Feminist Research Working Group

COFEM

Queer Inclusive Feminist Practice in Humanitarian Settings

Learning Brief

2026

1. Introduction: Why It Matters Now

Humanitarian crises are shaped by intersecting systems of violence and inequality. Conflict, displacement, climate shocks, criminalisation, shrinking civic spaces, emerging technologies with dual-use applications, and rising anti-gender movements do not affect all people equally. Instead, they deepen existing inequalities and intensify risks for people whose identities, bodies, and lives are already marginalised.

For queer and gender-diverse people, humanitarian crises often amplify systems of exclusion that existed long before the crisis itself. They experience humanitarian crises through intersecting systems of power, including patriarchy, heteronormativity, racism, class inequality, ableism, migration status, and criminalisation. These systems determine whose experiences are recognised, whose safety is prioritised, and whose knowledge is valued within humanitarian and gender-based violence (GBV) responses.

Yet queer and gender-diverse communities are not only communities experiencing harm. Across contexts, they have developed powerful practices of care, protection, organising, and resistance. Through informal networks, trusted relationships, mutual aid, digital spaces, community-led initiatives, and collective action, queer and gender-diverse people have created systems of survival and solidarity, often in contexts where formal institutions fail to provide safety or recognition.[1]

Queer-inclusive feminist practice begins from this reality.

It recognises that gender, sexuality, and experiences of violence are not individual characteristics separated from social and political systems. They are shaped by unequal distributions of power that determine who is protected, who is excluded, and whose knowledge is valued. A queer-inclusive feminist approach therefore does not simply ask how humanitarian systems can "include" queer and gender-diverse people. It asks how those systems themselves must change.

Many humanitarian and GBV approaches continue to rely on assumptions that limit meaningful inclusion. These include binary understandings of gender, vulnerability-based categories that overlook agency and resilience, service models that assume disclosure is safe, and approaches where visibility is treated as an indicator of progress.

For many queer and gender-diverse people, however, visibility can carry significant risks. Public identification, disclosure of identity, or inclusion without adequate protection may increase exposure to violence, surveillance, criminalisation, family rejection, discrimination, or retaliation. In such contexts, privacy, discretion, and strategic invisibility can be forms of safety, resistance, and collective care.

The deeper question is: How must humanitarian and GBV systems transform so that safety, dignity, and agency are defined by the communities most affected by violence?

1. Lough, Barbelet, and Njeril, "Inclusion and exclusion in humanitarian action: findings from a three-year study," HPG Report (2022).

This Learning Brief emerges from the COFEM Feminist Research Working Group Learning Circle, which brought together twenty-three practitioners, researchers, and activists working across humanitarian and GBV contexts. Discussions explored how queer-inclusive feminist practice can move beyond policy commitments and become embedded in everyday practice, including programming, research, partnerships, safeguarding, funding, and advocacy.

Across regions including South and Southeast Asia, South West Asia and North Africa (SWANA), East Africa, and Latin America, participants reflected on a shared reality: inclusion cannot be reduced to representation, terminology, or visibility. Meaningful inclusion requires trust, confidentiality, contextual understanding, accountability, and a redistribution of power.

This brief shares reflections and practices emerging from these conversations. It explores how feminist humanitarian actors can support queer and gender-diverse communities without reproducing extractive approaches, while learning from the systems of care, knowledge and organising communities have already built.

Queer Inclusive Feminist Practice

In this brief, queer-inclusive feminist practice refers to feminist approaches that recognise and respond to the diverse ways gender, sexuality, identity, power and violence are experienced across contexts. We use "queer" as an umbrella term that includes diverse queer, lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, non-binary, intersex and gender-diverse communities, while recognising that communities use different terms, identities and political languages depending on their social, cultural and historical contexts.

What Does Queer-Inclusive Feminist Practice Mean?

Queer-inclusive feminist practice is not about adding queer and gender-diverse communities into existing humanitarian systems without questioning those systems.

It requires feminist actors to examine how assumptions about gender, violence, vulnerability, safety, evidence, and participation shape whose realities are recognised and whose needs remain invisible.

A feminist approach to GBV already recognises that violence is not experienced equally by all people. GBV is produced and sustained through unequal power relations, including those related to gender, sexuality, race, caste, disability, age, class, nationality, migration status, and other forms of social and political inequality.

