On the eve of Libya's first democratic national election, Haja Nowara held a vigil in the square outside the courthouse in Benghazi, where she had spent many evenings supporting the revolution since early 2011.
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BRIEFING

Building inclusive peace: Gender at the heart of conflict analysis

In 2016, Saferworld launched its **Gender analysis of conflict toolkit[1], designed to help peacebuilders integrate gender into conflict analysis, understand how gender influences conflict dynamics, and provide a foundation for designing gender-sensitive peacebuilding programmes.**

This policy brief shows how the toolkit can be used in different ways by integrating gender into participatory conflict analysis and research. It shares analysis and findings resulting from combining the expertise of community-based organisations, women's rights groups, and international and peace-building organisations on gender norms and conflict. The conclusions include gender-sensitive conflict analyses of Yemen and Libya, based on literature reviews, experience and knowledge of the contexts, and workshops conducted in partnership with the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom (WILPF) and women's organisations in the two countries, and with funding from WILPF and Oxfam. It also shares findings from similar literature reviews and collaborative research on land confiscations in Myanmar and how they affected gender dynamics, conducted with support and funding from Oxfam.

Left, right and centre: integrating gender into conflict analysis

Gender norms – the different expectations of how people of each gender should behave, according to notions of masculinity and femininity – are part of the fabric of all societies and play an important role in determining how men, women, boys and girls access services and rights, how much power they have over resources and how they can influence decision-making. In conflict-affected contexts, these norms shape how men, women, boys and girls[2] are affected and how societies expect them to participate in efforts to resolve conflict, build peace and increase access to justice.

While conflict often has a devastating impact on everyone it touches, men and women experience it differently in terms of violence, displacement, access to resources and political voice. Although gender norms and roles vary from one context to another, women and girls are usually most affected by the power imbalance and gender discrimination present in patriarchal societies – which tend to worsen during conflict. However, the chaos of conflict often changes traditional gender roles and expectations, impacting men and women both positively and negatively, and creating opportunities to transform some of these roles and the underlying norms that keep them in place.

Despite this potential, few conflict analyses include gender in a systematic way, and there is limited evidence of how gender norms and inequality drive conflict or obstruct peacebuilding. Although existing research has explored the impact of violent conflict on gender roles and women's participation in political and peacebuilding efforts, less has been done to understand how gender norms and inequality in these contexts can fuel conflict, prevent it or create conditions for peace and justice.

Building on existing research, we sought to gain a deeper understanding of the links between gender norms and conflict – as well as the application of our toolkit – through small sample participatory research and analysis in Myanmar, Libya and Yemen. Our findings from Myanmar show the impact of land confiscation on masculinities and femininities and how this has affected gender roles and norms, including how people access justice. The Yemen and Libya case studies analyse how gender norms and inequality fuel conflict and are transformed by it.

A man who had his land taken outside his house in Mandalay.
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Gender and land-related conflicts in Myanmar

A nationwide ceasefire agreement was signed in 2015 between the Government of Myanmar and eight ethnic armed organisations (EAOs). As a result, communities – especially those in the southeast of Myanmar – have experienced some improvements in their situation, with a marked reduction in armed conflict and increased freedom of movement for civilians. Despite these improvements, the ceasefire is far from 'nationwide' in practice, with ongoing fighting continuing between the *Tatmadaw* (Myanmar's state armed forces) and several EAOs in northern Shan and Kachin states. In northern Rakhine State, counter-insurgency operations by the *Tatmadaw* have displaced over 600,000 people who have fled to Bangladesh since 25 August 2017. The international community has accused the *Tatmadaw* of severe human rights violations, with the US and UN suggesting that the 'clearance operations' in northern Rakhine State amount to ethnic cleansing.

Saferworld has found that one of the most pressing and consistent concerns in many conflict-affected communities – both in ceasefire and non-ceasefire areas across Myanmar – are land confiscations. While the severe social and economic impacts of land confiscations are well known, their relationship with gender norms is less explored in existing research. Therefore, Saferworld, Hser Mu Htaw and Oxfam conducted participatory research[3] with a small group of men and women from eastern Bago Region and Kayin State in southeast Myanmar to explore the relationship between gender norms, land confiscations and access to justice. During two two-day workshops, participants used exercises from Saferworld's gender analysis of conflict toolkit to reflect on how land confiscations affected gender norms, roles and ideals. They also discussed the ways in which gender norms, roles and behaviours influence how they access justice and

Women nearby their land that was confiscated. There is now a sign that reads "Government land. Do not trespass."
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RESEARCH METHODOLOGY IN MYANMAR

We used participatory and qualitative methods for our research in Myanmar. This took the form of two interactive research workshops over the course of four days – one involving 12 men from Taungoo and surrounding townships in east Bago and Thandaunggyi, and Leikto townships in Karen, and one involving twelve women, also from Taungoo, Thandaunggyi and surrounding areas. In each group, participants were recruited by Saferworld's partner Hser Mu Htaw – a civil society organisation that works on development and peace issues in the Taungoo and Thandaunggyi areas. We conducted the workshop in English, Burmese, and Sgaw Karen.

All participants had directly experienced land grabs and already knew our partner Hser Mu Htaw, which enabled discussions to build on existing relationships and thus opened up discussions on sensitive issues around conflict and gender.

seek redress for confiscations. The conclusions in this section build on our ongoing analysis of and research into these areas, a review of relevant literature, and programme work and collaboration with in-country partners.

Gender roles and norms in Myanmar

Myanmar is a multi-ethnic country with an ethnic Bamar majority, where patriarchal structures dominate. The World Economic Forum's Gender Gap Index[4] ranks Myanmar 83rd out of 144 countries. Women's economic participation and opportunities rate relatively well,[5] but women constitute fewer than 10 per cent of national-level political leaders and are mostly absent from local authorities and formal decision-making bodies related to land issues.[6]

According to male Karen and Bamar respondents, an 'ideal woman' is responsible for household work (taking care of children, managing family income, cooking and cleaning), knows right from wrong, and supports her husband in difficult times. Karen, Kayah and Bamar women respondents saw an 'ideal woman' as a good housewife who is wise, faithful, polite, has good morals and guides her family. They disapproved of women who are too social or who dominate their husbands.

An 'ideal man' is expected to show perseverance, bravery and leadership. He should make plans for the future and generate financial and other benefits for his family. Women respondents emphasised the importance for an 'ideal man' to be someone they and their family could depend on financially and for guidance – someone who has good morals and who shows compassion.

Men are seen as heads of households and should own farm land – the primary means of providing for their families. Although both men and women cultivate farms and produce food for the family, men are seen as 'farmers' with the right to own the land, while women are seen as 'workers' or 'helpers' on their husband's land. Men's labour on the farm is therefore valued more than women's and they also tend to lead formal interactions with institutions by paying taxes, registering land and seeking agricultural loans.

Myanmar law gives men and women equal access to land ownership[7] and legal recourse in the case of disputes. However, due to traditional gender norms, most land use certificates are issued in the name of the head of the household, who are mostly men. Communities often do not know that joint land titles are possible.[8] To reclaim lost land, claimants need documentation like a tax receipt or loan book, which women are less likely to have.[9]

Gendered conflict analysis and findings

Land confiscations in the research area were mainly perpetrated by powerful actors like the military (the *Tatmadaw*), local authorities or companies. They have fuelled anger and frustration, and increased the risk of intra-communal land conflicts. Research respondents agreed that neither men nor women had any power to stop the confiscations, which has had severe and gendered impacts.

