TOOLKIT

Gender analysis of conflict

UGANDA LAND ALLIANCE
Promoting Land Equity & Justice
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PREVENTING VIOLENT CONFLICT. BUILDING SAFER LIVES

CONTENTS

Introduction

This toolkit is aimed at:

- helping peacebuilding practitioners to integrate gender perspectives into conflict analysis processes
- building understandings of the relationships between gender and conflict, particularly how gender norms influence conflict dynamics, and vice versa
- providing the foundation for designing gender-sensitive peacebuilding programmes that are based on thorough gender analysis of conflict

Over the past two decades, there has been increasing recognition that to understand the nature of conflict and design effective peacebuilding responses, it is necessary to think about gender. The different roles and behaviours of women, men and sexual and gender minorities (SGMs) affect the way that conflicts play out, as well as the impacts they have on people's lives. Expectations relating to gender influence the roles that people play in efforts to build peace, and peacebuilding activities can also influence gender roles and behaviours.

There are many resources available which explain how to analyse gender issues, and plenty for analysing conflict.[1] However, conflict analysis tools typically lack a strong gender lens and gender analysis tools tend to lack a strong conflict lens. This toolkit aims to help fill that gap.[2]

There are many different ways in which the links between gender and conflict can be analysed. This toolkit focuses on one particular angle which is often ignored. It seeks to understand the ways in which gender norms – that is, understandings of masculinity and femininity (see box 1) – can either drive conflict and insecurity or be resources for peace.[3] This is not the only aspect of gender which can or should be examined in conflict analysis, but it is emphasised here because it is so commonly overlooked in conflict

analysis processes. This toolkit is intended to help analyse conflicts – including those which have become violent and those which have not – at the individual, community and national levels.

Box 1: What are gender norms?

'Gender' refers to the socially and politically constructed roles, behaviours, and attributes that a given society considers most appropriate and valuable for men and women. Gender is also a system of power which shapes the lives, opportunities, rights, relationships and access to resources of women and men,[4] and SGMs (see box 2).

'Norms' are standards or patterns of social behaviour to which people may experience significant pressures to conform. Gender norms are sets of expectations about how people of each gender should behave. They are not determined by biological sex but rather are specific to particular cultures or societies, and often to particular social groups within those societies. Thus, what may be expected behaviour for a man or woman in one culture may be unacceptable in another.

'Masculinity' refers to anything which is associated with men and boys in any given culture, just as 'femininity' refers to that which is culturally associated with women and girls. Ideas about what is masculine and what is feminine vary over time, as well as within and between cultures. In most societies, those attributes and behaviours seen as masculine are more socially valued than those viewed as feminine.

Gender norms are not just about the attitudes and beliefs held by individuals, but are produced and perpetuated by political, economic, cultural and social structures, including education systems, the media, religious institutions, welfare systems, and security and justice systems. For example, in pastoral communities in Karamoja, North-Eastern Uganda, masculinity is closely connected to ownership of cattle, a norm which has in the past driven many men and boys to participate in cattle raiding, which sparked violent conflict between communities. Women also encouraged men to participate in these raids. This norm is not only a set of ideas, but is reinforced by material circumstances and social and economic structures: the bride wealth system requires men to pay for their wives with cattle, and environmental and economic conditions mean that some tribes are almost entirely dependent on cattle for their livelihoods.[5]

It is important to distinguish between norms and people's actual behaviours: whereas norms describe social pressures to behave in a certain way, people's behaviours (how they act or conduct themselves) do not always conform to those norms. The cost of not conforming to gender norms vary, but can be high, including shaming and social exclusion, violence and even death. In Karamoja, scarcity of cattle in recent years means that many men are unable to live up to masculine norms, and men who do not own cattle are sometimes described as 'dogs' and considered less marriageable as a result. In conflict situations, gendered behaviours often adapt to changing circumstances, whereas norms may be much slower to change.

Box 2: Sexual and gender minorities

'Sexual and gender minorities' (SGMs) is an umbrella term which refers to people whose sexual orientation or gender identity does not fit within conventional societal norms. Internationally, lesbian, gay, bisexual, queer, transgender, transsexual and intersex identities are gaining increasing recognition. Yet sexual and gender identities are understood differently in different contexts. For example, people who are identified as 'third gender' in parts of South Asia might be thought of as 'non-binary' or 'genderqueer' in the Western lexicon. Furthermore, in some societies, sexual behaviour is seen as a practice rather than something which reflects personal identity.

SGMs are often absent from discussions of gender in the peacebuilding and development world, which can mean that their specific vulnerabilities are ignored, their needs unmet and their contributions overlooked.[6] In this toolkit, Saferworld emphasises the importance of including SGMs when doing gender analysis of conflict. At the same time, we recognise that this can be a sensitive issue, particularly in contexts where there are high levels of discrimination against SGMs, or even laws which make discussion of these issues difficult. Section 2 offers suggestions on how to deal with this when undertaking a gender analysis of conflict.

Previous research has shown how gender norms can combine with other factors to drive conflict and insecurity, in different ways in different contexts. The following are just a few examples.

'Thwarted' masculinities and violence in Somalia

The experiences of men who are unable to meet societal expectations of manhood are sometimes referred to as 'thwarted masculinities'. In Somalia, protracted conflict and the resultant economic hardship have made it difficult for many men to fulfil the traditional masculine gender role of economic provider for and physical protector of their families. Many men who became refugees or were internally displaced have returned to their homes to find that women are now fulfilling roles which were previously reserved for men.[7] In Somalia's clan system, manhood is associated with becoming an elder, and power and status is traditionally concentrated in the hands of a subset of older men. It is possible for younger men to become elders, for example through respectable personal conduct and realisation of certain socially valued characteristics such as marriage, children and employment.

However, in a context where unemployment and insecurity is widespread, fewer opportunities exist for younger men to attain such status. For some young men, joining al-Shabaab offers the prospect of an economic livelihood as well as social status and power, which can provide an alternative pathway to manhood.[8] It has also been suggested that the desire to salvage thwarted masculinity is implicated in inter-clan conflicts, with unemployed men participating in fighting to gain status and acceptance within the clan.[9] Somali women have also played a role in encouraging this view of masculinity by cooking for militia and shaming men who were defeated in battle.[10]

Manipulation of masculinities and war in Kosovo

In Kosovo in the 1980s and 90s both Serbian and Albanian nationalist narratives drew on national myths about masculinity to mobilise support for the war. Yugoslav state-run and Serbian media portrayed Serbia's national identity of toughness, dominance, and heroism as being emasculated by Kosovo's Albanian population. They offered militarism "as a way of winning back both individual manliness and national dignity", which played a role in "making war thinkable – even attractive".[11] Meanwhile, Kosovar Albanian nationalists invoked national myths and histories applauding dominant masculine men as freedom fighters, while the Kosovo Liberation Army spread the message that men who refused to join up were "like girls".[12]

Clearly, a large range of factors drove conflict and violence in Kosovo in the 1990s, but manipulation of existing stereotypes of masculinity appear to have been an important tool for ensuring support for and participation in violence.[13] This example shows how gender norms are not only constructed and reinforced by everyday practices at the community level, but also by political and military leaders as a deliberate war-making strategy.[14]

Masculinities in the British military

Research on cultures of masculinity within the British military during its recent interventions in Iraq and Afghanistan suggests that gender norms shaped the way that British soldiers approached their missions.[15] Unlike previous military interventions, these were framed as being part of 'nation-building' efforts, requiring soldiers to think beyond their usual combat roles and to focus on 'winning hearts and minds'. However, the association between masculinity and a set of ideals around combat – proving their toughness, military prowess, and superiority on the battlefield – appears to have been one factor which combined with the intensity of the combat experience to undermine the ability of British soldiers in Iraq and Afghanistan to really engage with and prioritise activities which might contribute to peacebuilding. Analysis of soldiers' own reflections on their experience suggests that contributing to stability and better lives for ordinary Iraqis and Afghans clearly mattered to many. However, the reality of combat operations in Iraq and Afghanistan which made interaction with civilian populations challenging, and the resilience of age-old associations between manliness and military prowess in British history "made it harder for soldiers to make a difference to local security."[16]

If analysis of gender norms and behaviours is properly integrated into conflict analysis then it can, among other things:

- provide a better understanding of underlying social power relations and how these influence and are affected by conflict
- shed light on drivers of conflict and violence, as well as opportunities for peace
- help us better understand who to work with, in order to change attitudes, to design interventions, or to address particular vulnerabilities

Without an understanding of how gender norms can play a role in drawing societies into violent conflict and shape the way it plays out, efforts to prevent and resolve conflict, reduce instability, and build peace, security and justice will be hampered and their effectiveness lessened, as they will lack a full analysis of the context. People of all genders may be left more vulnerable as a result. For example, in Karamoja, government efforts to prevent cattle raiding have included initiatives to encourage men to move away from cattle as their sole means of making a living. However, research has revealed perceptions that men who were made to give up cattle raiding and take up agriculture had "become women", and were not highly regarded in their communities.[17] In Moroto, many men prefer to do nothing than to help women with tasks such as agriculture and collecting firewood, as they feel that taking on 'women's work' would emasculate them.[18] If peacebuilding and development initiatives do not take into account the fact that gender norms are slow to change despite the significant changes in people's material circumstances, they risk alienating people and causing tensions within communities.

This toolkit is intended for use by both national and international non-governmental organisations (NGOs) and other peacebuilding practitioners. It builds on best practices for participatory conflict analysis in order to provide tools for carrying out gender analysis of conflict with the active participation of people from conflict-affected communities. This reflects evidence that participatory methods provide the clearest understanding of the situation on the ground, and offer a good starting point for facilitating inclusive peacebuilding processes.[19]

Box 3: Deepening participation

This toolkit sets out how to gather information and conduct a gender analysis of conflict with the participation of community members in contexts affected by conflict and insecurity. However, we believe that a participatory approach should go further than inviting communities to contribute information: it should give them ownership over the process and the results, so that they can put them to use in the ways that make most sense to them.

The exercises in this toolkit are designed such that they can be carried out in order, with the outcomes from each exercise feeding into the next stages of the process, though some may work as standalone exercises. Working through the whole toolkit takes a considerable amount of time, depending on factors such as the number of participants and the number of conflicts you want to focus on. It is therefore vital to ensure that the process does not simply take up participants' time and energy without giving much in return. While testing the toolkit in Moroto, North-Eastern Uganda (see page 10), the need to avoid taking up too much of participants' time meant that we were selective about which exercises to use. However, a better solution would be to design a process together with community members in which they are willing to invest their time, because it is part of a longer-term peacebuilding plan in which they themselves can put the analysis to use.

One way of doing this would be to use the toolkit as a starting point for a process of participatory action research.[20] This would involve setting up an action group made up of people from the community in which the analysis takes place, who take ownership of the process, working through the exercises themselves, with participation from others where needed. Using the analysis generated, the group would then draw up and implement an action plan to address the issues identified as driving conflict and insecurity. Pending the outcome of those activities, the group would then update the analysis in light of any changes in the context and come up with a new action plan, repeating this cycle as many times as they see fit. This model has been employed widely in development work, and Saferworld has used it to good effect to address drivers of conflict and insecurity through its community security programming.[21]

Gender analysis should not be a separate process or an optional extra: it should be integrated as a standard element of any conflict analysis. This toolkit offers steps which can be used to integrate an analysis of how gender norms and behaviours influence conflict and peace into standard conflict analysis processes. As we present each of the key questions, we indicate which part of your conflict analysis process it connects with and suggest which conflict analysis tools you might refer back to.

Table 1 shows how an analysis of gender norms and behaviours can be used to deepen and develop 'standard' conflict analysis steps.

Table 1: What this toolkit adds to a 'standard' conflict analysis

Conflict analysis	What this toolkit adds
Conflict profile: Outlines the broad social, economic, demographic, political and historical context of the conflict.	An understanding of what gender norms look like and how they compare to people's actual behaviours. This forms a starting point for understanding how these interact with conflict dynamics.
Causes of conflict: Examines the causes and drivers of conflict, and how they interact with each other.	A picture of how gender norms – or gaps between norms and people's actual behaviours – may interact with other factors to drive conflict, and how conflict influences gender behaviours and norms. Conversely, it may also reveal how gender norms and/or behaviours mitigate conflict.
Actor analysis: Maps out the key actors involved in fuelling the conflict or in a position to promote peace; and their incentives, abilities and opportunities.	An understanding of the roles that people of different genders play in conflict and peacebuilding. Also, a picture of the different impacts conflict and peacebuilding have on people of different genders.
Peacebuilding opportunities: identifies existing initiatives and potential future strategies for focusing on the leverage points and either countering negative aspects or strengthening positive ones in order to work towards peaceful change.	Ideas about which gender norms or behaviours could be challenged or enhanced to promote peace.

This toolkit is designed to help explore ten key questions, outlined in Table 2:

Table 2: Ten key questions for gender analysis of conflict

Understanding gender norms and behaviours	1. What roles do people of different genders play in the community? 2. What are the predominant gender norms for different social groups? 3. How do people's actual behaviours compare to the gender norms?
Gender analysis of conflict	4. How have norms relating to masculinity and femininity been shaped and changed by conflict? 5. How are men, women and SGMs and their gender roles affected by the conflict? 6. What roles are men, women and SGMs playing in the conflict? 7. What roles are men, women and SGMs playing in bringing about a peaceful resolution to the conflict? 8. How do gender norms and behaviours shape how violence is used, by whom against whom? 9. Do norms relating to masculinity and femininity fuel conflict and insecurity in this context? 10. Are there norms relating to masculinity and femininity which (could) help build or facilitate peace?

The toolkit is based on the experience of Saferworld, Colette Harris (SOAS, University of London) and the Uganda Land Alliance (ULA) working on gender and conflict in a range of contexts, as well a growing body of research and analysis by others working in this area. A draft of the toolkit was piloted in Moroto District, in the Karamoja region of North-Eastern Uganda in March 2016, with a specific focus on conflicts related to land and extractive industries.[22] Examples from the research and lessons learnt have been used as illustrations throughout.

As a result of this pilot, topic guides with additional tools for analysing conflicts over land and extractive industries have been included. As the toolkit is tested in more contexts, we intend to refine and update it, including adding more topic guides addressing different types of conflict.

How the toolkit is organised

Section 1 outlines key points to bear in mind when conducting your analysis.

Section 2 makes suggestions on how to set up the analysis process, including what you need to do before you go out into the community, practical questions such as how to go about selecting participants and how to record the findings, as well as ethical considerations. This will help to ensure that the process, as well as the content of your analysis, is gender-sensitive. It is important to read this before you start.

Sections 3 and 4 set out how to go about answering the key questions using participatory analysis with conflict-affected communities. For each key question they include:

- A checklist of issues to try and cover in the analysis
- Suggested tools for eliciting the information needed

It is likely that these will need to be adapted according to the context you are working in. In order to help you think about how to adapt them, we have included several examples of how we did this when we piloted the toolkit in Moroto.

Section 5 considers how you might use the findings of your analysis to begin adapting existing initiatives and designing new peacebuilding responses in cooperation with affected communities. It offers a list of further resources which you may find useful, including participatory tools for gender analysis and conflict analysis, and research on the links between gender norms and conflict.

Section 6 offers tools specifically tailored for analysing conflicts over land and extractive industries. While the general tools in sections 3 and 4 can be applied to any type of conflict, section 6 gives an idea of specific issues to look out for in these types of conflict, based on existing research.

NOTES

1 See the list of further resources in section 5.
2 There are a few other resources which aim to address this, including Conciliation Resources' 'Gender and conflict analysis toolkit for peacebuilders'. For a full list, see section 5.
3 For more on Saferworld's work on gender norms as drivers of conflict, see Saferworld (2014), 'Masculinities, conflict and peacebuilding: Perspectives on men through a gender lens'.
4 In this toolkit, references to women and men should be taken as also including girls and boys. It is important to think about all aspects of identity which intersect with gender (see section 1, Box 1), of which age is one.
5 Saferworld and Uganda Land Alliance (2016), 'Gender, land and conflict in Moroto', available at www.saferworld.org.uk/resources/view-resource/1077-gender-land-and-conflict-in-moroto; also Mkutu K (2008), 'Uganda: pastoral conflict and gender relations', in *Review of African Political Economy* (116); Saferworld (2010), 'Karamoja conflict and security assessment'.
6 For more on sexual and gender minorities and expanding understandings of gender in peacebuilding, see Myrttninen H, Naujoks J, El-Bushra J (2014), 'Rethinking gender in peacebuilding', (London: International Alert).
7 Rift Valley Institute (2013), 'A war on men? The enduring consequences of war and conflict on Somalia men'; Oxfam (2013), 'Masculinities: Understanding the impact of war on men and gender relations in South Sudan, Somalia and DRC' (unpublished), p 11.
8 *Op cit* Rift Valley Institute (2013).
9 *Op cit* Oxfam (2013), p 10.
10 *Ibid*.
11 Bracewell W (2000), 'Rape in Kosovo: Masculinity and Serbian nationalism', in *Nations and Nationalism* 6(4) p 567.
12 Munn J (2008), 'National myths and the creation of heroes' in Parpart J, Zalewski M (eds), *Rethinking the man question: Sex, gender and violence in international relations*, (London: Zed Books) pp 146, 153.
13 For more in-depth analysis of the role of masculinities in conflict dynamics in Kosovo, see *op cit* Saferworld (2014), p 9.
14 This case study is described in more detail in *op cit* Saferworld (2014), p 9.
15 Duncanson C (2013), *Forces for good? Military masculinities and peacebuilding in Afghanistan and Iraq*, (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan).
16 *Ibid*. p 140.
17 Advisory Consortium on Conflict Sensitivity (2013), 'Northern Uganda conflict analysis', p 36.
18 Saferworld and Uganda Land Alliance (2016), 'Gender, land and conflict in Moroto'.
19 Saferworld and Conciliation Resources (2012), 'From conflict analysis to peacebuilding impact: Lessons from the People's Peacemaking Perspectives project', www.saferworld.org.uk/resources/view-resource/629-from-conflict-analysis-to-peacebuilding-impact.
20 For more information on action research methods, see Greenwood D, Mevin M (2007), *Introduction to action research* (second edition), (Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage).
21 See Saferworld (2014), 'Community security handbook'. For more information on integrating gender sensitivity in community security programmes, see Saferworld (2016), 'Gender and community security'.
22 An outline of key findings can be found in *op cit* Saferworld and Uganda Land Alliance (2016).

1 Key things to remember

Although recognition that it is important to include gender analysis in conflict analysis is increasing, gender perspectives are often included in a very limited way. For example, gender analysis is often limited to understanding the specific impacts of conflict on women, rather than looking at the wider relationships between gender and conflict. Rarely do researchers seek to understand how gender norms impact on conflict dynamics, including how they may be among the deeper drivers of conflict and insecurity.

Similarly, most gender analysis methodologies focus on political or socio-economic factors without linking those explicitly to peace and conflict. This knowledge gap is an obstacle to the development of effective policy and practice for security, justice and rule of law approaches in fragile and conflict-affected states.

The table overleaf outlines some key things to bear in mind as you work through the toolkit and develop your research.

Key points to keep in mind

The following is a list of important things to keep in mind while conducting your analysis, in order to avoid some of the most common pitfalls when integrating gender into conflict analysis.

'Gender' is not synonymous with 'women'. The lives of men and SGMs are also shaped by gender norms and roles, so must be considered in your analysis.

There are more than two genders/sexes. Not everyone fits into the category of 'man' or 'woman' – who else might you be missing? (see Introduction, box 2 on SGMs).

'Women' and 'men' are not homogeneous groups. People's experience varies greatly according to other aspects of their identities, such as age, marital status, class, caste, race, ethnicity, sexual orientation, (dis)ability and so on (see box 1 on intersectionality, opposite).

Examine your own assumptions. This means trying to set aside stereotypes: Women may be perpetrators of violence, and men may be victims and survivors. Many people are both at the same time.

Think beyond gender-based violence (GBV). It is important to identify where GBV occurs, and who commits it against whom. But gender also shapes forms of conflict and violence not typically thought of as 'gender-based' (see examples in Introduction, page 4 and 5).

Look beyond the obvious sources. There are often 'go-to' NGOs, academics, think tanks or publications which people frequently consult. Are there others who could give you a different perspective? For example, gender studies of the country/region.

Consider public and private spheres. Think about what goes on in the household and the community – and how they link to each other. In practice, the public/private distinction is often a false one.

