What’s the Issue?

Understanding intersecting forms of vulnerability and discrimination is increasingly recognized as key to the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) and the ‘Leave No One Behind (LNOB)’ agenda. Yet translation from concept into practice remains challenging and the use of intersectional approaches remain an underprioritized and underexplored area of work. Against this backdrop, UN Women has engaged in research and knowledge-generation as part of its global ‘disability inclusion and intersectionality portfolio’ to explore how intersectional approaches help identify the drivers of exclusion in conflict or crisis-affected areas and countries in transition.

This policy brief discusses the global context for intersectionality in conflict or crisis and transition settings, and considers the specific barriers faced in relation to the Women, Peace and Security (WPS) and the Rule of Law agendas. It provides recommendations to overcome these barriers and points to positive actions to ensure that policies and programmes are inclusive and accessible for all.

Our Solutions

Emerging from critical race and gender theory, intersectional approaches encourage policymakers and practitioners to move beyond singular categories of identity (such as gender, race, disability or age) and consider the more complex relationships and interactions between all identities and the impact of structures of oppression – including racism, sexism and ableism. The lens of intersectionality, broadly conceived, can better illuminate complex contexts and drivers of exclusion as it pays attention to the relationships between experiences of marginalization, power dynamics and structural inequality.

While an intersectional approach is not yet standard practice, there is growing understanding that these compounded forms of discrimination need to be addressed in order to ensure that individuals with lived experiences of systemic exclusion are not further excluded from the benefits of development. To advance this dialogue, UN Women and its partners engaged in a research and knowledge-sharing initiative to identify specific trends, gaps and opportunities for the application of intersectionality to policies and programmes in conflict or crisis-affected areas and countries in transition.

The ongoing research focused on the intersection of gender and disability and reviewed data from six countries facing the challenges of conflicts or post-conflict transitions – Central African Republic, Colombia, Iraq, Lebanon, Rwanda and Ukraine – to identify practical, country-specific approaches.
Limited partner availability due to COVID-19 meant that not all regions or countries were covered, however attempts were made to broaden the scope of cross-regional learning and knowledge-sharing.

The first phase of the work included a literature review of relevant documents pertaining to Rule of Law and Women, Peace, and Security within the six countries. The second phase was an analysis of local interventions (projects, advocacy initiatives, etc.) implemented by UN entities, governments, international non-governmental organizations (INGOs) and civil society organizations (CSOs). The assortment is a mix of both gender- and WPS-based projects. The third phase involved key informant interviews with practitioners working in each of the six countries. Finally, all three phases were compiled and coded and several themes were identified. The research findings and recommendations below highlight the central themes, gaps and key actions to strengthen intersectional approaches to governance, peace, security and the rule of law.

**Intersectionality in context and assessments**

* Diversity does not equal intersectionality

Intersectionality holds that lives cannot be reduced to singular and distinct categories and policies and interventions cannot simply add one identity to another and total these together. This literature review found that most documents did not take an intersectional approach. The majority focused either primarily on gender or disability and occasionally considered difference, but not in a systematic nor deep way. Few interventions addressed the intersection of two identities. Of the 44 reports reviewed, only 18 looked at the interaction and subsequent impacts of gender and disability together. Even in these cases, the intersectional groups were named without meaningful exploration of the impact of these intersections on lived experience. Documents derived from local CSOs are comparatively more intersectional than government, INGO and UN documents, likely reflecting the expertise of local community, grass-roots organizations that work closest to people’s realities.

* Women and persons with disabilities as monolithic groups

The majority of documents reviewed considered women as one group facing discrimination, and persons with disabilities as another. Sources frequently failed to convey an intersectional analysis of the multiple aspects of individual identity and experience and tended to present broad generalizations of women’s experiences. Where intersecting identities were acknowledged, such as rural women or women survivors of gender-based violence, compounded vulnerability was assumed and there was no further elaboration on specific impacts on their lived experiences. Intersectional research and practice requires an open approach.
questioning of the relationship between identity categories, rather than assuming that one category or another should take priority. However, a common feature of the reports reviewed here is that analysis often assumes the primary importance of one characteristic over another and rarely provides an equal analysis of both. This is evident in, for example, reports from Rwanda that compared labour participation rates between women and men with disabilities but did not consider the challenges faced by women with disabilities in employment compared to women without disabilities.

