

# Why addressing gender inequality and gender-based violence matters to the UK's work on peace and stability in Africa

VIOLENCE  
AGAINST  
WOMEN  
AND GIRLS  
HELPPDESK

**Gender inequality and gender-based violence (GBV) are both drivers and consequences of conflict and instability across Africa.** Ranging from shocking rates of intimate partner violence, systematic abduction, rape and sexual slavery of women and girls as a tactic of war, sex trafficking to finance terrorism, murder threats against women activists and politicians, or the deliberate exclusion of women's voices and leadership from political and governance processes – gender inequality and GBV form part of the political economy of conflict in Africa, and continue to undermine efforts to prevent conflict and build peace. At the same time, we are continually failing to prevent abuses of women and girls' rights, to reform systems that marginalise and discriminate against them, and to support women's participation in building more peaceful societies.

## Why should the UK tackle gender inequality and GBV in its work on conflict, security and stability in Africa?

Addressing gender inequality and GBV in Africa is not only the right thing to do, but it can contribute meaningfully to the UK's regional peace and stability objectives and wider national security priorities.

### 1. There is a strong association between gender inequality, GBV and conflict, security and stability in Africa

**Whilst the relationship between gender inequality, GBV and conflict, security and stability is complex and multi-directional, the growing evidence base is compelling.** Globally, more gender-equal societies are statistically more peaceful and less likely to fall

into civil war. Increasing GBV is a key indicator of rising state instability. Conflict leads to a culture of impunity, the breakdown of rule of law and security and justice services and reduces political will to tackle GBV, making it even harder for women and girls to seek justice and safety. GBV and restrictive gender norms are exploited by violent extremist groups to attract recruits and make tactical gains. Cases of sexual exploitation and abuse (SEA) by peacekeepers are on the rise globally – this is a serious crime, serves to undermine the legitimacy of peacekeeping operations and denies real peace for 50% of the population. The exclusion of women from political and peace processes has been shown to undermine the likely success of any agreements.<sup>2</sup>

**Addressing gender inequality and GBV could make an important contribution to peace and stability in Africa – a region with some of the worst indicators on both.** 17 of the world's 20 most gender-unequal societies are in Africa, and of these, the five lowest-ranking are fragile or conflict-affected states.<sup>3</sup> Continental rates of intimate partner violence (IPV) are significantly higher than the global average, with 37% of ever-partnered women across Africa reporting having experienced physical and/or sexual IPV in their lifetime, compared to 30% globally.<sup>4</sup> Regional data on child and forced marriage, non-partner sexual violence, modern slavery, trafficking, and political violence against women paint an equally poor picture. As with gender inequality, the highest rates of GBV are concentrated in fragile and conflict-affected contexts, often dwarfing regional averages. The below graphic highlights some of the most startling evidence from the Africa region:<sup>5</sup>



Conflict drives increases in intimate partner violence, sometimes to epidemic levels: in parts of South Sudan, 73% of ever-partnered women aged 15-49 have experienced physical and/or sexual violence by an intimate partner in their lifetime.



1 in 3 recently married child brides are now in sub-Saharan Africa. Niger has the highest rate in the world (76% of girls married by 18), with Chad, Mali and South Sudan in the top 10. Child marriage, conflict and fragility are strongly associated.



Trafficking is a strategy of war: to strengthen territorial dominance, attract male recruits and force children into armed groups. In Somalia, Al Shabaab routinely abduct, traffic and force women and girls into sexual slavery and marriages to militants.



Violent extremist groups in Africa use gendered recruitment campaigns. Islamic State in West Africa has targeted women to join for diverse purposes. 244 of 434 of suicide attacks carried out in the Lake Chad region between 2011-17 were by women.

<sup>1</sup> GBV is understood as "an umbrella term for any harmful act that is perpetrated against a person's will, and that is based on socially ascribed gender differences between males and females". (UK National Action Plan on Women, Peace and Security 2018-2022, p.12).

## 2. Addressing gender inequality and GBV is a policy priority for HMG and strengthens UK leadership on conflict, security and stability

The UK is a world-leader in promoting gender equality and tackling GBV in contexts of conflict and instability – but more needs to be done to translate this into funds and action at a meaningful scale. This ongoing commitment has been demonstrated through multiple policies and strategic frameworks which acknowledge the profound links between conflict, instability, gender and GBV, and that gender equality is necessary for peace. The UK now leads global investments to tackle GBV, for example through a recently announced £67m fund, the global What Works to Prevent Violence Against Women and Girls research programme, and the Preventing Sexual Violence Initiative (PSVI). Key commitments and policies are outlined in the box to the right.

