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**SYRIAN WOMEN'S ASPIRATIONS FOR SYRIA ON THE
POLITICAL LEVEL, HOPES AND EXPECTATIONS**

SLAVA SHIKH HASAN

YÜKSEK LİSANS TEZİ

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SLAVA SHIKH HASAN
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DALI

SURİYELİ KADINLARIN SİYASİ DÜZEYDE SURİYE'YE İLİŞKİN
İSTEKLERİ, UMUTLARI VE BEKLENTİLERİ

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ÖZET

Bu tez, Suriye'de devam eden çatışma ortamında Suriyeli kadınların siyasi istek ve beklentilerini incelemektedir. Çalışma, Suriye'nin gelecekteki siyasi manzarasına ilişkin umutlarını ortaya koymayı, siyasi katılımlarının önündeki engelleri tespit etmeyi ve çatışmanın toplumsal yaşam üzerindeki etkisini değerlendirmeyi amaçlıyor. Nicel bir araştırma yaklaşımı kullanan çalışma, Kuzeydoğu Suriye'nin Kuzeydoğusu ile Kuzeybatısı, rejim kontrolündeki bölgeler ve diaspora dahil olmak üzere çeşitli bölgelerden 524 Suriyeli kadına uygulanan yapılandırılmış bir anket aracılığıyla veri toplamıştır. Anket, uygunluk ve kapsamlılığı sağlamak için mevcut literatüre dayalı tematik bir yaklaşım kullanılarak tasarlanmıştır.

Bulgular, Suriyeli kadınların ezici bir çoğunlukla barış, adalet ve demokratik yönetim istediklerini ortaya koymaktadır. Katılımcılar arasında en çok tercih edilen senaryo, adalet ve ulusal uzlaşmayı sağlayarak demokratik bir siyasi geçişe yol açacak kapsamlı bir barışın sağlanmasıdır. Ancak, kültürel ve sosyal kısıtlamalar, güvenlik tehditleri ve kurumsal engeller de dahil olmak üzere siyasi katılımın önünde önemli engeller tespit edilmiştir. Bu zorluklar, kadınların siyasi ve sosyal açıdan güçlendirilmesine yönelik hedefli çabalara duyulan ihtiyacın altını çizmektedir.

Çalışma aynı zamanda çatışmanın, yaygın yerinden edilme ve sosyo-ekonomik zorluklarla karşı karşıya kalan Suriyeli kadınlar üzerindeki derin etkisini de vurgulamaktadır. Birçoğu yeni roller ve sorumluluklar üstlenerek ailelerinin geçimini sağlayan birincil kişiler haline gelmiş, bu da dayanıklılık ve eylemlilik duygusunu geliştirmiş ancak aynı zamanda onları yeni risklere ve kırılganlıklara maruz bırakmıştır. Ayrıca, Suriye'deki çatışmanın karmaşık jeopolitik boyutlarını yansıtacak şekilde, dış aktörlerin çatışmayı şiddetlendirmedeki etkisi de katılımcılar arasında önemli bir endişe kaynağı olmuştur.

Bu bulgulara dayanarak tez, Suriyeli kadınların siyasi katılımını ve güçlenmesini artırmak için çeşitli öneriler sunmaktadır. Bunlar arasında toplumsal cinsiyete duyarlı yönetişimin teşvik edilmesi, eğitim fırsatlarının artırılması, ekonomik güçlenmenin güçlendirilmesi, güvenlik kaygılarının ele alınması, kapsayıcı barış süreçlerinin teşvik edilmesi ve tabandan gelen girişimlerin desteklenmesi yer almaktadır.

Bu araştırma, Suriyeli kadınların görüşlerini ve isteklerini dile getirmeleri için bir platform sağlayarak Suriye'nin geleceğine ilişkin daha geniş bir söyleme katkıda bulunmaktadır. Kadınların bakış açılarının siyasi karar alma ve barış inşası süreçlerine dahil edilmesinin önemini vurgulamakta ve Suriye'de daha kapsayıcı ve eşitlikçi bir siyasi ortamın yaratılması için pratik öneriler sunmaktadır. Bu çalışmada vurgulandığı üzere Suriyeli kadınların dayanıklılığı ve kararlılığı, Suriye için daha parlak bir gelecek inşa etmek adına güçlü bir temel oluşturmaktadır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Suriyeli kadınlar, siyasi istekler, siyasi beklentiler, siyasi katılım, kadınların güçlendirilmesi, Suriye, barış inşası, demokratik geçiş, dayanıklılık, ekonomik güçlenme, kapsayıcı barış süreçleri.



**HASAN KALYONCU UNIVERSITY
GRADUATE EDUCATION INSTITUTE
DEPARTMENT of POLITICAL SCIENCES AND INTERNATIONAL
RELATIONS**

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SLAVA SHIKH HASAN

MASTER THESIS

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ABSTRACT

This thesis investigates the political aspirations and expectations of Syrian women amid the ongoing conflict in Syria. The study aims to capture their hopes for the future political landscape of Syria, identify the barriers to their political participation, and assess the impact of the conflict on their lives. Employing a quantitative research approach, the study collected data through a structured survey administered to 524 Syrian women from various regions, including Northeast Syria, Northwest Syria, regime-controlled areas, and the diaspora. The survey was designed using a thematic approach based on existing literature to ensure relevance and comprehensiveness.

The findings reveal that Syrian women overwhelmingly desire peace, justice, and democratic governance. The most favored scenario among respondents is achieving comprehensive peace that ensures justice and national reconciliation, leading to a democratic political transition. However, significant barriers to political participation were identified, including cultural and social constraints, security threats, and institutional obstacles. These challenges underscore the need for targeted efforts to empower women politically and socially.

The study also highlights the profound impact of the conflict on Syrian women, who have faced widespread displacement and socio-economic hardships. Many have taken on new roles and responsibilities, becoming primary breadwinners for their families, which has fostered a sense of resilience and agency but also exposed them to new risks and vulnerabilities. Additionally, the influence of external actors in exacerbating the conflict was a critical concern among respondents, reflecting the complex geopolitical dimensions of the Syrian conflict.

Based on these findings, the thesis proposes several recommendations to enhance the political participation and empowerment of Syrian women. These include promoting gender-responsive governance, enhancing educational opportunities, strengthening economic empowerment, addressing security concerns, fostering inclusive peace processes, and supporting grassroots initiatives.

This research contributes to the broader discourse on Syria's future by providing a platform for Syrian women to voice their opinions and aspirations. It underscores the importance of including women's perspectives in political decision-making and peacebuilding processes, offering practical recommendations for creating a more inclusive and equitable political landscape in Syria. The resilience and determination of Syrian women, as highlighted in this study, provide a strong foundation for building a brighter future for Syria.

Keywords: Syrian women, political aspirations, political expectations, political participation, women's empowerment, Syria, peacebuilding, democratic transition, resilience, economic empowerment, inclusive peace processes.



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ABBREVIATIONS

SDF: Syrian Democratic Forces

ISIS: Islamic State of Iraq and Syria

UN: United Nations

FSA: Free Syrian Army

NSAGs: Non-State Armed Groups

NGOs: Non-Governmental Organizations

OHCHR: Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights

SDG: Sustainable Development Goals

UNSCR: United Nations Security Council Resolution

US: United States

UK: United Kingdom

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CHAPTER 1 INTRODUCTION

The Syrian conflict, currently in its thirteenth year, has significantly transformed the social, economic, and political structure of the nation. Within the context of widespread destruction, Syrian women have endured a substantial amount of suffering, including being displaced, subjected to violence, and facing socio-economic difficulties. Notwithstanding these difficulties, they have demonstrated exceptional perseverance and initiative by assuming positions often occupied by men and pushing for their rights and the future of their nation.

This chapter sets the stage for the study by providing an overview of the Syrian context, the research objectives, the significance of the study, and the key research questions. It highlights the importance of understanding Syrian women's political aspirations and expectations, particularly in light of the ongoing conflict and the complex political dynamics at play.

1.1 Introduction

The Syrian conflict, which is now entering its 13th year, is found to have a huge impact on the population. We all somewhat know about the humanitarian crisis as well as the complicated politics involved to affect these crises. Although it has diversified domains to impact on, we frequently disregard how Syrian women have been impacted (Albasoos & Al-Maqbali, 2017). Given the harsh realities they faced during the war, their hopes and struggles in the face of possible political change need a closer look.

The Syrian conflict has disproportionately affected women and girls especially those who are widowed displaced or have missing or detained husbands and the Obstacles to housing and property rights highlighting the legal and cultural barriers that prevent women from accessing or inheriting housing and property and how these challenges are exacerbated by the conflict and the loss of male relatives and Lack of protection from sexual and gender-based violence and the widespread and systematic use of sexual violence as a weapon of war by government forces and armed groups (UNHCR) and the inadequate national legal framework and social stigma that hinder accountability and justice for survivors also the Increase in early and forced marriage across Syria as a coping mechanism for economic hardship and security risks and the negative consequences for the health and rights of girls and women and finally the conflict has increased the risk of statelessness for children born in areas outside government control

or to unregistered marriages especially those whose Fathers are unknown, missing or foreign nationals and how this affects their access to basic services and legal recognition (UNFPA. 2021).

In the beginning of 2023 especially after the earthquake disaster in North Syria and South of Turkiye, the Arab and world leaders officially started their diplomatic relations with the Syrian Regime (Bashar Alassad) and this will affect the Syrian revolution movement which started in 2011.

Is the world building the peace line back with the Syrian Regime? How about the Syrian's aspirations of their country's future system? The study aims to listen and speak to Syrian women and to know their future thoughts on Syria's future on political level.

This study's objective is to offer important insights into the nature of women's aspiration on political level for the future of Syria and gain a solid understanding of the main underlying variables and socio-political elements that led to Syrian women's aspirations for the future.

1.2 Objectives of the Study

This thesis focuses on Syrian women, exploring their desires and expectations for the future of Syria. The primary aim is to understand the hopes and expectations of Syrian women regarding the future political situation in their country. By delving into their perspectives, this research seeks to highlight the specific aspirations and concerns that Syrian women have for a peaceful and prosperous Syria.

This research aims to analyze the various factors influencing Syrian women's political aspirations, including the current socio-political landscape, the impact of the ongoing conflict, and the role of international and regional interventions. It intends to provide a comprehensive understanding of how these factors shape the hopes and expectations of Syrian women for their country's future.

The research also has secondary objectives, which are:

- To identify the key barriers and challenges faced by Syrian women in participating in the political process.
- To explore the contributions of Syrian women to peacebuilding and political change amidst the conflict.
- To examine the role of cultural, social, and economic factors in shaping women's political aspirations.

- To assess the impact of displacement and migration on the political views and aspirations of Syrian women.
- To propose recommendations for enhancing the political participation and empowerment of Syrian women in the future reconstruction of Syria.

By addressing these objectives, the study aims to contribute to a deeper understanding of the unique perspectives of Syrian women and to provide insights that can inform policies and interventions aimed at supporting their active participation in shaping the future of Syria.

1.3 Research Hypotheses

The study investigates the future of Syria, which remains uncertain despite numerous local and global efforts aimed at fostering a better future since 2011. Various factors have significantly influenced public opinions. This research focuses on understanding the political opinions and aspirations of Syrian women. The key hypotheses explored are:

Geographic Influence on Political Opinions: Does the current geographic location of Syrian women affect their political opinions? This hypothesis examines whether women residing in different regions, such as government-controlled areas, opposition-held territories, or foreign countries, have differing political views and aspirations.

Perceptions of Syrian Refugees: What are the opinions of Syrian women regarding the situation of Syrian refugees in neighboring countries and Europe? This hypothesis explores the perspectives of women on the challenges faced by refugees and their views on the potential return and integration of these refugees into Syrian society.

Attitudes Toward Foreign Interventions: Do Syrian women support or oppose foreign interventions in determining the future of Syria? This hypothesis investigates women's opinions on the role of international actors and foreign governments in influencing Syria's political landscape and shaping its future.

These hypotheses aim to provide a comprehensive understanding of the factors shaping Syrian women's political opinions and their aspirations for the future of Syria.

1.4 Research Questions

This study aims to delve into the intricate political landscape of Syria through the lens of Syrian women, examining their perspectives, aspirations, and the factors influencing their views. The research is guided by the following questions:

1. How Syrian women describe the current political situation of Syria?
2. Which parties to the conflict are most interfering in the Syrian political situation?
3. What contribution can Syrian Revolution add to the women's aspirations for Syria.
4. How current dynamics and causes of the conflict could affect the potential aspirations to the Syrian Revolution?
5. How current division on the Syrian land, affects women aspirations?
6. What is the most scenarios regarding the Syrian future do women prefer? And here I will write some scenarios and ask women to choose one of them.

These research questions provide a starting point for investigating the reality of Syrian women's political perspectives, experiences, and aspirations amidst the ongoing conflict. They serve as a framework to delve deeper into understanding how women perceive the current political situation, the influence of various parties on their lives, and their hopes for the future. These questions can guide further exploration and analysis within the scope of the research, shedding light on the multifaceted challenges and opportunities faced by Syrian women.

1.5 Significance of the Study

The importance of this research lies in the highly sensitive nature of the subject matter, focusing on the expectations and hopes of Syrian women regarding the future political situation of Syria. Given the protracted conflict and its profound impacts on all aspects of Syrian society, understanding the perspectives of women—who have been unreasonably affected—is crucial for fostering a comprehensive and inclusive approach to peacebuilding and political reconstruction.

The purpose and significance of the study are to capture and amplify the voices of Syrian women, ensuring their aspirations and visions for their country's political future are acknowledged and considered. The statement of the research underscores the

significant changes that have occurred in Syria since 2011, including the geographical divisions and shifts in de facto authorities. As of early 2023, the Syrian regime has begun to reestablish its presence both regionally and globally, marking a new era for the Syrian situation. From this standpoint, the study aims to explore what Syrian women desire for their country on a political level.

This research is particularly needed because, despite extensive studies on the Syrian conflict, there is a noticeable gap in literature specifically addressing what Syrian women want for the political future of their country. By filling this gap, the study aims to spread their words and make their voices heard, contributing to a more nuanced understanding of their aspirations and needs.

The study is classified as a future investigation, centered not on a societal phenomenon or issue itself, but rather on comprehending individuals' viewpoints and anticipations regarding a specific subject, in this instance, the political future of Syria. The objective of this research is to reveal the aspirations of Syrian women for their nation. This will offer significant insights that can guide policymakers and stakeholders engaged in Syria's political rebuilding and peacebuilding endeavors.

By investigating the expectations and hopes of Syrian women, this research aims to uncover underlying causes of their aspirations and challenges, and to identify ways to mitigate the barriers they face in achieving their political goals. Ultimately, this research aims to pave the way for more inclusive and effective political processes in Syria by ensuring that the voices and perspectives of women are recognized and integrated into the future political landscape of the country.

CHAPTER 2 CONCEPTUAL AND HISTORICAL FRAMEWORK

This chapter presents the conceptual and historical framework essential for understanding the political aspirations and expectations of Syrian women within the broader context of the Syrian conflict. The chapter aims to provide a comprehensive backdrop that situates the current research within both a conceptual and historical context, allowing for a deeper appreciation of the unique challenges and opportunities faced by Syrian women.

The conceptual framework explores key concepts and theoretical underpinnings relevant to the study. It includes an examination of gender and politics, women's roles in conflict and peacebuilding, and the intersectionality of identity factors such as gender, class, and ethnicity. These concepts are crucial for framing the analysis of Syrian women's political aspirations and for understanding the multi-layered dynamics that influence their participation in political processes.

The historical framework offers a detailed account of the events leading up to the Syrian conflict, the evolution of the conflict, and its impact on Syrian society, particularly on women. This section provides a chronological overview of significant political, social, and economic developments that have shaped the current landscape. It also highlights key milestones and turning points in the Syrian conflict, illustrating how these events have affected women's lives and their political engagement.

By combining these frameworks, the chapter aims to create a rich and nuanced understanding of the research context. It situates the study within a broader narrative of gender and conflict, offering insights into how historical and conceptual factors intersect to shape the experiences and aspirations of Syrian women.

2.1 Syria context

The conflict in Syria has been the most complex conflict to emerge from the 2011 Arab uprisings where it has persisted for almost thirteen years between the Syrian government and various non-state armed groups (NSAGs). The protracted conflict in northwest Syria has had a significant impact on the region and its inhabitants. Since the conflict's inception in 2011, northwest Syria including the governorates of Idleb, Aleppo, and portions of Hama and Latakia has been the conflict's epicenter.

The conflict in northwest Syria arose from the 2011 Syrian civil war which sparked from a complex network of political, social, and economic factors including grievances regarding governance, human rights and economic disparities (Kešeljević & Spruk, 2024). Before 2011 in Syria the situation was characterized by a severe lack of dignity and value for civil citizens, who face arbitrary arrests without any significant reasons and in some cases even without trial. This lack of accountability extends to the political sphere, where the Baath Party has monopolized power since 1963, stifling dissent and preventing genuine political participation or representation for the people. The Assad family has become synonymous with political life, which led to the establishment of an authoritarian, dictatorial rule. And the economic conditions have deteriorated significantly, leading to widespread poverty, unemployment and a declining standard of living. Corruption permeates economic life with bribery often necessary to complete basic transactions. The pervasive influence of security services further compounds citizens' humiliation and stifles any semblance of civil liberties under the decades-long rule of the Assad family. This regime has forcefully suppressed civil society, creating deep-seated divisions rooted in oppression, nepotism, and factionalism. The monopolization of power by select groups, particularly the security services, has widened societal gaps, leading to the marginalization of the middle class and the concentration of economic control among a privileged few.

