

EMPOWERING WOMEN

**A Study on the Implementation of Gender Equality Programming in Dadaab
(Kenya) and Za'atari (Jordan)**

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Bachelor Thesis

Language and Culture Studies

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13/06/2016



Universiteit Utrecht

ABSTRACT

This thesis will discuss the Dutch involvement regarding gender in an international context of humanitarian aid. The role of the Netherlands is discussed through gender equality programming set up by UN Women to help empower women in the refugee camps Dadaab (Kenya) and Za'atari (Jordan). With the Netherlands as one of the largest donors to UN Women it is important to look at the outcomes of the work done by UN Women for future policies. Different approaches and outcomes of gender equality programming in both refugee camps will be discussed, as well as critique on the effectiveness.

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LIST OF ACRONYMS

FGM	Female Genital Mutilation
GBV	Gender Based Violence
GEP	Gender Equality Programming
IOB	Policy and Operation Evaluation Department
NAP	National Action Plan
NGO	Non-Governmental Organization
UN	United Nations
UNHCR	United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees
UNSCR1325	United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325

INTRODUCTION

While mainstream European media write about the current refugee influx in Europe as if the “migration crisis” is a new or recent phenomenon, for many places outside the Western world this is nothing new: they have been dealing with refugee influxes for decades. The existence of decades old refugee camps that look like entrenched cities would surprise many European citizens. Humanitarian aid experts such as Kilian Kleinschmidt call refugee camps the cities of the future, and sustainability should become a key factor in humanitarian action.¹ Hence, designers and architects are increasingly more involved with refugee camp design. IKEA, for example, has collaborated with the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) to design solar-planted refugee shelters.² The call for a sustainable, more long-term, approach is related to the fact that refugee camps are increasingly permanent, and turn into protracted refugee camps where refugees live in exile for more than five years³. Refugees end up stuck in limbo, and there are often no signs of direct resettlement as conflicts linger on. Whole generations grow up in these places that are contradictory in a way that they are set up as temporary solutions to increasingly permanent problems.

Dadaab, based in Northern Kenya, is the largest protracted refugee camp in the world. There are democratic elections, cinemas and hotels.⁴ Dadaab was established in 1991 to house Somali refugees fleeing from Somalia’s civil war. It is located 100 kilometres from the Somali border, and 20 years of conflict and drought caused a steady inflow of refugees.⁵ The term refugee is defined by UNHCR as “someone who has been forced to flee his or her country because of persecution, war, or violence. A refugee has a well-founded fear of persecution for reasons of race, religion, nationality, political opinion or membership in a particular social group.”⁶ The Kenyan government does not allow refugees to work, which results in the UN shipping 5,000 tons of food each month to the camp.⁷ Restrictions on movement and employment opportunities make refugees solely dependent on humanitarian aid.⁸

¹ ‘Refugee Camps are the “Cities of Tomorrow”, says Humanitarian-Aid Expert’, Dezeen Magazine, (2015).

² ‘IKEA Unveils Solar-Powered Flat Pack Shelters for Easily Deployable Emergency Housing’, Inhabitat, (2013).

³ Rawlence, B., The Other Refugee Crisis, New York Times (2015).

⁴ Rawlence, B., ‘The Other Refugee Crisis.’

⁵ UN Women Report, ‘The Effect of Gender Equality Programming on Humanitarian Outcomes’ (2015), p. 27-28.

⁶ UNHCR – Website, URL: <http://www.unrefugees.org/what-is-a-refugee/>, (April 19, 2016).

⁷ Rawlence, B., ‘The Other Refugee Crisis.’

⁸ UN Women Report, ‘The Effect of Gender Equality Programming on Humanitarian Outcomes’ (2015), p. 27-28.

Another refugee camp that looks like an entrenched city, though of more recent date, is Za'atari. Za'atari is located in Jordan, close to the border with Syria. Za'atari is home to approximately 80,000 Syrian refugees and was opened on the 29th of July 2012. Places of origin of the refugees are Dara'a (80%), Homs (2,8%), rural Damascus (14,2%), and Damascus (25%). Some 24,000 caravans have been installed by the UN, and there are five schools operating.⁹ The UN estimated that there are around 2,500 shops, including ones that repair bikes, originally from Amsterdam.¹⁰

In both camps around half of the population is female. Being a displaced woman comes with high risks, such as harassment and (sexual) violence.¹¹ The integration of gender equality - referring to "the equal rights, responsibilities and opportunities of women and men and girls and boys"¹² - and women's empowerment have been topics often overlooked in humanitarian aid in the past. Critics, based on evaluations of earlier interventions, argued that gender-insensitive and gender-blind aid practices have in fact worsened the situation of women and girls in refugee camps.

Recently, gender equality programming has received a more prominent focus in the field of humanitarian and development aid in relation to refugees. This also counts for the Dutch government. The Dutch government is "involved in implementing a gender perspective in programmes regarding conflict prevention, peace negotiations, refugee camp design, peacekeeping operations, security sector reform and the reconstruction of war-torn societies."¹³ In this thesis the contributions of the Dutch government to Dadaab and Za'atari, and more specifically its contribution to the empowerment of women, is researched. This includes the prevention of gender based violence (GBV), also interchangeably used with the term violence against women:

"Violence against women" is understood as a violation of human rights and a form of discrimination against women and shall mean all acts of gender-based violence that result in, or are likely to result in, physical, sexual, psychological or economic harm or suffering to women, including threats of such acts, coercion or arbitrary deprivation of liberty, whether occurring in public or in private life.¹⁴

⁹ UNHCR Za'atari Factsheet (2015), p. 1-2.

¹⁰ Rudoren, J., 'As Others Flee to West, Most Syrian Refugees Remain in Region' (2015).

¹¹ National Action Plan on Women, Peace and Security 2016-2019, p. 12.

¹² UN Women – Website, URL: <http://www.un.org/womenwatch/osagi/conceptsanddefinitions.htm>, (May 2, 2016).

¹³ National Action Plan on Women, Peace and Security 2016-2019, p. 8.

¹⁴ Art. 3 a, Council of Europe Convention on Preventing and Combating Violence Against Women and Domestic Violence, Quoted on Website European Institute for Gender Equality, URL: <http://eige.europa.eu/gender-based-violence/what-is-gender-based-violence>, March 01, 2016.

The prevention of GBV is one part of creating gender equality and empowering women. Other ways of empowering women are the creation of economic independency for women, including promoting women in leadership positions, deliberately target women and provide them with control over food distributions and health facilities, and set up campaigns to raise awareness on gender equality.¹⁵ These ways of empowering women fall under ‘gender equality programming’ (GEP), which recognizes that women, girls, men and boys have different needs in a crisis-affected population. To gain a deeper understanding of those needs an analysis of gender relations provides a background of a crisis-affected population. With this information humanitarian aid could adapt their policies to their specific needs. Gender equality programming intends that targeted women, girls, men and boys will all benefit in an equal and positive way from (humanitarian) aid programmes.¹⁶ Within the UN family it is UN Women who is responsible for design and implementation of gender programmes. UN Women was established with as main goal the empowerment of women and gender equality, and is the official UN organization regarding gender.

Method

In this thesis the following research question is answered: *‘What has been the effectiveness of the empowerment of women as implemented by UN Women in both refugee camps Dadaab (Kenya) and Za’atari (Jordan) from 2011 until present and what was the contribution of the Dutch government?’*

This thesis discusses different approaches and outcomes regarding the implementation of Gender Equality Programming (GEP) in humanitarian action. The main focus is on the *effectiveness* of GEP in both camps, and the outcomes of humanitarian aid in both camps is compared. The time scope addresses 2011 until present and is chosen due to the involvement of UN Women in this time scope.

Despite the fact that the Netherlands is seen as a leading donor country regarding gender, these policies are still relatively new and are limited. In this thesis the contribution of the Netherlands to Dadaab and Za’atari will be illustrated via the outcomes of gender equality programmes by UN Women. The Netherlands is one of the largest contributors of financial support to UN Women, enabling UN Women to implement gender programmes worldwide. Both

¹⁵ UN Women Report, ‘The Effect of Gender Equality Programming on Humanitarian Outcomes’ (2015), p. 11-13.

¹⁶ Ibid, p. 4.

camps are under supervision of UNHCR and gender has been increasingly implemented throughout humanitarian aid organizations and NGOs. UN Women is active in both Dadaab and Za'atari and their (progress) reports are therefore relevant for this thesis. In this thesis I will illustrate how the Netherlands uses UN Women as a vehicle for implementing gender policies. This will be done with the help of a set of sub-questions.