### CSSF is a central vehicle for the UK to translate these commitments into action on the ground.

CSSF has taken important steps to do this, including through a cross-Government high-level Gender and Conflict Theory of Change outlining evidence and entry points for programming, recently approved by the Whitehall Africa Group, as well as a CSSF Africa Gender Policy.<sup>6</sup> Sustainable Development Goal (SDG) 5 on gender equality ('Achieve gender equality and empower all women and girls') is one of the five SDGs selected for CSSF to deliver on: this means that CSSF's objectives simply cannot be achieved without better results on this agenda. By prioritising gender equality in its engagement in pre-, active and post-conflict contexts, the UK can help to catalyse and sustain 'once in a generation' reforms, as well as sowing the seeds for lasting stability. Recent work by the Stabilisation Unit reconfirms that it is both possible and vitally important to pursue inclusive agendas, even within fragile elite bargaining processes.<sup>7</sup> This understanding was at the heart of UN Security Council Resolution 1325 but much remains to be done for this to be 'business as usual'.

### But what are the entry points, and what does it mean in practice?

Gender inequality and GBV are not peripheral issues to the violence and conflict across Africa but serve to drive and sustain it, and worsen its impacts. While there are shared findings and trends from across the region, each country has its own distinct dynamics, challenges and entry points.

The UK has long been committed to tackling gender inequality and GBV as part of its work on conflict and instability in Africa.

#### KEY COMMITMENTS INCLUDE:

- The UK's **National Action Plan on Women, Peace & Security (2018-2022)**, applicable to all HMG's work on conflict, security and stability.
- The **Strategic Approach to Africa**, which commits to a "strong focus on gender equality in the way each shift is delivered". Under the Security and Stability shift HMG "will keep women and girls at the centre of these efforts, driving forward the WPS Agenda, and ensuring support for greater gender sensitivity across the security sector".
- The **2019 Future of CSSF** review highlighted the "irrefutable evidence on the **linkages between WPS and better conflict, peace and stability outcomes**", recommending a step-change on WPS. Additional CSSF funds have been earmarked to further support WPS in NAP priority countries in Africa (£3m).
- All CSSF programmes must be fully compliant with the **International Development (Gender Equality) Act 2014**, both ODA and non-ODA.
- The UK is a global champion and investor for realising **SDG 5, SDG16, CEDAW and the Beijing Platform for Action**.

**Targeted spending on gender equality is vital if CSSF is to achieve its objectives on gender equality. However, a recent synthesis of CSSF programme Annual Reviews for 18-19 showed that fewer than 5% of all results targets (at output and outcome level) focused on gender.**

The current evidence from the continent, illustrative examples from the CSSF Africa region and implications for programming are summarised on the next page, framed around the UK NAP's Strategic Outcomes.<sup>8</sup>

## THEMATIC AREAS



### Gender-based violence

## TRENDS AND EVIDENCE ON LINKS BETWEEN GENDER INEQUALITY, GBV AND CONFLICT, SECURITY AND STABILITY

- In active conflict and protracted crises, **existing forms of GBV intensify** (e.g. intimate partner violence, child/early forced marriage) and **new forms of violence emerge** (e.g. abduction, kidnapping of girls/women for sexual slavery).
- **Drivers of GBV increase in conflict settings:** breakdown of social structures/rule of law, erosion of livelihoods, economic insecurity, childhood exposure to violence, psychosocial trauma and drug and alcohol use.
- **GBV as an effect of conflict can fuel grievances, traumatise and divide communities** and become a future cause – for example through revenge killings/attacks.
- Sexual violence is used as a **tactic of war**, primarily targeting women and girls, but also men and boys.
- GBV **reinforces violent masculine norms** that ‘real men’ use violence to solve conflict.
- **GBV is experienced significantly more by socially excluded groups** such as people with disabilities, migrant and displaced women, girls, young women, sex workers, sexual minorities.



### Decision-making

- GBV and gender inequality act in multiple ways to **limit women’s participation in political processes** at all levels, including peacebuilding and statebuilding.
- Women’s participation in peace processes **contributes to the durability of peace and stability.**
- Women’s inclusion in peacebuilding offers the opportunity to **recognise women’s different experiences of conflict** and to address the forms of GBV they face during conflict.
- Peacebuilding and statebuilding processes also provide **important opportunities to embed gender equality goals.**
- **Elite bargaining processes**, while often a first step out of armed conflict, are **likely to be male-dominated** and typically exclude women. This risks entrenching patterns of violence like GBV as women’s voices and experiences are not heard. .