Remember: things change. Do not assume that gender norms are an inherent part of any culture – they have evolved over time and will continue to do so. Whereas gender norms often change slowly over long periods, gendered behaviours may change much more quickly.

You have a gender too. How does the way you understand your own identity and role influence the way you interact with others, or the way you interpret what they say?

Box 1: Intersectionality

Gender identities – 'man' and 'woman' and masculinity and femininity – are shaped by power relations and aspects of people's identities such as age, marital status, class, caste, race, ethnicity, religion, sexual orientation and (dis)ability. These different identity markers will be more or less relevant in different contexts, and in certain circumstances some may be highly contested. The ideas that these different identities interact with each other and cannot be understood separately is sometimes referred to as 'intersectionality'. When planning and conducting gender analysis it is important to take this into account throughout. Experiences of conflict can vary significantly for different men, women and SGMs according to these different aspects of their identity.

For example, a young, married, educated woman living in a capital city would have different experiences of conflict to a young, unmarried, uneducated woman living in a rural village. Similarly, the young woman in the rural village is likely to have different experiences to an older, married, high class woman in the same village and may have more in common with a young, unmarried, uneducated man living in the capital city. In Karamoja, Uganda, male elders living in *manyattas* (traditional settlements) will be affected differently by conflict over mining to young men who work in the mines and who are increasingly frustrated by the behaviour of international mining companies. These young men may have more experiences in common with women miners than with their elder, male counterparts.

Gender and conflict analysis: The essentials

Gender ≠ women Think of gender as a frame of analysis in the field of peace and security. Using 'gender' synonymously with 'women' has consequences. For example, 'men' become the default category; sexual and gender minorities are ignored; and we overlook processes that determine, for instance, who gets a seat at the peace table.

Public / private Challenge the divide between the private and the public sphere. Pay attention to what happens at different levels in society including household and community. Explore the global processes within which armed conflicts are embedded as these too are gendered.

Analysis starts 'at home' An assessment of gender power dynamics within, between and among internationals and local partners may reveal the need to establish more equal relations, enabling truly joint ownership of interventions, and interventions that involve equal and meaningful participation by different participants.

Beyond impact Include, but also move beyond a discussion of women's experiences and needs in relation to armed conflict. Broaden your investigation by looking at men and sexual and gender minorities. And dig deeper, look at roles and relations, gender inequalities, and the links between gender, peace and security: How are power relations (re)produced by peace talks? How do gender norms enable violence?

Context, context, context Contextual analysis, rather than assumptions about gender relations should inform peacebuilding interventions. For instance, investigate what women are actually doing to support peace, rather than assume women connect across conflict divides. Ask what is needed to enable participation, rather than assume that women just need more confidence building. Assess how the conflict has disrupted or changed gender relations.

Intersectionality Notions of masculinity and femininity develop in interaction with other power factors – such as age, class, and race – producing a multitude of masculinities and femininities in each context. It is essential to focus on these interactions. For example by paying attention to how the conflict impacts on *different* women, men and sexual and gender minorities.

Gender in design and process Conflict analysis is by no means an objective undertaking. Who leads the analysis, the focus one takes, the questions asked, the sources of information: all of these factors shape the conclusions of the analysis. Take time to think about all these issues and whether preconceived notions may be influencing the analysis.

Participatory analysis Participatory approaches to conflict analysis can reveal the views, experiences, needs and ideas of people directly affected by violence. It can lead to more insightful analysis and sustainable responses. However, achieving equal and meaningful participation of different groups and the conditions for open and unhindered expression of views requires careful design.

NOTE

Reproduced with the permission of Conciliation Resources from: Conciliation Resources (2015), Gender and Conflict analysis toolkit for peacebuilders, pp 6–7, www.c-r.org/resources/gender-and-conflict-analysis-toolkit-peacebuilders.

Gender glossary

Femininity: Those behaviours and attributes which societies expect of women and girls. Ideas about what is feminine vary over time, as well as within and between cultures. That which is considered feminine is usually less socially valued than things considered masculine.

Gender: Socially and politically constructed roles, behaviours, and attributes that a given society considers most appropriate and valuable for men and women. Gender is also a system of power which shapes the lives, opportunities, rights, relationships and access to resources of women and men, and SGMs.

Gender-based violence (GBV): Physical, mental and emotional abuse that is directed against a person on the basis of their gender. GBV includes, but is not limited to: intimate partner violence, rape, sexual assault and harassment, incest, dowry-related violence, female genital mutilation (FGM), trafficking in persons, forced abortion, abduction and confinement, verbal abuse and mental harassment.

Gender non-conformity: Behaviour by an individual or group that does not live up to existing masculine or feminine gender norms or expectations.

Gender norms: Sets of expectations about how people of each gender should behave, according to notions of masculinity and femininity. These are not determined by biological sex but rather are specific to particular cultures or societies, and often to particular social groups within those societies.

Intersectionality: The idea that different identities interact with each other and cannot be understood separately from one another. Gender identities are shaped by other systems of power and aspects of people's identities, such as age, marital status, class, caste, race, ethnicity, religion, sexual orientation and (dis)ability.

Masculinity: Those behaviours and attributes which societies expect of men and boys. Ideas about what is masculine vary over time, as well as within and between cultures. That which is considered masculine is usually more socially valued than things considered feminine.

Sex: Biological characteristics that are used to categorise people as female or male, including chromosomes, hormones and reproductive systems. In fact, people cannot be neatly categorised into two groups, as many people have characteristics associated with both categories.

Sexual and gender minorities (SGMs): An umbrella term which refers to people whose sexual orientation or gender identity does not fit within conventional societal norms. These identities are understood, and accepted, differently in different places, but internationally, lesbian, gay, bisexual, queer, transgender, transsexual and intersex identities are gaining increasing recognition.

List of abbreviations

ACCS	Advisory Consortium on Conflict Sensitivity
BRA	Bougainville Revolutionary Army
CSO	Civil society organisation
DDR	Disarmament, demobilisation and reintegration
DRC	Democratic Republic of the Congo
FGD	Focus group discussion
GBV	Gender-based violence
IDP	Internally displaced person
IIED	International Institute for Environment and Development
KII	Key informant interview
LRA	Lord's Resistance Army
NGO	Non-governmental organisation
SGBV	Sexual and gender-based violence
SGMs	Sexual and gender minorities
STD	Sexually transmitted disease
ULA	Uganda Land Alliance
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme

2 Understanding the process

Integrating the questions and exercises outlined in the toolkit into conflict analysis design is not in itself enough to ensure either gender sensitivity or that the research captures how gender norms interact with conflict: It is also necessary to ensure that a broad range of people are involved in the research and feel free to speak openly. To do this, planning needs to begin from the design phase.

This section focuses on the analysis process itself and outlines some key guiding issues/questions to think about when designing and conducting your work. Section 5 suggests some further reading related to this.

The exercises in this toolkit are designed to be carried out with groups of community members, though they can also be carried out with civil society organisations (CSOs) or other stakeholders who have knowledge of the local context. In Moroto, the exercises were run with separate groups of women and men in each community, and subsequently key informant interviews (KIIs) were held with stakeholders such as local NGOs, government officials and local service providers to fill in any gaps.

Any research process entails certain risks which vary depending on the subject matter, context, and a number of other factors. Before undertaking your work you should conduct a risk assessment to identify any issues that may arise in advance and make plans to address them.

We have identified a number of potential risks in the paragraphs below which relate directly to the research and analysis involved for this toolkit. It is important to bear these in mind and make every effort to mitigate risks before undertaking your work or engaging with communities.

Have you done your background research?

- Carry out a literature review. This should be your first step as it is an invaluable way of gathering background information and will help inform the design of your analysis process. Sources could include NGO reports, government reports and academic research. Seek out sources which may pay particular attention to gender, such as publications from women's rights organisations or government ministries for women or gender.
- Identify who else is working on related issues and/or is working in the area where you intend to carry out your analysis. Contact them to see where there may be overlapping areas of work and, if appropriate, carry out KIIs with them (see below).

Who is running the analysis process?

- Who is facilitating the discussions? Make sure there is gender balance on the team and, where possible, that it reflects different identities represented in the community (including, but not limited to, class, religion and ethnicity). In Moroto, the discussions were facilitated by local Karamojong women and men in the local language, while international staff did the note taking with the help of a translator. Each group discussion had a male and a female facilitator as participants were comfortable with both, but in other contexts people may prefer to interact with a facilitator of their own sex.
- What background and experience do the different members of the research team have? If possible include those who have experience working on gender and/or conflict issues and with interviewing vulnerable groups, including survivors of sexual and gender-based violence (SGBV). If this is not possible then identify any knowledge gaps and arrange to fill them either through training or bringing in others with relevant experience.
- Be aware of any sensitivities which mean certain staff (based on their ethnicity, religion, class etc.) may be at risk if they travel to certain areas or may be accused of bias.

Is everyone prepared?

- Take time to review the process together to make sure everyone on the research team understands the process and is comfortable with the approaches to be used. Make sure everyone on the team is clear about what gender norms are and how they may be linked to conflict – if possible/appropriate it may be good to organise training/capacity building for team members who are not familiar with this issue, with case studies from different contexts. In Moroto, training sessions were held at the start to help the facilitators understand both the subject matter and the process.
- Practise tailoring the language you plan to use in the community to ensure it is clear, simple and appropriate to the context, and translate questions into local languages if necessary. This should be carried out with the help of people as close to the local context as possible, who will understand the way that language is used and how the issues are understood locally.
- When thinking about which communities to work with, consider which areas may receive a lot of researchers and which may be under-researched. There is often a tendency for the most easily accessible areas to be frequently visited while others are overlooked.
- Consider how many people you need to speak to in order to get a range of views. Most exercises in this toolkit work best with groups of 8–10 people. Ideally it is best to try and find somewhere quiet and private for the discussions so people feel comfortable speaking freely, but if this is not possible then be aware that if more people join in or watch it may impact on the dynamics and conversation. During the test run in Moroto, where the groups met outdoors, there were times when many more community members joined as they saw what was happening, though it did not appear to have a significant impact on the discussions.
- Decide how you will capture the findings. In all of the exercises in this toolkit, even where participants are asked to write or draw answers on a page, it is important to capture the whole of the discussion and not just the final answers people give. In Moroto, the team made audio recordings of each discussion, with the consent of participants, as well as taking written notes. This helped to ensure that nothing was missed and that accurate translations could be made.

Who are you going to talk to, where and when?

- Get a clear understanding of the different identities represented in the project/research area, based on your literature review or speaking with local contacts.
- Be clear about any sensitivities over different groups being in the same place together and how this may impact on who feels able to speak and what they feel able to say. Women and men should be spoken to separately and, if appropriate, SGMs too. Consider how other aspects of identity might affect how people interact – for example, if you think young women/men are unlikely to speak up in front of older women/men, hold separate discussion groups with them.
- Are there individuals/groups that it is going to be hard to access and, if so, how are you going to address this? Time, place and duration may affect who can come. Are women able to attend events on their own/unchaperoned? Are there household commitments, childcare issues, work commitments which mean certain times are better than others? Do you need to travel to where day labourers are working so that you can speak to them? If possible, allow participants to determine the best time and place for them.

How are you going to talk to people? What participatory methods can be used?

- This toolkit suggests a range of participatory tools which can be used for gathering the information you need. However, these can be adapted or supplemented with other methods of your choice, including more standard research methods such as focus group discussions (FGDs) and KIIs. Think about what research methods are best suited to the task and the team. Chapter 6 contains suggested readings on participatory methods.
- If you conduct KIIs make sure you interview a range of people and not just the 'usual suspects' and organisations. Check if there are people/organisations working on gender and/or conflict who could be potential interviewees and/or could suggest interviewees. Use 'snowball' sampling – where one interviewee recommends someone else to speak to and they recommend someone else and so on – to expand your range.

- In most contexts, we have found it best for all-female groups to be led and reported on by female researchers/facilitators and all-male groups to be better led and reported on by male researchers/facilitators, especially groups of elders or leaders. However, in some contexts male respondents may find a female facilitator less threatening and therefore easier to open up to. Talk to local partners and other contacts who will have useful insights about this.
- Efforts should be made to include a balance of male and female respondents, as well as people with gender expertise, such as women's rights organisations, ministries of gender, or gender desks in local police stations. Where there are organisations working on men and masculinities try to contact them as well. It may be necessary to ask follow up questions to probe for information on gender dynamics – for example, when it is not clear whether respondents are talking about the concerns of just women, just men, specific groups of women or men or SGMs, or the whole community.
- In some contexts it may be appropriate to hold separate discussions with SGMs who do not identify as either women or men, or perhaps even those who do. However, identifying outside of traditional gender categories can be a very sensitive, or even dangerous, thing to do in many societies. Real care must be taken to understand the context before putting people in a position where they may be identified against their wishes. Researchers should do careful background research into the context and make sure they contact any organisations working with SGMs speak to trusted local partners and ask their advice. In Moroto, the team opted not to try to speak to SGMs separately, on the grounds that it would involve too much personal risk for those individuals. In similar cases, key information may be available through desk research or meetings with organisations working with SGMs.

Creating a safe environment

- Everyone you speak to should be informed about the nature of the process and what the information they give is being used for. All participants should give either verbal or written consent (using an information or consent form that informs them about the project and their rights) and all participants should be given the option of remaining anonymous. Be aware though that this can be difficult at the local level as while it is best to hold group discussions in a private setting this may not be possible, and if they

are held outside/in a public space it is easy for anyone to identify who takes part. If this is the case, make sure that participants are aware of this and are still comfortable about taking part. Also be aware that obviously everyone involved in the discussions will be able to identify anyone else who took part.

- It is important to create as safe an environment as possible, in which people of all genders feel able to raise sensitive issues, including those relating to cultural taboos around gender, while recognising that it can take time to build enough trust to do this effectively. Skilled facilitation is key to this.

- Just as holding separate groups with SGMs can pose risks to those individuals, asking questions about sexual orientation and gender identity can also carry risks. These include risks to participants: for example, if people who belong to SGMs are made to feel unsafe because of discriminatory views expressed by other participants or if people are 'outed'. It can also carry risks to facilitators: for example, if they are perceived to be promoting homosexuality in a context where this may bring negative consequences, such as from law enforcement or community members themselves. It is therefore important to assess the risks in advance, ideally in discussion with trusted members of the local community who will have a better sense of the possible outcomes.

- Given the potentially sensitive nature of the topics of gender and conflict, identify the potential negative impacts of talking about these issues and try to either prevent these or make a plan for how to deal with them if they arise. Some participants may be survivors of violence and abuse, so it is important to say from the outset that the discussions may bring up sensitive issues which some participants may find difficult or stressful. Let participants know that they should feel free to withdraw from the process at any time or from particular topics of discussion, and inform them that the facilitator (or another appropriate person) will be available to talk to them after the session if they wish. A list of local services should also be provided to participants with information on psychosocial support, health care and shelter (where available).

- Prepare for the possibility that participants could experience a backlash from other family or community members if they disclose details of violence they have witnessed or experienced. In group discussion settings, participants should be reminded that anything they disclose in that space will be heard by those present, and asked to consider the consequences of anything they say. Facilitators should be ready to step in and sensitively stop people from speaking if they feel that the speaker may be putting themselves or others at risk, perhaps taking them aside to discuss with them privately whether they are comfortable taking this risk.

What is going to happen to the data?

- Think about who has access to your data and how they access it. If data has been collected on condition of anonymity or if there is a chance that the identification of respondents may put them at risk, extreme care needs to be taken when considering who may be able to access the raw data. Precautions could include keeping material in a locked room and/or making sure computers are password protected. If visual material is being used consider whether people's faces should be shown or not. Where possible do not keep details of people's names, address and text of their interviews in the same place, and consider whether you need to collect such information at all.

- You may find yourself with a large amount of (qualitative) data and questions about how to make use of it. As the exercises are organised according to the ten key questions in the Introduction, table 2, this should help with sorting your data according to which question it will help you answer. Organising all the information under the ten questions may help to make it manageable.

- You could type up notes for each question or put key points on Post-it notes, stick up all the different flipchart notes and other resources from your research and move the notes/Post-its around so they 'sit' under the right question or, if you are familiar using qualitative data analysis software, input data into your computer. Be aware when using the latter that it can be useful for identifying patterns and keywords but not for the detailed nuances so you would need to use it in tandem with other analysis methods.

- Do you have gaps? If so, are there ways you can fill these through additional field/desk research?

- Once you have analysed your data you should organise a validation meeting where you present your findings back to the community where you did the research and check you got your information right and people agree with what you are saying. Bear in mind that all data can be interpreted differently so it is possible that communities will offer a variety of perspectives on your findings during the validation process. It is important to make a note of these views and keep in mind that there may be no single correct interpretation.

3 Gender norms and behaviours

Conflict analysis	Analysis of gender norms and behaviours
Conflict profile: Outlines the broad social, economic, demographic, political and historical context of the conflict.	An understanding of what gender norms look like and how they compare to people's actual behaviours. This forms a starting point for understanding how these interact with conflict dynamics.

Before you can go about analysing the relationship between gender norms and behaviours and conflict dynamics, it is first necessary to understand what those norms and behaviours look like.

This section provides exercises that will help you to do that, which will then provide the basis for the gender analysis of conflict process outlined in section 4.

The key questions this section covers are:

1 What roles do people of different genders play in the community?

2 What are the predominant gender norms for different social groups?

3 How do people's actual behaviours compare to the gender norms?

Note: a checklist of issues to cover is included under every key question. In some cases, the exercises included in this edition should allow you to answer all of these questions, whereas in others you may need to add other approaches, such as using traditional FGDs or KIIs. In this case, questions in the checklist would need to be adapted to the local context, using language which makes sense to people in the community concerned. In several places we have given examples of how questions were adapted during the testing process in Moroto, in order to illustrate how this might be done.

Box 1: How to include SGMs in the analysis

Throughout this report, we refer to 'women, men and SGMs' in order to highlight the need to pay attention to how sexual orientation and gender identity affect people's experiences of and roles in conflict. However, we recognise that this framing can be misleading, as many – probably most – people who fall into the category of SGMs are in fact men or women – for example, gay men, lesbians, or transgender women or men. 'SGMs' encompasses a broad range of identities which each need to be considered, though these look different in different contexts. While framing 'SGMs' as a single, separate category is problematic, it has been used here as a reminder to think about sexual orientation and gender identity, but in a way that is tailored according to the way these identities are understood in the community you are working in.

For example, in the exercises in sections 3, 4 and 6 we sometimes refer to the need for 'SGMs' as a category to be considered in the discussion. However, as this term is very broad and not widely understood, we suggest that rather than simply treating SGMs as a third, separate category, you consider how (and whether) it makes most sense to discuss them, based on the context at hand. For instance, if there are people who identify or are identified with a third gender category in the community, you might include this identity as a third category, but then treat sexual orientation and/or transgender status as being among the intersecting aspects of identity that you consider for all groups, alongside age, race, ethnicity, class, marital status, (dis)ability and so on. In many contexts, the only identifiable gender categories may be 'men' and 'women', but sexual orientation and/or transgender status would be intersecting aspects of those categories.

Questions and exercises

REMEMBER With all of the exercises in this toolkit, it is important to capture all of the discussion. Exercises are very valuable but the discussions that surround them can give more detailed, complex information and capture some of the debates and disagreements before participants decide on their final responses.

KEY QUESTION 1

What roles do people of different genders play in the community?

This links to the 'conflict profile' stage of your conflict analysis.

POSSIBLE TOOLS TO DRAW ON INCLUDE: Key questions for a conflict profile

SOURCES

Conflict Sensitivity Consortium (2004), *Conflict-sensitive approaches to development, humanitarian assistance and peacebuilding: A resource pack*. Chapter 2 – Conflict analysis – p 3
www.saferworld.org.uk/resources/view-resource/148-conflict-sensitive-approaches-to-development-humanitarian-assistance-and-peacebuilding

Checklist of issues to cover under this key question

- What are women's, men's and SGMs' tasks and routines?
- What job opportunities are there here for women, men and SGMs?
- Are there things that a man can do that woman cannot and vice versa? Own land, do paid work, vote, decide whom to marry?
- Who makes decisions for the community, for example on allocation of resources or security issues?
- Who makes decisions for the family, for example regarding household spending, marriage, education of children?
- Does this differ by age, marital status, class, ethnicity, (dis)ability, location, religion, or other relevant markers of identity?

SUGGESTED TOOLS

Exercise 1: Daily Routines. This exercise aims to find out how men and women – and, where possible, SGMs – spend their days, what tasks they do and what their routines are. It can also be used to generate discussion about which of the men's tasks women can/could do and vice versa, which leads on to what it is and is not acceptable for men and women to do as a result of gender norms.

