

**WOMEN'S EMPOWERMENT IN YEMEN DURING THE PROTRACTED
HUMANITARIAN CRISIS 2014-2023
UNDERGRADUATE THESIS**



**UNIVERSITAS
ISLAM
INDONESIA**

Written by:

MUHAMMAD AL GHIFFARI NURSYASA AUFA

20323333

**DEPARTMENT OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS
FACULTY OF PSYCHOLOGY AND SOCIO-CULTURAL SCIENCES
UNIVERSITAS ISLAM INDONESIA**

2024

**WOMEN'S EMPOWERMENT IN YEMEN DURING THE PROTRACTED
HUMANITARIAN CRISIS 2014-2023**

UNDERGRADUATE THESIS

Proposed to the Department of International Relations
Faculty of Psychology and Socio-Cultural Sciences
Universitas Islam Indonesia

As a partial fulfillment of the requirements to earn a

Bachelor's Degree in International Relations



Written by:

MUHAMMAD AL GHIFFARI NURSYASA AUFA

20323333

**DEPARTMENT OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS
FACULTY OF PSYCHOLOGY AND SOCIO-CULTURAL SCIENCES**

UNIVERSITAS ISLAM INDONESIA

20323333

AUTHORIZATION PAGE

**WOMEN'S EMPOWERMENT IN YEMEN DURING THE
PROTRACTED HUMANITARIAN CRISIS 2014-2023**

Defended in front of the Board of Examiners
in the Department of International Relations
Faculty of Psychology and Socio-Cultural Sciences
Universitas Islam Indonesia

As a partial fulfillment of the requirements to earn a
Bachelor's Degree in International Relations



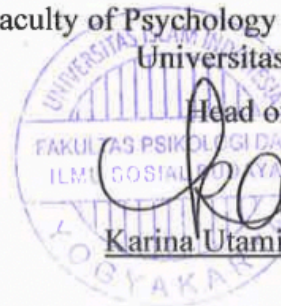
Date

5 August 2024

Validated by

Department of International Relations
Faculty of Psychology and Socio-Cultural Sciences
Universitas Islam Indonesia

Head of Department



Karina
Karina Utami Dewi, S.I.P., M.A.

Board of Examiners

- 1 Karina Utami Dewi, S.I.P., M.A.
- 2 Mohammad Rezky Utama, S.IP., M.Si.
- 3 Hadza Min Fadhli Robby, S.I.P., M.Sc.

Signature

Karina

M. Rezky Utama

Hadza Min Fadhli Robby

STATEMENT OF ACADEMIC INTEGRITY

I hereby declare that this undergraduate thesis is the result of my own independent scientific work and that all material from the work of others (in books, articles, essays, dissertations, and on the internet) has been stated, and quotations and paraphrases are clearly indicated.

No other materials are used other than those contained. I have read and understood the university's rules and procedures regarding plagiarism.

Making false statements is considered a violation of academic integrity.

5 August 2024



Alghifi

Muhammad Al Ghiffari Nursyasa Aufa

TABLE OF CONTENTS

UNDERGRADUATE THESIS	i
AUTHORIZATION PAGE	iii
STATEMENT OF ACADEMIC INTEGRITY	iv
TABLE OF CONTENTS	v
LIST OF TABLES	vii
LIST OF GRAPHS	viii
LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS	ix
ABSTRACT	x
CHAPTER I	
INTRODUCTION	1
1.1 Background	1
1.2 Research Question	5
1.3 Research Objectives	5
1.4 Research Scope	5
1.5 Literature Review	6
1.6 Research Framework	8
1.7 Provisional Argument	10
1.8 Research Method	11
<i>1.8.1 Type of the Research</i>	<i>11</i>
<i>1.8.2 Subject and Object of the Research</i>	<i>11</i>
<i>1.8.3 Method of Data Collection</i>	<i>12</i>
<i>1.8.4 Process of the Research</i>	<i>12</i>
1.9 Thesis Outline	12
CHAPTER II	14
WOMEN'S ISSUES IN YEMEN DURING THE CRISIS AND ANALYSIS OF EDUCATION	14
2.1. Issues Faced by Yemeni Women	14
2.2. Analysis of the Education Sector	18
2.2.1 The Agency Dimension in Education	18
2.2.2 The Resources Dimension in Education	22
2.2.3 The Achievements Dimension in Education	25
Table 1. Yemen Educational Attainment During the Conflict	26
CHAPTER III	29
ANALYSIS OF PAID WORK AND POLITICAL REPRESENTATION OF WOMEN IN YEMEN	29
3.1. Analysis of the Paid Work Sector	29
3.1.1 The Agency Dimension in Paid Work	29

3.1.2 The Resources Dimension in Paid Work	33
Table 2. Bank Account Ownership Data in 2022	34
3.1.3 The Achievements Dimension in Paid Work	36
Table 3. Yemen Female Labor Participation Rate During the Conflict	36
Graph 1. Labor Participation Rate 2014-2023	38
3.2. Analysis of the Political Representation Sector	40
3.2.1 The Agency Dimension in the Political Representation Sector	41
3.2.2 The Resources Dimension in the Political Representation Sector	43
3.2.3 The Achievements Dimension in the Political Representation Sector	44
Table 4. Yemen Women's Participation in Parliament During the Conflict	45
Table 5. Yemen Women in Ministerial Positions During the Conflict	46
CHAPTER IV	48
CONCLUSION	48
4.1 Conclusion	48
Table 6. Research Findings	48
4.2 Recommendations	49
BIBLIOGRAPHY	51

LIST OF TABLES

Table 1. Yemen Educational Attainment During the Conflict.....	26
Table 2. Bank Account Ownership Data in 2022.....	34
Table 3. Yemen Female Labor Participation Rate During the Conflict.....	36
Table 4. Yemen Women's Participation in Parliament During the Conflict.....	45
Table 5. Yemen Women in Ministerial Positions During the Conflict.....	46
Table 6. Research Findings.....	48

LIST OF GRAPHS

Graphic 1. Labor Participation Rate 2014-2023.....	38
--	----

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

CEDAW	: Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women
GBV	: Gender Based-Violence
UDHR	: Universal Declaration of Human Rights
UN	: United Nations
UNDP	: United Nations Development Programme
UNFPA	: United Nations Population Fund
UNHCR	: United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees
UNICEF	: United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund
USAID	: United States Agency for International Development

ABSTRACT

This research describes the situation of Yemeni women during the protracted humanitarian crisis in 2014-2023 caused by the country's complex historical background. It also analyzes how women's empowerment was implemented during the crisis. Currently, Yemeni women are the ones who suffer the most from severe gender inequality, facing difficulties in exercising their fundamental rights. Limited services have significantly impacted the implementation of women's empowerment. This research utilized Kabeer's gender equality and empowerment theory by emphasizing education, paid work, and political representation in the achievement of empowerment. According to this theory agency, resources, and achievement are three integral elements for achieving gender equality and empowerment. The provisional argument is that numerous factors and variables contributed to women's difficulties in exercising their rights which also hindered the implementation of women's empowerment. Based on research findings, it was found that the protracted humanitarian crisis cooperately hindered women's empowerment in Yemen due to the fragile political situation, religious beliefs, and societal norms towards women which view women as inferior to men, making women even more vulnerable.

Keywords: Yemen, protracted humanitarian crisis, gender equality and empowerment, education, paid work, political representation

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background

The Republic of Yemen, known as Yemen, is a sovereign country in West Asia with Sana'a as its capital city. It is located in the southwestern part of the Arabian Peninsula and shares borders with Saudi Arabia to the north, the Red Sea to the west, the Gulf of Aden and the Arabian Sea to the south, and Oman to the east (Australia Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade, n.d.). The country is mostly mountainous and generally arid with sufficient precipitation to make agriculture successful. As of 2024, Yemen's population was estimated to be more than 33 million people, dominated by Muslims, with most largely people speaking various Arabic dialects (Wenner and Burrowes, 2024).

In 2011, Yemen faced political instability due to the Arab Spring uprisings that occurred in most Arab countries in the early 2010s. The Arab Spring in Yemen called for the overthrow of 33 years of Ali Abdullah Saleh's regime. The demonstrations resulted from dissatisfaction with the current President due to economic hardships and corruption. The widespread demands for refreshing new government grew, triggered partly by casualties from the heavy-handed government response (United Nations Foundations, n.d.). After Saleh's regime was successfully overthrown, Abdrabbuh Mansour Hadi, who was the vice president during Saleh's regime, took over his position as the new president.

Hadi was the only candidate in the election. Therefore, he was appointed as the new president for two years. However, in late 2014 the situation turned unstable when Houthi insurgents—supported by Iran—took over Sana'a, the

capital and the largest city in Yemen. In the following month, they seized the Red Sea port city of Hodeida (Montgomery, 2021). The protests demanded lower fuel prices and Hadi's regime was seen as failing to achieve this. Following failed negotiations between the government and Houthi, Houthi seized the presidential palace in January 2015. They put Hadi under house arrest, resulting in the resignation of Hadi and his government (Center of Preventive Action, 2024). One month later, he escaped and retracted his tendered resignation while under arrest (ACLED, 2024).

Currently, Yemen is under the control of several parties with different backgrounds and goals. The existence of these parties is also supported by other regional countries which are third parties, thus adding to the complexity of this war as it has divided Yemen into several different governments. The first party is the Houthi insurgents supported by Iran. This armed group was established in 1992, also known as Ansar Allah. In 2014, the Houthis took over Sana'a as their action against Saleh's regime causing Yemen to experience an unresolved humanitarian crisis until now. Since then, the Houthis have controlled most of Yemen, including the capital and several areas near Saudi Arabia in the north and west (Al Jazeera 2024). The second party is the Southern Transitional Council (STC). This separatist political organization was founded in May 2017 with full support from the United Arab Emirates. Based in Aden, The STC advocates to represent the southern people's wishes and interests, seeks peaceful independence, and strongly opposes the Islamist Islam party (ACLED, n.d.). The other party who currently have control over Yemen is the Internationally Recognized Government (IRG). The party often refers to Hadi's government as being based in

Aden and receiving support from Saudi Arabia and other international communities including the UN (ACLED 2024). Yet, Hadi's government is the only legitimate Yemeni government and is recognized internationally under UNSC Resolution 2216. (2015).