Following land confiscations, many men have lost their status as providers, particularly in mountainous areas where there are fewer alternative livelihood options. Some take up work as day labourers, but feel demotivated working on somebody else's land. The increased stress of losing the land has led men – and some women – to cope by abusing alcohol or adopting other harmful behaviours. Men also reported feeling confused about what to do, having 'colder' relationships with their wives and children, being more irritable and not being able to 'show their love'. Young Karen men reported that the land confiscations made them feel as if warfare

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A husband and wife working outside their home in Mandalay.
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continued because they could not get their land back, but also more land was appropriated for 'development' initiatives. This made them feel deep anger and sadness and left them with a sense of hopelessness about their situations. Some women mentioned an increase in intimate partner violence (IPV), especially when men were drunk. Against a backdrop of gender inequality and a high rate of violence against women (including IPV) in the country,[10] there is likely to be an increase in violence in land-poor communities linked to men's frustration at not being able to fulfil their roles as providers and therefore feel like 'real' men. This could include violence in the home (particularly against women and girls), but could also increase tensions between or within communities between those who have lost their land and those who have not.

Women's roles as providers have expanded due to land confiscations, with many working as day labourers on other people's farms. Although their wages are lower than men's, many of them are earning an independent income for the first time. However, because gender norms and roles in the home have not changed, women are heavily affected by these changes. For example, despite their increased workloads outside the home, they are still responsible for all the housework. To cope, many have had to cut down on their sleep while others have taken older girls out of school to help them keep up with the housework. Although there is agreement that it is necessary for survival, by leaving the home to work as day labourers women have gone against established gender norms, which can also represent a risk to their exposure to violence, including IPV. Nevertheless, some (but not all) women respondents felt that their independent incomes and the change in gender roles have given them more decision-making power over family finances.

Many women feel they have gained more of a voice and can more actively access justice and seek redress, even when it requires travelling far from home on their own. Although both men and women actively seek justice for the loss of their land, women now play a larger part in this despite it going against social norms. Men and women reported that women are often better suited as spokespersons when dealing with authorities for various reasons – for example, some men are scared they may be arrested by authorities if they are thought to be associated with EAOs, and also because women often have better communication skills. Another source suggests that officials may feel more paternalistic towards women and are therefore more likely to help them – which would conform to the prevailing gender norms that see women as weak and in need of protection.[11]

Women also actively participate in trainings on land legislation and restitution processes, and reported that they gained a lot of knowledge, confidence and skills in representing their families and communities in land cases. Although it did not come up in this research, experience in other conflict-affected settings suggests that another factor for women's increased participation on this issue (despite them also being at risk of violence) could be a gendered judgement about whose security or safety is more valued. However, this aspect, along with how broader gender-based violence (GBV) relates to these changing gender roles, did not come out strongly in this research and needs to be further explored – preferably in collaboration with women's organisations.[12]

Men and women who took up land claims cases felt proud about emerging as leaders in their communities, but also said that this meant they had less time with their families. Women reported how men and some women called their

activism inappropriate – an effort to reinforce existing gender norms against women's public activism. They also said that household and family duties were a significant barrier to them being able to play such a role (particularly for women with young children). Men reported feeling ashamed when unsuccessful with land claims, whereas women felt frustrated with their skills or with the system, but not ashamed of themselves – an interesting perspective on how their gender identities influence their experiences of seeking justice and taking leadership roles.

There are clearly some opportunities to transform unequal gender norms and resolve land-related conflicts by empowering women to play more public leadership roles and to challenge negative impacts of these changing circumstances at the household level, as well as by supporting men in fulfilling positive masculine roles (relating to livelihoods, parenting and household-specific gender roles). Communities need support to lessen the gendered impacts of lost land on their livelihoods, identity, safety and welfare. When working on the impact of land confiscations and violence in Myanmar, practitioners should aim to transform gender norms towards a more equitable relationship between men and women, improve livelihood programmes to ensure they mitigate gender-specific impacts at the household level, ensure services for GBV survivors are available and invest in GBV prevention programmes.[13] They should also support efforts to ensure that women's increased role in addressing land confiscations does not put them at further risk, and that women continue to have a say in decisions about what happens to any returned land or other benefits resulting from land restitution processes.

Women's participation in Libya and Yemen[14]

Women in Libya and Yemen are seriously affected by the conflicts in their countries and disproportionately impacted by the extensive use and proliferation of weapons. **Even before the conflict, they had already experienced oppression, violence, discrimination and exclusion based on gender.**[15]

Amal, community activist in Taiz during participatory photoproject training.
© SAFERWORLD/KHALED AZZAM

However, the chaos of conflict and overlapping and sometimes contradictory cultural traditions could offer some opportunities to increase women's influence and create a more equitable environment.[16] In both countries, the 2011 uprisings gave women a platform they never had before, and reaffirmed their legitimate voices in political, peace and security discussions. However, many of these gains are yet to be put into practice and are being resisted by groups that silence and exclude women in the name of 'traditional culture' or ultra-conservative interpretations of Islam.[17]

While women are still excluded from formal political institutions, they have been able to participate more in civil society space than they could before the conflict.[18] Their political participation is severely limited by insecurity in both countries, which means women have less access to public spaces and therefore fewer opportunities to participate in public political activities and decision-making, including peace processes.[19]

When they do participate in political activities, women in both countries face an increased risk of prejudice, threats and violence.[20] Moreover, women's participation in political and peace processes tends to be limited to women from the elite and urban areas,[21] or in some cases is merely symbolic.[22]

In both countries women have been active in a range of responses to insecurity, including encouraging disarmament, demobilisation and reintegration and reducing small arms proliferation.[23] At the community level, women continue to play a key role in creating peace by challenging armed actors, supporting community resilience and informally or otherwise mediating local level conflicts.[24]

Applying a gender lens to the Libyan conflict

"We started the conflict with two governments. After the peace process, we have three. Perhaps after the next round of mediation we'll have four!"

Participant in Libya workshop

Women celebrate in Msallata, Libya, on the ninety-third anniversary of the Republic of Tripolitania, a Libyan territory which formally declared its independence during Italian colonial rule. © UN PHOTO/IASON FOOUNTEN

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY IN LIBYA

Saferworld and WILPF organised a two-and-a-half day workshop with four women from WILPF's partner organisations from eastern and western Libya: Together We Build It Organization; Alnour Female Organization; Attawasel; and the 1325 Network. Saferworld developed the methodology, with inputs from WILPF, which was structured as follows:

- ■ Day 1: key concepts on gender and conflict and gender analysis for Libya, using exercises from Saferworld's gender analysis of conflict toolkit
- ■ Day 2: integrated gender and conflict analysis for Libya, using a light-touch systems analysis of conflict methodology (based on the one developed by CDA collaborative learning projects)
- ■ Day 3: using the analysis to identify opportunities to strengthen programmes and policy

The analysis presented in this section was produced using this methodology. WILPF partners organised additional in-country workshops using the same methodology in late 2017. Unfortunately, security-related delays meant these workshops took place too late to include in this briefing. However, 'this Libya analysis' draws on past and current research and advocacy work by WILPF and its partners, Saferworld's previous research, and a small literature review conducted for this project.