**Rhetoric does not match reality**

The review showed that, even where an intersectional lens was applied to research or intervention design, there was less evidence to show that this translated through to implementation. Social power dynamics and heightened risks of sexual and gender-based violence faced by women and girls with disabilities are well documented; however, subsequent interventions do not include targeted actions to address, for example, the stigma faced by women with psychosocial disabilities reporting sexual violence or the need for accessible courtrooms.

**Measuring results – what is not counted doesn’t count**

The majority of interventions reviewed reported sufficient detail to allow for an assessment of their effectiveness or impact on underrepresented target groups. For example, in Rwanda, results were primarily framed as quantitative outcomes, such as ‘number of people participating in a campaign’ or ‘number of meetings held with decision-makers’. Few documents reflected on their impact on target groups in a qualitative sense, and the intersectional nature of their identities and experiences was not taken into account.

**The Women, Peace and Security agenda**

**The WPS agenda lacks an intersectional lens**

Across most countries, this review found that the WPS agenda in UN Security Council resolutions, normative work, and corresponding peace and security goals in different entity-level planning documents lacks a distinct intersectional approach, in terms of both design and intervention, and minimal efforts are made to encourage the participation of underrepresented women in peace and security. National Action Plans (NAPs) for Women, Peace and Security were reviewed as part of this research, yet few applied an intersectional approach to engaging women in discussions around governance and peace processes.

**The victim/survivor narrative and gender stereotypes**

The vast majority of sources focus on the impact of sexual and gender-based violence (SGBV) on women and girls. Aside from UN documents, women and girls are primarily portrayed as ‘victims’, which diminishes their agency and reinforces gender stereotypes whereby women and girls are seen as passive, sexualized objects. In conflict and crisis-affected settings, masculine stereotypes are also heightened. These gender stereotypes can lead to stigma, exclusion and underreporting of men and boys who experience SGBV, and fails to recognize the distinct risks and forms of violence experienced by men and boys with intersecting marginalized identities, such as men with Albinism or boys with psychosocial disabilities. Equally, it is imperative that men and boys are engaged in SGBV response efforts, alongside women and gender specialists.

**Limits to women’s participation**

The documents and interventions reviewed highlight the non-intersectional gender-based approach that is being used to increase the level of participation of women in peace and security processes. This leaves women relegated to certain roles in the peacebuilding process, often excluded from formal high-level peacebuilding initiatives. Of the 44 reports reviewed, 18 recognized the importance of women’s participation in peacemaking and conflict-prevention efforts, yet only seven provided quantitative data on women’s participation.

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**BOX 3**

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Phase 1</th>
<th>Phase 2</th>
<th>Phase 3</th>
<th>Phase 4</th>
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<td>Documents reviewed</td>
<td>Literature</td>
<td>National Action Plans</td>
<td>UN and CSO reports</td>
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<td>Key informant interviews</td>
<td>Practitioners</td>
<td>CSO representatives</td>
<td>Technical experts</td>
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**Findings**

- Recognized importance of women's participation: 40%
- Provided participation data: 25%
- No recognition or data: 15%

**Recommendations**

- Increase the level of participation of women in peace and security processes.
- Encourage the participation of underrepresented women in peace and security.
- Apply an intersectional approach to engaging women in discussions around governance and peace processes.
- Recognize the distinct risks and forms of violence experienced by men and boys with intersecting marginalized identities.
- Engage men and boys in SGBV response efforts, alongside women and gender specialists.
The Rule of Law agenda

Barriers to access and siloed approaches to rights protection

Individuals experiencing intersecting and compounded forms of discrimination face greater barriers in access to justice and rule of law services and institutions. This relates to the accessibility of legislative and legal aid systems. It also reflects a lack of recognition by those in positions of power of the multiple intersecting systems of oppression that subject marginalized individuals (such as women with disabilities) to laws established by and catering to the powerful (such as men without disabilities). viii

Laws and interventions that are developed without considering the many layers of oppression faced by those who are marginalized fail to adequately protect their rights. Analysis conducted by INGOs in the Central African Republic, for example, showed that stigma and fear of familial rejection are primary drivers of underreporting among survivors of sexual violence.ix Yet legal interventions aimed at protecting women and girls from SGBV do not consult with survivors or tackle these obstacles. In Iraq, a similar issue with stigma and underreporting means that little attention is paid to the issue and the investments needed to enable women to escape abusive home environments are not made.