Exercise 2: Access to and Control of Assets. This exercise helps to establish what resources people use to carry out the tasks identified in Exercise 1. It shows who has access to these resources and who controls their use. The resulting discussion can provide interesting insights into gender norms and actual behaviour.

Exercise 1: Daily routines

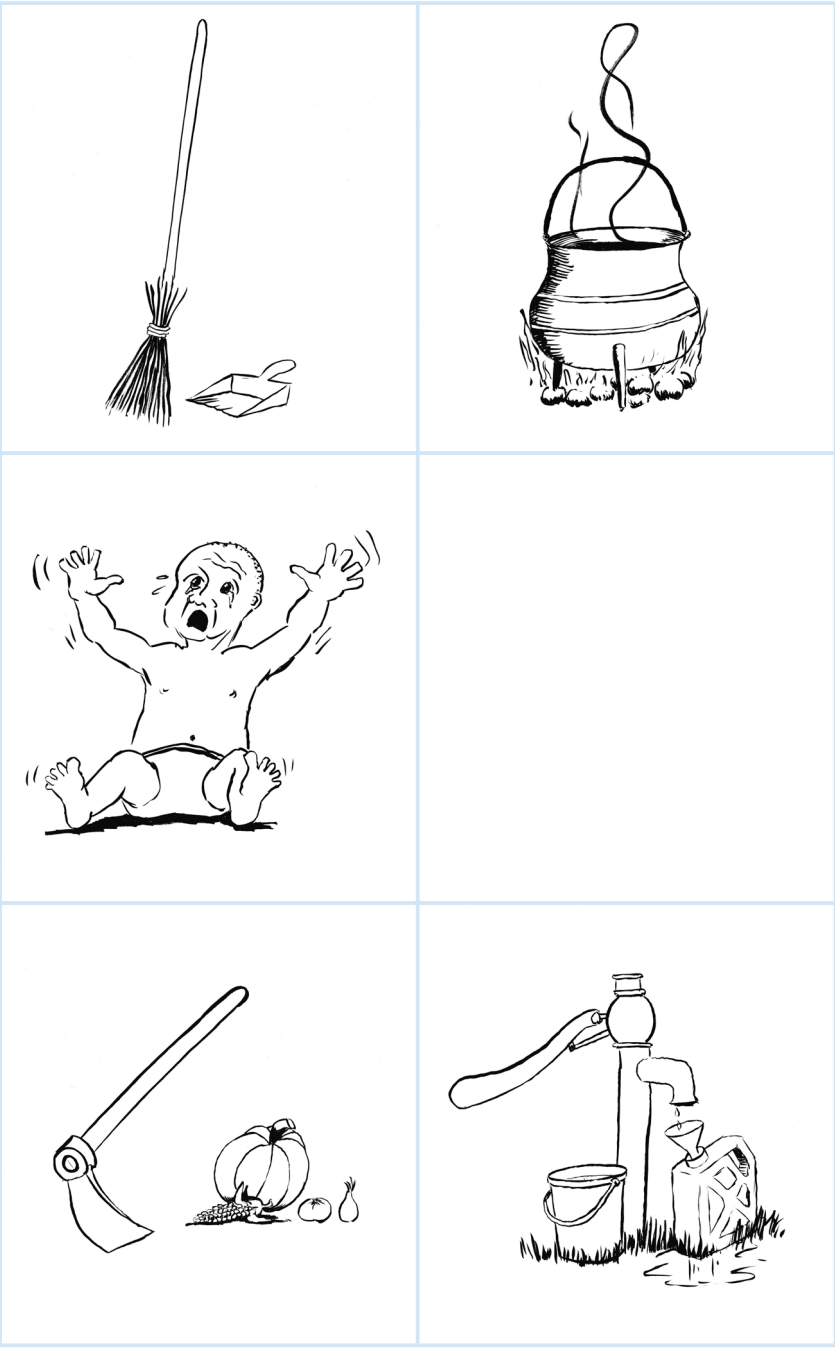
Objective	To understand the different activities that women and men engage in from day to day.
Timing	Approximately 1.5 hours.
Preparations	Flipcharts, pens, masking tape Picture cards representing activities. The pictures on pages 9–10 have been designed so that the pages can be photocopied and cut into squares, with a picture on each square. Provide some blank squares as well, on which participants can draw their own pictures. Additional copies of the pictures are available for download at www.saferworld.org.uk/resources/view-resource/1076-gender-analysis-of-conflict
How to run the exercise	Take a flipchart page and divide it into two columns, with 'women' in one column and 'men' in the other, or draw pictures if participants are illiterate. If there are more gender categories in the community, and it is appropriate, add extra columns for those. Write the numbers 1–24 vertically down each column, and explain that these represent the hours of the day. If relevant, draw the table on two sheets of paper, using one to talk about the wet season and the other for the dry season. Give participants the pictures, and explain that the pictures can be used to represent activities. Participants are free to assign their own meanings to the pictures, or draw new ones if none of the pictures represent activities that are relevant for them. They do not have to use all of the pictures. Ask the participants to arrange the pictures on the page to show which activities women, men and (if appropriate) SGMs do at each hour of the day. Allow them to discuss this among themselves and agree how to arrange the pictures.

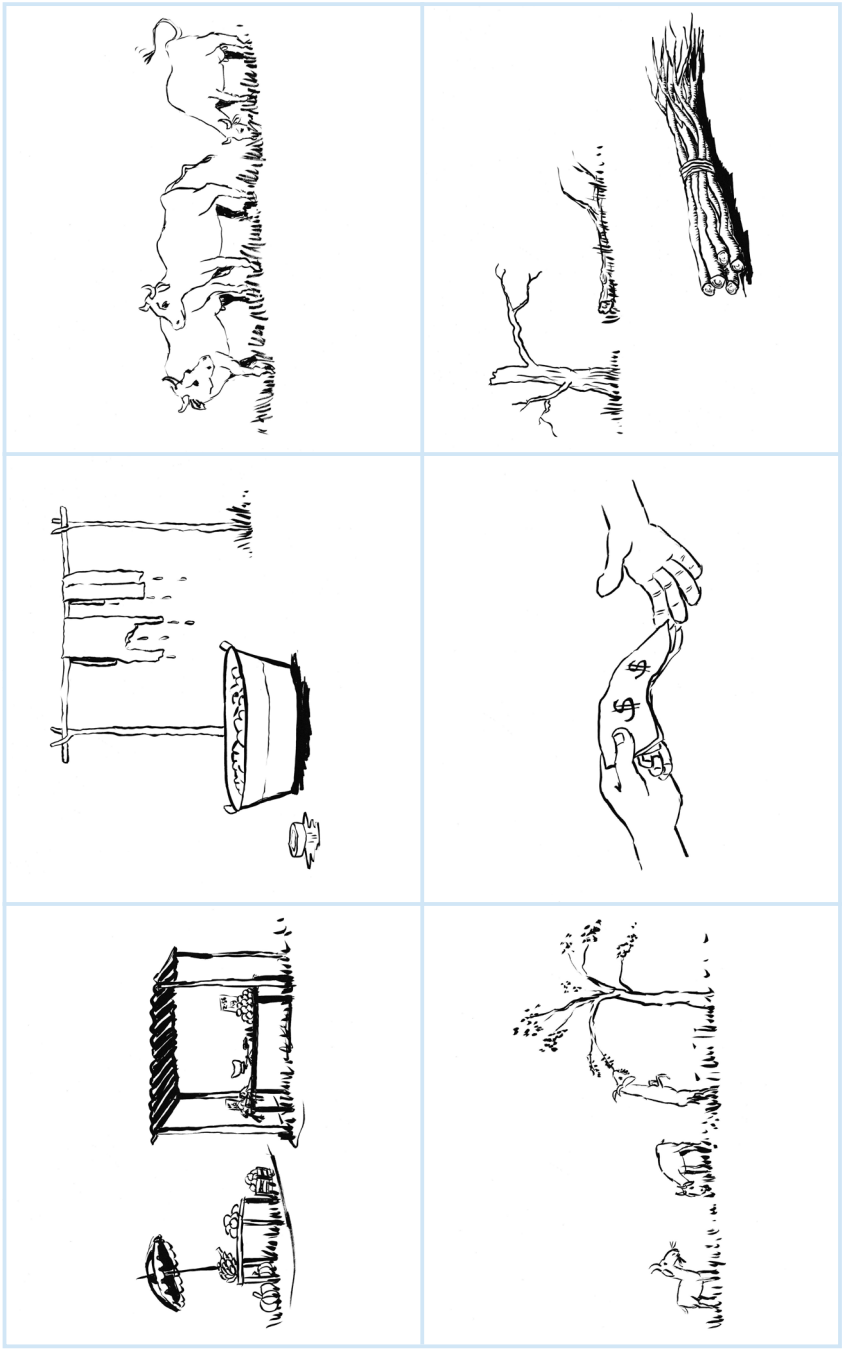
How to run the exercise *continued*	If you are doing the exercise with men and women separately, it may be useful to ask each group to outline the daily routine of people of their own gender, and then the other gender(s). When they are finished, ask them to explain the daily routines they have come up with, making it clear what each picture means to them. Key questions to discuss can include: ■ What are the differences between a man's and a woman's daily routine? ■ What are the different responsibilities? ■ Who is contributing what to sustaining the family? ■ Whose work is more valued? Why? ■ Are some men carrying out the work usually carried out by women, or the other way round? If so why? How is that/would that be perceived by others? ■ How are daily routines changing over time – were responsibilities the same five years ago? Ten years ago? ■ Do boys/girls have the same routine as adults or old men/women? In order to understand how routines differ among people of the same sex, you can use probing questions to find out how they differ according to (for example) age, class or ethnicity. Alternatively, you can repeat the exercise – for example, doing it once to look at young women's routines and then again for older women.
Issues to be aware of	This exercise may be easier to do in small groups. If you have a group larger than five or six people, consider dividing them into smaller groups and then comparing what each group has come up with at the end. There may be a tendency for participants to show you what people's daily routines would look like if gender norms were followed, which may or may not reflect the reality. If you suspect this is the case, ask probing questions to work out whether this is really what happens in practice.

Exercise 2: Access and control of assets

Objective	To understand who has access to, and who has control of, particular assets and resources.
Timing	Approximately 1 hour.
Preparations	Flipcharts, pens, masking tape, small pieces of coloured paper or Post-it notes. Picture cards representing resources. The pictures on pages 9–10 have been designed so that the pages can be photocopied and cut into squares, with a picture on each square. Provide some blank squares as well, on which participants can draw their own pictures, or facilitators can draw pictures for them if necessary. Additional copies of the pictures are available for download at http://www.saferworld.org.uk/resources/view-resource/1076-gender-analysis-of-conflict
How to run the exercise	Draw and cut out symbols or pictures to represent a woman, a man, and a woman and man together. If there are more gender categories in the community, draw a picture or symbol for those too. Lay them on the ground, on a table or stick them on flipchart paper to represent columns. Ask participants to place under each column drawings of those assets accessed by people of each gender. Explain that access means being able to use that asset but not necessarily having a say in what happens to it or being able to sell it. For example, a woman may be able to access land to cultivate it but it may be up to her husband to decide whether to sell it or give some of it to another wife. Take the pieces of coloured paper or Post-it notes, and mark some of them with a symbol to represent women, some to represent men, some to represent both and some to represent SGMs (if appropriate).

How to run the exercise *continued*	Ask participants to identify who controls each asset. Explain that control means having the power to decide what happens to that asset – this can coincide with legal ownership, but does not always. Place the coloured paper over the assets to show who controls them. Ask participants to discuss how they made their decisions and what the implications might be of one group having access to an asset which is controlled by another group. Discuss whether this differs according to different aspects of identity. For example, mothers-in-law may have control over certain assets which daughters-in-law or unmarried women may only be able to access. Younger men may have access to, and control of, certain assets but control over others may rest with older brothers, fathers, uncles or elders.
Issues to be aware of	This exercise may be easier to do in small groups. If you have a group larger than five or six people, consider dividing them into smaller groups and then comparing what each group has come up with at the end. There may be differences between who is formally understood to control assets and who actually has a say in this. For example, officially women may not be able to buy, sell or own land but unofficially they may have strong influence over their husband's decision making and/or the opinions he puts forward in public. As with the previous exercise, use probing questions to distinguish whether people are describing norms or actual behaviours.





KEY QUESTION 2

What are the predominant gender norms for different social groups?

This links to the 'conflict profile' stage of your conflict analysis.

POSSIBLE TOOLS TO DRAW ON INCLUDE: Key questions for a conflict profile

SOURCES

Conflict Sensitivity Consortium (2004), *Conflict-sensitive approaches to development, humanitarian assistance and peacebuilding: A resource pack*. Chapter 2 – Conflict analysis – p 3
www.saferworld.org.uk/resources/view-resource/148-conflict-sensitive-approaches-to-development-humanitarian-assistance-and-peacebuilding

Checklist of issues to cover under this key question

- What are the most important expectations which men and boys must meet in order to be considered masculine?
- What are the most important expectations which women and girls must meet in order to be considered feminine?
- What do young/old men do to demonstrate their masculinity to elders, their own family, young/old women or their peer group?
- What do young/old women do to demonstrate their femininity to elders, their own family, young/old men, or their peer group?
- Does this differ according to age, marital status, class, ethnicity, (dis)ability, location, religion, or other relevant markers of identity?

SUGGESTED TOOL

Exercise 3: Understanding masculinity and femininity. This exercise asks participants to think about what they and their communities see as the characteristics of a 'real' man or woman – that is, what are the norms relating to masculinity and femininity in their community. It stimulates discussion about what is expected of people and starts to explore what gender norms are at play.

Exercise 3: Understanding masculinity and femininity

Objective	To understand what is considered masculine and feminine in the local context
Timing	Approximately 1 hour
Preparations	Flipchart paper and pens A list of prompts of key areas it is important to consider (see below)
How to run the exercise	Draw a table on the flipchart with two columns. Label one column 'A real man' and the other 'A real woman'. Pose the question to participants: "What does it mean to be a real man in your community?" If the concept of a 'real man' or 'real woman' does not translate in the local language, look for another way of phrasing the question, such as 'What does society expect of men?' Let participants discuss this among themselves, and record key points on the flipchart in the 'real man' column. They may not agree with each other on the answers, in which case it is important to capture points which are contested. If participants are not literate you could consider asking them to draw a man and a woman and the key characteristics associated with each. If they are not comfortable drawing then the facilitator could draw these based on their suggestions. If the conversation dries up, it may be useful to develop prompts about different areas of life which participants may highlight, such as: ■ Economic provision ■ Roles in the family/household ■ Roles in the community ■ Decision making ■ Security provision ■ Personality traits

How to run the exercise *continued*	These can be tailored to the context, based on your existing knowledge or the findings of your literature review. (See the example opposite from Uganda). Use probing questions to understand how these norms differ according to different aspects of identity, such as age or ethnicity. Which of these identities are the most important will be different in different societies, and so which questions to ask about should be decided based on the literature review. Asking about any local proverbs or sayings about men can help to shed light on masculine norms. It can also be useful to ask what is shameful behaviour for a man – what type of behaviour would mark him out as not being manly? Once the discussion about what a 'real man' is concluded, run through the same process asking what is a 'real woman'. While it is best to do this exercise with separate groups for women and men, it is recommended to ask both groups about what it means to be a real man and what it means to be a real woman, as this can also yield important insights.
Issues to be aware of	This exercise presents gender as binary: that is, there are only two gender identities. As noted in box 2 in the Introduction, some people identify themselves, or are identified by their communities, as belonging to neither category or to a new category entirely. However, even in societies where these identities, sometimes called 'non-binary', have gained some social recognition, there is usually no separate set of powerful norms defining how non-binary people should behave, akin to norms relating to masculinity and femininity. Rather, non-binary people are often under pressure to conform to either masculine or feminine norms, and are marginalised on the basis that they are perceived to be failing to do so.

In Moroto, because most participants were illiterate, the research team did not use flipcharts but ran the exercise more as a traditional focus group, by posing questions to the groups and giving them time to discuss them.

The team used information from the literature review and a preliminary meeting with local CSOs to come up with a list of issues that were important to understanding gender norms in Karamoja. These were then used as prompts when the conversation slowed down, although in many cases these issues were raised independently by the participants without prompting.

Issues used as prompts in Moroto	
A 'Real Man'	A 'Real Woman'
■ Cattle ■ Marriage ■ Initiation ■ Land ■ Decision making in the household/community ■ Economic provision ■ Personality traits ■ Security provision ■ Use of force	■ Cattle ■ Marriage ■ Initiation ■ Land ■ Decision making in the household/community ■ Economic provision ■ Personality traits ■ Security provision ■ Use of force

Using this list, the team put together a list of probing questions to ask community members, for example:

- What is the importance of cattle for a man? Is it possible to be considered a man if you have no cattle?
- What is the importance of marriage for a woman/for a man?
- What is the importance of owning land for a woman/for a man?
- What kind of personality is a woman/man expected to have?

Instead of using the word 'norms' when asking about this we asked 'What does the society require?' as this concept was better understood.

As with all of the exercises, notes were taken on a laptop and an audio recording was made of the discussion, which was later translated and transcribed into English.

KEY QUESTION 3

How do people's actual behaviours compare to the gender norms?

This links to the 'conflict profile' stage of your conflict analysis.

POSSIBLE TOOLS TO DRAW ON: The Onion – this provides an understanding of different conflict parties' positions and information about what they say they want and what they really want/need.

SOURCES

Fisher S et al (2000), *Working with conflict: Skills and strategies for action*, Zed Books in association with Responding to Conflict, p 27

Global Partnership for the Prevention of Armed Conflict (2015), *Conflict analysis framework: Field guidelines and procedures*, p 48

Peacebag – http://peacebag.org/articles/toolkit-p4-conflictanaly.html#onion

Checklist of issues to cover under this key question

- What are the differences between gender norms and the actual behaviours of women, men and SGMs?
- What is the cause of these differences?
- What happens to women, men and SGMs who don't conform to gender norms?
- Which aspects of non-conformity are most un/acceptable?
- Does this differ according to age, marital status, class, ethnicity, (dis)ability, location, religion, or other relevant markers of identity?

SUGGESTED TOOL

Exercise 4: Gender norms vs behaviours. This exercise compares the gender norms identified by participants in Exercise 3 with how men and women really act and behave, outlined in Exercises 1 and 2. The norms that determine what people believe it means to be a 'real man' or 'real woman' place very high expectations on people and the way they should live their lives. However, in reality, people's lived experiences are often very different. At times, this gap between gender norms and reality, and the frustrations and tensions that often arise as a result, can drive conflict and violence. It offers the opportunity to discuss the differences between the two and how people are perceived by society if they do not live up to expectations.

Exercise 4: Gender norms vs behaviours

Objective	To understand the differences between norms relating to masculinities and femininities and people's lived experiences, and the consequences for people who do not or cannot conform to gender norms.
Timing	Approximately 1 hour.
Preparations	Flip chart paper, pens, notes from Exercise 3, and Exercises 1 and 2 if you have done them.
How to run the exercise	Draw up a table on the flipchart with three columns, as in table 1 below. In the left-hand column, list out in bullet points (or draw pictures of) the key aspects of masculinity which were identified in **Exercise 3: Understanding masculinity and femininity**. Taking each point in turn, ask participants: ■ Are men able to live up to this expectation in their everyday lives? ■ What happens to men who are not able to meet these expectations? Fill in their answers in the next two columns. Use probing questions to find out how experiences differ among men of different identities – for example, 'Is this the same for young and old men? Is it the same for married, unmarried, divorced or widowed men?' Repeat the exercise using the list of aspects of femininity identified in Exercise 3, asking the same questions about women. If you have identified that it is safe to do so, you could also have a discussion about how any sexual or gender minorities in the community deviate from masculine and/or feminine norms, and what the costs of doing so are for them.

Issues to be aware of	Be sensitive to the fact that for individuals who do not meet societal expectations this may be a painful experience, and they may have experienced violence and abuse as a result of non-conformity. It may be helpful to ask about men and women in their community in general rather than asking people for their personal experiences or stories about other individuals, and to remind people that they do not have to share anything they do not want to. It is also helpful to emphasise that gender norms are often impossible to achieve in today's circumstances and that no one is able to meet them entirely. In case people do disclose traumatic experiences, it is important to be prepared to support them appropriately. (See section 2, page 6).