Led by the UN Special Envoy, the political process to resolve the Libyan conflict faces many challenges. The 2015 Libyan Political Agreement (LPA) set out a structure aimed at resolving the conflict between the former members of the initially Tripoli-based General National Congress and the Tobruk-based House of Representatives – both of whom claimed to be the legitimate representatives of the people. The resulting Government of National Accord (GNA) arrived in Tripoli in March 2016, expecting to take forward the provisions of the agreement.[25] Instead of resolving the conflict, the birth of the GNA seems to have reconfigured the conflict in a different way, pitting those who support the Agreement (and the GNA) against those who oppose it – with important military actors like former Qadaffi-era commander General Haftar as the most high-profile opponent. The international community has largely supported the GNA and UN efforts to mediate between the parties.[26]

A range of violent groups are active in the country, including the so-called Islamic State in Iraq and Syria (ISIS), which has been actively promoting Libya as a key base for its operations. Alliances between armed groups cut across secular and Islamist lines and tribal and regional affiliations.[27] Smuggling of people, goods and weapons has become an important part of the war economy, with networks of criminal and armed groups operating across the country and regionally.[28] International actors have a high interest in stemming the flow of refugees and economic migrants through Libya, with some European countries engaging directly with military strongmen like General Haftar on migration control measures – potentially undermining UN efforts for a unified negotiation process.[29]

Oil infrastructure is protected under the LPA, even though the National Oil Company regularly has to negotiate

agreements with political actors, militias and tribal groups to keep operations going.[30] Basic service delivery has suffered from the chaos, as evidenced by crumbling health and education systems, frequent power outages and a shortage of cash in the banking system.[31]

Gender norms in Libya

Libya's current conflict developed against a backdrop of gender inequality in a conservative, patriarchal society. In Libya, men and boys have more power over resources and decision making than women and girls, including decisions over women's rights and daily lives. Girls and women face discrimination throughout their lives, and girls feel inferior and often lack confidence in their own abilities and potential from the start of their lives.[32]

Gender inequality is reinforced by a range of legal, social and cultural structures and practices enshrined in all aspects of family life. Men have more decision-making power and entitlement to inheritance, divorce and marriage. The legal and social frameworks for family relations as well as entrenched patriarchal gender norms means that women are expected to obey their husbands in exchange for the financial support and protection expected of husbands. Women can legally expect men to provide for them financially, and men can also expect the same from their wives if she has the means to do so and he does not. Many women in Libya contribute financially to the household, but their contribution often goes unnoticed or unrecognised; and even when the woman is the main breadwinner, the man remains responsible for 'supervision' of the household.[33]

Libyan men are expected to be strong and should be relied upon in all circumstances. They are perceived to always be right and are not supposed to show their emotions. Men are responsible for providing housing, food and clothing for their families and act as custodians

Children play on swings in a square in Zawiya, Libya, a town that saw heavy fighting as one of the first to rise against Muammar Al-Qadhafi's regime in February 2011 and the last to be liberated.
© UN PHOTO/IASON FOOUNTEN

or guardians of their wives and the women in the family. As a result, they control each family member's freedom of movement – for example, by having control of administrative documents like property deeds and passports.

Women in Libya are expected to act modestly (preferably they should be veiled), and to take care of the household and family including extended family members – tasks that often fill up women's days. If they are allowed to work due to economic need, they are still expected to take care of the household and family.

Gendered conflict analysis

When conducting a conflict analysis with a gender perspective, participants in the Libya workshop identified four main driving factors in the conflict:

- **Violent masculinities fuelling competition for militarised political power**

"Even good-hearted people change in politics."

Participant from Benghazi at a Geneva workshop, 20 September 2017

Competition for political power is at the heart of the Libyan conflict, and violence and gender norms are instruments in this struggle: violent notions of masculinity associate violence with power; and discriminatory gender norms exclude women's political voices for change. This is fuelled by the availability of arms – which are pervasive in Libyan society – the militarisation of Libyan politics, and the militarised nature of regional and international interventions (including external support to armed groups or militias).[34] Violent politics are dominated by men, many of whom believe that if

you do not have a gun, you are nobody and 'no real man' – a mirror of military power of political leaders and their regional and international backers.

Each political leader has his own militias or armed forces[35] to enforce his control over resources and territory, with some political parties seen as 'freelance militias': presenting themselves as political actors while exploiting the conflict and violence for their own benefit.

The impacts of this militarised violence are many: death, injury, sexual violence, and displacement. Men who are not willing to participate in the fighting or join armed groups are targeted with violence. The intolerance of non-participation in violence only reinforces ideas around certain types of masculinity (such as violent masculinities) being acceptable and others not.

Social services have been severely damaged, particularly healthcare and education. This disproportionately affects women as it increases the chance of maternal mortality[36] and increases their already high burden of care for children, the elderly and the ill. A lack of access to education further has the potential to reverse gains made in education and empowerment for a whole generation, particularly for girls.

Women's political mobilisation and participation in the 2011 revolution was supported internationally and they were given temporary political space to participate in transition processes. However, this space has closed with the strengthening of ultra-conservative influences. Today, women face many obstacles when trying to stay engaged in political and peace processes and in sustaining their rights and legal status. Many see this as a deliberate backlash from a patriarchal system that was not willing to upset the *status quo* of gender inequality and which promotes a system where men control women in all spheres through militarised and authoritarian

governance, and by using traditional gender norms. For example, restrictions on polygamy in place since 1993 were scrapped by the Supreme Court in 2013.

Participants felt that the peace process was merely a continuation of the same political power struggle, this time in an atmosphere where violent politics are acceptable and peace talks are merely dialogues between strongmen. They saw little to no link between the national peace process and broader society. On the contrary, those who advocate for inclusion in the peace and political processes – particularly women politicians and women's rights defenders – are threatened, kidnapped or killed. Four women human rights defenders were assassinated between February 2014 and 2015 alone. A particularly notable example was of Salwa Bugaighis, a prominent Libyan human rights and political activist who was stabbed and shot in the head by masked gunmen in Benghazi.

The increased influence of ultra-conservative Islamist groups since 2011 (particularly Salafi and the Muslim Brotherhood) is seen as one of the original drivers of the conflict, as these groups resorted to violence after failing to gain sufficient representation in the 2014 elections. These groups use narratives that further damage women's participation in political and public life by reinforcing the idea that political participation is inappropriate for women, that they have nothing to add or do not represent anybody. Peace negotiations and dialogues happen outside of the country, making it even more difficult for women to participate because of their caring responsibilities and because their freedom of movement often depends on their husbands or other male family members.

Despite much campaigning from Libyan civil society to formalise women's meaningful inclusion in politics, the

quota for women in parliament in the 2012 electoral law was a mere ten per cent. Taken together, these dynamics continue to reinforce patriarchal state institutions (however dysfunctional) that have embedded male chauvinism and legitimised gender inequality.

Nevertheless, women feel immensely empowered by their participation in the events of 2011, standing alongside men in the streets to call for social justice and peaceful change. They still recognise the power of their own roles at different levels and how, despite the difficult circumstances and increasing insecurity, women are still trying to contribute and act as advocates for peace.

■ **Violence and corruption as a means of gaining control over economic resources**

Armed groups are motivated by ensuring access to resources and fight to control it. Because the most lucrative resource is oil, the international community is trying to make sure that this is independently managed and the proceeds are used for development in the country. Nevertheless, the conflict has fuelled an economic crisis and high unemployment, with political leaders using job opportunities and existing business or state institutions to maintain patronage systems and control resources and power.

Young Libyan women are twice as likely to be unemployed as young Libyan men. Although unemployment leaves both young men and women with an abundance of spare time, different gender roles and expectations mean that they experience unemployment differently and therefore interact with conflict in different ways.

Unemployed young men spend their days socialising with friends and cannot make meaningful contributions to family income. Yet they are expected to fulfil the 'provider' role as they become adults.