Implementation and enforcement

In cases where laws are designed using an intersectional approach, deficiencies remain in terms of their implementation and enforcement. The documents reviewed referred to the many legal instruments and mechanisms protecting gender equality and, to a lesser extent, upholding disability rights. However, reports from Rwanda, Central Africa Republic and Lebanon underscore discriminatory attitudes and practices, lack of trained staff and reasonable accommodations that have rendered many laws futile.x This lack of enforcement evidences the extensive structural inequalities and power dynamics that create barriers, particularly for those living at the intersection of gender and disability discrimination.

Recommendations

While the development sector is becoming increasingly aware of the importance of intersectionality, this is not yet reflected in policies and interventions, and there is no one framework or approach that meaningfully considers all possible forms of intersecting identities. An intersectional approach requires constant assessment and reassessment of the interactions of different identities and compounded experiences of discrimination and oppression. It is about first understanding the challenges of society’s most marginalized and then using this understanding to reduce barriers to their agency. In times of conflict or crisis, oppression and marginalization are often magnified, and additional attention is required to meet the needs and reflect the interests of the underrepresented. Conflict and crisis also present opportunities to institutionalize intersectional approaches in governance, peace, security and the rule of law. Some of the findings outlined above provide a basis for the following recommendations to strengthen an intersectional approach and facilitate inclusion for all key stakeholders, including Member States, UN and non-UN actors, media and CSOs.

Accessibility

Reasonable accommodations must be made to ensure that intervention information and/or services are equally accessible to all persons with disabilities, regardless of their sex, sexual orientation and across different types of impairment, including different literacy levels and systemic income inequality and poverty (which leave some people without access to online content).

BOX 4

“One of the best ways to approach intersectionality is simply to talk to people and ask what they need. Sometimes it represents an obstacle though, because many people don’t know what they could or should ask for. However, you have to be proactive and identify what people actually experience. This is how you can learn about intersectionality — but respecting people’s privacy is paramount. It is important to create comfortable settings.”

Key informant, International Disability Alliance
Civil society coalitions

Facilitate the formation of CSO coalitions that represent a range of underrepresented populations, so they can pool their collective experience and inform intersectional approaches.

Civic engagement in policymaking

Strengthen communication and relationships between CSO coalitions and policymakers in order to leverage the intersectional understanding of CSO coalitions in the policy realm.

Data disaggregation

Collect and use data that is disaggregated by a range of characteristics, including impairment type as well as identity, disability status, migratory status, location or ethnicity.

Survivor-oriented approaches

SGBV interventions should acknowledge the survivor's agency and ensure that their needs and rights are respected and prioritized.

Optional anonymity

Develop mechanisms that allow at-risk populations to take full and complete advantage of the intervention without requiring disclosure of personal or identifying information. This also complements a survivor-centred approach.

Define and promote meaningful, intersectional participation in WPS

Women facing intersectional and compounded discrimination must be explicitly included in WPS processes and decision-making. This means that all WPS stakeholders should consider a more ambitious definition of participation that includes quotas as a minimum standard and prioritizes participation and leadership, including in senior decision-making positions.

 Intersectional budgeting

All government entities, particularly those directly in charge of the WPS agenda and rule of law, must dedicate a portion of their budgets to intersectional programming.

Intersectional capacity-building

UN Women country offices should partner with local CSO coalitions to develop culturally and context-specific informational workshops, training or webinars on intersectionality for local government officials, in order to support an intersectional lens on the way that legislation is written and laws are upheld.

Autonomous, rights-based awareness-raising

Awareness-raising campaigns should be conducted by and for persons experiencing compounded discrimination so that common gaps in understanding are addressed and multiple and intersecting discriminations are better understood and explained to the target audience.
Intersectionality in practice: Learning from the field

The following examples are drawn from an analysis of local interventions implemented by UN entities, governments, INGOs and CSOs in the six target countries for this research. They are loosely divided into three categories: advocacy, capacity-building and programmes/operational support.

