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SEALING THE CRACKS

An intersectional
feminist perspective on
digital peacebuilding

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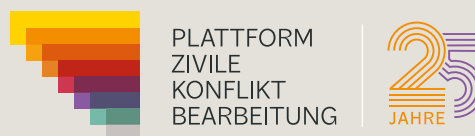
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Executive summary

This paper fills a gap in existing literature and practice where intersectional feminist approaches to technology meet intersectional feminist approaches to peacebuilding. Scholars and practitioners have explored how an intersectional feminist perspective delivers more impactful peacebuilding. They have also explored how an intersectional feminist perspective on digital technology mitigates bias and harm. This explorative study investigates how these two perspectives intersect in digital peacebuilding. In other words, we explore how a theoretical framework that seeks to analyze how different aspects of social and political identities create unique but often overlapping forms of discrimination can amplify the opportunities and reduce the risks of digital peacebuilding.¹

An *intersectional feminist* lens refers to an (analytical and practice-oriented) perspective that makes power asymmetries and imbalances of power visible and points to multiple and overlapping forms of oppression due to race, income, age, religion, ability and other factors.

Digital approaches to intersectional feminist peacebuilding

How can the design and implementation of digital peacebuilding contribute to the strategic goal of adding an intersectional feminist lens to peacebuilding? Ideally, this can happen in four broad categories:

Building better relationships of trust



Digital communication tools can contribute to a shared community identity and social cohesion. Peacebuilders can use this to build trust that cuts across identities and experiences of marginalization. Digital means can provide a platform for those who might not otherwise speak up in a process, allow for side conversations with those who need to build trust towards a process, and offer anonymous ways to express how marginalization plays out in a situation.

Broadening participation and ownership



Digital technologies can offer new and different ways to increase opportunities for participation by people facing overlapping forms of discrimination. To overcome some of the barriers present in the offline space, digital messaging platforms can give people online access to join discussions, cutting across class, mobility and social status lines, opening up processes and helping to hold leaders accountable. Critically, digital means can also support adequate participation by people previously marginalized in process design – not only during implementation.

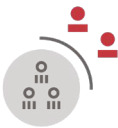
¹ Digital peacebuilding refers to the use of digital technologies towards a peacebuilding objective, and the use of peacebuilding approaches in response to digital conflict drivers.

Ensuring better safety and security



Digital means can address identified intersectional concerns related to online or offline harassment or intimidation in a targeted way. Peacebuilders can use them to carve out anonymous safe spaces online to accompany both online and offline processes, to surface content that might have stayed invisible, and to expand subtle ways of reaching people facing marginalization.

Challenging existing power and oppression



Digital technology makes organizing easier, and in so doing can shift the balance of power. Peacebuilders can collaborate with the activists emerging through new forms of digital organizing to equalize offline power dynamics. Furthermore, social media in particular can build larger constituencies of peace activists, coalescing on intersectional and international allyship among people facing the same forms of oppression in a way that transcends borders and other dividing forces.

Digital peacebuilding for intersectional technology harms

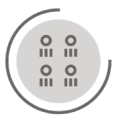
How can the design and implementation of intersectional feminist peacebuilding ensure that digital technologies do not reinforce existing inequalities and the marginalization of individuals or groups?

Rectifying biased data collection



Peacebuilders can challenge and correct the identity-based biases that show up in digital data collection, by examining and challenging power, embracing pluralism, and elevating emotions, for example. Changing the means of data collection can also make data more accessible to people facing discrimination. In addition, peacebuilders can offer alternatives to biased artificial intelligence by applying participatory action research to the design of machine learning for social media analysis on conflict dynamics.

Confronting access discrimination



The choice of technology and an assessment of digital literacy needs can help address intersectional access hurdles. Peacebuilders can go where people already have access – online or offline – to overcome barriers. They can also provide different options for accessing a technology to take into account layers of discrimination. Offering digital literacy alongside a peacebuilding activity is another way to confront marginalization.