In Moroto, the team did not run this as a separate exercise due to time constraints. Because participants in each location were able to spare only one to two hours, the team ran **Exercise 3: Understanding masculinity and femininity** and **Exercise 6: Peace and conflict: gender roles and impacts** only. Instead, we used probing questions during Exercise 3 to ask people whether their realities reflected the norms they were describing and what was the cost of not conforming to gender norms. This saved some time, but allowed for a less detailed discussion.

Table 1 describes a few of the findings from Moroto.

Table 1: Gender norms vs behaviours in Moroto

A 'Real Man' – norms	Reality	Costs of not conforming
A real man owns cattle – the more the better – and young men spend their time herding them.	Numbers of cattle in Karamoja have been vastly depleted in recent years, meaning many men own very few or none at all.	Men who do not own cattle are sometimes called 'dogs'. They find it harder to get married. They may have to do activities considered to be 'women's work', such as agriculture or collecting firewood, which will lose them respect in the community.
A real man is initiated through a ceremony, which gives him social status and enables him to take on decision-making roles in the community.	The scarcity of cattle, which are needed for performing initiation ceremonies, means fewer men are being initiated.	Men who are not initiated are less respected in the community, which is demonstrated through the food they are allowed to eat and the roles they play in traditional rituals. They lack decision-making power in the community.

A 'Real Woman' – norms	Reality	Costs of not conforming
A real woman is fully married – that is, her husband has paid the full bride price for her.	Men often cannot afford to pay the full bride price, meaning the couple is not fully married.	Women who are not fully married are less respected in the community. Another man can offer the full bride price for them and take them and their children away from their husband. Some women saw this as a positive thing, as they felt fully married women are the property of their husbands and he is free to treat them badly. However, if a woman is not fully married she has no rights over her husband's and husband's family's land and her sons have no claim on that land.
A real woman cultivates crops in order to feed her family, and perhaps some extra to sell.	Women are cultivating land, but pressure on land due to land grabbing by government, private companies and people returning to Karamoja means they may not always have enough land to grow enough crops for survival.	A woman who cannot provide food for her family will not be considered a good wife, which may create tensions within the family, leading to domestic violence or divorce. She and her family may suffer from malnutrition.

4

Gender analysis of conflict

Causes of conflict: Examines the causes and drivers of conflict, and how they interact with each other.	A picture of how gender norms – or gaps between norms and people's actual behaviours – may interact with other factors to drive conflict, and how conflict influences gender behaviours and norms. Conversely, it may also reveal how gender norms and/or behaviours mitigate conflict.
Actor analysis: Maps out the key actors involved in fuelling the conflict or in a position to promote peace; and their incentives, abilities and opportunities.	An understanding of the roles that people of different genders play in conflict and peacebuilding. Also, a picture of the different impacts conflict and peacebuilding have on people of different genders.
Peacebuilding opportunities: identifies existing initiatives and potential future strategies for focusing on the leverage points and either countering negative aspects or strengthening positive ones in order to work towards peaceful change.	Ideas about which gender norms or behaviours could be challenged or enhanced to promote peace.

Now that you have an understanding of gender norms and behaviours among different social groups in the context you are working in, you can examine how these interact with conflict dynamics and peacebuilding opportunities.

With all of the exercises in this section, it is important to be clear about which conflict(s) you are analysing. Even in contexts of civil war where people are likely to have a common understanding of what references to 'the conflict' mean, there will inevitably be multiple conflicts happening at different levels among different actors. Exercises can be repeated if there are several types of conflict that need to be analysed.

The key questions this section covers are:

- How have norms relating to masculinity and femininity been shaped and changed by conflict?
- How are men, women and SGMs and their roles affected by the conflict?
- What roles are men, women and SGMs playing in the conflict?
- What roles are men, women and SGMs playing in bringing about a peaceful resolution to the conflict?
- How do gender norms and behaviours shape how violence is used, by whom against whom?
- Do norms relating to masculinity and femininity fuel conflict and insecurity in this context?
- Are there also norms relating to masculinity and femininity which (could) help build peace?

Questions and exercises

REMEMBER When using any exercise it is important to capture the discussion that informs what is eventually recorded in the exercise. Exercises are very valuable but the discussions that surround them can give more detailed, complex information and capture some of the debates and disagreements before people decide what should actually be included.

KEY QUESTION 4

How have norms relating to masculinity and femininity been shaped and changed by conflict?

This links to the 'causes of conflict' stage of your conflict analysis.

POSSIBLE TOOLS TO DRAW ON: The Conflict Tree – analyses the causes and effects of a given conflict

SOURCES

Fisher S et al (2000), *Working with conflict: Skills and strategies for action*, Zed Books in association with Responding to Conflict, p 29

Global Partnership for the Prevention of Armed Conflict (2015), *Conflict analysis framework: Field guidelines and procedures*, pp 54–55

Checklist of issues to cover under this key question

- How have men's, women's and SGMs' behaviour been shaped and changed by conflict?
- If behaviours changed during conflict did they remain this way after the conflict ended, or did they go back to 'normal'?
- Have gender norms been shaped and changed by conflict?
- Have authority roles/figures changed?
- Have relationships between and among women, men and SGMs changed as a result of conflict?
- What impact have any changes had?
- Have the changes caused further conflict/violence?
- Does this differ according to age, marital status, class, ethnicity, (dis)ability, location, religion, or other relevant markers of identity?

SUGGESTED TOOL

Exercise 5: How conflict shapes gender. This exercise helps with understanding how conflicts – either past or on-going – may have shaped notions of masculinity and femininity. During armed conflicts, different aspects of masculinity and femininity are often emphasised – for example, the notion of manhood as connected to being a warrior, or the idea of women as mothers of the nation or ethnic group. The exercise also examines how gendered behaviours have changed as a result of conflict. In some cases, women, men and SGMs may change their behaviour to conform more closely to gender norms, perhaps through fear of violence they may be subjected to if they don't. In other cases, conflict may lead people to transgress gender norms – for example, women taking up roles that would normally be reserved for men. Conflict may also make it more difficult to fulfil certain masculine and feminine norms, creating a gap between expectations and reality that can also fuel grievances.

Exercise 5: How conflict shapes gender

Objective	To understand how gender norms and behaviours have been influenced by conflict.
Timing	Approximately 2 hours.
Preparations	Notes from **Exercise 4: Gender norms vs behaviours**.
How to run the exercise	Explain, if it is not already clear, which conflict or type of conflict you are talking about in this exercise. If possible, put up the flipcharts from Exercise 4 where participants can see them. For each line in the table, ask participants to discuss: ■ Has what society expects of a man/woman changed since the start of the conflict/since the conflict ended? If so, why? ■ Have actual behaviours relating to these expectations changed since the start of the conflict/since the conflict ended? If so, why?

How to run the exercise *continued*	■ If there is a gap between expectations and reality, has this gap got bigger or smaller since the start of the conflict/since the conflict ended? How so? ■ Have the costs of not conforming to this expectation changed as a result of the conflict? Are they higher or lower? Use probing questions to understand how these answers might differ according to different aspects of identity. For example: ■ You have said that men are expected to provide for their families, and yet are often unable to do so since employment opportunities have reduced as a result of conflict. You explain that men who cannot provide economically are not respected in the community and may be pressured to join armed groups to make ends meet. Is this the same for young men and old men? Married and unmarried men? If you want a more detailed discussion, you could take the notes from Exercises 1, 2 and 3 individually in turn and discuss how the behaviours and norms described during those exercises have changed as a result of conflict. We have suggested using Exercise 4 here to save time, because it includes notes on both norms and behaviour and allows for a discussion of how the gap between the two may have been influenced by conflict.

KEY QUESTION 5

How are men, women and SGMs affected by the conflict?

KEY QUESTION 6

What roles are men, women and SGMs playing in the conflict?

KEY QUESTION 7

What roles are men, women and SGMs playing in bringing about a peaceful resolution to the conflict?

These questions are being addressed together in this version of the toolkit because the suggested exercise bridges these different issues. In future editions of the toolkit they may be separated out as more exercises are added.

This links to the 'causes of conflict' and 'actor analysis' stages of your conflict analysis.

POSSIBLE TOOLS TO DRAW ON

Actor Mapping / Stakeholder Mapping – identifies the actors, issues and relationships at play and potential allies and entry points for peacebuilding

Attitudes, Behaviours, Change Triangle – looks at the motivations of conflict parties and the structures or systems in place that contribute to the conflict; identifies the key needs of each party and helps identify entry points. For peacebuilding

SOURCES

Fisher S et al (2000), *Working with conflict: Skills and strategies for action*, Zed Books in association with Responding to Conflict, pp 22–24 and 25–26

Global Partnership for the Prevention of Armed Conflict (2015), *Conflict analysis framework: Field guidelines and procedures*, pp 51–53

Peacebag – http://peacebag.org/articles/toolkit-p4-conflictanaly.html#triangle

Checklist of issues to cover under this key question

- How has conflict impacted on the lives of different groups of men, women and SGMs? (For example, livelihoods, domestic arrangements, violence.)
- What roles have men, women and SGMs played in fueling the conflict, and why?
- What roles are men, women and SGMs playing in peacebuilding at different levels, and why? Have they been able to have a meaningful input?
- How have existing peacebuilding efforts affected men, women, and SGMs?
- How do these roles and impacts vary according to age, marital status, class, ethnicity, (dis)ability, location, religion, or other relevant markers of identity?

SUGGESTED TOOL

Exercise 6: Peace and conflict: gender roles and impacts. People often assume that men and boys are the perpetrators of violence, and that women and girls are the victims. As a result, they may focus on the role men play in driving conflict and the impact of the conflict on women. However, this is often not true and it is very important to pay attention to whether this is actually the case. This exercise can help to capture the reality, which is likely to be more complex.

Exercise 6: Peace and conflict: gender roles and impacts

This exercise is based on one designed by United Nations Development Fund for Women (UNIFEM), called the 'Peace and conflict gender analysis matrix'.[1] It has been adapted in order to add SGMs, and break down the gender categories by age.

Objective	To understand the different impacts of conflict and peace on women, men and SGMs, and the different roles they play in fuelling conflict and building peace.
Timing	Approximately 1–1.5 hours.
Preparations	Flipchart paper and pens. If participants are literate, draw out table 1 below on flipchart paper. It may be easiest to spread it across multiple sheets. In this illustration, we have divided the genders up according to age – separating out younger and older people. However, there may be another aspect of identity which is more important in determining people's roles and experiences in the context you are working in. You should decide which aspect(s) to focus on based on your literature review or discussions with people familiar with the context. If participants are illiterate, this exercise can be run more as a standard focus group discussion.
How to run the exercise	Explain, if it is not already clear, which conflict or type of conflict you are talking about in this exercise. Explain that the empty boxes in the first row are for answering the following questions: ■ What roles do/did men play during the conflict? ■ What roles are men playing in peacebuilding? ■ What impact does/did the conflict have on men? ■ What impact do existing peacebuilding efforts have on men?

How to run the exercise *continued*	Explain that the empty boxes on the second row are for answering the following questions: ■ What roles do/did women play during the conflict? ■ What roles are women playing in peacebuilding? ■ What impact does/did the conflict have on women? ■ What impact do existing peacebuilding efforts have on women? Ask participants to discuss each question in turn, and either fill in the boxes yourself or ask participants to fill them in. If appropriate, ask the same questions about any other gender categories present int he community. Rows for 'SGMs' have been included in table 1 as an example, but remember this term is not likely to be understood in most communities, so the language you use will need to be adapted to the context. Afterwards, if you have already done **Exercise 3: Understanding masculinity and femininity**, it can be useful to have a discussion at the end about how the roles identified in this exercise relate to the norms identified in Exercise 3. For example, you could ask: ■ We talked earlier about the things that society expects of a woman. Are those expectations leading women to play some of these roles in peacebuilding that you have just described? Or are women going against society's expectations when they participate in peacebuilding?
Issues to be aware of	People may have a tendency to offer stereotypes rather than thinking about what is actually happening – for example, portraying men only as perpetrators and women only as victims. If this happens, use probing questions to understand whether this really holds true.

Table 1: Peace and conflict: gender roles and impact

	Conflict		Peace	
	Roles	Impact	Roles	Impact
Young men				
Older men				
Young women				
Older women				
Young SGMs				
Older SGMs				

In Moroto, the team ran this exercise with representatives from local CSOs. Participants filled in the table themselves, focusing specifically on conflicts relating to land issues. They then looked back at the norms relating to masculinity and femininity they had identified in Exercise 3 and identified a number of links between those and the roles that men and women were playing. For example, they noted that control over land is one important aspect of masculinity in Moroto, and felt that this may explain why it was men rather than women who were most active in negotiations between communities and mining companies over land rights.

When it came to running the exercise with community members, the team did not use the table above because participants were mostly illiterate. Instead, we posed the questions one by one to the community members for discussion, taking notes on a laptop. Given the complexity involved in making the links between gender norms and conflict-fuelling behaviour, and the limited time available, the team decided to do this at a later stage when we were analysing the data. Drawing these links may be easier with a dedicated group who are working through the whole toolkit over a longer period of time, as suggested in the Introduction, box 3. As the toolkit is developed, further efforts will be made to think creatively about how these questions can be posed in a more accessible way.

KEY QUESTION 8

How do gender norms and behaviours shape whether violence is used, by whom and against whom?

This links to the 'causes of conflict' and 'actor analysis' stages of your conflict analysis.

POSSIBLE TOOLS TO DRAW ON

Actor Mapping / Stakeholder Mapping – identifies the actors, issues and relationships at play and potential allies and entry points for peacebuilding

Attitudes, Behaviours, Change Triangle – looks at the motivations of conflict parties and the structures or systems in place that contribute to the conflict; identifies the key needs of each party and helps identify entry points for peacebuilding

SOURCES

Fisher S et al (2000), *Working with conflict: Skills and strategies for action*, Zed Books in association with Responding to Conflict, pp 22–24 and 25–26

Global Partnership for the Prevention of Armed Conflict (2015), *Conflict analysis framework: Field guidelines and procedures*, pp 51–53

Peacebag – http://peacebag.org/articles/toolkit-p4-conflictanaly.html#triangle

Checklist of issues to cover under this key question

- If there is a problem/dispute in the community or you have a problem, how is it solved?
- Who is involved in resolving it? Does this differ depending on who is involved in the dispute?
- Does everyone (young/old, male/female) have the same opportunity to be heard?
- What is violence understood to mean?
- Which types of problems do people think are acceptable for a man to solve with violence? (It might even be a case of men being encouraged to solve problems with violence.) What type of violence is used? Is this different for different groups of men?
- Which types of problems do people think are acceptable for a woman to solve with violence? What type of violence is used? Is this different for different groups of women?
- Are there people who are seen as accepted targets for violence, and does this depend on their gender?
- Are there any people against whom it is taboo to use violence? How might their gender affect this?
- Does this differ according to age, marital status, class, ethnicity, (dis)ability, location, religion, or other relevant markers of identity?

SUGGESTED TOOL

Exercise 7: How conflicts are resolved. This exercise is designed to get participants talking about the kind of problems/disputes that arise, how they are solved and who is involved in solving them. It can help to understand what kinds of violence are seen as legitimate and how gender shapes those perceptions.

Exercise 7: How conflicts are resolved

Objective	To understand what kinds of conflicts are happening in the community, in what circumstances (if any) people find it acceptable to use violence, and who is involved in resolving conflicts violently or peacefully.
Timing	Approximately 1.5–2 hours.
Preparations	Flipcharts, pens.
How to run the exercise	Divide the flipchart paper into four columns and add the headings as in table 2 below. Ask participants what kinds of conflicts are occurring in their community. These could be conflicts at any level: within or between families, within or between communities, at the regional or national level. List these in the left-hand column. For each conflict that has been identified, ask participants how this type of conflict is usually solved, and note this down in the second column. Be sure to note whether it is usually solved peacefully or using violence. Ask whether people think their community would see it as acceptable (even preferable sometimes?) to use violence in this type of conflict, and explain in what circumstances that might be the case. Note this down in the third column. Ask who is usually involved in this type of conflict. If participants have said they think their community would see violence as an acceptable solution, ask who is allowed to commit violence against whom specifically, with reference to the gender of both perpetrator and victim. Is there anyone who must not commit violence in this type of conflict, or anyone towards whom it is forbidden or shameful to be violent? Use probing questions to find out whether this differs according to age, class, ethnicity and other identity markers.

How to run the exercise *continued*	Repeat these steps for each type of conflict listed, and add more if they come up during the discussion. Once the table is complete, take each row in turn and ask how the gender norms described during Exercise 3 might shape people's perceptions about who is allowed to use violence against whom and in what circumstances. For example: ■ You have said that it is acceptable for a man to use violence against a man from outside the community if it is in defence of his family or his community. How does this relate to the expectations about masculinity you have described?
Issues to be aware of	People may be reluctant to talk about their own personal views on how conflicts should be solved, especially where violence is concerned. Therefore, we have suggested framing questions in terms of what is seen as acceptable by the wider community, rather than what individuals find acceptable.

Table 2: How conflicts are resolved

Conflict	Solution (non-violent/ violent)	Is violence acceptable?	Actors (including their gender)

KEY QUESTION 9

Do norms relating to masculinity and femininity fuel conflict and insecurity in this context?

KEY QUESTION 10

Are there also norms relating to masculinity and femininity which (could) help facilitate peace?

This links to the 'causes of conflict' and 'peacebuilding opportunities' stage of your conflict analysis.

POSSIBLE TOOLS TO DRAW ON

The Conflict Tree – analyses the causes and effects of a given conflict

Actor Mapping / Stakeholder Mapping – identifies the actors, issues and relationships at play and potential allies and entry points for peacebuilding

Force-field Analysis – identifies negative forces contributing to conflict and positive forces for peace; can be used to develop strategies to mitigate negative forces and build on positive ones

Dividers and Connectors – identifies factors that bring people together and factors that push them apart

SOURCES

Fisher S et al (2000), *Working with conflict: Skills and strategies for action*, Zed Books in association with Responding to Conflict, pp 22–24, 29–30

Global Partnership for the Prevention of Armed Conflict (2015), *Conflict analysis framework: Field guidelines and procedures*, pp 51–53, 54–55 and 56–59

Peacebag – http://peacebag.org/articles/toolkit-p4-conflictanaly.html#tree

Checklist of issues to cover under this key question

- Are there norms relating to masculinity or femininity which drive conflict in this context?
- Does the gap between gender norms and what men, women and SGMs actually do drive conflict in this context?
- Are there any gender norms and behaviours which contribute to peace in this context, or which could do?
- Does the gap between what society requires and what men/women/SGMs actually do contribute to peace in this context?
- Are there structures or institutions at the local, national and/or international level which reinforce or challenge norms that drive conflict?
- Are there structures and institutions at the local, national and/or international level which reinforce or challenge norms that contribute to peace?

SUGGESTED TOOLS

Exercise 8: Gender norms – drivers of conflict or peace? As has been emphasised throughout this toolkit, norms that define what it means to be a 'real man' or a 'real woman' can drive conflict, whether or not those norms are reflected in people's actual behaviour. This tool draws together discussions from earlier exercises and moves forward to ask how the fulfilment of norms or the gap between norms and actual behaviours contribute to or prevent conflict and insecurity.

Exercise 9: Gendered institutions and structures. As noted in the introduction, masculinities and femininities are not simply a matter of attitudes and beliefs – they are shaped by people's material circumstances. Structures and institutions within societies can either reinforce or challenge the prevailing gender norms. If you have identified a particular norm relating to masculinity or femininity which is important in driving conflict, this exercise can help you to work out what you would need to do to start changing that norm, by addressing the structures that reinforce it or supporting those that challenge it.

Exercise 8: Gender norms – drivers of conflict or peace?