**Advocacy**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>Objective</strong></th>
<th><strong>Promising practice</strong></th>
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<tr>
<td><strong>FACILITATE PARTICIPATORY PUBLIC AWARENESS CAMPAIGNS LED DIRECTLY BY PEOPLE WITH DISABILITIES</strong></td>
<td>Norwegian People’s Aid and national partners pioneered a <a href="#">Public Policy Information Monitoring and Advocacy Project</a> in Rwanda, facilitating community dialogue on the rights and needs of all Rwandans, including people with disabilities. Artists with disabilities deliver drama and musical performances that raise awareness on their issues and rights, and nearly 20,000 Rwandan citizens have now learned about disability rights through this initiative. There is no more effective way to raise awareness than for people with disabilities themselves to take the lead. This recognizes their agency and builds a platform for their inclusion and participation. Such efforts would be strengthened by ensuring the representation of both women and men with disabilities who experience marginalization on the basis of this and other characteristics.</td>
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<td><strong>APPLY AN INTERSECTIONAL LENS TO ADVOCACY GUIDES</strong></td>
<td>With support from Humanity and Inclusion, a group of local Rwandan NGOs created two <a href="#">advocacy handouts</a> to advocate for the ratification of a new <a href="#">African Union Protocol on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities</a>. These guides examined how the protocol applies across gender and age dimensions and provide a legal foundation for upholding the rights of women and girls with disabilities. Activists and CSOs across Africa are encouraged to use these guides for their advocacy efforts. CSO-designed guides can be used to ensure that all advocacy efforts are intersectional by highlighting the impact of key legal and policy provisions on different intersecting categories of identity.</td>
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<td><strong>ADDRESS INTERSECTIONALITY AS PART OF SURVIVOR-BASED APPROACHES TO SGBV</strong></td>
<td>Abaad’s Shame on Who Campaign in 2018 called for tougher sanctions and accelerated trials against perpetrators of sexual violence in Lebanon. Additionally, it aimed to change social perceptions that stigmatize female survivors of SGBV. The advocacy campaign used TV advertisements and facilitated a public roundtable discussion followed by street art performances and social experiments to raise awareness against survivor-shaming. These platforms should be used to highlight the heightened risks and multiple forms of SGBV faced by women with disabilities and other intersecting identities.</td>
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**Create a Coalition Across Professional Sectors to Protect the Reproductive Rights of Women and Girls with Disabilities**

PROFAMILIA, an organization in Colombia specializing in providing sexual health services, formed a coalition to protect women and girls with disabilities from forced sterilization, raise awareness about reproductive rights and dispel myths regarding sterilization. The outcome was an advocacy strategy directed towards professionals in the health and legal fields and families of persons with disabilities regarding Colombia’s ratification of the Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities. This also led to a court order to protect people with disabilities from forced and coerced sterilization.xi

The formation of professional networks or coalitions across multiple sectors (including legal, medical, sexual health and education) can support effective advocacy campaigns and help protect the rights of the most disenfranchised local populations.

**Promote Intersectional Social Change Through Direct Dialogue with Local Communities**

The Association des Femmes Juristes de Centrafrique goes into communities across the Central African Republic to engage in dialogue with community leaders about gender equality. These discussions specifically address the compounded stigma faced by women with physical and intellectual disabilities, women without formal education and women who are otherwise marginalized.

This initiative could be replicated at a country level by offering grants for local CSOs to develop independent projects or advocacy initiatives targeted at community leaders. The goal behind this strategy is to remedy the dissonance between policy and practice.

**Build Intersectional Dialogue Between CSOs and Policymakers**

In Lebanon, the International Foundation for Election Systems partnered with the Lebanese Union for People with Physical Disabilities and ABAAD-Resource Center for Gender Equality to implement the ‘Identify, Interpret and Respond’ project. This project supports CSOs to address political discrimination and violence through coordinated action.