After the first chapter in which the theoretical background of gender policies and humanitarian aid is presented, I will focus on the Netherlands and its specific aid and gender policies in chapter two. This is done by focussing on the question *'In what way has the Netherlands integrated international gender policies from 1995 until present?'* In the third chapter the question *'What has been the effectiveness of programmes aimed at empowering women set up by UN Women in both Dadaab and Za'atari?'* will be answered. After an analysis of the work done by UN Women in both refugee camps the fourth chapter will elaborate on *'What has been critique on gender equality programming as implemented by humanitarian aid organizations and on the role of the Netherlands?'*

Primary resources that are used include evaluation reports by the UNHCR and UN Women on their work in Dadaab and Za'atari. Policy papers from the Dutch Ministry of Foreign Affairs on humanitarian aid, gender equality programming and other relevant topics are used as well. Of great importance to this thesis is the use of reports conducted by the Dutch Policy and Operations Evaluation Department (IOB). This independent evaluation programme has been formulated by the Dutch Ministry of Foreign Affairs to enhance comprehensive analyses for the improvement of present and future policies.¹⁷

Besides studying existing literature, another method used is interviewing people who have a specific knowledge of Dadaab and Za'atari, and/or more specific the contributions of the Dutch government in these two camps. The informants are two senior-policymakers working at the Dutch Ministry of Foreign Affairs: one who works on the Dutch National Action Plan for the promotion of gender equality and women's empowerment, and the other who is responsible for the UNHCR portfolio. Another resource is an anthropologist and researcher (assistant professor) who has worked in Dadaab. These interviews mostly took place over telephone, and sometimes additional questions were answered through email. The interviews are attached as annex.

¹⁷ Policy and Operations Evaluation Department (in Dutch: Inspectie Ontwikkelingssamenwerking en Beleidsevaluatie (IOB)), Website, URL: <http://www.iob-evaluatie.nl/en/home>, (March 14, 2016).

Possible Limitations

The interviews provide different and also a more critical view on GEP. Possible limitations are that the interviewees have their own (political) background and this is reflected in their answers. Also, by limiting this research to only a small selection of humanitarian aid and gender organizations other possible views and outcomes are not included. In a larger thesis it would have been possible to include more actors. Another important note to make is that a focus on gender comes along with an almost inevitable generalization of the roles of women and men, although there are always many exceptions on the rule. Most literature on gender focusses mainly on women and girls with a chance of misrepresentation of the input of men and boys. This thesis pays attention to the frustration of men and boys as well, and how GEP is not inclusive nor effective without them.

Relevance

With the Netherlands being a top donor regarding gender in humanitarian aid programmes, it is interesting to look at those outcomes regarding GEP. This thesis draws a line between the current discourse on gender and the work that is implemented in both refugee camps, but also highlights criticism on the programming. With Za'atari as a camp of a more recent date it is of great importance to learn from the outcomes and lessons of Dadaab, and use this for future purposes. Next year Za'atari will be called a protracted refugee camp as well, and with the feedback from Dadaab a solid basis of security and safety in both camps could be made tangible. More people are on the move, so the number of refugee camps will increase instead of decrease.

The announcement of the Kenyan government on the 7th of May 2016 that there are plans to close Dadaab in the near future, could be seen as a sign of a possible failure of humanitarian action regarding safety. The Kenyan government argued that the situation in Dadaab is too unsafe, making a connection to the threat of terrorist-group Al-Shabaab. It is not clear yet if the closure will actually happen: last year the Kenyan government announced the closing of refugee camps as well, but backed down after international pressure. The recent announcement of the Kenyan government received heavy critique again. Amnesty International called the decision “reckless” and believed that Kenya would violate its obligations under international law.¹⁸ This event shows the relevance of my thesis because my thesis focuses on the actuality and shifting

¹⁸ Kriel, R., B., Duggan & I., Muktar, 'Kenya to Close Refugee Camps, Displacing more than 600,000,' May 7, 2016.

attitudes towards refugee camps. As mentioned earlier in this introduction, a sound gender sensitive approach in humanitarian aid is relatively new. In the next chapter that provides a theoretical background for this thesis, a more in-depth analysis of the relationship between gender and humanitarian aid will be presented.

Gender and Humanitarian Aid

The implementation of a gender sensitive approach in humanitarian aid is a relatively new concept. The need for mainstreaming gender in humanitarian aid has started in the early 90s, when various policies were implemented, where this chapter will elaborate on later. The definition of gender described by gender expert Caroline Moser is the following:

[Gender regards] The differences between women and men within the same household and within and between cultures that are socially and culturally constructed and change over time. These differences are reflected in: roles, responsibilities, access to resources, constraints, opportunities, needs, perceptions, views, etc. held by both women and men. Thus, gender is not a synonym for women, but considers both women and men and their interdependent relationships.¹⁹

When discussing gender, it is important to keep in mind that gender does not only represents 'women.' However, in most literature gender is used to represent women, as illustrated in the following quote by Maureen Fordham:

Women's varied, but gendered, experiences give them a distinctive starting point for critiquing familiar assumptions from position of the oppressed. Male-dominated management and universalized experiences of disasters have stimulated most gender research to focus on women specifically (rather than on women *and* men) because of their relative invisibility and their later established greater potential vulnerability.²⁰

This does not mean of course that men and boys are not affected during a crisis, but they are less affected by *gendered* vulnerability, which is more related to power and powerlessness. Women are regarded as the most vulnerable people during times of conflict or crises, because they often lack access to and control of resources, they are more exposed to health dangers (due to sexual assault and rape), they have a limited mobility because of home-based responsibilities, and traditional role

¹⁹ Moser, C., 1993, quoted in Dijkhorst, H. Van & Vonhof, S., 'Gender and Humanitarian Aid: A Literature Review of Policy and Practice', December 2005, p. 7.

²⁰ Fordham, M., 2004, quoted in Dijkhorst, H. Van & Vonhof, S., 'Gender and Humanitarian Aid: A Literature Review of Policy and Practice', December 2005, p. 176.

models also limit their opportunities for political and socio-economic involvement, education et cetera.²¹

The focus on gender and conflict resulted for a long time in the representation of women as victims and men as perpetrators in early literature, while more recently the focus is on women as leaders and agents of change. Arguments to include a gender-sensitive approach are the increased self-esteem of women and girls, the access to health services and reduction of the exposure to violence or other risks. Also, a gender-sensitive approach can point out the failure of more mainstreamed humanitarian aid programmes in targeting women and girls.²²

In literature on gender a distinction is made between gender equality policies and gender mainstreaming. In gender equality policies it is recognized that equal rights cannot always be used by all citizens of the same extent, because of persistent gender inequalities that exist at the level of society. A preferential treatment of women could be part of this approach, whereby specific measures are undertaken to facilitate equality for women. In the case of gender mainstreaming gender inequalities are addressed at a structural level, which aims at a change in gender bias in policies and reorganizing policy processes. This broader perspective on gender equality is implemented into policies and this then leads to more fundamental transformations.²³ One could argue, based on the definitions presented above, that gender equality programming is less able to enhance fundamental transformations, because of the women-only approach.

Gender Policies and Practices

It is interesting to see how the implementation of gender in policies has development over the past decades. Before the First World War (1914-1918) most victims of violent conflict were *soldiers*, and men. In the 21st century 90 per cent of victims are *civilians*, of whom 70 per cent women and girls.²⁴ So the context changed; from a focus on military to civilians and therefore the 'involvement' of women. Women and children are victims of rape, sexual assault, mutilation and humiliation. The effect of violent conflict on women was first put on the international agenda during a global conference in China in 1995: the Beijing Platform of Action. The debate resulted

²¹Dijkhorst, H. Van & Vonhof, S., 'Gender and Humanitarian Aid: A Literature Review of Policy and Practice' (2005), p. 9.

²² *Ibid*, p. 18.

²³ Verloo, M., 'Another Velvet Revolution?', p. 3.

