A LANGUAGE THAT MATTERS

– Viewing the Women, Peace and Security agenda through an intersectional lens

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Abstract

The aim of this study is to analyse how the Women, Peace and Security agenda is intersectional in its approach to women. This study contributes to previous research regarding gendered security and peace and conflict studies. In this study, the focus is on national implementations of the Women, Peace and Security agenda, in terms of National Action Plans. These documents are government policy papers that explain and articulate the national legal and policy frameworks. Reviewing these documents through an intersectional theoretical framework is interesting because it allows space to evaluate how well the call for more inclusiveness within the peace and security sector has been adopted into national policies, and compare different cases to see who is included, and why others are not. Through a discourse analysis eight different cases across four different regions and four different conflict situations, are compared. The results illustrate that there is a lot of variation between each of the cases, and this could be due to different reasons. In each context it depends on a complex myriad of issues. Intersectionality remains largely neglected, even when it shows promising shifts in the narrative of the peace and conflict situations around the world.

Key words: Women, Peace and Security, intersectionality, conflict, National Action Plans, Sweden, Finland, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Serbia, Lebanon, Jordan, Liberia, Democratic Republic of Congo, conflict-related sexual violence, refugees,

Introduction

1.1 Aim of study

The aim of this study is to analyse how the Women, Peace and Security agenda (WPS) is intersectional in its approach to women. Intersectionality is defined by Merriam-Webster as "the complex, cumulative way in which the effects of multiple forms of discrimination (such as racism, sexism, and classism) combine, overlap, or intersect especially in the experiences of marginalized individuals or groups". Within the context of international security, it can be productive to use in order to formulate specific needs for specific groups in terms of prevention of conflict, insecurity and representation in peace processes. While the quest for intersectional analysis is one that has been promoted several times by scholars as well as feminist advocates, there seems to be a lack of research that explicitly relates to the National Action Plans (NAPs) that result from the WPS agenda. NAPs are government policy documents that explain and articulate the national legal and policy frameworks on the WPS agenda. They also aim to outline specific commitments, promote coordination between government bodies and clarify the roles of government and civil society. Therefore, it is important that they are viewed through a feminist intersectional approach, to promote inclusion rather than exclusion of people. The first NAP was created by Denmark in 2005, so far (as of March 2021) 90 NAPs have been adopted.

This study will be conducted using a discourse analysis. This entails an intersectional analysis of the language used in selected NAPs to understand whether considerations have been made of the diverse ways that the agenda should be applied nationally in order to be effective and inclusive. The question is if this can illuminate another aspect as to why the WPS agenda remains ineffective and vastly unimplemented across the globe.

Case selection for this study is based on a variety of factors. First, only NAPs created after 2015 will be used, as that year the call for "inclusive" views on gender and security was recognised through the 2015 High-Level Global Review (Global Review) on WPS agenda by Coomaraswamy (2015). "Gender is simply one axis of difference, which intersects with many other forms of identity and experience. Nationality, ethnicity, political and religious affiliation, caste, indigeneity, marital status, disability, age, sexual preference; all of these, and others, are important factors in determining women's lived experiences of conflict and recovery." (Coomaraswamy, 2015; 34).

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An initial term search was conducted related to intersectional categories that will be used in the study, narrowing it to 26 cases. Terms such as class, gender, race, religion, sexuality, ability, age and ethnicity. Eight cases were then selected, from four different regions, with two comparative cases from each region, four different levels of HDI, and four different conflict situations. The cases are Sweden, Finland, Serbia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Jordan, Lebanon, Democratic Republic of Congo, and Liberia.

While there has been a lot of previous research in the field of WPS, few studies have focused on comparative discourse analysis of language used in NAPs. Some research has focused on the WPS agenda's influence globally to prioritise women's empowerment and participation. But the thematic use of intersectionality has been quite rare, even though it can be a powerful perspective as it puts inclusive views on gender and security front and centre. This is important in relation to the WPS agenda as the whole point of the agenda is to create space for more voices and agents in relation to conflict and peace processes. Thus, while the WPS agenda continues to be recognised for its ability to influence gender mainstreaming on a global level, it is interesting to assess NAPs on how and why the language used in these can have the potential to influence women's agency in terms of peace and security. As is discussed under 2.2, language and narratives used in the NAPs matter for how effectively the WPS agenda can be implemented as well as monitored on national and local levels.

The study reviews an international (WPS) agenda, at the national level to understand in what way language and discourses are diffused within the NAPs from an intersectional perspective. Which women does the NAPs account for? This matters greatly, as will be discussed more thoroughly under the previous research section. A key narrative that has been discussed rather lengthily in relation to this agenda is which agents formulate the plans, who is mentioned and who is excluded from the conversations. This is important as the aim of the agenda is to be inclusive of women, who are traditionally excluded as well as marginalised within peace and security. Reviewing the WPS agenda through an intersectional framework furthers the analysis of this question because it highlights exactly how explicit and non-explicit the relevant NAPs will account for the specific issues that target their most vulnerable populations. Another aspect of interest is how women's ability to engage with peace processes is affected, because language matters to formulate what agency and resources are available to women advocates and peacekeepers. Using an intersectional

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approach to review the NAPs can address the limitations and challenges that are invisible barriers for women in peace and conflict situations.

1.2 Research Question

The main question is: How do countries incorporate the perspective of intersectionality under the women, peace and security agenda? In order to answer this, a few specific research questions have also been posed.

The questions of interest for this study are;

1. How do countries approach intersectionality in their NAPs when attempting to incorporate this perspective?
2. How could countries improve their inclusion of the intersectional perspective?
3. Are the countries that more thoroughly incorporate the intersectional perspective ranked higher based on progress related to their NAPs?

Previous research

This section will provide an overview of the previous research in this field in order to formulate what research is relevant to the thesis' aim and research questions and to clarify the research gap the thesis fills.

2.1 Background context to the women, peace and security agenda

Chinkin (2019) argues that the context of the adoption of the WPS agenda was very unique due to the new forms of conflict rising during the nineties. These wars were characterised by organised transnational conflicts between armed militia, criminal gangs and warlords. Previously, wars had been fought over political ideas or for geopolitical reasons, these new wars were instead fought over identity such as ethnic, religious or tribal. Part of the new type of war also included high rates of violence such as torture, rape, other forms of sexual violence, "massive, organised, and systemic detention and rape of women." (Chinkin, 2019; 26). As well as suicide bombings, landmines, looting and other forms of violence that generated fear and forced displacement. "Indeed, forced displacement is perhaps the defining characteristic of new wars." (Chinkin, 2019; 26). This incited women activists to advocate for gender-based violence (GBV) to be explicitly recognised as a violation of human rights law and international criminal law. At the same time, reports of the rise of conflict-related sexual

violence (CRSV) were brought to public attention which generated an international outcry. Combined with pressure from women's organisations, the concepts of CRSV and GBV were officially recognised and condemned by the UN institutions and other international agents. It set the motion towards the creation of the Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) in 1992 to the adoption of the UNSCR 1325 in 2000 (Chinkin, 2019).

However, the UNSCR 1325 creation was not linear. Rather, it was created by various agents and discourses coming together to formulate a plan on a global governance level that both acknowledged women's participation and agency in conflict situations around the world. The ground-breaking resolution was the first by the Security Council that acknowledged women as a specific population with specific experiences of conflicts. Furthermore, it also recognised women's important role in peacebuilding and conflict-prevention, as it is acknowledged in the resolution.

"Expressing concern that civilians, particularly women and children, account for the vast majority of those adversely affected by armed conflict, including as refugees and internally displaced persons, and increasingly are targeted by combatants and armed elements, and recognizing the consequent impact this has on durable peace and reconciliation. Reaffirming the important role of women in the prevention and resolution of conflicts and in peace-building and stressing the importance of their equal participation and full involvement in all efforts for the maintenance and promotion of peace and security, and the need to increase their role in decision-making with regard to conflict prevention and resolution," (UNSCR 1325, 2000; 1).

The WPS agenda was formally conceptualised at the 1995 Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action, where it was signed by 189 countries. It included a chapter that specifically related to women's experiences as a specific group in conflicts. During the 1990s, CRSV and GBV became more commonly known and acknowledged as a particular security issue. First, through the Beijing Platform, then in the Windhoek Declaration and the Namibia Plan of Action. In 2000, with the adoption of the UNSCR 1325, the Women, Peace and Security agenda was officially created.

To summarise, a shift in why and how conflicts were fought created this influx in surging violence in different forms that did not exist previously. This violence was often in the form of gender-based sexual violence which led to high insecurity for women. Women advocates wanted this to be acknowledged and prevented, which eventually led to the recognition at the UN level to explicitly consider women as specific and targeted groups in conflict situations. Conflict situations were and continue to be spaces where women are present, but highly invisible and neglected. The WPS agenda was created to change that.

2.2 The Women, Peace and Security agenda language and discourse
The language and discourses used in the WPS agenda matter greatly for its ability to be translated into NAPs and implemented on a global, national, regional and local level (Gibbings, 2011; Standfield, 2020; Singh, 2020; Sjoberg, 2019).

2.2.1 Narrative of norms
According to Gibbings (2011) there is a specific narrative of discourse, norms and language used within the UN system. This "master narrative" can limit the ways that citizens interact with the UN, and their ability to critique different resolutions and the institutions. "In other words, a particular way of speaking at the UN shapes the possibility of action and limits a supposed freedom of political participation." (Gibbings 2011:526). This means that activists that do not have the "right" language are excluded from negotiations and participation in talks. This is also related to what scholars from the Global South have argued. This exclusion has created a narrative that views the women, peace and security agenda as created by only feminists and advocates from the Global North, completely eradicating the work done by countless activists, peacekeepers, and peoples of the Global South (Basu, 2016; Singh, 2020).

The language used in relation to the WPS agenda is often "positive, hopeful and future oriented" and there is little space for criticism. "The UN speech styles encourage positive visions and utopian dreams; little space exists for more critical interventions in public forums beyond these essentialized visions of gender." (Gibbings 2011:534). Making it harder to argue for change of narratives, as the UN is reluctant to recognise its own limitations. For example, Standfield (2020) argues that there has been some success following the WPS agenda in normalising gender equality within peace and security contexts and that gender-

sensitive language has increased in peace agreements (Standfield, 2020). Yet, it is still a relatively small number of peace dialogues which include women.

2.2.2 Women's role and contribution in conflicts and peace processes
An understanding of "women" as an umbrella term is very loosely used. Although many civil society organisations recognise this broad understanding, several scholars argue that within national frameworks and implementation by governments, it is not a broad definition (Standfield, 2020). Rather, it limits the understanding of women to a homogenous group.

Women's role in conflict and peace processes is also limited to a very narrow understanding of their contribution, rather than of women's space as given according to human rights. Gibbings (2011) argues that there is a narrative that views women as able to often work across political and ethnic divisions, making women "resources" for creating sustainable peace compared to men. This narrative is also used by many advocates to push for more participation. "Resolution 1325 is supplemented by the idea that women work across political and ethnic divisions, and the gender advocates utilize these images to qualify them as rightful participants." (Gibbings 2011:531).

At the same time, women are also seen as connected to the local and as representatives of that local perspective from women's grassroots organisations. A specific two-folded argument then is created for women's greater participation, yet it also creates a narrow frame of appropriate feminine behaviour and can in consequence exclude others. These narratives were present in the writing of the UNSCR 1325 and continue to be present in the newer resolutions as well, both in the discourse of peace and security as well as outside of it (Gibbings, 2011). Scholars from the Global South such as Basu (2016) and Singh (2020) also argue that consequently the framing around the agenda has erased the contributions made by activists from the Global South in order to uphold a portrayal of a universal female experience, that neglects variations in women's experiences of conflict (Basu, 2016; Singh, 2020).

2.2.3 Everyday violence against women in both conflict and peace
Singh (2020) explains in her study that the WPS agenda's impact is usually normative at institutional and national levels but that it lacks "transformation" to the grassroots and local

levels. This is explained through the practice of looking at the challenges that are faced at "everyday sites, actors and practices with a focus on gender segregation, everyday forms of insecurity and the militarisation of communities." (Singh, 2020:520).

Furthermore, it is suggested that in order for policy frameworks to be effective there needs to be better understanding and clearer recognition of the violence that women face in highly patriarchal and masculine societies. Singh also argues that there needs to be more focus on the everyday experiences of women rather than more focus on norm diffusion on the international levels (Singh, 2020). Sjoberg (2019) emphasises that it is important to recognise the everyday conflicts that are fought for safety and security. It is especially important in relation to the existence of NAPs created by foreign ministries, or NAPs that are focused on external contingencies rather than looking at the applicability of the WPS agenda on their own territory. This is often the case with countries from the global north or the so-called post-conflict countries (Sjoberg, 2019).

2.2.4 An expanded notion of peace and security is needed

The previous point is further evidenced by True & Tanyag (2019) who argue that the traditional conception of peace and security can be limited in its understanding of how violence against women exists even in countries without active armed conflicts. They also recognise security issues such as financial crises and environmental disasters as particularly threatening for women. Furthermore, they argue violence against women and girls occur on a continuum, regardless of circumstances. "Recognizing that global violence and violence against women and girls occur on a continuum necessitates a commensurate, holistic approach to achieving more inclusive, sustainable, and just societies." (True & Tanyag, 2019; 24). This includes making sure that the WPS agenda is broad enough to recognise how violence and security risks particularly affect women even in "peaceful" times.