This sense of being without purpose, in addition to the economic pressures they face, increases their risk of getting involved with armed groups that can pay a salary – including ISIS – that deliberately target them for recruitment. Some also engage in criminal activities (such as drugs, weapons or other trafficking), fuelling the conflict itself.

Young men also have few opportunities to participate in social structures that could work towards peace. This is because tribal leaders, who often lead on conflict resolution, tend to be older men. In religious families, young men are encouraged to spend time at the mosque, but the increasing Salafist influences (particularly in Benghazi) mean that families are concerned that this could lead to their children becoming indoctrinated into ultra-conservative and violent ideologies. Suspected of being militia members, some participants said that young men are sometimes not allowed to travel in male-only groups in many areas. However, little is being done to change the behaviours of the older men who recruit and direct these young men.

Young unemployed women tend to stay at home and socialise on social media – unless they are from more liberal families. This is because gender norms limit women's participation in public life, and the culture stresses that women's honour and reputation should be preserved. In addition to restricted movement for young women, they are also responsible for household chores that young men are not expected to do.

However, the international community's involvement in Libya has opened up some opportunities for women to earn an income at a time when men find it increasingly difficult to provide for their families. Women's economic empowerment programmes have increased skills and resources, yet women who have taken part still face problems accessing these opportunities due to problems

with infrastructure (transport, electricity) and insecurity, among others. Women who earn an income are not always economically empowered or independent, as the changes in their circumstances and roles have not fundamentally changed gender norms – thus much control over economic resources still lies with men.

Political leaders are perceived to use whatever money they can access to enrich themselves and to pay their militias in hard currency. This is at a time when there is little money available in the bank due to the conflict. If someone is not in an armed group, any salary they receive is really a 'virtual salary' that only exists on paper because the banks are often unable to release cash. To access the little cash available to cover basic needs, women must queue outside banks, even at night time, against the general expectations of women's behaviour. This puts them at risk of being harassed, beaten or raped.

In addition, the illegal economy and corruption in the use of other resources like gas, phosphates and gold are also part of the war economy. Business leaders make use of armed groups to protect their businesses or to enforce their interests. All of this undermines the potential for economic development outside of the oil sector and fuels pressure on men to join armed groups or their associated business networks.

■ **Weak rule of law and social control based on gender norms**

Violent methods of governing and wielding power are further enabled by the almost complete absence of institutions able to ensure the rule of law and protection of human rights and freedoms. Despite what the law may say, 'men with guns' are in control. For example, in February 2017, the chief of staff of the General Haftar-led Libyan National Army (LNA) banned women

under 60 in eastern Libya from travelling abroad without a male companion on grounds of state security. After a public outcry, the order was rescinded and replaced with one that requires security clearance for international travel for all men and women aged 18–45. Neither of these orders had any basis in the law, but they demonstrate how gender norms are being used to control sections of the population who are of the age capable of fighting and working.[37]

The authoritarian rule in place before the 2011 revolution continues: the same strongman politics of the Qadaffi era are still in place, without anybody having enough power to control all the strongmen. Conflicts along tribal, ethnic or regional lines have escalated and militias have increased in number, leading to confrontations between groups that used to live in peace. Attempts by women to formally participate in reconciliation committees locally and nationally have been rebuffed, although there are still some spaces for them to play informal reconciliation roles.

■ **Tearing of the social fabric**

Regionalism and ethnic divisions fuel the conflict, leading armed groups to align themselves according to these loyalties and breaking down the unity promoted during the 2011 revolution. This has made it much harder to find solutions between the east and the west of the country as different groups fight over control of local resources. It has also fuelled conflicts within the south, and between the south, east and west, and has opened space for ISIS to operate. There are also divisions within groups – there have been cases of family members who belong to different militias being pitted against each other. Some of the men who fought during the revolution have left Libya and gone to Syria or Pakistan to fight.

Libyan crowds raising guns and flags in Tripoli in 2011.
© UN PHOTO/IASON FOOUNTEN

Salafist groups and preachers focusing on violent and exclusionary ideologies drive conflict, as people are easily manipulated into believing their interpretations of religion. These ideologies are tearing apart families, communities and the social fabric of society in general. They also drive violent conflict by promoting violence against others, by making it acceptable for people to force their views onto others and by encouraging young men to join armed groups, while also silencing women's political and peacebuilding voices and condemning any public role for women.

Moderate religious leaders have also been targeted. One example was given where an advocate for peace and women's rights was accused of being an 'unbeliever'. Since religious fundamentalists exclude women from all public or political participation, the targeting of moderate leaders has a direct impact on women and further limits their participation in political or peacemaking activities. This is despite the important role they already play at the community

level and the potential for them to be important contributors at other levels. Insecurity further undermines women's ability to be involved in broader political processes and limits their mobility, as they tend to stay 'off the streets' when violence escalates.

Amid the violence, people take on fatalistic attitudes. Accepting that they can die at any time from shelling, they still continue with what they see as a 'normal life' by going for a swim, gathering on the streets and getting married.

Despite this bleak picture, participants still saw opportunities to promote peaceful change in Libya. These include using the gender and conflict analysis methodologies and tools to better work with youth groups, civil society organisations and communities to understand how gender roles and inequality are linked to conflict. It also includes using these tools when mediating and bringing opposing groups together.

Analysing the Yemen conflict with a gender perspective

Former head of the Women's Investigation Unit Colonel Iman Tassin at work in Al-Basatieen police station in Aden. © SAFERWORLD/ALEX KAY POTTER

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY IN YEMEN

Saferworld and WILPF held a workshop with ten Yemeni women and one man from civil society organisations who work on women's rights and gender in Yemen, and with Saferworld and Oxfam country teams. The Yemeni partners were: Youth Leadership and Development Foundation (YLDF); Ejad Foundation; With Aden Need; Wogood; and To Be for Rights and Freedoms. The workshop followed the same methodology as in Libya, with the addition of a focus group discussion that was held after the training with the Yemeni participants. For details on the workshop methodology, see the 'Research methodology in Libya' box on page 7. WILPF partners organised additional in-country workshops using the same methodology in late 2017. Unfortunately, security-related delays meant these workshops took place too late to include in this briefing.

The analysis presented in this section was based on the comments of workshop participants and the focus group discussion. It also references and builds on previous research and programming by Saferworld, Oxfam and WILPF, including in-country work with partners, and a small literature review conducted for this project.

After decades of intermittent conflict and economic stagnation, a fragile transition collapsed in 2015 and Yemen's conflict escalated into a devastating war. The internationally-backed government in exile, led by President Abdrabbuh Mansur Hadi, has been fighting the Houthi rebel movement – which until December 2017 was allied with former President Ali Abdullah Saleh – ever since they seized the Yemeni capital of Sana'a in early 2015. Hadi is backed by a coalition of states led by Saudi Arabia and the UAE. Since the Saudi-led coalition began its bombing campaign in March 2015 tens of thousands have been killed and injured and around three million have been displaced.

Control of the country is broadly split between Houthi-held territories in the north, and areas loosely governed by Hadi, including Aden. All parties to the conflict, including Saudi Arabia and the UAE, have been accused of serious violations of international humanitarian law, while armed groups with fundamentalist ideologies – including Al Qaeda in the Arabian Peninsula – have grown. Civil society actors have faced threats and constraints to their work all over the country, with many arbitrarily arrested and detained.[38]

Yemen is now facing the world's worst humanitarian crisis, with over 20.7 million people (80 per cent of the population) in need of aid, including 6.8 million at imminent risk of famine.[39] Governance structures at all levels have been severely affected by the conflict with grave humanitarian consequences, notably on the health system, access to food, and the spread of diseases as sanitation systems collapse. This includes the largest cholera outbreak in recent history, peaking at almost 900,000 suspected cases. Yemenis have been severely affected economically, with one in four companies closing down and 70 per cent of the workforce being laid off. Blockades on commercial shipping

and air access to Houthi-controlled areas, enforced by the Saudi-led coalition, have also caused devastating spikes in food and fuel prices.[40]

Gender norms in Yemen

"The only thing that shames the man is his pocket."