²⁴ National Action Plan on Women, Peace and Security 2016-2019, p. 2.

in the global acknowledgement of 'Women and Violent Conflict' as one of the 'critical areas of concern.' Some strategic goals of the Beijing Plan of Action were "participation of women in conflict resolution on a decision making level, the protection of women living in a conflict zone, and promoting non-violent ways of conflict resolution."²⁵ These were great improvements in perspectives on women and gender and formed a basis for further thinking and action. After strategic lobbying carried out by the global women's movement, the *UN Security Council Resolution 1325 on Women, Peace and Security* (UNSCR1325) was adopted in 2000. This global women's movement consisted of NGOs such as Amnesty International, the Women's Commission for Refugee Women and Children, and the Women International League for Peace and Freedom (WILPF).²⁶

UNSCR1325 was, after Beijing 1995, a new turning point because it recognized the importance of women in securing peace and security. Women were finally regarded as peace makers, community leaders and also as combatants.²⁷ The resolution recognised women as actors, and stressed the importance of the integration of a gender perspective in development programmes and/or humanitarian action. Between 2008 and 2015 the Security Council adopted seven more resolutions on women, which are all part of the Women, Peace and Security international policy framework.²⁸

Many countries, including the Netherlands, and international organisations have adopted National Action Plans (NAPs), policies and programs and organised training courses to commit themselves to the resolution. Nevertheless, the adoption of NAPs on a global scale turned out much harder than expected, with mostly 'only' European countries adopting the resolution.²⁹ Currently the NAP network has 57 signatories, consisting of ministries, knowledge institutions and universities, development organisations and voluntary diaspora groups.³⁰

One other major strategy regarding gender equality and empowering women is the *Convention of the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women* (CEDAW). This international bill was adopted in 1979 by the UN General Assembly and enforced in 1999. CEDAW defines discrimination against women and it established an international agenda for

²⁵ Vrouwen, Vrede Veiligheid, Resolutie 1325 in Uitvoering, Platform Vrouwen & Duurzame Vrede, p. 12.

²⁶ Ibid, p. 12-13.

²⁷ National Action Plan on Women, Peace and Security 2016-2019, p. 8.

²⁸ Ibid, p. 8.

²⁹ Ibid, p. 9.

³⁰ Gender, Peace and Security, Evaluation of the Netherlands and UN Security Council resolution 1325, IOB Evaluation No. 399, p. 20.

ending discrimination against women. For countries that ratified the convention this implies reporting on this issue at least every four years in order to comply with treaty obligations.³¹

Since 2011, the UN has its own organization dedicated to gender equality and the empowerment of women: UN Women. The creation of UN Women was part of a UN reform agenda, and brings together various resources and mandates.³² The executive director of UN Women, the South-African Phumzile Mlambo-Ngcuka, is also Chair of the Inter-Agency Network on Women and Gender Equality. This is the single largest network of gender focal points in the UN apparatus. Despite the creation of a specific dedicated organization on women which UN Women is, the UN in general has various organizations that are involved with gender. For example, UNHCR works together with UN Action against Sexual Violence in Conflict and the Inter-Agency Standing Committee's Sub-Working Group on Gender.³³ While the focus on gender and women has grown and developed within the UN, this achievement has also a downside. The collaboration between the different UN organizations on gender is not always clear; there are overlapping policies. It is also not clear-cut which funding goes where exactly. This has been a general critique on the UN apparatus and its bureaucracy.

³¹ UN Women – Website, URL: <http://www.unwomen.org/en/how-we-work/intergovernmental-support/major-resolutions>, (May 4, 2016).

³² UN Women – Website, URL: <http://www.unwomen.org/en/about-us/about-un-women>, (May 4, 2016).

³³ UNHCR - Website, URL: <http://www.unhcr.org/women.html>, (May 23, 2016).

To understand the actual collaboration between the Netherlands and UN Women one should know more about the integration of gender into Dutch policies starting from 1995, the year the Beijing Action Plan was formulated. With donations to gender or women's organisations worldwide and by promoting guidelines on gender policies in the international aid and development context, the Netherlands puts gender high on the agenda. In this chapter I will, by studying reports and information from interviews, untangle Dutch gender policies in the context of humanitarian aid.

The Netherlands and Gender Policies

The attention to gender in Dutch policies became a fact in 1995. With the signing of the United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325 in 2000 (UNSCR1325) women were put on the global agenda. The Netherlands had already made it clear that it supports this agenda, and this was made tangible with the implementation of the Dutch National Action Plans (NAPs).³⁴ The overall Dutch gender, peace and security policy is formed by two elements: the signing of the UNSCR1325 with a focus on *women*, and the NAPs, with a focus on *women* and *gender-mainstreaming*. This chapter will shortly discuss the development of gender-mainstreaming in the various government administrations, and the three respective NAPs.

In November 2003 the Dutch Task Force Women, Security and Conflict was established by a working group, involving the Ministries of Social Affairs and Employment, Foreign Affairs, Defence, and Interior Affairs & Kingdom Relations. The mandate of this Taskforce was to increase the role of women in conflict prevention, -resolution and post-conflict reconstruction. In their policies they incorporated the recommendations of a think-tank; the Netherlands Institution of International Relations *Clingendael*. After 3 years, an evaluation was carried out and the evaluation document was presented to Dutch parliament on November 2006, with a call for

³⁴ Gender, Peace and Security, Evaluation of the Netherlands and UN Security Council resolution 1325, IOB Evaluation No. 399, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, p. 54.

gender-sensitivity in Dutch policy instruments. This led to a further anchoring of gender policies in following government administrations.³⁵

During the Balkenende IV administration (2007-2010) the policy paper: *Een zaak van iedereen - Investeren in ontwikkeling in een veranderende wereld* was presented. It was directed towards the creation of an agenda of engagement in fragile states with a strong focus on gender and sexual and reproductive rights.³⁶ In 2008 the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Development Coordination further elaborated on their agenda for gender equality with the paper *Veiligheid en ontwikkeling in fragiele staten – Strategie voor de Nederlandse inzet 2008-2011*. The approach was clearly inspired by UNSCR1325. It had a major focus on women and on ‘soft’ areas of human security, such as health and education for girls.³⁷ During this time scope the Netherlands focused on promoting gender equality within the international aid agenda and on the establishment of a NAP. The first Dutch NAP (2008-2011) was aimed at mainstreaming gender and at special roles for and needs of women.³⁸ Overall, the first NAP could be regarded as a sound framework, but it lacked a formal coordination structure and incentives for collaboration. So, commitment to the NAP was still non-binding, not mandatory.

The policies formulated under the Rutte I administration (2010-2012) focused on the various roles of women in conflict and post-conflict reconstruction and in economic development. Gender was re-positioned as a cross-cutting theme. Again, UNSCR1325 was the guiding principle.³⁹ UNSCR1325 was implemented with the aim to ‘contribute to the increasing gender-responsiveness of peacekeeping operations under the EU or NATO flag by supporting gender trainings for military’, as the policy note ‘Spearhead Security and Rule of Law’ of 2012 points out.⁴⁰

Under the current Rutte II administration (2012-present) a separate, specific gender equality agenda once started in 2007, was re-introduced. There is again a focus on the positive role women can play in conflict resolution, reconstruction and peace keeping and furthermore on combating sexual violence against women.⁴¹ The second NAP (2012-2015) was narrowed down

³⁵ Gender, Peace and Security, Evaluation of the Netherlands and UN Security Council resolution 1325, IOB Evaluation No. 399, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, p. 36-37.

³⁶ Ibid, p. 37.

³⁷ Ibid, p. 37.

³⁸ Ibid, p. 121.

³⁹ Ibid, p. 37.

⁴⁰ Ibid, p. 39.

⁴¹ Ibid, p. 40.

to one pillar of UNSCR1325: women's participation and leadership. This NAP focused only on a limited number of countries, with the aim to have a greater impact.⁴² During the second NAP the Dutch government took on a coordinating role. The NAP was co-signed by three ministries, four research institutions and over 30 civil society organizations including multinational NGOs, women's peace movements and diaspora organizations.⁴³

The third Dutch NAP (2016-2019) was presented on the 8th of March 2016. Goals of the third NAP are to:

- 1) better protect women and girls in conflict and post-conflict situations from violence and violations of their rights;
- 2) subvert harmful underlying gender norms, which are obstacles to sustainable peace;
- 3) ensure that women have equal leverage in conflict prevention and resolution, peacebuilding, relief and recovery at all levels, and that their efforts are acknowledged and supported.⁴⁴

It is important to note that there is no specific, single issue policy on gender, peace and security in the Netherlands, which limits the impact.⁴⁵ Furthermore, the UNSCR1325 and the Dutch NAPs are perceived as a policy document at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, whilst civil society stakeholders regard it as a framework for joint operation.⁴⁶ So, the views and therefore expectations on the policies vary. Critique on the first and second NAPs is that it was too limited: the main focus was women-only, and many argued that ignoring men in the debate would not improve gender relations.⁴⁷

The policies described above illustrate the continuous process, discussions and developments regarding the Dutch adaption of UNSCR1325 and how to address gender in its policies. I have illustrated that the Netherlands is largely involved with gender, and that gender has been implemented throughout different policies, linked to and influenced by global or national developments. The Netherlands have certainly shown the will to become and stay a key player in addressing gender equality in a global context. However, by zooming in on refugee camps and

⁴² Gender, Peace and Security, Evaluation of the Netherlands and UN Security Council resolution 1325, IOB Evaluation No. 399, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, p. 121.

⁴³ Ibid, p. 242.

⁴⁴ National Action Plan on Women, Peace and Security 2016-2019, p. 27.