The protracted humanitarian crisis in Yemen is the result of the country's complex historical background that led to armed conflict. The conflict has been an international worldwide issue for almost a decade now. Since 2023, the tension between Houthi insurgents and the Saudi coalition has largely subsided. Yet, Houthi has made several attacks on ships in the Red Sea as a response to Israel's war on Hamas. Peace dialogue between the conflicting parties was carried out and provided hope to conclude the conflict (Center of Preventive Action, 2024). However, although the conflict has decreased compared to previous years, it has left complicated after-effects in various sectors of life including economics, education, politics, health, environment, and so on.

Today, Yemen remains one of the largest humanitarian crises in the world with fragile political and economic conditions that have affected all innocent civilians. According to the UNHCR in 2024, an estimated 4.5 million people—14 percent of the population—are currently refugees, most of whom have been displaced several times ever since the conflict. Around 21.6 million civilians or two-thirds of Yemen's population urgently need humanitarian assistance and protection services. The risk of large-scale famine in the country is very serious. Tens of thousands of people are already living in famine-like conditions, and another six million are just one step away from it (UNHCR, 2024).

Among all the affected civilians, women have suffered the most leading Yemen to severe gender inequalities. Based on data from UNFPA, approximately 12.6 million Yemeni women needed life support for living in 2023. The most needed assistance is mostly health and reproductive services. Furthermore, the significant increase in gender-based violence during the conflict also left a tragic phenomenon. Around 7.1 million women require direct access to services that prevent and treat gender-based violence (UNFPA 2023). In addition, nearly two-thirds of girls marry before the age of 18, mostly due to economic factors as they face increasing levels of vulnerability (UNFPA, 2023).

Women in Yemen have also experienced an increase in discrimination against women, not only in one or two sectors of life but in every sector. Discrimination based on gender has increased significantly and continues to hinder women's ability to obtain equal opportunities, limiting their access to fundamental humanitarian rights including but not limited to the right to life and liberty, freedom from slavery and torture, freedom of opinion, and expression, rights on work and education, and much more (United Nations, n.d.).

The protracted Yemen humanitarian crisis has inevitably interrupted the implementation of women's empowerment. Women in Yemen experience tremendously complicated situations in getting paid for work, continuing education, and getting involved in politics, or other sectors that limit their social involvement. The annual Global Gender Gap Report shows that Yemen placed 155 of 156 countries in 2021, describing irony in gender inequality (UNDP, n.d.). Even though before the conflict gender discrimination had been a huge issue in Yemen, the occurrence of conflict has added layers of vulnerability to women as

all the services have become extremely limited or even in some places completely absent (UNFPA, 2023). Providing women's fundamental rights is one way to achieve gender equality and empowerment.

Providing equitable access to fundamental rights to men and women is the country's responsibility as stated in Article 1 of UDHR 1948, "*All human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights*" (UN, n.d.). Yemeni women who have been suffering due to the intricacy of the status quo also deserve to get these rights. Furthermore, women's empowerment is not just about achieving Goal 5 in gender equality of Sustainable Development Goals (SDG) 2030. Beyond that, women have a critical role in various sectors of life including education, economic, and political representation that should not be neglected.

Through this research, the author will explain Yemeni women's conditions during the crisis from 2014 to 2023. In addition, the author will analyze the effects of the protracted humanitarian crisis during the conflict on the implementation of women's empowerment, which occurred due to the turmoil within the country and its complicated historical background.

1.2 Research Question

How did Yemeni women implement women's empowerment during the humanitarian crisis from 2014 to 2023?

1.3 Research Objectives

The objectives of this research are:

1. To describe Yemen during the 2014-2023 crisis, focusing on the situation of women.

2. To analyze how empowerment is being fulfilled for women in Yemen using Kabeer's concept of gender equality and empowerment.

1.4 Research Scope

This research emphasizes the effects of the protracted humanitarian crisis on the implementation of women's empowerment in Yemen under the internationally recognized government from 2014-2023. In 2014, Yemen's civil war began when Houthi insurgents took over Sana'a, the capital and largest city in Yemen as a protest to demand lower fuel prices and the formation of a new government (Center of Preventive Action, 2024).

Yemen's situation remained the same until 2023; however, the world faced a dire humanitarian crisis due to COVID-19 which has had considerable effects all worldwide including in Yemen. Therefore, during this period, Yemen faced a dual crisis: the unresolved armed conflict since 2014 and also the COVID-19 virus.

1.5 Literature Review

Most of the data collected on the current situation in Yemen is gender-blind data (Basharen 2016, quoted in Rohwerder 2017, 1). Rohwerder, in her journal entitled "Conflict and Gender Dynamics in Yemen", added that research studies and surveys conducted by various UN organizations or other NGOs that focus on gender, especially women in Yemen, are enclosed. Qualitative and quantitative data show that women are the ones who experience the greatest impact from the existing situation. However, gender and conflict academic literature is sparse. The existing grey literature by humanitarian organizations working in Yemen always refers to the previous literature, causing a lack of updated information. The existing literature review usually contains

recommendations and field situations related to the needs and priorities of those affected communities (Rohwerder 2017, 1 – 2).

Rohwerder mentioned that discrimination and marginalization towards women had been ingrained long before the conflict occurred. Since 2011, progressive actions have been taken by the women's movement to empower Yemeni women in livelihood opportunities. However, those actions have been useless in the current unstable situation, leading women to experience several impacts on gender-related issues including, not limited to the threat to, the threat of safety, GBV, child marriage, movement restrictions, poverty, limited access to all livelihood opportunities, female households, and so on (Rohwerder 2017, 2).

As written in the book "Women in Conflict and Peace" by Hall et al. (2015, 11 – 12), women's political representation is acknowledged as essential to strengthen a country's democracy and accommodate inclusivity. Women have often experienced exceptions from being actively involved in political activities. This book aims to increase awareness that the active role of women in politics can increase the visibility of marginalized women. The book is divided into four different case studies taken from Afghanistan, Myanmar, Rwanda, and the Philippines which emphasize the role of women as "spoilers" and "facilitators" in the development of democratic institutions and sustainable peace after the end of armed conflict.

Lastly, the journal article entitled "Improving Development Impact on Gender" written by Stocking (2003, 2 – 3) stresses that power relations play a pivotal role in influencing the differences between men and women. As concrete evidence, women are prohibited from owning land or property and continuing

their education to the highest level of education, and prone to high levels of GBV including human trafficking and sexual violence against women which are common in many countries. Furthermore, women experience a lack of protection in-laws in some countries leading to dilemmas to exercise their rights to the fullest. In addition, this article also stated that gender or equality does not only focus on women. However, this is how to create inclusivity between men and women without being biased. The emphasis on women's empowerment is how to provide opportunities for women to maximize their abilities, including the ability to negotiate to open up other opportunities in life.

Therefore to conclude, the three existing pieces of literatures explicitly agree that inclusivity must be created and women's involvement is important way to achieve this. What will differentiate this research from the literature above is the more specific research scope, namely on the impact of the protracted humanitarian crisis in Yemen on the implementation of women's empowerment during 2014-2023. Additionally, the framework that will be used is how women have the opportunity to determine their participation in livelihood opportunities including the availability of resources and the results of actions made by women themselves to be empowered.

1.6 Research Framework

The author will utilize the "Gender Equality and Empowerment" theory by Naila Kabeer to analyze the effects of the protracted human crisis on the implementation of women's empowerment in Yemen. Kabeer argued that, to achieve gender equality and women's empowerment, education, paid work, and political representation are three necessary elements that have the potential to

bring positive changes in women's lives (Kabeer, 2005). If these three elements are fulfilled, they will bring positive changes to women's lives and support the country's development. Nonetheless, easy access to these three components will depend on each country's government, societal norms, and status quo as abundant variables might affect the policy.

In addition, Kabeer defines empowerment as “power” that requires action to bring change during its process. An individual who can make their own decisions—decide the choice of strategic life including a place to live, partner to marry, whether to have children, how many children to have, freedom of movement and association, etc—without any interference is considered empowered. On the other hand, being disempowered means being neglected. Yet, she stresses that being someone powerful who deals with other people's choices in life does not mean being empowered as it might link with power relations (Kabeer, 2005).

Moreover, to achieve the concept of “equality and empowerment,” Kabeer mentioned three nearly integral dimensions: agency, resources, and achievement. Below is a further explanation of these three dimensions:

1. Agency (Process)

In this context, the agency has two connotations: positive and negative. Analyzing the positive connotations, “power to” refers to someone's ability to decide their own life and pursue their goals or desires, even in the face of opposition from others. On the other hand, “power over” refers to the power relation when someone overrides the agency of others through threat, violation, or coercion.

Agency can also be seen as a process of putting effort into realizing life choices that individuals or collectivities can make. It is more than just observable actions, it also includes the meaning, motivation, and goals individuals have behind them. In addition, this approach does not only emphasize the process of "decision making", but can also take a broader perspective that includes bargaining and negotiation, deception and manipulation, subversion and resistance as well as analysis of more intangible reflective and cognitive processes (Kabeer, 2005).

2. Resources (Pre-conditions)

Resources are the medium through which the agency is exercised, including the material sources in the more conventional economic sense, but also through various humanitarian and social resources to increase the ability to exercise choice. They are usually distributed over different institutions and relationships in society. Certain actors such as heads of households, chiefs of tribes, directors, or managers of organizations have the privilege to be decision-makers over others in determining the principles of distribution and exchange of resources. The allocation of resources might be slightly different depending on the ability to define priorities and enforce claims which will reflect the rules and norms that govern different institutional arenas (Kabeer, 2005).

3. Achievements (Output)

This term refers to the extent to which the potential is realized or fails to be realized or the final output of the agency and its consequences. Through

achievements, people's efforts can be seen, albeit it does not describe the whole conditions as it is also important to understand different variables of each individual (Kabeer, 2005).

1.7 Provisional Argument

The protracted Yemen human crisis has affected approximately 12.6 million women needing support in various sectors of life. Numerous factors have contributed to the worsening of this situation including, the fragile political situation, religious beliefs, and societal norms toward women.

According to Kabeer's Gender Equality and Empowerment theory, there are three key pivotal aspects in achieving development: agency, resources, and achievement. The agency is a decision-making process where Yemeni women are unable to determine their life choices. Meanwhile, resources are the medium to exercise agency and these resources have been extremely limited since the conflict. Lastly, the achievement is the outcome of the agency and resources where Yemen has always ranked last in the World Gender Gap Index. Due to a lot of factors and variables during the conflict, women found it difficult to access their fundamental rights which also hindered the implementation of women's empowerment.