A Yemeni saying

Yemen's current conflict has further deepened historical inequalities between men and women. Since the country's unification, this gap has increased, as evidenced by Yemen consistently ranking in the last place on the World Economic Forum's Gender Gap Index since 2006, listed as 144th out of 144 in 2016.[41]

Although there are some differences in how the north and south view gender norms – the south is typically more egalitarian due to its socialist past[42] – in general, Yemeni men and boys enjoy a privileged status from birth.

In the north, men are expected to run their own businesses while in the south, men are supposed to work for the government. The most important factor in being considered a 'real' man is to have good marriage prospects and to have money. This is even more important in the context of the current conflict, as families struggle to make ends meet and many families – especially those who are displaced – marry off their young daughters due to economic desperation.

Additionally, an 'ideal' man would come from an 'honourable' and well-known family from the top socio-economic classes, particularly in the north. Gender norms and inequality, and men's privilege within this system, intersect particularly strongly with socio-economic power in Yemen. Men are expected to marry within their own class or social group

although they could choose not to do this (a choice women do not have). This class hierarchy, more present in the north, puts the *Sadah* at the top and the so-called *Muhamasheen* at the lowest of the social classes in Yemeni society. The latter are particularly marginalised, and are more likely to be displaced and cut off from support services or networks.[43]

Overall, men are expected to be the 'masters' of their households and to both control and protect their wives and families – although this has changed with the conflict as more men overcome the 'shame' of letting their wives work, or approaching women for money out of necessity. Men also need to be strong, tough and fearless. Men's actions only reflect on them as individuals, whereas if a woman does something wrong it is seen to reflect on the entire family. Many men prefer to marry women while they are young (15–18 years old) so that they can "mould her with their own hands".

The ideal image of a woman is that she is of a higher class and that she accepts the lifestyle provided by her husband. She should be shy, soft-spoken, obedient and conservative. She should dress appropriately and should be religious (some would even prefer her to have memorised the Quran). These religious expectations are increasing, as across north and south Yemen there are efforts to enrol both women and men into religious schools. Violence against women is widespread in Yemen and has increased during the country's conflict.[44]

For men supporting ultra-conservative religious narratives, older, divorced or widowed women are 'ideal' wives as they are more desperate to get married or to benefit from the protection of a husband and his family group. They would therefore be more committed to raising their children with the same ideologies. Although vulnerable, older women can also have more decision-making power in the household and could influence men

to fight for access to resources or for the status and protection that this may give them as a family.

Women are expected to have children – preferably boys. They must do most of the household work and take care of their children and husband, regardless of whether they also have a job outside the home. This constrains most women's opportunities to participate in trainings or to get involved in public spaces. By extension, women who are unmarried or have no children are more easily able to participate in public activities than women who are married or have young children.

Particularly in rural areas, men are more likely not to want wives who work, are educated or have their own opinions. According to workshop participants, men who allow their wives to work often do it to increase the household income that they can spend on different things, including funding for armed activities. If women work, their work must be seen as respectable or 'clean'. In different parts of the country, respectable work could include a job in the civil service or in the private sector, which was different in the north and the south.

"Our leaders care more about what the regional powers want than what the people want."

Participant in Yemen workshop

Gendered conflict analysis

When conducting a conflict analysis with a gender perspective, participants identified four main drivers of the conflict.

■ **Competition for political power that uses violence and exclusionary gender norms to silence opponents**

Participants concluded that past and present conflicts in Yemen were mainly about political control and resources, and that governance arrangements were unaccountable to the population at large. This is at least partly because political governance structures are based on military, tribal and religious allegiances instead of a system that could effectively manage the interests of different groups and power-holders. As a result, political leaders generally do not act for the benefit of the population, but instead serve the interests of their constituencies. They use military action, tribal politics and religious influence to maintain and expand their power in a system of overlapping discrimination and alliances. Gender norms provide a politically expedient tool to perpetuate these exclusionary practices, as it has allowed political leaders to silence women's (and youth) movements that mobilised in 2011 and that demanded a new type of governance and a constitution that would benefit the entire population.

Men and women who took part in protests (including the youth movement) were targeted with violence, intimidation, arbitrary arrest and kidnapping. Although tribal customs and social norms prohibit men from physically harming or harassing women,[45] women activists have not been spared. Mothers of abducted activists were met with violence according to many accounts, and women have been directly targeted by snipers – including

those who were trying to rescue the injured. A recent violent attack in Aden saw a woman beheaded and another ten women killed. This demonstrates that the conflict has transgressed both gender roles and norms in some aspects. Women have also been affected by mass violence by security forces against demonstrators. Those in powerful positions – the media, and political and religious leaders for example – have used gender inequality as a form of structural violence to silence women and to publicly question women's qualifications to engage in politics. They have also used religious and gender norms and discrimination to maintain an authoritarian system of governance that fuels conflict.

Given these gender expectations and norms, it is more difficult for women to get involved in public decision-making institutions and spaces. Men also dominate local councils where political and community issues are discussed so opportunities for women are limited locally as well. However, attempts to silence women and the difficulties they face in transforming traditional gender roles have not stopped their involvement in the conflict and the peace talks, however hard it has been.

For example, the 2013 National Dialogue Conference had a 30 per cent quota for women's participation which translated into more gender-sensitive outcomes. However, these outcomes are yet to go into effect as a result of war breaking out shortly after as well as pushback from different sides.

In the south, women actively encouraged men to fight and to earn income for the family. Many women supported the fighting effort through logistical support, nursing the wounded, fundraising for the war effort and even standing at checkpoints. They also provided food and other care to the men who were fighting. Women's and men's roles in Aden were framed around standing together

against 'invasion' from the north. This has hardened their views of northerners, undermining the future potential for reconciliation and peacebuilding across the country as well as their potential to participate in this process.

In urban areas women have participated in conflict resolution and political processes. For example, in Aden they headed up many of the local relief committees, and have helped disarm, demobilise and reintegrate male fighters back into their communities. Women and women's organisations also provide protection to families and communities by ensuring children's safety and providing psychosocial support and emergency response services to those who are displaced or injured.[46] The burden of caring about the welfare of others before their own puts them under significant psychological pressure.

There are doubts about how sustainable these changes are, as gender norms are perceived to be 'solid' and likely to be reinforced when the conflict ends. Women's organisations now feel that some gains need to be defended – particularly on women's education – to enable women to be economically productive and to use the opportunities they have for political activity through non-governmental organisations and advocacy.

■ **External involvement fuelling exclusionary governance and violence**

External involvement in Yemen fuels these dynamics by escalating the militarisation of the conflict through direct intervention – in particular the Saudi-led coalition's aerial bombing campaign and blockade – but also through US and UAE operations against violent fundamentalist groups. The conflict is also fuelled by the supply of arms and training or funding of a range of armed actors across the country,

including ultra-conservative religious groups. The Saudi-led coalition is accused of supporting Salafi militias, for instance, while Iran is accused of supporting the Houthis.