2.2.5 Limitations for women to hold incumbents accountable

When an intersectional approach is missing, many people become excluded, and their ability to translate the NAPs into action and hold the incumbents accountable becomes limited (Parashar, 2019; Almagro, 2018; Pratt and Richter-Devroe, 2011; True and Tanyag, 2019). Almagro (2018) also argues that "the effort to include women as participants will do little to

address the experiences of a diversity of women until the ramifications of racial, class and sexuality stratification among women are acknowledged." (Almagro, 2018; 413).

Parashar (2019) illuminates that this critique must also address the implications. "Gender in these conflicts is part of a complex intersectional identity formation, which could include the privileging of caste, class, religion, ethnicity, language, and nationalism— or a combination of these identities." (Parashar, 2019:832). Pratt and Richter-Devroe (2011) also argue that this is a discourse that is lacking in the WPS agenda. "An articulation of the intersections between gender and other social categories and structures along which oppression, marginalization and violence occur[…]is completely absent and even actively prevented in such representations." (Pratt and Richter-Devroe 2011:494).

To conclude, there is a specific narrative at the UN-level which forms how and what role women have within conflict and peace processes. This narrative is according to several scholars narrow and limited to an exclusionary understanding of who women are, what role they can have and that there is no recognition of how different women with different identities experience conflicts and security. The WPS agenda is limited both in its understanding of women and of what security entails, as violence is something that women experience on an everyday basis. Several scholars explain why it is important to approach conflict and security issues through intersectionality as it can widen the scope of the WPS agenda to be able to empower women.

2.3 Does intersectionality matter?

Rooney (2018) as well as Almagro (2018) and Bargués-Pedreny and Mathieu (2018) illustrate the importance of using an intersectional approach in conflict studies. Intersectionality within conflict studies is close to the original conception by Kimberlé Crenshaw in 1989 to explore the "deep underlying structural inequalities and the social divisions and violence they give rise to" (Rooney, 2018; 1).

The importance of the intersectional method is that it criticises the idea of "women" as a homogenous category, who are not also affected and involved in allied structural inequalities (Rooney, 2018). According to Rooney, the silence in social policy regarding sectarian inequalities is institutionalised. The importance of intersectional approach is therefore

essential to being able to recognise, and properly identify the marginalisation of women. "Using intersectionality in conflict studies is a pragmatic way of detecting silences about the realities of women's lives, and the injustice of ignoring their deaths." (Rooney, 2018; 11). This is further emphasised by Almagro (2018) who argues that the aim of the WPS agenda was to include women in peace and security discourses but continues to fail doing that because of the erasure of the agency and affect that other social dimensions play in women's lives (Almagro 2018; 398).

Bargués-Pedreny and Mathieu (2018) approach this method by saying that the reason for international interventions lacking in proper implementation is due to the lack of focus on "the needs, values and experiences of the people in post-conflict societies" (Bargués-Pedreny and Mathieu 2018:284). However, rather than including more accounts of social and cultural differences, it is important to understand the underlying power relations that make differences exist in the first place. "This radical reconceptualisation of identity and difference changes the goals of those interested in peace building: the objective is no longer to discover the 'real' identity of actors in order to transform them or to adapt peace building to their identity but to understand how actors react to and enact regimes of identity (sometimes also exceeding them)." (Bargués-Pedreny and Mathieu 2018:291).

To reiterate, intersectionality matters because it values diverse narratives of women and women's experiences of conflicts, peace and security issues. By considering these aspects, conflicts can be understood better and can be addressed better, to create more inclusive and sustainable peace processes.

2.4 Previous research on inclusive perspectives in NAPs

A limited body of literature exists that focuses on the importance of inclusive perspectives in the NAPs (Swaine, 2019; Hudson, 2017; Jacevic, 2019), even less that utilise intersectionality as a theoretical framework. This is a review of the studies found relevant to this study.

2.4.1 Inclusiveness as a step towards intersectionality

While none of these studies mention intersectionality, they do contain analysis of NAPs through frameworks that study "inclusiveness" of diverse women, which is similar, although not completely the same, as intersectionality. The idea of inclusiveness is limited to covering

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the ratio, or percentage of diversity in any organisation. According to Merriam-Webster, it means "allowing and accommodating people who have historically been excluded" (Merriam-Webster, 2021). Inclusiveness does not cover critical perspectives as to why and how these intersecting social dynamics can affect an individual's mobility in a social structure given their different identity characteristics, which is what intersectionality does[1]. Inclusiveness can however be used as a springboard towards intersectionality, as can be viewed in Swaine's article (2019).

Swaine (2019) argues that in order for NAPs to be effective and influence change, attention is needed on how identity characteristics intersect and also what could be effective policies to ensure that everyone's security and human rights are guaranteed. Furthermore, Swaine (like Chinkin in 2.1) also illustrates that today conflicts and conflict violence are more often related to identity politics, which increases the need for policies that respond to identity dynamics in order to be comprehensive toward gendered security. One of their conclusions being "Approaches should be framed by critical analysis that uncovers *who are the women and what are the specifics of gendered insecurity for them that processes of development, peace, and security should be tailored to in this social context*?" (Swaine, 2019). NAPs could be comprehensive enough to cover those specifics in national contexts.

Swaine (2019) also refers to a previous study by Swaine (2016), where it is obvious that the consideration given to the intersecting and differing ways that social context affects women's engagement in peace and security is varied and often lacking. Swaine's study reviewed nine NAPs in the Asian-Pacific region, looking at whether those NAPs approached the subject of intersecting identities and how this affects the effectiveness of the WPS agenda's implementation in this region. "This is in a context where women of multiple racial, ethnic, religious, political, and other identities are involved in, caught up in, and experiencing conflict and its aftermath, and an approach responsive to those realities should be standard." (Swaine, 2019; 773). In the Asian-Pacific cases they were not standard, therefore it is interesting to build on Swaine's work, but using an intersectional framework to dissect it, as it can further the discourse on inclusiveness and its effect on the value of the WPS agenda.

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[1] P.5 intersectionality defined.

2.4.2 Gender equality is important in its own right for the rights of women and girls
Hudson's (2017) study forms important previous research on NAPs through a discourse analysis, but here mainly looks into four African NAPs (Kenya, Liberia, Nigeria, and Uganda) and recognises three different themes. The first is that gender and women are sometimes used synonymously. The second that there is some, yet little recognition of the multiplicity of intersecting identities that women can have and be affected by, and the third that women's agency and ability is often viewed in terms of positive for change and this could have a negative impact. Women in themselves are not the end goal but rather they are used as a way to reach an end goal, and this is problematic because women's inclusion is therefore not based on their human rights. "Good female role models" thus becomes shorthand for the problematic assumption that the inclusion of women will make the armed forces more peaceful and law-abiding." (Hudson, 2017; 15).

2.4.3 NAPs as spaces to recognise internal and external insecurities
An intersectional theoretical framework applied on NAPs can also be important as it enables the researcher to review the state's narratives on marginalised identities within and outside of their borders. An important view from Parashar (2019) is that of transnationalism being used to analyse asymmetries of power. "Citizenship rights in many states elude women and other minorities, but when state-led National Action Plans (NAP) are emphasized as part of the WPS agenda, they end up endorsing the state's narrative of the conflict and its marginalisations and discrimination." (Parashar, 2019; 833).

Parashar furthermore argues that the WPS agenda does not include considerations for gender norms and relations in the Global South, giving almost no attention to masculinities, intersectionality, and gender hierarchies (Parashar, 2019). This is also emphasised by George, Lee-Koo & Shepherd (2019) who calls it problematic as it tells the people within their borders that their experiences of violence and insecurity are insignificant. "In positioning themselves as non-conflict, or non-post-conflict, national institutions convey powerful messages to those within their borders or broader communities. In positioning their NAPs as foreign policies, the governments of Australia and Japan, for example, are telling Indigenous populations and comfort women that their experiences of violence are neither visible nor legitimate." (George, Lee-Koo & Shepherd, 2019; 319).

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2.4.4 Women's engagement in peace and security areas can advance the achievements of peacebuilding and development goals

Jacevic (2019) also looks into how NAPs are supposed to translate the WPS agenda into domestic strategies with local objectives. Countries that have adopted NAPs have both grown more peaceful since adopting them and have seen their gender gaps decrease. Their GDP growth has also increased. Whether these things are believed to have some correlation, it is possible to imagine that adopting a NAP was not the cause, but rather a symptom of already occuring shifts in this area. Jacevic in addition shows that there is a correlation between increase in women's participation in peace processes and the likelihood of the peace agreements' sustainability. Gender equality is the better predictor of a state's peacefulness, compared with democratic or national wealth rates (Jacevic, 2019). However, there seems to be some variation regarding how much the NAPs affect the gender gap and women's agency. Also, Jacevic focuses on how the inclusion of gender in peace and security affects the overall GDP growth and peacebuilding, rather than intersectionality.

To summarize this section on previous literature, intersectionality is rarely explicitly referred to or used as a theory to analyse the WPS agenda. In this study, the focus is on NAPs because these plans translate the global WPS agenda to national and local levels and where there is the greatest potential for implementation and impact. NAPs are important because they have the potential to become policy documents that can be used to hold incumbents accountable for their work on women's agency and protection in peace and conflict. But who is mentioned, who is part of the process of creating the NAPs, and what identities are prioritised contribute to who has the resources and the access to introduce change. Intersectionality shifts the narrative from traditional social hierarchies, to more inclusive views on "who" is included, therefore it can be impactful to analyse the NAPs from this perspective.

Analysing the NAPs' content is therefore an important step in recognising how and what influence the WPS agenda has on women's agency and ability to participate in peace processes. While the question of how language matters is well-researched, less focus has been given to reviewing NAPs with an intersectional perspective that can explicitly contribute to the understanding of who and what is considered important. This is the gap that I want to contribute to with this study.

Theoretical Framework

This section aims to formulate the theoretical framework and to formulate what categorisations will be used for the analysis.

3.1 Themes

The aim is to interpret both the visible and invisible meanings and focus on explaining how they shape the work of implementing the WPS agenda, as one of the main aims of a discourse analysis (Maguire and Delahunt, 2017). This research is a top-down approach, where specific research questions and analytical focus drive the data forward.
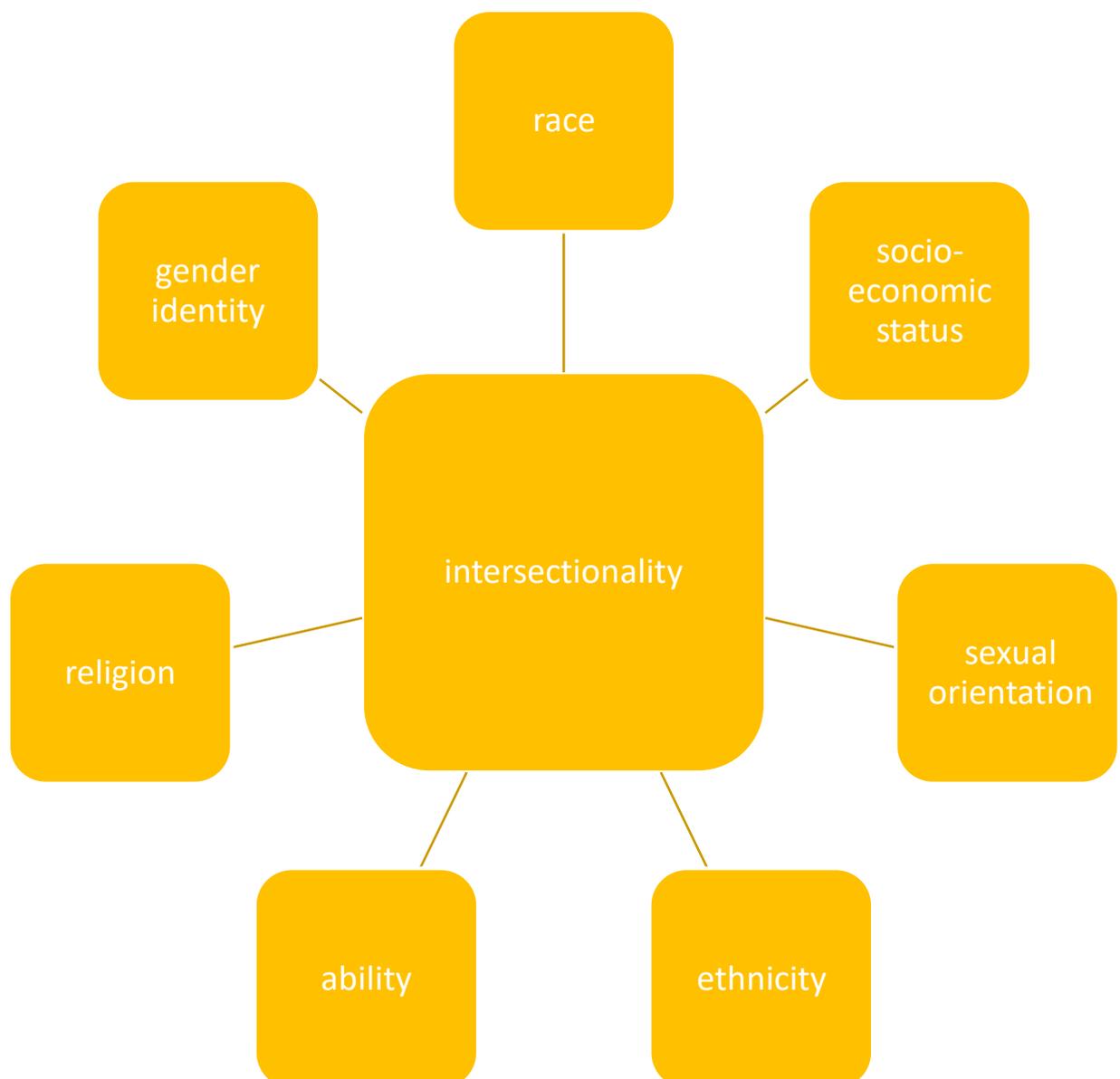
In order to conduct this study, the use of the thematic framework approach as has been formulated by Maguire & Delahunt (2017) will be applied. According to it, themes will be proposed beforehand after which the study will be conducted to reevaluate these. This also suits with the research aim to figure out whether or not intersectional ideas have been formulated through the NAPs and also to review how those approaches have been formulated. The aim of a thematic analysis is "the process of identifying patterns or themes within qualitative data." (Maguire & Delahunt, 2017; 2). Those patterns and themes will be identified through the theoretical framework of intersectionality. Categories such as intersecting identities are the important ones to identify.