Linking the work of this intersectional CSO coalition with advocacy groups and policymakers from government, INGOs and the UN would contribute to mainstreaming intersectional approaches at a policy level.
## Objective

| Support Women with Disabilities to Lead Community Mobilization and Peer-to-Peer Training | UNABU, the Rwandan Organization of Women with Disabilities, works directly with women with disabilities at the community level and trains them to facilitate access to the Isange One-Stop Centres, which provide medical support, legal aid and income-generation initiatives for survivors of SGBV. Despite having limited knowledge-sharing resources, women with disabilities have critical insights and can be supported to share this knowledge with their counterparts. Coalitions of CSOs representing various identity groups should work together to develop joint trainings and peer-to-peer learning resources to ensure that diverse population groups are equally included and provided with equal access to resources and services. |

| Train Government Officials in Intersectionality to Improve Governance and Public Services | The European Union, in partnership with the Council of Europe, developed a training manual to ensure access to justice for women in Ukraine. The manual considers the specific barriers and needs of people facing compounded forms of discrimination. Working directly with judges and prosecutors can immediately increase access to justice for women. Training those individuals to see how intersecting identities shape experiences of violence and discrimination is crucial to address barriers and amplify voices that would otherwise not be heard. |

| Encourage Collaboration between Local CSOs Focused on Targeted Needs of Underrepresented Populations | An initiative led by the Organization of Women’s Freedom in Iraq, in partnership with the international women’s rights organization MADRE, focused on Yazidi women who are survivors of SGBV. The intervention assessed the individual and specific needs of the women and opened a shelter in Kurdistan where 30 young women and girls received life-saving support, including medical care, food and shelter. As survivors of ISIS, many were only able to escape with whatever they could carry and had never attended school. Due to their proximity to crises, CSOs often bring a deep understanding of the intersectional identities of those they seek to serve and are able to apply an intersectional approach in quite practical ways. Collaborations with CSOs should be encouraged and supported by INGOs, NGOs and government entities. |

| Use Mobile Services to Reach Marginalized Groups | The Ukrainian Ministry of Health, in partnership with Doctors Without Borders, started operating mobile clinics in 2018, delivering basic care and psychological support in low-access areas of the country for older women with chronic diseases and mental health issues. The project discovered that many underserved population groups were accessing the services in addition to the target group. The mobile clinics model addresses some of the issues relating to physical mobility and access to public services and is a simple model that can be used to reach a broader group of marginalized persons, including diverse people with disabilities. |
**Programmes/Operational Support**

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<th><strong>Objective</strong></th>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Mainstream intersectionality within gender-responsive budgeting initiatives</strong></td>
<td>The Rwandan Government employs gender-responsive budgeting. This includes accountability measures for gender-based resource allocation across sectors, programmes and projects through mandatory district-level Gender Budget Statements. The Government also produced specific guidelines for a gender-responsive budgeting process. Gender-responsive budgeting is an effective mechanism for mainstreaming gender across government programmes. Governments could leverage this model and expand it to ensure that budgets respond to the needs of all individuals who are underrepresented. This should be done in consultation with various local CSOs and partners.</td>
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<td><strong>Mainstream intersectionality within quota systems</strong></td>
<td>The Central African Republic established a gender parity standard in its Parliament (Act No. 16.004 of 24 November 2016), whereby for a 10-year period women must occupy 35 per cent of seats in Parliament, after which the quota will increase to 50 per cent. However, it does not specify the need for diversity within these female representatives. Ensuring that women and men with a range of lived experience are represented in governance is key to mainstreaming intersectionality. One way this can be done is to incorporate additional requirements when developing gender quota systems, requiring reporting on diversity among women, men and gender diverse populations.</td>
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<td><strong>Use innovative and inclusive data-collection tools in conflict and crisis settings</strong></td>
<td>U-Report is UNICEF Innovation’s information-sharing tool for young people. It is also used for disaggregated data collection. Operating in over 60 countries, it has 8 million users. The February 2020 U-Report for Humanitarian Action Initiative was established to allow young people to request information regarding COVID-19 and to report their needs in light of the pandemic. A similar platform could be developed as part of the WPS framework and contribute to rapid, participatory and anonymous disaggregated data collection that identifies local resource needs and those most at risk.</td>
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<td><strong>Conduct gender and other minority identity assessments in refugee camps</strong></td>
<td>The Office of the UN High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) and UN Country Teams partnered with the Government of Rwanda to conduct an inter-agency gender assessment of six refugee camps in 2016. The report provided a detailed practical guide for conducting key informant interviews as part of gender assessments in refugee camps, as well as a questionnaire for refugees. As a result of the gender needs assessment of Rwandan refugee camps, the Government produced a comprehensive Refugee Response Framework for 2019–2020.</td>
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Gender assessments can provide a solid foundational framework for conducting needs assessments that are responsive to different and intersecting identities. Any gender assessment conducted in a refugee camp should take into consideration the compounded identities of refugee women – particularly their age, marital status, ethnicity and religious affiliation, sexual orientation, as well as motherhood status. Subsequent analysis and policies should reflect this intersectionality and diversity and accommodate for the unique experience and needs of women in all their diversity.