⁴⁵ Gender, Peace and Security, Evaluation of the Netherlands and UN Security Council resolution 1325, IOB Evaluation No. 399, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, p. 88.

⁴⁶ Ibid, p. 13.

⁴⁷ Ibid, p. 13-14.

the aim to achieve gender equality in that context, a different perspective comes to the surface. In this specific context it is important to take a closer look at the organizations UNHCR and UN Women as they are the main actors in the field of humanitarian aid, development cooperation, refugees and gender. With funding of the Netherlands and other donors, UNHCR and UN Women are able to provide aid and implement their programmes in refugee camps worldwide. With the access to various reports, the long term cooperation with different NGOs, and extensive programming on gender equality, UN Women is a valuable resource in comparing the impact of gender policies in both Dadaab and Za'atari. Therefore, this thesis will from now on focus on the impact of GEP in Dadaab and Za'atari as carried out by UN Women and hence the indirect involvement of the Netherlands.

The Netherlands and International Humanitarian Aid

Of the total amount of international humanitarian aid, eighty per cent goes through the United Nations and the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC). The Netherlands is a large donor to international humanitarian aid, and sixty per cent of the total Dutch funding to the UN and ICRC is un-earmarked. Un-earmarked funding means that the humanitarian aid organisations control the funding themselves and are - to a certain extent - free to decide what to do with the money; in which country and on what priorities. In this way humanitarian aid organisations are more flexible in their work and can adjust more easily to priority situations, while not being distracted by (sometimes political) demands of donors. When a humanitarian disaster takes place, the organisations can operate faster and provide immediate help.⁴⁸

In an interview with a senior policy officer on UNHCR at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs it was explained that gender is implemented in humanitarian aid organizations with guidelines. The Netherlands aims at giving un-earmarked funding as much as possible, but gender is increasingly gaining more importance also with regard to the housing of the present Syrian refugees in the region (especially in Lebanon and Jordan). For 2016 the funding from the Netherlands to UNHCR will be 42 million Euro, and in 2017 46 million Euro. This amount will increase when more earmarked funding is added.⁴⁹

⁴⁸ IOB Evaluation Letter N. 1505, Beleidsdoorlichting van de Nederlandse Hulp 2009-2014.

⁴⁹ Annex 2.

By the contribution of sixty per cent of the Dutch funding to UN and ICRC the humanitarian aid is predictable and efficient, according to the Policy and Operations Evaluation Department (IOB) in their evaluation on the Netherlands and humanitarian aid from 2009-2014. The UN has a strong structure and vast policies applicable in various situations. According to the Netherlands, it is because of these qualifications, most efficient to fund UN organisations as they are best equipped to international aid coordination.⁵⁰ Between 2009 and 2014 the Netherlands donated 1,6 billion Euro to humanitarian aid. When it comes to UNHCR the Netherlands take the 10th place in 2015 regarding the world's largest donators. The Dutch contribution was around 71,9 million US Dollar, after the United States, the United Kingdom, European Union, Japan, Germany, Kuwait, Sweden, Norway and Denmark.⁵¹

The effectiveness of humanitarian aid is a hot topic nowadays with ever increasing conflicts and disasters dominating the global map and agenda. While at one side it is argued that humanitarian aid is been better organized in recent years because of new finance mechanisms that enables faster financing of humanitarian aid, there is on the other hand also critique on the bureaucracy of the UN. UN organisations are said to only follow their own mandate and institutional interests. Also, the UN appears unwilling to adjust their strategy to new ways of coordination.⁵²

According to the same IOB report the UN organisations are not fast enough with providing adequate aid regarding violent conflict and refugee situations. An example mentioned is Syria, where it is also simply too dangerous for the UN employees to provide help. In the surrounding countries of Syria, basic amenities provided are perceived as positive by the evaluators. However, with the continuation of the crisis the scope of aid declines. A reason is that organisations are running out of reserves and there are not enough financial means to provide for the everyday lives of millions of refugees. In prolonged crises, such as the ones occurring in the Horn of Africa and the Syria region, humanitarian aid is simply not enough. Aid should be more structural, including a more long-term perspective.⁵³

However, the shift from humanitarian aid to structural aid is not simple, in fact is it a difficult outcome to achieve. Humanitarian aid is ad hoc and can be implemented without extensive consultations with local stakeholders, as is the case with structural or development aid.

⁵⁰ IOB Evaluation Letter N. 1505, Beleidsdoorlichting van de Nederlandse Hulp 2009-2014.

⁵¹ UNHCR – Website, URL: <http://www.unhcr.org/pages/49c3646c26c.html>, (May 2, 2016).

⁵² IOB Evaluation Letter N. 1505, Beleidsdoorlichting van de Nederlandse Hulp 2009-2014.

⁵³ Ibid.

Furthermore, the so called budget lines differ, and the decision making process regarding development cooperation is much more complicated. The amount of humanitarian aid used for financing prolonged crises is increasing, at the expense of other emerging humanitarian crises. There are no political solutions found yet to crises as in Syria and host countries who take care of large numbers of refugees are becoming increasingly frustrated. This is the case in Jordan as well as in Kenya. The IOB concludes that there is no or limited support yet in the Netherlands and other donors for switching from humanitarian aid to structural or development aid in situations as described above.⁵⁴

Eighty per cent of the refugees worldwide stay in developing countries. Those are countries with limited resources and infrastructure, so providing help to the refugees is a huge burden. My informant at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs argued for a change in discourse. There is a need for a more creative and sustainable way of providing humanitarian aid, so the resources and funding are used more efficiently and could be used on longer term. These are all issues governments and aid organisations worldwide have to work on. With a growing frustration of host countries towards refugees, the collaboration between governments and aid organizations on these topics should be of key priority.⁵⁵ In the next chapter these topics will be discussed in more detail; by zooming in on two refugee camps.

⁵⁴ IOB Evaluation Letter N. 1505, Beleidsdoorlichting van de Nederlandse Hulp 2009-2014.

⁵⁵ Annex 2.

When comparing different gender equality programmes it is relevant to look at the work of UN Women in both Dadaab and Za'atari, because it focuses on women's empowerment in both refugee camps. There are many other NGOs active, but only a limited number in both camps with a focus on women. As mentioned earlier the Netherlands is a top core donor to humanitarian aid organisations, and this is also the case with UN Women. In 2015 the Netherlands donated 4,5 million USD to UN Women.⁵⁶ UN Women publishes many reports to present the outcomes to the donors, and as mentioned earlier it is the official UN organization working on gender equality and women's empowerment.

Empowering women in Dadaab, Kenya

Dadaab consists of five different camps and officially provides shelter to around 34,000 refugees, whilst the camp was made to shelter 190,000 refugees. This comes along with density and numerous challenges faces by UNHCR. Unregistered refugees live in the outskirts of the camps and are not eligible for aid assistance. All five camps of Dadaab are separated into nine sectors and further divided into 196 blocks, with a democratically chosen male and female leader representing each block and sector.⁵⁷ UNHCR states that all registered refugees are of Somali descent.⁵⁸ When it comes to traditional gender roles, Somali men are in charge of livestock herding and providing for the family, whilst women are in charge of the household.⁵⁹

UN Women published a self-critical report on the effectiveness of gender equality programming in Dadaab in 2015. UN Women has set up several programmes to improve education, WASH outcomes (Water, Sanitation), health, food security and livelihood, gender based violence (GBV), and gender equality, empowerment and women's participation. I will look

⁵⁶ UN Women – Website, (June 8, 2016), URL: <http://www.unwomen.org/en/partnerships/donor-countries>, (May 2, 2016).

⁵⁷ UN Women Report, 'The Effect of Gender Equality Programming on Humanitarian Outcomes' (2015), p. 26.

⁵⁸ UNHCR Refugees in the Horn of Africa: Somali Displacement Crisis.

⁵⁹ UN Women Report, 'The Effect of Gender Equality Programming on Humanitarian Outcomes' (2015), p. 27.

at the outcomes of programmes on achieving gender equality, empowerment and women's participation, and programmes to prevent GBV.