Proposed themes are;

- Intersectional (explicit)

  This means that intersectionality is explicitly mentioned in the NAP as utilised in regard to considering which and how women are approached in their plan. The term intersectionality is mentioned and used to approach the WPS agenda within their NAP.

- Intersectional (not explicit)

  Contrary to the previous point, the term or the approach to intersectionality is not mentioned explicitly, but yet considerations for different intersecting identities and how those affect the ability and access to rights and security are visible and considered within the NAP.

3.2 Thematic model

The model is an overview of the different important aspects of intersectionality which will be focused on in this study. This is in no way a comprehensive understanding of intersectionality, but these are some of the more visual identity markers that can lead to marginalisation. To limit the scope of the study, these particular intersections will be focused on.

Methodology

This section will formulate how this research will be conducted as well as give some contextual background to the women, peace and security agenda and the creation of NAPs.

4.1 Background

The WPS agenda is vast, including four pillars of focus: participation, prevention, protection, relief and recovery. Focus has shifted between each of these pillars during the time that the agenda has existed. In the early days, participation was prioritised to later on putting more focus on prevention and protection. This shift followed public opinion, as more and more revelations regarding the nature of CRSV became known at the beginning of the 2000s. Subsequently, the Security Council's resolutions focused mainly on prevention and protection against CRSV as well as GBV that specifically targets women. Lately, the focus has again shifted towards trying to create more "inclusive" security, putting intersectionality as an important aspect to consider more central for understanding women's various experiences in relation to conflicts. It was one of the main policy recommendations in the 2015 Global Review (Coomaraswamy, 2015). Security is not only regarded as being important in countries with active combat conflicts. Rather, insecurity is also posed by economic, social, environmental and political instabilities, and these issues should be included under the scope of the agenda. The study aims to view the NAPs through a holistic perspective to account for all the pillars. This is related to the importance of NAPs being holistic and able to influence all aspects of peace and conflict issues.

4.1.1 The WPS agenda resolutions

Following the adoption of UNSCR 1325, there have been several additional resolutions that try to in different ways broaden the scope of the WPS agenda. The UNSCR 1820 (2008) was the first resolution to recognise CRSV as crimes against humanity. In UNSCR 1888 (2009) the term "survivors" is used instead of just victims of GBV. The question of accountability and monitoring progress in terms of the UNSCR 1325 was emphasised in the UNSCR 1889 (2009) as well as in 1960 (2010). It was also in these resolutions that a call for national action plans was emphasised. In UNSCR 2106 (2013) male survivors of SGBV were included in the formulations. UNSCR 2122 (2013) called on the 2015 Global High-Level Review. Following the review, the focus shifted from women and girls to a broader concept of gender in UNSCR 2242 (2015). From that moment on a broader conceptualisation of gender has been promoted

in the UN. The latest resolution texts are UNSCR 2467 (2019) and 2493 (2019) which recognise that sexual violence in conflict occurs on a continuum of violence against women and girls, and that it calls for continued work to dismantle barriers to the full implementation of WPS agenda.

4.1.2 The National Action Plans creation and need

Usually, NAPs are created by governments in collaboration with civil society and other expert partners. According to George, Lee-Koo and Shepherd (2019) NAPs usually include two main components. The first is an outline of how the state in question and the agenda will interact on issues of security. The second outlines how the WPS agenda values will be implemented. This includes a technical framework followed with a monitoring and evaluation (M&E) framework and an approach to reporting and governance (George, Lee-Koo & Shepherd, 2019; 318). NAPs are seen as useful because they are opportunities for states to clearly outline their strategy for time bound WPS outcomes. This can operationalise the goals of the agenda and be an opportunity to realise aims. NAPs are also useful for non-state actors such as civil society organisations. In effect, NAPs are documents that provide accountability. Civil society is then able to call on their governments to implement tasks and monitor progress (ibid. 2019).

The 2015 Global Review, on the evaluation of the WPS agenda, formulated the most significant reasons for why NAPs remain largely ineffective due to their weak language and frameworks. Lack of clear implementation strategy as well as tasks made the first NAPs unproductive. In order to be effective, clear strategies need to be formulated "good NAPs have strong leadership and effective coordination, an inclusive design process, costing and budget allocations, robust M&E frameworks, and flexibility to adapt to emerging situations." (George, Lee-Koo & Shepherd, 2019; 319).

Coomaraswamy & Kenny (2019) argue that there was a shift in the language at the UN towards creating "sustainable peace" where inclusion became a central tenant, "making space" for more voices. However, the question remains if this has been included or not in local, national and regional action plans (Coomaraswamy & Kenney, 2019). They also emphasise that moving towards more inclusive concepts of the WPS where participation, human rights, demilitarisation and localisation are key components that can yield better

results in gender mainstreaming within peace and security (ibid.2019). However, this requires a lot of work put into the creation of the NAP, and there is rarely enough budget allowance or political will to implement it. Thus, there is a huge variety in how the NAPs are formulated depending on national political priorities.

4.2 Design

As can be understood from the previous studies, there is an urgent need to reconfigure the WPS agenda to also include an intersectional approach. In this study, the methodological design is a discourse study that analyses selected NAPs for their approach to intersectional perspectives. This approach is continuing the work of previous research done (Swaine, 2019; Jacevic 2019 and Hudson, 2017) on NAPs conceptualisations of women and inclusion. Swaine's study (2019) focuses on NAPs in Asia-Pacific area and mainly looks into whether intersecting identities are mentioned. Jacevic (2019) is focused on the transformative power of the WPS agenda through the NAPs and Hudson (2017) studies four cases from Africa to understand what perspectives are included.

Using an intersectional approach means analysing how different social dimensions interact and affect an individual's experiences and social status. Essentially, as a discourse analysis, it is focused on the ideational aspect of the texts in question and analyses the structure of power, and how power is constructed in the texts (Boréus & Bergström, 2017). However, as the question is related to a specific type of interpretation of the texts – through an intersectional framework – an analyst-oriented strategy is going to be covering specific patterns and particularities in the NAPs using particular interpretative tools that are created to highlight structures of powers (Boréus & Bergström, 2017).

Furthermore, Neumann's three step method (Neumann, 2008) for discourse analysis can be useful in this study. First of all because it is important to be aware of the preconceptions and the context of the study in order to analyse it through an intersectional theoretical framework. Second, because Neumann's tool of mapping representations is compatible with intersectionality and Boréus & Bergström (2017) method of focusing on the ideational aspects of the material in question. Representations of intersectionality and multiple women's roles will be mapped and compared across cases to understand how intersectionality is represented in the WPS agenda. In addition, the analysis will include inconsistencies and both

inexplicit and explicit articulations of power relations, as absent representations are of particular importance. Neumann includes three steps; delimiting text, meaning to limit what is of interest to study and why, which has been formulated in the chapter on Previous research as well as in the 4.1. section. The second step includes mapping representations. The choice of representations of interest in this study is explained in the chapter on Theoretical Framework, and mapping representations has been presented in the Results chapter. The third step is layering discourse, which is to both understand which representations are of importance and context-specific in that time and space which is done in the chapters Results and Analysis.

4.3 Case selection

Considering previous studies that have looked at similar questions to this study, the average case selection has been between 4-10 cases (Swaine, 2016; Hudson 2017, Jacevic, 2019). Bearing in mind also the time scope, cases have been selected to reflect these limitations. Also, the question of inclusion was first emphasised at the international level subsequent to the Global Review. It therefore is logical to prioritise NAPs adopted succeeding that date.

As previous studies have built on cases in specific regions (Swaine 2016 on Asian Pacific NAPs, or Hudson 2017 with four cases from Africa) it is of interest to formulate a broader review. The cases selected are therefore from various regions and with various conflict situations. All cases are available in English.

An initial term search on words such as intersectionality, class, gender, race, religion, sexuality, LGBT, age, and ethnicity were also conducted. This revealed that about 26 NAPs explicitly mention one or more of these terms. From those 26, selection has been made of eight NAPs.

4.3.1 The Cases

Region	Country	Year of NAP + edition	HDI-level	HDI ranking	GII ranking	Conflict?	WPS index rating
Scandinavia	Sweden	2016-2020 3rd	Very High	7	3	Legacy of peace	9
	Finland	2018-2021 3rd	Very High	11	7	Legacy of peace	3
Central Europe	Serbia	2017-2020 2nd	High	64	35	Post-conflict	24
	Bosnia and Herzegovina	2018-2022 3rd	High	73	38	Post-conflict	56
MENA	Lebanon	2019-2022 1st	Medium	92	96	Not-active	147
	Jordan	2018-2021 1st	Medium	102	109	Not-active	129
Sub-saharan Africa	Democratic Republic of Congo	2019-2022 2nd	Low	175	150	active	161
	Liberia	2019-2023 2nd	Low	175	156	active	144

This selection has been made to cover both various regions as well as differences in HDI and gender equality to get an interesting variation in cases. Two cases from each region are used in order to have a comparative character. Four different levels of HDI are considered. It was also important to find variation in conflict situations. As can be viewed in the table, there is a large variety between cases, but comparative cases from each region are under review.

Some of the countries have already written several editions of the NAPs. This simply means, they have written more NAPs than one. This is captured in the table as which edition the NAP is in. For example, Lebanon and Jordan only just made their first edition in 2019 and 2018, while Sweden made their first NAP in 2006 (2006-2008). Countries that have had the

opportunity to write several editions of their NAPs might be more advanced or integrated than the countries who are only on their first editions. This is why it is important to know which edition each NAP is, it can give a clue on how the countries evolve their own practices and knowledge on the WPS agenda issues, and whether this makes a difference.

The table also shows how countries vary on the global WPS index. The global WPS Index creates data that can monitor gender and development indices to create an index of women's agency at home and in society. The index was created by GIWPS and PRIO with the aim to create measurable evaluations of NAPs and rank them according to the progress being made. The index is structured to measure three dimensions of women's wellbeing: inclusion (economic, social, political); justice (formal laws and informal discrimination); and security (individual, community and societal levels). This index is fairly new, but ultimately transforms important understandings into data collections. However, data has only been collected in two batches, 2017 and 2019 (GIWPS & PRIO, 2020) as of yet.

Using data from the WPS Index is an addition to view rankings of each NAP that is analysed in a global framework. This is related to analysing how intersectionality is approached in different NAPs and whether their impact matters for how they approach it. In other words, this could help to measure the last research question; *Are the countries that more thoroughly incorporate the intersectional perspective ranked higher based on progress related to their NAPs?*

4.3.2 Case limitations

There are several limitations to consider. This is a small sample of cases, which means it is difficult to say anything general about regional differences. Arguably, it would be easy to predict that countries with post-conflict, high human development and gender equality rankings would be better at approaching intersectionality in their NAPs as they would have more resources to spend time on creating those discourses in their policies. At the same time, countries with active conflicts are the ones with the most need for clearly outlined NAPs as insecurity is higher in those countries.

There are 26 possible cases that could have been used, but because of the limitations put on this study due to scope and time, a choice of eight cases has been made based on the

availability of two cases that can be compared in each region. Of course, another limitation is that this study is unable to cover all regions, this is both because there are not two cases of NAPs from all regions but also again, the limited time and scope of the study. Bearing in mind also that not all cases have updated NAPs created after 2016.

