching.

They know nothing about us. What they know, what they see, is what the Israeli government chooses to let them see, and that is the violence; that we are just some minority trying to disturb their quiet lifestyle. I mean, I am not a minority in my society; people who think there must be a peaceful way through this conflict are not a minority in Palestinian society. (Norlian, 2021)

Today, Abuarqoub continues to speak out on behalf of Palestinians and works to raise awareness about life under occupation.

BISAN OWDA

Peace Activist and Journalist

Before the attacks on October 7th, 2023, Bisan Owda was a Palestinian youth activist and content creator whose work helped raise awareness about gender equality and women's rights issues in Palestine and the broader Arab region. Owda launched her own show called Hakawatia and also established a platform called "Tell Lab," which provided a space for youth, particularly young women, to learn more about digital content creation and empower them to speak up about important societal issues. Owda emphasized the importance of digital content creation on issues like gender, stating:

Storytelling content on gender equality puts viewers and readers in front of a reality that they might otherwise overlook or ignore. This can contribute to a better understanding of the catastrophic impacts of violence against women, for example. The more people are aware of the impacts of gender-based discrimination on women and their communities, the more likely they are to push for more equal societies. (UN Women Palestine, 2023)

Since October 7th, Owda's commitment to storytelling has made her one of the most prominent voices documenting the atrocities being committed in Gaza. Almost daily, she posts videos of herself on Instagram detailing to her more than four million followers the various human rights violations and violence occurring in Gaza at the hands of the occupying army. Amidst the terror of living under constant violence, Owda continues to report on events that Western media, in particular, refuse to spotlight due to their pro-Israeli bias and the systematic targeting of journalists reporting from Gaza by the occupying forces. Beginning every one of her videos with the chilling sentence, "I'm still alive," Owda uses her phone to capture the realities of life in Gaza and the ways that she and other Gazans are continuing to survive amidst the ongoing violence (The New Arab, 2024).

The Peace for Sudan Platform

The Peace for Sudan Platform is a peacebuilding initiative led by women-led organizations and activists, supported by UN Women, encompassing over 49 different organizations. In response to renewed violence in Sudan in 2023, the Platform urged its UN Women allies to

organize a high-level conference for members of the group to speak about the horrific human rights violations occurring in Sudan, particularly the increasing rates of sexual and gender-based violence inflicted on women and girls across the country by various militias (Maichuhie, 2024). The conference, held in Kampala, Uganda, in partnership with the Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD), the African Union, and the International Women's Peace Center, gathered insights from consultations conducted with more than 400 women representing 14 different Sudanese States. These consultations outlined women's demands for peace and articulated Sudanese women's strategies for maintaining ties between women to foster lasting peace in the country. Reflecting on the Platform and the conference, Suzan Hussein, a prominent Sudanese peace activist now residing as a refugee in Uganda, remarked:

For me, this conference means a platform and a form of resistance. A platform in which I can represent the diversity of women in Sudan. (UN Sudan, 2023)

During the conference, Lina Marwan, a feminist human rights lawyer and member of the Peace for Sudan Platform, presented participants with a list of women-led organizations and initiatives established to meet the needs of those affected by the ongoing conflict in the country. This list included the Women Against the War group, which has issued several statements signed by hundreds of women urging political officials and international organizations to put an end to the violence in Sudan. Another initiative highlighted was Mothers of Sudan, a network of approximately 50 women's groups and organizations based in the Blue Nile region, that has mobilized efforts to end the violence. Other groups included community-based initiatives that help marginalized groups and families, like the Mothers of Al Gazira Solidarity for Shelter in the Middle States, a group established by young women that helps provide both food and non-food item (NFI) support to pregnant mothers (UN Women Africa, 2023).