Countering exposure risks online



Strategies to minimize the effects of surveillance and shield people from retaliation have the potential to remedy some of the intersectional vulnerabilities present in digital spaces. Peacebuilders can use creative scheduling to avoid time-specific risks to specific groups, for example. Digital organizing helps counter attempts to surveil

individuals at risk of multiple forms of discrimination. In addition, digital peacebuilding methods can reclaim digital space for those who have been pushed out by cyberbullying.

Dampening explicit attempts to harm



Peacebuilding approaches can be used to intervene in digital spaces where marginalization happens, confronting harm head on. In addition, digital peacebuilding methods can be used to correct perceptions distorted by algorithms that privilege hateful content, to counter attempts to abuse the distortion for political gain.

Recommendations

This paper offers the following project cycle-based recommendations on how to design digital approaches that make peacebuilding more intersectional, and on how to ensure that digital technologies do not reinforce existing inequalities and power asymmetries.

During (human-centered) design ...

- ≡ Include people with identity intersections relevant to the project in design and testing – from the start.
- ≡ Make team-wide intersectional analysis a standard practice to build the capacities of team members who are privileged at several intersections.
- ≡ Always prioritise people’s (online) safety and security over ambitions to understand and address marginalization at taboo intersections.
- ≡ Draw inspiration from (online and offline) self-organizing among groups affected by multiple layers of discrimination.
- ≡ Examine – and complement – datasets, asking who collected the data, how and what the impacts are, and making biases in datasets explicit.
- ≡ Don’t shy away from moving a process fully offline if marginalized groups are completely excluded from online spaces.

During intervention ...

- ≡ Provide distinct, asynchronous digital alternatives to existing offline dialogue or mediation forums – and offline alternatives to online processes.
- ≡ Set up diverse and personal communication channels with participants that respond to the specific online safety and security concerns of people facing discrimination.
- ≡ Ensure explainability in everything to prevent the perception of a “black box” for unfamiliar tech tools.

To influence policy ...

- ≡ Share knowledge about discriminatory design of technology with those who can influence and change policies, technologies or institutions – be they policy makers, platforms, or developers.
- ≡ Find allies in fields adjacent to intersectionality and peacebuilding, and document learnings.

When funding digital peacebuilding ...

- ≡ Donors should require (and challenge) intersectional analysis for any (digital peacebuilding project to correct disincentives in current proposal processes.
- ≡ Donors need to allow for more funding flexibility and generous timelines to enable emergent project design and give the space to change course mid-way.
- ≡ Donors should enable peacebuilders’ access to tech companies to enable them to share insights with them.

1. Why intersectional feminist digital peacebuilding?

“If we aren’t intersectional, some of us, the most vulnerable, are going to fall through the cracks.”

Kimberlé Crenshaw

This paper fills a gap in existing literature and practice where intersectional feminist approaches to technology meet intersectional feminist approaches to peacebuilding. Scholars and practitioners have explored how an intersectional feminist perspective delivers more impactful peacebuilding. They have also explored how an intersectional feminist perspective on digital technology mitigates bias and harm. This study investigates how these two perspectives intersect in digital peacebuilding. In other words, it explores **how a theoretical framework that seeks to analyze how different aspects of social and political identities create unique ways of discrimination can amplify the opportunities and reduce the risks of digital peacebuilding.**

In order to explore this complex interface, this paper asks the following questions:

- ≡ How are intersectionality, peacebuilding and digital peacebuilding defined? (Section 1.1)
- ≡ What are the strategic goals of adding an intersectional feminist lens to peacebuilding? What are the strategic goals of understanding technology through intersectional feminism? (Sections 1.2 & 1.3)
- ≡ How can the design and implementation of digital peacebuilding contribute to the strategic goal of adding an intersectional feminist lens to peacebuilding? (Section 2)
- ≡ How can the design and implementation of intersectional feminist peacebuilding ensure that digital technologies do not reinforce existing inequalities and the marginalization of groups at risk of online harms? (Section 3)

To answer these questions and provide recommendations (Section 4), the authors reviewed existing literature (listed in the bibliography in Annex A), held a webinar on 15 December 2022 with eight participants representing six different organizations, and conducted five interviews with people working at the intersection of digital technologies and intersectional feminism (see list, Annex B).