### Use the Community Score Card approach as a mechanism for accountability, and monitoring and evaluation

CARE Rwanda used Community Score Cards (CSC) as a mechanism for monitoring access to SGBV services and promoting women’s increased participation in SGBV prevention and response. Issues identified through CSC were raised by the SGBV CSO network during annual district-level policy dialogues. This resulted in some significant changes at the district level. In Kamonyi district, the CSC approach was adopted into its five-year development strategy. In Nyanza district, specific spaces were established for women, youth and people with disabilities to voice their opinion on local development planning issues. This has since been replicated in more districts across Rwanda.

To strengthen this already promising practice, the CSC should guarantee protection and anonymity for community members who may wish to be involved but are reluctant due to the risks around being identified as a member of other stigmatised minorities, including Albinism, LGBTIQ+, HIV-positive status, among others. Such a provision will encourage more individuals to participate and inform policymakers of implementation gaps in government programmes.

### Provide pro-bono legal services that specifically serve underrepresented populations

The UN Democracy Fund partnered with the Human Rights First Rwanda Association to provide greater access to justice for the rural population in Kamonyi district, particularly benefiting people living with HIV and those belonging to the Twi ethnic minority. Local paralegals were trained to serve these population groups and law students provided legal aid as part of their school curricula. The project ensured that an equal number of female and male paralegals and law students were engaged. It also promoted the consideration of legal issues specific to women, such as the application of traditional customary law to land tenure and matrimonial issues.

Community-based mechanisms for legal aid are essential for increasing access to justice for underrepresented groups. Intersectional and inclusive training for legal professionals and accessible awareness-raising are critical for encouraging all people to access such services.

### Engage diverse CSOs and local communities in the design and implementation of laws and interventions

In the Central African Republic, the American Bar Association’s Rule of Law Initiative launched a two-year programme focused on strengthening the justice sector and combating impunity. It assisted women-led CSOs to engage with local women and communities and use their input to drive national advocacy initiatives. This ultimately led to the inclusion of gender equality within the country’s Constitution.

CSOs often engage in work that is intersectional and bring a deeper understanding of the complexities of lived experiences. Greater CSO input in legislative design helps mainstream intersectionality and means laws are more likely to address the needs of underrepresented groups.
Notes


ii The drafting, extensive consultations, and multiple round of peer review processes include, among others, UN-Women coordinated Capstone Project (2020) with Columbia University students team (Jermaine Detrek Jackson, Nigina Khaitova, Zeng Li, Samone N. Nigam, Julia Henriques Souza, Alejandro Bonil Vaca, Sarrah Youssef, Ryan Khalid Yunis), UN-Women Disability Inclusion and Intersectionality Portfolio (DIIP) team, and members of UN Women’s ‘Rule of Law’, ‘Women, Peace and Security’, ‘Disability Inclusion and Intersectionality’ Communities of Practice (CoPs). The overall policy research and ongoing thematic advocacy initiative [Disability Inclusion and Intersectionality in Rule of Law, and, Women, Peace and Security] is led by UN-Women’s Global Adviser for Gender Equality and Disability Inclusion/Intersectionality, A.H. Monjurul Kabir. For any additional query, please contact: disability.inclusion@unwomen.org