Queer-inclusive feminist practice builds on the same analysis by asking whose experiences have historically been excluded from dominant understandings of gender and violence.

It asks:

- Who is visible within our understanding of GBV, and who remains unseen?
- Whose definition of safety shapes our programmes and policies?
- What assumptions about gender and identity are embedded within our tools, data systems, and institutions?
- Are communities shaping decisions, or are decisions still being made about them?
- Are people able to access support without being required to disclose identities that may place them at risk?

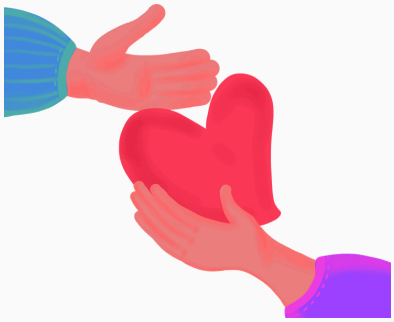
At its core, queer-inclusive feminist practice shifts humanitarian and GBV work from including identities within existing systems toward transforming the systems themselves.

Five Principles of Queer Inclusive Feminist Practice



Safety before visibility:
Visibility is not always protective in contexts where queer and gender-diverse people face criminalisation, surveillance, or violence. Communities frequently make careful decisions about when to be visible, when to use strategic language, and when privacy is necessary for survival. Inclusion therefore requires asking not whether people are visible, but whether they can access support safely and on their own terms.

Practice question: Who defines what safety means?



Trust before access:
Meaningful engagement begins with relationships, not simply services or outreach. Queer communities often organise through trusted networks, informal collectives, digital spaces, diaspora connections, and peer-led support systems that may not be visible to formal humanitarian actors. Building trust requires time, accountability, confidentiality, and respect for community-defined boundaries.

Practice question: How can we build trust before asking communities to share information, disclose their knowledge, or participate in engagements that require them to rely on their worldviews and practices?



Agency before vulnerability:
Queer and gender-diverse people are not only affected by violence; they are organisers, caregivers, advocates, knowledge holders, and creators of alternative systems of protection. Humanitarian responses often begin by identifying needs and risks, but queer-inclusive feminist practice starts by recognising existing strengths, strategies, and systems of care. Communities should be engaged as partners and decision-makers, not only as recipients of support.

Practice question: What can we learn from how communities define and approach safety?



Context before universal models:
There is no single pathway to queer inclusion. Approaches that create safety in one context may increase risks in another, particularly where communities face criminalisation, conflict, or shrinking civic space. Meaningful inclusion requires attention to local histories and political realities, contextual analysis and humility, with approaches shaped by community knowledge and priorities rather than imported or predetermined models.

Practice question: What practices already exist, and how can we support them without causing harm through extraction, appropriation, or in any other manner?



Power-sharing before participation:
Consultation alone does not shift power. Communities experiencing violence must not only be invited to share experiences; they must have influence over decisions, resources, evidence, and priorities. This requires moving from participation to co-creation to shared decision-making.

Practice question: Who defines priorities, controls resources, and shapes decisions?

Together, these principles shift queer inclusion from adding identities into existing systems towards transforming humanitarian practice around safety, dignity, agency, and accountability.

Where Systems Fall Short: Institutional Barriers to Queer-Inclusive Practice

Despite growing recognition of the needs and rights of queer and gender-diverse communities, humanitarian systems can still make meaningful inclusion difficult. Many of these challenges are not simply about individual attitudes or a lack of awareness. They are embedded in how humanitarian actors define communities, assess risk, collect data, identify partners, deliver services and measure results.

Visibility can become a measure of inclusion

Humanitarian and feminist programmes often rely on visibility as evidence of inclusion: identifying queer and gender-diverse people in assessments, collecting demographic data, publicly naming communities, establishing targeted programmes, or demonstrating representation. Yet these approaches can be problematic when visibility itself creates risk.

In contexts where queer and gender-diverse people face criminalisation, surveillance, stigma or violence, being identified can have consequences for individuals, organisations and networks. Communities may therefore choose to remain less visible, use different language, avoid organisational branding, or adapt how they engage with humanitarian actors. These choices should not automatically be interpreted as a lack of participation or exclusion. They are forms of survival, care, and resistance.