1.1 Definitions

The term **intersectionality** was originally coined by Kimberlé Crenshaw in 1989 to describe bias and violence against black women.² Originally limited mostly to academic and legal circles, the term is more widely used now, and incorporates the intersection of gender bias not only with race, but also with LGBTQI+³, class, religion and disability issues, among others. In recent interviews, Crenshaw explains that intersectionality today can be understood as “a prism for seeing how various forms of inequality often operate together

2 Crenshaw, K. (2018). Demarginalizing the Intersection of Race and Sex: A Black Feminist Critique of Antidiscrimination Doctrine, Feminist Theory and Antiracist Politics [1989]. *Feminist Legal Theory*, 57-80. <https://doi.org/10.4324/9780429500480-5>

3 Lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, transsexual, queer, intersexual and any other individuals whose sexual and/or gender identity is neither cis- nor heterosexual.

and exacerbate each other”⁴ or as “a lens through which you can see where power comes and collides, where it interlocks and intersects”.⁵

In its explainer on intersectional feminism, UN Women shares how the framework clarifies that inequality does not always happen in an equal and measured manner: social and political identities overlap and intersect with each other and create a unique individual experience which makes the degree of inequality different for everyone.⁶ In its guidance note on intersectionality, the United Nations Network on Racial Discrimination and Protection of Minorities provides a theoretical example to illustrate this, stating that: “For example, the lived experience of discrimination of a Muslim woman of African or Middle Eastern descent in a European country will be different from that of a Muslim man of similar descent in the same country owing to discrimination based on the intersecting grounds of race, ethnicity, religion and sex.”⁷

Building on these definitions, this paper defines **intersectional feminism** as a theoretical framework that seeks to observe and analyze how different aspects of social and political identities can create overlapping and unique forms of discrimination. The study uses the term “woman” to refer to cis and trans women, and the term “non-

binary person” when referring to genderqueer or gender-non-conforming people.⁸

While there are many definitions of **peacebuilding**, in Johan Galtung’s 1969 definition is still suitable to encompass all the aspects covered by this research: “peacebuilding achieves positive peace by creating structures and institutions of peace based on justice, equity and cooperation, thus addressing the underlying causes of conflict”.⁹ Digital technology has equally been defined in many ways, and this report uses a definition coined explicitly for information and communication technologies relevant to conflict prevention and peacebuilding, namely that **digital technology** encompasses “different types of hardware, software or systems that enable people to access, generate and share information.”¹⁰

Digital peacebuilding is a relatively new term, predated by the term “peacetech”. The term **peacetech** emerged in mid-2015, referring to the convergence of conversations that had so far taken place under the “technology – or information and communication technologies (ICTs) – and peacebuilding” umbrella. In 2016, Build Up defined peacetech as “an emerging body of peacebuilding practice which includes a technological component that is of strategic importance to its objective(s)”.¹¹ This definition

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- 4 Steinmetz, K. (2020). *Kimberlé Crenshaw on What Intersectionality Means Today*. Time. Retrieved 7 February 2023. <https://time.com/5786710/kimberle-crenshaw-intersectionality/>
 - 5 Columbia Law School (2017). *Kimberlé Crenshaw on Intersectionality, More than Two Decades Later*. Retrieved 7 February 2023. <https://www.law.columbia.edu/news/archive/kimberle-crenshaw-intersectionality-more-two-decades-later>
 - 6 UN Women (2020). *Intersectional Feminism: What it means and why it matters right now*. Retrieved 7 February 2023. <https://www.unwomen.org/en/news/stories/2020/6/explainer-intersectional-feminism-what-it-means-and-why-it-matters>
 - 7 United Nations Network on Racial Discrimination and Protection of Minorities (n.d.). *Guidance Note on Intersectionality, Racial Discrimination and Protection of Minorities*. Retrieved 7 February 2023. <https://www.ohchr.org/sites/default/files/documents/issues/minorities/30th-anniversary/2022-09-22/GuidanceNoteonIntersectionality.pdf>
 - 8 Questions about someone’s LGBTQI+ identities (including non-binary gender) are taboo in many contexts. As a result, there are few examples from practice, surveys or statistics that would help surface details at this gender intersection. Information on people’s self-assigned gender beyond how they pass in a context is often not possible to establish without putting them at risk of persecution or, in some contexts, imprisonment. It is therefore not possible to determine whether, if asked by someone they trust, a person would identify as non-binary in a context where this identity is not socially accepted.
 - 9 Galtung, J. (1969). *Violence, Peace, and Peace Research*. *Journal of Peace Research*, 6(3), 167-191. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/422690>
 - 10 Gaskell, J. R., Puig Larrauri, H., Rieken, J., Ali, A. & Ritgerink, A. (2016). *Uses of Information and Communication Technologies (ICTs) for EU Conflict Prevention and Peacebuilding*. WOSCAP. Retrieved 9 February 2023. <https://www.woscap.eu/documents/131298403/131553554/Scoping%2bStudy%2b-%2bICT.pdf/Scoping%20Study%20-%20ICT/index.pdf>
 - 11 Build Up (2016). *Innovative Peacebuilding in Syria: A Scoping Study of the Strategic Use of Technology to Build Peace in the Syrian Context*. British Council. Retrieved 9 February 2023. https://creativeconomy.britishcouncil.org/media/uploads/files/Peacetech_Report_Web_En.pdf