1.8 Research Method

1.8.1 Type of the Research

The author will adopt a qualitative approach method as the primary research technique. Qualitative research is research that scrutinizes deeper insights into real-world issues. This approach aims to create a hypothesis and further investigate and understand quantitative data. Instead of answering how much or

how many, it provides comprehensive explanations based on the participant's experiences, perceptions, observations, and behavior (Tenny et al., 2022).

1.8.2 Subject and Object of the Research

In this research, the Yemeni government is the main subject of analysis. Meanwhile, the object of this research is the implementation of women's development during the protracted humanitarian crisis.

1.8.3 Method of Data Collection

The research is based on library research data collection. Library research is a method that utilizes various library resources including but not limited to books, journal articles, theories, or documents that are related either in print or online to discover information that fulfills a need or answers the question raised by the information seeker (George, 2008).

1.8.4 Process of the Research

In conducting the research, the author followed the following three steps. The first step was identifying the root causes that develop from the research question. The second was gathering all information needed from reliable sources including but not limited to books, journal articles, scientific works, annual reports, or news. Lastly, conducting data analysis was used to address the problem formulation.

1.9 Thesis Outline

In the first chapter, the author will explain the background, research question, objectives, research scope, literature review, research framework, provisional argument, and research method as the starting point to give the reader an overview of this research.

In the second chapter, the author will divide this chapter into two sub-chapters. The first sub-chapter will discuss women's issues resulting from the protracted human crisis in Yemen in 2014-2023. Meanwhile, the second sub-chapter will analyze the impact of armed conflict on the education sector based on Kabeer's theory.

In the third chapter, the author will again divide this chapter into two sub-chapters while continuing to analyze using Kabeer's theory. The first sub-chapter will explore the impact of women's empowerment on paid work. Meanwhile, the second sub-chapter will examine the effects of women's empowerment on political representation.

In the final chapter, the author will conclude the research with the results that have been discovered and provide recommendations.

CHAPTER II
WOMEN'S ISSUES IN YEMEN DURING THE CRISIS AND ANALYSIS
OF EDUCATION

Chapter 2 is divided into two sub-chapters. The first sub-chapter will delve into the issues faced by Yemen women in implementing women's empowerment during the protracted humanitarian crisis. Meanwhile, based on Kabeer's theory, the second sub-chapter will analyze how the conflict has affected women in education through agency, resources, and achievements.

2.1. Issues Faced by Yemeni Women

Long before the armed conflict in Yemen occurred, Yemen was a country that did not completely ignore the importance of women's rights. The feminist movement in Yemen has brought positive changes to women's lives and how society views women. In 1967, after South Yemen became an independent country, the Women's League was formed, which then had a significant impact on the results of policies that were comprehensive and did not specialize in one gender. The important role of women at that time was by actively participating in the process of formulating mandatory consent between both parties before marriage, protecting women from violence and discrimination in marriage, giving women the right to file for divorce in court, and much more. South Yemen also elected 11 women as members of parliament in 1990, indicating the state's active role in providing opportunities for women to voice and participate in the policy-making process. In general, the government and Yemeni women have worked together to support women's empowerment and succeeded in bringing about stable change during the period from 1960 to 2014 when the Houthis began

to take over Sana'a. Since then, Yemeni women have experienced countless challenges in exercising their fundamental rights (Ardemagni 2023).

Women and girls have become more vulnerable due to the protracted conflict (UNDP, n.d.). In 2021, Yemen was ranked 155 out of 156 countries according to the annual Global Gender Gap Report. The Global Gender Gap Report is a report designed to evaluate a country's gender inequalities index based on economic participation and opportunity, educational attainment, health and survival, and political empowerment (World Economic Forum 2023). A rapidly declining economic situation where many people have lost their jobs, large-scale damage to civil infrastructure, and the slump of essential country services are some factors that have contributed to making this situation a nightmare.

After almost a decade of conflict, 18.2 million Yemenis—more than half of the current population—are in urgent need of humanitarian assistance (UN Women Arab States, n.d.), and approximately 12.6 million women need support in reproductive health and services (UNFPA 2023). Women find it difficult to live peacefully as they do not have access to their rights to education, paid work, politics, and other livelihood opportunities. Not to mention, if women are mistreated like men the implementation of women's empowerment and even the country's development will be hindered as they are not empowered to maximize their potential.

In the education sector, the protracted humanitarian crisis has caused Yemen to experience a serious education crisis for the last 9 years due to the destruction of many schools, a significant increase in school dropout rates, deficiencies in teaching staff, and most importantly the immense collapse of the

education system. According to UNICEF in 2021, around 10.6 million school-age children were experiencing serious impacts on the learning environment including cognitive and emotional development and mental health (UNICEF, n.d.). This figure will continue to increase if immediate action is not taken.

In the economic sector, female labor participation in Yemen has always been below average while vulnerable paid work rates suggest otherwise. Yemen is one of the countries with low female economic participation and opportunities in 2021 with a gap of 28.2% between men and women based on the Global Gender Gap Report (World Economic Forum 2021). Meanwhile, the gap in vulnerable paid work among men and women in 2022 is 15.9% higher, where women tend to be more vulnerable due to a lack of skills and experience in most of the work (Gender Data World Bank, n.d.).

This situation also exacerbates GBV and discrimination against women. Yemen is known for its gender dynamics shaped by religious beliefs, culture, and social norms upheld in society. These factors have influenced how Yemenis view the gender roles between men and women, where women are inferior to men. GBV and discrimination are phenomena that occur throughout the world, including in Yemen. In reality, Yemeni women can experience more than one type of violence as it takes various forms, including rape, sexual violence, physical assault, forced marriage (including early marriage), denial of resources, opportunities, or services, and psychological or emotional abuse (ACAPS 2023). The lack of legal protection also leaves them exposed to domestic and sexual violence (Oxfam 2017).

According to data in the first 9 months of 2014, around 8,300 GBV cases were reported in Yemen. The majority of the cases involved female victims, with 78% of the reported cases being women and 18% being girls (ReliefWeb Response, n.d.). Although the data shown might not be entirely accurate due to differences in understanding legal definitions within and across contexts, overlapping definitions, and varied individual interpretations, this data shows how vulnerable Yemeni women are to experiencing various types of violence (GBVIMS, n.d.). Although Yemeni women have begun to experience this long before the conflict the, the protracted armed conflict has added more complexity to gender roles.

Since 2014 when the Houthis took over Yemen's capital city, Sana'a, they also began to impose women's movement restrictions. The limits imposed across their territory cover most of Yemen's northwestern region, where most of the population lives (HRW 2024). Since the imposition of these restrictions, women are not allowed to travel alone between provinces or overseas without being accompanied or being given permission by their *mahram*. *Mahram* is an Arabic term that refers to Muslim individuals who are forbidden to marry or engage in intimate relationships due to their close familial ties (IQRA Network, 2023). However, the existence of such restrictions greatly affects women who do not have guardians or male relatives regardless of their health or other circumstances to visit their families.

The rules also strictly imposed gender segregation in public areas (HRW 2024). Women are prohibited from roaming around, especially being involved in social activities that require interaction with those who are not their *mahram*.

These restrictions are ultimately forms of discrimination against women that have resulted in many women losing their jobs, dropping out of school, or being unable to be involved in other social activities, including in politics.

Yemeni women are voiceless as Yemen lacks laws and regulations that protect women from violence and discrimination or even empower their political, economic, and social roles. Moreover, if they speak up to oppose any party, they will be persecuted as a way to silence them (Al-Harithi 2021). These factors have caused the low level of women's participation in politics. In 2021, only 0.003% of women were in parliament (World Economic Forum 2021). It is unfortunate to look at the data as it indicates that women do not have any representation in the political sector.

Women are valuable assets who have a critical role in transforming the community. Their leadership has proven essential in advancing gender equality, as well as advancing economic, social, and security progress for all (Ahmad, 2023). Therefore, numerous humanitarian organizations including UN agencies such as UNDP, UNICEF, UN Women, and many more have worked hard to provide humanitarian assistance and organize programs supporting women's empowerment in Yemen.

However, providing accessible humanitarian assistance without discriminating against their gender is still an issue. Women, girls, and boys still have not been able to get access to the assistance provided due to severe gender inequalities. To address the issue of the distribution of humanitarian aid, stakeholders have initiated the mechanism (ReliefWeb Response, n.d.).

It is heartbreaking to witness Yemeni women who have been suffering even before the conflict become agonized by the protracted humanitarian crisis. Addressing all these issues in education, economics, and politics must be done immediately. The longer this war continues, the more victims that fall and the more difficult it will be for the reconstruction process. Additionally, since Yemen's protracted humanitarian crisis has been a worldwide issue, support from international communities is also essential to help the country recover.

2.2. Analysis of the Education Sector

Based on Kabeer's theory, the three integral dimensions in achieving gender equality and empowerment are agency, resources, and achievement. Therefore, this subchapter will be divided into three sections for an in-depth analysis of how Yemen's protracted armed conflict impacts the implementation of women's development.

2.2.1 The Agency Dimension in Education

The international community recognizes that everyone has the right to equal opportunities in obtaining education and stresses the importance of education for humanitarian development as written in Article 26 of the 1948 UDHR. In Article 26 paragraph 1, it is stated that "Everyone has the right to education." Furthermore, paragraph 2 emphasizes that "Education must be directed at the development of the complete human personality and to strengthen respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms" (UN, n.d.). In addition, ensuring inclusive and equitable quality education for boys and girls has been one of the agendas of the 2030 Sustainable Development Goals (SDG), namely Goal 4: Quality Education (Global Goals, n.d.).

In Yemen, under Article 8 of the 1992 Education Law, the government must guarantee the right to education for all citizens free of charge at all levels. The government must be committed to implementing and securing this right in stages. Therefore, the government has a commitment based on law to provide universal, compulsory, and free education for all children aged 6 to 14 years (UNESCO 2021). However, this law has yet to work as its implementation was intended, even after almost a decade of conflict.

Kaber stated that education is a valuable dimension that can positively change women's cognitive abilities including thinking, learning, reading, speaking, listening, and paying attention. All the skills and knowledge obtained through school will help women in work and relationships within and outside the household and increase their capacity to face the outside world. Nonetheless, Kabeer added that several limitations could limit the provision of education formed by society. Society tends to assign women's roles merely in reproductive terms, educating them to be better moms and wives in the future. It is not entirely wrong, but it limits the essence of education which is not just about preparing women for marriage but can be a platform for improving soft skills and hard skills so that they have a more equal place in the economy and society in general (Kabeer, 2005).