4.4 Data collection

All the texts are available at the peacewoman.org website which keeps updated files of the resolutions that are relevant for WPS agenda as well as all the current and old NAPs. From this website all the relevant text will be downloaded. This is the official website from the organisation Women's International League of Peace and Freedom (WILPF) that monitors and evaluates progress on the WPS agenda, on behalf of United Nations. The organisation is an umbrella-organisation for several national organisations that together work to promote peace and freedom and have been doing that since its foundation in 1915 (WILPF, 2020). If we consider Dulic (2011), source criticism is an important aspect of data collection. In this case, there is little reason for WILPF to falsify the resolution texts or the NAPs, as the reason for the organisation is to collect all information by the UN on WPS, as well as monitor and evaluate it. They are proponents of WPS, but as they are an independent organisation from the UN. They are legitimised by their long history of existence and bringing awareness to the subject of women's participation in peace processes. These considerations validate sourcing data from their database. It also happens to be much easier and transparent to navigate their website in search of resolutions and NAPs as they are compiled clearly.

4.5 Analysis

The importance is to keep the analysis focused on what intersectionality aims to analyse, that is, power relations and how they are contextualised. In order to do that, this analysis will aim to critically examine the use of gender, ethnicity, race, class, ability, religion, and sexuality within the data as well as intersectionality. It is expected that analysing the NAPs in this way can give answers to the research questions.

4.5.1 How do countries approach intersectionality in their NAPs when attempting to incorporate this perspective?
Expectations for this study is to be able to, using this theoretical framework, formulate how countries approach intersectionality in their NAPs. This will be formulated through reviewing

incorporation of intersectionality according to the themes of explicit and non-explicit mentions of the theoretical categories.

4.5.2 How could countries improve their inclusion of the intersectional perspective?

The second question of this study is about considering where the intersectional categories are excluded and could be better incorporated in each of the NAPs. This approach is about comparing the different NAPs to each other and seeing what issues are included or excluded and is also based on the contextual understanding of the country in question. It is expected that by comparing the different NAPs both from a regional and global perspective this could be answered.

4.5.3 Are the countries that more thoroughly incorporate the intersectional perspective ranked higher based on progress related to their NAPs?

This question can be answered by reviewing how well the intersectional perspective is incorporated into the NAPs and comparing it with the different index rankings such as HDI, GII and the WPS index. I expect that the countries with the best rankings in these indexes are the ones that incorporate an intersectional approach the best, as they both have the most resources to create better NAPs and gender equality is already high.

4.5.4 The question of validity

The question of validity is important and defined by Kvale (1995) as measuring "If our method investigates what it is intended to investigate". According to Kvale, there is a strong need for coherence in social studies research (Kvale, 1995). This study is just a small continuation in a long line of research that has been applied to the WPS agenda considering who gets included and who does not. Studying NAPs for intersectionality makes sense to review the integration of the concept. Viewing this through a text analysis because language is a form of power and how "inclusion" of women, marginalised communities and peace and conflict processes is written matters. Furthermore, the design of this study is adapted through a mixed approach of considering previous additions to this study area and trying to generate new knowledge through different case selections and explicit use of intersectional theory.

The difficulty with using an intersectional approach is explained previously under the design section. The intersectional approach is used to bring awareness to how power relations

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interact and how that can influence an individual's agency as well as experiences. As this could potentially mean limitless power relations and their interactions it becomes important to meaningfully select a few to study. The potential issue could be that research otherwise would not be able to conclude anything meaningful. The solution to this is to keep the approach limited to some distinct interacting power relations and leave the rest for another study.

4.6 Ethical considerations

According to Bryman (2016) social research is subject to outside forces that can influence the research. Preconceptions that can pose as barriers (Bryman, 2016). The researcher's own prejudices and preconceptions are important to consider, as well as the ethical issue of who the researcher is and in what context they are working. As a western-educated student, I bring with me certain views and narratives that can influence my analysis. At the same time, I am also a woman of colour who experiences some forms of marginalisation, which has led me to find interest in this subject and methodology in the first place. This means that I have some pre-existing knowledge of the intersectional approach, and also that the context of marginalisation is not externally viewed, adding to the understanding of that context. At the same time, this study does not deal with any subjects, or observations, but rather is limited to interpretations of textual sources. The ethical issues considering other subjects (respondents for example) is therefore not applicable here.

Results

This chapter consists of the results and analysis of the research questions. Each of the countries will be analysed separately, in accordance with the theoretical model shown in 3.2. Focus will be on articulating specific mentions of intersectionality, what is non-explicit and explicit ways that the NAPs engage with multiple structural inequalities[2]. This answers the RQ 1 – *How do countries approach intersectionality in their NAPs when attempting to incorporate this perspective?* – after which analysis of the results can help give answers to RQ 2 and 3.

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[2] Appendix 1 with Term Tables offers a summary of the NAPs under the categories of explicit, non-explicit mentions of intersectionality.

5.1 Sweden

Sweden is generally a country that can be viewed as having a legacy of peace, meaning there has been no active conflict in at least 50 years (or more). Sweden is viewed as stable, economically and socially, and is at the top of the charts in both human development and gender equality. The Swedish NAP (SENAP) is focused on the idea of aiding other countries in their pursuit of more women in all aspects of the peace and security processes that have been formulated in the WPS agenda. According to SENAP, this is an issue that is external, and the action plan does not include any local or national aspects of peace and security. SENAP also is focused on twelve priority countries where Sweden is an active supporter of the implementation of the WPS agenda (DRC, Liberia, Mali, Somalia, Afghanistan, Myanmar, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Ukraine, Colombia, Iraq, Palestine and Syria). This is the third edition of the SENAP, spanning the years 2016-2020.

SENAPs mission statement is "The overall Swedish priority is therefore to make visible and strengthen women's influence and meaningful participation as actors for peace and security." (SENAP;9). In addition, it is noted that "The work for sustainable peace and security must take account of entire populations and communities for it to be effective" (SENAP;9). This is the first inexplicit mention of multiple communities and in extension – women. It is then followed by an explicit statement on intersectionality.

"To enable increased participation, a holistic approach to peace and security is required in which the activity must be based on and integrate gender perspectives and conflict analysis. Sweden must also take an intersectional perspective and take account of the fact that women, men, girls and boys are not homogeneous groups; instead, they have different identities, needs, influence and living conditions. The agenda for Women, Peace and Security aims to increase women's participation, but additional factors other than gender must also be considered in Sweden's work, such as age, geographic location, socio-economic status, gender identity and gender expression, sexual orientation, ethnic affiliation, disability, education level, faith and religion. The analysis should be completed by adding an assessment of the prevailing power relationships for various groups in the relevant context. Sweden will use gender-specific statistics and reporting in its work." (SENAP;9).

Sweden's commitment to intersectionality and ability to access the discourses on the importance of representation of multiple women is visible in this statement. Highlighting the importance of acknowledging the multiple structural inequalities is rare. Few of the other NAPs explicitly mention intersectionality. However, it is important to understand that there is a difference between the Swedish case and the others. SENAP is created in the space of foreign affairs. This does not necessarily imply that Sweden is not an arena for work needed in this area as well, but it does mean that no actions are included to working internally on security issues. In that way, Sweden does not acknowledge, within the space of this NAP, the local and everyday experiences of insecurity women might face within Sweden. Also, it makes it somewhat easier for the authors to formulate this type of language, as it does not have any controversial effect when it is in the realm of the external.

Intersectionality under each pillar

Under the first pillar – participation – there are technically no explicit specifics regarding marginalised women, except for the need to further strengthen the goal to include gender perspectives and develop and support women mediators. It does reference "the needs, perspectives and conditions of women, men, girls and boys" (SENAP;10).

Under the second pillar – conflict prevention – "the need to include both men and women to address structural root causes of conflict and violence" (SENAP;10) is pointed out, which requires an intersectional analysis. Civil society organisations and specifically women's rights organisations, are also mentioned as important actors in conflict preventative actions.

The third pillar – protection – mentions in particular survivor's rights; "focus on survivor's right to truth, reparations, access to justice, adequate healthcare, trauma counselling and services." (SENAP;13). The right to reproductive health is also voiced as a need to be accessible both before, during and after a conflict.

Under this pillar, the particular vulnerability of women leaders is also mentioned. "support women's human right defenders and women leaders who are particularly exposed to violence and threats due to their function in the community." (SENAP;13). Here, it is showcased that two specific roles are prioritised for women in the peace and security discourse, that is the role of the woman survivor or victim and the role of the woman local leader.

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The fourth pillar of the SENAP is – leadership and expertise – where the aim is "reinforced gender perspective and expertise in the work for peace and security". Here the focus is to integrate the action plan and aims of the WPS agenda into all work of the defence, foreign affairs and other government agencies that work on peace and security issues. One of the objectives is to increase "more even gender distribution and, where applicable, increase the proportion of women deployed by Sweden to contribute to peace keeping, peace building and civil crisis management initiatives" (SENAP;15).

The pillar relief and recovery does not have its own section, but rather seems to be covered in other sections. Under the conflict prevention chapter for example, support of economic recovery for women in conflict and post-conflict situations is promoted. Under the pillar regarding protection, survivors' right to reparations, health care, and trauma counselling is identified as a priority.

There are many mentions of the importance of including men and boys in each of the pillars, a perspective that is most visible in this NAP compared with all the others. "The resolution highlight the necessity of taking account of the different needs and perspectives of women, men, girls and boys as a starting point in work to manage and resolve armed conflicts and to protect women and girls from violence and the impact of conflicts more effectively." (SENAP;6).

Under the chapter *actors and partnerships*, in relation to Sweden's contribution to the work on the Council of Europe, it is noted that "Within the framework of the Women, Peace and Security agenda, Sweden will in particular follow the work on the Convention on preventing and combating violence against women and domestic violence. This convention applies in both peacetime and during armed conflict." (SENAP;19). This could be the space for Sweden to acknowledge the internal insecurity and experiences of violence against women that occur even during peacetime, but the SENAP is not viewed as applicable nationally and therefore does not include these ideas.

5.2 Finland

Finland has a very similar context to Sweden. It is a country with a legacy of peace and is at the top of the charts in regard to human development and gender equality as well. The Finish NAP (FNAP) is compared with SENAP, also mainly concerned with the WPS agenda as a foreign affairs action plan and is a supporting agent in other countries, specifically, Afghanistan, Kenya, Nepal, Tunisia, Iraq, and Jordan. This is also a third edition NAP, spanning 2018-2021.

FNAP starts by mentioning that Finland is committed to the inclusion of women and girls in all considerations in the peace and security area, including "Special consideration is given the women and girls belonging to the most vulnerable groups who are often facing multiple discriminations" (FNAP;7).

On the other hand, it also highlights the refugee crisis as a consequence of the Syrian crisis and how it includes Europe and Finland. "The humanitarian catastrophe in Syria and the refugee crisis affecting Europe have made the themes discussed within the framework of Women, Peace and Security topical issues for European countries, including Finland[…]the priorities of the Action Plan also increasingly impact sectors where domestic actors operate." (FNAP;10). This is an important distinction made, as it not only concerns conflict situations in other countries but also brings a local and domestic perspective into the FNAP.

FNAP is also one of the few NAPs that explicitly acknowledges the need for intersectionality within the WPS agenda. "The purpose of the Act on Equality between Women and Men is to promote equality between genders and to prevent discrimination based on gender, gender identity and gender expression. According to the concept of intersectionality, women, men, girls and boys are not homogenous groups and their identities and needs arising from their origin, class, ethnicity, religion and sexual orientation are shaped by circumstances and impact the way in which they experience persecution and discrimination." (FNAP;19).

To further elaborate on the domestic implementation of the action plan, Finland specifically targets actions that focus on displaced people and refugee women and girls who make it to Finland. "There is increased emphasis on conflict prevention. In crises and humanitarian catastrophes, the emphasis is on the continuum ensuring the protection and rights of women,

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which starts from crisis management and proceeds to peace processes and political participation. In this context, consideration is given to the impacts that are also being felt in Finland as a result of immigration." (FNAP;24).

Intersectionality under each pillar

The first pillar – participation – does not specifically mention any vulnerable groups or actions that concern specific women. It does emphasise UNSCR 2250, the resolution that promotes youth engagement in peacebuilding processes.

Under the second pillar – prevention – it is stated that "When efforts are made to achieve sustainable peace and security, it is important to consider the broad social and economic context on the one hand and the differing needs of diverse groups in society on the other." (FNAP;31).

It goes on to also note that "concrete long-term peacebuilding must involve the entire population, including communities at the local level." (FNAP;31). Which is similar to the SENAP statement[3]. In FNAP is it also suggested that terrorism and violent extremism are two of the most important security threats and emphasises women's role in prevention mechanisms. "It is essential to hear the views of civil society actors, local women and women's organisations when international and national strategies and plans are drafted and implemented." (FNAP;33).

Compared with SENAP, FNAP mentions the importance of economic empowerment in conflict/post-conflict situations for women. "Finland improves the economic opportunities of women in fragile contexts." (FNAP;34). This is key, but also the next action is very important and emphasises three specific issues, economic vulnerability, lack of land ownership, and the climate crisis. "Finland explores specific challenges and/or opportunities presented to women by climate change, and access to, use and control of land and other natural resources." (FNAP;34). In addition, the second objective calls for better access to justice for women. "The access of women and girls, including those facing multiple forms of discrimination, to

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[3] SENAP mission statement on page 28.

legal services and legal aid is enhanced by Finland's support, with due consideration for the principle of equality." (FNAP;34).