## COUNTRY EXAMPLES

- *In **Northern Mali**, marriage with young girls has been used as a strategy by foreign extremist fighters to strengthen local ties and influence. Girls are forced to marry members of extremist groups, gang-raped and abandoned after a swift divorce.*
- *In **South Sudan**, a third of women (33%) in a recent study had experienced sexual violence by a non-partner, often directly related to raids, revenge attacks, displacement or abduction. In some areas more than 70% of women have experienced IPV.*

- *In **Ethiopia**, political transition following a period of violence and instability created new spaces for women’s representation and political participation, including the country’s first gender-equal cabinet and female deputy Prime Minister.*
- *In **South Sudan**, participation of a formal Women’s Bloc in negotiations for the 2015 peace agreement resulted in GBV, sexual exploitation and harassment being explicitly prohibited, paving the way for future legal and policy provisions.*

## IMPLICATIONS FOR PROGRAMMING

**SO WHAT?** → An understanding of the levels of different forms of GBV, including intimate partner violence and sexual violence, and their interaction with conflict dynamics must be incorporated into conflict analysis, conflict prevention and response strategies – including as part of peace and statebuilding processes.

**SO WHAT?** → Support women’s mobilisation and agendas during political and peace processes, which offer a unique moment to transform gender inequalities. Increasing inclusion in elite bargaining processes cannot be left ‘until later’.<sup>9</sup>

Include support for women who are threatened or experience GBV as a result of participating in public life, especially women’s human rights defenders to prevent GBV being used to silence women’s voices.

## THEMATIC AREAS

## KEY EVIDENCE ON LINKS BETWEEN GENDER INEQUALITY, GBV AND CONFLICT, SECURITY AND STABILITY

## COUNTRY EXAMPLES

## IMPLICATIONS FOR PROGRAMMING



### Peacekeeping

- **Women peacekeepers** are important for the success of peacekeeping operations and are **often more trusted and effective** in information gathering.
- Increased **recruitment of women** is particularly critical in societies where **women are prohibited from speaking to men**.
- **Sexual exploitation and abuse (SEA)** by peacekeepers is a serious crime and threatens the legitimacy of peacekeeping operations.
- **Including higher proportions of female** peacekeepers has been shown to be associated with **lower levels of SEA allegations** reported against military contingents.

- *In Somalia, women peacekeepers have been “critical in stabilising the country”. They have improved access and support for local women, increased perceptions of local security, helped address the needs of female ex-combatants and supported female cadets in the police and military.*
- *In the Central African Republic, 16 peacekeepers from Gabon are alleged to have raped 67 people, including 36 children, between 2014 and 2015. A French commander has also been accused.*

**SO WHAT?** → Continue pushing for the recruitment and deployment of women peacekeepers. SEA is a high risk in all peacekeeping contexts and must be actively prevented, and robustly and transparently handled where it occurs with an emphasis on survivor rights.



### Humanitarian response

- **Humanitarian response must meet the needs of all people.** This requires addressing GBV and other gendered humanitarian needs, including the specific sanitary, sexual and reproductive health needs of women and girls in emergencies. [The Minimum Initial Service Package](#) outlines the life-saving actions needed.
- There is growing evidence that **GBV undermines humanitarian investments** by making it harder for communities to recover from crises.
- **Adolescent girls are often at high risk** of falling between the cracks of child protection and GBV programming.

- *In Nigeria's Borno State, around 10% of GBV incidents are committed in humanitarian spaces such as displaced persons camps; often by camp authorities and other groups controlling access.*
- *In South Sudan, exposure to armed conflict increased adolescent girls' risk of experiencing non-partner sexual violence by up to seven times.*

**SO WHAT?** → Best practice guidance advises: 1) mainstreaming risk mitigation by integrating attention to GBV into existing humanitarian sector programmes; 2) specialised programming to respond to the needs of survivors and prevent GBV; 3) undertaking longer term action on prevention; and 4) supporting coordination to address GBV across response.



### Security and justice

- Conflict creates a **culture of impunity** and **further barriers for women and girls to access security and justice (S&J) services**. Concerted effort is needed during transition and post-conflict to ensure S&J services meet the needs and rights of all citizens.
- There is often **little political will to prosecute GBV** crimes during and after conflict.