Participants highlighted Myanmar[2] as an example of how political conditions shape queer organising. Following the 2021 military coup, shrinking civic space and increased insecurity affected many civil society actors, including queer and feminist activists. For some organisations, maintaining a low profile, not using organisational logos, adapting public messaging, avoiding identification, and supporting activists facing heightened risks became necessary strategies for protection. This includes risks such as sexual and gender-based violence (SGBV), displacement, disrupted support networks, shrinking access to healthcare and psychosocial support, and serious barriers to justice and survivor services.[3]

The challenge for humanitarian actors is therefore not simply to make communities more visible, but to understand when visibility is safe, useful and wanted.

Questions for practice

- Do our indicators of inclusion reward visibility even when visibility may increase risk?
- Who decides whether visibility is safe or necessary?
- How can people access support without having to publicly identify themselves?

Formal systems can overlook community infrastructure

Humanitarian systems often privilege registered organisations, formal service points, established referral mechanisms and recognised civil society partners. Yet queer and gender-diverse communities may organise through friendship and peer networks, informal collectives, diaspora networks, digital spaces and other forms of mutual support, particularly where formal systems are inaccessible, unsafe or not trusted.

Across the SWANA region, Afghanistan and the Rohingya refugee response in Bangladesh, participants highlighted how these informal networks can provide information, care, referrals and support where formal systems fall short. In Bangladesh, for example, limited recognition of hijra, kothi and other gender-diverse communities was linked to gaps in access to protection, health and psychosocial services and safe spaces.[4]

2. Outright. Leaving No One Behind Means Starting at the Back of the Line: LGBTIQ Inclusion in Humanitarian Settings. (2025)
3. Andrews, T. (2024). Courage amid crisis: Gendered impacts of the coup and the pursuit of gender equality in Myanmar (Conference room paper of the Special Rapporteur on the situation of human rights in Myanmar, A/HRC/56/CRP.8). United Nations Human Rights Council.
4. Gender-Diverse Population Working Group (2024) https://rohingyaresponse.org/gdpwg/

In contexts where public identification can carry significant risks, these networks may also need to remain less visible.

This points to a broader challenge that "community" cannot be understood only through registered organisations or formal structures. The task is not to formalise or replace existing networks, but to find diverse ways of recognising and engaging with diverse community infrastructure while protecting autonomy, confidentiality and safety. This challenge is not unique to queer organising, but queer and gender-diverse communities can face an additional layer of exclusion when broader civil society spaces and movements do not adequately include them.

Questions for practice

- Which forms of community organising does our system recognise, and which does it overlook?
- How can we engage trusted networks without requiring them to become formal organisations?
- Who carries the risk when humanitarian actors seek to make informal networks more visible?

Data, safeguarding and risk systems can reproduce exclusion

Humanitarian actors need information to understand needs, allocate resources and assess whether programmes are reaching different communities. However, participants highlighted that data collection can create harm when institutional requirements and binary categories are prioritised over community safety.[5]

Binary gender categories, standardised demographic forms and requirements to document specific populations may leave queer and gender-diverse realities unrecognised. At the same time, collecting information about sexual orientation or gender identity without adequate safeguards can expose people to stigma, violence, discrimination or other forms of harm. In some contexts, even documenting the existence of a particular community or network can create risk.

This creates a difficult tension: communities may be excluded when their experiences are not reflected in institutional evidence, but collecting more data is not necessarily the answer. What matters is whether information is necessary, how it is collected, who controls it, who can access it and what consequences may follow.

5. A commitment of states and the international community as per the UN Sustainable Development Goal 5, the Gender, Peace, and Security agenda and the IASC Policy on Gender Equality, amongst many others. However, in practice gender equality, justice, and protection is often only understood as equality between women and men.

Community knowledge, lived experience, relationships, collective organising, and movement-generated knowledge can also provide important evidence of needs, risks and effective practice. These forms of knowledge should not be treated as secondary simply because they do not fit conventional humanitarian data systems.

Questions for practice

- What information do we actually need, and what information could create unnecessary risk?
- Who has access to the data, and who decides how it is used?
- What forms of community-generated and qualitative evidence are we currently overlooking?

Risk management can become a reason for inaction

Safety concerns are real and must be taken seriously. However, risk management can sometimes become a reason for avoiding queer-inclusive feminist practice altogether. When organisations conclude that engaging with queer and gender-diverse communities is "too risky", the result may be that these communities are excluded from programming, partnerships, funding or decision-making.