emphasized the strategic use of technology to distinguish peacebuilding actors and activities that use technology as part of their general organizational management (making use of email, website and social media presence as most civil society actors do) from those that use technology with the strategic aim of building peace. However, other practitioners have defined peacetech as “technology that contributes to peacebuilding”¹², placing emphasis on peacetech-as-a-tool rather than peacetech as a set of uses of technology.

The term “digital peacebuilding” emerged as the field coalesced on the importance of focusing on the uses of digital technologies, and processes around these uses, rather than the digital technology tools per se. As Lisa Schirch writes, “digital peacebuilding is the broader nexus between the field of peacebuilding and digital technologies”¹³. This paper is situated at that nexus, and agrees with Schirch that this includes three interfaces: (i) the use of off-the-shelf digital technologies like WhatsApp for peacebuilding efforts; (ii) the use of technologies developed with the explicit aim of serving a peacebuilding goal; and (iii) peacebuilding responses (using technology or not) that address digital conflict drivers. This third aspect – digital peacebuilding seen as a response to digital conflict drivers – was first introduced in a paper by Puig Larrauri and Morrison¹⁴, and has grown in importance over recent years. For the remainder of this paper, we refer to **digital peacebuilding** as an emerging body of practice that includes both the use of digital technologies towards a peacebuilding objective, and the use of peacebuilding approaches in response to digital conflict drivers.

1.2 Intersectional feminism and peacebuilding

“[I]f you arrive as an expert who knows what’s right, it’s all over. Your work will always be something distant, an imposition.” [...] What makes the difference is humility; it is when someone has “the capacity to listen to local people – not only the elite, but also the women, the veterans, the widows’ groups.”

Séverine Autesserre¹⁵

Existing literature primarily points to effectiveness, gender equality and avoiding harm as the main reasons for adding a gender lens to peacebuilding.¹⁶ An intersectional feminist lens, however, challenges us to take into account how the prevailing top-down approaches and respectability politics of many peacebuilding interventions¹⁷ contribute to larger issues that dehumanize people affected by multiple forms of discrimination.¹⁸ **The strategic goal of adding an intersectional feminist lens to peacebuilding is to act from a better understanding of privilege and discrimination to tackle recurring peacebuilding challenges – some of which persist because we fail to see the privileges that perpetuate them.**

12 Schirch, L. (2020). *25 Spheres of Digital Peacebuilding and PeaceTech*. Alliance for Peacebuilding. Retrieved 7 February 2023. <https://www.allianceforpeacebuilding.org/afp-publications/25-spheres-digital-pb-sep-2020>

13 Ibid.

14 Puig Larrauri, H. & Morrison, M. (2022). *Understanding Digital Conflict Drivers*. In: Mahmoudi, H., Allen, M.H. & Seaman, K. (eds.) *Fundamental Challenges to Global Peace and Security*. Palgrave Macmillan, Cham. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-79072-1_9

15 Quotes from the book: Autesserre, S. (2021). *The frontlines of peace: an insider’s guide to changing the world*. Oxford University Press. New York, p. 153. <https://doi.org/10.1093/oso/9780197530351.001.0001>

16 Conciliation Resources (2015). *Gender and Conflict Analysis Toolkit for Peacebuilders*, p.15.

17 Martínez-Larnerd, N.J. (2021/2021). *The Path to Intersectional Peacebuilding: An Ontology of Oppression – ASEAN and Myanmar*. Panteion University.