- *In the Sahel, rebel and Islamic extremist groups are benefiting financially from growing human and sex trafficking networks.*

## THEMATIC AREAS



### Security and justice cont.

## KEY EVIDENCE ON LINKS BETWEEN GENDER INEQUALITY, GBV AND CONFLICT, SECURITY AND STABILITY

- Traditional values of kinship and patronage which **prioritise collective peace over individual concerns** become more important, impacting women's willingness to speak about GBV. Resorting to informal justice systems can reinforce harmful practices.
- There are links between **GBV, trafficking and organised crime**.
- S&J programmes can **work with progressive elements** of non-state actors, and to use approaches that promote gender equality, greater responsiveness and accountability to women and girls.

## COUNTRY EXAMPLES

- In **Rwanda**, the participation of women as *Gacaca judges* after the genocide encouraged women to come forward and seek justice for GBV.
- In **Northern Nigeria**, almost half of survivors do not report sexual violence because of lack of trust in formal and informal justice systems, a culture of impunity, stigmatisation and personal risk.

## IMPLICATIONS FOR PROGRAMMING

**SO WHAT?** → Security and justice programmes that promote gender equality within institutions, and strengthen responsiveness and accountability to women and girls, can contribute to both longer-term stability and equality.



### Preventing and countering violent extremism

- There is some evidence that individuals engaged in violent extremism or terrorist attacks are **more likely to have a record of perpetrating violence against women**.
- Personal histories of female violent extremists often identify a **pattern of violence and coercion from male relatives**, including fathers, brothers or husbands.
- Some violent extremists have forced women and girls to support their organisation, including through **abduction**.
- In parts of Africa, there is a close association between gender inequality and violent extremism **through the practice of 'bride price'**.
- **Exposure to conflict in childhood can lead to intergenerational cycles of violence** (mostly in homes), but with mutating forms and broader implications for violent extremism.
- There is a larger body of evidence exploring how **violent extremist groups exploit gender norms and 'thwarted masculinities'** – the perceived inability of men to be 'real men' by providing for or protecting their communities.
- Violent extremist groups are also **exploiting gendered assumptions in tactics** (e.g. recruitment tactics, female suicide bombers).<sup>10</sup>

- In **Sudan**, a study found that women represent 17% of violent extremist group members, mainly in service provision roles. Women were more motivated to join in order to access humanitarian services than men: 67% in Khartoum and 50% in Darfur.
- In **Somalia**, Al Shabaab is described as providing "an alternative pathway to manhood" in an environment where traditional paths have been 'thwarted' by conflict, insecurity and instability. This has also been documented in Nigeria.
- In **Nigeria**, over 2,000 women were kidnapped from 2014-2016, with many used as "sexual slaves, human shields and suicide bombers".<sup>10</sup> Boko Haram has committed sexual violence against boys as young as 7 to sever family ties and recruit them into violence.

**SO WHAT?** → Interventions to prevent and counter violent extremism must be developed based on contextualised gender analysis, including an understanding of forms of GBV linked to violent extremism, otherwise such interventions could inadvertently cause direct harm to women and girls. Interventions that understand the gendered pathways to (de) radicalisation, recruitment and rehabilitation will ultimately be more effective.

## Overcoming constraints

**While there are a host of reasons why the UK should be addressing gender inequality and GBV across Africa, there may be cases in which individual staff or country programmes feel it is not appropriate. Some of these will be justified but it may be worth looking a little deeper. Possible objections and responses would include:**

1. This is a high-risk context and we need to focus on getting the basics right. Gender isn't a priority

**Getting the basics right means getting it right for everyone, including women and girls, and tackling all potential drivers, dynamics and impacts of conflict, insecurity and instability.** If gender issues are ignored at the start of a programme it will be harder to address them later. For example, if women's needs and perspectives are ignored when drafting a new Constitution, it may be decades before there is another opportunity to input. Women, men, girls and boys experience conflict differently and have differing needs and vulnerabilities that, if unaddressed, can spiral into greater need and vulnerability and drive grievances and violence. Conflict-affected contexts offer a vital window of opportunity to tackle gender-based inequalities and lay the foundations for longer-term stability and development.