Within the FNAP, there is also acknowledgement of the issue that women are seen as tools for peacebuilding in local communities rather than as people who within their own human rights have a right to participation and protection from conflict situations. "Strong links with local actors enhance contextual understanding that prevents the instrumentalization of women's rights. Rights of women and girls should not be used as a tool in the combating of violent extremism since the work should be examined from the perspective of human rights." (FNAP;37).

The third pillar is protection. This section starts by mentioning in particular women who face multiple discrimination and in particular "…giving particular consideration to multiple discrimination and to the status of persons with disabilities (including those injured in wars), indigenous peoples and persons belonging to sexual minorities." (FNAP;48). While disabilities and especially people who have been injured by war do come up in several of the other NAPs too, sexual minorities and indigenous peoples are excluded in other NAPs. This is a perspective that could have been useful also in the SENAP.

Notably, there is a specific emphasis on asylum-seeking and refugee women. "Finland emphasises the need to implement the Women, Peace and Security agenda so that women can be protected, their special needs considered, and their participation ensured in their countries of origin, in refugee camps, in-transit and as asylum seekers in their countries of destination. Refugees and people who are forced to leave their homes are particularly susceptible to violence and discrimination. Women and girls run a higher risk of contracting sexually transmitted diseases or HIV, having unplanned pregnancies and dying in childbirth in crisis situations." (FNAP;49). Likewise, consideration is also given to the fact that many refugee women who arrive in Finland may have experienced different forms of sexual violence.

"Many of the women and girls arriving in Finland as refugees or asylum seekers have experienced sexual violence in their country of origin or during their flight. For this reason, reception centres should provide women and girls with a comprehensive range of services intended for victims of sexual violence. In this context, consideration should be given to their

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background and any cultural obstacles that impact their willingness to seek help. This prevents them from becoming victims again." (FNAP;50).

Within the FNAP, there is also a pillar that talks about integration, crisis management. It formulates the promotion of more women in security sector, but without any particular target groups mentioned. However, interesting to note is that FNAP recognises sexual exploitation committed by international organisations and Finish officials and condemns it. "It is particularly important to Finland that the codes of conduct of international organisations prevent gender-based discrimination and sexual exploitation, that the officials in charge of the operations fully adhere to the codes of conduct and that all suspected cases of sexual exploitation and abuse are investigated without delay." (FNAP;39). This is an aspect that is very important to highlight. This does not concern women themselves or their marginalisation, but instead, focuses on the agents from Finland and international organisations' roles in exploiting marginalised and vulnerable people.

The specific emphasis on refugees and asylum-seeking women in Finland is very important as it shows that the scope of the WPS agenda is not only foreign or external but also very much local and internal. While this does not account for other women's struggles and issues nationally, it does make visible a specific and very vulnerable group of women. This is further emphasized by the many different action and targets that are mentioned. These include both access to health care and trauma rehabilitation as well as education and integration into the labour market in Finland. Furthermore, the idea of crisis management and gender mainstreaming is also prominent in the FNAP, and the issues that can be caused by international groups, such as the prevalence of sexual exploitation is an important acknowledgement of how supporting donor countries can also be causing devastations and insecurity for women.

5.3 Bosnia-Herzegovina

Bosnia-Herzegovina (BH) is a country with a post-conflict narrative that is still trying to dislodge itself and its political system from a conflict that ended about two decades ago. Equal opportunities for women are few, as there are several patriarchal, nationalist and traditional structures that work as barriers for women's equal representation in public offices. The lack of gender analysis on post-conflict consequences and general lack of accountability

for the perpetrators of conflict-related sexual violence that occurred during the conflict has had a negative impact on women's engagement in the peace and transition processes. Yet, women's rights activists have been vocal in their struggle to claim justice and building frameworks for better transformation processes. In this context, Bosnia has created their Action Plan[4] (BAP) for the implementation of UNSCR 1325.

The BAP is, unlike SENAP and FNAP, more concerned with local, regional and national issues of peace and security instead of external. BH is a post-conflict country that is still trying to build a sustainable democracy, unlike the two previous cases that have been in peace for much longer. Just like the SENAP and FNAP this is the third edition of the BAP. This one spans the years 2018-2022.

Intersectionality under each pillar
The BAP is composed of three objectives, which somewhat correlate to the WPS pillars. According to it, there are three strategic objectives. Equal participation, protection and prevention, and coordination and partnership.

The first pillar is participation. The statistics generally review the situation through a gender binary framework, looking at the ratio of women and men within each of the legislative, executive and military sectors. In general, there is a slight increase of women in all these sectors in BH. Under this pillar, the focus has been on increasing women's overall representation in all sectors and levels of government. Notably, there is mention of the target to analyse and identify the hidden and visible barriers to women's advancement and larger participation (BAP;33). Another target is "Continuously promoting the importance of participation and contribution of women in peacekeeping missions with special emphasis on tolerance and respect for specific needs of women in particular geographic region." (BAP;36). This is related to the vulnerability and barriers to participation and insecurity risks that women in rural areas face, which seem to be of particular concern. "…a predominantly rural country with still markedly traditional views on economic and social role of woman for

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[4] The Bosnian Action Plan is not referred to as a National Action Plan as 'national' is politically contested (Björkdahl & Selimovic, 2015).

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the purpose of preserving household and community, natural and other disasters unequally affect women and men" (BAP;22).

Furthermore, specific vulnerable groups are mentioned as being affected by natural disasters. A particular focus is given to the needs of "raising the awareness of the staff included in reconstruction and recovery programmes towards vulnerable groups, such as women in countryside, disabled persons, elderly women, single mothers and Roma women." (BAP;22). This is notable because Roma women in particular are not mentioned in any of the other European NAPs, even though Roma women are particularly vulnerable in this whole region.

In addition, the BAP also accounts for a multitude of insecurity situations that can affect women differently compared with men. "Organising and/or supporting promotional activities and initiatives which advocate active participation and the role of women in conditions of ongoing security threats and challenges (terrorism and violent extremism, migrations, natural disasters and other crises and emergencies), as well as participation of women in national and international negotiations." (BAP;36).

The second objective is to increase human security and relates to the protection pillar of the WPS agenda. This also include relief and recovery to some extent. In particular, victims of CRSV during the war are emphasised as a vulnerable group. "…have been recognized as direct or indirect consequence of acts of war in Bosnia and Herzegovina such as: the position of victims who endured sexual violence and other forms of wartime suffering, dangers from mined areas and trafficking in human beings;" (BAP;13). BAP also includes a wider scope of threats and insecurity such as environmental disasters and the influx of refugees.

"Recognizing new security threats and challenges at global level, directly or indirectly affecting Bosnia and Herzegovina and the region (natural disasters, refugee crisis, violent extremism, etc.)[…] specific actions in recent emergency and crisis situations in Bosnia and Herzegovina and in the region, such as floods in 2014, refugee crisis in the region and initiating preventive actions in the field of violent extremism as contemporary security threat." (BAP;13).

Refugee women are also mentioned in this AP. Compared with the other NAPs, this also includes a view that there can be many different social dimensions that also affect women who are refugees, highlighting the fact that "refugee woman" is not a homogenous category.

"Among refugees, there are women who travel alone or with children, sometimes newborn babies, pregnant or breastfeeding women, adolescents, unaccompanied girls, LGBT women as well as disabled women. One of the reasons for vulnerability of asylum-seeking women and refugees relates to the difficulties they frequently face in proving their grounds for recognition of a refugee status, as women often do not want to admit that they had been a victim of sexual violence, or gender-based persecution, or they are not aware that they had been a victim in their country of origin. Gender-based violence is often the consequence of unequal gender relations in the country of origin and it is frequently used as a mechanism of threat by male members of the family with whom women travel, or it may be the result of forced displacement caused by conflicts in the country of origin." (BAP;24).

This is a clear example of a non-explicit mention of intersectionality, as it understands that refugee women also face insecurity due to their multiple and linked social identities. This is a very direct non-explicit integration of intersectionality.

The BAP also mentions another specific security risk which is violent extremism. The difference compared to the other NAPs mention and BAP is the analysis that is included regarding how the normative role of women can negatively impact preventative measures that rely on women. "The issue of the role of women in the context of violent extremism is still not sufficiently investigated. The role of a woman is associated with gender prejudices about her "natural" role of mother and housewife, about being more inclined towards peace, dialogue, non-violence and cooperation. Examples throughout the world indicate that it is exactly this image of "peaceful" woman, or her non-violent character, that terrorist groups use to recruit women into their organizations." (BAP;25). Acknowledgement of this normative role of women as inherently peaceful can be useful as the discourse then can move away from the gendered peace and security actions towards instead addressing the structural challenges and changes needed.

Another notable statement is "the definition of hate crime, as each criminal act made because of racial origin, colour of skin, religious belief, national or ethnic origin, language, disability, gender, sexual orientation or gender identity of another person." (BAP;16). BAP also highlights the issue of geographical location as a barrier. "However, NGO reports confirm that requirements in the field are significantly higher than it is realistically feasible, due to a number of obstacles for providing help and support. A large number of victims live in distant communities and they are unable to attend treatment and seek their rights on regular basis." (BAP;19). Here we return to the particular insecurities that women in rural areas face.

The third objective is coordination of activities. Under this there is one particular non explicit mention of intersectionality. "Ensure that the assessment of people's needs, the existing weaknesses and abilities, which precede humanitarian reactions in cases of potential disasters, take into account various needs, interests, vulnerabilities and abilities of women and men, girls and boys, and various impacts of disasters on them." (BAP;39). This also acknowledges men and boys in the realm of the WPS agenda.

The BAP is mainly concerned with the pillars of participation and protection rather than those of prevention and relief and recovery, although the others are also included, yet not given as much space, especially under the protection objective. BAP never explicitly mentions intersectionality and its use but does adapt to an intersectional framework in many of the objectives and the previous action plan evaluation. While not as exhaustive as the FNAP, the BAP is also different because the WPS agenda is domestic and locally applicable. BAP is also created with a legacy of BH being one of the first well-known cases where CRSV was widespread during the war. A lot of the BAP is therefore in a legislative format, to legitimate survivors' right to retribution, as there are still many processes taking place to try to get perpetrators held accountable for their crimes (BAP;15-19). BAP mentions Roma women, which are a particularly vulnerable marginalised community in all of Europe, but this is the only NAP with this focus. Roma women's inclusion is important as it accounts for an ethnic minority, a socio-economically vulnerable group and a group that is often outside of society.

5.4 Serbia
The Serbian context is similar to that of BH. Very briefly, Serbia is also a post-conflict state, with the heavy legacy of conflicts in the 1990s, which included high levels of CRSV. Serbia

is currently trying to accede to the European Union, which could increase the political will to increase gender equality and in extension, the WPS agenda implementation. Serbia is also in a dispute regarding the Kosovo region, and has yet to acknowledge Kosovo as independent. The Serbian NAP (SNAP) is in its second edition, spanning 2017-2020.

The SNAP begins with an evaluation of the previous edition, longer than compared to other NAPs. It acknowledges lack of political will, lack of knowledge of the WPS agenda, and lack of implementation in the security sector as barriers to the NAP. The next section refers to the development of the NAP, where it is clearly formulated that it "contains activities aimed at preventing violence against women in multinational operations, in conflict and post-conflict rehabilitation of society, crisis and emergency situations, with special emphasis on preventive operation, protection and recovery of women because of the effects of modern security challenges, risks and threats that particularly affect marginalised and multiply discriminated categories of population in the Republic of Serbia and migrants." (SNAP;11). This is the only explicit mention of the need to articulate specific actions for specific marginalised groups and consider the multiple ways that women are and can be discriminated against in terms of peace and security issues. Intersectionality is not explicitly mentioned in this NAP.

Intersectionality under each pillar
Under the first pillar – participation – the goal is simply to increase representation and build inclusive legislative and government processes related to the preservation of peace and security. "Creating equal opportunities in practice for education, employment, career guidance and advancement of women (especially women from multiply discriminated and minority groups) and men in the security system" (SNAP;29). Moreover, SNAP states that single mothers are a particularly insecure group due to economic insecurity. "Suppressing the practice according to which the women in the security sector are proclaimed redundant disproportionately, especially when they are the sole breadwinners in the family or single mothers." (SNAP;30).

In the second pillar – Prevention – the goal is to develop preventative mechanisms to increase security of women in peace, conflict and post-conflict processes both in the country and abroad. Under this section there is one activity that concerns "Incorporation of measures that

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support specific security needs of women and girls in local communities, particularly from multiply discriminated and vulnerable groups". This included a footnote that states;

"Marginalised groups of women: women from minority groups, women with disabilities, elderly women, girls, refugee and displaced women, migrant women, women living in poverty, especially in rural and isolated communities, women in institutions or in detention, women with psychologically changed behaviour, women of different sexual orientation, women addicted to alcohol, drugs and medicaments, women returnees and other." It continues with a second footnote that states "The term "vulnerable group" refers to the part of population that has some special characteristics or is in a situation for which this population is exposed to a higher risk of discrimination and discriminatory treatment than others." (SNAP;25). This includes very different categories of women compared to other NAPs, in particular, women who are drug and/or alcohol addicts are not defined in other NAPs. It is interesting that these women are mentioned, especially in an NAP that barely acknowledges structural causes for inequality, except for in these footnotes.