Syrian trade unions and institutions that intended to protect workers' rights have been undermined, depriving workers of basic rights such as control over working conditions, wages, and social security. Instead, these institutions have been co-opted by the regime to serve its interests, with many members coerced into collaborating with security services or assisting in violating workers' rights and the regime has strategically placed allies in key positions of power and formed dubious partnerships with corrupt groups, exacerbating economic inequalities and perpetuating widespread poverty among the majority of the population.

Overall, Syria's citizens endure a precarious existence marked by repression, economic hardship, and a lack of political freedom or accountability. where the Assad regime's oppressive tactics have entrenched inequality, stifled social mobility and hindered any meaningful progress towards social justice on the contrary that created social injustice in Syria.

As the conflict escalated, opposition groups and armed factions converged on challenging the authority of the government. Over time factions such as the Free Syrian

Army and other armed groups seized control of various regions of the country. The conflict's complex dynamics involve not only the Syrian government and opposition groups but also international actors resulting in a conflict with shifting alliances and shifting power dynamics.

The nature of citizenship in Syria in pre-2011 is intricate and exclusive, particularly its impact on women's political participation. Influenced by totalitarian regimes, citizenship in Syria fused ethnic and gender identities hindering individual expression. Women's access to rights was heavily mediated by religious, military, and patriarchal factors, deviating from international standards of equal citizenship. The women's unqualified treatment as "second-class citizens," subject to discriminatory legal frameworks and societal norms with customary laws prevailing over statutory laws (WILPF, 2020). Women's political engagement was nominal and manipulated by the regime for symbolic purposes requiring affiliations with political entities. and emphasizes the intersectional discriminations faced by women exacerbated by regime manipulation. Despite formal attempts at showcasing women's participation, substantive empowerment remained elusive perpetuating their marginalized status. Addressing discriminatory structures and promoting gender-sensitive policies are vital for fostering inclusive citizenship and meaningful political engagement for Syrian women dismantling barriers to their empowerment and contributing to national development.

In the wake of the Arab Spring the Syrian Revolution began. Syrian men and women of all ages and all social and religious backgrounds took to the streets of their country's cities and villages to demonstrate and demand freedom and dignity. The Syrian Revolution began with a collective and courageous political gesture. The voices of those who had been silent for 40 years for fear of repression were heard. While the Assad regime has manipulated sectarian tensions to maintain power, the uprising primarily stems from a desire for national unity and freedom. The initial spark in Daraa triggered widespread protests demanding political reforms which escalated into a nationwide movement against the regime's oppressive tactics.

The regime's response characterized by brutal repression and attempts to frame the uprising as a sectarian conflict instigated by Islamist and radical groups has failed to quell the uprising. Despite fears of sectarian strife there was a instance of solidarity among diverse religious and ethnic groups emphasizing the shared pursuit of freedom and dignity.

The role of the Free Syrian Army (FSA) is examined with debates over its impartiality and alignment with political opposition factions. While some view the FSA as a legitimate defender against regime atrocities others criticize its potential for further polarization and chaos.

Also, the international influences on the conflict including accusations of foreign support for Islamist groups and the role of neighboring countries like Turkey and Qatar. Concerns over the potential for Syria to descend into a protracted civil war with emphasis on the need for national reconciliation and a secular representative government.



2.2 Syrian conflict impact on women since 2011

The impact of the Syrian conflict on women after 2011, became more complex interplay between the state women's rights and citizenship. And that pre-existing discriminatory practices rooted in patriarchal culture, traditions and the state's security-focused outlook have been further exacerbated by the conflict (WILPF, 2020).

Women have borne the brunt of these challenges, facing gross violations of their human rights, including sexual harassment, gender-based violence, and rape. The Syrian regime, in its efforts to maintain control, has intensified exclusionary practices against those opposing it using tools like arbitrary arrest, property theft, and legal maneuvers to suppress dissent.

The conflict has also led to the fragmentation of Syrian society with areas outside regime control reverting to tribal, sectarian and regional affiliations. This has hindered women's access to justice, as these alternative governance structures often exclude them or subject them to patriarchal norms. Furthermore, displacement and asylum have compounded the challenges faced by Syrian women as they struggle to access their rights in host countries while grappling with administrative and legal hurdles.

Despite these obstacles, there was progress the civil society emerged as a crucial actor in advocating for women's rights and documenting violations. The shifting gender roles particularly women's increased participation in the labor market present opportunities for societal change and more female empowerment.

Overall, there is a need for comprehensive measures to address the complex challenges facing Syrian women in the aftermath of the conflict and to pave the way for their meaningful inclusion in post-conflict reconstruction and reconciliation efforts.

2.3 The political solution

Currently, the situation in Syria is divided between different factions with no clear path towards a solution. The Geneva track initially intended for drafting a constitution has failed leading to a political dead-end. The regime backed by Iran and Russia is reluctant to pursue any meaningful solution and instead seeks to maintain its grip on power through elections in the controlled territories and manipulation of reconstruction efforts (Doe, 2024).

Russia plays a significant role in obstructing the Geneva process and prefers a solution that aligns with its interests possibly through the Sochi and Astana frameworks. The United States under the Biden administration has an ambiguous stance towards Syria

Swinging between calls for political transition and concerns over Iran's influence (Smith, 2024). However, there is a consensus within the American administration to maintain pressure on Russia and advocate for a political solution based on power transition.

Turkey with its military presence in Syria aims to stabilize the region and prevent the empowerment of Kurdish factions. It supports a political transition away from the Assad regime and seeks a share in the reconstruction efforts. And to identify the main features of a political solution that would facilitate the reconstruction and peacebuilding process in Syria. This process includes preserving Syria's unity, establishing a democratic regime, dissolving foreign militias, maintaining state institutions, enforcing laws and securing significant funding for reconstruction.

Possible scenarios for the future of Syria are proposed:

Scenario of the continuation of the current situation: The current situation continues and the Syrian lands remain divided, with no significant change in the maps of the four areas of control. The regime's areas are supported by Iran and Russia, the Syrian Democratic Forces' areas are supported by America, the International Coalition, Turkey and the loyalist factions. For it, Hay'at Tahrir al-Sham (formerly the Al-Nusra Front) and foreign militia forces remain present in Syria, for a period extending several years and Syria remains divided into four areas of control, each of which protects its interests and that means the reconstruction efforts will be fragmented and the humanitarian situation will continue to deteriorate without any realistic or practical solutions due to conflicts of interest shortly No solution scenario.

Assad regime survival scenario: In this scenario, the Assad regime maintains power with Russian and Iranian support, which leads to the cancellation of the reconstruction project due to the regime's bankruptcy and international sanctions, the non-return of refugees due to security persecutions, and that means permanence of instability without any political solutions for people in and out of Syria.

The new political government scenario: This scenario, which is considered ideal for resolving the Syrian crisis, involves a coordinated effort among international players, including Russia, the United States, Turkey, and Iran, under the supervision of an international committee, to facilitate the political transition away from the Assad regime and the armed factions to an elected government. A new one that takes into account all categories of the Syrian people. This would allow for comprehensive reconstruction

efforts and the safe return of refugees to achieve what the Syrians dreamed of and rose for in 2011.

Nevertheless, there is a need for a concerted effort among influential countries to push for a political solution based on power transition, which is seen as the most viable option for ending the Syrian crisis and initiating reconstruction efforts. However, achieving this ideal solution would require overcoming significant challenges and reconciling conflicting interests among involved parties.

There is no solution without the participation of women. Syrian women had a prominent role in the civil movement, despite the male exclusion that has always tried and is trying to stop them, which at the same time increased their challenge in their political and civil struggle. After the development of the Syrian situation and its transformation into a conflict, women's suffering and challenges increased, and they became between the jaws of society and war. All of these hardships did not prevent many women from playing their role politically and diplomatically, and also in building peace and achieving justice. Rather, they proved their presence in the field, and in the countries of expatriation and asylum in Syria, women played. In all areas of life at home, in the workplace, in the community and in the political sphere, the courage they have shown in these extremely difficult circumstances confirms once again that the impact of their actions cannot be denied. Securing this is not only a human rights imperative but also part of ensuring that any agreement reached is truly sustainable in the long term and guarantees the freedom for all members of society to build the future.

2.4 Parties who are leading the political change in Syria

A complex web of political actors vying for power and influence has marked the Syrian conflict. Delving into the intricate history and diverse affiliations of these groups is necessary for comprehending the landscape of parties leading political change in Syria. Bashar al-Assad succeeded his father, Hafez al-Assad, as president in 2000. The Assad system has been in power for a really long time, addressing the Ba'ath Party, which advocates for Middle Easterner patriotism and communism. During the conflict, the government of Bashar al-Assad has been accused of authoritarianism, violations of human rights, and the use of chemical weapons against civilians. Notwithstanding confronting inescapable global judgment, the Assad system has kept up with command over huge pieces of Syria with the backing of partners like Russia and Iran (Rehman,

2015). The Assad government answered viciously to protests requesting the president's renunciation, prompting a far-reaching crackdown. The turmoil heightened as resistance supporters began war, at first for self-protection and later to stand up against security powers. The system utilized strategies like besiegement, substance weapons, and damaging arrangements to compel regular people and opposition groups out of rebel-held urban areas and towns. While Assad has recaptured control of significant urban communities, huge bits of northern Syria stay under resistance control in the northwest and are represented by the Kurdish-led Autonomous Administration in the northeast (IMS, 2023).

The resistance to the Assad system is divided and incorporates different political and furnished groups. These groups range from common to Islamist groups and have various plans and levels of impact. Some of the prominent opposition groups include:

- The Free Syrian Armed force (FSA): The FSA, which is made up of people who left the Syrian Armed Forces, wants to overthrow Assad's government and make the country a democracy (Spyer, 2012).
- Syrian National Coalition: An alliance of opposition groups and people shaped in 2012, planning to address the Syrian resistance globally and pursue a political change (Draege, 2016).
- Syrian Democratic Forces (SDF): Established in 2015, the SDF is an alliance of Kurdish, Middle Easterner, and other ethnic state armies battling against ISIS and, at times, against the Assad system (CSIS, 2023).
- Islamic State of Iraq and Syria (ISIS): ISIS arose as a strong fanatic gathering during the Syrian clash, holding onto huge wraps of an area in Syria and Iraq. While its impact has fundamentally reduced since its peak, ISIS stays a danger in the locale and has executed various monstrosities, including against women (International Crisis Group, 2017).

Different international actors also played huge parts in the Syrian conflict, frequently supporting various groups in view of their international advantages. Russia and Iran have been key allies of the Assad system, giving military help and discretionary support. Western nations, including the US and European countries, have upheld certain resistance groups while additionally directing airstrikes against ISIS. On the other hand,

Kurdish groups, especially People's Protection Units (YPG) and the Women's Protection Units (YPJ), have been instrumental in battling against ISIS in northern Syria. These gatherings have likewise tried to lay out independent administration in Kurdish-majority areas.



CHAPTER 3 LITERATURE OVERVIEW

In this literature review section, we'll investigate the various encounters of Syrian women all through the underlying conflict. We want to know how violence, being forced from their homes, and having trouble making ends meet have affected them more than other people. We are interested in learning how these experiences have shaped their hopes for political change. We'll also focus on things like having a good sense of reassurance, having fundamental privileges, getting job opportunities, and being dealt with genuinely in the society. We want to dive into scholarly investigations, reports from groups trying to help, and personal stories to see how women feel let down by promises of change. This way, we can highlight the vital role women need to play in creating a fairer and more peaceful future for Syria.

3.1. Gender Equality and Women's Rights (definition and general information)

Almost all human rights treaties prohibit gender discrimination. Despite significant progress in achieving women's rights globally, millions of women and girls continue to face discrimination and violence, and are deprived of equality, dignity, independence, and even life. This discrimination and violence against women and girls, deeply rooted in the fabric of societies, is persistent and systemic. In recent years, doubts surrounding international standards on women's human rights, gender equality and gender-based violence have recurred, and denials have occurred while women and girls increasingly raise their voices to demand equality, including through women's movements (OHCHR, 2022),

The Universal Declaration of Human Rights affirms the principle of the inadmissibility of discrimination and declares that all human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights, and that every human being is entitled to all rights and freedoms without any discrimination, including discrimination based on sex and it is human duty to ensure the equality of men and women in the right to enjoy all economic, social, cultural, civil and political rights. However, despite these various instruments there is still widespread discrimination against women and that discrimination against women constitutes a violation of the principles of equal rights and respect for human dignity and is an obstacle to the participation of women on an equal basis with men in the political social, economic and cultural life of their country (United Nations General Assembly,

1948). hinders the growth of community and family prosperity and makes it more difficult for women to fully develop their potential in serving their country and humanity and establishing a new international economic order based on equity and justice will make a significant contribution to the advancement of equality between men and women.

For Syria the case of gender equality witnessed both progress and challenges. While there has been some advancement in women's rights globally and within Syria significant work remains. Progress includes a decrease in the percentage of women aged 20–24 married or in union before 18 years old as well as a decline in the adolescent birth rate. However, gender equality is still lacking with only 11.2% of parliamentary seats in (The Syrian government) held by women as of February 2021 (UNWOMEN, 2023). Additionally, barriers persist in sexual and reproductive health and rights, with a notable percentage of women lacking access to family planning methods. Data gaps exist in monitoring gender-related Sustainable Development Goal (SDG) indicators, particularly concerning violence against women unpaid care work, the gender pay gap, and other key labor market indicators. Closing these data gaps is crucial for achieving gender-related SDG commitments in Syria.

Thirteen years of conflict have not changed or challenged entrenched societal norms. People may break with customs in their daily practices, but they ultimately return to their long-standing principles that use the cause of women's rights as a political tool by various actors to justify their control over society and to define the social models they claim to adhere to when imposing their censorship. Many new laws and decrees have been promulgated to regulate control or improve women's lives by politicians and armed groups each within its areas of influence. And the picture painted by the influential themselves and the policies they put in place reflect progress in the practices of society and women. And people still view customs and traditions as ideal principles despite their ability to adapt and survive in a chaotic and rapidly changing environment or perhaps as a means to achieve it.

3.2. Peacebuilding and Conflict Resolution

The term "peacebuilding" has evolved from its original context of post-conflict recovery to encompass a broader spectrum of activities aimed at preventing the recurrence of violence managing conflicts and facilitating long-term peace. This process includes humanitarian relief, human rights protection, security establishment, non-violent conflict resolution, reconciliation promotion, trauma services, refugee repatriation, and economic reconstruction. Peacebuilding is a multifaceted endeavor that involves addressing root causes of conflicts, reconciling differences, normalizing relations, and establishing governance structures capable of managing conflicts peacefully (UN, 2010).

Effective peacebuilding efforts are essential immediately after the cessation of conflict to address humanitarian, economic, cultural, and social aspects that contributed to the conflict's outbreak. Without these measures, sustainable peace is unlikely. This phase involves establishing new institutions, carrying out security sector reforms and initiating national development programs. Key components include security provision, infrastructure rebuilding, economic development, and social reconciliation (Aguilar, 2021).

Peacebuilding is a collaborative process involving various stakeholders, including political parties, organizations, activists, and ethnic representatives, who work together to address challenges and effect change from the grassroots level up to senior leadership. It necessitates a long-term perspective and a focus on building relationships across multiple levels of society (Christofis, 2020).

There is ongoing debate regarding the scope of peacebuilding with some arguing for a focus solely on ending direct violence while others advocate for addressing structural violence which encompasses societal inequalities and injustices. Governments in post-conflict countries often face challenges in defining the scope of peacebuilding efforts and may be hesitant to address structural violence due to concerns about mission creep (UN, 2021).

The Institute for Multi-Track Diplomacy identifies three main types of peacebuilding: political, structural and social. These involve activities ranging from

formal negotiations to infrastructure development and fostering positive social relationships.

Peacebuilding operates at multiple levels including advocating for change, reducing direct violence, transforming relationships, and capacity-building. These activities aim to create conditions conducive to sustainable peace by addressing underlying causes of conflicts and building resilient societies.

Post-conflict societies require comprehensive security and reform measures to rebuild institutions, restore order, provide basic services, facilitate refugee return, hold elections, rehabilitate infrastructure, promote dialogue, and ensure inclusive political participation. International support is often crucial for these efforts (McDonald, 2012).

In summary, peacebuilding is a complex and multifaceted process that requires collaborative efforts at all levels of society to address the root causes of conflicts, rebuild institutions, and establish conditions for sustainable peace. It encompasses various activities aimed at preventing violence, managing conflicts and promoting reconciliation and development. International support and a long-term perspective are essential for effective peacebuilding in post-conflict societies.

3.3.The role of women in leading change and political transition in conflict zone

The role of women in leading change and political transition in conflict zones is multifaceted and crucial for sustainable peace and democratic reform. Women's participation at all stages of peace-making is essential for strengthening and sustaining peace, enhancing their presence in decision-making positions, and ensuring the inclusion of women's rights in all aspects of state-building (O'Reilly et.al., 2015).

Historically women have played significant roles in conflict resolution and reconstruction phases as seen in examples like Britain during World War I and Rwanda post-genocide where women took leadership roles in rebuilding their communities. However, despite these examples the evidence suggests that women's significant roles in conflict zones are not always sustainable in post-conflict phases.