2. It's too sensitive and deeply-rooted in the religious or cultural context

**Even in the most conservative or socially restrictive contexts women are calling for their rights, meaningful participation and interests to be met.** Religious and cultural norms are not fixed, objective facts but are fluid concepts that change over time and are constantly being renegotiated. Working with and through local women-led civil society groups and women peacebuilders when designing and implementing initiatives is the best way to navigate complex or restrictive norms – local women know the risks, and the best ways to navigate them. This often involves working with traditional, religious and community leaders who play a key role in shaping norms and values in their context. Identifying and working alongside male champions is also important in shifting norms over the longer-term, as well as opening space to engage on sensitive topics and mitigating risks of violent backlash against women activists. Funding women-led civil society organisations is also a vital enabler in FCAS settings – allowing local women to define and deliver their own locally-assessed priorities.

**The UK has advanced and supported a women's rights agenda in some of the most challenging contexts**, including conflict-affected parts of Iraq, Syria and Somalia.

In Somalia, the UK-funded Somalia Stability Fund is pioneering approaches to integrating gender into deradicalisation screening and rehabilitation. A commitment to engaging with local civil society and women's rights organisations long-term has been a key part of UK successes like this one in challenging and conservative contexts.

There is emerging evidence that interventions that address gender norms, behaviours and inequalities, and challenge dominant notions of masculinity linked to controlling and aggressive behaviours, can be effective at reducing GBV.<sup>11</sup> For example, in post-conflict Namibia.<sup>12</sup>

3. GBV and gender inequality didn't come up in conflict analysis

**There are gendered dimensions to every conflict, as described above.** GBV is a widespread, highly underreported dimension and potential driver of every conflict – if it did not come up during conflict analysis, it's possible that the right questions were not asked, or the right actors (including women affected by conflict themselves) were not consulted. Traditional analytical frameworks that place a strong emphasis on political settlement and elite bargains are unlikely to reveal much on gendered dynamics and drivers unless these questions are explicitly included in the methodology, choice of participants and analysis process. Guidance from the Stabilisation Unit on the [UK approach to stabilisation](#) and [completing a JACS](#) reaffirms this, and offers practical direction on how to do it.

4. Security is about capabilities and effectiveness of security and defence actors; what does gender have to do with it?

**If the programme impacts on people, there will be gender equality issues to consider.** Women are half the population in any FCAS context and will have distinct needs, roles, views and experiences. It has also long been recognised that security and peace mean much more than ceasefires or security sector reform – human security approaches are now best practice, recognising the need for holistic and person-centred approaches to safety, security and justice.

The UK has been a global thought leader in this area, developing pioneering approaches to community safety, human security in military contexts and bringing gender analysis into traditional 'hard security' domains like counter-terror. Ultimately our interventions seek to improve people's lives – men and women, boys and girls, sexual and gender minorities, people with disabilities, young and old. This must remain the yardstick by which we measure our success.

### 5. There's no government partner the UK can work with on this agenda

Working with a government partner to strengthen the legislative and legal context to address GBV and gender inequalities can be a highly effective; however, **it is not the only route.** A wide range of actions can be supported without a partner government, for example, with INGO and UN agencies on GBV in refugee and IDP populations, supporting research, monitoring and international lobbying, strengthening women's organisations and women peacebuilders to take action and support victims, supporting women's participation in peace negotiations and political participation. The UK has successfully promoted women, peace and security agendas in both Syria and South Sudan where this has been a challenge – indeed, the UK's work in Syria is some of the strongest and most impressive globally on this agenda.

### 6. There is a risk of exposing women and girls to further risk and doing more harm than good

**All interventions in a conflict context have the potential to create unintended, negative consequences that may fuel violence, including against women and girls.**<sup>13</sup> It is essential that we consider the conflict sensitivity of any steps we may take to address GBV and gender inequality, to anticipate potential negative effects and mitigate if possible. All work to address GBV in any context, whether conflict-affected or a developing context, should plan for and mitigate backlash as part of best practice in ethical standards.<sup>14</sup> Active monitoring of interventions will be essential to ensure that if unintended harm starts to occur, action can be taken swiftly to address it. There is also a risk of instrumentalising women's organisations and tokenistic, extractive consultation. Instead, we should look for opportunities to meaningfully engage women in policy, programming and political processes, including via long-term funding for women-led civil society and rights organisations.<sup>15</sup>

In Syria, a NAP focus country, the **UK is driving forward impressive cross-mission work on gender and WPS** despite a challenging diplomatic relationship. Key components include a GBV service mapping, funding to women's rights organisations and activists and a strong focus on protection. The UK's work in Syria is exemplary and has been enabled in part by a cross-departmental Shared Approach to Gender. Other CSSF regions have cross-HMG gender strategies, including British Embassies in Libya, Iraq and Afghanistan, but there are currently none up to date in CSSF Africa posts.