Because of existing gender inequality, the military, tribal and religious systems are largely male domains where women have little to no voice. Religious communities have become more and more conservative, pushing women out of the public sphere. Women's organisations see this strong fundamentalist religious influence as regressing Yemeni society vis-à-vis women's rights issues. These religious leaders use gender norms to exclude women from participating in political and peace processes and their narratives have increased violence across the country as well as reduced the space for civic action from women and other groups.

■ Unequal and unfair distribution of resources

Because of the competition for power and exclusionary governance in Yemen, political leaders use the resources they control to buy loyalty among their social, religious or ethnic constituencies. Services do not reach most people, and many groups are marginalised because of their ethnic identity, gender, religion or because of the region they are from. Marginalisation is worsened by high levels of corruption among authorities and institutions, as well as weak rule of law.

In this context of high poverty, unemployment and insecurity – aggravated by the social and economic pressures that gender roles impose on men – young and older generations of men are more likely to join armed groups to earn an income and protect or defend their communities. Even when they don't, they are perceived as a threat to security by other communities, as fighters and protectors of their families and communities.

Saferworld youth advocacy training participant.
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Because of all these factors, men are more likely to be killed than women.

"Being without my weapon would be like being without my trousers"

A Yemeni man when asked to leave his weapon outside upon entering an office in Aden – as told by workshop participant

The widespread availability of arms and militarised politics further feed into this dynamic as power and control over resources have become associated with violence and armed action. There is also a high level of acceptance of owning and carrying a weapon – seen by many as a desirable masculine trait which dates back to the old tradition of wealthy men wearing the *jambiya* (short dagger). Many young men now carry weapons. This is seen to give them power and means that they no longer listen to their parents.

Many women started new businesses to earn an income while others produced food for their families in rural areas through agriculture and dairy farming. However, even when women become the main breadwinners, they often give money to their husbands to help them keep their reputations intact. Still, men often feel humiliated by this arrangement, leading to increased conflict in the home (including intimate partner violence).

In many respects, women's economic roles changed significantly during the conflict, but their political roles are yet to change significantly – particularly in rural areas. They remain concerned about insecurity, the impacts of the conflict on their ability to maintain these new roles, and on issues such as access to healthcare and food.

The absence of women and marginalised groups from decision-making processes heightens the risks of resources being captured by a small (armed) male elite. Moreover, there is also an intergenerational dynamic whereby older men are in charge of all the levers of power, increasing frustration among younger men and potentially making them feel that they have no political voice unless they take up arms.

Elders discuss the news in the streets of Taiz at breakfast time. However Yemen is a young country, with around 74 per cent of its population under the age of 30.
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■ A divided society and a manipulated population

Yemen has a legacy of unresolved conflicts that cause social fragmentation: there are no reconciliation or transitional justice efforts, and many political narratives actively fuel divisions. There are layers of division based on tribe, religion, sectarianism, north and south divisions, and a culture where political leaders do not appear to be truly committed to finding a solution to the conflict.

In a society where gender and class-related discrimination has long been acceptable, people do not necessarily question their own attitudes and can easily be manipulated into stereotyping or demonising others. The ongoing conflict and violence has created opportunities to blame others for the country's problems – this can then be exploited by those fuelling religious and sectarian division and political leaders.

Many religious institutions encourage men to join militias as a religious duty so that they believe that religious values and laws will be properly applied by these groups. Many women support this as they feel their sons and husbands will be doing something pious and earn an income. Yet the proliferation and normalisation of violence is causing enormous social harm.

Armed groups promoting fundamentalist religious ideologies are abusing women's rights by marrying girls and young women to fighters and organising 'temporary marriages' that lead to the girls being abandoned once they get pregnant. This contributes to a wide range of abuses against women and girls, including child marriage, sexual harassment, rape, incest and killings.

In addition to the history of conflict and a tradition of social discrimination, problems persist around both the quality and the accessibility of education. In Yemen, on average 15.6 per cent of women and 33.2 per cent of men have had some secondary education.[47] Parents and society often do not allow girls to go to school, causing higher illiteracy among girls. People who are illiterate or have only a low level of education are more easily manipulated as they may unquestioningly accept what they are told by political and religious leaders or by the media.

These social divisions and the instability caused by the conflict have also eroded people's trust in each other, tearing at the social fabric and making corruption at the social level and within government more acceptable. Corruption in turn further undermines trust at all levels and divides families, communities and society.

Conclusions

This briefing has analysed and shared findings that combine the expertise of community-based organisations, women's rights groups, and international and peacebuilding organisations. The methodology used draws on Saferworld's gender analysis of conflict toolkit which can be adapted to specific contexts and different activities – including joint participatory analysis and research.

Saferworld has applied this methodology with many groups; yet using it with community-based and women's rights organisations in these three settings has produced interesting **conclusions** which are shared below.

1.

Most peacebuilding and women's organisations conduct either conflict or gender analysis, but conducting a gendered analysis of conflict is relatively new for both. The analysis resulting from combining skills and methodologies has yielded interesting findings: whereas gender roles change quickly in conflict, gender norms are not always transformed alongside them. This has severe and negative impacts. Changes in gender roles provide an important opportunity for peacebuilding organisations to help transform gender norms to advance gender equality and build long-lasting peace. If the relationship between gender and conflict in any given context is not analysed, there is a risk that efforts to build long-term peace could be undermined and could reinforce gender discrimination.

The **Myanmar** research concluded that carrying out a gendered conflict analysis with communities and community-based organisations – when given sufficient time and trusting relationships – produces a deep understanding of the gender implications of conflict, power dynamics and options for conflict resolution and justice. Although traditional conflict analysis includes consideration of power structures, a gender-blind analysis would miss the opportunities open to women to play leadership roles in their communities as a result of changing roles. While many women face disapproval from some community members and are still expected to perform their (gender-specific) responsibilities relating to the household, their interactions with authorities to reclaim land appears to be valued and largely supported by men in their communities. This is a remarkable opportunity to change gender norms around women's role in public affairs in a context where their political participation is low. It is important though to also understand whether this role for women exposes them to additional risk, e.g. of violence by the military, and to address such risks.

Including gender in the analysis also highlights the gender-specific impacts of land confiscations and subsequent coping mechanisms on men and women, with men clearly experiencing a sense of loss as a result of their reduced contribution and value to their families, and women expanding on their roles as providers. Men tended to feel a link between their masculine identities and the ability to own and cultivate land, and reported feeling angry and frustrated when they were not able to do so. At the same time women pay a heavy price for this change because gender norms around their household duties have not changed. Further research is needed to understand whether these changes are also causing an increase in GBV or IPV – a problem we know to be common in Myanmar and that was mentioned in the research, but not explored in depth. These dynamics not only negatively affect social harmony in a society by potentially pushing men to address land conflict through violence, but could also increase violence against women and girls in the household.

Similar analysis came out of the **Yemen** and **Libya** workshops. Although participants work on issues of gender and conflict in different ways, there were gaps in knowledge on definitions and key concepts of gender and conflict, as well as on tools available to analyse them (separately and together). Participants highlighted how 'gender' was often misunderstood, variously as a Western concept that undermined local values and culture or as only relating to women. Women's rights activists described generally applying gender analysis tools to demonstrate gender inequality and its impact on women – not to unpack the system of gender relationships, power imbalances and how these link to conflict dynamics. They concluded that analysing gender as a system of power that drives conflict offered new perspectives on why women's rights were being undermined, what could be done about it, and who to work with to achieve better gendered conflict analysis. This came across strongly when analysing how the external involvement in Yemen fuels exclusionary governance and violence. Whereas this analysis would normally focus on how external powers influence the conflict through diplomacy (blocking UN Security Council resolutions, for example) or armed action due to political and economic interests, a gendered analysis shed light on how despite achieving a 30 per cent women's quota in the National Dialogue in 2013, the current internal and external power dynamics mean there is little leverage to enforce quotas on the peace negotiations. Instead, a combination of ultra-conservative religious gender norms and a focus on armed strongmen legitimises violence and violent masculinities while excluding women from participation in political and peace processes.