Under the third pillar of protection, the goal is to improve regulatory conditions and create more accessible and effective protection of women. "Provision of comprehensive legal protection and psycho-social support to girls and women who have experienced gender-based violence, particularly to members of multiply marginalised and discriminated groups in conflict and post-conflict rehabilitation of society, crisis and emergency situations." (SNAP;36). In addition, specific measures are taken for survivors of CRSV "Improvement of legal protection and psycho-social support to girls and women victims of trafficking in human beings, particularly to members of multiply marginalised and discriminated groups in conflict and post-conflict rehabilitation of society, crisis and emergency situations." (SNAP;37). This mentions a particularly vulnerable group of women and girls who are victims of human trafficking, which is a topic that gets a lot of space in the SNAP. This is due to the very high prevalence of human trafficking in Serbia, which serves as the region where most women and girls are trafficked in Europe. A lot of focus is therefore on this particular issue, which is a huge security risk for women.

Furthermore, focus is also on gaining public attention to the issue of both human trafficking and to prosecuting former cases of CRSV. "Enhancement of public interest[…]with the

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objective presentation of prosecuted cases of rape, sexual slavery, enforced prostitution, forced pregnancy and other forms of sexual abuse of women committed during the wars in former Yugoslavia." (SNAP;38). This is very important as it is a context-specific vulnerable group that have been affected by CRSV and GBV and are now a group that is experiencing stigmatisation and lack of recovery and reparation for the crimes committed against them. This is also very similar to objectives in the BAP that also focus on cases of CRSV.

Under the fourth pillar – Relief and Recovery – the goal is to create better and more accessible support for women recovering from and who have suffered from any form of security threat in the post-conflict society. In SNAP the issue of stigmatisation is further addressed. "Overcoming stereotypes and prejudices against women that have experienced violence in conflict and post-conflict rehabilitation of society, crisis and emergency situations, and their empowerment to come out of isolation and stop silence about their traumatic experience." (SNAP;42).

Intersectionality is never explicitly mentioned in the Serbian NAP. Yet, it does acknowledge some different women's roles and particularly vulnerable groups of women. It is relatively short compared with the BAP or FNAP but has a different focus on domestic issues compared with SENAP, which is also short and concise but mentions no local perspectives. SNAP does acknowledge and give space to a lot of various marginalised women, that have importance in the local and domestic context. However, this acknowledgement is felt to be suboptimal as it is created as a footnote, rather than given space and focus within the actual texts of each pillar. Inclusion is thereby not prioritised but rather added as an afterthought.

5.5 Jordan

Jordan is a relatively stable country in the MENA region and is viewed as "not actively in conflict" but being neighbours to Syria, Israel, Palestine, Iraq and Saudi Arabia, it tends to also be affected by regional conflicts. According to Freedom House it is not free, and in the rankings of both HDI, GII index it falls somewhere in the middle. It is a country with conservative views on gender and gender roles, which are barriers to gender equality and women's access to public offices. Yet, Jordan is also a country that has ratified UNSCR 1325 and created a National Action Plan (JONAP). This edition is the first and covers the years 2018-2021.

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The main objective of the JONAP is "Massive responsive efforts are needed to maintain stability and security, both for Jordanians and those arriving, in particular for the civilian women and children who, together, represent the majority of those negatively affected by the conflict. They increasingly remain a target for armed groups, forced to flee their homes and leave their belongings behind." (JONAP;13).

The JONAP gives contexts to some of the bigger security issues such as the threats of violent extremism and the Syrian refugee crisis. It is noted that "Some of the most radical groups believe that sexual and gender-based violence are part of their ideologies and strategic objectives and are thus to be utilized as a means of demonstrating power, escalating terror among communities and mobilizing more resources (in terms of recruitment and funding) to destroy local communities." (JONAP;16). In addition, "The strategic nature of violence and extremism is evident in the selective targeting of victims from certain ethnic, religious groups or political opposition. It has led to increasing migration and displacement of civilians from hot spots affected by conflict." (JONAP;16). It is noted that women can be important anchors to prevent radicalization and violent extremism in their local communities and need to be considered important actors in the prevention work, which means that the view of women is again as "natural peacekeepers".

The Syrian conflict has led to the influx of Syrian refugees in large numbers to Jordan. It is stated that "There are an estimated 297,418 Syrian refuge women, representing 45.3 per cent of the total Syrian refugees in Jordan. These displaced women and girls face different humanitarian and protection needs than do men, such as higher risks of sexual and gender-based violence linked to the lack of privacy in overcrowded shelters or to the poorly designed infrastructure of the refugee camps. Furthermore, deep-rooted social stigma prevents sexually abused women from reporting cases of gender-based violence, while impacting the efficiency of service-delivery, and limiting opportunities for women to access humanitarian services or participate in planning." (JONAP;17).

Intersectionality under each pillar
The first pillar – participation – there is no explicit mention of particular insecurities or the barriers that can hinder women from participating, rather actions and goals have been named

to improve the environment within the security sector for women to participate. A lot of the focus is on education and improving women's skills to engage in the security sector. This puts some of the focus on women themselves to gain skills and misses the barriers that hinder women from that education but also when skills have been gained, entering the sector.

Under the prevention pillar, a lot of focus is on women's ability and roles in preventing the radicalization and violent extremism in local communities. Part of this is also awareness-raising about gender roles and religious discourse. "Support spaces for broadened religious discourse through the design of religious speeches and media messages targeting local communities. They should question the hyper-masculine messaging of radicalized groups, and emphasize women's role in peace and security, and in preventing violent extremism—in a manner that bolsters and ensures the legitimacy of religious leaders." (JONAP;33).

Under the pillar of relief and recovery refugee women and women with disabilities are mentioned as particularly vulnerable and in-need groups of aid and support, but not much else, probably as it is a pillar that is not as prioritised as the others, at least in the JONAP.

The JONAP is a NAP that is quite brief and has a lot of quite abstract goals. There is no explicit mention of intersectionality, and mainly looking at women through a normative view as either victims or peacebuilders because of their roles as mothers and community leaders. The discourse regarding men and boys' participation in shifting gendered narratives on peace and security is present in this NAP. There is no mention of socio-economic differences, sexual orientations, age, or race. The JONAP covers some local perspectives and needs, but in terms of intersectional themes it is lacking. There could have been more consideration given to how social dimensions create different capacities and experiences for women in Jordan in regard to conflicts. However, JONAP recognises the social stigma that women face due to religious and traditional norms, and why there are barriers to women seeking aid and support for GBV. Education and awareness-spreading to shift narratives is the main objective.

5.6 Lebanon

Lebanon is another country that is neighbour to conflicts and is in effect, both affected by and involved in them. However, Lebanon in itself is currently not active in any armed conflict on

domestic terrain. Yet, Lebanon was as recent as 2006 in active war with Israel which left many dead and displaced, a situation further exacerbated by the deteriorating state of Syria, which also led to an influx of refugees in Lebanon that account to about one million refugees. Women are largely underrepresented in public administration at both national and local levels. Despite that fact that women are attending universities at higher rates than men, women's participation in the labour force is dismal at best. This is noted in the LENAP being due to "women face numerous challenges including social and cultural constraints and access to finances." (LENAP;8).

Notably, LENAP also highlights that there are discriminatory laws in Lebanon that hinder gender equality. Such as "In May 2014, Lebanon adopted Law no. 293 on the "Protection of Women and Family Members Against Family Violence," which was shortly followed by amendments to articles 487-489 of the Penal Code on adultery. In 2011, article 562 of the Penal Code, which previously mitigated sentences for "honour" crimes, was abolished, and in August 2017 Lebanon repealed article 522 of the Penal Code, which exonerated perpetrators of rape if they married their victims. However, parliament fell short of repealing related penal articles 505 and 518, which still exonerates a perpetrator of rape if he marries his victim, who is between the ages of 15 and 18." (LENAP;9). This showcases the barriers that face women's empowerment within the country. There are not only structural and cultural barriers, but legislative ones that limit women's ability to autonomy.

LENAP also specifically mentions Palestinian women as vulnerable. "Palestinian women, in general, report high rates of chronic and psychological disorders ranging from depression, anxiety and stress, and maternal mortality rates are especially high due to poor living and environmental conditions inside refugee camps. Domestic violence experienced by women is also reportedly high in Palestinian communities." (LENAP;9). In addition, displaced Syrians, of which more than half are women, also account for a large and vulnerable group in Lebanon.

The process to create the LENAP included an important actor. "In order to support the work that has already been achieved, UN Women undertook more than seventeen consultations with non-Lebanese stakeholders mainly Palestinian refugees, Palestinians displaced from Syria, displaced Syrians and Iraqis to ensure that the NAP is inclusive of all stakeholders in

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Lebanon and that their voices and concerns are also included in the NAP. "(LENAP;15). This gave this NAP a particular focus on displaced women and refugees, which is also visible in the other NAPs to be a prioritised group in the peace and security sector.

Intersectionality under each pillar

The first pillar of participation does not explicitly mention any specific vulnerable groups, rather, actions include raising awareness of women's important roles, gender-sensitive training for women and men to ensure stereotypes are questioned, and research that analyses and formulates the particular barriers that women face. One of the objectives is economic empowerment for women, and that financial literacy capacity building actions will be focused on rural and disadvantaged urban areas.

Under the second pillar of prevention several actions are taken that address education such as "Develop a gender sensitive curriculum on peace education and human and women's rights in universities and schools (including in schools with displaced/refugee populations, prisons, juvenile reform centers, scouts and youth centers)." (LENAP;40).

Under the pillar protection it specifically mentions protection and prevention of GBV, it mentions women and girls but no specific vulnerable groups or targeted actions. On the other hand, children, boys and girls are mentioned specifically.

Pillar four, which is relief and recovery mentions the need for economic empowerment, especially in relation to refugees and displaced people. "Protection of women's refugee rights and provision of economic opportunities in displaced/host communities is promoted." (LENAP;50).

The Lebanon Action Plan is not very exhaustive in terms of intersectionality. Several of the categories in the theoretic model are not mentioned, and there are not many or any non-explicit mentions of sexuality, gender identity, socio-economic issues, religion or race. There is a lot of focus on refugee women, which is good as it is a large group of the population in Lebanon who are in quite a vulnerable position. However, the NAP lacks in several ways. Women are viewed mainly as victims or leaders of the local communities. This again promotes the narrative of instrumentalization of women as tools in the fight against violent

extremism. While being exhaustive in terms of many different actions and targets suggested, there is a lack of local contexts and analysis in relation to how different social and economic issues could be barriers to the promotion of gender equality and women's promotions in the security sector. The NAP narrative suggests that even though there might be domestic issues of insecurity, most of those only affect refugee women, and "regular" citizens of Lebanon seem to be outside of the WPS agenda. This is a similar take to that of the FNAP or SENAP.

5.7 Liberia

The Liberian National Action Plan (LNAP) is in its second edition for the term of 2019-2023. Liberia is a country that suffered from civil war and conflicts until 2003, when a peace agreement was reached. Following it, UN peacekeeping missions stayed in the country until 2018. The effort to create stability has been delayed by unrest, economic hardship and also exacerbated by the Ebola epidemic that spread in the country during several years. Liberia also suffered from large corruption scandals and it is a country that while, currently, not actively in conflict, is going through a lengthy peace process and transition process. It would be of particular importance to engage with WPS agenda in this context, as it can have a mitigating effect on conflict-situations when more women are involved. It is still viewed as a country in conflict, because of lack of stability.

In the context and situational analysis part of the LNAP several key insights about why and how Liberia struggles with peacebuilding and development are stated. It includes an analysis of what can pose as barriers for women's participation in legislative and executive offices. In this section, specific structural barriers such as traditional gender roles and patriarchal structures where security is gendered as manly. Furthermore, economic insecurity is also emphasised.

"Exclusion of women, rural women, women with disabilities and youth from peacebuilding processes is exacerbated by discriminatory practices where male political leaders discredit women's contributions and hence hinder a sustained peace and weaken social cohesion in communities. This, in part, is influenced by dominant traditional and cultural perceptions that women belong at home, and therefore matters such as security are 'male' issues. This results in men dominating and having control over formal peacebuilding and security mechanisms and priorities. Other existing structural barriers to women's participation in peace and

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security processes include insufficient and unequal access to natural and economic resources." (LNAP;11).

In the process of the previous NAP, many important steps have been taken such as education on GBV. "Anti- rape campaigns have been supported and held throughout Liberia, increasing awareness among men, women, young girls and young boys on women's rights, gender equality, rape and other forms of GBV, and town authorities and leaders have been targeted with programmes on not compromising rape cases in the communities..." (LNAP;15).

Other important highlights from the previous LNAP are the importance of literacy, which there have been some actions to improve, within the health sector more women are encouraged to pursue midwifery so that survivors of SGBV feel comfortable enough to report SGBV. Women work more informally and therefore have less job security, which leads to less economic security.

Intersectionality under each pillar
Under the pillar of participation, straight away it mentions particular groups and needs. "Effective participation and leadership of women, young women, disabled and rural women at all levels of decision-making in peacebuilding, peacekeeping, conflict management and resolution and countering terrorism." (LNAP;36). This is important in this context, as a lot of the country is rural where women are more marginalised than in urban areas.

Under the pillar of prevention, no specific vulnerable groups are mentioned or targeted with measures. It focuses on a rather broad scope of women and issues of insecurity women face.