This can shift the onus of risk back onto communities that are already navigating significant structural and political risks as well as discrimination, violence, and insecurity. Avoiding engagement does not necessarily remove risk; it can mean that people are left to navigate those risks without access to humanitarian resources or support.

A more useful approach is to ask how risk can be understood and managed collaboratively and contextually. This may mean ongoing reflection on changing political realities, being flexible, adapting language, outreach, referral pathways, community-led decision-making, partnerships, data collection or programme visibility rather than withdrawing altogether. Decisions about what is safe should be informed by those who understand the context and experience the consequences of those decisions.

Questions for practice

- Are we using risk assessment to make programming safer, or to justify exclusion?
- Whose understanding of risk informs our decisions?
- What could we adapt rather than stop?

What Feminist Practice Can Learn from Queer Organising

Despite structural barriers, queer-inclusive feminist practice is already happening across humanitarian contexts. Across different contexts, they are creating their own forms of care, protection, knowledge and collective action that are adaptive, relational, and deeply political, often in response to the gaps and exclusions of formal systems. These practices offer important lessons for feminist humanitarian work more broadly.



Care and Mutual Aid as Movement Infrastructure

Where formal institutions do not provide adequate protection or support, queer communities have often developed networks of mutual aid, care and solidarity. These can include sharing resources, providing emergency support, accompanying people through crises, creating safer spaces, connecting people to services and offering emotional support. Care in these contexts is not simply an individual or private act. It can be a deliberate form of collective and political resistance to systems that abandon or exclude particular communities.

Feminist humanitarian practice can learn from this by recognising care and relationships as part of the infrastructure that enables people and movements to survive and organise. This means creating space and resources for relationship-building, emotional labour, peer support and collective care, rather than treating them as additional activities alongside "core" programme work.



Strategic invisibility as political knowledge

Queer-inclusive feminist practice also challenges the assumption that greater visibility is always a sign of progress. In hostile environments, activists and communities may deliberately remain less visible, use coded or locally appropriate language, avoid public identification, or move organising into private, digital or trusted spaces.

These strategies require knowledge of political conditions, social relationships and changing risks. Invisibility can therefore be a deliberate tactic for maintaining safety, solidarity and continuity of organising.

This offers an important lesson for feminist organisations whose advocacy and communications practices often rely on visibility, public campaigning and naming issues openly. Visibility can be powerful, but it is not universally safe or appropriate. Feminist practice can make greater space for strategic privacy, discretion and community-defined approaches to visibility.



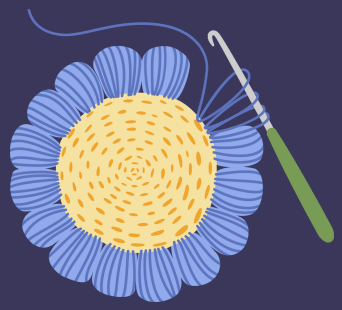
Intersectionality as a starting point, not an add-on

Queer-inclusive feminist practice also reinforces the importance of understanding power as interconnected. Sexual orientation and gender identity do not exist separately from race, ethnicity, class, disability, migration status, age, religion, geography, conflict and other forms of inequality.

For many queer and gender-diverse communities, these intersections shape both the risks they face and the resources available to them. A person may experience exclusion not because of one identity or characteristic, but through the interaction of multiple systems of power.

For example, participants discussed how queer organising in SWANA contexts often takes place through discreet networks because public visibility may create serious risks. Similarly, in Myanmar, following the 2021 military coup, queer and feminist activists adapted their approaches in response to shrinking civic space and increased insecurity, including reducing public visibility and changing how organisations operated.

This challenges approaches that treat “queer inclusion” as an additional category to be incorporated into an otherwise unchanged programme. Feminist practice can instead begin with intersectionality and ask how different forms of power shape safety, access, participation, knowledge and decision-making from the outset.



Alternative ways of organising, leading and producing knowledge

Queer-inclusive feminist practice also offers alternatives to conventional models of leadership, representation and organisational legitimacy. Across contexts, communities use collective decision-making, peer leadership, consensus-building, informal organising and shared responsibility to navigate complex realities and distribute power.