18 Khan-Cullors, P. & Bandele, A. (2020). *When They Call You a Terrorist: A Black Lives Matter Memoir*. St. Martin’s Publishing Group, p. 145.

Specifically, intersectionality can help peacebuilders^{19 20}:

- a. Build better relationships of trust by understanding who plays unnoticed roles as trust holders in a process and acting on that knowledge;
- b. Broaden participation and ownership by going beyond numerical representation;
- c. Ensure better safety and security for all people by taking into account multiple layers of discrimination; and
- d. Challenge existing power, as expressed in structures of oppression, in a sustainable way.

Successful peacebuilding processes depend on **relationships of trust**. Intersectional feminism helps in better understanding which groups are trusted in society, which ones are not, and why. Intersectional analysis is also required to understand who trusts a certain conflict transformation process, who does not, and why. Implicit discriminatory biases that continue to dominate Western White cultures in peacebuilding make it safe to assume distrust from people of color involved in the process as a default. Literature suggests that trust building in contexts of colonization that have broken trust with Western actors is particularly difficult²¹, and continued reliance on non-local peacebuilding actors as sources of information and trust reinforces that. In addition, individual White peacebuilders who demonstrate behaviors such as policing, respectability politics, or saviorism – that generally go unaddressed – make people facing marginalization feel deliberately ignored.²² Taken together, these dynamics therefore create distrust, and an intersectional lens is necessary to understand and address them. Intersectional

feminism helps to build peacebuilding processes around people who are not perceived to seek power – often because they face marginalization – and can therefore play an important bridging role. Research identifies strengthened legitimacy of peace processes as one benefit of involving parties outside the core conflict stakeholders.²³ For example, women often play a key role in reaching across conflict lines in informal settings but are not recognized as bridge builders because power holders are engaged more than trust holders.

Connected to this intersectional approach to trust-building is a second challenge to peacebuilding processes: **ensuring broad participation and ownership**. Relations of power are replicated in all social structures, including in dialogue around peace at any level, which hinders meaningful participation by people who face multiple layers of discrimination. Intersectional feminism helps peacebuilders rethink binaries and hierarchies. For example, we might go beyond a mere numerical representation of people identifying as women and men to ensure that their mobility, class or education are also considerations in who participates. A gender-representative group that only includes individuals who completed a university degree, for example, would not allow scope to understand how gender and class intersect. Or we might consider bridging the gap between different peacebuilding “tracks” so that inclusion is not siloed, limiting the power of some to commentators and others to decision-makers.

For participation and ownership to be meaningful, all people **need to be secure (from deliberate harm) and safe (i.e., they must feel protected)** to bring in their perspectives and solutions. The safety and security of power holders often receive

19 Azarmandi, M. (2018). The Racial Silence within Peace Studies. *Peace Review*, 30(1), 69-77.

20 Stavrevska, E.B. & Smith, S. (2020). Intersectionality and Peace. In: *The Palgrave Encyclopedia of Peace and Conflict Studies*. Palgrave Macmillan, Cham. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-11795-5_120-1

21 Martínez-Larnerd, N.J. (2021/2021). *The Path to Intersectional Peacebuilding: An Ontology of Oppression – ASEAN and Myanmar*. Panteion University.