Objective	To understand how norms, and differences between norms and behaviours, can either drive conflict or contribute to peace.
Timing	Approximately 2 hours.
Preparations	Flip chart paper, pens, notes from **Exercise 4: Gender norms vs behaviours** and **Exercise 6: Peace and conflict: gender roles and impacts**.
How to run the exercise	It may be useful to put the notes from Exercises 4 and 6 up on the wall, if possible, so they are easy to refer to. Draw up a table on the flipchart with three columns, as in table 3 below. In the left-hand column, list out in short bullet points the key aspects of masculinity and femininity and actual behaviours, both listed during **Exercise 4: Gender norms vs behaviours**. If participants are illiterate, see if they can make appropriate drawings instead, or the facilitator could do this with their input. Taking each norm in turn, ask participants: ■ Does what society requires of men/women drive conflict in your community? ■ Does the gap between what society requires and what men/women/SGMs actually do drive conflict in your community? ■ Does what society requires of men/women contribute to peace in your community? ■ Does the gap between what society requires and what men/women/SGMs actually do contribute to peace in your community? If people find it difficult to make the links between gender norms, conflict and peacebuilding, it may help to offer some examples from other contexts, such as those in the Introduction, pages 4–5, and talk these through.[2]

How to run the exercise *continued*	However, giving examples can lead participants to simply look for similar dynamics in their own context, which may mean either imposing similarities where there are none, or not thinking beyond those particular examples. The facilitator needs to take a critical approach, questioning whether these dynamics really are similar in the context at hand, and pushing to think of different ways in which they may play out.
Issues to be aware of	It is not necessarily the case that gender norms – or the gaps between norms and behaviours – play an important role in driving the conflict that you are analysing. It is important to conduct an analysis on whether they do, while being open to the fact that they may not, and not to force the issue.

During the testing of the toolkit in Moroto, there was not time to run this exercise in this format. With civil society activists, we took the findings from **Exercise 3: Understanding masculinity and femininity** and **Exercise 6: Peace and conflict: gender roles and impacts** and put both up on the wall. The research team asked participants to look at the information they had given in these exercises and discuss how the roles that men and women were playing in conflict and peacebuilding might relate to the norms they had described. This discussion was then recorded in note form.

Table 3 below gives a few examples of what might have come out of this exercise in Moroto, using data gathered from running the same two exercises with community members.

As the table overleaf demonstrates, gender norms, and the gaps between norms and behaviours, did appear to be driving some conflicts in Moroto and preventing others – particularly those within and between families. However, with other types of conflict, including those relating to land and extractive industries, gender norms were not found to be underlying causes, although some were exacerbated by the emasculation of (particularly young) men, and conducting a gender analysis also helped to identify the different gendered roles and impacts of these conflicts.[3]

Table 3: Gender norms – drivers of conflict or peace? Examples from Moroto

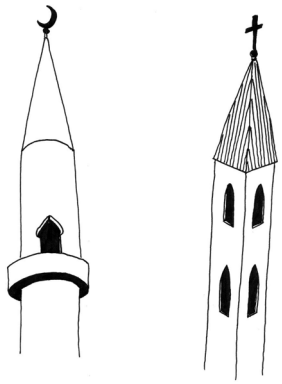
Norm and behaviour	Driver of conflict?	Driver of peace?
Norm: A real man owns cattle – the more the better – and a young man spends his time herding them. **Behaviour:** Numbers of cattle in Karamoja have been vastly depleted in recent years, meaning many men own very few or none at all.	The fact that this norm has been slow to change despite the scarcity of cattle has meant that some men are reluctant to take up 'women's work' such as agriculture. These men tend to sleep under a tree all day instead of working, which creates conflict between them and their wives, who are usually working hard.	The fact that there are not enough cattle (in addition to widespread disarmament) means there is much less cattle raiding than before. The fact that some community members believe men who are doing 'women's work' can be respected suggests this norm is contested. If the norm is shifting, this would bode well for peace, although many believe that these men are not respectable, and so it is not clear that this is the case.
Norm: A real woman is fully married – that is, her husband has paid the full bride price for her. **Behaviour:** Men often cannot afford to pay the full bride price, meaning the couple is not fully married.	Men taking other men's wives away from them by paying the bride price that their husband could not pay creates conflict between families.	For women, not being fully married can help them avoid violence, as it means they can leave an abusive husband. However, this means losing access to their husband's land, and their families may not accept them back.

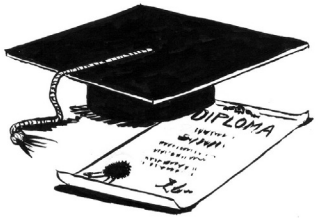
Exercise 9: Gendered institutions and structures

Objective	To analyse how different institutions and structures within the society either reinforce or challenge gender norms which drive conflict.
Timing	Approximately 2 hours.
Preparations	Flipcharts, pens, Post-it notes, pictures on pages 22–23 (you may want more than one copy of each). Additional copies of the pictures are available for download at www.saferworld.org.uk/resources/view-resource/1076-gender-analysis-of-conflict
How to run the exercise	For this exercise, choose one norm – relating to masculinity or femininity – which your analysis suggests is particularly important in driving conflict (you will be able to repeat the exercise later with a different norm if you want to). Lay a piece of paper on the ground, on a table or use a flipchart. Draw a vertical line down the middle of your page and write, draw or use one of the pictures symbolising that norm in the middle of the page. Ask participants to think about what institutions or structures in the society reinforce that norm. These could be groups or organisations, laws or processes; for example: ■ Education systems (could be the way behaviour in class is rewarded, or the curriculum itself) ■ Laws, e.g. on child custody, use of violence, discrimination ■ Development, humanitarian or peacebuilding programmes ■ Statements or propaganda from political leaders ■ Military or security institutions, or non-state armed groups ■ CSOs

How to run the exercise *continued*	The pictures on pages 22–23 provide some suggestions, but participants should also come up with their own. Keep in mind that these could be structures or institutions which operate at the local, regional, national or international level. As you come up with these ideas, write them or draw them on Post-it notes or pieces of paper, and place them or stick them on the left-hand side of the page. You can also use the pictures provided on pages 22–23. Then, ask participants to think about which institutions and structures in the society challenge that norm. This time, place them on the right-hand side of the page. It is possible for some to appear on both sides of the page. When you have placed them on the page, ask participants to think about how these different institutions and structures influence each other. Ask them to draw arrows on the page representing how they influence each other. You could use big arrows for a strong influence and smaller arrows for a weaker influence. Finding the links between different factors in this way should help to identify which institutions and structures are most influential in reinforcing the norm in question.
Issues to be aware of	When it comes to identifying gender norms which might contribute to peacebuilding, and thinking about reinforcing these as part of strategies for peace, is important to consider the long-term implications of this. These are discussed further in section 5.


LAW

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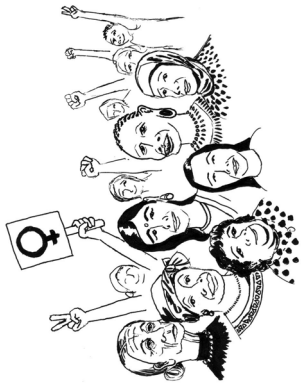

NOTES

1 See Moser A (2005), 'Peace and conflict gender analysis: Community-level data from the Solomon Islands', p 3.
2 See also similar examples from Conciliation Resources (2015), 'Gender and conflict analysis toolkit for peacebuilders', pp 46–49.
3 For more detail, see *op cit* Saferworld and Uganda Land Alliance (2016).

5 Where to next?

Designing peacebuilding responses

In Saferworld's 'Masculinities, conflict and peacebuilding: Perspectives on men through a gender lens' report (2014), we summarised lessons learnt on effective approaches to challenging attitudes towards masculinity from programmes across the world. Most of this focused on issues such as GBV, sexual and reproductive health and rights, and fatherhood.[1] We also presented some initial analysis on how practitioners might go about adapting those approaches for addressing gender norms that drive conflict, including how it might relate to processes such as security sector reform and disarmament, demobilisation and reintegration. The report also emphasises the need to avoid colonial narratives which problematise gender norms in conflict-affected regions in the Global South without also acknowledging the role of external factors – including international systems and interventions, which can also promote and perpetuate harmful gender norms – in causing conflict in those contexts.[2]

More work and piloting of different approaches is needed to understand how best to go about changing social norms, including those relating to gender. However, the report does give some positive examples from organisations already doing this type of work.

What kind of peace?

Deciding how to address gender norms which are driving conflict and insecurity raises big questions about what 'peace' means and what part gender plays in that.

Peacebuilders promoting a vision of 'positive peace' argue that gender equality is an integral part of peace. That is, 'positive peace' is not only an absence of war or violence, but the presence of active processes for addressing injustices and solving conflicts non-violently. On this understanding, challenging gender norms which fuel insecurity and injustice is essential not only to ending violent conflicts, but also to promoting a more positive vision of peace. However, what kind of gender equality would best support this is a matter of heated debate.

For example, many projects which aim to challenge harmful masculinities frame their work as part of efforts to promote more 'positive masculinities', usually meaning those that emphasise equality and non-violence. But many would argue that the very notions of 'masculinity' and 'femininity', which impose different norms on people of different genders, create inequalities and injustices.[3] Following this line of thinking, peacebuilding efforts would reject the idea of replacing one version of masculinity or femininity with another, and instead seek to break down the distinction between masculinity and femininity altogether, and promote positive norms for everyone, which are not linked to gender. Others argue that this is impossible: that gender is an inevitable feature of societies, but that it can simply be an aspect of people's personal identities which is not linked to power and inequality.[4]

This toolkit does not take a position on this debate, but highlights these different perspectives in order to illustrate that careful thinking is needed when deciding how to act on the findings of your analysis.

For example, women peace activists in many contexts have noted that women are often assumed to be naturally peace-loving. Rather than challenging this feminine norm, some activists have used it strategically as a way to persuade authorities that women should have a greater role in peace processes. At the same time, others have argued that the same set of stereotypes which portray women as peace-loving, weak or submissive have often been used to justify women's exclusion from positions of power.[5]

They therefore argue that the association between femininity and peace should not be reinforced: rather, new norms should be developed which position peacefulness as valuable for everyone, regardless of gender.

In cases such as this, where a particular norm has been identified which may contribute to peace, a decision needs to be made about whether to promote that norm as one which should be understood as an aspect of masculinity or femininity, or whether the goal is to break down the distinction between masculinity and femininity altogether. In doing so, it is important to consider not only what reinforcing this norm would mean for conflict and peacebuilding, but also what implications it would have for the lives of women, men and SGMs.

Further resources

Gender and conflict – additional reading

Cockburn C (2013), 'War and security, women and gender: an overview of the issues' in *Gender and Development* 21 (3)

Cockburn C (2001), 'The Gendered Dynamics of Armed Conflict and Political Violence' in Moser and Clark (eds), *Victims, Perpetrators or Actors? Gender, Armed Conflict and Political Violence*, (London: Zed Books)

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6

Topic guide 1: **Land**

This topic guide provides particular guidance on analysing gender and conflict in relation to land. As land is also an integral aspect of conflicts relating to extractive industries, this topic guide can be further enhanced by referring to Topic Guide 2 on extractive industries.

Introduction

Box 1: What do we mean by 'land'?

When we talk about 'land', this can mean many different things, including the actual land upon which people can, for instance, graze cattle or cultivate crops. Land is also connected to other natural resources that we need in order use land, like water and air; resources that grow on the land, such as forests; and resources that are built on land, like houses or businesses.[1]

Land is an important, issue that affects societies in many different ways. Land is a source of livelihood, identity and community – all of which have gender dimensions to them. The right to own, control or access land can determine whether people are able to grow food for themselves or their animals, and whether they are seen to be part of a community or identity group. Because of the importance of land and what people can do with it, land-related issues can easily lead to conflict or be used by military or political actors to mobilise and manipulate communities. Land is also closely linked to other natural resources like water, and the availability of these resources can be further complicated by environmental degradation and climate change.

Men and women use land in different ways. For instance, depending on local gender norms and roles, men may want access to grazing for their cattle, while women may use land to cultivate crops for subsistence or commercial farming. But women's rights to own or access land are often restricted by local customs, or by law, making them vulnerable to eviction or making them unable to grow food for their families especially when, for instance, they are divorced or their husbands pass away.

The position of sexual and gender minorities (SGMs) – see Introduction, box 2 – in relation to land tends to be determined by how they are seen by society and what discrimination they experience because of their sexual and/or gender identities. SGMs can either be in a position where they are expected to be and act like (other) women and men; or they can be treated as belonging to a third gender identity. But as SGMs, they may be perceived as not fulfilling the expectations of being a 'real' man or 'real' woman and usually do not have a range of detailed legal rights explicitly assigned to them. In general, this results in SGMs facing exclusion or discrimination. In Nepal, SGMs often face discrimination from their families or communities which entirely cuts off their access to land, livelihoods connected to land, or housing.[2]

Gender inequality is intertwined with other forms of inequality and discrimination, for instance based on caste, race, ethnicity or class. In Bangladesh for instance, discrimination based on class and gender combine so that landless communities have very little political power to improve their access to land. Women within this group are even worse off than men as they are also marginalised within the landless communities.[3] (See section 1, box 1 on intersectionality).

This topic guide looks at how gender norms and behaviours (see Introduction, box 1 on gender norms) can influence conflict over land, and how land-related conflict can influence gender norms. It looks at two key areas: **access** to land and **control** of land, as a way to understand who has the opportunity, resources and power to use land for different purposes, control its use and ownership, and gain benefits from it. The conflicts considered here include violence and disputes at the individual and community level, but also structural violence, that is, the systems or institutions that threaten the lives and livelihoods of certain groups of people.

This topic guide consists of the following:

1 An overview of land and gender norms

2 Conflict, land and gender norms

3 Key questions and suggested exercises to use in the research and analysis process

Overview of land and gender norms

Men, women and SGMs may need access to land for different purposes. For instance, if men are responsible for taking care of cattle, they may need to access land primarily for grazing for their cattle, but may not need to control that land. Women may need land to grow food for the family or for agricultural trade. For this they will need to have secure access to the land they cultivate as well as other necessary resources like water. In addition, in many parts of the world, women play the primary role in feeding and taking care of the family, which means their access to natural resources like land, water, firewood, wild roots and fruits, is crucial. If their access to these resources is restricted, not only will the whole family suffer, but the women may also spend more unpaid working hours trying to access these resources. In most societies, women also have a lower status than men, and their work is often unpaid. This inequality can be seen in how land is used and allocated as well. The above examples refer mostly to rural areas, but similar dynamics are present in urban areas, especially in poorer neighbourhoods or slums.

SGMs who live as men or women may engage in the same activities as men and women in their community, or if they face a high degree of discrimination, may prefer to move to urban settings where they may be more easily accepted.[4] In this case, they would need access to land for secure housing.

Systems for controlling and accessing land tend to reflect the power relationships in a society, at all levels. Those with most power, like community or religious leaders, are usually in a position to dictate how land is used and shared. As a result those who are least powerful, often women and SGMs, can be particularly vulnerable in relation to land access and control. Inheritance customs or laws may mean that women are not entitled to any land or are entitled to less land than male family members.[5] SGMs may also be discriminated against within their families or communities and not be able to inherit or gain control of land. Not being

able to control land also has other implications: for instance without a land title, it is risky to set up a business or build a home and impossible to obtain loans using the land as collateral.

Controlling land is therefore an important goal for any state, community, individual or company who needs it for economic activities, but also for cultural or social purposes, for instance burial grounds, nature reserves and social services like schools and clinics. Who controls land is governed by systems of land tenure, which may include laws, bylaws and customary practices. In broad terms, land tenure can include the following:[6]

- **Private tenure**, for instance giving a person, a family, a company or another legal entity the legal right to control and own land. In patrilineal contexts, which are far more common, women do not have the same rights to own or inherit land as men, while the reverse may be true in matrilineal contexts.
- **Communal tenure**, where community leaders decide who within the community is allocated land to control and use. These systems exclude people who are not members of that community. In communities where men are the primary decision makers, communal tenure systems can disadvantage women and SGMs.
- **Open access tenure**, meaning nobody has specific control over the land and everybody can access and use it. Social and gender norms about what is the 'correct' way to use open land and norms about how freely men, women and SGMs can move about often determines how open access land is used in practice.
- **State tenure**, which can be public land controlled by the state, for instance for infrastructure like clinics or for conservation areas. The state can also lease such land to private actors, including companies, in order to generate an income. Decisions about how to use state land can be gender-blind by not taking into account the needs of men, women and SGMs in a particular area.

The tenure systems are therefore systems of power – those who have control over land according to the relevant tenure arrangement, have the most power to make decisions about allocating, using and transferring land[7] and will make those decisions in a way that mirrors the gender norms and behaviours of the decision makers. Some of these systems are formal and encoded in laws and bylaws. Others are more flexible and governed by, for instance, religious or cultural practices and institutions.[8]

Land tenure systems may also be well or poorly enforced by responsible authorities. In other words, even when a particular land tenure arrangement sets out certain legal or communally recognised rights and obligations, if these are not enforced by the government, the police, or other relevant authorities, conflicts about control of land may still arise. The enforcement of the tenure system or of land rights usually also reflects certain gender norms. For instance, the police may be male-dominated and may themselves apply the gender norms of that society, which means that they do not prioritise enforcing legislation that gives women the right to own land.

Closely linked to the question of control, is the question of **access** to land. Under certain tenure systems, people can access land that they do not necessarily own. In other words, they cannot make decisions about how the land is used, transfer or bequeath land to somebody else, sell the land or use it as collateral to obtain loans. But they are able to use the land and what is on it, for instance, rangelands or forests could be under an open access system, which allows people to graze their cattle there or to harvest forest products. Within communal tenure systems, land access is determined by the system. This may be based on gender norms such as allocating land to male-headed households only, or to respect matrilineal structures. Women may also be in a different position depending on whether they fulfil expected gender norms. For example, in some parts of Uganda a woman who has had the full bride price paid for her has the right to a portion of her husband's land to farm on; whereas a woman whose bride price has not been paid entirely does not have the same right. Sometimes those who are more powerful, for instance elder men, can prevent those who are less powerful, for instance women and young men, from accessing the land, or can dominate community decisions on how to use the land. In this way, gender norms and behaviours and unequal gender relations will again influence whether men, women or SGMs can access land and the resources on it.

Together, these factors create a collection of land rights, which may contradict each other or overlap, especially if there are multiple formal systems (for example land legislation, land courts) co-existing with more informal ones (for example community or religious land systems). Multiple systems of land rights are often also contradictory in terms of the gender norms they set out. For instance, land legislation may give women the right to own land, but the way in which communal land is managed excludes women from decision making and owning land in practice.

Box 2: Conflicting land ownership systems in Uganda

In Uganda, the Land Act gives women and men the right to own land, but research shows that people are either not aware of these legal rights or do not know how to turn them into reality.[9] In many rural parts of the country, the customary land system dominates. This means that very few people have individual land titles, despite the Land Act, and gender inequality in the customary land system remains in place. In Acholiland, for instance, women who get divorced or whose husbands pass away are often vulnerable to being pushed off the land by the husband's family, despite having customary rights to use the land in the case of a husband's death. Despite the legislation, the traditional system therefore does not protect women's ownership or inheritance of land.[10]

In general, the more formal land rights are, the more enforceable they are, because the government or formal bodies like land courts are responsible for making sure legislation is respected. However, the process of gaining those rights can result in those with money buying up land and pushing people off it who have been working the land but not owning it. The more informal land rights are, the more vulnerable people are to their land rights not being fulfilled, as the power lies with community or religious structures, often at a more local level, who may be making decisions based on rules that are highly flexible, gender-biased and open to interpretation by individual leaders.[11] However, many countries that have been or are affected by conflict and fragility do not have effective government institutions in place to enforce legal land rights. These institutions may also discriminate against women or SGMs, thereby making them unwilling to enforce laws or systems that are gender equal. In these situations, the informal mechanisms may be a better guarantor of land rights if they are accountable to all members of a community[12] and willing to make decisions that are fair in terms of gender. In practice, the formal and informal systems often overlap and/or contradict each other and men and women have access to both.

Conflict, land and gender norms

Do gender norms and roles drive fuel or help resolve land-related conflicts?

Land- and natural resource-related conflicts are very common – up to 40 per cent of all conflicts are at least partly driven by conflict over land and/or natural resources.[13] Land interacts with conflict in many different ways (see table 1 below). Gender inequalities and related gender norms influence how these conflicts play out and who is impacted, in direct or indirect ways.

In some conflicts, women have become active combatants partly as a result of frustration about economic and political marginalisation, including access to land and other resources. For instance, in Nepal, the traditional land tenure system meant that land belonged to state-appointed landlords – farmers therefore had to pay taxes and work for free for the landlord in exchange for being allowed to produce subsistence crops or take out loans. Despite some attempts to reform land laws, the situation remained exploitative towards the farmers. The Maoist rebel movement promised to redistribute land to the 'real farmers',[14] which motivated agricultural workers to join the movement. Women could not own land, partly because of this system, but also because they usually could not inherit land from their fathers and could only inherit their husband's land if they had sons to pass it on to. Women in Nepal only own 8 per cent of land even though they make up 65 per cent of farmers and 70 per cent of livestock producers. The Maoist promises motivated many women to join as armed fighters or otherwise support the movement.[15] Gender inequality therefore combined with other types of inequality and motivated both men and women to sign up as fighters in a civil war.