In the context of agency in education during Yemen's protracted humanitarian crisis, the connotations of "power to" and "power over" in the agency will be analyzed. The "power over" connotation refers to Yemeni women, while the "power over" connotation refers to the Houthi insurgents. Despite the chaotic status quo, the question is whether women can continue to pursue their

education or if some individuals will override their authority, thus preventing women from getting equal educational opportunities.

Even before the conflict, Yemeni women had experienced upheavals in education that were getting worse every year. Data from the Global Gender Gap Report for 2009-2013, five years before the conflict occurred in 2014, shows that the average educational attainment of women in Yemen was only 0.6592% or below 1% (World Economic Forum 2013). The upheavals occurred due to the patriarchal society and the vagueness of laws that guarantee women's right to education. However, the protracted humanitarian crisis has driven Yemen to experience a more serious education crisis due to the women's movement restrictions imposed by the Houthis, the Yemeni government, and the Southern Transitional Council (STC), which significantly increased the dropout of school rate to over 4.5 million (Save the Children 2024).

The restrictions imposed by the Houthis made many Yemeni women have difficulty continuing their education. The decision to continue their education is not independent, they need to decide with their families as many of them have to travel with male relatives to big cities such as Aden, Taizz, and Sana'a to study. An interview by Human Rights Watch with a female student said, "After my brother's death, I wanted to travel, but there was no one who could travel with me. I asked my cousin, then he said, 'We are not the male relatives to travel with you'" (HRW 2024). Another female student said that she did not get permission from her father for the sake of safety, "I can't let you go there, it is not safe. It will pose a big risk for you" (HRW 2024).

From the stories above, it is evident that Yemeni women have to deal with a complicated situation to continue their education due to these restrictions imposed by the Houthis. The problem shows the structural obstacles women experience in exercising one of their fundamental rights due to the strict patriarchal norms towards women. Moreover, the Houthi insurgents abuse their authority and control certain parties to the detriment of those parties, in this context women. The imposition of movement restrictions on Yemeni women is coercive, leading to many of them being unable to continue their education without a male guardian.

However, no official data exists on how conflict affects women's participation in school activities. Through a program held by USAID—the International Agency for International Development founded by the United States—which aims to help sustain education in Yemen during the conflict, 50 women's groups and 42 student councils through elections in 92 schools were successfully formed in 2022. This program not only provides opportunities for women in leadership but also provides an open discussion forum on sensitive issues in Yemen including forced early marriage and GBV leading to a positive change where discussing such matters is not taboo anymore (USAID, n.d.).

Although the data presented cannot cover all 10.6 million children affected by the conflict (UNICEF, n.d.), it can be concluded that Yemeni women have the desire to be involved in school activities through various programs provided including by USAID. However, the strong patriarchal system in Yemen where society considers education for women to be unimportant along with the protracted humanitarian crisis has created numerous barriers for women who want

to be active in school or even pursue their education. Hence, rather than risking their safety against the movement restrictions, girls prefer not to go to school.

2.2.2 The Resources Dimension in Education

In the context of resources in education during Yemen's protracted humanitarian crisis, the resources as the medium to exercise agency will be analyzed. The existence of resources for women to get equal opportunities related to education might differ depending on various variables including someone's capability and how certain actors with privilege make policies that benefit the society or certain parties. The way equal resources are distributed will rely on priorities and needs (Kabeer, 2005).

Despite previous turbulence in the education system, the protracted humanitarian crisis has left Yemeni students, including women, deprived of most educational resources. After almost a decade of conflict, many schools were destroyed, and there was a significant increase in school dropout rates, deficiencies in teaching staff, and insufficient funds for education, including teachers' salaries. What is even worse is the absence of an agreed comprehensive curriculum in the country.

According to UNICEF in 2021, 2,916 (at least one in four) schools were destroyed, partially damaged, or even used for non-educational purposes (UNICEF, n.d.). This illustrates that Yemeni students have lost the crucial infrastructure of education. The destruction of so many schools has had a huge impact on the continuity of the teaching and learning process as students have lost a comfortable place to study. This figure will continue to increase if immediate action is not taken.

The conflict that occurred caused major losses felt by students and parents. With the collapsing economic situation, parents are choosing not to send their children to school to reduce the financial burden as they cannot afford the tuition fee or cannot even afford to buy stationery. More than 40% of parents and children stated that the biggest reason they dropped out of school was because of the need to support their family financially by working (Save the Children 2024). These factors have caused the school dropout rate to increase drastically. With so many girls dropping out of school, opportunities for women to develop themselves are lost, making the goal of creating gender equality difficult to achieve. Moreover, this also leads to high cases of GBV and child marriage.

The conflict that occurred caused major losses felt by students and parents. With the collapse in economic conditions, parents choose not to send their children to school to reduce the financial burden as they cannot afford school fees or even to buy stationery. More than 40% of parents and children stated that the biggest reason they dropped out of school was because of the need to support their family financially by working. (Save Children 2024). These factors have caused the school dropout rate to increase drastically. With so many girls dropping out of school, opportunities for women to develop themselves are lost, making it difficult to achieve gender equality. Moreover, this also causes an increase in cases of GBV.

According to UNFPA in 2023, around 7.1 women are currently in urgent need of GBV protection and response services (UNFPA 2023). However, these services are not accessible to everyone due to the limitations or even non-existence in some places. In addition, an estimated 240,000 women have lost

their GBV services due to a lack of \$58.89 million in funding. As a result, 87 GBV services are no longer available and more than 500,000 women will lose GBV services if this situation continues (UNFPA, n.d.). The high number of GBV cases in Yemen is evidence that dropping out of school does not necessarily guarantee women's safety from experiencing GBV. Yemeni women have experienced GBV, but existing funds cannot cover all women who need GBV protection.

Along with the impacts faced by parents and students, teachers in Yemen are also experiencing the effects due to the protracted human crisis. According to a UNICEF report in 2021, around 172,000 or two-thirds of teachers have not received monthly salaries since 2016 leading them to quit their jobs as they need to find a way to support their family (UNICEF, n.d.). With so many teachers quitting their jobs, the educational situation in Yemen has become even more complex due to the shortage of teaching staff. Replacing these teachers will be very difficult. Although there are training programs provided by international aid agencies, getting the same number of teachers will be a challenge.

Additionally, because Yemen is currently ruled by more than one government, this has resulted in differences in the curriculum taught between the internationally recognized government and the Houthis. Schools in Yemen have changed their function as places of politicization. They carry out political campaigns to spread political ideology and expand their power (Nagi 2021). Even though no actual data that can explain how bad the impact of politicization is, this is very unfortunate. The essence of education is to prepare students' future, but the shift in the essence of schools to spreading political ideology, not only has an

impact on student development but also on how the country prepares its successors in the future.

2.2.3 The Achievements Dimension in Education

In the context of achievement in education during the protracted Yemeni humanitarian crisis, achievement is the output of agency and resources exercised by a person or society. The focus is on the outcomes a country experiences during a protracted humanitarian crisis in terms of women's educational attainment, school enrollment, literacy rates, and other matters related to education. It can be realized, fail to be realized, or even worsen with time, even though it is important to look at the other variables too when judging the achievements (Kabeer, 2005).

UNICEF estimates that the conflict could cause 6 million children to experience disorders that have tremendous long-term consequences. The latest data for 2021 shows that around 10.6 million school-age children experienced serious impacts on the learning environment, including cognitive and emotional development and mental health (UNICEF, n.d.). The data illustrates that Yemeni children are experiencing trauma because of the effects of the protracted human crisis. This is unfortunate as Yemen has failed to ensure continuity of comfortable education for its students.

Today, according to Save the Children, over 4.5 million children are out of school, a vast 39% of the country's school-age population (Save the Children 2024). This figure raises numerous abundant concerns as going to school will be one way to improve children's welfare; however, the high rate of dropping out of school can significantly increase other serious problems. With so many students dropping out of school, including girls, this has a big impact on Yemen's

educational attainment based on the Global Gender Gap Index. Below is a table of educational attainment in Yemen during the conflict.

Table 1. Yemen Educational Attainment During the Conflict

Year	Ranking	Score
2021	152	0.717
2020	150	0.717
2018	146	0.718
2017	141	0.737
2016	141	0.737
2015	142	0.720
2014	141	0.707

Source: World Economic Forum Website (2014-2021)

Educational attainment is a term used to define someone's highest level of education in all ages (OECD 2015). It includes the enrollment of primary, secondary, and tertiary education. The table above shows that Yemen's educational attainment has always low for several years with an average score below 1%. A stable score indicates that no significant changes have been made to increase this level of attainment. This indicates severe gender inequalities faced by Yemeni women in obtaining equal education opportunities.

Additionally, women's enrollment rate has always been lower than men's. In 2021, the enrollment rate for women in primary education was 78.7% compared to 89.4% for men. Data shows that the difference in these numbers will become more visible as the level of education increases. In secondary education, 54.7% of men enroll, while only 40.2% of women enroll in secondary education.

Finally, in higher education, only 6.2% of women continue their education to higher education compared to 14% of men (World Economic Forum 2021). From the data presented, it can be concluded that many women do not continue their education to a higher level. This is due to the various factors mentioned in the previous subchapter, such as restrictions on women's movement, high tuition fees, and schools being unsafe for women.

Furthermore, it was also found that many Yemeni women are illiterate. In 2021 after seven years of conflict, the literacy rate of women was 35% compared to 73.2% for men (World Economic Forum 2021). Meanwhile, in 2014 when the Houthis took over Yemen's capital city, the women's literacy rate was 50% and men was 83% (World Economic Forum 2014). If we elaborate further, there was a decline in the literacy rate among women from 2014 to 2021. If in 2014 the literacy rate for women was 50%, after several years of conflict, this level declined by 15% to 35% in 2021. Additionally, there was also an increase in the level of literacy among men and women. At the beginning of the conflict, there was only a 33% gap, but after the conflict, this gap became even higher at 38.2%. Factors such as the education system not functioning normally, a shortage of teaching staff, and politicization in schools are the biggest factors in the increasing number of illiterate women in Yemen.

In helping educational systems in Yemen that collapsed due to the protracted humanitarian crisis, USAID provided a program to help Yemeni women with all the challenges they face in accessing education. The programs targeted students including women and trained parents and the community on how to achieve gender inclusivity development. In 2022, the funded remedial class by

USAID had reached 8,892 at-risk students with half of the students being female (USAID, n.d.). UNICEF has also accommodated 209,000 children with individual learning, and 567,000 children have been given access to formal and non-formal education. Around 229 schools have implemented safe school protections. To address the issue of illiterate women in Yemen, the International Organization for Migration (IOM) also launched a program. This program has successfully reached more than 150 girls teaching them how to read and write and providing school bags and stationery (UNSDG 2023).