Conducting a gendered conflict analysis also enabled participants to situate themselves and their organisations in the context and to identify potential allies and entry points to build peace and transform gender inequality. Although not

possible during this research, involving groups who work on non-violent masculinities, and groups of men refusing to participate in violence, could generate valuable additional insights for transforming the entire system of gender relationships in positive and peaceful ways.

It became clear that any conflict analysis that does not consider gender will miss important opportunities to make public institutions inclusive and responsive to the needs of all members of society, not only the main power brokers. Even worse, a programme or intervention which is based on a gender-blind analysis is likely to perpetuate inequality generally, and harmful gender norms in particular.

2.

Gender norms are used to disenfranchise, silence and exclude those advocating for peaceful change and challenging the *status quo*, including women's rights activists and men who do not subscribe to violence. When the *status quo* is conflict-fuelling inequality and exclusion, gender norms and gender inequality can drive conflict and violence. Women's rights organisations' expertise allows them to conduct a particularly nuanced and comprehensive gendered conflict analysis, which can strengthen peacebuilding efforts through policy, diplomatic action and programmes.

Conflict analysis usually includes consideration of which groups are marginalised and discriminated against politically, as a potential driver of conflict and threat of violence. Women are not often seen as an important group to analyse in this way because they are assumed to be integrated into other groups; not considered to be a possible threat; or are narrowly seen as victims of conflict. Their role as political, conflict or peacebuilding actors is therefore often ignored in conflict analysis.

Working with women's rights organisations can help peacebuilders understand

how gender norms are used to systemically oppress agents of change and drive conflict, and consequently produce a much more nuanced analysis. Because of their focus on discrimination against women, women's rights organisations understand how structural violence and exclusion can give rise to physical violence. They understand patriarchy as a form of structural violence whereby gender norms not only shape individual attitudes and behaviours, but also manifest in political processes and public institutions.

It was also clear from our analysis that community-based and women's organisations have a rich understanding of the context and have a crucial role in providing many frontline services, challenging (or indeed supporting) actors in conflict, and contributing to formal and informal peacebuilding processes. Notably, it also became clear how gender norms are used as one of many tools to disenfranchise, silence and exclude those advocating for peaceful change and challenging the *status quo*.

The role of patriarchy and violent masculinities in conflict came across strongly in the three contexts. Men in the Myanmar study felt emasculated by the changes in gender roles produced by land confiscations and their inability to fulfil their masculine roles, which led to negative behaviours including IPV, and could lead to an increase in violent conflict over land. In both the Yemen and Libya workshops, participants identified those in decision-making positions – from tribal elders to national leaders – as mostly men who consolidate their positions and control of resources through arms and violence.

These finding highlighted how gender norms and the acceptance of violent masculinities in a society can push men to engage in violence or join armed groups and how violence affected both men and women according to prevailing gender

norms. For instance, in Libya and Yemen men were often targeted with execution, torture, kidnapping or arbitrary arrest based on the gendered assumption that they are potential combatants. Women, particularly women's rights activists (e.g. the prominent Libyan activist Salwa Bugaighis), were also targeted with violence by a range of armed groups, including government-allied militias and groups subscribing to ultra-conservative views.

Women were further forced out of public spaces where political change was happening, with gender norms being used to restrict women to home life, to keep them subservient to men, and to force them into the role of custodians of their family's honour. Once the struggle over political power became violent, women's ability to participate was further constrained by the insecurity they faced because of restrictive gender norms. Men came under pressure to conform to gender norms such as providing for their families and protecting them, or to become combatants.[48]

Gender norms therefore affect the way in which authoritarian actors respond to threats to their power and should be considered as part of a conflict and peace actor analysis. Women's organisations have a particularly valuable contribution to make in such analysis. Further use of integrated conflict and gender analysis may also help unpack specific correlations between societies with high gender inequality and those prone to violent conflict[49] – high tolerance levels for exclusion and discrimination could be applied not only to women, but also to sexual minorities or ethnic, religious or geographical groups.

*The following **recommendations** aim to guide donors, policymakers and organisations in making gender an intrinsic part of conflict analysis and to support civil society – particularly women's rights organisations – in their work building peace.*

Recommendations

1.

Donors, policymakers and practitioners should integrate gender into conflict analysis to inform policies, diplomatic action and programmes in conflict-affected countries. This should include national security strategies, national action plans on women, peace and security (or a regional equivalent for countries like Yemen where a national level plan has not been agreed on), as well as peacebuilding and humanitarian programmes. To enable this to be done effectively, building the capacity of relevant people and groups to undertake such analysis and translate it into concrete actions must be a priority. Based on the analysis conducted, recommended areas for future research and programming include:

- Capitalising on opportunities offered by changing gender roles as a result of conflict, and how these shifts can increase women's access to justice and redress, while also addressing any potential risks they may face in undertaking such a role.

- Gender-transformative programming in conflict: using changes in gender roles to enable transformation of gender norms to better achieve gender equality.

- Mitigating the gendered impacts of conflict on men and women, including using livelihood programmes to support the development of alternative, non-violent masculinities and to address the way in which unequal gender norms create undue burdens for women.

2.

Donors, policymakers, international organisations and peacebuilding programmes should respect and support the work of women's organisations in conflict-affected states as critical partners who have deep knowledge about the context, provide frontline services, and have a rightful voice in peace efforts at all levels. To do this effectively, they should:

- Modify funding mechanisms to ensure they are flexible enough for women's rights organisations to act as main partners rather than just implementing partners for bigger international organisations. One way to do this is to earmark long-term funding for small civil society organisations (particularly women's organisations) with straight-forward application and reporting requirements. Funding for women's organisations should include core funding to support their sustainability and activist work.

- Provide technical support to women's organisations and access to international fora to enable them to use conflict analysis tools and methodologies to strengthen their work in-country as well as their advocacy around the implementation of women, peace and security commitments. Furthermore, support should be provided for joint analysis and networking of women's organisations in conflict-affected countries to build learning and capacity.

- International organisations should refrain from 'competing' with local peacebuilding and human rights organisations – including women's organisations – or from taking the space and resources that they are best placed to make use of. In some cases this may mean partnering with women's organisations on equal footing to combine technical expertise.

About Saferworld

Saferworld is an independent international organisation working to prevent violent conflict and build safer lives. With programmes in Africa, Asia and the Middle East and North Africa, we work with people affected by conflict to improve their safety and sense of security, and conduct wider research and analysis. We use this evidence and learning to improve local, national and international policies and practices that can help build lasting peace. We believe that everyone should be able to lead peaceful, fulfilling lives, free from insecurity and violent conflict.

About WILPF

The Women's International League for Peace and Freedom (WILPF) is an international non-governmental organisation with national sections covering every continent, an international secretariat based in Geneva, and a New York office focused on the work of the United Nations.

Since our establishment in 1915, we have brought together women from around the world who are united in working for peace by non-violent means and promoting political, economic and social justice for all.

Our approach is always non-violent, and we use existing international legal and political frameworks to achieve fundamental change in the way states conceptualise and address issues of gender, militarism, peace and security.

Our strength lies in our ability to link the international and local levels. We are very proud to be one of the first organisations to gain consultative status (category B) with the United Nations, and the only women's anti-war organisation so recognised.