Numerous NGOs already active in Dadaab have adopted strategies to prevent GBV and there is a large data collection on GBV. Regarding positive outcomes UN Women states that there has been an increase in the safer delivery of pregnancies in health centres. Pregnancies were attended by skilled personnel whilst this first was not the case. However, the limitations of gender equality programming included a lack of female nurses and doctors, a lack of facilities, and security challenges faced by staff.⁶⁰ The effectiveness of programmes aimed at preventing GBV was limited, but improvements were that there is more openness about the issue in a culture where it is taboo to discuss. Women and girls are abler to report sexual violence, but it is unclear what happens after sharing this information. Also, medical attention was more accessible, as well as police.⁶¹

In Dadaab awareness campaigns promoting gender equality and access to education for women and girls are examples of women's empowerment. Girls were stimulated to go to school with the provision of free uniforms. Also, appointing women as community leaders to report to NGOs has been a key factor in women's empowerment, and gave the women in the refugee camp a stronger voice. Boys and men were more aware of the concept of gender equality, so there have been changes in attitudes. In an interview with my informant who coordinates the relationship between UNHCR and the Netherlands she said that there have been programmes set up in Dadaab that include special cooking programmes without the use of firewood. This because the earlier high risk of rape when girls and women were going out of the camps to collect firewood used for cooking.⁶²

Despite the large framework regarding GBV the women and girls are at severe risks. Regarding gender-sensitive latrines the safety of women and girls is still not guaranteed: they often have to walk ten minutes to reach a latrine and this is even more dangerous during night.⁶³ There is still a high number of rape and violence against women. In an interview with Dutch anthropologist Bram Jansen who has lived and worked in Dadaab he explained that rape under South-Sudanese men is perceived as a woman cheating on the man. Jansen also explained that in

⁶⁰ UN Women Report, 'The Effect of Gender Equality Programming on Humanitarian Outcomes', (2015), p. 23-24.

⁶¹ UN Women Report, 'The Effect of Gender Equality Programming on Humanitarian Outcomes', (2015), p. 31-39.

⁶² Annex 2.

⁶³ UN Women Report, 'The Effect of Gender Equality Programming on Humanitarian Outcomes', (2015), p. 23-24.

Dadaab Sharia courts are active, which means that a topic such as domestic violence is perceived totally different than the NGOs would like to see.⁶⁴

Another issue that has proven to overcome is female genital mutilation (FGM). A trend in Somali culture is the narrowing of the vaginal opening by stitching, which is an extremely harmful procedure. When a girl or a woman gets raped, this comes with extra physical pain. It is often known if someone gets raped, which leads to repetition once a girl or woman is regarded as 'open.' This girl or woman is labelled as 'ruined', because after rape she is no longer virgin and suitable for (forced) marriage. Regarding FGM and critique on this tradition, there is a collaboration between NGOs and religious leaders inside Dadaab to emphasize that FGM is culturally driven, not religiously, so changes in attitudes towards this tradition could occur.⁶⁵

In the interview Bram Jansen made it clear that he considers gender equality programming essential, but that it is also a 'paper reality' where there is often a clash between the culture of the refugees and the agenda of the NGOs. He argued that it is impossible to abolish for example forced marriages in one generation, and humanitarian aid should be implemented step by step to achieve change. Another point made by Jansen was that providing aid should not be about changing the whole culture of the refugees, which is often happening according to Jansen.⁶⁶

Overall, the situation of girls and women in Dadaab is still unsafe and programmes aimed at preventing GBV did not have the wanted outcome, and UN Women argued this in its report as well. One reason named for the limited effectiveness of preventing GBV was the fact that humanitarian aid workers do not have easy access to go all the way inside Dadaab. The security protocols are very strict, and humanitarian workers live outside the refugee camp. Hence the capacity of their work is limited and there is too much distance between the refugees and the NGOs. Another major obstacle is the high density of the camp and overcrowding, which makes it very difficult to properly organize the programmes.⁶⁷

⁶⁴ Annex 1.

⁶⁵ UN Women Report, 'The Effect of Gender Equality Programming on Humanitarian Outcomes', p. 31-39.

⁶⁶ Annex 1.

⁶⁷ UN Women Report, 'The Effect of Gender Equality Programming on Humanitarian Outcomes', p. 31-39.

Empowering women in Za'atari, Jordan

As mentioned in the introduction most refugees in Za'atari are from Dara'a, in Syria. Za'atari is under joint construction of UNHCR and the Jordanian government. Various organizations provide basic amenities such as water, waste and electric services. The Jordan Public Security Department provides police services and the Jordanian Gendarmerie Forces are in charge of external camp security. In turn partner organizations handle issues such as health, education and protection. In 2014 the number of involved organizations was around 139 participating government entities and NGOs.⁶⁸ All these organizations fall under the supervision of UNHCR, as well as the 50 UN organizations active in Za'atari, which means that UNHCR supervises camp administration and management.⁶⁹

In the UN Women report on Za'atari the components of their work in the camp are presented. Those are: 1) self-reliance opportunities through cash for work, 2) life skill classes, 3) a micro medical fund, 4) a Syrian women's committee, and lastly 5) protection referral services.⁷⁰ The creation of safe oases by UN Women in Za'atari led to an increase of women's safety. UN Women opened its first centre in 2012. In the safe oases women's empowerment is reached through a cash for work programme, language classes, information awareness and protection referrals on key issues such as registration, hygiene, health, and sexual and GBV. UN Women established three women and girls-only safe oases in Za'atari. Inside these three oases there are around 170 cash for work opportunities.⁷¹

The overall cash for work program in Za'atari which is for both men and women is provided by a number of organisations. In this way skilled and unskilled volunteer opportunities are created and offered. There is a rotation system, so more people are able to profit. Hence the refugees have a greater sense of dignity and purpose. The overall cash for work program has more male beneficiaries. With a cash for work program established by UN Women for women only, those women are able to benefit as well and receive a small amount of cash. Activities done by women include recycling (mostly the UNHCR tents into bags), tailoring (such as school

⁶⁸ Raredon, A., J. Lee, M. McGowan, (ed.), *Za'atari: The Instant City*, An Affordable Housing Institute Publication, p. 10-11.

⁶⁹ Sullivan, D. & Tobin, S. A., 'Security and Resilience Among Syrian Refugees in Jordan.'

⁷⁰ UN Women, 'Restoring Dignity and Building Resilience', Monitoring Report on UN Women's Programming in Za'atari Refugee Camp, p. 13-15.

⁷¹ UN Women's Programme: Za'atari Refugee Camp (In Brief).

uniforms) and handicraft. There are also female teachers, security guards, centre managers and child care professionals. UN Women has put effort in creating protection services and safe oases. Through protection services women are able to report domestic violence, sexual violence, and child marriages. Also, there are child care and day care facilities, so women are able to join the cash for work programme. There is a self-sustaining medical fund for those working in UN Women's centres, through the profits made by refugees in UN Women's centres.⁷²

With the creation of safe oases for women and girls there has been an increase in social capital, which contributed to increased feelings of security.⁷³ Furthermore, women would spend less time at home which led to a reduction of domestic violence within their households. The work of UN Women and other organisations aimed at women's empowerment facilitated a way for women and girls to get out of the isolation and boredom they experienced before. The oases provide space for Syrian women and girls to talk about their traumas and are able to cope with these traumas through for example art classes and conversations with humanitarian aid workers. Self-esteems and identities are recovered with the help of programmes.⁷⁴

Despite GEP programmes set up by UN Women the situation is unsafe for many adolescent girls regarding sexual harassment. Girls told reporters from UN Women that they move around the camp with a male chaperone, a married woman or in a group.⁷⁵ Another issue is that empowerment of women led to lower levels of self-esteem among men, which resulted in increased frustration among men. Men themselves argued that the new economic situations in the households are changing the traditional gender roles negatively. With women as breadwinners, women are too tired to clean up the house after work and gendered identities were being challenged.⁷⁶ A critical note to make is that reports on GBV should always be treated with caution, as underreporting happens often due to social norms.⁷⁷

⁷² UN Women's Programme: Za'atari Refugee Camp (In Brief).

⁷³ UN Women, 'Restoring Dignity and Building Resilience', Monitoring Report on UN Women's Programming in Za'atari Refugee Camp, p. 27.

⁷⁴ Ibid, p. 28.

⁷⁵ Ibid, p. 26.

⁷⁶ Ibid, p. 26-28.

⁷⁷ Raredon, A., J. Lee, M. McGowan, (ed.), Za'atari: The Instant City, An Affordable Housing Institute Publication, p. 69-70.