Moreover, to help Yemen teaching staff improve their skills, the SIERY program has been launched. This program is organized by UNDP and aims to rebuild and strengthen local government systems and the most affected communities, including women, girls, and youth, during reconstruction from the protracted humanitarian crisis. The program has successfully reached 203 educational staff, 21 of whom were women, who participated in a training program on diagnosis, monitoring, and evaluating an education sector operational plan. 348 educational staff including, 97 women, were trained in a Back to School for Enrolment Campaign (UNDP, n.d.).

Despite all the challenges Yemeni women face in getting a better education, the international community has made positive changes to help rebuild conditions. Various programs and training have been launched to help all parties affected by the protracted humanitarian crisis in Yemen, especially women, to obtain better educational rights. However, there are still many things that need to be done to address the current situation.

CHAPTER III

ANALYSIS OF PAID WORK AND POLITICAL REPRESENTATION OF WOMEN IN YEMEN

The third chapter is divided into two sub-chapters while continuing to analyze the other two elements regarding how the protracted armed conflict in Yemen affects achieving gender equality and empowerment. The first sub-chapter will analyze the paid work element. The second sub-chapter will analyze the elements of political representation. These two elements will be analyzed further using three integral elements by Kabeer: agency, resources, and achievements.

3.1. Analysis of the Paid Work Sector

This subchapter is divided into three sections. The first section is agency, which is a person's ability to get a decent job, whether they are willing to take action to realize their desires or not. Resources are the medium of agency, whether the crisis has limited women's resources in the paid work field or not. Achievement is the final result of how women can be empowered in the paid work sector or not during times of conflict.

3.1.1 The Agency Dimension in Paid Work

Women's rights to equal employment are stated in UDHR 1948 Article 23 paragraph 1: "Everyone has the right to work, to free choice of employment, to just and favorable conditions of work and protection against unemployment." Paragraph 2 stresses the importance of treating men and women equally without discriminating against certain genders as stated: "Everyone, without any discrimination, has the right to equal pay for equal work," (UN, n.d.). Additionally, all forms of discrimination against women in the field of

employment should be eliminated according to CEDAW Article 11 paragraph 1 which states: “States Parties shall take all appropriate measures to eliminate discrimination against women in the field of employment to ensure, on a basis of equality of men and women, the same rights” (OHCHR, n.d.). Furthermore, providing equal opportunity for women in the field of paid work will also help in achieving the 2030 Sustainable Development Goals (SDG) Goal 8: Decent Work and Economic Growth.

In Yemen, Article 42 of the Yemeni constitution has a general equality provision that focuses on all citizens having equal rights in political, economic, social, and cultural life. The state must guarantee these rights for citizens to access them (Yemeni Constitution 2001). However, the constitution lacks clear protections that support the elimination of discrimination against women. Although the Yemeni Labor Law contains some non-discrimination provisions, the scope of their application is too narrow. As a result, it is quite challenging to categorize what actions constitute discrimination in the paid work field.

According to Kabeer, women's active involvement in the field of paid work will lead to positive changes for women themselves. It will help them to be more financially secure. As a result, they will not need to completely rely on money earned by their partners as they have their income. This will also help increase family income, making it easier for women to allocate family expenses. Furthermore, women in abusive marriages can escape as they have more control over supporting themselves. In a broader context, financially independent women have increased access to supporting livelihood opportunities, including political

representation, practical skills, and knowledge of how to deal with society, and most importantly, boost their confidence to be in the community (Kabeer, 2005).

Yemen is considered one of the poorest countries in the world. The country has always been poor even before the conflict. Almost a decade of conflict has had a devastating impact on the living conditions of millions of Yemenis who suffer from hunger and poverty. However, according to a World Bank expert due to a lack of systematic data, it is tremendously difficult to estimate how many people are poor or to analyze the root causes of poverty due to conflict (Ahsarq Al-Awsat 2024).

Generally, Yemeni society views women's roles as more within household activities. Women's main responsibilities are cooking, cleaning out the house, and collecting water and firewood for their homes. Additionally, they also have the biggest responsibilities in taking care of children, the elderly, the sick, and people with disabilities (ACAPS 2023). Therefore, it is uncommon for Yemeni women to work to provide a living for the family like men as that is not their main task. However, the protracted humanitarian crisis has been accompanied by economic decline and limited livelihood opportunities that have changed society's understanding of gender roles between men and women, including accepting women to have more involvement in society. Surveys collected from six different regions in Yemen that are not included in the figures depict changes indicating a change in society's attitudes towards working women. However, women still experience major obstacles due to the movement restrictions that have been imposed (Sana'a Center for Strategic Studies 2024).

The UN has estimated that the Yemen protracted humanitarian crisis had killed more than 377,000 innocent people by the end of 2021. More than 154,000 deaths were a result of the humanitarian crisis by the conflict due to hunger and poverty. Additionally, approximately 15,000 civilians have been killed by direct military actions (Qasim 2023). These deaths have forced women who lost family members to take on the role of the head of household. Unfortunately, most women are not ready to take the lead as many of them lack leadership skills and knowledge.

Currently, roughly 26% of displaced households are headed by women. This figure has increased drastically compared to before the conflict with only 9% (UNFPA 2022). The changes have led women to have dual roles within a household: 1) the head of the household who has the responsibility to support the family financially, and 2) the housewife who has the responsibility of managing household responsibilities. This happened as most men as breadwinners lost their jobs or even died as a result of conflict, causing significant changes in women's households. Therefore, to support their family incomes women are forced to work; yet, society's perspective on women has remained the same.

This situation encourages women to enter the paid work field. Despite the challenges they face, Yemeni women have managed to start their businesses to support their families with the limited resources and skills they have. Yemeni women's businesses are divided into several types including selling food and sewing, providing daily necessities such as selling clothes and cosmetics, or opening a cell phone service. They acknowledge that starting a business or working means they are less likely to experience violence and harassment.

However, most of them do not have the capital to start the business. As a result of the economic collapse, many families no longer have a source of income, savings, or other assets (Abdullah 2022). In addition, many lost their jobs due to the women's movement restrictions that were imposed across the country.

A woman pharmacist living in Aden stated to Human Rights Watch, “I was not able to take advantage of many job opportunities that came my way due to travel challenges.” Another woman mentioned “Usually at the checkpoints, the women will get questions about whether the organization they work for is affiliated or not. If yes, another interrogation will be conducted which may put their safety at risk,” (HRW 2024). This situation puts women in a tense situation due to movement restrictions. Although there is no numerical data on how many women lost their jobs due to this policy, it can be seen from the stories above that women do not have the authority to be involved in various forms of work. One of the factors is that some actors abuse their power which is shaped by a strong patriarchal culture where women's role is limited to household activities.

3.1.2 The Resources Dimension in Paid Work

Resources are the medium of how women exercise their agency in the paid work sector including access to loan capital, training programs to improve skills, paid work opportunities for women, and health and safety at work.

Yemeni law gives women the right to own property and carry out all types of financial transactions including taking out loans to start or expand a business. Therefore in 2021, USAID through its programs has provided \$2 million in loans for women (USAID, n.d.). This loan procurement program aims to help Yemeni women who want to start a business or give support to women-owned SMEs to

develop their businesses. In addition, with supporting capital loans, women who do not have capital can be helped in determining the type and scale of their business. Likewise, for women who were already running a business, applying for a capital loan could help them develop their business. The bigger the business they run, the bigger the capital required.

Yemeni law gives women’s right to own property and carry out all types of financial transactions including taking out loans to start or expand a business. Therefore in 2021, USAID through its program has provided \$2 million in loans for women (USAID, n.d.). This loan procurement program aims to help Yemeni women who want to start a business or give support to women-owned SMEs to develop their businesses. In addition, with the support of capital loans, women who do not have capital can be helped in determining the type and scale of their business. Likewise, for women were already running a business, applying for a capital loan could help them develop their business. The bigger the business they run, the bigger the capital required.

Nevertheless, data shows that only 5.4% of women have a bank account compared to 18.4% of men (Gender Data World Bank, n.d.). A gap of around 13% indicates that more men have bank accounts than women in Yemen. However, comparing these statistics with Middle Eastern, North African, or other low-income countries, Yemen is far behind as seen in the table below.

Table 2. Bank Account Ownership Data in 2022

Countries	Male	Female
Yemen	18%	5%
Middle East & North Africa	60%	46%

Low Income	44%	35%
------------	-----	-----

Source: Gender Data World Bank (n.d.)

From the table above, it can be seen that the gap between Yemen and the Middle East, North Africa, and other low-income countries is significant. Of people in the Middle East, North Africa, and other low-income countries, on average more than 30% have a bank account for both men and women. This shows serious income disparities between Yemen and other countries, including ease of access to banking service providers and the need for financial services. Apart from movement restrictions and cultural norms, many Yemeni women prefer to keep their money at home rather than deposit it in banks. Most of them still rely on savings or family resources, including borrowing money from family members (Abdullah 2022). Yemeni women argue that this method is more efficient than having a bank account or taking out a loan at a financial institution because they do not need to leave the house.

Recognizing that many Yemeni women lack skills and knowledge as they are forced to enter the workforce to support their families, various innovative programs by international aid agencies or other communities have been launched to help women improve their skills. Through programs such as SIERY organized by UNDP, Yemeni women are helped to empower themselves in various engaging activities such as training to enhance their technical skills and prepare them to be ready to take any responsibility in society and involve them in value chain activities. This program acknowledges the social and cultural barriers faced by Yemeni women, therefore this program was created in a structured and systematic way for local authorities to help maintain and expand performance during the

reconstruction period (UNDP, n.d.). In addition, USAID helped almost 300 Yemeni women get jobs in various fields in 2022, including healthcare, education, and manufacturing. They also provided training to more than 1,700 women in agricultural productivity and food security (USAID, n.d.).

Since their implementation, various programs launched have helped Yemeni women achieve outstanding results. These programs increase women's economic independence with the hope of creating equal opportunities in the paid work field giving equal opportunities for men and women. Moreover, women also become more empowered by being allowed to improve their abilities in certain skills which are very useful for them to implement in the field of work.