Under the third pillar of protection, women and girls who are survivors of CRSV and SGBV are specifically mentioned and actions targeting the protection of those women and girls. Furthermore "Strengthened assistance mechanisms to facilitate women, young women, girls' and disabled and rural women's access to protection and support services for all forms of SGBV including HTPs" (LNAP;34). Particularly important is the inclusion of HTPs – harmful traditional practices – which includes female genital mutilation (FGM), and other harmful traditions.

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Pillar four which is the relief and recovery pillar outlines the need to strengthen the gender perspective into relief, recovery and peacebuilding interventions and specifically mentions "considering the particular needs of vulnerable and marginalized women, young women and girls." (LNAP;40). In addition, also "Promotion of economic empowerment, sustainable livelihood and capacity development to build resilience of women, young women and girls, including rural and disabled women and SGBV survivors." (LNAP;40).

The last pillar is the coordination pillar, which does not include any specifically vulnerable or targeted groups of women but rather speaks of how to improve coordination, efficiency and promote awareness-raising of the WPS agenda locally and nationally.

The LNAP is quite brief and in regard to intersectionality, very lacking. There is a lot of focus on geographical dimensions as well as economic insecurity, which is relevant to the Liberian context as a lot of the country is in fact rural. In terms of how intersectionality affects how women experience conflict and the barriers they face, it is mostly focused on CRSV, marginalised and young women's vulnerability, and rural women. Liberian society is strongly patriarchal and security sector is gendered manly, which excludes and neglects the women who are also working to promote peace processes. GBV is common, and HTPs can further exacerbate the insecurity that women and girls face. Literacy is viewed as a large issue to gender equality and the integration of WPS agenda, and it affects poor, rural and marginalised women the worst. Sexual orientation or gender identity is never mentioned.

5.8 Democratic Republic of Congo

The Democratic Republic of Congo is a war-torn country, that has been unable to find any stability for several years now as it has been struggling with armed conflicts, economic hardship, lack of infrastructure, corruption and bad leadership. It is a country in need of a fair and inclusive peacebuilding process to take place, so the importance of the Women, Peace and Security agenda is prominent here. This NAP (DNAP) is the second edition that spans the years 2019-2022. This is the country that is at the bottom end of the indexes (HDI, GII).

DNAP starts with an evaluation of the previous NAP and states that its mission statement is "taking into consideration its wider orientation, i.e. the DRC's other commitments in respect of peace and security[…]and the integration of vulnerable women's issues, particularly

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indigenous women and those living with disability, in NAP2." (DNAP;10). Which admits the importance of an inclusive NAP, where women experience conflict differently depending on their social identity, while not explicitly referring to intersectionality.

According to the evaluation of the previous NAP, there has been little progress in relation to the WPS agenda pillars. In terms of women's participation, there are still very few women involved in the peace and development processes. There is also lack of implementation in regard to protection measures as CRSV is still prevalent in conflict-affected areas. Furthermore, implementation of recovery and relief measures is also dismal as the conflict is still ongoing in large areas and infrastructure and economic development have been stagnant. A lesson learned in the previous edition is mentioned to be the lack of "Non-inclusion and lack of integration of young women and women living with disability in the implementation of NAP."(DNAP;17). Which is therefore viewed as an important target for the next NAP to integrate in all areas.

An explicit mention of marginalised representations is under the section on Challenges for the second edition, which include "(i) the fair inclusion of women, with consideration of vulnerable women, young women and girls in decision-making bodies and mechanisms for the prevention and peaceful settlement of conflict; (ii) widespread publicizing of the 2nd generation NAP and of legal texts Guaranteeing women's rights; (iii) persistent acts of violence; (iv) the impunity of perpetrators of violations of women's rights, the increased inclusion of women and young women in security service decision-making bodies. " (DNAP;18). This is important as it suggests what is prioritised within the current NAP. Following this is sections dedicated to each of the pillars with more detailed actions and objectives set.

Intersectionality under each pillar
Under the first pillar – participation – a mention is made of "The representation of women and young women within national, regional and international institutions […]still remains very low. […]awareness-raising measures will be intensified on female leadership among women and AYW, with special emphasis on women in rural areas and vulnerable women (women living with disability and indigenous women). "(DNAP;19). The particular focus on women with disability and indigenous women is one that is prominent throughout the DNAP.

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Under the second pillar – prevention – it is noted that "Reducing the rate of recruitment of child soldiers (young girls and boys) within armed factions. […]Reform of the security sector that is underway in the country is reinforcing consideration of gender at every level of the process and in the setting up of mechanisms for looking after war invalids (persons with war-related disability), especially where these are young ex-combatants." (DNAP;21). In the context of DRC, where the prevalence of child soldiers is high, this is an acute issue to handle and prevent. It is good that both girls and boys are mentioned in relation to this, rather than just as "girls". There is although no measure related to reviewing which girls are more likely to become recruited and how to prevent this from happening.

Under the prevention pillar, preserving women's rights and particularly the rights of marginalised women is stated as an important target and related to this goal is the following statement. "Members of the community particular political and religious leaders and traditional chiefs) and women living with disability, (in indigenous women and girls are made aware of the political rights of women." (DNAP;29). Accessing rights is not only hindered by lack of stability but also because there is disregard and ignorance, and bringing awareness is of particular importance in that context.

Under the third pillar – protection – a similar statement is made. "Guaranteeing respect for the rights of women, adolescents and young women, and of other vulnerable and marginalized persons (persons disability, persons, displaced persons, etc) during and after conflict." (DNAP;32). In addition, also "The rights of displaced and interned persons and of refugees are guaranteed." (DNAP;33). By stating that not only women, young women and marginalised persons have the right to protection the scope of security is widened somewhat more than if it only included women and girls. This is an example of a non-explicit mention of intersectionality. It does not necessarily say "women who are also marginalised by…" but it does include marginalised persons, which gives the impression that it includes all marginalised people, regardless of gender. Yet, this could be improved by more explicit and local context-based mentions of intersectionality.

Under the fourth pillar – relief and recovery – there are several objectives, one of those states "Integrating the dimension of gender into the management and peaceful resolution of

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conflict. Although women and AYF are the main victims of conflict, their specific needs are not considered. Integrating the dimension of gender into the process of management and peaceful resolution of conflict will make it possible to accommodate the specific needs of women, young (and adolescent) women, and of marginalized groups (persons living with disability, indigenous peoples etc), to increase their empowerment or to progress the equality of the sexes." (DNAP;23). While post-conflict countries often refer to women as survivors, in the DNAP women are viewed as victims. Either this could be because of the ongoing conflicts where women are still vulnerable to CRSV, or because women are viewed as victims that need to be saved and protected. The general lack of women who work within the security sector in DRC gives the impression that it is the second rather than the first.

In addition, the complicated issue of socio-economic status is also mentioned under this pillar. Economic empowerment is viewed as the single most effective strategy to positively impact on gender equality. "Guaranteeing the socio-economic empowerment of women and AYW victims of conflict. It should be pointed out that large-scale investment in the socioeconomic empowerment of women generates social dividends over the short and long term, including in post-conflict situations. In essence, investment in the economic empowerment of women is the surest route to the equality of the sexes, the eradication of poverty and inclusive economic growth." (DNAP;23).

While it does include some aspects of representations, a lot is lacking. The DNAP is written in a mostly binary format "equality of the sexes" and does not ever mention insecurity that faces sexual orientation, gender identity, religion, age, or other marginalised people. There is a general statement that states "marginalised persons, including disabled" but this does nothing to highlight the specific issues that are faced by sexual, religious, ethnic or other minorities. This is a country that faces armed conflict in many areas of the country, and CRSV is high, yet focus on CRSV is particularly low in the DNAP. The representations that do occur include disabled people, young women and girls, boys, and insecurity that comes from poverty.

Analysis of the results

This section presents the analysis of the results and answers the research questions for this study. The results section is summarised in the first research question.

6.1 How do countries approach intersectionality in their NAPs when attempting to incorporate this perspective?

There is a huge variety in regard to how the NAPs frame inclusion and reflect on intersectional perspectives. Some of the NAPs – SENAP, FNAP, BAP – have explicit statements regarding intersectionality and reflect on the structural power relations that can restrict women's participation in the security sector. The other NAPs are not explicitly referring to intersectionality but do contain some form of acknowledgment regarding how different social structures and norms affect women's experiences in conflicts.

According to Gibbings (2011) there is a narrative of positive language employed in the UN system that rarely leaves any space for criticism. The SENAP and FNAP are written in this language and employ a generally very ambitious and positive language throughout the texts. This is also viewed in the LENAP, which has a lot of similarities to the two Nordic cases. According to LENAP, Lebanon is driver of stability and peace in the MENA region. SENAP and FNAP claims to be drivers of peace and gender equality worldwide. However, in the other NAPs, for example BAP, LNAP, DNAP, there is space for both critical evaluations of the previous editions of each NAP and space to reflect on cultural and structural barriers to the implementation of the NAP.

SENAP and FNAP are mainly external NAPs, applied to countries that these donor countries support. This is related to the view that these countries are stable in terms of peace and security issues, although that could be discussed in the local contexts. They are thereby able to spin this type of language as local and domestic insecurities are neglected. If peace means the absence of violence, the WPS agenda should also be applied on local and domestic issues of everyday violence that women face in Sweden and Finland. This is reflected in the previous research by True & Tanyag (2019), who argue the need for broader perspective on peace and security is needed. Furthermore, Sjoberg (2019) also mentions how the everyday violence is neglected in NAPs that view themselves as non-conflict, or in this case drivers of peace.

The only mention of domestic issues is in relation to refugees, a perspective that is absent from the SENAP but very prominent in the FNAP. While this might seem like FNAP then accounts for local perspectives, it does so in relation to external matters, as in, the issue of violence is foreign, even though the victims become local. It is important within the space of peace and security to create measures that protect, aid and support refugee women who are particularly vulnerable, but, not at the expense of local marginalised communities, as Parashar (2019) also argues in 2.4.3.

Bosnia and Herzegovina and Serbia are post-conflict countries who are still processing their legacies of war. Both of their NAPs contain a lot of legal measurements to deal with the issues of survivors of CRSV trying to get justice. There is a lot of prominence given to sexual violence and human trafficking in both cases, which is relevant because of the high rates of human trafficking occurring. The BAP is the only NAP (within this study) that also mentions Roma Women, a perspective that is needed and neglected in all of the other European NAPs. These NAPs do lack some intersectional perspectives but are comparatively good at measuring the issues that women face, different women face, in the domestic context. The SNAP is quite brief, but does offer important local perspectives on CRSV, trafficking and issues that relate to the war regarding offering survivors of CRSV rehabilitation. There is however not any explicit and barely any non-explicit mentions of intersectionality.

Hudson (2017) pointed out three themes that are commonly found in the NAPS they reviewed, and which is also found in the cases of this study. The terms gender and woman are used interchangeably, at least in the JONAP, LENAP, LNAP and DNAP. The idea of gender identity is neglected and while there are some acknowledgements of gender roles and patriarchal structures that barrier women's empowerment and participation in the peace processes, it does not move beyond the stage of awareness-bringing stage of this issue in most of the cases. Furthermore, as has been reviewed, intersectionality is neglected in most cases as an important perspective. Thirdly, women are viewed as tools to prevent mainly radicalisation and violent extremism spreading in their local communities. This is common in JONAP, LENAP, LNAP and DNAP. In BAP and FNAP, it was acknowledged that it could be a problematic assumption to make in regard to women's roles in preventative measures,

and this perspective could lend to broadening the understanding of women in peace and security.

What is notable in relation to the JONAP and LENAP, the Jordanian and Lebanese NAPS, is that while both are domestic NAPs, the LENAP it is not controversial as it almost entirely focuses on external factors of insecurity (conflicts in neighbouring countries that lead to refugees and displaced people in Lebanese territory). This in fact, does the same thing as the FNAP, neglects local and everyday experiences of insecurity that women within the country face. This is interesting because, even in a country where there is significant gender inequality and insecurity issues that women face domestically, the WPS agenda is applied almost entirely only on women who are not viewed as citizens of the country. It is somehow, not at all applied locally then. In the JONAP, this is not the case, as much. The mission statement of JONAP for example, states "both Jordanians and those arriving"[i5] and does contain more local contexts and issues than the LENAP. This is interesting, as both countries claim within their NAPs that they are not-active conflict countries but rather stable and only affected by conflicts surrounding them.

Comparing these post-conflict and relatively stable countries with countries with active conflicts is not effective. DRC and Liberia are both countries with stagnant development, because of the costs of war, in human life and in social and economic terms. At the same time, this is where the WPS agenda integration could be most effective. If their NAPs on WPS agenda are mainstreamed and integrated into the general peace processes and efforts to prevent further conflicts, their implementation could be viewed as the most successful one as of yet. If their NAPs are also intersectional that could further legitimise the theory and the call for inclusive security sectors. However, both DRC and Liberia are countries with relatively low gender equality, and since their NAPs views of women are rather normative, it would be far from easy to implement. Furthermore, an issue that is also mentioned in the DNAP, is the lack of local knowledge regarding the WPS agenda, which also trumps efforts to integrate it into the security sector.