The protracted situations in both Dadaab and Za'atari require a different perspective and long-term solutions. In the case of Dadaab the provided humanitarian aid had no effect on preventing women and girls from gender based violence. There appeared to be a large gap between humanitarian aid programmes and the creation of a better and safer environment for the refugees, especially women and girls. In a report from Amnesty International (2014) the repatriation deal signed between Kenya, Somalia and the UNHCR is used to illustrate the “voluntary” return from Somali refugees living in refugee camps back to Somalia. This report shows how the extremely bad living conditions in the camps trigger Somali refugees to go back to Somalia, despite the generalized violence and insecurity there. Negative factors inside the refugee camps include human rights abuses, such as violence, exploitation, harassment, and not being able to register inside the refugee camps. With the decrease of funding available for Dadaab, provided services become even more ineffective. Amnesty International concludes that the so called voluntary returns of Somali refugees in Kenya back to Somalia are a result of push instead of pull factors and Somalis feel like they have no other option.⁷⁸

As the previous chapter illustrated, UN Women has generated positive effects on gender equality. Nonetheless, the humanitarian aid aimed at specifically women and girls is limited. The lack of direct contact and exchange of information between humanitarian aid agencies and the refugees themselves is not beneficiary for achieving gender equality. As my informant Bram Jansen pointed out, there is a gap between the ‘paper reality’ of humanitarian aid organizations and the reality inside Dadaab itself, where humanitarian aid is not matching local issues. The gender programming integrated by humanitarian aid programmes is a way of social engineering of the camp, so Bram Jansen states: aid agencies want to generate cultural change by trying to change traditional gender roles on a short term, in one generation. This causes a lot of resistance amongst particularly men.⁷⁹ At the end this results in inefficiency of gender equality programming, simply due to not including and therefore the resistance of men. The inefficiency of GEP in relation to men has also been pointed out by the author Simon Turner. He argues that organizations such as UNHCR and its ideology and practice have challenged structures of

⁷⁸ Amnesty International Report, No Place Like Home, Returns and Relocations of Somalia’s Displaced, p. 25-27.

⁷⁹ Annex 1.

traditional male authority. Men often feel they lose their masculinity as a result of women's empowerment. Men and boys would even use violence to regain control, according to Turner.⁸⁰ The process of changing gender relations is complex and needs more attention. And again, all this information about the role of men in the empowerment of women is not new, but still not always included in every day practice.

Another term Bram Jansen used is 'gender performance.' Women would claim that they have gendered vulnerability, they are more vulnerable compared to men, in order to receive more aid or even get a repatriation into a Western country. This was sometimes the case with men as well: some claimed that they were homosexual to receive more aid and protection, and in some cases repatriation as well. As a result of women's empowerment there have also been cases of men being victims of domestic violence. So, Jansen argued, gender mainstreaming within humanitarian aid programmes is important and essential for sustainable security, but it has a downside as well when explicitly focused on women's vulnerability. At the other end NGOs would also prioritize gender equality in their policies in order to receive more funding from donors, as donors – such as the Netherlands - committed themselves to gender programs. So, the vulnerability of women and girls turned into a kind of economic topic. Jansen concluded that there is a clash with the local culture of refugees regarding traditional gender roles and those implementing programmes. GEP often looks good on paper, but in reality the effectiveness is debatable.⁸¹

In the case of Za'atari the results of humanitarian aid have proved to be more effective so far. The empowerment of women is directly visible through the creation of safe oases where women can work and create networks. In this way women are less isolated and there is a decrease in domestic violence. In a research conducted by UN Women 94 per cent of women and girls reported that participating in programme activities affected them in a positive way.⁸² They obtained a more powerful role inside their households. However, gender based violence is still present and especially adolescent girls feel unsafe.

It is important to keep in mind that the outcomes of humanitarian aid programmes aimed at gender equality programming, are largely shaped by the different circumstances such as

⁸⁰ Turner, S., 'Angry Young Men in Camps: Gender, Age, and Class Relations among Burundian Refugees in Tanzania', p. 13-14.

⁸¹ Annex 1.

⁸² UN Women, 'Restoring Dignity and Building Resilience', Monitoring Report on UN Women's Programming in Za'atari Refugee Camp, p. 44.

culture, gender relations, present aid organizations, camp structure, terrorist threats, drought, the access to food or other services and, quite important, media attention. The attention of the media and therefore the international community for Za'atari is much larger than is the case in Dadaab. With Syrian refugees coming to Europe the international community aims at a establishing a regional shelter of Syrian refugees, to prevent a massive influx into Europe. Large amounts of funding are given to aid organizations and to the Jordan government to settle refugees in the region. With all this attention people feel obliged to do their utmost. The willingness of host governments to collaborate with humanitarian aid organizations is also crucial. In the case of Kenya its ambivalence towards refugees is visible through the reluctance to pass through the international refugee bill that has been under discussion for years.⁸³

In the article *'The Other Refugee Crisis'* Ben Rawlence describes (about Dadaab) how the 'isolation of the camp and the UN mantras on rights and gender balance have fostered a subdued but tolerant society in which women are more emancipated than their sisters back in Somalia.'⁸⁴ After writing this thesis I would argue that the aim to achieve gender equality in camps could lead to an estrangement from the traditional culture back home. This could have a positive or negative impact. Positive in the sense that women become aware of their rights, ambitions and their possibilities and power to create (peaceful) change. Statements like these from Rawlence undermine the focus on changing traditional gender roles because of the negative sentiments among men this often comes along with. It is necessary that humanitarian aid organizations (and other aid organizations) do not try to implement their own policies and own ideology too fast, but first and foremost be gender and context sensitive to the local practices, and include women as well as men in the implementation process. Otherwise, gender equality programming will not be effective.

Another point of critique comes from researchers studying the so called White Man's Burden. These academics criticize the so felt moral obligation of the white West to help non-Western cultures and perceive and describe them as racist. This imperialistic worldview of the West has a tendency to perceive oneself as superior over non-Western peoples. William Easterly in the *Ideology of Development* names this Developmentalism. This ideology of Development 'suggests that there is only one correct answer, and it tolerates little dissent.'⁸⁵ Regarding

⁸³ Abdi, A. M., 'In Limbo: Dependency, Insecurity, and Identity Amongst Somali Refugees in Dadaab Camps', p. 11.

⁸⁴ Rawlence, B., 'The Other Refugee Crisis.'

⁸⁵ Easterly, W., 'The Ideology of Development.'

humanitarian aid there have been feelings of disappointment and frustration for decades. Economics such as Easterly are dissatisfied with ‘the ineffectiveness of the trillions of dollars in foreign aid that have to date been pumped into the world’s poorest countries by the world’s richest states.’⁸⁶

There is not one solution or answer to all the issues discussed above. Every context is different, there are no blueprints or one size fits all solutions. The fact that we discuss the (in)effectiveness of aid programmes regarding gender is a good thing and worthwhile as such. Doing nothing, or stop providing humanitarian aid or gender programming is no option. But there is certainly room for improvement. I would argue, also based on the interview with a senior policymaker in gender at the Dutch Ministry of Foreign Affairs that gender is still viewed as something extra, not incorporated within regular humanitarian aid. This senior policy maker also argued that not enough has been done regarding gender in the Netherlands. The Netherlands should have a more leading role in making gender programming more effective in the context of humanitarian aid.⁸⁷ Regarding the outcomes of the gender equality programming set up by UN Women I would also conclude that the Netherlands as a top core is not using this position enough to make demands regarding outcomes and feedback. So perhaps the Netherlands should earmark funds to gender equality programming, involve local stakeholders, and especially women in programming.

⁸⁶ Storr, V., *Can the West Help the Rest? A Review Essay of Sachs’ The End of Poverty and Easterly’s The White Man’s Burden*, p. 125.

⁸⁷ Annex 3.

CONCLUSION

In this thesis the following research question has been discussed: *'What has been the effectiveness of the empowerment of women as implemented by UN Women in both refugee camps Dadaab (Kenya) and Za'atari (Jordan) from 2011 until present and what was the contribution of the Dutch government?'*

During this research it became clear that the scope of my study was complex, broad, complicated and subject of much debate. So, one of the main conclusions of this thesis is that there is no easy answer to the leading research question, only modest remarks and observations can be presented. The concept gender varies in time and context; knowledge and experience about gender programs, empowerment of women was adapted over the last decades, the world itself has changed – with more conflicts and natural disasters than never before, resulting in an ever increasing number of people (including women and girls) on the move, and furthermore the meaning of concepts around gender vary between countries or even sub-regions. Gender in the Netherlands is completely different from what it means to people in a refugee camp in Kenya.

Regarding the effectiveness of gender equality programming and the involvement or role of the Netherlands in gender programming, it is argued that the Netherlands should have more influence on the design of the programs, because it is a core donor and also because the Netherlands wants to have a leading role in empowering women in an international context. A more critical or leading role towards the approach of UN Women could be important or even necessary, despite the understanding for the reasoning around non-earmarked funding. In this thesis it has been illustrated that the effectiveness of gender programmes was quite limited. Host governments, humanitarian aid organizations and donors in my view need a different framework designed to address mid-term solutions to prolonged crises. The effectiveness of gender equality programming is debatable, but I would argue that this is strongly connected with the fact that the given aid is emergency ad hoc aid, and not structural aid. There is a desperate need for a change in policies to make a switch towards structural aid, because refugee camps are increasingly turning into permanent settlements. It is not correct to provide emergency aid for decades, that's not what it is intended for. However, the political will amongst donor countries seems lacking.