3.1.3 The Achievements Dimension in Paid Work

In the context of achievements in the paid work sector, we will examine the final results of agency and resources in terms of labor force participation rates, levels of worker vulnerability, levels of professional and technical workers, and how effective the programs launched by international aid agencies are in assisting Yemeni women in the paid work field. The situation of a country also influences the outcome of achievement.

Yemen's patriarchal society and women's movement restrictions imposed by the Houthis are several factors that contributed to the low rate of women's participation in labor. These factors discourage women from engaging in economic activities, resulting in Yemen's labor force participation rate consistently ranking below according to the Global Gender Gap Report. Below is a table of Yemen's Female labor participation rate during the conflict.

Table 3. Yemen Female Labor Participation Rate During the Conflict

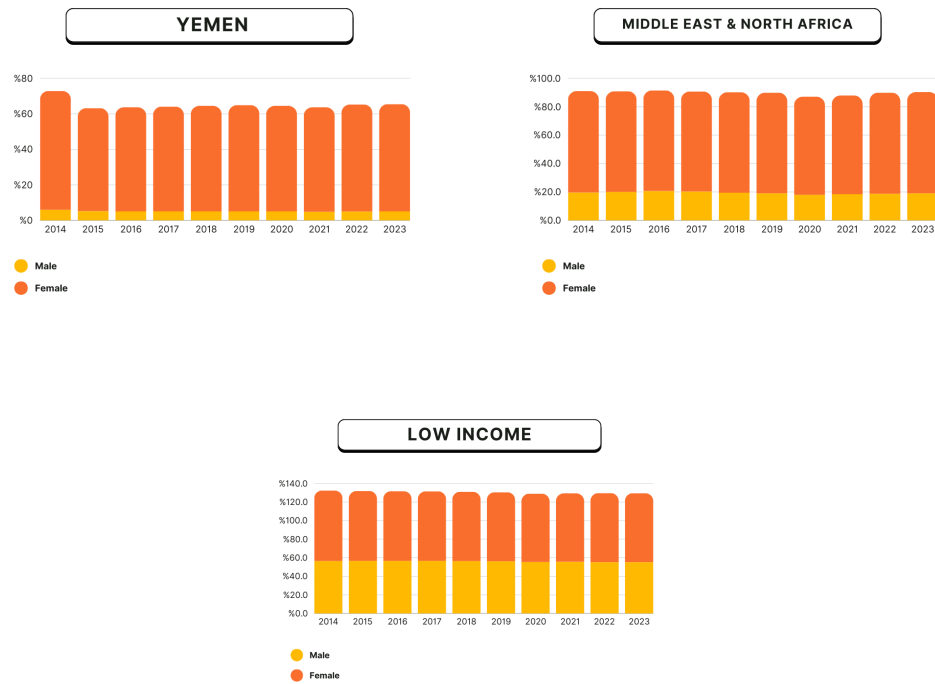
Year	Ranking	Male	Female
2021	156	72.2%	6.3%
2020	153	72.3%	6.3%
2018	149	71.3%	6.3%
2017	134	75.6%	27.1%
2016	134	75%	27%
2015	135	74%	26%
2014	133	74%	26%

Source: World Economic Forum Website (2014-2021)

The statistics presented show the gap between male and female labor participation in Yemen has always been huge. There was a 48% gap between males and females in the first three years of the conflict. However, entering 2018 and beyond, significant differences have become increasingly visible with a difference of more than 60% between the labor participation rates of males and females. This decline shows that Yemeni women continue to face barriers in the labor market that have worsened since the conflict. In addition, this illustrates that women do not have equal opportunities as men in the paid work field.

According to the Gender Data Portal by the World Bank, which compares labor force participation rates in Yemen, the Middle East and North Africa, low-income countries, and the world, the gap between males and females is always higher. Below is a graph to provide a better understanding of the difference gap.

Graph 1. Labor Participation Rate 2014-2023



Source: Gender Data World Bank (n.d.)

The graph above explains that even when compared with other countries, the female labor participation rate in Yemen has always been below with a large gap between males and females. This illustrates the low economic opportunities available for the working-age population, especially for women. As a result of the protracted humanitarian crisis, the participation level and economic opportunities have also decreased due to the collapse in the financial sector followed by the unstable political situation. This significant difference not only shows severe gender inequalities in Yemen but also suggests that most Yemeni women did not work or were housewives.

Although female labor participation in Yemen is low, vulnerable employment rates suggest otherwise. Since the escalation of conflict in 2015,

women's vulnerable employment rates have consistently increased to 62.7% compared to men's 46.8% in 2022 (Gender Data World Bank, n.d.). The gap of around 15.9% indicates that Yemeni women's safety at work is not a top priority. This is evidence that women are at higher risk of injury and illness than men due to lack of experience, lack of social protection, or barriers to communication in their work. Providing a safe and comfortable work environment can increase work productivity and reduce the possibility of work accidents or illnesses due to negligence.

As a result of the patriarchal system which causes low levels of women's education, this also has an impact on women's level of professionalism at work. Based on the 2021 Global Gender Gap Report, the number of female professional and technical workers was only 17% compared to 83% of men. Even in 2014, when the conflict began, only 15% of women worked in professional and technical fields, and 85% were men (World Economic Forum 2021). The low number of women at the professional and technical worker level tends to impact low-income levels, affect job satisfaction, and trigger turnover.

Through programs and training provided by international aid agencies for Yemeni women, 81 women have finally started their businesses and have partnerships with major companies to sell their products as a result of value chain activities in the SIERY programs organized by UNDP (UNDP, n.d.). This figure shows that women can be empowered and be more productive if they have the opportunity. Additionally, this also indicates that women have the same abilities as men.

Based on interviews conducted by ACAPS, the majority of respondents stated that such programs for women's economic empowerment programs were beneficial. This helps them improve the household's financial situation and ease monthly spending capacity (ACAPS 2023). Having an income makes many women feel more confident as they don't have to completely depend on men. The occurrence of conflict has also slightly changed society's perception towards a positive transition in viewing the role of women in economic activities.

The protracted Yemen human crisis is indeed paralyzing economic activity from what was already serious to becoming even worse. The implementation of women's rights to be involved in paid work is becoming increasingly limited due to the restrictive regulations imposed by Houthis and the prevailing patriarchal system. Even though there has not been a significant change, the training programs given to women have started showing results with many women beginning to open their businesses. This indicates that they are empowered to maximize their potential.

3.2. Analysis of the Political Representation Sector

This is the final element in achieving gender equality and empowerment based on Kabeer's theory. This subchapter is divided into the same three parts as the previous chapters: agency, resources, and achievements. Agency in the context of the political sector is the ability to take action to engage in political activities. Resources are a medium through which one can realize the desire to run for politics. Achievement is the result of how effective women's participation in politics is.

3.2.1 The Agency Dimension in the Political Representation Sector

Article 21 of UDHR 1948 acknowledges that everyone has equal opportunities to participate in politics as stated in paragraph 1: “Everyone has the right to take part in the government of his country, directly or through freely chosen representatives.” Paragraph 2 emphasizes that “Everyone has the right of equal access to public service in his country,” (UN, n.d.). Furthermore, CEDAW Articles 7 and 8 also mention that all kinds of discrimination against women in politics should be eliminated. Women should have the same opportunities as men to represent the government at the international level as stated: “States Parties shall take all appropriate measures to eliminate discrimination against women in the political and public life of the country and, in particular, shall ensure that women are on equal terms with men,” and “States Parties shall take all appropriate measures to ensure to women, on equal terms with men and without any discrimination, the opportunity to represent their Governments at the international level and to participate in the work of international organizations,” (OHCHR, n.d.).

Yemen’s constitution guarantees women’s rights in politics according to Articles 42 and 43 of the amended constitution that state: “Every citizen has the right to participate in the political, economic, social and cultural life of the country,” and “The citizen has the right to elect and nominate himself as a candidate in an election, as well as the right to demonstrate his opinion in a referendum,” (Yemeni Constitution 2001).

Women’s active participation in politics can bring positive changes to voice challenges that limit the life chances of poor women. Additionally, women

tend to have certain rights that men do not experience, such as maternity leave and menstrual leave. Therefore, with the presence of women in politics such priorities can be expressed well to achieve gender equality (Kabeer, 2005)

Unfortunately, Yemeni women are voiceless. Even though their rights are guaranteed based on law and the constitution in various livelihood opportunities, in practice women often experience discrimination that causes them not to have maximum power. Through peace talks and negotiations that have been conducted, there have not been any positive changes. Women's voices have even been marginalized following the protracted humanitarian crisis. It is even more difficult to provide women their rights considering Yemen is led by male-dominated politicians (Al-Harithi 2021).

The role of women in politics is critical. This is not about a formality, but changes toward empowerment will occur if women are directly involved in the decision-making process. In addition, it is beyond how their voices are heard or engaged in policy making. It is the promotion of a sense of self-worth, maximizing their ability to decide and control their choices in life, and the right to influence themselves and others (World Vision, n.d.). However, not a single woman was nominated to the new government that was inaugurated in December 2020 based on an agreement between the Southern Transitional Council (STC) and the legitimate government. This situation indicates the Yemeni women's low desire to be involved in politics and to formulate policies to express other women's voices. Various factors including unstable political conditions, low levels of security during conflicts, and the lack of fulfilment of many other women's basic rights have resulted in the low participation of women in politics.

The main factor causing the low level of women's participation in the political sector is due to traditional gender roles which view women as "weak" and in need of "protection," (Singh, Mollet, and Quay 2015). Even though in practice women have a big responsibility in productive and reproductive roles, the perspective that women are always subordinate to men is firmly held by most Yemeni citizens. This is what leaves women with limited rights compared to men. Apart from that, the patriarchal system that has become the norm also makes many women think that their duties will only be related to household duties.

3.2.2 The Resources Dimension in the Political Representation Sector

Resources in the context of the political sector during the protracted Yemeni human crisis will focus more on how programs and initiatives can attract women's participation in politics. Considering the current status quo with restrictions on women's movement and a very patriarchal society, the existence of resources will be greatly affected.

Apart from ensuring economic recovery and social welfare, the SIERY program held by UNDP also focuses on institutional resilience. The focus is to empower local governments to rebuild peace and stability. In its implementation, SIERY utilizes triangle methods which include capacity building, planning, and grant funding to strengthen the capacity of local governments. This program has succeeded in providing opportunities for women to be actively involved in training programs to improve their leadership abilities. Around 375 members of civil society organizations, including 138 women, and 432 members of community committees, including 104 women, received training regarding local governance and conflict sensitivity. Moreover, 70 women in Marib have skills in

local government and Public Expenditure Management including leadership, communication, public budgeting procurement, reporting, and so on (UNDP 2022).