Recognizing the importance of women's participation in peacebuilding and democratic reform there have been international efforts such as United Nations Security Council Resolution (UNSCR) 1325, to promote women's inclusion in peace processes. However, the actual participation of women in formal peace negotiations remains low, with only about 9 percent of peace agreements involving women negotiators (UNSCR, 2000).

Women's participation in peace processes brings several advantages including the communication of different perspectives, increased inclusivity, enhanced legitimacy, effective organization for peace and the ability to mobilize communities effectively (Tobach, 2008). Despite these documented benefits there are challenges to women's inclusion in peacebuilding efforts including cultural and religious barriers lack of political will and tokenism in integrating women into formal processes.

Moreover, women from marginalized communities often face additional obstacles in participating in peace processes denying them the opportunity to define and address their own concerns and needs. The exclusion of women from these processes not only limits their ability to influence democratic institutions but also affects the quality of democracy and respect for human rights.

Efforts to address these challenges include increasing political will for women's integration into formal peacebuilding processes, addressing cultural and religious barriers, and ensuring meaningful participation of women from marginalized communities. Additionally, there is a need to recognize and support women's contributions to peacebuilding efforts at the grassroots level, where they are often highly active in conflict resolution within their communities.

In conclusion, the role of women in leading change and political transition in conflict zones is essential for achieving sustainable peace and democratic reform. Efforts to increase women's participation in peace processes and address the challenges they face are crucial for building inclusive and resilient societies.

In conflict zones the role of women in leading social and cultural change as well as political transition is pivotal. Post-war societies confront challenges in rehabilitating damaged social sectors and integrating communities. Women advocate for addressing

their specific needs and incorporating their capacities into social service provision. Social reconstruction must generate advantageous socio-economic relationships for women and foster inclusive environments to prevent renewed conflict (Cheldelin and Eliatamby, 2011).

During conflicts social services often suffer due to fund reallocation and professional dispersion affecting women who bear significant family responsibilities. Despite these challenges, women actively engage in restoring social services, forming grassroots organizations, and preserving social order amidst conflict.

Education and healthcare are vital areas where women play significant roles. They strive to continue education in refugee camps and provide primary healthcare addressing war-related distress and health problems. Women's social networks and experiences as midwives contribute to their effectiveness in healthcare provision.

Women also address war-related social problems, responding to psycho-social trauma, rape, injuries, and displacement-induced health issues. They establish self-help groups, NGOs, and community initiatives to provide relief, counseling, and skills training, contributing to post-conflict healing and reconciliation.

In terms of social integration, the reintegration of demobilized combatants and returning refugees is crucial. Women face challenges in acquiring skills and adapting to traditional roles post-conflict, highlighting the need for gender-sensitive approaches in reintegration efforts.

International interventions target social integration through programs like UNESCO's "Culture of Peace," aiming to empower women in peace-building and reconciliation. Women's participation in political reconstruction is essential for sustainable peace, requiring recognition of women's rights and enabling their involvement in decision-making processes (Wessells, 2009).

Women's engagement in formal and informal peace-building activities and their roles in democratization and legal reform demonstrate their agency in post-war political life. International efforts focus on promoting women's rights and participation at all levels of decision-making (Cheldelin and Eliatamby, 2011).

In conclusion, women play multifaceted roles in leading social and cultural change as well as political transition in conflict zones, contributing significantly to post-war reconstruction, healing, and peace-building efforts. Their active involvement is crucial for achieving sustainable peace and inclusive development in post-conflict societies.



3.4. Women's aspirations on the political level, hopes and expectations. In conflict zone

Women in conflict zones aspire to participate in political life to boost development, promote democracy, and represent their citizenship rights. However, their aspirations face numerous challenges, including limited access to decision-making forums, decreased influence due to conflict, and marginalization by societal norms and structures.

In conflict zones like Syria, Yemen and Iraq women have faced significant obstacles to their political participation. For example, Yemeni women lost their already limited influence in local decision-making structures due to the conflict while Syrian and Iraqi women were completely isolated and marginalized during the period of ISIS control (UN Women, 2022).

Despite some progress the current peace processes often fall short of expectations regarding women's representation. Women's participation remains below agreed-upon targets, and those who do participate may lack sufficient legitimacy or influence (UN Women, 2018).

However, conflicts also provide opportunities for women to challenge traditional gender roles and assume leadership roles in their communities. Women often become heads of households seek new sources of income and engage in peace-building efforts. These experiences empower women to challenge social norms and advocate for their rights both within their families and in broader society.

Nevertheless, women in conflict zones face numerous risks and challenges. They may experience increased exposure to abuse in the labor market heightened domestic violence, and become targets of attacks due to their public roles. Structural inequalities and barriers also hinder women's full engagement in governance processes during post-conflict transitions.

Efforts to promote women's participation in post-conflict governance must address these challenges and ensure that women's interests are substantively represented. Gender-responsive governance reforms are essential to address women's needs, enhance their well-being, and build more inclusive and stable societies.

Overall, while conflicts exacerbate gender inequalities and pose significant challenges to women's empowerment, they also provide opportunities for women to challenge traditional norms and assume leadership roles in their communities. However, meaningful progress requires addressing structural barriers and ensuring women's substantive representation in governance processes.

3.5. The role of women in the political change

In the midst of the instability of the Syrian conflict, the contribution of women in political change has been a critical yet frequently ignored perspective. Syrian women have actively advocated for peace, human rights, and social equity through a variety of political participation avenues despite the formidable obstacles they have faced (Laub, 2019). All through the conflict, Syrian women have been significant in driving political developments, sorting out conflicts, and preparing networks to challenge abusive systems and champion majority rule goals. Their voices have been instrumental in enhancing calls for political change and cultural change. Women have been at the forefront of movements for accountability and justice, exhibiting remarkable resilience and courage in the face of adversity (Fraser, 2000). This has helped to make other women to speak about their rights and be the example for others. The same has been proved, as given by case study of, two Syrian women, Elizabeth and Nazira, who are found to have a remarkable experience related to the Syrian political process. Although the political activities were forbidden by the state but these women are found politically active. This was done with the intentions for playing significant roles regarding the decision-making side by side with men. Also, these ladies proved themselves by becoming the joint heads of centers whereby they are found to play a remarkable role in the Autonomous Administration of north and east Syria (IMS, 2023).

While women's portrayal in formal political designs stays restricted, drives have arisen to reinforce their association. Grassroots associations like the Syrian Women's Political Movement (SWPM) have looked to engage ladies and improve their consideration in dynamic processes, but against fundamental hindrances and orientation predispositions (Alrahabi, 2017). Endeavors to expand women's portrayal in political foundations are critical for guaranteeing different viewpoints and comprehensive administration. In the recent time, women drove ideological groups and drives have surfaced to address the one-of-a-kind concerns of Syrian women. Models incorporate the

Syrian Women's Council (SWC), which cultivates political discourse and cooperation among women from diverse foundations, and the Women's Protection Units (YPJ), supporting gender equality within Kurdish-held regions (Outriders, 2023). Women's voices are amplified and their political interests are advanced due to these initiatives (Admin, 2020).

Regardless of their dynamic commitment, Syrian women experience various obstacles as they continued looking for political organization. Orientation based savagery, cultural standards, and male centric designs present imposing deterrents to women's support and administration in political circles, exacerbated by oppressive regulations and practices (Middle East Institute, 2022). Women frequently face dangers to their wellbeing and security, making it challenging to attest their privileges and contribute genuinely to political arena. Despite challenges, valuable opportunities for women's strengthening and progress continue in Syria. Worldwide associations, for example, the United Nations Women offer help for ladies' political cooperation and administration advancement. Common society drives play a fundamental part in propelling women's privileges and enhancing their voices on the global stage. Monetary strengthening programs, instructive drives, and lawful changes are fundamental for establishing an empowering climate for women to partake completely in political life (IMS, 2023).

3.6. Women's political development and aspirations in Syria

Before the 2011 uprising, Syrian women had restricted opportunities in conventional governmental issues because of cultural standards and limited application. Despite the fact that they were entitled to vote, male dominance in leadership positions was the norm. However, they tracked down a more grounded traction in civil society through women's associations and local area associations. The uprising at first ignited trust for change. Civil society organizations advocating for democratic reforms and gender equality included protests, humanitarian efforts, and female participants (Katharina.kiener-Manu, 2023). Equal rights and a quota for female representation in parliament were promised in the 2012 constitution, but their implementation proved difficult. The heightening clash upset these promising turns of events. Security concerns, uprooting, and the ascent of moderate groups confined women's opportunity and portability. Many got through savagery, including rape, and confronted strain to adjust to moderate standards, imperiling their

support in common society and governmental issues. In spite of adversity, Syrian women stayed strong. They assumed imperative parts in nearby administration, peace building, and helpful guide conveyance (Admin, 2020). Women drove associations offered fundamental administrations, recorded basic freedoms infringement, and upheld for harmony. However, their endeavors confronted impediments in the midst of a divided political scene and contending plans. While some resistance groups upheld women's association, others were more moderate. The Assad regime's reforms did little to improve women's status (Laub, 2019).

Today, progress for Syrian women is a mixed kind of agenda. They take part in local elections, stand firm on government situations, and proceed with activism in common society. However, challenges endure with relocation, financial difficulty, and viciousness excessively influencing ladies (Alan et al., 2021). Their voices frequently go unheard in dynamic cycles. The fate of Syrian women's political advancement stays dubious, dependent upon the conflict's resolution and commitment to comprehensive recreation. Support for women's participation and empowerment is necessary in order to acknowledge the importance of women's contributions to shaping Syria's future (Laub, 2019).

Women in Syria have deep-rooted desires for significant contribution in governmental issues, conveying expectations and assumptions for a more pleasant and more comprehensive society. Syrian women continue to pursue their goal of political empowerment in the midst of the ongoing conflict, despite the numerous obstacles they face. In the future, many Syrian women hope to actively participate in decision-making, policy making, and defending their rights and interests. They look for potential chances to impact the direction of their nation and add to modifying Syria's social and political texture (Michael and Hassan, 2015). Central to women's aspirations is the yearning for orientation correspondence and civil rights. Syrian women long for a general public where their privileges are regarded, and their voices are esteemed, liberated from segregation or rejection. They expect a finish to orientation-based viciousness and foundational obstructions that hinder their full participation in public life. Additionally, Syrian women expect comprehensive political designs that mirror the variety of their society. They call for arrangements and drives that address the interesting requirements of women from different foundations, including those underestimated by identity, religion, or financial status. Also, they likewise seek to positions of authority and portrayal across government and civil society. They intend to challenge conventional

orientation standards and break through patriarchal structures limiting their political engagement and influence (3rpsyriacrisis, 2022).

In spite of the difficulties they face, Syrian women draw strength from their flexibility and assurance to impact positive change. They keep on coordinating, mobilize, and advocate for their privileges in the midst of contention, removal, and insecurity. As the Syrian conflict continues, it is urgent to perceive and uphold women's desires for political interest and strengthening. Their consideration is fundamental for equity as well as for enduring harmony and improvement in Syria. By intensifying women's voices and destroying underlying hindrances, Syria can move towards a more equitable future where women are vital to molding the nation's destiny (NGOWWG, 2023).



CHAPTER 4 RESEARCH METHOD

This chapter outlines the research methodology employed to investigate the political aspirations and expectations of Syrian women. Given the profound impact of the ongoing conflict and significant political changes in Syria, it is crucial to systematically capture and analyze the perspectives of women who have lived through these turbulent times. Understanding their views provides valuable insights into their hopes and expectations for Syria's future. This chapter details the research design, population and sampling methods, data collection methods, data analysis, validity and reliability measures, ethical considerations, and acknowledges the study's limitations.

4.1 Research Design

The research adopts a quantitative approach to understand the aspirations and expectations of Syrian women regarding the future political situation in Syria. This method is chosen for its ability to provide measurable and comparable data across a large sample size. The structured survey is the primary instrument for data collection, designed to capture comprehensive data from a diverse group of participants.

The thematic approach is used to set the survey questions, ensuring they are grounded in existing literature and relevant to the research objectives. This approach helps to align the survey questions with key themes identified in the literature review, ensuring that the survey comprehensively covers the areas of interest related to Syrian women's political aspirations and expectations.

The study uses a structured survey as the sole method of data collection. The survey includes a series of questions designed to capture the political aspirations and expectations of Syrian women. The questions are formulated based on a thematic analysis of existing literature, ensuring that they cover relevant and significant aspects of the research topic.

The survey is designed to be comprehensive and user-friendly, ensuring that respondents can complete it independently. It includes both closed and open-ended questions to gather detailed and measurable data. The closed questions provide quantifiable data, while the open-ended questions allow respondents to express their views in their own words, providing deeper insights into their perspectives.

The survey is distributed through various channels, including online platforms and local community networks, to reach women in different geographical locations. This

distribution method ensures that the survey reaches a broad audience, including those in remote or conflict-affected areas.

The collected survey data is analyzed using statistical methods. Statistical analysis provides a way to quantify responses, identify significant trends, and draw meaningful conclusions from the data. This quantitative approach ensures a rigorous and objective analysis of the data, allowing the researcher to identify patterns and draw generalizable conclusions about the political aspirations and expectations of Syrian women.

4.2 Sampling Approach

The population for this study comprises Syrian women over the age of 18, ensuring they are aware of the political changes in Syria. Additionally, participants must have at least a primary school level of education to ensure they can understand and complete the survey independently. This criterion helps ensure that respondents are capable of understanding the political terms and concepts used in the survey.

The sample includes women from various regions within Syria, as well as those in neighboring countries and the diaspora, ensuring a broad and representative cross-section of experiences and perspectives. The survey successfully reached 524 women, distributed across different areas as follows:

- Northeast Syria: Women residing in regions controlled by local authorities and various factions.
- Northwest Syria: Women living in areas under the control of different opposition groups and factions.
- Regime-controlled areas: Women in areas under the control of the Syrian government.
- Women in the diaspora: Syrian women who have fled the country and are residing in neighboring countries (such as Turkey, Lebanon, Jordan, Iraq) and in Western countries (such as Europe, America, Britain, Australia, and Canada).

This diverse sample ensures that the study captures a wide range of perspectives and experiences, reflecting the varied socio-political contexts in which Syrian women live.

4.3 Purpose of the Thesis

The primary purpose of this thesis is to explore and document the political aspirations and expectations of Syrian women regarding the future political landscape of Syria. This research seeks to understand what Syrian women desire for their country's political future,

their hopes for stability and peace, and their expectations from the ongoing political processes. Given the significant political changes and ongoing conflict in Syria, understanding the perspectives of women, who have been profoundly affected by these events, is essential.

The study aims to provide a platform for Syrian women to voice their opinions, thereby contributing to the broader discourse on Syria's future. By capturing their views, the research seeks to inform policymakers, stakeholders, and the international community about the unique and critical perspectives of Syrian women.

Ultimately, this research aims to pave the way for a more inclusive and equitable political future for Syria, where the voices and aspirations of women are recognized and valued in the shaping of the nation's destiny.

4.4 Measurement tools

The measurement tools to be used in the research study are based on the research objectives and the specific context of the study.

Qualitative research is flexible and iterative, which allows the researcher to refine and adapt their interview protocols and question guides based on emerging findings and participant responses. progress with the research, making adjustments to ensure that the tools effectively capture the desired information and address the research objectives.

The survey instrument is the primary measurement tool used in this research. It was developed based on a comprehensive review of the literature and existing research on Syrian women's political aspirations. The survey includes the following types of questions:

- **Demographic Questions:** To collect basic information about the respondents, including age, educational background, region of residence, and displacement status.
- **Closed-Ended Questions:** To gather quantitative data on specific aspects of political aspirations and expectations. These questions use Likert scales, multiple-choice options, and ranking questions.
- **Open-Ended Questions:** To allow respondents to elaborate on their views and provide qualitative insights into their personal experiences and perspectives.

The survey was pilot tested to ensure clarity and relevance, and adjustments were made based on feedback from the pilot test.

Overall, by combining insights from existing literature, relevant research methodologies, and interviews to develop robust and contextually appropriate measurement tools for your research study on the formation of Syrian women's political aspirations and expectations, the survey is designed to yield comprehensive and meaningful data.

4.5 Ethical Assurances and Addressing Possible Risks

Given the sensitive nature of the research topic, ethical assurances and addressing possible risks are paramount. The research ensures:

- **Voluntary Participation:** Participation in the study is entirely voluntary, and participants are free to withdraw at any time without any negative consequences.
- **Cultural Sensitivity:** The survey and interactions with participants are designed to be culturally sensitive, acknowledging and respecting the diverse backgrounds and experiences of Syrian women. This includes using appropriate language and being mindful of cultural norms and values.
- **Ongoing Communication:** Maintaining open lines of communication with participants throughout the research process to address any concerns or questions they may have. This helps build trust and ensures that participants feel supported and valued.
- The study adheres to ethical guidelines to ensure the safety and well-being of participants.

Key ethical considerations include:

- **Informed Consent:** Participants are fully informed about the purpose of the study, the nature of their involvement, and their right to withdraw at any time without penalty. Informed consent ensures that participants are voluntarily participating in the research.
- **Confidentiality:** Ensuring that all data collected is kept confidential and that participants' identities are protected. This includes anonymizing responses and securely storing the data.