These approaches are not automatically inclusive or free from internal hierarchies. Queer and feminist movements can also reproduce inequalities around resources, geography, language, professional status and access to donors. However, informal and collective forms of organising can challenge the assumption that leadership must always be centralised, professionalised or institutionally recognised.

This is particularly important in humanitarian and feminist spaces where funding and professionalisation can shape whose work becomes visible and whose knowledge is considered legitimate. Grassroots, rural and informal forms of organising can become less visible when organisations are expected to communicate in donor-friendly language, meet institutional requirements or adopt professional organisational structures.

Thus, queer-inclusive feminist practice invites feminist humanitarian actors to ask not only who is represented, but also who gets to define priorities, produce knowledge, make decisions and control resources.

Solidarity becomes transformative when it involves a shift in power, including over agendas, resources, knowledge, authorship and risk.

From Principles to Practice: What Needs to Shift

The Learning Circle highlights that meaningful queer-inclusive feminist practice requires more than adding new categories or representation within existing systems. It requires shifts in how humanitarian actors understand safety, evidence, participation, and power.

Key Shifts Include:

- **From visibility as inclusion to safety-defined inclusion**

Inclusion should not be measured by how visible a community, organisation or programme is. Humanitarian actors should assess whether visibility is safe, useful and desired in a particular context, and recognise that strategic privacy, "quiet inclusion" or low visibility can also reflect agency and protection.

- **From formal organisations to diverse community infrastructure**

Registered organisations should not be treated as the only legitimate entry point to communities. Humanitarian systems need ways to work with trusted networks, peer groups, informal collectives and community-led initiatives without forcing them into structures that may undermine their autonomy or increase exposure.

- **From data extraction to community-accountable evidence**

More data does not automatically mean better inclusion. Organisations should collect only information that is necessary and safe, strengthen confidentiality and data protection, and recognise qualitative, lived-experience and community-generated knowledge as legitimate forms of evidence.

- **From risk avoidance to risk-aware action**

Risk should inform how programmes are designed, not automatically determine whether they happen. Where risks emerge, organisations should consider what can be adapted, including language, visibility, partnerships, locations, referral pathways and activities, rather than defaulting to withdrawal.

- **From consultation to shared decision-making**

Inviting queer and gender-diverse people to participate does not necessarily shift power. Meaningful inclusion requires communities to have influence over priorities, programme design, research questions, resources, evidence and decisions that affect them.

- **From universal models to context-responsive practice**

Approaches developed in one context cannot simply be transferred to another. Feminist humanitarian practice should start by understanding existing community strategies, political realities and local forms of organising, and ask how external actors can support them without extraction, appropriation or harm.

- **From short-term projects to movement infrastructure**

Community organising depends on relationships, trust, care, coordination and the ability to adapt. Funding and programme models should therefore recognise and resource the infrastructure that allows movements and communities to sustain their work, rather than funding only short-term activities or measurable outputs.

Key Recommendations

Together, these shifts move queer-inclusive feminist practice from symbolic inclusion towards a transformation of how humanitarian systems understand safety, knowledge, and power.

For Humanitarian and GBV Practitioners

- **Create multiple pathways to support.**

Where formal referral systems may be inaccessible or unsafe, create different ways for people to seek support through trusted community connectors, peer networks and discreet referral pathways. For example, someone should be able to access information or a service without having to publicly disclose their sexual orientation or gender identity. Offer multiple, confidential ways to provide feedback or raise concerns, including through trusted community partners or individuals where appropriate.

- **Review every data requirement.**

Before collecting information about sexual orientation, gender identity or other sensitive characteristics, ask why it is needed, who will access it, how it will be protected and what

could happen if it were disclosed. Where the information is not essential, do not collect it.

- **Build flexibility into programming.**

Allow outreach methods, language, locations, partnerships and programme visibility to change as political and security conditions change. Contextual adaptation should be treated as responsible programming, not as a failure to deliver the original plan.

- **Work with trusted community infrastructure.**

Identify and engage with existing networks, peer groups and community-led initiatives where appropriate, without requiring them to become formal organisations or exposing them to unnecessary institutional scrutiny.

- **Make safeguarding and risk decisions with communities.**

People directly affected by a risk often have the strongest understanding of how it can be navigated. Involve queer and gender-diverse communities in decisions about what is safe, what information can be shared and what forms of engagement are appropriate.