This thesis has illustrated the difficulties that come along when trying to implement effective gender equality programming, especially in refugee camps. There has been critique on the top-down approach of the programmes established by humanitarian aid organisations. Some argue that humanitarian aid is a form of Western control over non-Western countries and a way of changing traditions and cultures into those that are more preferred by the West.

Researchers with long term field experience such as Bram Jansen argue that the policies set up by the UN are not in line with cultural and traditional gender relations of refugees themselves. Again, gender in one country means something else in another country. With gender equality programming the positive discrimination of women leads to feelings of frustration and anger under men, which would sometimes do more harm than good. So, conflict sensitivity should be part and parcel of gender programmes, and the involvement of local stakeholders (women and men) could help in establishing that.

Limitations

Limitations of my research include the limited scope of time for writing this thesis, the fact that I did not have a possibility to visit a refugee camp, and the limited amount of words. I did not have enough possibilities to conduct research on other organizations and NGOs and their work in Dadaab and Za'atari. I would certainly have preferred that as the reports of UN Women on their work provide solely their point of view on the effectiveness of the gender equality programming. With the many UN organizations involved with gender, it is also still not clear how they work together and how the funding to for example UNHCR and UN Women separately is put into practice. Overall one must always keep in mind the own political stance of the interviewees and the way this reflects in her or his work and the way they present their views.

Recommendations

For further research I would look more into the work of women's (activist) groups and policies regarding gender of local governments in respectively Kenya and Jordan. What challenges and solutions do they see? It would be interesting to conduct more research on protracted refugee situations and urbanization of these camps in general: would it be possible to turn these camps into actual cities where people, men and women, are allowed to work and create stable sustainable livelihoods and economies? I am eager to find out more.

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ANNEX 1

INTERVIEW BRAM JANSEN 11/05/2016

Dr. Bram Jansen is antropoloog, gespecialiseerd in onderzoek naar conflicten, humanitaire hulp en vluchtelingen. In de afgelopen tien jaar heeft hij veldonderzoek verricht in Oeganda, Kenia, Sudan en Somalië. Zijn promotieonderzoek was gericht op de ontwikkeling van vluchtelingenkampen tot onbedoelde steden met hun eigen sociale ordes.

Wat is het aandeel van Nederland betreffende humanitaire hulp en gender in Dadaab? En wat zijn de huidige gender relaties in het vluchtelingenkamp?

Nederland geeft vooral geld aan de UNHCR en andere NGOs en organisaties. Dit zijn de traditionele humanitaire organisaties. Omdat het kamp al zo lang bestaat verandert de humanitaire hulp veel meer in een overheid. Zo verandert een vluchtelingenkamp als het ware in een surrogaat staat. De eerste noodhulp behoeftes zoals water en voedsel wordt bijgevoerd met gender programmering. Dit wordt onderverdeeld in twee stromingen: de hulp gelijk verdelen onder mannen en vrouwen, maar interessanter is dat gender mainstreaming ook meer gelijkheid en menselijkheid wil promoten. Ik heb vooral onderzoek verricht in Kakuma, maar heb ook in Dadaab gewerkt als antropoloog. Alle programma's zijn bezig met het onderwerp gender. De VN spreekt over gender-mainstreaming als een doel op zichzelf. In Kakuma leven vooral Somaliërs en Zuid-Sudanezen, en is de gemeenschap meer divers dan in Dadaab. Als onderdeel van de traditie van deze culturen worden meisjes uit school gehaald op het moment dat ze ouder worden. Dit om de meisjes te beschermen tegen invloeden en hun maagdelijkheid te beschermen. Een falen van de hulpprogramma's is dat er jarenlang geprobeerd is de ouders te overtuigen dit niet te doen. Op de basisschool is er nog sprake van gelijkheid, maar dit verdwijnt later. De participatie en het management in de kampen is naar mijn mening een papieren werkelijkheid. Vanuit een antropologisch oogpunt worden er andere observaties gemaakt. Ik raad je aan artikel aan van Jennifer Hyndman (2000) die stelt dat het diagnosticeren van gender de transfer points van macht zijn. Er ontstaat een macht in de kampen rondom het thema gender. Bijvoorbeeld onder Zuid-

Sudanezen heeft verkrachting een andere betekenis. Vrouwen gaan vreemd bij verkrachting. Dit staat in contrast met het beleid van de VN. Er wordt onderhandeld over ruimte voor gender. De VN heeft een dus een “papieren werkelijkheid” gecreëerd, door bijvoorbeeld het ophangen van posters en het uitdelen van T-shirts gerelateerd aan gender om de gender relaties te beïnvloeden. Onder deze papieren werkelijkheid bevindt zich een totaal andere sociale realiteit. In Dadaab zijn er Sharia rechtbanken, waarbij thema’s als huiselijk geweld heel anders behandeld en beoordeeld worden. De VN etc. weten hiervan af, en sturen soms iemand om toezicht te houden, maar diegene komt vaak ook niet opdagen. Dit illustreert hoe er een aanwezigheid is van Keniaanse en Somalische (Sharia) wetgeving en deze verschillen met het beleid van humanitaire hulporganisaties. Dit soort onderwerpen zijn voor de VN natuurlijk schaamtevol, want dit laat een falen van het systeem zien.

Er zijn ook “losse” vrouwen, die meer verwijderd zijn van de gemeenschap. Seksueel geweld is een ontzettend taboe. In Somalië wordt er aan besnijdenis gedaan, waarbij meisjes daarna dichtgenaaid worden bij hun geslachtsdeel. Bij een verkrachting is er dus meer fysiek geweld nodig, want het meisje moet eerst opengesneden worden met een mes en daarna wordt zij nog eens verkracht. Ook heerst er een taboe op verkrachting, want hierna is een meisje niet meer “schoon” en maagd, en ongeschikt voor uithuwelijking. Zodra een meisje verkracht is, loopt zij een groot risico op nog meer verkrachting, aangezien iedereen weet dat ze dan al “open” en “verpest” is. Echter, het is dus niet zo dat elk meisje risico loopt op geweld, maar dat er bepaalde risicogroepen zijn. De norm onder Zuid-Sudanezen is het uithuwelijken van meisjes, terwijl algemene gender programmering stelt dat dit abnormaal is. Dit laat duidelijk zien dat er sprake is van een cultuurverschil.

Hoe denken de vrouwen zelf over de hulp gericht op vrouwen die zij krijgen? Hebben zij veel zeggenschap?

Er is een formele en een informele manier voor vrouwen in Dadaab om invloed uit te oefenen. De formele manier gaat via de UNHCR en de verschillende NGOs. Een voorbeeld van een informele manier is dat jonge moeders zelf een school hadden opgericht in Dadaab en geregeld hadden dat Keniaanse docenten de lessen gaven. Zo konden zij met hun baby’s naar school. Ook is er microkrediet gericht op vrouwen, opgericht door de vluchtelingen zelf. Er is ook een enorme economische laag aanwezig waarbij vluchtelingen baantjes hebben op de zwarte markt.

Ik kan wel iets meer vertellen over een ervaring in Kakuma waarbij er veel aandacht was voor de kwetsbaarheid van vrouwen en dit in een soort economie veranderde. Zo was er een short list

voor vluchtelingen die extreem kwetsbaar waren om in het Westen gesetteld te worden. Dit wordt natuurlijk gezien als het hoogste doel voor vluchtelingen. Doordat de kwetsbaarheid zo verweven was met het gender vraagstuk, en daarmee huiselijk en seksueel geweld, alleenstaande moeders, discriminatie etc., was dit een ingang tot hulpbronnen. Mensen gingen claimen dat zij extra kwetsbaar waren: er ontstond een “gender performance”. Dit resulteerde in fraude. NGOs en VN vertelden mij ooit dat ongeveer 1% van de klachten over kwetsbaarheid echt waar was, de rest zou waarschijnlijk bedacht zijn om hulp te krijgen. Dit is iets wat natuurlijk niet uitgesproken kan worden.

Wat zijn volgens u de grootse kritiekpunten op de huidige humanitaire hulp die gegeven wordt (of meer specifiek hulp gericht op vrouwen)?