- **Non-Maleficence:** Taking measures to ensure that the research does not cause harm or distress to participants, especially given the sensitive nature of the topic. This includes being sensitive to the emotional and psychological well-being of participants.
- **Anonymity:** Ensuring that responses are anonymized to protect the identities of the participants. This step helps protect the privacy and security of the respondents.



CHAPTER 5 CASE STUDY AND FINDING

This chapter presents the findings of a comprehensive survey conducted to understand the aspirations, challenges, and priorities of Syrian women regarding their country's future. The survey, which captures the voices of Syrian women from various age groups, educational backgrounds, and regions, provides invaluable insights into their perceptions of the current political situation, the impact of the Syrian Revolution, and the obstacles they face in political participation. This diversity ensures that the findings reflect a wide range of viewpoints, making the insights both rich and nuanced.

The survey responses reveal a nuanced understanding of the multifaceted challenges and complex dynamics influencing Syrian women's lives. It explores their views on the most interfering parties in the conflict, and their hopes for potential political solutions. Additionally, the findings highlight the significant barriers women face, including cultural and social constraints, security threats, and institutional obstacles, as well as their strategies for overcoming these challenges.

Key areas of focus identified by respondents include empowerment and raising awareness across various fields, advocacy for legal reforms, and political empowerment. The survey also delves into the diverse scenarios women foresee and hope for regarding Syria's political future, ranging from continued conflict and external interventions to achieving comprehensive peace and establishing a democratic government.

This chapter not only highlights the challenges and opportunities faced by Syrian women but also underscores their resilience and determination to play a crucial role in shaping Syria's future.

5.1 Demography

The survey conducted to understand Syrian women's aspirations for their country's future on a political level included 524 respondents, whose demographic data provided insights into age and educational attainment. The demographic data provides a comprehensive context for understanding the diverse experiences and perspectives of Syrian women.

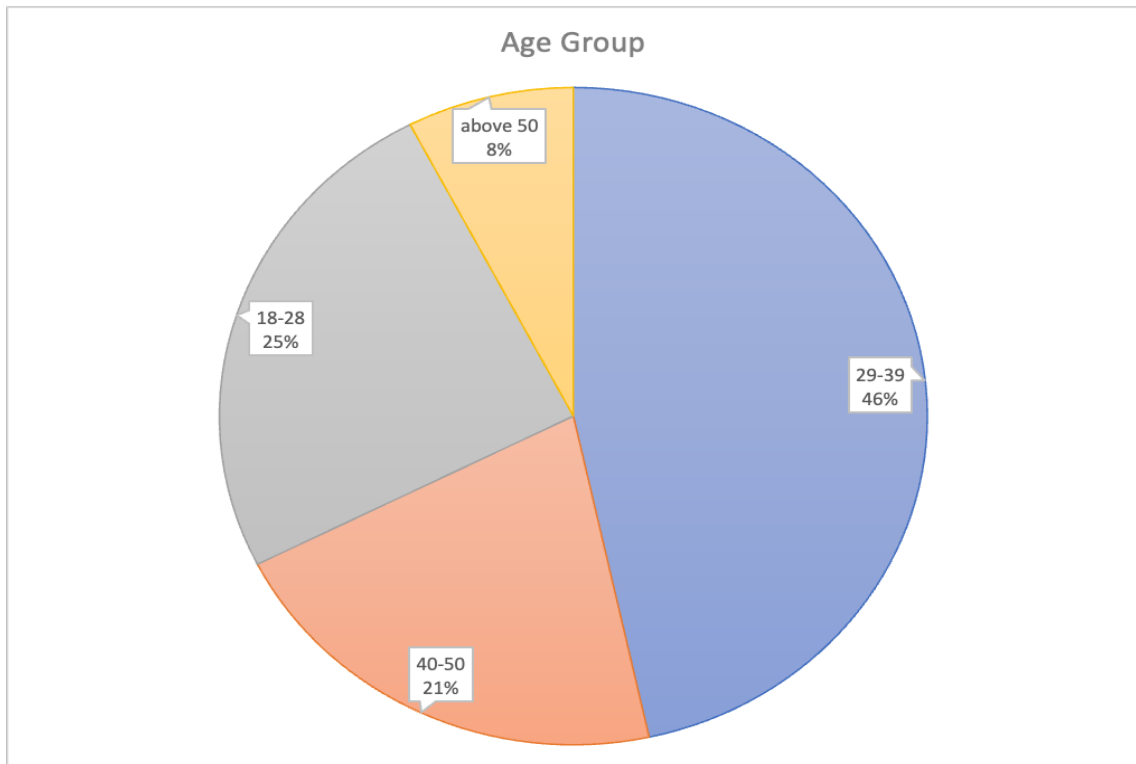


Figure 5.1.1 The Respondents' Demographic Data

This distribution shows that the majority of the respondents are within the 29-39 years age range, indicating that the survey primarily captures the perspectives of women in their early to middle adulthood. The educational levels of the participants are varied, highlighting a broad spectrum of educational backgrounds. A significant proportion of the respondents have achieved higher education, with over half being university students or graduates. This indicates that the survey respondents are predominantly well-educated, which may influence their perspectives on political and social issues.

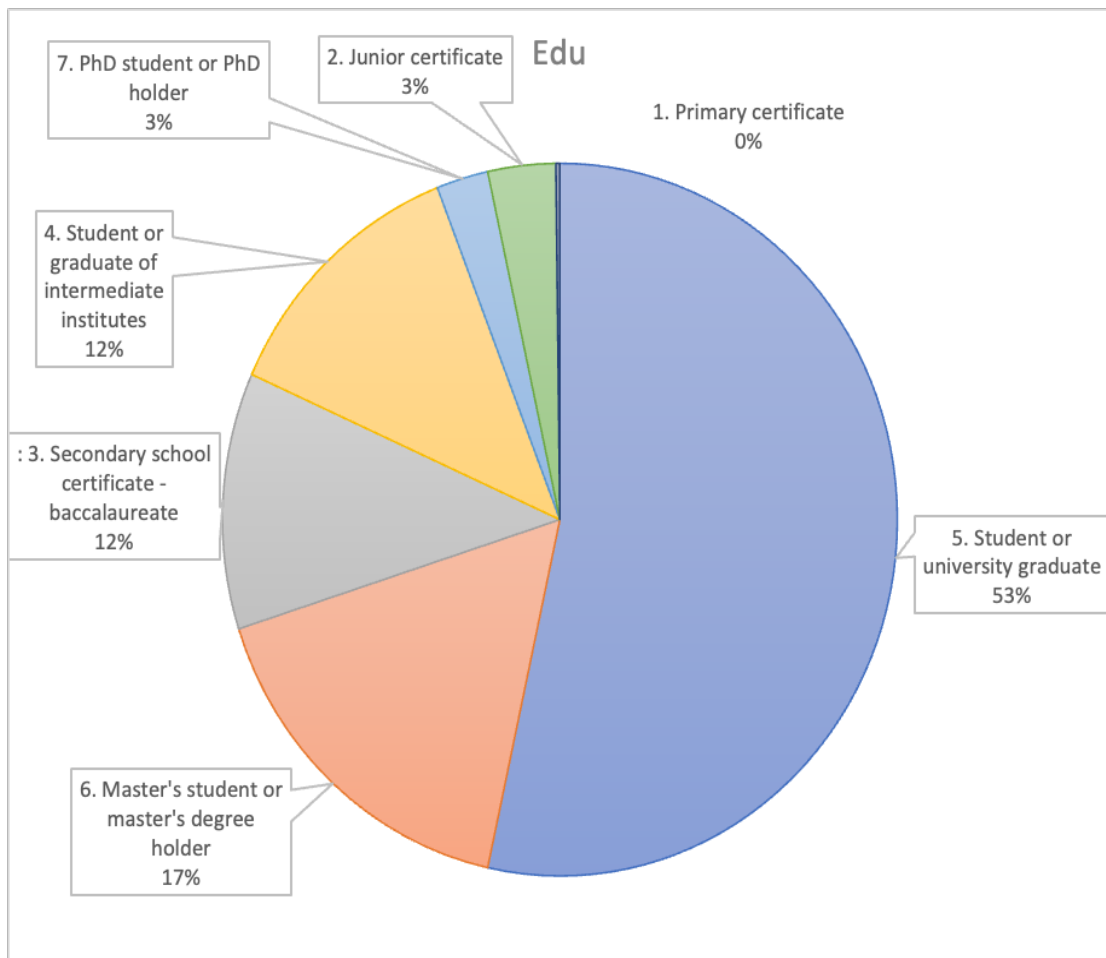


Figure 5.1.2 The Respondents' Education level

The survey also collected information on the current region of residence of the respondents based on the current de facto authorities and divisions within Syria, as well as international locations. The distribution indicates a significant presence of respondents in neighboring countries (26.72%) and both Northeast (20.99%) and Northwest Syria (20.23%). A notable proportion also resides in Western countries such as Europe, America, Britain, Australia, and Canada (19.08%). Only 9.73% of the respondents are in government-controlled areas within Syria.

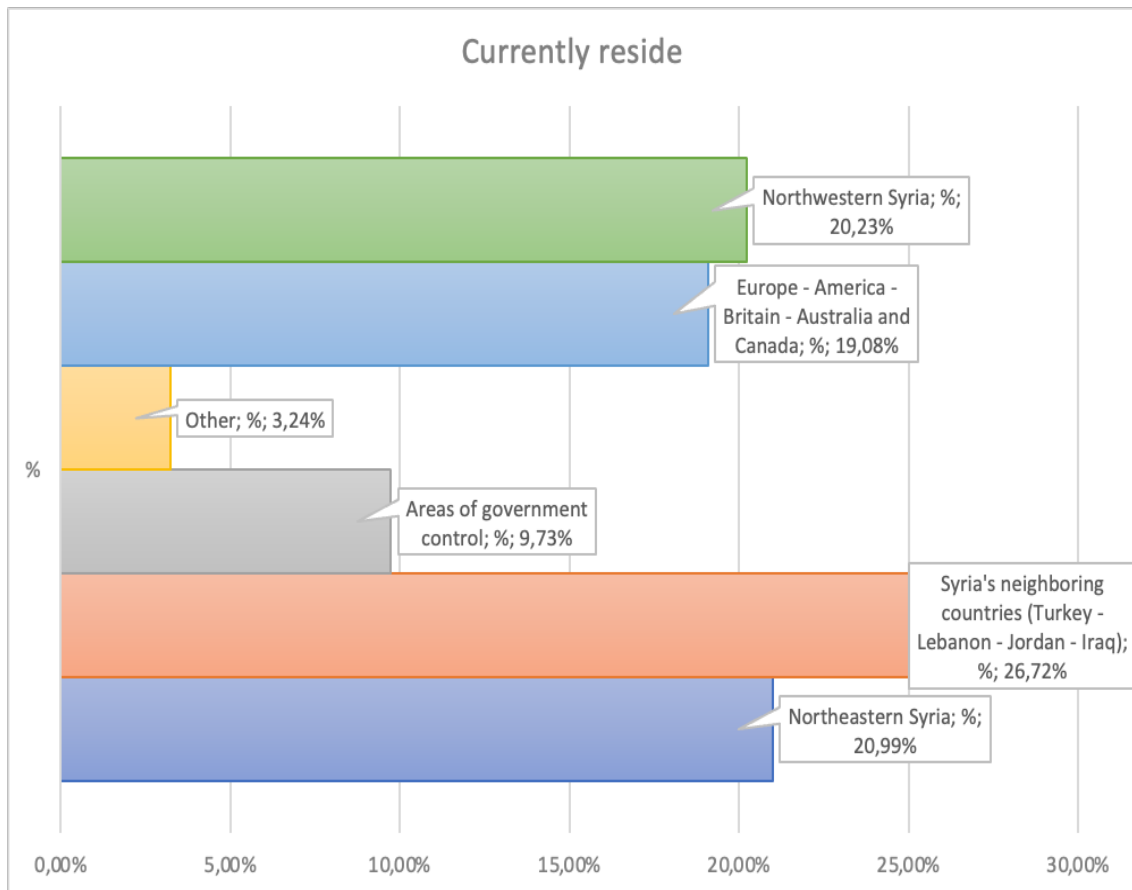


Figure 5.1.3 The Respondents' Current Residence.

The survey also gathered data on whether respondents had changed their place of residence, providing insight into the displacement and migration patterns among Syrian women. Here is the breakdown of their responses:

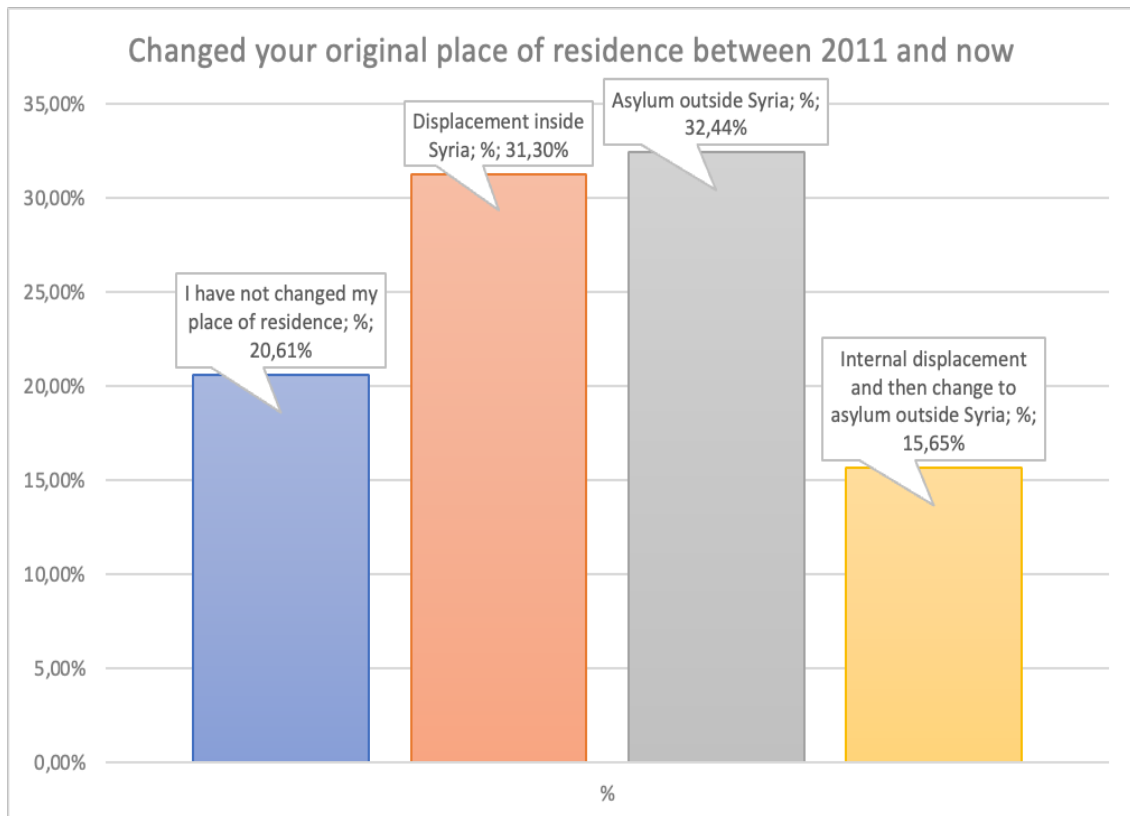


Figure 5.1.4 The Respondents' Original residence

The data shows that a significant majority of the respondents have experienced displacement due to the ongoing conflict in Syria. Only 20.61% of the participants have remained in their original place of residence, while the rest have either been displaced within Syria or have sought refuge in other countries. Notably, 32.44% of the respondents are currently refugees outside Syria, and 15.65% have experienced both internal displacement and subsequent refuge abroad.

The demographic analysis of the survey data reveals a predominantly young and well-educated group of Syrian women, with a significant majority experiencing displacement due to the conflict. While some remain within Syria, many have sought refuge in neighboring countries and Western nations. This diverse geographic distribution, combined with the high levels of education among the respondents, provides a nuanced understanding of their perspectives on the current political situation, the interference of various parties, and their hopes for the future of Syria. These insights are crucial for understanding the complex aspirations and expectations Syrian women hold for their country amidst ongoing challenges. The data underscores the importance of considering their unique experiences and viewpoints in any discussions about Syria's

future, particularly in terms of political solutions and post-conflict reconstruction efforts.

5.2 Main reasons for the current political situation

The survey question asked respondents to identify the main reasons for the current political situation in Syria, offering multiple potential factors. The data shows that a significant majority believe "Repression and Tyranny" (66.79% as a primary reason) is the most critical cause. Following this, "Economic Inequality, Poverty, and Corruption" is also seen as a major contributor (57.63% as a primary reason).

"Influence of Regional and International Interventions" is highly significant, with 43.51% citing it as a primary reason and 42.75% as an important reason, highlighting the perceived external impact on Syria's political landscape. Ethnic and sectarian tensions are less prominently viewed as a primary reason (20.61%), but many still consider them important (42.37%).

Other notable factors include "Lack of Governance and Effective Institutions" (45.99% primary reason) and "Historical Injustice and Unresolved Conflicts" (38.55% primary reason), which reflect the perceived systemic issues within the country. Lastly, "Poor Institutionalization and Centralization of Power" is also considered a critical issue by 42.56% of respondents.