22 Krampe, F. & Ekman, L. (2020). *Post-War Legitimacy – A Framework on Relational Agency in Peacebuilding*. Retrieved 10 April 2023. https://www.researchgate.net/publication/324943574_Post-war_Legitimacy_-_A_Framework_on_Relational_Agency_in_Peacebuilding

23 Hirblinger, A. T. (2020). *Digital Inclusion in Peacemaking: A Strategic Perspective*. CCDP Working Paper.

most attention, as their participation is seen as key to the success of a process, especially in high-level peace talks. Intersectional feminism, however, helps peacebuilders understand two key points. First, it helps us to understand that extra labor needs to go into ensuring emotional and physical safety for those who come into a process with experience of marginalization. Second, it helps us to understand whether people are harassed or intimidated based on their identities during a process, even in ways imperceptible to those steering the process, and to find ways of ensuring safety for them. For example, we might consider incorporating anxiety-reducing practices, or institutionalizing debriefing sessions that allow for expression of hardship.²⁴

Finally, creating societies where everyone can thrive comes with a need to **challenge existing power**, which threatens those who hold it. Formal peacebuilding processes often fail because they focus on how existing power holders share the power they hold slightly differently. An intersectional feminist approach can help start the dialogue by focusing on the forms of marginalization that need to be addressed, and to challenge power by creating allyship among those facing one and the same system of oppression in different ways. It is equally important here to make sure that peacebuilders are aware of the history, culture and language of the local context, and do not expect to ever understand the inner workings of another community fully.²⁵ For example, Nicolas Jude Larnerd proposes inside-out-bottom-up approaches to ensure that peacebuilding interventions are not further marginalizing any communities, are not reinforcing existing power structures, are not policing stakeholders and

specifically marginalized communities, and are centering the needs of the community before anyone else's.²⁶

1.3 Intersectional feminism and technology

“The mistake a lot of tech observers are making is to treat social media as if it’s cigarettes — something that’s addictive and bad with no value at all. The Internet is more like sex, drugs and rock & roll. Done wrong, it can be harmful, unhealthy, addictive, violating and corrosive. But done right it can be liberating, mind-expanding, transformative, and fun as hell.”

Evan Greer

Both the design and use of digital technology can reproduce and amplify existing power structures and social inequalities.²⁷ Digital technologies are mostly built by White men. Using a word play on “bro(ther)” and “programmer”, the literature refers to this as “the brogrammer problem”, describing the fact that programmers in Silicon Valley and in companies like Tencent Holdings or the Alibaba Group predominantly identify as male.²⁸ In 2018, an analysis of 177 Silicon Valley companies showed that the ten largest technology companies in Silicon Valley did not

24 Article 19, Government of Canada, Government of Sweden (2021). *Making the Invisible Visible: An intersectional gender guide to monitoring and documenting attacks against journalists and social communicators*. Article 19. Retrieved 9 February 2023. https://www.article19.org/wp-content/uploads/2022/04/FemSoj-Guideline-1_Monitoring-_-Documenting-Attacks_FINAL_25-March.pdf

25 Martínez-Larnerd, N.J. (2021/2021). *The Path to Intersectional Peacebuilding: An Ontology of Oppression – ASEAN and Myanmar*. Panteion University.

26 *ibid.*

27 Reventlow, N. J. (2019). *A Digital Future for Everyone*. *Digital Freedom Fund*. Retrieved 9 February 2023. <https://digitalfreedomfund.org/a-digital-future-for-everyone/>

28 *Ibid.* and Reventlow, N. J. (2020). *The Gender Divide in Digital Rights*. Retrieved 9 February 2023. <https://digitalfreedomfund.org/the-gender-divide-in-digital-rights/>.

employ a single black woman, three had no black employees at all, and six did not have a single female executive.²⁹ Although some digital technologies are deliberately built to oppress and marginalize, most harm resulting from digital technologies is the unintended consequence of the perceptions and assumptions of its designers and primary users. **The strategic goal of approaching digital technology through an intersectional feminist lens is to mitigate the discrimination that results from the way in which technology design and use reflect and at times amplify existing power structures.**

Intersectionality alerts us to four connected areas where digital technologies impact discrimination and oppression:

- a. Biased data collection enabled by digital technologies creates new forms of discrimination;
- b. Access to technology can amplify discrimination;
- c. Intersecting types of marginalization can make some people more vulnerable online; and
- d. Technology design can make it easier for those in power to marginalize and harm people.