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[5] Read the whole statement on page 42.

A perspective that is starkly neglected is the inclusion of sexual orientation, gender identity, LGBT+. The NAPs are all quite gender normative and heteronormative. LGBT+ people continue to be neglected, and their insecurity is widespread globally. Only mentioned in SENAP, FNAP, BAP and SNAP, but only once or twice and without any actions that target those specific populations.

6.2 How could countries improve their inclusion of the intersectional perspective?
One of the most important things that countries could do to improve their inclusion of the intersectional perspective, but also in general, is to understand the local contexts of their countries and bring those context-driven factors into the NAPs. There are obviously political issues that hinder countries from recognising and acknowledging intersectional issues. Indigenous peoples' rights to land ownership, and other rights, are for example contested in many countries. LGBTQ+ rights are contested in many countries due to cultural and religious traditions and heteronormative structures.

But what all this amounts to, is that the idea of security and peace need to be broadened to include the very different ways that people face insecurities and experience conflicts and peace due to their social identities. This is what Swaine (2019) also states (page 14). While creating the NAP, the question posed should be: Which women and what local structures limits their ability to participate in development processes? How can measures in the NAP be tailored to this social context?

Including a variety of organisations, that are not only working on peace and security issues but also movements that target social and economic rights in their domestic contexts could improve the incorporation of intersectionality.

Furthermore, intersectionality needs to be prominently promoted by international institutions and mainstreamed to bring awareness to the theory but also to promote further incorporation of the perspective into all security sectors.

6.3 Are the countries that more thoroughly incorporate the intersectional perspective ranked higher based on progress related to their NAPs?

The simple answer to this question is that the higher the rating a country has on the HDI and GII index, the more thoroughly is the intersectional perspective incorporated into their NAP. Jacevic (2019) in 2.4.4. argued that countries that have adopted NAPs have grown more peaceful since adopting them. Arguably, better integration of the intersectional perspective might mean a further positive change towards more peaceful societies or gender equality. Yet, what has become obvious during this study is that it depends on how intersectionality and inclusion is viewed.

Sweden and Finland, the countries with the highest ratings, have externally applied NAPs, and therefore local and domestic issues are neglected. Their NAPs do however explicitly refer to intersectionality, and in the case of FNAP, it is incorporated into all of the strategic objectives and pillars. SENAP is quite brief and abstract, and does not include specific targeted groups of populations, which for example FNAP does with refugee women in Finland.

Bosnia and Herzegovina and Serbia are countries with strong patriarchal cultural norms, which makes the measures to integrate the WPS agenda with the security sector difficult. BH and Serbia are similar in their approach to their NAPs. There is a lot of focus on the survivors of CRSV and GBV since the war. Legal frameworks are prioritised as they legitimise the efforts to rehabilitate the survivors, a process that is ongoing after the war. The BAP and SNAP do have a lot of inexplicit mentions of intersectionality, which points to efforts of trying to localise the WPS agenda and move away from the idea that women in these countries are a homogenous group. In the index BH and Serbia are both rated as highly developed in terms of HDI and in the 30th highest rated in the GII-index. This shows that there is progress towards gender equality, and this is most likely related to their economic and social stability efforts post-war.

Lebanon and Jordan, however, rarely include mentions of multiple dimensions of insecurities that women and girls face. These are countries that are stable, relative to other countries in this region. In terms of gender equality, there is quite a long road ahead, as there are not only social and cultural norms that barrier women from economic and social empowerment but

also legislative. In Lebanon, for example, perpetrators can be pardoned of rape if they marry their victims, if they are adolescents. In effect, women and girls are not allowed bodily autonomy. Furthermore, in both Jordan and Lebanon, women's access to reproductive rights and other rights are limited at best. While more women are attending universities than men, few are accessing work. This is due to several reasons, but lack of gender equality, lack of economic autonomy, lack of intersectional understanding of structural barriers are at the centre of these issues. It follows that the HDI-levels in these countries are rated as medium, and their GII-index ranking is 96 for Lebanon, and 109 for Jordan.

DRC and Liberia are again, countries with active armed conflicts. This is both understandably a hindrance to changing structures, while also a great opportunity to do create better structures where gender equality is a basis. Compared with their placements in the GII-index, which is in the bottom rankings, and their HDI-levels which are low, actually the lowest ranked countries in the index. The DNAP and LNAP are somewhat integrating intersectional thematic issues, mostly due to more local perspectives being present in the NAPs, but there is still a lot of room from improvement.

Conclusion

In this study, the aim has been to analyse the Women, Peace and Security agenda's approach to intersectionality through the study of selected National Action Plans. The study has been both about trying to understand what intersections are prominent in national contexts but also to contribute to the understanding of intersectional analysis of National Action Plans, as there is little research concerning this area of study.

This study was conducted using a discourse analysis with an intersectional theoretical perspective, where eight cases of NAPs were analysed through term searches and explicit and non-explicit mentions of intersectionality. Using an intersectional approach to review the NAPs made it possible to review the limitations and challenges that are invisible barriers for women in peace and conflict situations.

According to the results there is a great variation in how intersectionality is incorporated, but this is also affected by what is considered important in each of the NAPs. The countries ranked higher in terms of HDI and GII are for example incorporating explicit intersectionality

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more, while countries with lower rankings either rarely or not at all mention intersectionality or perspectives that consider inclusion as prioritised.

Countries also tend to only apply the WPS agenda on for example refugee and displaced women, who are often a particularly vulnerable group, but this does create a form of neglect of local and everyday experiences of violence and insecurity that women within these countries experience. The WPS agenda thereby becomes under-utilised and limited in its scope of application. It is quoted that there is a lack of local awareness. This could also be viewed as a lack of local ownership, or a top-down approach which still views only certain women's experiences.

There were some difficulties while doing this study, such as the fact that all NAPS look very different to each other, so finding a common way to analyse and categorise each of the parts of the analysis was at first, somewhat complicated. This is probably something that also poses as a difficulty when trying to in general compare, analyse and understand the impact of the WPS agenda and therefore how to create effective naps. There is a need for countries to assess and compare notes regarding WPS, as greater collaboration might mitigate the difficulties seen here. This could be a way to make the NAPs more effective and more accessible for a greater audience. In relation to policy implications, this study is also a way to contribute to the discourse and the evaluation of WPS agenda worldwide, arguably contributing to better policies and policy evaluations and reflection on who is included in the conversation and why, and if this extends to covering local issues of insecurity or not.

This could also contribute to a lot of understanding on what issues need to be addressed globally as well as locally as countries might gain different insights from other naps and how they are framed. But do all of this, there is need for both resources but mainly political will. For example, in the LENAP, the budget allocation available was far from covering the needs to implement all the actions and objectives outlined, this is similar in most of the other NAPs, except maybe in the case of Sweden and Finland, which are donor and supporting countries. Related to this is also the lack of social security in most of the countries, where the access to health care for women who are marginalised, rural, or poor is dismal due to social factors and actual resources such as skilled workers, needed infrastructure, and access to health care and therapy. Furthermore, in many of the NAPs the cultural barriers such as social stigma is

mentioned as a barrier to women survivors of CRSV or victims of GBV seeking any help at all. This is not helped by the lack of political will in most countries to implement and do effective work on gender equality. Most efforts, including the WPS agenda and NAPs creation, are viewed as only symbolic rather than leading to actual change. That is and remains the greatest difficulty for the WPS agenda and gender equality in this area.

Arguably, one can discuss the language and the discourses of the WPS agenda, but this does not change the fact that until it is integrated into the peace and security sector for real and viewed as more than a symbolic resolution that countries ratify only as a way to get political influence and in the good graces of the international institutions, nothing will be changed.

There are still many research questions that need to be further analysed. It would be interesting to dive deeper into each of the countries and review how the WPS agenda is applied, if it is applied and who is able to access and formulate the NAPs in each context. Something that was not analysed here is how donor support countries such as Sweden and Finland contributed to the creating of the NAPs of other countries, and how this work could be more interesting to analyse. More attention should also be given to analysing civil society's work that contributes to the promotion of women in peace and security.

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Appendix 1: The term tables

Sweden:

Term:	How?
intersectionality	Within the SENAP there is one explicit mention of the term. (p.9). It is in the introductory chapter as it is supposed to encompass the whole NAP. It is also here several other terms are mentioned first and, in some cases, only time.
gender	The word gender does come up many times. Not clearly different or same from "women"
age	Once p.9
sexuality	Once p.9
religion	Once p.9
race	Once p.9
Socio-economic status	Socio-economic status does come up often.
ability	Disability mentioned. P.9
ethnicity	Is mentioned p.9 but also more times
Other terms:	Education level, geographic location, Environmental impact, militarism,

Finland:

Term:	How?
intersectionality	FNAP does mention intersectionality, in a similar way to the SENAP, as an introductory overall aim. P.7, 19
gender	Yes p.19
age	Not really
sexuality	Yes p.19, 48
religion	Yes p.19
race	Not really
Socio-economic status	Yes p.31, 34
ability	yes

ethnicity	Yes + refugees are mentioned as a particularly vulnerable group several times p.19, 49
Other terms:	*diverse groups in society, Indigenous people, Reproductive rights are also mentioned. Environmental, militarism? External? P.34

Bosnia and Herzegovina:

Term:	How?
intersectionality	There is no explicit mention of intersectionality per se. Arguably, one of the NAPs with more marginalised groups accounted for. P.24
gender	Mentioned as gender identity, a broader idea of what gender is instead of using it as a synonym to women. P.16
age	Age is also seen and used within this study. Children are mentioned, this could also be related to women's roles as "mothers". Elderly also mentioned p.22, 24
sexuality	Sexual orientation, LGBT mentioned, p.16, 24
religion	Religious orientation, identity, communities mentioned
race	Racial origin, colour of skin mentioned twice,
class	Poverty reduction mentioned as an important measure, as well as economic empowerment p.22
ability	Disability mentioned p.22
ethnicity	Twice ethnic origin is mentioned, and refugees mentioned 14 times, several times. Roma women mentioned! P.16, 22
Other terms:	National minorities, social, economic and psychological empowerment, geography mentioned also in relation to rural women, p.22, 36, 13, 24

Serbia:

Term:	explicit
intersectionality	No explicit mention, non-explicit p.11, 36,
gender	Somewhat explicit: mentioned once in the footnote
age	Not any explicit mention

sexuality	Mentioned in footnote
religion	Not any explicit mention
race	Not any explicit mention
class	Socio-economic needs. Economic empowerment for women and girls. P.29, 30,
ability	No explicit mention except for in the footnote
ethnicity	Not any explicit mention
Other terms:	In footnotes there is mention one or two pages of some specific minorities. P.25, victims of sex trafficking, p.37, stigmatisation p.42

Jordan:

Term:	How?
intersectionality	Not explicit
gender	Not explicit in relation to other categories than the binary notion of gender. One of the NAPs with relatively little mention of men and boys.
age	Youth and children mentioned often. P.13,
sexuality	Not explicit
religion	A lot of focus on religious leaders ability to change, bring awareness, and prevent violent extremism of which there is a lot GBV. p.16, 33
race	Not explicit
class	no mention of socio-economic impact or empowerment at all, which is different from other NAPs
ability	Disability and war-related disability mentioned a few times
ethnicity	It is mentioned p.16
Other terms:	Refugees play an important part as a specific and vulnerable group throughout. P.13, 16, 17, social stigma against accessing help also big issue p.17

Lebanon:

Term:	How?
intersectionality	Not explicit but p.8,
gender	Not explicit
age	Several mentions of elderly, youth, children, mostly children mentioned related to child marriage
sexuality	No mention
religion	Explicitly mentioned – 18 denominations of Islamic/Christian faith recognised and mentioned, but no other religion considered or mentioned
race	No mention
class	Socio-economic empowerment and need mentioned p.50,
ability	Disability explicit, war-related injuries especially p.40,
ethnicity	A lot of prominence given to Palestinian refugees p.9, 15 also Syrian refugees and Iraqi p.15
Other terms:	Women in prison, rural women. P.40 Legal barriers against victims of GBV mentioned p.9.,

Liberia:

Term:	How?
intersectionality	Not explicit but p.11
gender	Traditional gender roles, security sector male-dominated p.11
age	Youth, young boys and girls, p.15, 40
sexuality	Not explicit
religion	Not explicit
race	Not explicit
class	Economic empowerment, socio-economic issues, poverty, urban poor areas, economic issues mentioned throughout. P.11, 40
ability	Disability and the importance of mental and physical health was mentioned several times in relation to survivors of SGBV. Also HIV/AIDS quite often mentioned here. P.36, 34,
ethnicity	Not explicit

Other terms:	Rural women mentioned often. Literacy rates pose barriers.

Democratic Republic of Congo:

Term:	How?
intersectionality	Not explicit, p.10 but marginalised people mentioned p.32, 23,
gender	Binary view of men and women
age	Youth, young women p.18 also child soldiers p.21
sexuality	Not explicit
religion	Not explicit
race	Not explicit
class	Somewhat – Economic empowerment, poverty, lack of ownership of land p.23
ability	Disability and access to health care mentioned often, especially war-related injuries, p.17, 19
ethnicity	Indigenous p.10,19,
Other terms:	Rural women mentioned often, refugee and displaced people p.32,33