Gender mainstreaming belangrijk en essentieel is in humanitaire hulp, maar het is belangrijk goed in te gaan op de twee richtingen die het op kan gaan. Het kan ten eerste essentiële hulp zijn waarbij dit ook gezien kan worden als een onderdeel van sociale engineering door de hulporganisaties. Hierbij zou het gaan om het veranderen van de cultuur. Ten tweede moet men ingaan op de negatieve effecten van gender mainstreaming. Er is veel weerstand onder de mannelijke vluchtelingen ten opzichte van gender programmering. Een voorbeeld is dat bij een onderzoek in Zuid-Sudan er medewerkers waren die zo bedreigd werden dat zij afgezonderd en met beveiliging moesten leven. Dit ging dan om medewerkers van NGOs die bezig waren met gender programmering, maar met extreem veel weerstand te maken kregen in de vluchtelingenkampen vanwege hun Westerse beleid. Dit had natuurlijk zijn weerslag op de hulp zelf. Gender programmering door humanitaire hulporganisaties zou eigenlijk stapje voor stapje geïmplementeerd moeten worden. Gedwongen huwelijken zijn bijvoorbeeld een onderdeel van de cultuur, en het lukt niet om dat binnen 1 generatie af te schaffen. Men moet wel realistisch blijven. Ik heb vaak op bijeenkomsten gesproken waarbij ik in heftige discussies verweekt raakte met oudere vrouwen, die stellen dan gender gelijkheid een mensenrecht is en gender gelijkheid altijd geïmplementeerd moet worden. Volgens mij heeft dit echter ook een Westers/koloniaal aspect.

In de traditionele gemeenschappen binnen de vluchtelingenkampen vindt ook onderdrukking van homoseksuelen plaats. De VN en andere NGOs hadden een beleid waarbij kwetsbare homoseksuelen naar de VS mochten voor nieuwe huisvesting, maar dit resulteerde in het gegeven dat ineens iedereen naar voren kwam als homoseksueel. Dit is dus ook weer een voorbeeld van gender performance. Er rust een taboe op de kwetsbaarheid van mannen. Tien jaar geleden was

het beleid vooral gericht op preventie van huiselijk geweld tegen vrouwen, waarbij mannen het onderspit delfden. Mannen waren soms ook het slachtoffer van huiselijk geweld en verloren veel eigenwaarde door de emancipatie van vrouwen in de vluchtelingenkampen.

De Keniaanse overheid heeft afgelopen week aangekondigd het kamp te willen sluiten, vanwege de dreiging van onder andere Al-Shabaab. Wat is uw reactie hierop?

Het is te betwijfelen of de aankondiging van de Keniaanse regering serieus genomen moet worden, aangezien zij dit (bijna) elk jaar aankondigt. Aan de andere kant bestaat het kamp al veel te lang, maar staat de dreiging van Al-Shabaab los van de vluchtelingenkampen. Kenia zou misschien op een soortgelijke Europese Unie-Turkije deal aansturen, en geld willen ontvangen in de ruil voor opvang van vluchtelingen. Dit is opmerkelijk, want Dadaab (als een soort stad) draagt bij aan de regionale ontwikkeling en de Keniaanse economie. Deze aankondiging is waarschijnlijk een politiek spelletje om geld.

ANNEX 2

INTERVIEW JANNEKE VAN ETTEN 13/05/2016

Janneke van Etten is senior-policy beleidsmedewerker op het Ministerie van Buitenlandse Zaken. Van Etten is coördinator samenwerking tussen UNHCR en Nederland.

Wat is het aandeel van Nederland betreffende humanitaire hulp en gender programmering in deze kampen? Kunt u misschien voorbeelden noemen van behaalde resultaten?

Nederland geeft veel geld aan UNHCR en UNRA. UNRA is een organisatie voor Palestijnse vluchtelingen. In het algemeen wordt zoveel mogelijk vrijgelaten qua organisaties om alles zo flexibel mogelijk te laten verlopen. De vaste bijdrage voor UNRA is 13 miljoen en zij gaat vaak zelf naar vergaderingen hierover. Financieel mogen organisaties dus zelf bepalen wat ze met het geld doen, maar er zijn wel speerpunten zoals gender. Een ander groot speerpunt is de zorg voor vluchtelingen. Binnen UNHCR is er veel aandacht voor gender en zijn er grote richtlijnen, en hier wordt invloed op uitgeoefend. Nederland geeft een core bijdrage aan UNHCR. Hierbij gaat er veel aandacht uit naar Syrische vluchtelingen. Omdat Nederland ook om Afrika geeft, doet Nederland ook veel voor Afrika.

Is er sprake van vooruitgang in Dadaab wat betreft gender?

Er zijn UNHCR-programma's voor vrouwen en kinderen. Zo was er een programma waarbij vrouwen niet meer naar hout hoeven te zoeken en zo het kamp uit moeten en er misschien kans is op geweld, maar dat er een andere manier van koken ontwikkeld is. Ook zijn er safe houses opgericht voor vrouwen, voor als er onderlinge ruzie is bij clans en deze vrouwen dan uitgestoten worden door hun gemeenschap. Er is echter veel om te verbeteren, ook aangezien vrouwen de meest kwetsbare personen zijn.

Hoe groot is de rol van de lokale overheid en lokale NGOs in de vluchtelingenkampen?

De rol van de lokale overheid en lokale vrouwenorganisaties is groot. Nederland werkt samen met UNHCR zoals eerder vermeld. Voor 2016 is de core bijdrage 42 miljoen Euro en in 2017 46 miljoen euro. Dit is on-geoordeeld en hierbij komen ook nog geoordeelde donaties. Dit is dus

allemaal humanitaire hulp, en geen structurele hulp. Nederland werkt nauw samen met de lokale Nederlandse ambassades, en deze werken nauw samen met UNHCR. UNHCR heeft controle over de meewerkende organisaties. Op het gebied van psychosociale hulp is er veel samenwerking, ook met lokale autoriteiten en gastgemeenschappen. De lokale bevolking is ook arm en krijgen ook graag hulp. Hier gaat veel aandacht naar uit, anders ontstaat er frictie en kan het voorkomen dat vluchtelingen meer te eten hebben dan de lokale gemeenschap.

Een groeiend deel van de humanitaire hulp gaat naar langdurige crises. Met het uitblijven van politieke oplossingen voor die crises neemt de roep om meer aandacht voor duurzame oplossingen toe. Integratie van vluchtelingen in de buurlanden vraagt om meer structurele sociaaleconomische voorzieningen, in nauwe samenwerking met de overheden van die landen. Denkt u dat deze taak de humanitaire hulporganisaties te boven gaat?

Er moet inderdaad niet alleen meer met humanitaire of noodhulp gewerkt worden. In een veel vroeger stadium moet er geswitcht worden naar ontwikkelingssamenwerking. Humanitaire hulp is bedoeld voor noodhulp, en men moet anders denken om de zelfredzaamheid van vluchtelingen te vergroten. Er moet gelobbyd worden bij regeringen om vluchtelingen toestemming te geven om te mogen werken. Er moeten andere manieren komen van hulp geven, en deze moeten creatiever zijn. Dit om het geld ook zo efficiënt mogelijk in te zetten. Vluchtelingen worden nog wel gedoogd door de lokale regeringen, maar dit kan veranderen. 80 procent van de vluchtelingen wordt opgevangen in ontwikkelingslanden en dit vergt van deze landen ook veel energie natuurlijk.

ANNEX 3

INTERVIEW JORIS GEEVEN 12/05/2016

Joris Geeven is senior-policy medewerker op het Ministerie van Buitenlandse Zaken en werkt aan het Nederlandse beleid aangaande gender. Geeven heeft gewerkt aan het Nationale Actie Plan.

Wat is het aandeel van Nederland betreffende humanitaire hulp en gender programmering in Kenia en Jordanië?

Nederland geeft veel geld aan humanitaire hulp: Twee derde wordt ongeoormerkt aan hulporganisaties gegeven. Hoe gender geïmplementeerd wordt hangt af van de richtlijnen aangaande gender. Nederland schrijft voor het World Humanitarian Summit 2016 een aanbevelingsrapport, waarbij Nederland meer op de voorgrond wil treden met gender. Hierbij wordt sterk samengewerkt met WO=MEN en het Dutch Relief Fund, en ook met de NGOs Cordaid en Save the Children. Hier zal men sterk ingaan op gender en humanitaire hulp. Ook zal er meer gebruik gemaakt van gendermarkers. Nederland zal binnenkort ook een kamerbrief uitbrengen waarin gender op de voorgrond staat. Wat voor een hulp er wordt gegeven is erg context gericht. Bij het conflict in Syrië bijvoorbeeld is er eerst sprake van een vredesovereenkomst. De stappen die hierna volgen zijn vredesopbouw en vervolgens wederopbouw. Het hangt dus erg af van de lokale context.

Kunt u mij iets meer vertellen over de eerdere NAPs en wat er veranderd is?

De laatste kamerbrief aangaande gender stamt nog uit 2011, wat dus erg lang geleden is. Momenteel wordt er gewerkt aan een nieuwe kamerbrief over gender die voor de zomer gepubliceerd wordt. Gender in het beleid van Buitenlandse Zaken staat nog erg in de kinderschoenen, en er wordt relatief weinig gedaan. Nederland zou meer moeten aanjagen en hier zijn de nieuwe aanbevelingen ook op gericht. De komende maanden gaat Nederland het debat sterk aanvoeren.