8. In your opinion, what are the main reasons for the current political situation in Syria?	One of the first reasons	Important reason	neutral	Not a reason	It has absolutely nothing to do with it
Oppression and tyranny	66.79%	25.00%	5.92%	1.53%	0.76%
Economic inequality, poverty and corruption	57.63%	36.83%	4.39%	0.76%	0.38%
Impact of regional and international interventions	43.51%	42.75%	10.50%	2.67%	0.57%
Ethnic and sectarian tensions	20.61%	42.37%	21.56%	13.36%	2.10%
Lack of effective governance and institutions	45.99%	39.50%	9.35%	4.20%	0.95%
Historical injustices and unresolved conflicts	38.55%	39.89%	12.60%	6.68%	2.29%
Poverty of the government institution and centralization of power	42.56%	39.89%	9.73%	5.53%	2.29%

Table 5.2.1 Reasons for The Current Political Situation in Syria

The survey data provides a comprehensive understanding of the perceived causes of the current political situation in Syria. "Repression and Tyranny" emerges as the most critical factor, followed by "Economic Inequality, Poverty, and Corruption." The significant role of "Influence of Regional and International Interventions" underscores the perceived external impact on Syria's political landscape.

Differences based on age, education, and location reveal that younger and less educated respondents are more focused on economic issues, while older and more educated respondents emphasize repression and tyranny. These insights reflect the complex interplay of factors that Syrian women believe contribute to their country's political situation, highlighting the need for multifaceted solutions that address both internal systemic issues and external influences.

5.3 Syrian conflict impact on women since 2011

The survey question assesses the level of engagement Syrian women have had with political news about Syria from 2011 to the present. A significant portion of respondents actively engage with political news about Syria. Approximately 40.46% follow political news regularly, while another 33.78% do so intermittently. This high level of engagement indicates that many Syrian women are keenly aware of the ongoing political developments in their country. However, there is also a notable group (11.07%) that, while aware of the news, chooses not to engage with it actively, possibly due to factors such as news fatigue or emotional strain. A smaller segment of respondents (6.68%) is interested in political news but currently do not follow it, potentially due to access issues or personal reasons. Only a minor fraction is either uninterested (2.86%) or unaware (2.10%) of political news, suggesting that the majority are at least somewhat informed about the situation.

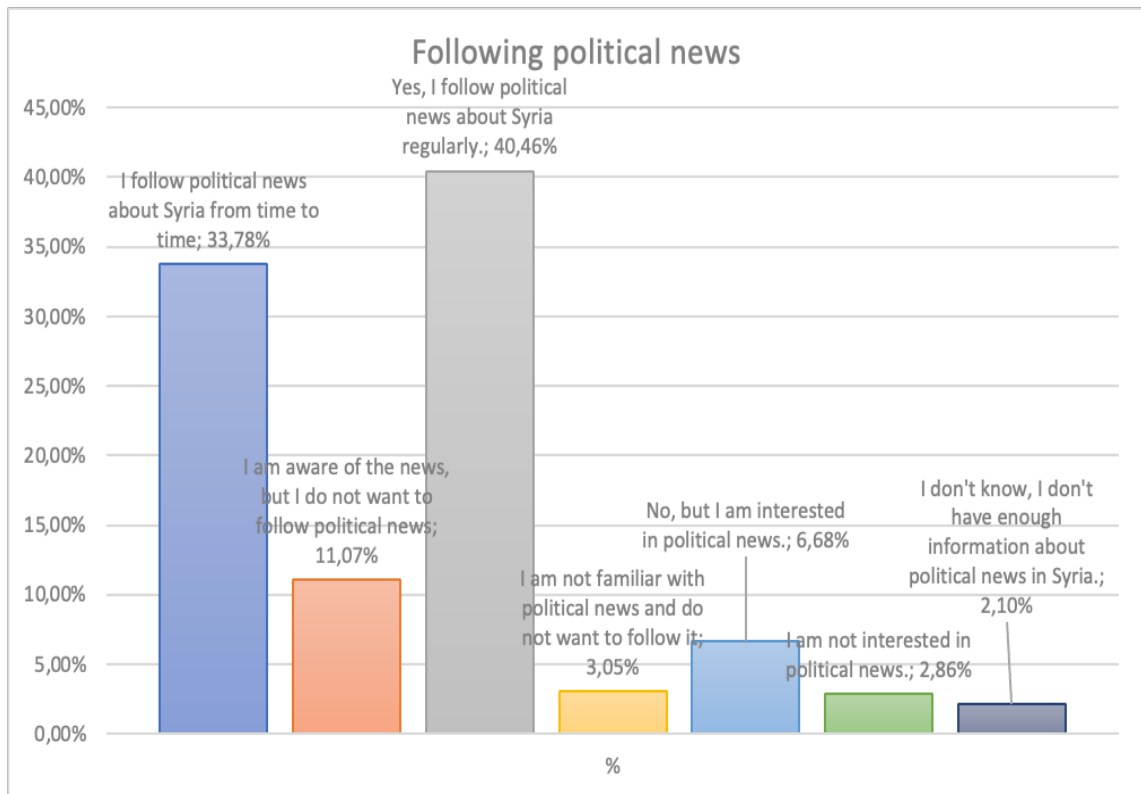


Figure 5.3.1 Following Political News

The survey question explores the respondents' perception of the current political situation in Syria. When describing the current political situation in Syria, a majority (51.53%) characterize it as a "Revolution turned into armed movement," reflecting the shift from initial revolutionary efforts to prolonged armed conflict. This perception aligns with the historical trajectory of the Syrian conflict, which began as a series of protests and evolved into a complex and violent struggle. A significant number of respondents (33.97%) see the situation as a "Proxy war on Syrian soil," highlighting the role of international actors and external influences in exacerbating the conflict. The view of "Foreign occupation" held by 22.52% of respondents further underscores concerns about sovereignty and foreign military presence.

Additionally, 25.76% see Syria as being fragmented into "Small states following de facto authorities," which points to the perceived division and lack of centralized control within the country. Only a small fraction (2.86%) believes in a "Democratic transition," indicating limited optimism about a positive political change.

Lastly, 8.21% are uncertain about how to describe the situation, which may reflect the complexity and ambiguity of the current political landscape. The diversity of

responses underscores the multifaceted nature of the Syrian conflict and its varied impacts on perceptions and realities within the country.

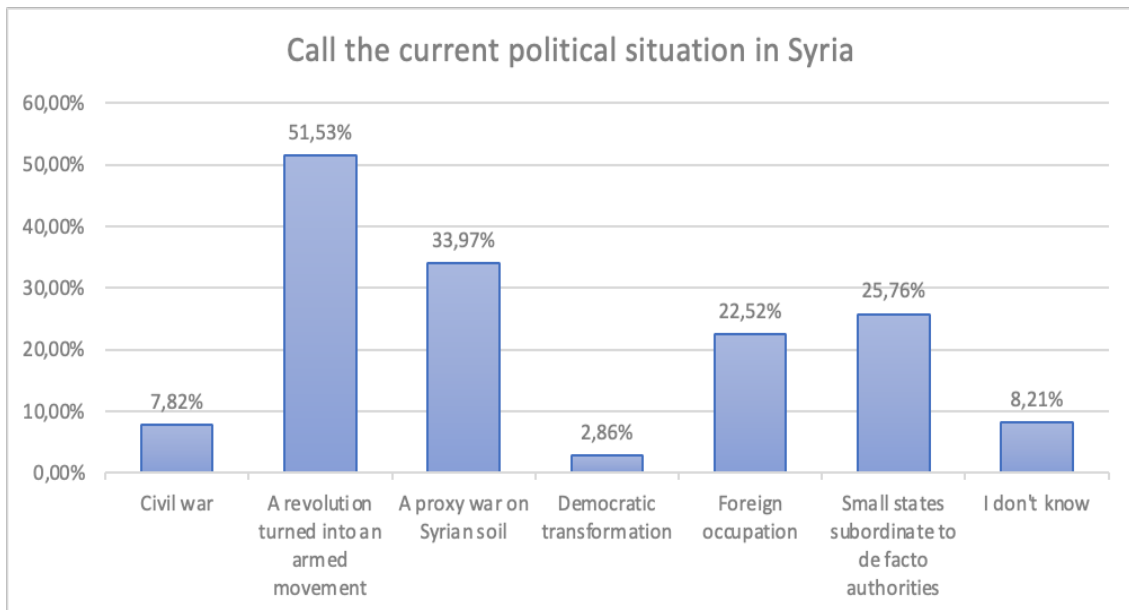


Figure 5.3.2 Syria Current Political Syria situation

The comparative analysis demonstrates that higher levels of engagement with political news correlate with more detailed and nuanced perceptions of the political situation in Syria. Regular followers of political news are more likely to recognize the complexity of the conflict, including its evolution from a revolution to an armed movement and the role of international interventions. Intermittent followers and those aware but uninterested show a good understanding but may lack depth in their views. Uninterested and uninformed respondents are more likely to express uncertainty, indicating that continuous engagement with political news enhances comprehension and informed opinions about the situation in Syria.

These insights are crucial for understanding how varying levels of news engagement influence Syrian women's perspectives on their country's political landscape and inform efforts to address their concerns and aspirations effectively.

This survey question evaluates the perceived impact of the movement since 2011 on the role of women across various sectors: political, economic, rights, social/community building, and educational/cultural.

11. How do you find the impact of activism on women's role since 2011 at the following levels?	Significant but positive impact	Limited but positive impact	Has no impact	Limited but negative impact	Significant but negative impact
At the Political level	20.61%	53.24%	8.78%	11.64%	5.73%
At the Economic level	18.89%	33.78%	11.26%	21.56%	14.50%
At the Legal level	16.03%	41.03%	15.08%	15.84%	12.02%
At the Community Level and Community Building	28.63%	40.08%	6.68%	14.89%	9.73%
At the Education and culture level	32.82%	32.63%	5.53%	15.46%	13.55%

Table 5.3.1 the impact of activism on women's role since 2011

Political Impact: The majority of respondents (53.24%) believe that the movement had a limited but positive impact on women's political roles. A significant portion (20.61%) perceives a substantial positive impact, indicating an overall positive shift in political engagement and representation. However, there is still a notable fraction that views the impact as weakly negative (11.64%) or strongly negative (5.73%), suggesting some disillusionment or negative experiences.

Economic Impact: The economic impact of the movement on women appears mixed. About 33.78% see a limited but positive impact, while 18.89% believe the impact has been significantly positive. Nevertheless, a considerable number of respondents (21.56%) see a weak negative impact, and 14.50% perceive a strong negative impact, indicating significant economic challenges for women post-2011.

Rights Impact: In terms of rights, 41.03% of respondents see a limited but positive impact, and 16.03% believe the impact is significantly positive. However, the perception of no impact (15.08%) and negative impacts (weak negative: 15.84%, strong negative: 12.02%) reflects ongoing struggles in achieving significant advancements in women's rights.

Social and Community Building Impact: The movement is seen positively in social and community contexts, with 40.08% reporting a limited but positive impact and 28.63% noting a significant positive impact. This suggests improvements in social roles and community involvement for women. Negative impacts (weak negative: 14.89%, strong negative: 9.73%) are less pronounced but still present, highlighting some ongoing social challenges.

Educational and Cultural Impact: Educational and cultural impacts are viewed very positively. A combined 65.45% see either a significant (32.82%) or limited but positive (32.63%) impact, suggesting substantial advancements in education and cultural

involvement for women. Only a small fraction sees no impact (5.53%), while some perceive negative impacts (weak negative: 15.46%, strong negative: 13.55%).

The overall analysis reveals a predominantly positive perception of the movement's impact on women's roles across various sectors. The most substantial positive impacts are seen in educational and cultural spheres, followed by social and community building. Political and rights impacts are also viewed positively but to a lesser extent, with some negative sentiments present. The economic impact is the most divided, indicating significant challenges alongside positive developments. These responses reflect a nuanced view of progress and ongoing obstacles in the aftermath of the movement since 2011.

The expanded analysis illustrates that Syrian women's perceptions of the movement's impact since 2011 are deeply influenced by their demographic characteristics. Younger respondents, those with higher education levels, and those residing in Western regions generally have more optimistic views on the movement's impact across various sectors. In contrast, older respondents, those with lower education levels, and those in conflict-affected or neighboring regions often highlight ongoing challenges, particularly in economic and political areas. These insights emphasize the necessity of tailoring policy and development efforts to address the diverse experiences and expectations of Syrian women.

5.4 Syrian women perceive their current role and its Effectiveness

How Syrian women perceive their current role and effectiveness in shaping the future of Syria across various sectors.

Current Role in Shaping Syria's Future: The majority of respondents (43.13%) view the role of women as evolving and growing, suggesting a sense of progress and increasing involvement. However, a significant number (36.26%) see the role as having limited impact, indicating that while there are advancements, challenges remain in fully realizing women's potential. A smaller group (14.12%) believes that women play a decisive and influential role, reflecting optimism about women's contributions. Only a minor fraction sees the role as non-influential (4.77%) or not influential at all (1.72%), suggesting that most respondents recognize some level of influence.

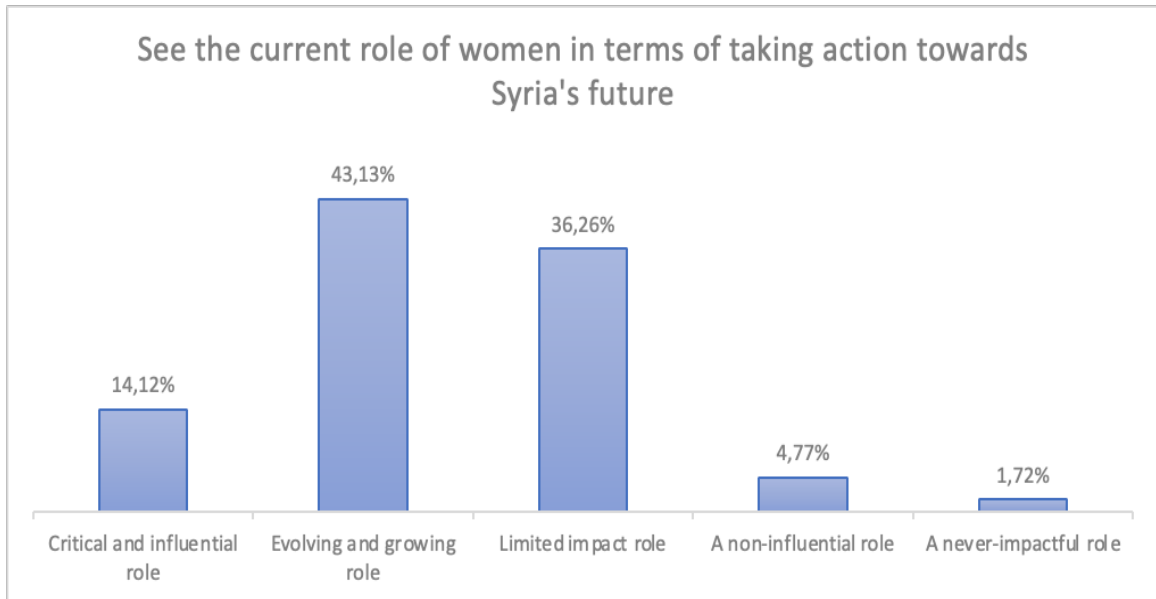


Figure 5.4.1 current role of women in terms of taking action towards Syria's future

In term if the effectiveness Across Different Sectors:

Political Level: The political sector sees varied perceptions, with the largest group (33.40%) rating women's role as moderate. A combined 35.50% see it as effective or good, while 28.05% view it as weak. This indicates that while women are making strides, political participation still faces significant hurdles.

Economic Level: In the economic sector, perceptions are more positive, with 46.19% viewing women's role as effective or good. However, a notable portion (32.82%) sees it as moderate, and 19.47% as weak, indicating ongoing economic challenges.

Rights Level: The role in rights is seen as moderate by 34.54%, with 41.80% viewing it as effective or good. The perception of a weak role (20.80%) highlights ongoing struggles in advancing women's rights fully.

Social and Community Building Level: This sector has the highest positive perception, with 68.13% rating the role as effective or good. Only a small fraction (9.92%) sees it as weak, indicating strong community involvement and social impact.

Education and Culture Level: Education and culture also receive high positive ratings, with 68.33% viewing the role as effective or good. A very small number sees no participation (0.38%), suggesting broad involvement in these areas.

13. At which of the following levels do you find the effectiveness of women's current role?	effective	good	average	weak	non-participation
At the Political level	11.45%	24.05%	33.40%	28.05%	3.05%
At the Economic level	17.56%	28.63%	32.82%	19.47%	1.53%
At the Legal level	17.37%	24.43%	34.54%	20.80%	2.86%
At the Community Level and Community Building	31.49%	36.64%	21.95%	9.35%	0.57%
At the Education and culture level	35.31%	33.02%	21.37%	9.92%	0.38%

Table 5.4.1 effectiveness of women's current role

The survey findings reveal that Syrian women perceive their current role in shaping the future of Syria as evolving and growing, with 43.13% of respondents expressing this view. However, 36.26% see their role as having limited impact, while 14.12% believe women play a decisive and influential role. Only a small fraction views their role as non-influential. In terms of effectiveness across different sectors, the political sector shows varied perceptions, with 33.40% rating women's role as moderate and 35.50% as effective or good. The economic sector has a more positive outlook, with 46.19% viewing women's role as effective or good. The role in advancing women's rights is seen as moderate by 34.54%, with 41.80% viewing it as effective or good. Social and community building has the highest positive perception, with 68.13% rating it as effective or good, and education and culture also receive high positive ratings 68.33%.