REEM ABBAS

Sudanese Feminist and Activist

Reem Abbas is a longtime feminist who has played an active role in the Sudanese feminist movement. As a writer, Abbas (2019) has been a key source of knowledge about the status of women and girls in Sudan, highlighting their ongoing marginalization amidst political conflict and war in the country. Her work spans globally renowned news outlets and frequent blogging about Sudan's situation, consistently foregrounding the role of women's rights defenders and feminists in the struggle for political freedom. Abbas has chronicled the struggles of feminist activists as well as women-led organizations and initiatives, all of which came under intense scrutiny following the onset of the Sudanese revolution in 2019 after the overthrow of then-president Al-Bashir (Abbas, 2023a; Abbas, 2023c). In her own words,

Women and girls are the infrastructure of the revolution. They are writing statements, organizing, mobilizing in their neighborhoods, and taking part in different resistance committees that mobilize peaceful protesters. (Abbas & Al Kharib, 2023)

Today, Abbas continues to advocate against the disproportionate impact of war and conflict on Sudanese women and girls through her writing and public speaking. Even as she and her family faced forced displacement themselves due to the war, Abbas remains committed to shedding light on the war and the critical role that women continue to play, even as they face increased levels of GBV and vulnerability.

To understand the role of Sudanese women in the struggle against military rule, it is important to look back at the history of the women's movement in Sudan. Women have been organizing and forming groups to resist colonization and fight for their rights since the late 19th century. The formation of the Sudanese Women's Union (SWU) in 1952 marked a turning point in the women's movement, as it aligned itself with the anti-colonial struggle. However, the development of an organic women's movement was impeded by the political landscape in Sudan. Political parties monopolized work on women's issues and excluded women from leadership roles, which prevented the development of a strong and organic women's movement. Despite these challenges, Sudanese women played a crucial role in the 2019 revolution that overthrew long-time dictator Omar al-Bashir. Women were at the forefront of the protests, and their participation was instrumental in the success of the revolution. (Abbas, 2023)

Furthermore, Abbas continues to emphasize the important role that Sudanese women should be playing in formal peacebuilding processes. She observes that women "continue to be sidelined during peace talks even when they [have] more information and viable solutions about the situation on the ground" (Abbas, 2023b). She has pointed out instances of women's exclusion from peace processes, such as in Juba in 2020, where women represented only 10% of negotiators present, and in earlier peace talks in Darfur in 2005, where it was women, she notes, who brought attention to critical details—like the drying up of a specific river—that male peacekeepers had overlooked during their debates over geopolitical control. While Abbas acknowledges the imperfections within the Sudanese women's movement, including what she describes as "contradictions" that need addressing, she emphasizes that "now, more than ever, is the time for Sudanese women to lead." She notes that the movement is "divided by intergenerational conflicts, differing ideologies, and, most dangerously, by the split between feminists who challenge power dynamics in Sudan and those who align with patriarchal political parties for personal rewards."

Fahima Hashim, Sudanese feminist and founder of Salmmah Women's Resource Center.

Fahima Hashim is a lifelong Sudanese feminist and researcher, renowned as the founder and former director of the Salmmah Women's Resource Center in Khartoum. During her tenure as director, Hashim led the Center's work to document various forms of violence that women and girls in Sudan were facing, and the ways that the Sudanese legal system controls women's dress and their conduct in public. Accused by Sudan's former dictator Omar al-Bashir of "destroying the fabric of Sudanese society," Hashim was compelled to flee the country (Nobel Women's Initiative, 2022). She later returned to Sudan following al-Bashir's removal from power, only to relocate to Canada with her family amidst the most recent cycle of

political violence and conflict in Sudan. From Canada, she continues to support women's rights and feminist advocates in Sudan, in particular facilitating their escape from the country when necessary (Wadekar, 2024). Hashim remains actively engaged in Women Against the War, where she communicates directly with women activists on the ground in Sudan. Her work underscores her belief that "a new Sudan will rise only if women take control of the country." She further notes that "the women's movement has already developed its own policies on climate change, health, and reproductive rights. They were working out their preferred educational policies when the war broke out. Enough is enough. I think men have destroyed Sudan."

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