Providing training programs in leadership is very beneficial for women. Apart from forming leadership skills for women, it can also unlock women's potential in various fields, such as but not limited to, conflict management, improving communication and critical thinking skills, and lifting women's career roadmaps. Moreover, with the existing conflict and the strong patriarchal culture in Yemen, providing this training can be a step in breaking the societal stereotype regarding the role of women. Fostering an understanding in a society where women are valued, respected, and empowered to take charge, at least lead themselves, is important so they can be empowered regardless of societal expectations or gender norms. (Sreenivasan, n.d.).

Unfortunately, there are still not many training programs aimed at improving women's leadership abilities or other resources that can support women's participation in politics. Another factor besides patriarchal culture is the existence of conflict which has paralyzed all sectors of life, such as the economy, education, health, and so on. Therefore, providing access to these services is still a top priority. However, providing women's rights in politics is also very important not only to achieve gender equality but also to help the country's development.

3.2.3 The Achievements Dimension in the Political Representation Sector

The outcome of gender equality and empowerment in the political sector can be seen in how women can be empowered through their involvement in the

decision-making process. Therefore, we will analyze Yemeni women's political representation including in parliament and ministerial positions.

As previously mentioned, the current protracted humanitarian crisis means that empowering women in politics is not a top priority as there are not many programs held to improve women's abilities in leadership. The top priority is to ensure the provision of services, such as education, paid work, and health. Even though the low participation of women in politics is not something new in Yemen as it happened before the conflict, the current situation means that the movement to voice women's involvement in politics carried out by Yemeni women's organizations before the conflict occurred has failed. According to the Global Gender Gap Report, Yemen consistently ranks last in political empowerment. Furthermore, women in parliament have almost no representation at all. Below is the table of comparison between the men's and women's representation in parliament during the conflict.

Table 4. Yemen Women's Participation in Parliament During the Conflict

Year	Ranking	Male	Female
2021	154	99.7%	0.3%
2020	151	99.7%	0.3%
2018	149	100%	0%
2017	143	100%	0%
2016	141	100%	0%
2015	142	100%	0%
2014	136	100%	0%

Source: World Economic Forum Website (2014-2021)

The data above illustrates that there are almost no Yemeni women who hold parliamentary seats. Almost all officials in Yemen are men. This is unfortunate because the involvement of women in parliament contributes to increased attention to women's problems. The inclusion of women in parliament aims to provide a platform to ensure better accountability for women in various sectors including education, economics, health, and other livelihood opportunities (UN Women, n.d.). Furthermore, the situation of women who hold ministerial positions is not different from women who sit in parliament. Women's participation is very low or non-existent. Below is a table showing the participation of Yemeni women in ministerial positions.

Table 5. Yemen Women in Ministerial Positions During the Conflict

Year	Ranking	Male	Female
2021	148	100%	0%
2020	132	93.5%	6.5%
2018	133	94.6%	5.4%
2017	128	94.6%	5.4%
2016	115	90%	10%
2015	117	90%	10%
2014	112	91%	9%

Source: World Economic Forum Website (2014-2021)

The data above shows that women's participation in ministerial positions has continued to decline since the conflict began until finally in 2021 there was not a single woman in a ministerial position. Even though the highest participation

is only 10% of women in ministerial positions, this is better than in parliament where the percentage is almost zero.

CHAPTER IV

CONCLUSION

4.1 Conclusion

This research aimed to explain the situation of Yemeni women during the humanitarian crisis and analyze the implementation of women's empowerment in education, paid work, and political representation in 2014-2023 through three integral dimensions agency, resources, and achievement - under Kabeer's theory of gender equality and empowerment. The research findings show that the protracted humanitarian crisis has made Yemeni women more vulnerable than before with limitations to their fundamental rights. Below is a summary table explaining the findings of this research:

Table 6. Research Findings

	Education	Paid Work	Political Representation
Agency	The Yemeni government guarantees the right to education for everyone; however, due to restrictions on women's movements which prohibit women from being in public spaces, they have difficulty continuing their education.	Every citizen has equal rights in paid work; yet, due to the strong patriarchal culture which then encourages restrictions on women's movement, many women find it difficult to get involved in paid work.	Due to the existing patriarchal culture, Yemeni women's representation is extremely low, even though the government guarantees the right to be involved in politics.
Resources	The conflict has driven major losses in Yemen's educational system including damage to schools, high tuition	The conflict has destroyed the economy in Yemen; therefore women have received capital loans from aid	Programs established to improve women's leadership skills are limited as the main focus

	fees, shortage of teaching staff, increasing school dropout rates including cases of GBV, and schools becoming a means of spreading political ideology.	agencies to start businesses, but very few Yemeni women have bank accounts and various programs have been established to increase women's skills.	currently is on providing access to facilities that collapsed due to the conflict.
Achievements	From the start of the conflict until 2021, Yemen has always been in the last position in education sectors by the Global Gender Gap Index, where data shows that the women's rate has always been lower than the men's.	Yemen ranks last in paid work by the Gender Gap Index, with low female labor participation high injury risk, lack of experience and social protection, and communication barriers for women.	Almost no women in Yemen hold parliamentary or ministerial positions.

Hence to conclude this research, the fragile political situation, religious beliefs, and societal norms toward women which see women as inferior to men are the biggest factors in the difficulties of implementing women's empowerment in Yemen. The protracted humanitarian crisis has added more complexity for women in accessing fundamental rights which ultimately has a significant impact on the sustainability of women's empowerment.

4.2 Recommendations

The author acknowledges that this research has limitations and weaknesses. Therefore, the author provides suggestions for future researchers to improve this research as listed below:

1. This research is limited to the effects of the implementation of Yemeni women's empowerment during the humanitarian crisis. However, during

the research process, the author discovered that severe gender inequalities in Yemen existed even before the conflict. The author was unable to conduct further research on this matter due to limited scope. Therefore, future researchers can examine the analysis of women's empowerment before and during the conflict to find how women are increasingly worse off from previously vulnerable conditions.

2. Kabeer's theory on gender equality and empowerment only consists of three necessary elements: education, paid work, and political representation which have the potential to bring positive changes in women's lives. Hence, the author recommends that future researchers use different theories that also discuss health and reproductive matters.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Abdullah, Amal. 2022. "Women Entrepreneurs in Yemen: The Fight to Secure Capital." Qantara. <https://qantara.de/en/article/women-entrepreneurs-yemen-fight-secure-capital>.
- ACAPS. 2023. "Yemen: Gender dynamics, roles, and needs." ACAPS. https://www.acaps.org/fileadmin/Data_Product/Main_media/20230411_acaps_thematic_report_yemen_gender_dynamics_roles_and_needs.pdf.
- ACAPS. 2023. "Women's economic empowerment in the Yemeni context." ACAPS. https://www.acaps.org/fileadmin/Data_Product/Main_media/20230606_acaps_thematic_report_yemen_womens_economic_empowerment_in_the_yemeni_context.pdf.
- ACAPS. 2023. "Understanding the cycle of gender-based violence." ACAPS. https://www.acaps.org/fileadmin/Data_Product/Main_media/20231123_ACAPS_Yemen_analysis_hub_understanding_the_cycle_of_gender-based_violence.pdf.
- ACLED. 2024. "Actor Profile: Internationally Recognized Government | Yemen Conflict Observatory - ACLED." ACLED. <https://acleddata.com/yemen-conflict-observatory/actor-profiles/internationally-recognized-government/>.
- ACLED. 2024. "Actor Profile: Internationally Recognized Government | Yemen Conflict Observatory - ACLED." ACLED. <https://acleddata.com/yemen-conflict-observatory/actor-profiles/internationally-recognized-government/>.
- ACLED. n.d. "Actor Profile: Southern Transitional Council | Yemen Conflict Observatory - ACLED." ACLED. Accessed August 8, 2024. <https://acleddata.com/yemen-conflict-observatory/actor-profiles/southern-transitional-council/>.
- Ahmad, Zena A. 2023. "Yemeni Women: Leading into the Future." United Nations Development Programme. <https://www.undp.org/yemen/blog/yemeni-women-leading-future>.
- Ahsarq Al-Awsat. 2024. "World Bank: Yemen Among Poorest Country in the World." Asharq Al-Awsat. <https://english.aawsat.com/arab-world/4964376-world-bank-yemen-among-poorest-country-world>.
- Al-Harithi, Iman R. 2021. "Women in Yemen's Political Transition." Wilson Center. <https://www.wilsoncenter.org/blog-post/women-yemens-political-transition>.
- Al Jazeera. 2024. "Who are the Houthis? A simple guide to the Yemeni group." Al Jazeera. <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2024/1/12/who-are-yemens-houthis-a-basic-guide>.
- Ardemagni, Eleonora. 2023. "War Passing Over Women's Bodies - The Yemen Review, November and December 2023." Sana'a Center For Strategic Studies. <https://sanaacenter.org/the-yemen-review/nov-dec-2023/21555>.