In other contexts, the impact of gender norms and behaviours is more subtle and indirect, so that it may not directly motivate women, men or SGMs to become combatants in a war, but still contributes to a general sense of marginalisation. Conflicts usually have multiple causes and drivers, and some of these can be made worse by gender inequality. Women have less secure access to land and natural resources, even though they make up 43 per cent of the agricultural labour force worldwide, and produce – at least in part – more than 80 per cent of household food in Africa.[16] Women's insecure access often leads to lower food productivity, because they do not invest in land that may be taken away from them, or cannot access credit or agricultural tools to expand their farming. Lower food

production by women therefore directly impacts on the health of women and their families, and increases the potential for food insecurity. Research suggests that food insecurity is both a threat and an impact multiplier for violent conflict, especially in countries with fragile governance and market systems.[17]

Box 3: Conflict over mining and land in Papua New Guinea

In Papua New Guinea, land ownership and inheritance belong to women – they are therefore the custodians of land on behalf of families and clans. In the Bougainville conflict, communities felt that they were not deriving sufficient benefit (in jobs and revenues) from a large open-cast copper and gold mine, while the government and the company who owned the mine were getting wealthy. They also felt that the environmental damage resulting from the mining operations was affecting surrounding communities severely and that not enough was done to address these impacts. The situation led to a violent 10-year conflict between the government and the Bougainville Revolutionary Army (BRA). Women played an important role in organising humanitarian assistance, but also as spies for the BRA. Women eventually spearheaded local and national peace talks, using their positions within the families and clans to engage with the BRA leaders. But when the formal peace processes started, women were largely excluded, despite their key role in land ownership and natural resource management, and their conflict resolution efforts. The women then organised themselves to take active part in peacebuilding and dialogue processes, drawing on their positions as land custodians. They have since continued to advocate for greater input from women on mining-related decision making.[18]

The impact of conflict on gender norms in relation to land

Conflicts impact on gender roles and relations and may cause temporary or permanent changes in gender norms and practices relating to land. Sometimes these changes lead to greater gender equality in land matters, but often conflicts also worsen the vulnerability of those already struggling to access and control land and other resources. At the same time, where land ownership is seen as a key characteristic of what it means to be a

'real man' (or a 'real woman'), the loss of land during conflict can cause frustration and negative behaviours among men or women who can no longer fulfil the role their societies expect from them.

If conflicts change land-related gender norms or behaviours, it is often difficult for men and women to adapt back into their communities after the conflict. Women who have fought in the conflict have usually fulfilled roles reserved for men, thereby gaining more freedom of movement and different social or professional responsibilities during the conflict than before. Having to return to their previous gender-based roles, for instance producing food and working in the fields for free, means giving up some status, independence or freedom. This brings them into conflict with their families or communities. Many women in Nepal who fought with the Maoists experienced such challenges after the peace agreement was signed. While the men and women combatants shared all duties from cooking to fighting during the war, after the peace agreement, women were expected to return to their traditional roles.[19] Women who stay behind in conflict situations and do not fight sometimes develop new skills or economic assets, such as commercial agriculture or starting small businesses in order to survive during the conflict. They may also be unwilling to give up these assets after the war.

When handled positively, such shifts in gender norms about accessing and productively using land bring real benefits in terms of women's empowerment, as well as strengthening women's economic contribution to their families and communities.[20] Research has shown that, on average, a US$ 10 increase in women's income improves child nutrition and health as much as a US$ 110 in men's income would achieve, because women tend to spend additional income on the family.[21]

Box 4: Shifting gender norms during conflict in Northern Uganda

During the Lord's Resistance Army (LRA) conflict, communities lost all their cattle and were displaced in vast internally displaced people (IDP) camps. There, the men had almost no economic opportunities, since their expected role was to herd cattle and farm and they had lost both their cattle and their access to land. In Pader camp, women were allowed by the army to cultivate small amounts of food around the camps and to harvest other natural products, like shea nuts, from which they produced shea butter to trade. However, travelling into the bush to harvest the nuts also exposed the women to the risk of sexual or other violence by the army or members of their community. Many women also produced alcohol that they sold in the camp. Some women were therefore able to produce an income for the family while men were left feeling like they had no contribution to make. Some men became despondent and starting drinking a lot, leading to violence within their families and the camp communities. Other men decided to support their wives in these small businesses and went with their wives to help them collect the shea nuts. This served as protection for the women, but also enabled them together to harvest more nuts and produce a bigger income for the family.[22]

Gender norms and roles during the post-conflict phase

When people return to their homes after a conflict has ended, disputes over land and property are very common. At a community level, people may not agree over where boundaries of previous land plots were, or entire communities may be prevented from returning because of a peace agreement not recognising their right over a certain area.[23] Women- and child-headed households are particularly vulnerable in these circumstances and are often unable to access land, property or other natural resources they were able to draw upon before the conflict, because of the death of male family members or the disintegration of community structures traditionally in charge of governing land in their areas. This in turn undermines their opportunities for livelihoods and recovery after the conflict.[24]

Even in cases where women were active combatants in conflict or were associated with armed forces, they or their children are often unable to access land after the conflict ends. Formal disarmament, demobilisation and reintegration (DDR) programmes often do not give women combatants or women associated with the armed forces land or finances to purchase land, even when male combatants receive such benefits. One exception was Mozambique, where women made up 25 per cent of combatants, and were given land access as part of the DDR process. In Nepal, the commitment to ensuring access to land for women combatants has not yet been fully implemented after the peace agreement, partly because the changes in gender roles and behaviours that took place during the conflict have not yet been accepted by wider society.[25]

Table 1 explains what types of conflict may exist at different points in a typical conflict cycle and the gender norms that may fuel these conflicts.[26] A 'conflict cycle' sets out the different phases of a conflict, from latent or structural issues; through escalation of the conflict towards full-blown violent conflict; the end of the conflict (victory for one side, ceasefire, or peace agreement); de-escalation; and addressing both the consequences of conflict and the potential issues that may cause new conflicts. It is based on the recognition that conflicts do not automatically follow this cycle, as they can repeatedly go between 'escalation' and 'crisis' without any resolution. But it is a helpful way to analyse what is happening in the conflict.

Table 1

Conflict phase	Conflict related to land	Possible gender norms and behaviours fuelling these conflicts
Latent/underlying/ systemic conflict (there are grievances but these have not yet become violent)	Grievances about unequal land ownership or access to land between groups or within communities. This could feed into broader discrimination or marginalisation (or perceptions of this) of particular groups.	Gender inequality in accessing and controlling land reduces overall food security and family welfare. This could make certain ethnic or caste groups feel even more frustrated and make them more willing to engage in violent conflict.
Escalating/increasing insecurity (people are starting to take action on their frustration, but not yet at a large scale)	People start sabotaging infrastructure on disputed land, or threaten or commit violence against people they perceive to be taking away their land. Anything affecting the land control or access of a certain group could be interpreted as an escalation in the conflict.	Gender norms and behaviours will influence the types of incidents that may lead to violence. For instance, women arguing over water or boundaries between their fields could spark broader community or ethnic conflicts. Men competing for grazing or extractive resources could equally spark broader community or ethnic conflicts.

Violent conflict/ civil war	Groups of people fight in a full-scale violent conflict; land is used as a reason to mobilise them. People may feel land is one of the many resources they would lose if the other side wins the conflict.	Men and women may take up arms (for example women and men joining the Maoist movement in Nepal); or men may take up arms, encouraged by women to fulfil their perceived masculine role of protecting the community.
Negotiations and peace	Peace agreements or post-conflict settlements include arrangements about land. If done well, this could resolve the issue. If not done well, land could remain a cause of conflict.	Gender-blind peace agreements may resolve macro issues (for example returning land to certain groups) without considering the gendered use of land. This may still lead to, for instance, women not being able to access land for agriculture, reducing family and community welfare. Despite land being a priority in the Nepal peace agreement, due to gender norms and behaviours the intention to improve women's access to land has not been fulfilled and many women have migrated to other parts of the country.[27]

Post-conflict and rehabilitation	New land conflicts can emerge if actions are taken that affect land control and access and that overly benefit (or are seen to benefit) one group, or are not agreed upon by all stakeholders. For instance, some actors may use the peace to grab land; to set up new investment or state projects; or to resettle or refuse to resettle people displaced by conflict.	Land grabs in post-conflict contexts are very common and often intersect with gender norms and behaviours. For instance, in post-conflict Northern Uganda, male family members have illegally taken over land, often to the detriment of women in their communities who were legally entitled to the land but unable to enforce these rights.[28] Increased investment in the area is also perceived by communities as government and companies colluding against them; this perception further fuels land-related conflicts.[29]

Questions and exercises

When conducting research about gender, conflict and land, it is important to think about the sensitivities and risks involved. Some of these sensitivities and risks are discussed in section 2. It may also be very sensitive in some contexts to discuss land, as it is a highly political issue, and so it is important to take this into account in your risk analysis.

It is important to already understand the gender norms and behaviours at play in your research area in general before you delve into specifics about land, so we encourage you to do the exercises from sections 3 and 4 first, as well as conducting a literature review as suggested in section 2.

The first step in a research process on land-related issues is to gather information about the various land governance systems in place and what they say about gender. These should include the formal systems, for example national laws, bylaws, national land tribunals and similar structures; but also informal systems around traditional, religious, clan or other community-level governance arrangements. This information will be important to help think through: a) where some of these land governance systems may be contradictory; b) whether these systems are effectively applied; c) who has access to which types of land governance systems; d) what it says about gender.

Building on this information, the issues relating to gender, conflict and land can be further explored and it will become clearer whether and how the formal and informal frameworks are actually applied on the ground.

This topic guide covers the following key questions:

1 What are the gender dimensions of land use?

2 How do gender norms and behaviours influence control of, and access to, land and benefits derived from its use?

3 What are the gender roles in land-related conflict situations and what are the impacts of land conflict on gender norms?

KEY QUESTION 1

What are the gender dimensions of land use?

Checklist of issues to cover under this key question

- How are men, women and SGMs expected to use land (for example grazing, property, business, household farming, cash crop farming)? What do they do with it?
- What benefits do families, households and communities derive from these different uses of land by men, women and SGMs?
- Does this differ by age, marital status, class, ethnicity, (dis)ability, location, religion, or other relevant markers of identity?

SUGGESTED TOOL

Exercise 1: Gender, land use and benefits. This exercise investigates what men, women and SGMs are expected to do with any land to which they have access. It also looks at what benefits are created when men, women and SGMs are able to use this land in the way that is expected from them. This will help you understand some of the gender norms related to accessing and using land, the expectations placed on men, women and SGMs to perform these roles, and the benefits that this creates for individuals, families and communities.

Exercise 1: Gender, land use and benefits

Objective	To understand how men, women and SGMs use land differently and what benefits their families and communities gain from this land use.
Timing	Approximately 1 hour.
Preparations	Flip chart paper, pens; the pictures from section 3, Exercises 1 and 2 could also be used here to spark discussion about the types of activities that require land. Plan the exercise first, by deciding which of the statements below you want to use. Think about: ■ Should you swop 'women', 'men' or any other gender categories around in any of the statements? ■ Which statements could fit best with the community you are visiting? ■ Are they rural or urban communities? Some statements may be more appropriate for one or the other; some may apply to both. ■ If you have decided it is appropriate to talk about SGMs with community members, which particular identities are you talking about? Revise your statements and select three or four to use before proceeding with the exercise. Prepare in advance tables 1 and 2 below on separate flipchart sheets. These tables will be used for this and the next exercise. If there are more gender categories in the community than 'men' and 'women', add extra rows for those.
How to run the exercise	Write down on a flipchart or read out to participants your selection among the following statements, or others that are relevant for the context, for them to discuss: ■ Women need land to grow food for the family ■ Men need land for grazing the cattle ■ Women need to own the land they live on

How to run the exercise *continued*	■ Men have to own land for businesses to earn an income for the family ■ Women have to use their husbands' land to maintain the household and take care of the family ■ Women should own land to start their own businesses ■ Third gender people need to own land to start their own businesses As participants discuss, ask them to write down (or the facilitator can write down), the answers in the first column of table 2 below (*How is land used?*), on the pre-prepared flipchart sheet, breaking down the answers between men, women and SGMs. Next, ask them: 'What benefits are created from this use of the land?' If it is unclear, prompt participants by suggesting that benefits could include tangible things like food for the family or cash income; but can also include intangible things like status in the community or preserving people's cultural identity. Write down the answers in the first column of table 3 below (*What benefits are created from land use?*) on your second pre-prepared flipchart sheet. For both discussions, make sure you ask probing questions about what other aspects of men, women and SGMs' identities (such as age, marital status, class, ethnicity, (dis)ability, location, religion, or other relevant markers of identity) influence their experiences.
Things to be aware of	The gender norms around land use may not be that different and men, women and SGMs may have similar roles with regard to land. This may be an indication that gender norms around land use do not drive conflict in this community. But it may also indicate that potential conflicts lie elsewhere, such as with the way in which men, women and SGMs are allowed or blocked from using land in the way they would like to. So it is still worth investigating further by continuing with Key Question 2 and its exercise.

Table 2 (for Exercises 1 and 2):[30]
Land use – use column 1 for Exercise 1

	How is land used?	Who has access to land?	Who controls land?
Men			
Women			
SGMs			

Table 3 (for Exercises 1 and 2):
Benefits arising from land use – use column 1 for Exercise 1

	What benefits are created from land use?	Who has access to these benefits?	Who controls these benefits?
Men			
Women			
SGMs			

KEY QUESTION 2

How do gender norms influence control and access to land and the benefits derived from its use?

Checklist of issues to cover under this key question

- Do men, women and SGMs have the same land ownership and inheritance rights? If not, how is it different for each group? Why?
- Do men, women and SGMs have the same rights to access and use land? If not, how is it different for each group? Why?
- If so, is this access/ownership secure or is it easily taken away without any consequences?
- Who can access or enjoy the benefits arising from land use?
- Who makes decisions or controls the benefits arising from land use?
- Does this differ by age, marital status, class, ethnicity, (dis)ability, location, religion, or other relevant markers of identity?

SUGGESTED TOOL

Exercise 2: Access and control over land use and benefits. This exercise helps to understand who among men, women and SGMs are in a position to access land, and who can make decisions about land use. Similarly, the exercise helps think through who can enjoy the benefits from using land, and who has the power to make decisions about how these benefits are enjoyed.

Exercise 2: Access to and control over land use and benefits

Objective	To understand how gender norms influence access to and control of land, as well as access and control of the benefits of land use.
Timing	Approximately 2 hours.
Preparations	Flipchart sheets, pens; and the flipcharts with tables 2 and 3 from Exercise 1 under Key Question 1.
How to run the exercise	Using the flipchart sheets with tables 2 and 3 from Key Question 1 (see above), ask participants to answer the following sets of questions and to write down their answers in the appropriate column in the tables (or the facilitator can write down the answers). Remember to break down the answers among 'men', 'women' and any other relevant gender categories in the community (remember, the term 'SGMs' may not be clearly understood by most people) and to probe participants whether the situation is the same for all men, women or SGMs or whether there are differences within each group as well (according to other aspects of their identities such as age, race, class, ethnicity and (dis)ability). Table 2, column: *Who has access to land?* ■ Can men access land to use as is expected from them? Are these all men or only some? ■ Can women access land to use as is expected from them? Are these all women or only some? ■ Can (for example) third gender people access land to use as is expected from them? Are these all third gender people or only some? Table 2, column: *Who controls land?* ■ Who makes decisions about owning land? Men, women, (for example) third gender people? Certain men, certain women or certain third gender people?

How to run the exercise *continued*	■ Who makes decisions about who is allowed to use land for the different uses we named earlier (and captured in the first column)? Certain men, certain women or certain third gender people? Table 3, column: *Who has access to these benefits?* ■ Who enjoys each of the benefits from these different land uses? Table 3, column: *Who controls these benefits?* ■ Who makes decisions about what happens to the each of the benefits that are created from land use activities? Tables 2 and 3 should be completely filled in by the end of this exercise.
Things to be aware of	Issues around who makes decisions about land use and how the benefits from land use are enjoyed could be sensitive in a community. Be aware that discussions may become heated and be prepared to stop discussions or split into smaller groups if this happens. It is good to challenge people's way of thinking, but only if the process can be managed productively. If necessary, break up the conversation, work with certain individuals or groups separately, and then bring people together (if they are ready for it) at a later stage. Also be aware that some people may have been individually victimised by decision makers within their families or communities and they may find such a discussion upsetting. It is therefore useful to keep the discussions broad, focusing on the community level, rather than focusing in on individuals.

KEY QUESTION 3

What are the gender roles and impact of land conflicts?

Checklist of issues to cover under this key question

- What impact do land conflicts have on men, women and SGMs? Do men, women or SGMs gain from these conflicts? Do men, women or SGMs lose something because of these conflicts?
- What gendered expectations are there of men, women and SGMs with regard to their role in land conflicts? Is it acceptable for men, women or SGMs to use violence in resolving land conflicts?
- How are men, women and SGMs involved in conflicts over land ownership, sale and any misappropriation of land? What roles do they play?
- How are men, women and SGMs involved in conflicts over land-related resources, such as water, property, public service infrastructure (for example schools and clinics)? What do roles do they play?
- Does this differ by age, marital status, class, ethnicity, (dis)ability, location, religion, or other relevant markers of identity?

SUGGESTED TOOLS

Exercise 3: Gender impacts of land conflicts. This exercise analyses the impacts of land conflicts on men, women and SGMs.

Exercise 4: Land conflicts, gender expectations and gender roles. This exercise helps unpack the gender aspects of how people are involved in land conflicts. It assists in understanding what society expects from men, women and SGMs when there is a land conflict as well as what they actually do in these conflicts.

Exercise 3: Gender impacts of land conflicts

This exercise focuses on how land conflicts impact on men, women and SGMs in different ways. Often those who suffer most negative impacts of conflicts are not the ones who are given a role in resolving the conflicts. By doing Exercises 1 and 2, it will become clearer to what extent those who suffer most from the conflict have the power to resolve it; and to what extent those who most benefit from the conflict have the power to fuel it.

Objective	To create a better understanding of how the land conflicts impact on men, women and SGMs.
Timing	About 1 hour.
Preparations	Flipchart, pens; your conflict analysis and any further analysis or information you may need on land conflicts in the area and the role of different actors in these conflicts. List these on a flipchart or draw pictures of each issue.
How to run the exercise	Using the list (or pictures) of land conflicts on the flipchart, ask participants to discuss and agree on which conflicts are the most important. Limit the discussion as otherwise this could take up a lot of time. Frame the discussion around the question: 'What specific land conflict, if it is resolved, will make the biggest difference to bringing peace to your community?' Once the three top issues have been identified, split participants into three groups and ask each group to look at one of the three issues, using the exercise below. It is also possible for all three groups to focus on the same issue, if there is one issue everybody agrees on or if it is important to have lots of perspectives and discussion on one very important issue. Or, if you would like to discuss more issues, each group can take two issues – just bear in mind that this will double the time needed for the exercise. Ask the groups to discuss: 'What impact does this land conflict have on people of different genders?' 'Do people of different genders have to take on different roles as a result of the land conflict?'

How to run the exercise *continued*	Ask the groups to capture their answers on a flipchart, in table 4 below, so that they can share with others. If the group is illiterate, place a researcher or other literate person within each group to do the writing. The facilitator then highlights the main points from each group's work in plenary.
Things to be aware of	Groups can be split into men, women and SGMs (if appropriate) or into mixed groups depending on the context, how sensitive the issues are and in what environment people will feel most comfortable speaking freely. Groups should be encouraged to think about how other identity characteristics make a difference here, for example age, marital status, class, ethnicity, (dis)ability, location, religion?

Table 4

	Land conflict discussed	Impact on…
Men		
Women		
SGMs		

Exercise 4: Land conflicts, gender expectations and gender norms

In land-related conflicts, as in all conflicts, men, women and SGMs may be involved in different ways in resolving or indeed fuelling these conflicts. Some of the ways people behave will be informed by the gender norms of their societies. It is therefore helpful to understand how men, women and SGMs are involved in land conflicts as well as what is expected from them as men, women or SGMs. This helps to understand whether conflict is fuelled by the behaviours of certain groups alone or whether it is also fuelled by broader social expectations and norms.