Age, education, and location significantly influence these perceptions, highlighting the diverse experiences and expectations among Syrian women in their efforts to shape the future of their country. Younger respondents and those with higher education levels generally have more positive views on the effectiveness of women's roles. However, older respondents and those in certain regions may perceive more limitations. These insights underscore the importance of addressing diverse experiences and expectations among Syrian women to support their aspirations and enhance their roles in shaping the future of Syria

5.5 Factors influencing the role of women in Syria under the current territorial division

The perceived factors influencing the role of women in Syria under the current territorial division. Each factor has a range of impacts from positive to negative, reflecting the complex environment in which Syrian women operate.

14. In your opinion, what factors affect women's role according to the current division of Syrian territory?	Significant but positive impact	Limited but positive impact	Has no impact	Limited but negative impact	Significant but negative impact
Traditions and customs	29.39%	14.31%	4.39%	24.81%	27.10%
Intervention of de facto authorities	22.33%	15.84%	7.82%	27.86%	26.15%
Security situation and military attacks	23.85%	8.97%	8.21%	23.85%	35.11%
Economic situation and lack of financial resources	22.33%	13.93%	5.53%	26.91%	31.30%
Health status and lack of services	19.08%	17.37%	8.97%	27.67%	26.91%
Women's lack of opportunities compared to men's	21.18%	15.84%	11.64%	28.63%	22.71%
The impact of society on women's roles	24.62%	25.57%	7.06%	23.66%	19.08%

Table 5.5.1 factors affect women's role

Customs and Traditions: The influence of customs and traditions is seen as predominantly negative, with 27.10% perceiving a strong negative impact and 24.81% a weak negative impact. However, 29.39% see a significant positive impact, and 14.31% view it as limited but positive. This suggests a divided opinion on whether traditional norms are supportive or restrictive.

Intervention of De Facto Authorities: A significant number of respondents perceive the intervention of de facto authorities negatively, with 27.86% viewing it as having a weak negative impact and 26.15% as a strong negative impact. Conversely, 22.33% see a significant positive impact, indicating varied experiences with local authorities.

Security Situation and Military Attacks: The security situation and military attacks are predominantly seen as having a strong negative impact (35.11%) and a weak negative impact (23.85%). Only a smaller portion views these factors positively (23.85% significant, 8.97% limited), highlighting the detrimental effects of conflict on women's roles.

Economic Situation and Lack of Financial Resources: Economic challenges are largely perceived negatively, with 31.30% seeing a strong negative impact and 26.91% a weak negative impact. Positive perceptions are lower, with 22.33% seeing a significant positive impact and 13.93% a limited positive impact, indicating economic difficulties for women.

Health Situation and Lack of Services: Health issues and lack of services are also viewed negatively, with 27.67% perceiving a weak negative impact and 26.91% a strong negative impact. Positive impacts are lower (19.08% significant, 17.37% limited), reflecting challenges in accessing adequate healthcare.

Lack of Opportunities for Women Compared to Men: The lack of opportunities for women compared to men is seen as a major issue, with 28.63% viewing it as having a weak negative impact and 22.71% a strong negative impact. Positive impacts are noted by 21.18% (significant) and 15.84% (limited), highlighting gender disparities in opportunities.

Impact of Society and Its Changes on Women's Roles: Societal changes have a mixed impact, with 25.57% viewing it as limited but positive and 24.62% as significant and positive. Negative impacts are also noted (23.66% weak, 19.08% strong), indicating that societal dynamics can both support and hinder women's roles.

The survey findings illustrate that Syrian women perceive multiple factors as influencing their roles under the current territorial divisions. Customs and traditions are

seen as both restrictive and supportive, reflecting a divided opinion. The intervention of de facto authorities and the security situation are predominantly viewed negatively, highlighting the detrimental effects of conflict and governance issues. Economic challenges and health services are also largely perceived negatively, indicating significant difficulties in these areas. The lack of opportunities for women compared to men remains a major issue, with notable gender disparities. Societal changes have a mixed impact, with both positive and negative influences on women's roles.

These perceptions vary based on location, in Government-Controlled Areas and Neighboring Countries Exhibit higher tendencies to view security and economic situations negatively. While Areas Outside Direct Conflict Zones (Europe, America, etc.) Show mixed views but still recognize significant negative impacts, particularly on economic and health factors.

5.6 Focus areas of Syrian women's work since 2011

The data reveals the following insights into the concentration of women's efforts across various domains:

15. From your perspective, what areas has Syrian women's work been focused on since 2011?	Primarily	Generally	Neutral	Insignificant	Left out
Improving women's social and economic conditions	42.75%	39.12%	9.35%	4.20%	4.58%
Increase women's participation in the public sphere (civil society, labour market, media)	37.21%	46.56%	10.50%	2.67%	3.05%
Increased women's representation in politics	22.90%	37.79%	23.47%	8.78%	7.06%
Women's role in the rights and legal sphere	25.57%	36.83%	21.56%	9.92%	6.11%
Women's role in art, culture and creativity	27.48%	42.18%	17.37%	7.82%	5.15%

Table 5.6.1 areas have Syrian women's work been focused on since 2011

Improving Social and Economic Conditions for Women: A significant majority of respondents (42.75%) believe that the primary focus of women's work has been on improving social and economic conditions. Additionally, 39.12% view this focus as

generally significant. This highlights a strong emphasis on addressing fundamental social and economic challenges faced by women in Syria. Only a small fraction considers this area as unimportant (4.20%) or negligible (4.58%), indicating broad recognition of its importance.

Increasing Women's Participation in the Public Sphere: Increasing women's participation in the public sphere, including civil society, the labor market, and media, is seen as a key focus area. A combined 83.77% of respondents view this as either primarily (37.21%) or generally (46.56%) significant. This suggests a strong drive towards enhancing women's visibility and influence in public life. Few respondents see this area as unimportant (2.67%) or negligible (3.05%).

Increasing Women's Representation in the Political Field: Views on increasing women's political representation are more varied. While 22.90% see it as a primary focus, 37.79% consider it generally important. A notable portion (23.47%) remains neutral, and some view it as unimportant (8.78%) or negligible (7.06%). This indicates that while political representation is recognized, it may face more challenges or varying levels of emphasis compared to other areas.

Women's Role in the Legal and Rights Field: In the legal and rights field, 25.57% of respondents see women's role as primarily significant, and 36.83% view it as generally important. Neutral responses (21.56%) and those seeing it as unimportant (9.92%) or negligible (6.11%) suggest a mixed perception, with recognition of ongoing efforts but also acknowledging challenges in this domain.

Women's Role in Art, Culture, and Creativity: The role of women in art, culture, and creativity is seen positively, with 27.48% considering it a primary focus and 42.18% generally important. This highlights the recognition of cultural and creative contributions by women. Neutral responses (17.37%) and lower percentages for unimportant (7.82%)

or negligible (5.15%) impacts indicate a generally favorable view of women's involvement in these areas.

The survey reveals that since 2011, Syrian women's work has primarily focused on improving social and economic conditions, with 42.75% of respondents identifying this as the primary area of emphasis. Additionally, 83.77% of respondents see increasing women's participation in the public sphere as significant, reflecting efforts to enhance visibility and influence in public life. However, increasing women's political representation remains challenging, with varied levels of emphasis and recognition. The roles of women in the legal and rights field and in art, culture, and creativity are also highlighted, indicating diverse areas of impact.

Demographic differences show that younger and older respondents, those with higher education levels, and individuals from regions outside conflict zones tend to have a more positive and comprehensive view of women's work. These insights emphasize the importance of supporting Syrian women's efforts across all sectors to address the complex challenges they face and to enhance their contributions to the future of Syria.

5.7 Challenges that Syrian women face in participating in the political field

The survey explores the primary challenges that Syrian women face in participating in the political field. The survey reveals that Syrian women face a complex array of challenges in political participation, influenced by institutional, cultural, legal, financial, organizational, and security factors.

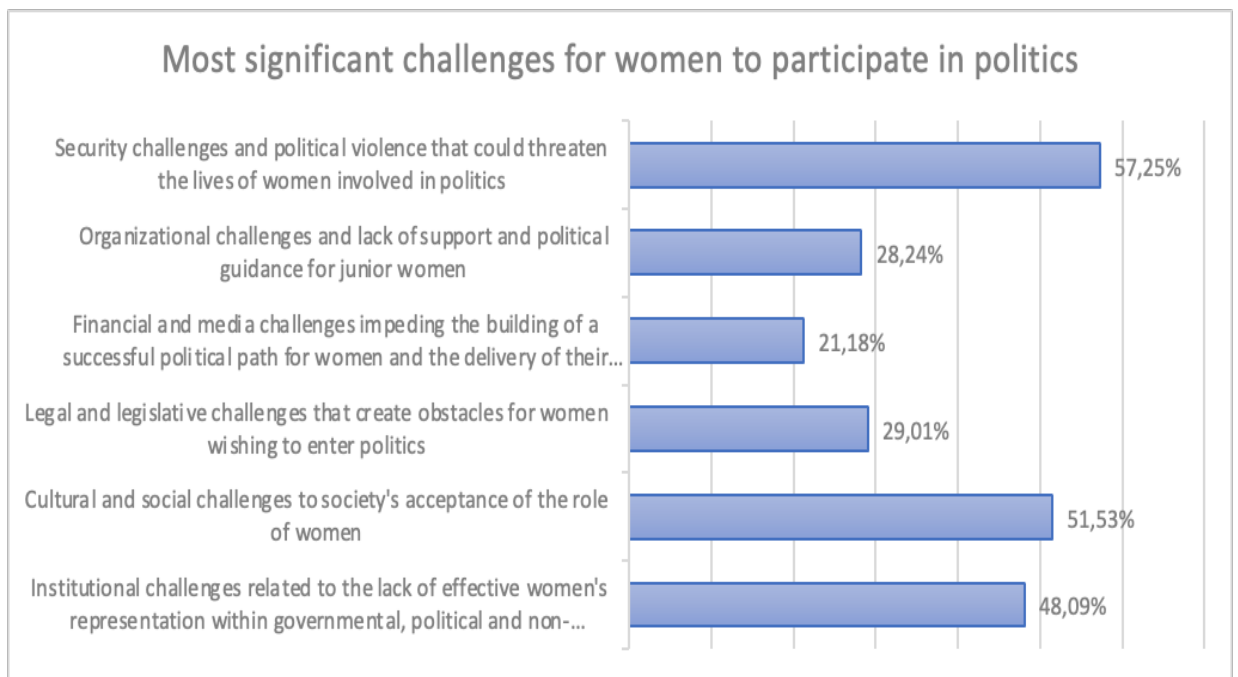


Figure 5.7.1 Challenges that Syrian women face in participating in the political field

The survey reveals that Syrian women face numerous challenges in political participation, with cultural and social barriers (51.53%) and security threats (57.25%) being the most significant. Institutional challenges (48.09%), legal obstacles (29.01%), financial and media constraints (21.18%), and organizational support issues (28.24%) further hinder women's political involvement

16. According to your current community surroundings, what are the most significant challenges for women to participate in politics?	Other	Europe - America - Britain - Australia and Canada	Syria's neighboring countries (Turkey - Lebanon - Jordan - Iraq)	North eastern Syria	North western Syria	Areas of government control
Institutional challenges related to the lack of effective women's representation within governmental, political and non-governmental institutions	1.59%	19.05%	26.19%	17.06%	25.79%	10.32%
Cultural and social challenges to society's acceptance of the role of women	3.70%	20.00%	26.67%	18.52%	20.37%	10.74%
Legal and legislative challenges that create obstacles for women wishing to enter politics	2.63%	23.03%	27.63%	18.42%	17.11%	11.18%
Financial and media challenges impeding the building of a successful political path for women and the delivery of their voices	5.41%	17.12%	18.02%	20.72%	23.42%	15.32%
Organizational challenges and lack of support and political guidance for junior women	5.41%	14.86%	29.05%	21.62%	18.24%	10.81%
Security challenges and political violence that could threaten the lives of women involved in politics	3.00%	19.33%	29.33%	21.00%	19.67%	7.67%

Table 5.7.1 most significant challenges for women to participate in politics

These challenges are perceived differently based on location, highlighting the diverse experiences across various regions. In government-controlled areas, 10.32% of women face institutional challenges, 10.74% face cultural barriers, 11.18% face legal obstacles, and 15.32% face financial constraints. Women in these areas experience relatively fewer security threats (7.67%) compared to other regions. In neighboring countries (Turkey, Lebanon, Jordan, Iraq), significant challenges include security threats (29.33%), institutional barriers (26.19%), cultural barriers (26.67%), and legal challenges (27.63%). Financial constraints are noted by 18.02% of respondents, while 29.05% report a lack of organizational support.

In Northeast and Northwest Syria, security threats are recognized by 21.00% and 19.67% of women, respectively. Institutional challenges are faced by 17.06% in

Northeast Syria and 25.79% in Northwest Syria, while financial constraints affect 20.72% in Northeast and 23.42% in Northwest Syria. Cultural barriers are noted by 18.52% in Northeast and 20.37% in Northwest Syria. Legal challenges are reported by 18.42% in Northeast and 17.11% in Northwest Syria. In regions outside direct conflict zones (Europe, America, Britain, Australia, Canada), 5.41% of women face financial constraints, 1.59% face institutional challenges, 3.70% face cultural barriers, 2.63% face legal obstacles, and 3.00% face security threats.

These percentages illustrate that Syrian women face multifaceted challenges in political participation, with significant variations based on location. Addressing these challenges requires tailored strategies that consider the unique circumstances of women in different regions. In government-controlled areas and neighboring countries, efforts should focus on overcoming institutional, cultural, and legal barriers. In conflict zones like Northeast and Northwest Syria, addressing security threats and providing financial and organizational support are critical. For women in the diaspora, integration and representation within host countries' political systems are essential. Regional differences indicate that women in government-controlled areas and neighboring countries face distinct obstacles compared to those in areas outside direct conflict zones.

5.8 International and regional interventions in the Syrian political situation

The survey highlights the perceived significant international and regional interventions in the Syrian political situation, with notable differences based on the country and region involved.

International Parties:

The United States and Russia are perceived as the most significant and direct interveners, with 73.66% and 89.12% of respondents, respectively, indicating strong involvement. The United Nations has a mixed perception, with 40.65% viewing it as significantly involved and 35.31% seeing limited but indirect intervention. China is perceived as having both direct (28.44%) and indirect (37.98%) interventions, with a

notable perception of neutrality (22.33%). The United Kingdom, France, and Germany are mainly seen as having limited but indirect interventions, with significant portions of respondents also viewing them as neutral.

17. In your view, what international actors are the most interfering in Syria's political situation?	Significant and direct intervention	Specific indirect intervention	neutral	Limit interference.	It has no interference
United States of America	73.66%	20.80%	4.01%	0.76%	0.76%
United Kingdom	12.02%	48.47%	30.15%	7.25%	2.10%
United Nations	40.65%	35.31%	18.32%	4.39%	1.34%
China	28.44%	37.98%	22.33%	8.97%	2.29%
Russia	89.12%	4.39%	4.39%	1.53%	0.57%
Canada	2.67%	22.90%	45.23%	22.71%	6.49%
Germany	6.11%	40.27%	35.31%	13.36%	4.96%
France	9.35%	47.52%	30.92%	9.73%	2.48%
Belgium	2.67%	25.19%	46.76%	19.66%	5.73%
Other European States (Netherlands-Sweden-Norway..)	4.77%	24.81%	42.75%	21.37%	6.30%

Table 5.8.1 international actors interfering in Syria's political situation

Regional Parties:

Iran and Turkey are seen as heavily involved, with 91.98% and 77.29% of respondents, respectively, indicating significant and direct interventions. Lebanon has a mixed perception, with 32.06% viewing significant direct intervention and 40.27% seeing limited but indirect intervention. Jordan and Iraq are perceived to have limited but indirect interventions (Jordan: 43.13%, Iraq: 37.60%) and significant portions seeing them as neutral (Jordan: 31.11%, Iraq: 32.25%). Saudi Arabia and Qatar are seen as having both significant direct and limited but indirect interventions, while the UAE is viewed similarly, with notable percentages indicating their involvement. Other Gulf countries are mostly viewed as neutral or having limited but indirect intervention.

18. In your view, what regional parties are the most interfering in Syria's political situation?	Significant and direct intervention	Specific indirect intervention	neutral	Limit interference.	It has no interference
Iran	91.98%	3.82%	3.44%	0.57%	0.19%
Neighboring Countries - Turkey	77.29%	16.22%	5.34%	0.76%	0.38%
Neighboring Countries - Lebanon	32.06%	40.27%	18.32%	8.02%	1.34%
Neighboring Countries - Jordan	10.50%	43.13%	31.11%	12.21%	3.05%
Neighboring Countries - Iraq	12.21%	37.60%	32.25%	15.46%	2.48%
Kingdom of Saudi Arabia	25.38%	44.47%	20.42%	7.63%	2.10%
Qatar	33.21%	40.08%	16.98%	7.63%	2.10%
United Arab Emirates	23.09%	43.32%	23.09%	8.21%	2.29%
Other countries of the Arabian Gulf	6.68%	34.35%	37.79%	16.41%	4.77%

Table 5.8.2 regional parties interfering in Syria's political situation

These findings illustrate the complexity and diversity of international and regional involvement in Syria, reflecting the intricate geopolitical dynamics at play. Understanding these perceptions is crucial for comprehensively addressing the Syrian conflict and its multifaceted nature.

