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).