Objective	To understand how men, women and SGMs behave when there are land conflicts and whether this is partly as a result of gender norms and expectations in their communities.
Timing	About 2 hours.
Preparations	Flipchart, pens; table 4 notes from Exercise 3 above; draw table 5 for each group on second sheet of flipchart paper. Tables 4 and 5 connect to each other – we propose doing them as two tables to make it more manageable rather than one big one.
How to run the exercise	Ask participants to go back into their groups. Using their notes from table 4, they need to discuss the following questions and fill in table 5 (see below): ■ In this specific land conflict, how do men in general behave? (In other words, what do they do in this conflict?) ■ How do women in general actually behave in this conflict? ■ How do (for example) third gender people in general actually behave in this conflict? ■ In this specific land conflict, how *should* a 'real man' behave? Why? ■ How *should* a 'real woman' behave? Why?

How to run the exercise *continued*	■ What happens to men, women or third gender people who do not behave as they are expected to? ■ What impact does this behaviour have on the conflict? Does this make the conflict worse or is does it help to resolve the conflict? Share the answers between groups. If important to discuss, let each group talk through what they have written. This will take much more time. If it is not so useful to discuss as a whole group or time is limited, participants can be given 10 minutes to look at the other groups' work and then the facilitator can highlight the main points from each group's work.
Things to be aware of	Discussing these conflicts can become quite heated as people may have different views on whether the roles played by men, women and SGMs in their communities are helpful or not. It may therefore be useful to have a researcher or another trained facilitator facilitate the group discussions. The same notes also apply with respect to the group composition – see Exercise 3 above.

Table 5

	What are their roles / what do they do in land conflicts?	**What are they expected to do by their society in land conflicts?**	**How / does this make the land conflicts worse?**	**How / does this help resolve the land conflicts?**
Men				
Women				
SGMs				

Next steps

Section 2 gives some ideas about how to go about analysing all the data that has been collected and section 5 gives some useful ideas to think about, especially when designing peacebuilding responses.

Once you have worked through the exercises above and collated all your data it is suggested that you refer back to these sections, which will help you move forward.

Suggested resources for further reading

EU and UN Integrative Framework Team for Preventive Action (2012), *Land and conflict. Toolkit and Guidance for Preventing and Managing Land and Natural Resources Conflict*. (New York: UN), www.un.org/en/events/environmentconflictday/pdf/GN_Land_Consultation.pdf

Goddard N, Lempke M (undated), *Do No Harm in Land Tenure and Property Rights: designing and implementing conflict sensitive land programs*, (Boston: CDA), http://cdacollaborative.org/publication/do-no-harm-in-land-tenure-and-property-rights-designing-and-implementing-conflict-sensitive-land-programs/.

UNEP, UN Women, PBSO, UNDP (2013), *Women and Natural Resources: Unlocking the Peacebuilding Potential*, (Nairobi and New York: UNEP, UN Women, PBSO, UNDP), http://postconflict.unep.ch/publications/UNEP_UN-Women_PBSO_UNDP_gender_NRM_peacebuilding_report.pdf

USAID (2004), *Land and conflict: A toolkit for intervention*, (Washington DC: USAID), http://pdf.usaid.gov/pdf_docs/pnadb335.pdf

NOTES

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5 Kangas A, Haider H, Fraser E (2014), *Gender: Topic Guide*, revised edition with Browne E, (Birmingham: GSDRC, University of Birmingham), p 54.
6 EU and UN Integrative Framework Team for Preventive Action (2012), *Land and conflict. Toolkit and Guidance for Preventing and Managing Land and Natural Resources Conflict*, (New York: UN Integrative Framework Team), p 17.
7 *Op cit* EU and UN Integrative Framework Team for Preventive Action (2012), pp 17, 19.
8 For more details on tenure types and land rights, see op cit EU and UN Integrative Framework Team for Preventive Action (2012), pp 17–22.
9 Saferworld and Uganda Land Alliance (2016), 'Gender, land and conflict in Moroto'.
10 Mercy Corps (2011), *Land Disputes in Acholiland: A conflict and market assessment*, (Uganda: Mercycorps).
11 *Op cit* EU and UN Integrative Framework Team for Preventive Action (2012), pp 19–20.
12 For one detailed case study on statutory and customary land systems impact on gender and land tenure, see Monson R (2010), *Negotiating Land Tenure: Women, Men and the Transformation of Land Tenure in Solomon Islands*, (Rome: International Development Law Organization).
13 UNEP (2009), *From Conflict to Peacebuilding: The Role of Natural Resources and the Environment*, (Nairobi: UNEP), p 8.
14 UNEP, UN Women, PBSO, UNDP (2013), *Women and Natural Resources: Unlocking the Peacebuilding Potential*, (Nairobi and New York: UNEP, UN Women, PBSO, UNDP), p 18.
15 *Op cit* UNEP, UN Women, PBSO, UNDP (2013), pp 18–19.
16 SOFA team and Doss S (2011), *The Role of Women in Agriculture*, (Rome: The Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations).
17 Brinkman H J, Hendrix C S (2011), *Food Insecurity and Violent Conflict: Causes, Consequences, and Addressing the Challenges*, (Rome: World Food Programme).
18 *Op cit* UNEP, UN Women, PBSO, UNDP (2013), p 26.
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20 *Op cit* UNEP, UN Women, PBSO, UNDP (2013), p 10.
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24 USAID (2004), *Land and conflict: A toolkit for intervention*, Washington DC: USAID, p 3.
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28 *Op cit* UNEP, UN Women, PBSO, UNDP (2013), p 17 and ACCS (2013), p 12.
29 ACCS (2013), p 11.
30 Tables 2 and 3 are adapted from Goddard N, Lempke M, (undated), p 12.

6

Topic guide 2: **Extractive industries**

This topic guide provides particular guidance on analysing gender and conflict in relation to extractive industries. As such industries have an impact on natural resources like land, water and the general environment, this topic guide can be further enhanced by also using Topic Guide 1: Land.

Introduction to extractive industries, gender and conflict

Box 1: What do we mean by natural resource extraction?

'Resource extraction' refers to processes that extract raw materials from the earth, such as metals, minerals, aggregates, oil and gas. These materials can be extracted using processes like mining, quarrying or dredging. Logging can also be considered an extractive industry as it has similar impacts on the environment and communities and involves extracting resources from one area for use somewhere else. Formal, large corporations are often involved in extracting resources, sometimes working with smaller sub-contractors. But smaller and informal businesses, or even groups of people, also do this work, depending on the materials. These more informal operations are usually referred to as artisanal or small-scale extraction and are often unregulated or illegal.[1]

Natural resource extraction can be an important component of economic growth and wealth creation. However, it is often done in a way that exploits local populations or negatively impacts on their livelihoods, while enriching business or government elites. Conflict can arise when, for instance, governments and companies force communities to relocate; local communities do not feel that they are sufficiently benefiting from the revenues created by the resource extraction business; or where companies behave in a way that damages the environment and other resources on which local communities depend (for example, water and air pollution, soil degradation and deforestation). All of these activities have different impacts from a gender perspective.

Large-scale extraction and small-scale or artisanal extraction overlap in two ways: artisanal miners – which often include women and men – can be displaced and lose their livelihoods when large companies develop operations; or artisanal miners may continue to operate alongside large operations, or move back after companies leave when large-scale operations are no longer profitable. Often artisanal miners find themselves in a vulnerable position because their operations are unregulated or illegal, meaning that they have no legal protection regarding labour safety or rights to the areas in which they mine. This makes them vulnerable to exploitation and violence by criminal networks or other exploitative groups, including big companies that they may be working alongside.[2] In such abusive and unprotected circumstances, both men and women can be abused and exploited. However, because of gender norms and behaviours, women can be even more vulnerable to violence within the home, or by other members of the artisanal operation or criminal elements, and could also be forced into transactional sex or other potentially harmful practices.[3]

This topic guide consists of the following:

1 An overview of resource extraction and gender norms

2 Conflict, resource extraction and gender norms

3 Key questions and suggested exercises to use in research and analysis process

Overview of resource extraction industries and gender norms

Gender and gender norms are important issues to consider when trying to understand whether and how communities benefit from extractive activities; and what impacts such activities have on men, women and SGMs.

Large-scale mining operations for instance, usually employ more men than women. The allocation of these roles is often informed by gender norms and assumptions within the company, and mirror gender inequality in the society where these companies operate. For instance, the companies (and often communities) often assume that men are best suited to the physical work necessary for formal mining like digging or breaking rocks. Men are also given more administrative jobs in societies where they have a higher level of education and literacy than women, due to gender norms which often result in unequal access to education. Some communities have superstitious beliefs that women's presence in the mines – particularly while they are menstruating – may cause explosions or cause the ore to go deeper into the ground.[4]

In artisanal and small-scale mining, women often make up a much larger proportion of the work force – up to 100 per cent in some African contexts.[5] Their roles in this type of extraction can include heavy labour like digging and carrying materials from and to the digging sites. Yet women are still expected to perform their household-related duties, adding another five to eight hours to their working day.[6] The tasks performed by women are often paid less than those performed by men,[7] even when their tasks appear equally unskilled or skilled. For instance, in artisanal mining in Uganda, men are paid more for breaking the rocks than women who sort through the rocks to find the best marble.[8] Both women and men are also exposed to dangerous working conditions, including the danger of mines collapsing on them and the serious health impacts of the chemicals and dust particles released when extracting or processing minerals – a task mostly done by women.[9] This aspect of artisanal mining – especially working with mercury to extract gold – causes very serious toxic pollution in the area where it is used, but also to global air and water pollution.[10] Women sometimes work with these chemicals at home so that they can care for their children at the same time, exposing the children and the homestead to these harmful chemicals.[11]

There is virtually no research available on the relationship between SGMs and extractive industries, suggesting that further work is needed on this issue (see section 2, pages 5–6, for more on sensitivities around researching SGMs).

Large-scale mining operations and artisanal miners often come into conflict because the large companies do not engage productively, or in some cases deliberately exploit and mistreat artisanal miners, and because large-scale operations trigger an influx of people who come to work in these businesses, which may have negative impacts on existing communities.[12] These changes have different gender-related impacts: for instance, when more mechanisation is brought into artisanal mining operations, women are often the first to lose their jobs.[13]

Large-scale and artisanal mining operations need to use land, water and other resources. Depending on national legislation and the policies of different companies, local communities are sometimes consulted and compensated for the loss of land use and other resources. Companies are also often under an obligation to clean up any pollution or other environmental damage resulting from their operations, even though there are many examples of them not fulfilling their commitments in practice. These aspects of extractive industries also have a gender dimension to them (see also Topic Guide 1).

Conflict, extractive resources and gender norms

Much work has been conducted to date on exploring the potential conflict risks associated with, or directly created by, extractive industries.[14] These have ranged from the national to the local level, and from issues that can impact on structural conflict causes as well as issues that can contribute to violence at the local level. Extractive operations can contribute to conflict through their negative social or economic impacts, and through sustaining governance systems that are abusive or that exclude certain parts of the population. Sometimes the behaviour of companies or governments around extractive resources spark new conflicts, while other times, resource extraction sustains or worsens a conflict that is already ongoing.

Extractive resources can also directly fund conflict if governments or armed groups use the income to buy weapons and pay fighters, for example. Thus armed groups, governments and other actors compete fiercely for control of resource-rich areas in order to secure an income for themselves. In South

Sudan, for instance, control over the oil fields has been a major driver in decades of war. Furthermore, it is clear that both large-scale and artisanal extractive operations have gender-specific impacts on the societies and communities where they occur. Yet if these societies are already insecure or affected by conflict – often about the very resources that are being extracted – there is also a risk that gender norms and behaviours may further fuel divisions and violence around resource extraction.

The following table sets out some examples of how extractive resource conflicts may be fuelled by gender norms. Table 1 draws on a case study from the Democratic Republic of Congo (see box 2 below) to try and tease out more explicit links. These are only examples, and do not represent an exhaustive list of ways in which gender norms may influence conflicts over extractives: indeed, very little research has been done on this question to date. It is important to conduct a full analysis of the gender norms and practices in the specific context (using sections 3 and 4 of the toolkit) and how they interact with conflict.

Table 1: Extractive resource conflicts and gender-related impacts and norms

Potential conflict-contributing issue	Actions, impacts and gender norms
National or sub-national level	
Extractive companies legitimise or provide income (through concessions, profit-sharing or taxation) to governments that commit abuse/violence against part of the population; or become part of the problem if government forces violently resettle people for the sake of the extractive operations.	**Actions:** Government forces use violence against the population to protect the interests of the companies and government elites in extracting the resources. **Impacts:** Government elite and companies become wealthy and feel powerful. People affected (men and women) suffer violence and are displaced. This disrupts their livelihoods and family structures and roles. **Norms:** 'Men can use violence to show that they are strong and that they are the boss. Therefore government forces show their strength by using violence.'

Profits from extractive industries support (directly or indirectly) a government that is corrupt and/or the profits are not handled in a transparent way.	**Actions:** Companies and government elites become wealthy from the investment and do not spend the money on supporting economic development and providing services for the population. **Impacts:** People experience structural violence as they are poor, ill and excluded from decision making. This leads to conflict in society as people compete for livelihoods, and those who are most dependent on public services – primarily women – suffer most. Other forms of corruption and dishonesty increase as men are desperate to fulfil their role as breadwinners. **Norms:** 'Men have to be wealthy. You cannot be a real man without having wealth.' 'Honest people can never get rich.'[15]
Local or community level	
Armed groups, state military or police, or private security companies employed by the company cause violence and insecurity in the area, for instance when they try to displace or intimidate artisanal miners.	**Actions:** Security providers and government forces target men to reduce resistance to abusive policies or actions. **Impacts:** Men are targeted for beatings and killings and are traumatised by the violence. They also feel humiliated and want to take revenge, or may feel powerless against strong forces. **Norms:** 'Men need to be strong and to protect their families and communities.' **Actions:** Security providers and government forces commit violence, including sexual violence, against women as a way to intimidate the entire community.

	Impacts: Women suffer violence and may be ostracised by their communities, or abused by other men as they are seen as prostitutes. They may fall pregnant and struggle to support their children. Communities feel powerless to address these injustices. **Norms:** 'Beating and raping men and women shows dominance and power and demotivates the community because women are the custodians of community culture and honour.'
Forcibly resettling communities and/or resettling them in a way that undermines their well-being and removes their entitlements to benefits from the extractive resources.	**Actions:** Governments force communities to move with no compensation, or they resettle them in areas that are far from the land, water and other resources important to them. **Impacts:** Men are no longer able to earn an income, or have to change their economic activities. Women can no longer grow food for the family or collect water, medicinal herbs or wild foods. Men and women cannot access their ancestral land anymore. Men commit violence against their families out of frustration and to have some sense of power in the household. **Norms:** 'Men have to be the main breadwinner for their families'. 'Men have to have an income in order to marry and only then will they be "real men".' 'Women have to produce food for their husbands and families.' 'Women can earn an income outside the home, but must remain subservient to their husbands.'

Not compensating local communities for resettlement or damages to their environment caused by the extractive operations.	**Actions:** Companies may promise compensation, but not provide it; or may promise to provide it to communities but give it to the government instead. Companies may not provide compensation because there is no individual land title proving ownership and they do not know who to compensate. Or they may only give compensation to men because they are the land title holders or because male community leaders prioritise male-headed households over female-headed ones. **Impact:** Communities receive little or no compensation, increasing their poverty and vulnerability. Women-headed households get even less compensation than other households. Women have to spend longer reaching safe water sources and producing food for the family. **Norms:** 'Men should be the ones to decide about land and community matters.' 'Women are less important than men.' 'Women's work (for example fetching water) is less important than men's work.'
Not consulting with communities in a fair way and/or not providing communities with acceptable benefits from the extractive operations.	**Actions:** Community engagement may only focus on some members of the community, excluding the concerns and needs of others. Young men feel marginalised by more powerful older men in the communities. Women feel their voices are not heard. **Impacts:** Agreed social investments only benefit some members of the community (men, women, SGMs, children). Other community members suffer disadvantages from the operations but do not get any advantages, which makes them poorer or more vulnerable.

	Norms: 'Men are the natural leaders and need to speak on behalf of the community.' 'Women's opinions are less important – it is not appropriate for them to speak in public.'
Hiring practices and working conditions may be detrimental to family life, health of workers or other aspects of social well-being.	**Actions:** Companies only hire people from one ethnic group, race, class or caste. Companies may hire only or predominantly men, or may hire women in only low-paid roles. **Impacts:** Hiring practices increase conflict between ethnic, race, class or caste groups, and reinforce gender inequality and negative practices. **Norms:** 'Men are more suited to the skilled and well-paid jobs and their income matters more.' 'Women are more suited to the unskilled jobs and their income matters less.' **Actions:** People migrate to the mines to get work. They leave their families behind and live outside of their normal social networks. They live in unhealthy conditions and engage in transactional sex. **Impacts:** Women do not have the protection of family structures and are vulnerable to exploitation and abuse. Men use their income on alcohol, drugs and transactional sex and do not send any money home. Men suffer from violence and health problems. HIV/AIDS and other sexually transmitted diseases (STDs) increase. **Norms:** Norms can change in these circumstances, or may be frequently transgressed, as people are removed from their social contexts.

Box 2: Resource extraction and gender in the midst of conflict

In the Eastern Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC), decades of war and displacement have caused different types of violence that have impacted on and been further fuelled by gender norms. In many communities in this region, masculinity is strongly defined by men having the ability to provide for and protect their families – wealth determines a man's status in society. Furthermore, men are expected to be sexually virile and have multiple sexual partners, while women are expected to be sexually available to their husbands or boyfriends. Women are expected to be subservient to their husbands even if they also provide an income for the family.[16]

In the context of the DRC, however, the gender norms and ideals expected from men are almost impossible to achieve. The state is corrupt and a constant source of violence (through the police and armed forces) as well as discrimination and inequality of the citizens. This means that structural violence – systems that sustain discrimination and marginalisation of certain groups – as well as physical violence is everywhere.

The combination of patriarchal gender norms, men who are unable to live up to these norms, and a society that continuously experiences structural and physical violence fuels abuse and violence around artisanal mining sites. The traditional livelihoods of farming and raising cattle have become almost impossible because of people being repeatedly displaced in the conflicts and because the crops and cattle are easily raided by armed groups. The mines, however, offer an opportunity of immediate cash income and this can be more easily hidden or protected than crops and cattle.[17] This easier income fuels conflict as it motivates armed groups to fight for control of the mines and they sometimes force people to work for them and hand over the precious metals they dig up.[18]

Therefore, despite being an important livelihood for many, the artisanal mining activities feed on the conflict dynamics and fuel conflict further, while at the same time seriously worsening gender inequality and violence based on gender identities. Armed groups, government officials and businessmen control the mines, but men, women and children do the actual mining work, in very difficult conditions and with very low wages. Elderly women and children get the worst-paid tasks that nobody else wants to do, and that damage their health.[19] Younger women set up service businesses like bars and restaurants in the mining towns or engage in sex work if they cannot survive in these service businesses. Transactional sex is common as women have to 'buy' jobs on the mines (with money or, if they do not have money, sexual favours) and also have to have sex with powerful bar or restaurant clients in the mining towns in order to keep them loyal. Refusal to have sex with a male miner or mine owner who demands it can lead to being beaten or killed. Rape is extremely common by civilian men in the towns as well as by the armed groups operating in the area. Many men have the attitude that it is the women's fault if they are raped.[20] Women who are landless and poor or young women who migrate from other areas to the mining towns are particularly vulnerable.[21]

Responding to the expectation that men should be the bread winners, many men leave their families to go and work in the mines. They are also exploited and face difficult conditions in the mines, as they have to pay mine bosses for their jobs and compete (often violently) with other men for the best mining sites. Young men also complain that they are given worse jobs on the mining sites because of their youth. Older men with money control the mines, as well as the cooperatives and jobs associated with the mining activities. Alcohol and drug abuse among the men is very high, which further fuels fighting and violence in the mining towns.[22]

Resource extraction and gender in 'peaceful' contexts

Resource extraction can also fuel conflict and violence in contexts that are not experiencing large-scale armed conflict or civil war, but where there are latent or underlying tensions and divisions. The conflicts arising from such situations can become full-scale wars, such as happened in Bougainville, Papua New Guinea, over the activities and benefits from an open-cast gold and copper mine (see box 3 in Topic Guide 1). But they can also cause more local-level violence around the mining sites, of which there are many examples.[23]

Such local violence can be fuelled by gender norms and practices such as the expectation that men should protect their communities and women should encourage them to do this. Often the violence is committed by the

companies, their security providers or government forces. In these cases, gender norms in broader society may contribute to how individuals behave. For instance, in the DRC, rape perpetrated by soldiers was attributed in part to a broader culture in society where male sexuality is seen as aggressive and forceful, thereby making rape more acceptable.[24]

In addition, many artisanal mining communities suffer from general social problems like alcohol and drug abuse, and the violence and risky sexual behaviours that accompany this. Research has shown that artisanal mining often occurs in circumstances where there are limited economic options available and where people are already otherwise marginalised by government policies and services.[25] Gender norms tend to influence whether men, women or both engage in such behaviours and whether it is seen as acceptable or not. For instance, in many contexts it is acceptable for men to use alcohol and drugs, but not for women; while what is acceptable for men and women in terms of sexual behaviours also differs across contexts.