5.9 Potential political solutions

Respondents' opinions on potential political solutions for Syria, highlighting the diversity of views and preferences.

19. What do you think is the political solution for Syria?	Strongly Agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Strongly disagree
A negotiated settlement involving the departure of the current regime and the formation of a fully representative transitional Government.	66.60%	17.37%	11.45%	2.67%	1.91%
A negotiated settlement that ensures the survival of the current system and the dissolution of all parties.	5.34%	7.06%	15.08%	38.17%	34.35%
Democratic elections under international supervision	37.60%	28.24%	16.98%	11.45%	5.73%
Power-sharing agreements between different factions (Syrian geography remains divided according to current powers)	5.15%	7.25%	16.79%	38.17%	32.63%
Foreign intervention to impose peace	9.16%	14.12%	21.76%	34.92%	20.04%
Reconciliation and national dialogue among all parties	25.57%	23.47%	21.37%	18.89%	10.69%
Constitutional reform to ensure representation for all groups	34.35%	28.44%	17.75%	11.45%	8.02%
Federal solution divides power between different administrative regions (while related to internal and regional matters) and central government (in major national and international matters)	14.12%	15.27%	26.34%	25.38%	18.89%

Table 0.1 political solution for Syria

Most Preferred Solution:

1. Negotiated Settlement Including the Departure of the Current Regime and Formation of a Transitional Government: The most preferred solution, with 66.60% strongly agreeing and 17.37% agreeing, reflects a significant desire for a major political change. This option is seen as a comprehensive approach to include all parties and ensure a new beginning for Syria.

2. Democratic Elections Under International Supervision: This solution is also highly favored, with 37.60% strongly agreeing and 28.24% agreeing. It indicates a strong belief in the legitimacy and fairness that international oversight can bring to the electoral process.

3. Constitutional Reform to Ensure Representation for All Groups: Constitutional reform is another preferred solution, with 34.35% strongly agreeing and 28.44% agreeing. This reflects a desire for systemic changes to ensure fair representation of all factions in Syrian society.

Less Preferred Solutions:

1. Negotiated Settlement Ensuring the Survival of the Current Regime: This option is significantly less popular, with only 5.34% strongly agreeing and 7.06% agreeing. A majority (72.52%) either disagree or strongly disagree, indicating a widespread rejection of maintaining the status quo.

2. Power-Sharing Agreements Between Different Factions: This solution also faces considerable opposition, with 38.17% disagreeing and 32.63% strongly disagreeing. Only a small fraction supports this approach, reflecting concerns about further division and instability.

3. Foreign Intervention to Impose Peace: Foreign intervention is generally unpopular, with 34.92% disagreeing and 20.04% strongly disagreeing. Neutral and positive responses indicate mixed feelings, but overall, there is significant opposition to this approach.

Moderate Preferences:

1. Reconciliation and National Dialogue Between All Parties: Reconciliation and dialogue receive moderate support, with 25.57% strongly agreeing and 23.47% agreeing. However, a considerable number of respondents are neutral or opposed, reflecting the complexity and potential challenges of this approach.

2. Federal Solution Dividing Power Between Different Administrative Regions: Federal solution has a mixed reception, with 26.34% neutral, 25.38% disagreeing, and 18.89% strongly disagreeing. Positive responses (14.12% strongly agreeing, 15.27% agreeing) indicate some support, but overall, it is not the most favored solution.

The survey reveals that Syrian respondents have diverse views on potential political solutions for their country, reflecting a wide range of preferences and challenges. The most preferred solution is a negotiated settlement that includes the departure of the current regime and the formation of a transitional government, with 66.60% strongly agreeing. Democratic elections under international supervision and constitutional reforms for inclusive representation are also highly favored. Conversely, solutions that ensure the survival of the current regime, power-sharing agreements, and foreign intervention to impose peace are less popular, indicating a strong desire for significant change and self-determination.

The data also highlights variations in preferences based on age, education, and region. Younger and older respondents, as well as those with higher education levels, show strong support for major political changes, while respondents in government-

controlled areas and neighboring countries face distinct challenges and exhibit varied preferences.

5.10 Priorities that Syrian women believe they should focus on to contribute to the future of Syria

The survey identifies the priorities that Syrian women believe they should focus on to contribute to the future of Syria. The responses highlight several key areas of focus:

20. What are Syria's political priorities?	great importance	important	neutral	is not important	It's not a priority right now
constitutional reform	59.54%	31.87%	5.73%	1.72%	1.15%
Syrian-Syrian dialogue	51.91%	36.07%	8.21%	2.48%	1.34%
Case of Syrian absentees and detainees	84.73%	11.07%	3.44%	0.76%	0.00%
Syrian refugees' file and return to Syria	58.40%	29.39%	7.63%	1.72%	2.86%
Imposition of security from military strikes in various Syrian territories	70.23%	20.99%	5.53%	2.10%	1.15%
Unification of Syrian territory and democratic elections	70.23%	18.13%	7.82%	2.29%	1.53%

Table 5.10.1 Syria's political priorities

The survey highlights the diverse priorities that Syrian women believe they should focus on to contribute to the future of Syria. Empowerment and raising awareness across various fields is the top priority, supported by 59.16% of respondents. Advocacy for legal reforms to ensure women's rights and political empowerment are also seen as critical areas of focus, supported by 55.53% and 51.15% of respondents, respectively. Economic independence and establishing women's quotas are considered moderate priorities, while creating women's parties is seen as a lower priority.

Differences in responses based on age, education, and region indicate varying levels of emphasis on these priorities. Younger respondents and older respondents prioritize constitutional reform and addressing the issue of missing/detained Syrians, while middle-aged respondents focus more on Syrian-Syrian dialogue and unifying Syria through democratic elections. Education level further influences these priorities, with those holding primary education emphasizing constitutional reform and ensuring security from military strikes, while those with higher education levels prioritize advocacy, legal reforms, and political empowerment.

Regional differences highlight the specific needs and challenges faced by women in different areas. Women in Northeast and Northwest Syria emphasize ensuring security from military strikes and the issue of missing/detained Syrians, reflecting the immediate impacts of ongoing conflicts. In contrast, women in government-controlled areas and neighboring countries prioritize constitutional reform and Syrian-Syrian dialogue, aiming for long-term political solutions. Women in Western countries focus on advocacy and political empowerment, indicating the importance of integrating Syrian women's voices into the global dialogue.

5.11 Priorities for Syrian Women to Focus on for Building Syria's Future

The survey responses reveal several key areas that Syrian women believe should be prioritized to contribute to the future of Syria. These priorities reflect a combination of political, economic, and social goals aimed at enhancing women's roles and rights in society.

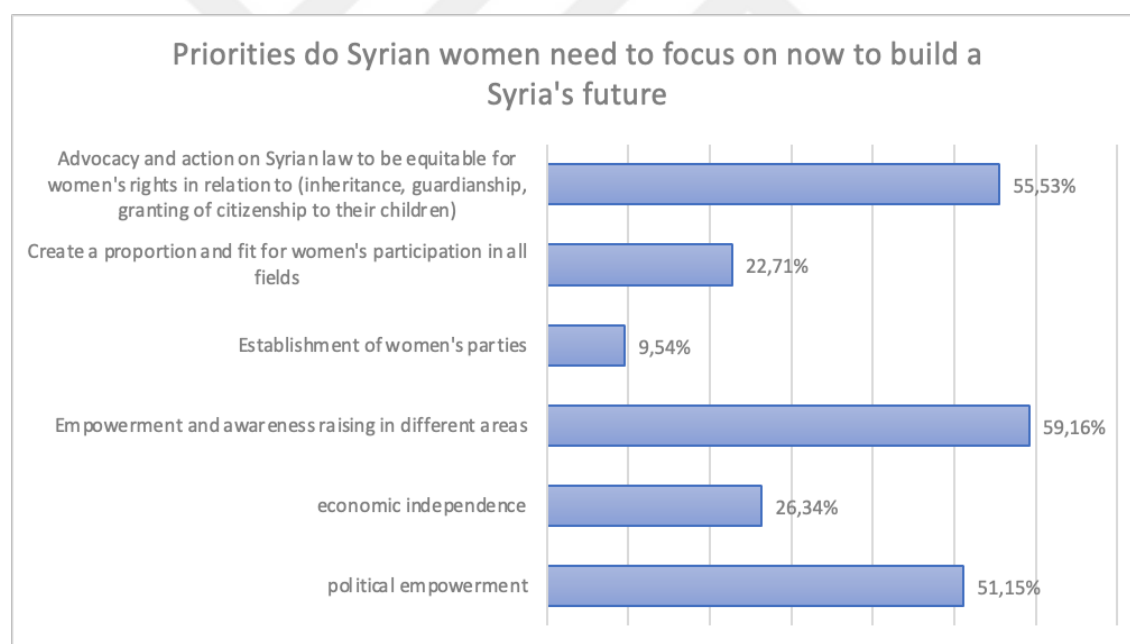


Table 5.11.1 Priorities for Syrian Women to Focus on for Building Syria's Future

Top Priorities

1. Empowerment and Raising Awareness in Various Fields: 59.16% of respondents believe that empowerment and raising awareness across various fields are the most significant priorities. This indicates the importance of education, training, and knowledge dissemination to enhance women's roles and contributions in society.

2. Advocacy and Working on Syrian Law: 55.53% support advocacy for legal reforms to ensure women's rights in areas such as inheritance, custody, and granting

nationality to their children. This reflects a strong desire to address legal inequalities and secure women's rights through legislative changes.

3. Political Empowerment: 51.15% of respondents emphasize the importance of political empowerment. This highlights the need for increased political participation and representation of women in decision-making processes.

Moderate Priorities

1. Economic Independence: 26.34% consider economic independence a key focus. This reflects the need for women to achieve financial stability and independence to enhance their societal roles and personal empowerment.

2. Establishing Women's Quotas in All Fields: 22.71% support establishing women's quotas in various sectors. This suggests a recognition of the need for affirmative action to ensure women's representation and participation in all fields.

Lower Priority

1. Creating Women's Parties: 9.54% of respondents support the idea of creating women's parties. While this reflects an interest in dedicated political platforms for women, it is not seen as the most critical area of focus compared to the other priorities.

The survey responses reveal several key areas that Syrian women believe should be prioritized to contribute to the future of Syria. The most significant priorities are empowerment and raising awareness across various fields, with 59.16% of respondents highlighting the importance of education, training, and knowledge dissemination to enhance women's roles and contributions in society. Advocacy for legal reforms to ensure women's rights in areas such as inheritance, custody, and granting nationality to their children is also a top priority, supported by 55.53% of respondents. This reflects a strong desire to address legal inequalities and secure women's rights through legislative changes. Political empowerment is emphasized by 51.15% of respondents, highlighting the need for increased political participation and representation of women in decision-making processes. Economic independence is considered a key focus by 26.34% of respondents, reflecting the need for women to achieve financial stability and independence. Additionally, 22.71% support establishing women's quotas in various sectors, recognizing the need for affirmative action to ensure women's representation and participation. The creation of women's parties, supported by 9.54% of respondents, is seen as a less critical area of focus compared to other priorities. Overall, these priorities reflect a comprehensive approach to addressing the fundamental challenges faced by

women in Syria, aiming to enhance their roles and rights in society and shape a more equitable and prosperous future for their country.

5.12 Expected and hopeful scenarios for the political future of Syria

The survey responses reveal a range of scenarios for the political future of Syria, with a significant number of respondents anticipating continued conflict and external interventions (58.21%) and the potential division of the country (43.51%). These pessimistic views highlight the challenges and uncertainties that lie ahead. However, there is also hope among some respondents for the establishment of a transitional government ensuring freedoms and equality (24.62%) and a political solution based on UN Resolution 2254 (21.76%). The possibility of a civil war among Syrian parties (13.36%) further underscores the complex and volatile nature of the situation. These diverse perspectives underscore the need for comprehensive and inclusive approaches to achieve a sustainable and peaceful resolution to the Syrian conflict.

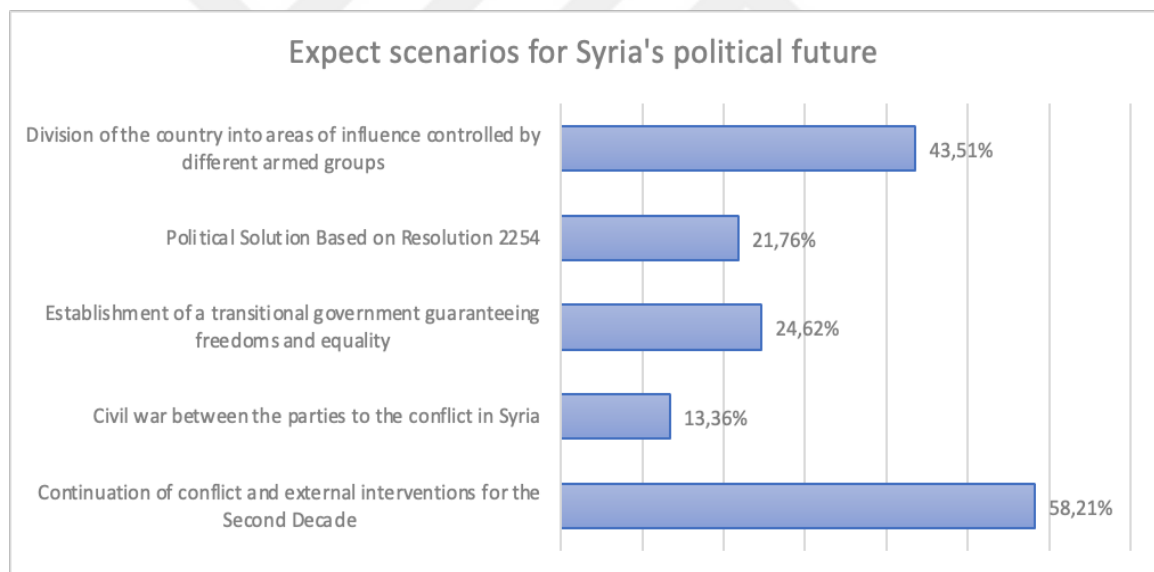


Figure 5.12.1 Expected scenarios for the political future of Syria

The survey responses highlight several potential scenarios for the political future of Syria, reflecting the diverse opinions and concerns of respondents. The results indicate varying levels of optimism and pessimism about the country's trajectory, with a significant portion of respondents anticipating continued conflict and external interference.

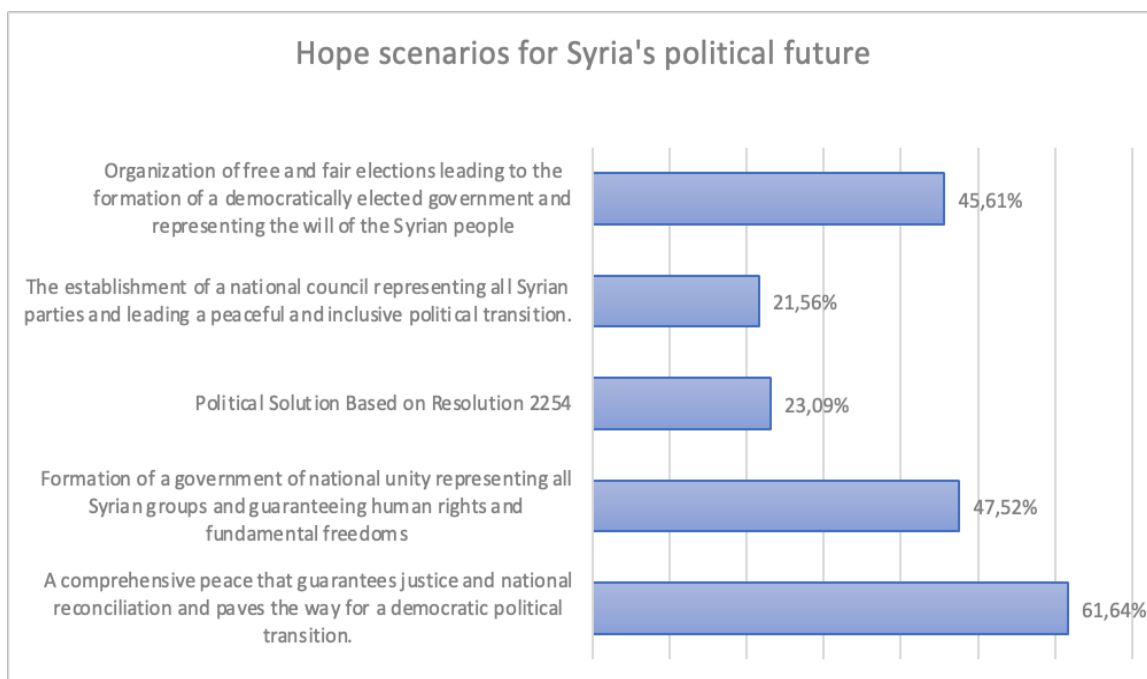


Figure 5.12.2 Hopeful scenarios for the political future of Syria

The survey highlights several hopeful scenarios for the political future of Syria, reflecting a strong desire for peace, justice, and democratic governance. The most favored scenario is achieving comprehensive peace that ensures justice and national reconciliation, leading to a democratic political transition, supported by 61.64% of respondents. The formation of a national unity government representing all Syrian factions and ensuring human rights and basic freedoms is also highly desired by 47.52% of respondents. Additionally, there is significant support for organizing free and fair elections (45.61%) and finding a political solution based on UN Resolution 2254 (23.09%).