- **Invest in ongoing reflection, peer learning, and organisational learning**

This can include reflecting on programme design, language, data collection, referral pathways, safeguarding, risk assessments and partnership practices, and learning from queer and gender-diverse community members and organisations. The aim is to make adaptation part of everyday practice.

For Donors and Funders

- **Fund movement infrastructure, not only programme activities.**

Multi-year, flexible funding can support coordination, care, digital security, emergency response, movement-building, community organising, travel and relationship-building alongside programme delivery.

- **Make funding accessible to informal and grassroots organising.**

Where possible, use proportionate due diligence and flexible partnership arrangements so that lack of formal registration or conventional organisational structures does not automatically exclude trusted community actors.

- **Allow funding to adapt to changing risks.**

Partners should be able to change activities, language, visibility or delivery approaches when circumstances change, without lengthy approval processes becoming a barrier to timely adaptation.

- **Recognise different forms of evidence.**

Funding and reporting requirements should make space for qualitative evidence, lived experience, community knowledge and movement learning and recognise them as legitimate evidence.

- **Allow safe and appropriate approaches to reporting and disclosure.**

Donors can support this by allowing confidential reporting arrangements, anonymised or aggregated evidence where appropriate, and alternative forms of documentation when public attribution or detailed demographic data could cause harm. Partners should not be required to make communities more visible in order to demonstrate that inclusion is happening.

- **Create accountability models that prioritise safety and meaningful impact.**

Where public visibility or disclosure may create risk, partners should be able to demonstrate progress through confidential, qualitative and community-defined forms of evidence. Accountability should focus on whether resources are reaching communities safely, whether people have meaningful influence and whether programmes are contributing to outcomes that communities themselves value.

For Feminist Organizations and Network

- **Share agenda-setting power.**

Move beyond inviting queer and gender-diverse communities to participate in existing agendas. Share decisions about priorities, research questions, advocacy strategies, funding and organisational direction, including through regional and cross-border / transnational solidarity.

- **Protect rather than extract knowledge.**

Before sharing stories, evidence or community experiences, ask what can safely be shared, what should remain confidential, who should be credited and whether attribution could create risk.

- **Examine internal power, exclusion and professionalisation.**

Reflect on whose knowledge, language, organisational forms and leadership styles are considered legitimate within feminist spaces. Pay attention to how funding, geography, professional networks and proximity to donors shape whose voices are heard, and how professionalisation can leave grassroots, informal and rural organising less visible.

For Feminist Organizations and Network

- **Resource relationships and care.**

Recognise trust-building, emotional labour, peer support and collective care as part of the infrastructure that allows movements and communities to sustain their work, rather than as additional or peripheral activities.

- **Create space for different ways of organising.**

Remain open to collective, informal, horizontal and community-defined approaches to leadership, decision-making and knowledge production, rather than expecting communities to adopt existing institutional models. This can include regional solidarity and cross-border exchange that enables movements to share knowledge, resources, care and strategies.

For networks such as COFEM, this means acting not only as spaces for knowledge exchange, but also as connectors and brokers between grassroots queer and gender-diverse movements and wider feminist and humanitarian actors.

Moving Beyond Inclusion

Queer-inclusive feminist practice asks more than whether queer and gender-diverse people are represented in humanitarian programmes. It asks whether the systems themselves are creating conditions for safety, agency, dignity and meaningful power.

Communities are already creating forms of care, protection, knowledge and collective action, often in spaces that formal humanitarian systems do not recognise. The role of humanitarian and feminist actors is not to replace these infrastructures, make them more visible at any cost, or extract their knowledge. It is to build relationships, redistribute power and resources, and create conditions in which communities can define what safety, support and meaningful participation look like on their own term.

Resource List:

- COFEM Learning Brief. Repoliticizing Intersectionality: Returning to its Roots, Addressing Misconceptions, and Applying Theory to Praxis. (2026)
- COFEM Feminist Pocketbook Tipsheet #5. Feminist Approaches to Building Knowledge and Evidence on GBV.
- IRGAC. Queer-feminist Strategies and Transnational Solidarity Against Gender-Based Violence. (2022)
- GLAAD. A Look into Black Queer Women in Feminism Over the Years.
- Outright. Leaving No One Behind Means Starting at the Back of the Line: LGBTIQ Inclusion in Humanitarian Settings. (2025)

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