About Oxfam Novib

Oxfam Novib is a Dutch development organisation that mobilises the power of people against poverty. We are part of a global movement of people working together to end the injustice of poverty for everyone. Around the globe, Oxfam works to find practical, innovative ways for people to lift themselves out of poverty and thrive. Together we take on the big issues that keep people poor, such as inequality, discrimination against women, climate change, and the eviction of people from their land.

In 2016/17, Oxfam Novib worked with over 500 partners in 25 countries on four broad thematic areas which, in our vision, cover the most important issues of our time: governance and financial flows; food, land and water; conflict and fragility; gender and youth. We also continue to substantially engage with humanitarian actors in responding to crisis as well as lobby and advocacy actors.

About the project

This analysis is the product a Saferworld research project, funded by Oxfam Novib, on *'Understanding the links between masculinities, femininities, conflict and peace'*, looking at the examples of Myanmar, Yemen and Libya. In Myanmar, Saferworld's partner Hser Mu Htaw identified and convened research participants. For the analysis on Yemen and Libya, Saferworld partnered with

WILPF in another piece of work on working with women's rights organisations on strengthening their capacities and available tools for gender and conflict analysis. The two projects contributed to the Libya and Yemen workshops and the analysis captured in this report. The following organisations attended the workshops and generated the analysis: Together We Build It Organization,

Alnour Female Organization, Attawasel, 1325 Network (for the Libya workshop); Youth Leadership and Development Foundation (YLDF), Ejad Foundation, With Aden Need, Wogood, To Be for Rights and Freedoms (for the Yemen workshop), together with Oxfam Yemen and Saferworld's Yemen team.

Notes

1 Saferworld (2016), 'Gender analysis of conflict', (https://www.saferworld.org.uk/resources/publications/1076-gender-analysis-of-conflict).

2 Saferworld recognises that gender is not binary and needs to include sexual and gender minorities. However, the scope of this project did not permit for research into this aspect of gender identity, as this would have required additional time and resources. Similarly, this project did not work directly on boys' and girls' needs or experiences of conflict but was limited to men's and women's experiences.

3 An upcoming report to be released in 2018 will outline the findings of the research in more detail.

4 World Economic Forum (2017), 'The global gender gap report', p 11.

5 26th out of 144, World Economic Forum (2017).

6 N Thi Thi Oo and C Pierce (Namati) (2016), 'Gendered aspects of land rights in Myanmar', p 3.

7 Effectively indefinite leasehold for farmland.

8 N Thi Thi Oo and C Pierce (2016), pp 5–6; and focus group discussions from this research.

9 N Thi Thi Oo and C Pierce (2016), pp 5–6.

10 J Jackson, J Kuuttila, A Stödberg, P Tschumi, G McGillvray, P Batchelor, T Vester and J D'Cunha, 'A silent emergency: violence against women and girls' (2016) (joint statement) (http://myanmar.unfpa.org/news/silent-emergency-violence-against-women-and-girls) and UNFPA, 'UNFPA Myanmar annual report 2016' (2016) (http://myanmar.unfpa.org/en/publications/unfpa-myanmar-annual-report-2016).

11 N Thi Thi Oo and C Pierce (2016), pp 9–10.

12 GBV emerged as a major issue from consultations done for the implementation of the UK national action plan on women, peace and security (NAP on WPS) by Saferworld and Myanmar women's rights organisations, though not specifically in relation to land confiscation and the related changes to gender norms. Saferworld et al (2017), 'Myanmar Consultations on Women, Peace and Security' (confidential, unpublished).

13 This was also a key demand from the Saferworld consultations for the UK NAP on WPS, mentioned above.

14 This section draws on a literature review of six reports that Saferworld, Oxfam Novib and WILPF have been involved in between 2013 and 2017, one of which was in itself a literature review on women's role in peace and security in Yemen.

15 W Gressmann (2016), 'From the ground up: gender and conflict analysis in Yemen' (Oxfam, Care, IASC GenCap), Women's International League for Peace and Freedom (2017); 'Feminism at the frontline: addressing women's multidimensional insecurity in Yemen and Libya' (Geneva and New York, WILPF); and Saferworld (2013), 'It's dangerous to be the first': security barriers to women's public participation in Egypt, Libya and Yemen' (London, Saferworld).

16 W Gressmann (2016) refers to a number of these in Yemen, e.g. on p 38; M C Heinze (2016), 'Women's role in peace and security in Yemen' (Literature review, Saferworld, CARPO and YPC), p 1; and Saferworld (2013), p 24–32.

17 Women's International League for Peace and Freedom (2017), pp 2,8,18; Saferworld (2013), pp 9, 34.

18 Saferworld (2013), pp 16–19.

19 Women's International League for Peace and Freedom (2017), p 2; Saferworld (2013), p 34.

20 Women's International League for Peace and Freedom (2017), pp 2, 7; Saferworld (2013), pp 7–11, 34; W Gressmann (2016), p 29.

21 Women's International League for Peace and Freedom (2017), p 2; M C Heinze (2016), p 2; Oxfam and Saferworld (2017), '"We won't wait": as war ravages Yemen, its women strive to build peace' (Briefing Paper), p 12.

22 For instance, Yemeni women who participated in the 2016 peace talks in Kuwait were not involved in strategic planning for the talks but were instead "relegated to unofficial discussions". Oxfam and Saferworld (2017), p 11.

23 Women's International League for Peace and Freedom (2017), p 12; Saferworld (2013), pp 24–26, 34.

24 Saferworld (2013), Women's International League for Peace and Freedom (2017); and Oxfam and Saferworld (2017).

25 Council on Foreign Relations (2017), 'Civil war in Libya' (Global Conflict Tracker) (https://www.cfr.org/interactives/global-conflict-tracker#!/conflict/civil-war-in-libya).

26 International Crisis Group (2016), 'The Libyan political agreement: time for a reset' (Middle East and North Africa Report No. 170) (Belgium, ICG), p 2.

27 E Estelle (2017), 'Fighting forces in Libya: January 2017', (Critical Threats), (https://www.criticalthreats.org/analysis/fighting-forces-in-libya-january-2017); F Wehrey and W Lacher (2017), 'Libya after ISIS', *Foreign Affairs*, 22 February 2017 (http://carnegieendowment.org/2017/02/22/libya-after-isis-pub-68096).

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31 International Crisis Group (2016), p 4, 8.

32 Highlighted by participants in the Libya analysis workshop.

33 Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (2017), 'The impact of legal frameworks in Algeria, Egypt, Jordan, Libya, Morocco and Tunisia' (Paris, OECD), pp 80–91.

34 It is worth noting that these terms are fluid in the Libyan context as armed groups are seen differently (and with more or less legitimacy) by different communities. For instance, some people would describe General Haftar's forces as the 'army' while others would describe them as 'militias'.

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41 W Gressmann (2016), p 13; World Economic Forum gender gap index (2016) (http://reports.weforum.org/global-gender-gap-report-2016/rankings/).

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43 R El Rajji (2016), 'Even war discriminates: Yemen's minorities, exiled at home', Briefing, (London, Minority Rights Group) (http://minorityrights.org/wp-content/uploads/2016/01/MRG_Brief_Yemen_Jan16.pdf) p 12, describes the controversy around the names and origins of these groups.

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48 See the analysis above on the prevailing gender norms for men in Libya and Yemen.

49 Institute for Economics and Peace (2015), 'Positive peace report 2015: conceptualising and measuring the attitudes, institutions and structures that build a more peaceful society'.