Better data about people of different backgrounds, collected more easily with digital technologies, can lead to services that are better targeted and a broader representation of different people's priorities.³⁰ However, the **ease and speed of data collection can also create new forms of discrimination.** When data collection is designed by organizations or agencies that do not consider

identities when they initiate such processes, the results can be top-down evidence that is not inclusive or representative of the audiences they seek to serve. Specifically on data relating to peace and conflict, Tellidis notes how data collection design by powerful international actors can lead to the continued marginalization or "subalternity" of certain identity groups.³¹ Data is often perceived as rooted in ideals of objectivity and detached neutrality, where "disembodied internet users engaging in 'rational' debate are imagined separately from offline structures of privilege and exclusion."³² Thus, rapid data collection processes enabled by digital technology can often miss intersectional perspectives, and present a biased picture of need or opinion.

Organizations are increasingly using artificial intelligence to further accelerate data collection processes.³³ Yet the effects of data collection biases can be amplified if machine learning is used to automatically sort and classify data, and if classifications are designed from a dominant framework. For example, UN Global Pulse collaborated with Data2X and the University of Leiden to develop a tool to infer the gender of Twitter users.³⁴ The tool analyzes user names from a built-in database of predefined names that contain gender information. Where a user name does not correlate to one gender, the tool analyzes profile photos, using face recognition software. The tool was used to produce a report by Global Pulse that claimed to understand the different concerns and priorities of women and men on topics related to sustainable development. Not only does the choice of a gender binary erase non-binary people, but there is also extensive

29 Rangarajan, S. (2018). *Here's the Clearest Picture of Silicon Valley's Diversity Yet: It's Bad*. Reveal News.

30 Prysmian Group (n.d.). *What is Digitalization? Meaning and Opportunities*. Retrieved 7 February 2023. <https://www.prysmiangroup.com/en/insight/sustainability/what-is-digitalization-meaning-and-opportunities>

31 Tellidis, I. (2022). Technology and Peace. In: *The Palgrave Encyclopedia of Peace and Conflict Studies*. Palgrave Macmillan, Basingstoke.

32 Galpin, C. (2022). *At the Digital Margins? A Theoretical Examination of Social Media Engagement Using Intersectional Feminism*. *Politics and Governance*. 10(1). <https://doi.org/10.17645/pag.v10i1.4801>

33 Hofstetter, J.-S. (2021). *Digital Technologies, Peacebuilding and Civil Society*. INEF. Retrieved 9 February 2023. https://ict4peace.org/wp-content/uploads/2021/05/ir114_hofstetter_final_web-1.pdf

34 UN Global Pulse (2021). *Sex Disaggregation of Social Media Posts*. Retrieved 12 February 2023. <https://www.unglobalpulse.org/project/sex-disaggregation-of-social-media-posts/>

evidence that most AI face recognition software mis-identifies people of color.³⁵

Digital technologies have democratized power and voice to an important extent: from accessing services or information to connecting with peers or sharing opinions, digital technologies offer important capabilities to more people. Yet **the distribution of these capabilities is critically determined by access to devices and to connectivity**, which are shaped by different identity factors. An intersectional analysis offers a better understanding of the multi-layered (online and offline) reasons for this unequal distribution and the resulting discrimination. Although the International Telecommunication Union observes a trend towards a narrowing gender gap for Internet across all regions³⁶, women are still 34% less likely to have access to any form of Internet than men in low-income countries.³⁷ Despite a widely held belief that older generations are technologically illiterate, the literature suggests that illiteracy is not the problem; the issue is the usability of technology. Research has shown that older adults adopt technology that they find useful and resist those that they do not.³⁸ One piece of research found that older people are not seen as valid stakeholders, and that is reflected in how the design and deployment of these technologies do not consider the needs of seniors.³⁹ The Pew Research Center also found that higher-income

and highly educated seniors use the Internet at rates approaching and sometimes exceeding rates among the general population.⁴⁰ Children, on the other hand, face specific threats or dynamics online that intersect with other identity factors, such as gender.⁴¹ Poverty increases the likelihood of frequent power cuts, and thus access to devices and connectivity. In areas without continuous Internet access, people may be forced to go to public places to share devices and connectivity. If public spaces are unsafe for certain groups of people, that further impacts accessibility.