Questions and exercises

When conducting research about gender, conflict and extractives, it is important to think about the sensitivities and risks involved. Some of these sensitivities and risks are discussed in section 2. It may also be very sensitive in some contexts to discuss resource extraction, as it is a highly political issue.

It is important to already understand the gender norms and behaviours at play in your research area in general before you delve into specifics about extractive industries, so we encourage you to do the exercises in sections 3 and 4 first, as well as conducting a literature review as suggested in section 2.

Extractive operations can involve large or small companies, or informal mining groups. The first step is therefore to collect information about the nature and scope of the extractive operations in the area – whether large-scale or artisanal – and the relevant legislation and regulations governing these operations. It is also important to gather any existing information

about the role of men, women, and SGMs in these industries and how they benefit or are impacted by the extractive operations. Gender dimensions of extractive industries (whether large-scale or artisanal) can often be hidden because there may not be formal data available about women's participation and role, or about the costs and benefits of such operations on women, men or SGMs. As such, policies and approaches that claim to be 'gender-neutral' may simply not consider such issues or have any data on them, and may therefore actually be harmful, reinforce gender norms or deepen gender inequality.

Lastly, it is important to know more about what extractive operations or companies are legally allowed to do in an area, including whether they have licences to operate, contracts in place, and any formal agreements that have been made with the government or with communities in the area. Some of the documents may not be publicly available because of commercial contract confidentiality, but some information is often available in the press or can be obtained from company or government employees.

Building on this information, the issues relating to gender, conflict and extractive operations can be explored, using the following key questions. These may need to be adapted to suit the specific contexts.

This section covers the following key questions:

1 What are the gender dimensions of extractive operations?

2 How do gender norms and behaviours influence control and access to extractive operations and benefits derived from selling the extracted materials?

3 What are the gender roles in conflicts related to extractive resources and how do extractive resource-related conflicts impact on gender norms?

KEY QUESTION 1

What are the gender dimensions of extractive operations?

Checklist of issues to cover under this key question

- How are men, women and SGMs involved in extractive operations (formally and informally)? What roles do they play?
- What benefits do families, households and communities derive from the extractive activities? Who benefits and who does not?
- Who controls what happens to these benefits?
- Does this differ by age, marital status, class, ethnicity, (dis)ability, location, religion, or other relevant markers of identity?

SUGGESTED TOOL

Exercise 1: Gender, extractive operations and benefits. This exercise investigates how men, women and SGMs are involved in these operations and what roles are seen as acceptable roles for them to play. It also looks at what benefits are created when men, women and SGMs play these accepted roles in extractive resource activities. This will help you understand some of the gender norms related to what roles men, women and SGMs play in extractive processes, the expectations of them to perform these roles, and the benefits that this creates for individuals, families and communities.

Exercise 1: Gender, extractive operations and benefits

Objective	To understand how men, women and SGMs are involved in and benefit from extractive resource operations.
Timing	Approximately 1 hour.
Preparations	Flip chart paper, pens. Plan the exercise first, by deciding which of the statements below you want to use. Think about: ■ Should you swop 'women', 'men' or any other gender categories around in any of the statements? ■ Which statements fit best with the type of extractive operations happening in the area? ■ Are there extractive companies operating in the area? Are all the extractive operations informal/ artisanal? Are both things happening at the same time (companies and artisanal activities)? Revise your statements and select three or four to use before proceeding with the exercise. Prepare in advance tables 2 and 3 below on separate flipchart sheets. These tables will be used for this and the next exercise. If there are more gender categories in the community than 'men' and 'women', add extra columns for those.
How to run the exercise	Write down on a flipchart or read out to participants your selection among the following statements for them to discuss (or come up with your own statements that apply to the context): ■ Older men need to be employed by companies in formal jobs. ■ Women need to do all the digging in the mines. ■ Homosexual men cannot be employed by the companies.

How to run the exercise *continued*	■ Younger women should do small tasks around the mining sites. ■ Younger men should wash out the gold/precious stones in the rivers. ■ Women should provide food for the miners. ■ Men and women should be paid the same amount for the same tasks. ■ Men should lead in telling companies what compensation and social investment they should give to communities. As participants discuss, ask them to write down (or the facilitator can write down), the answers in the first column of table 1 below (*Roles in extractive activities*), on the pre-prepared flipchart sheet, breaking down the answers between men, women and SGMs (adapting this latter category as appropriate to the context). Next, ask them: 'What benefits are created from the extractive operations?' If it is unclear, prompt participants by suggesting that benefits could include cash income from selling the precious metals or stones from mining, or earning a salary with a mining company. It can also include social investment or compensation benefits a company provides to communities (for example building a school or clinic). Benefits can also include intangible things like increased status in the community for the individuals who represent the community in negotiations with extractive companies. Write down the answers in the first column of table 3 below (*What benefits are created from the extractive operations?*) on your second pre-prepared flipchart sheet. For both discussions, make sure you ask probing questions about what other aspects of men, women and SGMs' identities (such as age, race, class, ethnicity and (dis)ability) influence their experiences.

Things to be aware of	The gender norms around extractive resource operations may not be that different, and men, women and SGMs may have similar roles in terms of the work they do. However, there are often differences in terms of the payment men and women receive, so it is worth exploring this within the discussion about the benefits from these activities. This may not directly lead to conflict in the community, but may reinforce gender inequality. These discussions should also lead people to identify the challenges involved in accessing benefits as they talk through who controls benefits and assets.

Table 2 (for Exercise 1 and 2):[26]
Roles in extractive activities – use column 1 for Exercise 1

	Roles in extractive activities	Who has access to the extractive resources?	Who controls this access?
Men			
Women			
SGMs			

Table 3 (for Exercises 1 and 2): Benefits arising from extractive activities – use column 1 for Exercise 1

	What benefits are created from the extractive operations?	Who has access to these benefits?	Who controls these benefits?
Men			
Women			
SGMs			

KEY QUESTION 2

How do gender norms and behaviours influence control and access to extractive operations and benefits derived from selling the extracted materials?

Checklist of issues to cover under this key question

- Do men, women and SGMs have the same opportunities for jobs in the extractive operations? If not, how is it different for each group? Why?
- Who controls the access to the areas where the extractive resources are and to the jobs attached to these operations? How do these people treat men, women and SGMs?
- Who makes decisions or controls the benefits arising from land use?
- Does this differ by age, marital status, class, ethnicity, (dis)ability, location, religion, or other relevant markers of identity?

SUGGESTED TOOL

Exercise 2: Access and control over extractive operations and benefits. This exercise helps to understand who among men, women and SGMs are in a position to access opportunities related to extractive activities, and who can make decisions about these opportunities. Similarly, the exercise helps think through who can enjoy the benefits from these resources, and who has the power to make decisions about how these benefits are enjoyed (or who enjoys them).

Exercise 2: Access to and control over extractive operations and benefits

Objective	To understand how gender norms influence access to and control of land, as well as the benefits of land use.
Timing	Approximately 2 hours.
Preparations	Flipchart sheets, pens; and the flipcharts with tables 2 and 3 from Exercise 1 under Key Question 1.
How to run the exercise	Using the flipchart sheets with tables 2 and 3 from Key Question 1 (see above), ask participants to answer the following sets of questions and to write down their answers in the appropriate column in the tables (or the facilitator can write down the answers). Remember to break down the answers among 'men', 'women' and any other appropriate gender categories (in the examples below we have referred to third gender people, but this should be adapted depending on the context) and to probe participants whether the situation is the same for all men, women or SGMs, or whether there are differences within each group as well (according to other aspects of their identities such as age, race, class, ethnicity and (dis)ability). Table 2, column: *Who has access to the extractive resources?* ■ Can men access opportunities to extract the resources? Are these all men or only some? ■ Can women access opportunities to extract the resources? Are these all women or only some? ■ Can (for example) third gender people access opportunities to extract the resources? Are these all third gender people or only some? Table 1, column: *Who controls this access?* ■ Who makes decisions about who gets opportunities to extract the resources? Men, women, third gender people? Certain men, certain women or certain third gender people?

How to run the exercise *continued*	■ What does this mean for the access of men, women and third gender people? Table 3, column: *Who has access to these benefits?* ■ Who enjoys each of the benefits from the resource extraction? Men, women, third gender people? Certain men, certain women or certain third gender people? Table 3, column: *Who controls these benefits?* ■ Who makes decisions about what happens to the benefits of resource extraction activities? Tables 2 and 3 should be completely filled in by the end of this exercise. Remember to probe participants about roles and benefits that relate to both formal and informal extractive operations as both may exist in the same place and have very different dynamics and impacts.
Things to be aware of	Issues around who makes decisions about the benefits of extractive industries can be sensitive, especially if there is corruption or violence involved (from companies, the government or within communities and families).

KEY QUESTION 3

What are the gender roles in conflicts related to extractive resources and how do extractive resource-related conflicts impact on gender norms?

Checklist of issues to cover under this key question

- What impact do conflicts about resource extraction have on men, women and SGMs? Which men, women or SGMs gain from these conflicts? Which men, women or SGMs lose something because of these conflicts?
- What is expected from men, women and SGMs when there is a conflict about extractive resources? Is it acceptable for men, women or SGMs to use violence in resolving these conflicts?
- How are men, women and SGMs actually involved in conflicts over extractive resources? What roles do they play?
- Does this differ by age, marital status, class, ethnicity, (dis)ability, location, religion, or other relevant markers of identity?

SUGGESTED TOOLS

Exercise 3: Gender impacts of conflicts over extractive resources. This exercise focuses on how extractive resource conflicts impact on men, women and SGMs in different ways. Often those who suffer the most negative impacts of conflicts are not the ones with the ability to resolve the conflicts. By doing Exercises 3 and 4, it will become clearer to what extent those who suffer most from the conflict have the power to resolve it; and to what extent those who most benefit from the conflict have the power to fuel it.

Exercise 4: Extractive resource conflicts, gender expectations and gender roles. This exercise helps to understand whether conflict is fuelled by the behaviours of certain groups alone or whether it is also fuelled by broader social expectations. In extractive resource conflicts, as in all conflicts, men, women and SGMs may be involved in different ways in resolving or indeed fuelling these conflicts. Some of the ways people behave will be informed by the gender norms of their societies. It is therefore helpful to understand how men, women and SGMs are involved in extractive resource conflicts as well as what is expected from them as men, women or SGMs.

Exercise 3: Gender impacts of conflicts over extractive resources

Objective	To create a better understanding of how extractive resource conflicts impact on men, women and SGMs.
Timing	About 1 hour.
Preparations	Flipchart, pens; your conflict analysis and any further analysis or information you may need on extractive resource conflicts in the area and the roles of different actors in these conflicts. List these on a flipchart or draw pictures of each issue.
How to run the exercise	Using the list (or pictures) of extractive resource conflicts on the flipchart, ask participants to discuss and agree on which conflicts are the most important. Limit the discussion as otherwise this could take up a lot of time. Frame the discussion around the question: 'What specific extractive resource conflict, if it is resolved, will make the biggest difference to bringing peace to your community?' Once the three top issues have been identified, split participants into three groups and ask each group to look at one of the three issues, using the exercise below. It is also possible for all three groups to focus on the same issue, if there is one issue everybody agrees on or if it is important to have lots of perspectives and discussion on one very important issue. Or, if you would like to discuss more issues, each group can take two issues – just bear in mind that this will double the time needed for the exercise. Ask the groups to discuss: 'What impact does this conflict over extractive resources have on people of different genders?' 'Do people of different genders have to take on different roles as a result of this conflict over extractive resources?'

How to run the exercise *continued*	Ask the groups to capture their answers on a flipchart, in table 4 below, so that they can share with others. If the group is illiterate, place a researcher or other literate person within each group to do the writing. The facilitator then highlights the main points from each group's work in plenary.
Issues to be aware of	Groups can be split into men, women and SGMs, if this is not a sensitive issue. If it is sensitive, it is better to have three groups representing all three so that discussions are broad-ranging and non-specific. Groups should be encouraged to think about how other identity characteristics make a difference here, for example age, race, class, ethnicity and (dis)ability.

Table 4

	Extractive resource conflict discussed	Impact on…
Men		
Women		
SGMs		

Exercise 4: Extractive resource conflicts, gender expectations and gender roles

Objective	To understand how men, women and SGMs behave when there are conflicts over extractive resources and whether this is partly because of gender-related expectations from their communities.
Timing	About 2 hours.
Preparations	Flipchart, pens; table 4 notes from Exercise 3 above; draw table 5 for each group on second sheet of flipchart paper.
How to run the exercise	Tables 4 and 5 connect to each other – we propose doing them as two tables to make it more manageable rather than one big one. Ask participants to go back into their groups. Using their notes from table 4, they need to discuss the following questions and fill in table 5 (see below): ■ In this specific extractive resource conflict, how do men behave? (In other words, what do they do in this conflict?) ■ How do women actually behave in this conflict? ■ How do (for example) third gender people actually behave in this conflict? ■ In this specific extractive resource conflict, how *should* a 'real man' behave? Why? ■ How *should* a 'real woman' behave? Why? ■ How are third gender people expected to behave? Why? ■ What happens to men, women or third gender people who do not behave as they are expected to? ■ What impact does the behaviour of people of different genders have on the conflict? Does this make the conflict worse or is does it help to resolve the conflict?

How to run the exercise *continued*	Share the answers between groups. If important to discuss, let each group talk through what they have written. This will take much more time. If it is not so useful to discuss as a whole group or time is limited, participants can be given 10 minutes to look at the other groups' work and then the facilitator can highlight the main points from each group's work.
Issues to be aware of	While the tables will help to capture the main points, it is important to take notes of the discussions as well, since this is where the most interesting information about gender expectations and how they link to conflict dynamics is likely to come from. Discussing these conflicts can become quite heated as people may have different views on whether the roles played by men, women and SGMs in their communities are helpful or not. It may therefore be useful to have a researcher or another trained facilitator facilitate the group discussions. The same notes also apply with respect to the group composition – see Exercise 3 above.

Table 5

	What are their roles / what do they do in extractive resource conflicts?	**What are they expected to do by their society in extractive resource conflicts?**	**How / does this behaviour make the extractive resource conflicts worse?**	**How / does this behaviour help resolve the extractive resource conflicts?**
Men				
Women				
SGMs				

Suggested sources for further reading

Business and Human Rights Resource Centre hosts many documents on extractive industries, including about companies, international regulations and standards for extractive industries, and research on specific extractive resource conflicts: http://business-humanrights.org/

Buxton A (2013), *Responding to the challenge of artisanal and small-scale mining: How can knowledge networks help?*, (London: International Institute for Environment and Development (IIED)), www.womin.org.za/images/impact-of-extractive-industries/women-and-artisanal-mining/IIED%20-%20%20Artisanal%20Mining%20and%20Use%20of%20Knowledge%20Networks.pdf

Eftimie A, Heller K, Strongman J, Hinton J, Lahiri-Dutt K, Mutemeri N (2012), *Gender Dimensions of Artisanal and Small-Scale Mining: A Rapid Assessment Toolkit*, (Washington DC: World Bank), www.womin.org.za/images/impact-of-extractive-industries/women-and-artisanal-mining/World%20Bank%20-%20Gender%20in%20Artisanal%20Mining%20-%20Assessment%20Toolkit.pdf

Eftimie A, Heller K, Strongman J (2009), *Gender Dimensions of the Extractive Industries: Mining for Equity*, (Washington DC: World Bank), http://siteresources.worldbank.org/EXTOGMC/Resources/eifd8_gender_equity.pdf

Environmental Peacebuilding (website portal) has many resources on the environment, natural resources and conflict, including a section only on extractive resources at: www.environmentalpeacebuilding.org/library/?LibraryFilter=12

UNEP, UN Women, PBSO, UNDP, *Women and Natural Resources: Unlocking the Peacebuilding Potential*, http://postconflict.unep.ch/publications/UNEP_UN-Women_PBSO_UNDP_gender_NRM_peacebuilding_report.pdf

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NOTES

1 Eftimie A, Heller K, Strongman J, Hinton J, Lahiri-Dutt K, Mutemeri N (2012), *Gender Dimensions of Artisanal and Small-Scale Mining: A Rapid Assessment Toolkit*, (Washington DC: World Bank).
2 Saferworld and Uganda Land Alliance (2016), 'Gender, land and conflict in Moroto'.
3 Buxton A (2013), *Responding to the challenge of artisanal and small-scale mining: How can knowledge networks help?*, (London: International Institute for Environment and Development (IIED)), p 7.
4 Eftimie A, Heller K, Strongman J (2009), *Gender Dimensions of the Extractive Industries: Mining for Equity*, (Washington DC: World Bank), p 9.
5 *Op cit* Eftimie, A, Heller, K, Strongman, J, Hinton, J, Lahiri-Dutt, K, Mutemeri, N (2012), p 6.
6 *Ibid*. pp 9–11.
7 *Op cit* Buxton A (2013), p 7.
8 Refer to our recent Uganda research
9 *Op cit* Eftimie A, Heller K, Strongman J, Hinton J, Lahiri-Dutt K, Mutemeri N, (2012), pp 8–10.
10 *Op cit* Buxton A, (2013), p 9.
11 *Op cit* Eftimie A, Heller K, Strongman J (2009), p 24.
12 *Op cit* Buxton A (2013), p 8.
13 *Ibid*. p 7.
14 The Business and Human Rights Centre brings together a lot of these resources on their website: http://business-humanrights.org/
15 Harvard Humanitarian Initiative (2016), pp 12–15.
16 Lwambo D (2011), *"Before the war, I was a man": Men and masculinities in Eastern DR Congo*, (Goma, DRC: HEAL Africa), pp 12–13, 15.
17 Harvard Humanitarian Initiative (2016), pp 11–12.
18 *Ibid*. pp 13, 27–28.
19 *Ibid*. pp 16–17, 24–25.
20 *Ibid*. pp 18–21.
21 *Ibid*. p 25.
22 *Ibid*. pp 17, 25.
23 The *Environmental Peacebuilding* website includes some of these cases in its section on extractive resources at: www.environmentalpeacebuilding.org/library/?LibraryFilter=12
24 *Op cit* Lwambo D (2011), p 19.
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26 Tables 2 and 3 are adapted from Goddard N, Lempke M (undated), p 12.

Acknowledgements

This toolkit was authored by Charlotte Watson, Hannah Wright and Hesta Groenewald, with substantial inputs from Colette Harris. It was copy-edited by John Newman. The toolkit was designed by Jane Stevenson and illustrated by Pieter Kruger. The toolkit also builds on a guidance note developed by Minna Lyytikäinen for Saferworld in 2013.

The authors thank everyone who commented on drafts of the toolkit: Claire Duncanson, Judy El-Bushra, Emily Esplen, Diana Koester, Joan McGregor, Anna Möller-Loswick, Henri Myrttinen, David Otim, Rob Parker, Ines Smyth and Sanne Tielemans.

The testing of the toolkit in Moroto, Uganda, was led by Colette Harris and Hannah Wright, with facilitation and translation by Brenda Nyanga, Mary Goretty Awas, Oscar Smith Lokoroi Nyombi and Xavier Lokuda and logistical support from David Otim, Lillian Achola and Sophie Nangiro.

Saferworld works closely with Conciliation Resources, who published their 'Gender and conflict analysis toolkit for peacebuilders' in 2015. Both organisations have provided content for, and feedback on, the other's toolkit. These two resources are intended to complement one another: while Conciliation Resources focuses more on inclusive peace processes, Saferworld's toolkit concentrates on how gender norms can drive conflict and insecurity. They will be published online together as a collection of exercises and resources, allowing users to choose sections from each, with a view to developing further content in collaboration.

The development and testing of this toolkit was funded by NWO-WOTRO and the Knowledge Platform of the Netherlands Ministry of Foreign Affairs, supplemented by funds provided by the Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency and the UK Department for International Development.

PHOTO CREDITS

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