These hopeful scenarios indicate a collective aspiration for a peaceful, inclusive, and democratic Syria, where the rights and freedoms of all citizens are protected and respected. By prioritizing these goals, Syrian women believe they can contribute to building a stable and prosperous future for their country.

The survey results reveal a stark contrast between the scenarios foreseen and those hoped for regarding the political future of Syria. The most foreseen scenario, with 58.21% of respondents, is the continuation of conflict and external interventions for another decade. This reflects a deep concern about prolonged instability and the persistent influence of foreign powers. Additionally, 43.51% foresee the division of Syria into areas controlled by different armed groups, highlighting fears of fragmentation and ongoing conflict.

In contrast, the most hoped-for scenario, supported by 61.64% of respondents, is achieving comprehensive peace that ensures justice and national reconciliation, leading to a democratic political transition. This hopeful vision emphasizes a strong desire for an inclusive and just resolution to the conflict. The formation of a national unity government representing all Syrian factions and the organization of free and fair elections are also highly desired, with 47.52% and 45.61% of respondents, respectively, supporting these scenarios.

These contrasting views underscore the complex and multifaceted nature of the Syrian conflict and the diverse aspirations of the Syrian people. Addressing these challenges and aspirations will require comprehensive and inclusive approaches to achieve a sustainable and peaceful resolution to the Syrian conflict.

CHAPTER 6 CONCLUSION

6.1 Conclusion

This study aimed to explore the political aspirations and expectations of Syrian women amidst the ongoing conflict, with specific objectives to understand their desires for the future political landscape of Syria, identify barriers to their political participation, and assess the impact of the conflict on their lives. The research employed a quantitative approach, utilizing a structured survey to gather comprehensive data from 524 women across various regions, including Northeast Syria, Northwest Syria, regime-controlled areas, and the diaspora. The sample was carefully selected to include women over 18 years old with at least a primary school education to ensure they could understand and complete the survey independently.

The thematic approach was used to develop the survey questions, grounded in existing literature and relevant to the research objectives. The data collected was analyzed using statistical methods, including descriptive and inferential statistics, to provide a rigorous and objective analysis of the findings. This methodology ensured a comprehensive and measurable understanding of the perspectives of Syrian women.

The key findings of the research are as follows:

- **Diverse Aspirations:** Syrian women expressed a strong desire for peace, justice, and democratic governance. The most favored scenario among respondents is achieving comprehensive peace that ensures justice and national reconciliation, leading to a democratic political transition. This indicates a collective aspiration for a peaceful, inclusive, and democratic Syria where the rights and freedoms of all citizens are protected and respected.
- **Challenges in Political Participation:** Despite their aspirations, Syrian women face significant barriers to political participation. Cultural and social constraints, security threats, and institutional obstacles were identified as major impediments. These challenges highlight the need for targeted efforts to empower women politically and socially.
- **Impact of the Conflict:** The conflict has deeply affected Syrian women, leading to widespread displacement and socio-economic hardships. Many women have had to adapt to new roles and responsibilities, often becoming the primary breadwinners for

their families. This shift has fostered a sense of resilience and agency among Syrian women, but it has also exposed them to new risks and vulnerabilities.

- **Perceptions of External Influence:** A significant portion of respondents highlighted the role of external actors in exacerbating the conflict. The influence of regional and international interventions was seen as a critical factor impacting Syria's political situation. This underscores the complex geopolitical dimensions of the Syrian conflict and the need for a nuanced approach to peacebuilding.
- **Educational and Economic Empowerment:** The survey indicated that educational and economic empowerment are seen as crucial areas for fostering women's participation in political and social spheres. Higher levels of education and economic independence were associated with more positive perceptions of women's roles and effectiveness in shaping Syria's future.

The findings underscore the complex interplay of hopes, fears, and challenges faced by Syrian women, reflecting their resilience and determination to contribute to Syria's political landscape. The study provides valuable insights into the specific aspirations and concerns of Syrian women, which can inform policies and interventions aimed at supporting their active participation in shaping the future of Syria.

6.2 Recommendations

Based on the findings, the following recommendations are proposed to enhance the political participation and empowerment of Syrian women:

- **Promote Gender-Responsive Governance:** Efforts should be made to incorporate gender perspectives in all aspects of governance. This includes ensuring women's representation in political decision-making processes and creating platforms for their voices to be heard. Legal reforms should be implemented to eliminate barriers to women's political participation and to protect their rights.
- **Enhance Educational Opportunities:** Expanding access to education for Syrian women and girls is essential. Educational programs should be designed to equip women with the skills and knowledge needed for effective participation in political and civic life. Special focus should be given to areas with lower educational attainment to bridge the gap and foster equality.

- **Strengthen Economic Empowerment:** Economic independence is a key factor in empowering women. Initiatives to support women's entrepreneurship and employment should be prioritized. Providing financial resources, training, and support networks can help women become economically self-sufficient and more confident in their political and social roles.
- **Address Security Concerns:** Ensuring the safety and security of women is paramount. Measures should be taken to protect women from violence and harassment, both in public and private spheres. This includes strengthening legal frameworks, providing support services for survivors of violence, and promoting community-based protection mechanisms.
- **Foster Inclusive Peace Processes:** Women's participation in peace negotiations and post-conflict reconstruction should be actively promoted. This involves creating spaces for women to engage in dialogue and decision-making at all levels. International organizations and governments should support initiatives that prioritize women's inclusion in peacebuilding efforts.
- **Support Grassroots Initiatives:** Grassroots organizations play a crucial role in advocating for women's rights and providing support at the community level. Funding and capacity-building support should be provided to these organizations to enhance their impact and sustainability. Grassroots efforts should be recognized and integrated into broader policy frameworks.

By implementing these recommendations, the international community, Syrian government, and civil society can work together to create a more inclusive and equitable political landscape in Syria. Empowering Syrian women is not only a matter of justice but also a critical component of achieving sustainable peace and development in the country. The resilience and determination of Syrian women, as highlighted in this study, provide a strong foundation for building a brighter future for Syria.

QUESTIONNAIRE OBJECTIVE:

This survey is for a scholarly purpose by the student Slava Shikh Hasan, a student of Political Science and International Relations at Hassan Kalyoncu University. The aim is to understand the vision of Syrian women for the political future of Syria, their wishes, and expectations. Through the questions posed, we aim to know what Syrian women hope for and what they expect for the political future of Syria. This survey will not collect any information about the identity of the women who will fill it out, neither their names nor their personal email addresses, but rather for a scholarly purpose first and exploratory research second. The results will be discussed to obtain a master's degree and may be shared with research entities interested in the study.

The objectives of this study are to answer the main research questions, which are:

- How do Syrian women describe the current political situation in Syria?
- The impact of the movement since 2011 on the role of women in Syria?
- How do Syrian women evaluate their role in building the future of Syria? And the main challenges?
- How does the current division of Syrian territories affect the role of women in the future of Syria?
- Which international and regional parties intervene more in the Syrian political situation?
- What is the vision of Syrian women for the political future of Syria?

There is no entity behind this study, and the student will analyze the data scientifically under the supervision of a university professor. We emphasize that there is no goal other than knowing what Syrian women wish for and what they expect for the political future of their country, especially after all the events that have taken place in Syria since 2011 until now.

1. Age: (Drop down)

- 18-28
- 29-39
- 40-50
- 51 and above

2. Educational level: (Drop down)

- Primary certificate
- Junior certificate
- Secondary school certificate – baccalaureate
- Student or graduate of intermediate institutes
- Student or university graduate
- Master's student or master's degree holder
- PhD student or PhD holder

3. Your original place of residence in Syria: (Drop down)

All Syrian governorates and the last option are Out of Syria.

4. 4. Have you changed your original place of residence between 2011 and now?
(Multiple choice)

Yes / No

5. If yes, please specify: What does the change look like? (Multiple choice)

- Displacement inside Syria
- Asylum outside Syria
- I have not changed my place of residence

6. Your current place of residence: (Drop down)

- All Syrian governorates beside to neighbouring
- Lebanon
- Turkey
- Jordan
- Iraq/Kurdistan
- Europe
- Australia
- UK
- Egypt
- Arab Gulf Countries
- Other Arab countries
- Other

7. According to the current de facto authorities and divisions in Syria, in which area do you currently reside, whether in Syria or outside it? (Multiple choice)

Northeastern Syria

Northwestern Syria

Areas of government control

Syria's neighboring countries (Turkey - Lebanon - Jordan - Iraq)

Europe - America - Britain - Australia and Canada

Other

8. In your opinion, what are the main reasons for the current political situation in Syria? (Multiple-choice grid)

- | | |
|---|--------------------------|
| • Oppression and tyranny | One of the first reasons |
| • Economic inequality, poverty and corruption | Important reason |

- Impact of regional and international interventions neutral
- Ethnic and sectarian tensions Not a reason
- Lack of effective governance and institutions It has absolutely nothing to do with it
- Historical injustices and unresolved conflicts
- Poverty of the government institution and centralization of power

9. Have you been following political news about Syria since 2011 until now?
(Multiple choice)

- Yes, I follow political news about Syria regularly.
- I follow political news about Syria from time to time
- No, but I am interested in political news.
- I am not interested in political news.
- I don't know, I don't have enough information about political news in Syria.
- I am aware of the news, but I do not want to follow political news
- I am not familiar with political news and do not want to follow it

10. What do you call the current political situation in Syria? (Checkboxes to choose 2 at most)

- Civil war
- A revolution turned into an armed movement
- A proxy war on Syrian soil
- Democratic transformation
- Foreign occupation
- Small states subordinate to de facto authorities
- I don't know

11. How do you find the impact of activism on women's role since 2011 at the following levels? (Multiple-choice grid)

At the Political level	Significant but positive impact
At the Economic level	Limited but positive impact
At the Legal level	Has no impact

At the Community Level and Community Building	Limited but negative impact
At the Education and culture level	Significant but negative impact

12. How do you see the current role of women in terms of taking action towards Syria's future? (Multiple choice)

- Critical and influential role
- Evolving and growing role
- Limited impact role
- A non-influential role
- A never-impactful role

13. At which of the following levels do you find the effectiveness of women's current role? (Multiple-choice grid)

At the Political level	effective
At the Economic level	good
At the Legal level	average
At the Community Level and Community Building	weak
At the Education and culture level	non-participation

14. In your opinion, what factors affect women's role according to the current division of Syrian territory? (Multiple-choice grid)

traditions and customs	Significant but positive impact
Intervention of de facto authorities	Limited but positive impact
Security situation and military attacks	Has no impact
Economic situation and lack of financial resources	Limited but negative impact
Health status and lack of services	Significant but negative impact
Women's lack of opportunities compared to men's	
The impact of society on women's roles	

15. From your perspective, what areas has Syrian women's work been focused on since 2011? (Multiple-choice grid)

Improving women's social and economic conditions	primarily
--	-----------

Increase women's participation in the public sphere (civil society, labour market, media)	generally
Increased women's representation in politics	neutral
Women's role in the rights and legal sphere	insignificant
Women's role in art, culture and creativity	left out

16. According to your current community surroundings, what are the most significant challenges for women to participate in politics? (checkboxes to choose maximum 4)

- Institutional challenges related to the lack of effective women's representation within governmental, political and non-governmental institutions
- Cultural and social challenges to society's acceptance of the role of women
- Legal and legislative challenges that create obstacles for women wishing to enter politics
- Financial and media challenges impeding the building of a successful political path for women and the delivery of their voices
- Organizational challenges and lack of support and political guidance for junior women
- Security challenges and political violence that could threaten the lives of women involved in politics

17. In your view, what international actors are the most interfering in Syria's political situation? (Multiple-choice grid)

United States of America	Significant and direct intervention
United Kingdom	Specific indirect intervention
United Nations	neutral
China	
Russia	
Canada	
Germany	Limit interference.
France	
Belgium	It has no interference
Other European States (Netherlands-Sweden-Norway.....)	

18. In your view, what regional parties are the most interfering in Syria's political situation?

(Multiple-choice grid)

Iran	Significant and direct intervention
Neighboring Countries - Turkey	Specific indirect intervention
Neighboring Countries - Lebanon	neutral
Neighboring Countries - Jordan	
Neighboring Countries - Iraq	
Kingdom of Saudi Arabia	
Qatar	Limit interference.
United Arab Emirates	
Other countries of the Arabian Gulf	It has no interference

19. What do you think is the political solution for Syria? (Multiple-choice grid)

- | | |
|---|-------------------|
| • A negotiated settlement involving the departure of the current regime and the formation of a fully representative transitional Government. | Strongly Agree |
| • A negotiated settlement that ensures the survival of the current system and the dissolution of all parties. | Agree |
| • Power-sharing agreements between different factions (Syrian geography remains divided according to current powers) | Neutral |
| • Democratic elections under international supervision | Disagree |
| • Foreign intervention to impose peace | Strongly disagree |
| • Reconciliation and national dialogue among all parties | |
| • Constitutional reform to ensure representation for all groups | |
| • Federal solution divides power between different administrative regions (while related to internal and regional matters) and central government (in major national and international matters) | |

20. What are Syria's political priorities? (Multiple-choice grid)

- | | |
|---|------------------|
| • constitutional reform | great importance |
| • Syrian-Syrian dialogue | important |
| • Case of Syrian absentees and detainees | neutral |
| • Syrian refugees' file and return to Syria | is not important |

- Imposition of security from military strikes in various Syrian territories
 - Unification of Syrian territory and democratic elections
- It's not a priority right now

21. What priorities do Syrian women need to focus on now to build a Syria's future?
(Checkboxes to select at most 3)

- political empowerment
- economic independence
- Empowerment and awareness raising in different areas
- Establishment of women's parties
- Create a proportion and fit for women's participation in all fields
- Advocacy and action on Syrian law to be equitable for women's rights in relation to (inheritance, guardianship, granting of citizenship to their children)

22. What scenarios do you expect for Syria's political future? (Checkboxes to select at most 3)

- Continuation of conflict and external interventions for the Second Decade
- Civil war between the parties to the conflict in Syria
- Establishment of a transitional government guaranteeing freedoms and equality
- Political Solution Based on Resolution 2254
- Division of the country into areas of influence controlled by different armed groups

23. What scenarios do you wish for Syria's political future? (Checkboxes to select at most 3)

- A comprehensive peace that guarantees justice and national reconciliation and paves the way for a democratic political transition.
- Formation of a government of national unity representing all Syrian groups and guaranteeing human rights and fundamental freedoms
- Political Solution Based on Resolution 2254
- The establishment of a national council representing all Syrian parties and leading a peaceful and inclusive political transition.

- Organization of free and fair elections leading to the formation of a democratically elected government and representing the will of the Syrian people.



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ÖZGEÇMİŞ

KİŞİSEL BİLGİLER

Adı Soyadı : Slava Shikh Hasan
Uyruğu : Syrian

EĞİTİM

Derece **Adı** Turkish language department **Bitirme Yılı** 2011
Üniversite : Aleppo University

İŞ DENEYİMLERİ

- 2019 – 2021 \ Researcher at Female Researchers journey Initiative with CCSD Which started on December 2019 and 11 research have been launched on March 2012, my research was (The impact of hate speech on Facebook on Syrian users (Arabs and Kurds)To read my full research in Arabic please check this link [HERE](#). To read the summery about the research in English please check this link [HERE](#). The research is available also in Kurdish language to read it please email me. For more information about the whole journey please check this link [HERE](#).
- 2020 – 2021 \ Women peacemaker fellowship - Joan B. Kroc Institute for Peace and Justice at the University of San Diego, I have been selected as one of the four Women Peacemakers for 12- month fellowship program. About the fellowship, please click [HERE](#)
- 2020 – 2021 \ Public Relation officer – Humanitarian Field Officers HFO- Representing the team in all meetings with clusters and stakeholders in addition to creating new tools for reaching out to new partners.
- 2019 \ Communication Coordinator – UOSSM Turkey Focusing on social media, internal and external relations for eight centers, and partnerships with authorities and other NGOs. A focal point for meeting with Turkish officials and other official bodies.
- 2018 \ Public Relation Coordinator - UOSSM the Union of Medical Care and Relief Organizations, focusing on donor’s map and strategic relations of the organizations, managing the internal and external relations,

responsible for partnerships with NGOs and INGOs, studying and scanning new areas to open new missions in other countries. A member of the Marketing team where we implemented advocacy campaigns, organizing events, preparing organization promotion materials. A focal point for ECHO registration and meeting with Turkish officials and other official bodies.

- 2017 \ Grants Affairs Coordinator - UOSSM the Union of Medical Care and Relief Organizations. Focusing on writing project proposals and budgeting, donor relations, partnerships, and responsible for program relations with UN agencies and clusters.
- 2015 – 2016 \ Information Dissemination and protection - Outreach Officer at MALUMAT Mercy Corps. Responsible for outreach work and training the team on communication with beneficiaries and creating the policy of outreach, creating and editing brochures, and coordinating information fairs / Gaziantep
- 2014 \ Secretarial/ceremonies and events supervisor - Ministry of Health of Interim Government Gaziantep. Managing all ceremonies and meetings of the ministry / 12 months

YABANCI DİLLER

English	Advanced
Arabic	Mother Language
Kurdish	Mother Language
Turkish	Good
Dutch	Beginner