- Australia Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade. n.d. "Yemen country brief | Australian Government Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade." Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade. Accessed May 11, 2024. <https://www.dfat.gov.au/geo/yemen/yemen-country-brief>.
- Center of Preventive Action. 2024. "War in Yemen | Global Conflict Tracker." Council on Foreign Relations. <https://www.cfr.org/global-conflict-tracker/conflict/war-yemen>.
- European Commission. n.d. "What is gender-based violence? - European." European Commission. Accessed June 4, 2024. https://commission.europa.eu/strategy-and-policy/policies/justice-and-fundamental-rights/gender-equality/gender-based-violence/what-gender-based-violence_en.
- GBVIMS. n.d. "GBV Classification Tool." GBVIMS. Accessed May 29, 2024. <https://www.gbvims.com/gbvims-tools/classification-tool/>.
- Gender Data World Bank. n.d. "Yemen, Rep. | World Bank Gender Data Portal." Gender Data Portal. Accessed May 28, 2024. <https://genderdata.worldbank.org/en/economies/yemen-rep>.
- George, Mary W. 2008. *The Elements of Library Research: What Every Student Needs to Know*. N.p.: Princeton University Press.
- Global Goals. n.d. "Goal 4: Quality education." The Global Goals. Accessed June 20, 2024. <https://www.globalgoals.org/goals/4-quality-education/>.
- Hall, Rosalie A., Sara E. Brown, Jenny Hedström, Anna Larson, and Joanna P. Hoare. 2015. *Women in Conflict and Peace*. Edited by Jenny Hedström and Thiyumi Senarathna. N.p.: International IDEA. <https://www.idea.int/sites/default/files/publications/women-in-conflict-and-peace.pdf>.
- HRW. 2015. "Obligating Obedience Violations of Women's Rights in Yemen." Human Rights Watch. https://www.hrw.org/reports/yemen0115_web.pdf.
- HRW. 2024. "Yemen: Warring Parties Restrict Women's Movement." Human Rights Watch. <https://www.hrw.org/news/2024/03/04/yemen-warring-parties-restrict-womens-movement>.
- IQRA Network. 2023. "Who is Mahram in Islam? Understanding Close Relatives." IQRA Network. <https://iqranetwork.com/blog/who-is-mahram-in-islam-understanding-close-relatives/>.
- Kabeer, Naila. 2005. "Gender Equality and Women's Empowerment: A Critical Analysis of the Third Millennium Development Goal." *Gender Development* 13, no. 1 (March): 13-24. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/20053132>.
- Nagi, Ahmed. 2021. "Education in Yemen: Turning Pens into Bullets - Malcolm H. Kerr Carnegie Middle East Center." Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. <https://carnegieendowment.org/research/2021/12/education-in-yemen-turning-pens-into-bullets?lang=en¢er=middle-east>.
- OECD. 2015. "Education at a Glance." OECD Library. <https://www.oecd-ilibrary.org/docserver/factbook-2015-72-en.pdf?expires>

=1719199999&id=id&accname=guest&checksum=DA0E001776C187D1
FFA5FE5C0D6DFE5D.

- OHCHR. n.d. "Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women." ohchr. Accessed June 24, 2024. <https://www.ohchr.org/sites/default/files/Documents/ProfessionalInterest/cedaw.pdf>.
- Oxfam. 2017. "We Won't Wait: As war ravages Yemen, its women strive to build peace." Wikipedia. <https://oxfamilibrary.openrepository.com/bitstream/handle/10546/620182/bp-yemen-women-in-peacebuilding-300117-en.pdf?sequence=1&isAllowed=y>.
- Qasim, Ibrahim. 2023. "CAAT - The war on Yemen's civilians." Campaign Against Arms Trade. <https://caat.org.uk/homepage/stop-arming-saudi-arabia/the-war-on-yemens-civilians/>.
- ReliefWeb Response. n.d. "Gender considerations in the Humanitarian Response in Yemen." ReliefWeb Response. Accessed May 27, 2024. <https://response.reliefweb.int/yemen/gender-considerations-humanitarian-response-yemen>.
- Rohwerder, Brigitte. 2017. "Conflict and Gender Dynamics in Yemen." *K4D Helpdesk Report*, (03), 1 & 2. https://opendocs.ids.ac.uk/opendocs/bitstream/handle/20.500.12413/13120/K4D_HDR_Conflict%20and%20Gender%20dynamics%20in%20Yemen.pdf;jsessionid=39AFB1EFDE09BA8547D9C481B3CF75C4?sequence=134.
- Sana'a Center for Strategic Studies. 2024. "Every Day Brings a New Livelihood: Women's Economic Empowerment in Yemen." Sana'a Center for Strategic Studies. <https://sanaacenter.org/publications/main-publications/23122>.
- Save the Children. 2024. "Hanging in the Balance: Yemeni Children's Struggle for Education | Save the Children's Resource Centre." Save the Children's Resource Centre. <https://resourcecentre.savethechildren.net/pdf/2024-Yemen-9-Years-Conflict-Anniversary-Report.pdf/>.
- Save the Children. 2024. "Yemen: Nine years into conflict and two years into truce, school dropouts soar." Save the Children International. <https://www.savethechildren.net/news/yemen-nine-years-conflict-and-two-years-truce-school-dropouts-soar>.
- Singh, Simran, Howard Mollet, and Isadora Quay. 2015. "Rapid Gender Analysis: Yemen." CARE. https://interagencystandingcommittee.org/sites/default/files/migrated/2018-01/care_rapid_gender_analysis_yemen.pdf.
- Sreenivasan, Lakshmi. n.d. "How Can Leadership Training Programs for Women Help them Achieve Their Potential?" Lakshmi Sreenivasan (LS). Accessed June 30, 2024. <https://lakshmisreenivasan.com/how-can-leadership-training-programs-for-women-help-them-achieve-their-potential/>.

- Stocking, Barbara. 2003. "Improving Development Impact on Gender." *World Vision Journal of Human Development*, 3-4. https://www.wvi.org/sites/default/files/GF03Q2_web.pdf.
- Tenny, Steven, Janelle M. Brannan, and Grace D. Brannan. 2022. "Qualitative Study - StatPearls." NCBI. <https://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/books/NBK470395/>.
- UN. n.d. "Universal Declaration of Human Rights | United Nations." the United Nations. Accessed June 20, 2024. <https://www.un.org/en/about-us/universal-declaration-of-human-rights>.
- UNDP. 2022. "2022 Nov 02 - SIERY Project Factsheet." UNDP. <https://www.undp.org/sites/g/files/zskgke326/files/2023-01/2023%20Jan%2016%20-%20SIERY%20Project%20Factsheet.pdf>.
- UNDP. n.d. "Gender Equality - Yemen." United Nations Development Programme. Accessed May 27, 2024. <https://www.undp.org/yemen/gender-equality>.
- UNDP. n.d. "Gender Inequality Index (GII)." Human Development Reports. Accessed June 5, 2024. <https://hdr.undp.org/data-center/thematic-composite-indices/gender-inequality-index#/indicies/GII>.
- UNDP. n.d. "Strengthening Institutional and Economic Resilience in Yemen (SIERY)." United Nations Development Programme. Accessed June 11, 2024. <https://www.undp.org/yemen/projects/strengthening-institutional-and-economic-resilience-yemen-siery>.
- UNESCO. 2021. "Yemen | INCLUSION." Education Profiles. <https://education-profiles.org/northern-africa-and-western-asia/yemen/~inclusion>.
- UNFPA. 2022. "2022 UNFPA HUMANITARIAN RESPONSE IN YEMEN." United Nations Population Fund. https://www.unfpa.org/sites/default/files/resource-pdf/2022_unfpa_humanitarian_response_yemen.pdf.
- UNFPA. 2023. "12.6 Million Women and Girls in Yemen Need Life-saving Support." United Nations Population Fund. <https://www.unfpa.org/press/126-million-women-and-girls-yemen-need-life-saving-support>.
- UNFPA. 2024. "UNFPA Republic of Yemen." United Nations Population Fund. <https://www.unfpa.org/data/YE>.
- UNFPA. n.d. "The Cost of Inaction: Gender Based Violence in Yemen." GBV Aor Yemen. Accessed June 4, 2024. https://gbvaor.net/sites/default/files/2023-04/Advocacy%20Brief_The%20Cost%20of%20Inaction-GBV%20in%20Yemen_Final.pdf.
- UNHCR. 2021. "Yemen Crisis Explained." UN Refugees. <https://www.unrefugees.org/news/yemen-crisis-explained/>.
- UNICEF. n.d. "Education." UNICEF. Accessed June 9, 2024. <https://www.unicef.org/yemen/education>.
- UNICEF. n.d. "Maternal Mortality Rates and Statistics - UNICEF DATA." UNICEF Data. Accessed June 10, 2024. <https://data.unicef.org/topic/maternal-health/maternal-mortality/>.

- United Nations. n.d. "Human Rights | United Nations." the United Nations. Accessed May 12, 2024. <https://www.un.org/en/global-issues/human-rights>.
- United Nations Foundations. n.d. "Yemen: A Brief Background | unfoundation.org." United Nations Foundation. Accessed May 11, 2024. <https://unfoundation.org/what-we-do/issues/peace-human-rights-and-humanitarian-response/yemen-a-brief-background/>.
- UNSDG. 2023. "UNSDG | Learning when displaced: Yemeni women and girls find empowerment in education." United Nations Sustainable Development Group. <https://unsdg.un.org/latest/stories/learning-when-displaced-yemeni-women-and-girls-find-empowerment-education>.
- UN Women. n.d. "Political Participation of Women | UN Women – Asia-Pacific." UN Women Asia and the Pacific. Accessed June 30, 2024. <https://asiapacific.unwomen.org/en/focus-areas/governance/political-participation-of-women>.
- UN Women Arab States. n.d. "Yemen | UN Women – Arab States." UN Women Arab States. Accessed May 27, 2024. <https://arabstates.unwomen.org/en/countries/yemen>.
- UN Women Asia and the Pacific. n.d. "Political Participation of Women | UN Women – Asia-Pacific." UN Women Asia and the Pacific. Accessed May 30, 2024. <https://asiapacific.unwomen.org/en/focus-areas/governance/political-participation-of-women>.
- USAID. n.d. "USAID Yemen Gender Equality and Women's Empowerment | Yemen | Fact Sheet." U.S. Agency for International Development. Accessed June 12, 2024. <https://www.usaid.gov/yemen/fact-sheets/usaaid-yemen-gender-equality-and-womens-empowerment>.
- Wenner, Manfred W., and Robert Burrowes. 2024. "Yemen | History, Map, Flag, Population, Capital, War, & Facts." Britannica. <https://www.britannica.com/place/Yemen>.
- World Economic Forum. 2013. "The Global Gender Gap Report 2013." www3.weforum.org. https://www3.weforum.org/docs/WEF_GenderGap_Report_2013.pdf.
- World Economic Forum. 2021. "Global Gender Gap Report 2021." www3.weforum.org. https://www3.weforum.org/docs/WEF_GGGR_2021.pdf.
- World Economic Forum. 2023. "Global Gender Gap Report 2023 | World Economic Forum." Global Gender Gap Report 2023 | World Economic Forum. <https://www.weforum.org/publications/global-gender-gap-report-2023/economy-profiles-5932ef6d39/>.
- World Population Review. n.d. "Literacy Rate by Country 2024." World Population Review. Accessed June 9, 2024. <https://worldpopulationreview.com/country-rankings/literacy-rate-by-country>.

World Vision. n.d. "Womens Empowerment - Facts, Stories and How To Help."
World Vision Australia. Accessed May 30, 2024.
<https://www.worldvision.com.au/womens-empowerment>.

Yemen's Constitution. 2001. The Constitution of the Republic of Yemen.
<https://g7plus.fd.uc.pt/pdfs/Yemen.pdf>.