## Further Information



For further information on how to address gender inequality and GBV in peace and security initiatives, see NAP guidance notes:

**NAP GUIDANCE NOTE** – Preventing and Responding to GBV in Conflict and Post-conflict Settings (forthcoming)

**NAP GUIDANCE NOTE** – [Implementing Strategic Outcome 6: Preventing and Countering Violent Extremism](#)

**NAP STRATEGIC OUTCOME 5:** Security and Justice Guidance (forthcoming)

**GENDER SENSITIVITY AND COUNTER TERRORISM:** A Guidance Note (available to HMG internally)

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## Endnotes

- 1 Globally, there is a strong association between gender equality and peace. Gender inequality increases the likelihood that a state will experience both internal and international conflicts (Caprioli, 2005). Women's physical security is a strong predictor of state peacefulness, more than other factors such as level of democracy, wealth or prevalence of Islamic culture (Hudson et al. 2012). At the same time, increased gender disparity and reduced physical security for women are among the earliest signs of crisis and violence (Anderlini, 2011). For a fuller exposition of the evidence linking VAWG and conflict, see Fraser and Kangas, 2017, VAWG Helpdesk Research Report No. 152.
- 2 Work by Thania Paffenholz and others has shown that women's meaningful participation in peace processes increases the likelihood that they will be sustained for five years or more by more than 36%. See: Paffenholz et al, 2016, "Making Women Count - Not Just Counting Women: Assessing Women's Inclusion and Influence on Peace Negotiations".
- 3 These are, in order from lowest to highest score: Chad; Mali; Central African Republic; Cote d'Ivoire; and Liberia. Data is not available for some of the most conflict-affected parts of Africa including Somalia, South Sudan and Nigeria. Human Development Report, 2018 Statistical Update, Gender Inequality Index (p38): [http://hdr.undp.org/sites/default/files/2018\\_human\\_development\\_statistical\\_update.pdf](http://hdr.undp.org/sites/default/files/2018_human_development_statistical_update.pdf)
- 4 Proportion of ever-partnered women aged 15-49 years experiencing intimate partner physical and/or sexual violence at least once in their lifetime. Statistics found on the UN Women website - <http://evaw-global-database.unwomen.org/en>, except Somalia and South Sudan.
- 5 The evidence presented in this graphic is taken from diverse sources cited in Bell, E, Fraser, E and Schauerhammer, V (2019) Africa VAWG Analysis, Helpdesk Research Report No. 245. London, UK: VAWG Helpdesk
- 6 See Annex A of CSSF's Africa Gender Policy.
- 7 Stabilisation Unit, "Gender and Conflict: Making Elite Bargaining Processes More Inclusive", 2019.
- 8 The evidence summarized in this table is taken from Bell, E, Fraser, E and Schauerhammer, V (2019) Africa VAWG Analysis, Helpdesk Research Report No. 245. London, UK: VAWG Helpdesk.
- 9 See evidence outlined in the Stabilisation Unit's recent briefing note, "Gender and Conflict: Making Elite Bargaining Processes More Inclusive", 2019.
- 10 Coomaraswamy, 2015:223.
- 11 Fulu, E. Kerr-Wilson, A. and Lang, J. (2014), What works to prevent violence against women and girls? Evidence Review of interventions to prevent violence against women and girls; Alexander-Scott, M. Bell, E. and Holden, J. (2016) DFID Guidance Note: Shifting Social Norms to Tackle Violence Against Women and Girls (VAWG). London: VAWG Helpdesk [https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment\\_data/file/507845/Shifting-Social-Norms-tackle-Violence-against-Women-Girls3.pdf](https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/507845/Shifting-Social-Norms-tackle-Violence-against-Women-Girls3.pdf)
- 12 Kandirikirira, N. Deconstructing Domination: Gender Disempowerment and the Legacy of Colonialism and Apartheid in Omaheke, Namibia, in Masculinities Matter: Men, Gender and Development, ed. Francis Cleaver (London, Zed Books, 2002)
- 13 Anderson, M.B. (1996) Do no harm – how aid can fuel conflict or peace, Lynne Reiner
- 14 See HMG Guidance Note (2019) Preventing and Responding to Gender-based Violence in Conflict and Post-conflict Settings. London: VAWG Helpdesk
- 15 UK GAPS network, Women for Women International, Amnesty International UK, Saferworld, Womankind Worldwide (2018) Beyond Consultation: A tool for meaningfully engaging with women in fragile and conflict-affected states, GAPS.