Even where accessibility is not impacted by discrimination, some people may self-select not to engage with a certain digital technology because **intersecting forms of marginalization make them more vulnerable online**. These vulnerabilities take different forms. First, a lack or breach of online privacy can be dangerous for people facing multiple forms of discrimination. Digital footprints pose a significant risk to marginalized groups.⁴² For example, dating apps in Egypt have been used to track, arrest and torture members of the LGBTIQ+ community.⁴³ Similarly, in Uganda, although online spaces can serve as a haven for expression, socializing, resistance and action for the country's LGBTIQ+ community, there have been frequent crackdowns on LGBTIQ+ users of dating apps and social media platforms by the country's security apparatus, and police

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- 35 Findley, B. (2020). *Why Racial Bias is Prevalent in Facial Recognition Technology*. Harvard Journal of Law & Technology. Retrieved 12 February 2023. <https://jolt.law.harvard.edu/digest/why-racial-bias-is-prevalent-in-facial-recognition-technology>
- 36 ITU (2022). *The Gender Digital Divide*. Retrieved 11 February 2023. <https://www.itu.int/itu-d/reports/statistics/2022/11/24/ff22-the-gender-digital-divide>
- 37 Buzatu, A.-M., Santos, A. F.-D., Lakehal, D., Pourmalek, P. & Zelenanska, M. (2021). *Women, Peace, and Security and Human Rights in the Digital Age: Opportunities and risks to advance women's meaningful participation and protect their rights*. GNWP. Retrieved 9 February 2023. <https://gnwp.org/digitalization-research-report/>
- 38 Renstrom, J. (2020). *Why Older People Really Eschew Technology: It's not because they can't use it*. Slate Magazine. Retrieved 9 February 2023. <https://slate.com/technology/2020/07/seniors-technology-illiteracy-misconception-pandemic.html>
- 39 Knowles, B. & Hanson, V.L. (2018). *The Wisdom of Older Technology (Non)Users*. Communications of the ACM, 61(3), 72-77.
- 40 Smith, A. (2014). *Older Adults and Technology Use: Main Findings*. Pew Research Center. Retrieved 9 February 2023. <https://www.pewresearch.org/internet/2014/04/03/older-adults-and-technology-use/>
- 41 SIKID | University of Tübingen (2022). *Security for Children in the Digital World*. Retrieved 7 February 2023. <https://uni-tuebingen.de/en/facilities/central-institutions/international-center-for-ethics-in-the-sciences-and-humanities/research/society-culture-and-technological-change/current-projects/sikid/>
- 42 Tennent, C. (2021). *The Importance of Digital Privacy for Marginalized Groups*. World Wide Web Foundation.
- 43 Brandom, R. (2018). *Designing for the Crackdown*. The Verge. Retrieved 9 February 2023. <https://www.theverge.com/2018/4/25/17279270/lgbtq-dating-apps-egypt-illegal-human-rights>

have increasingly demanded to search phones and devices belonging to LGBTIQ+ citizens.⁴⁴ The sharing of personal data with government authorities or private companies (who may then resell data) poses a greater risk to marginalized people, and governments lag behind in taking proper action to design governance mechanisms that would prevent such exposure or enable remedial action against it.⁴⁵

Second, the use of sexualized or gendered insults and attacks on body images make certain digital spaces far less safe for women, people of color or LGBTIQ+ people, who may opt out of certain platforms.⁴⁶ Such cyberbullying can be both a cause and an effect of polarization that shows up online, but is rooted in offline causes of marginalization for certain groups, and spans across intersections of appearance, bodily ability, and religion, among other things. The “spiral of silence” theory posits that people who are exposed to online harm are less likely to speak out in digital spaces. For example, a survey conducted with students in the United Arab Emirates showed the prevalence of and silences surrounding cyberbullying.⁴⁷ Those already facing discrimination – who are typically

also more vulnerable to cyberbullying – prefer to confide in a friend instead of responding or taking action online. This amplifies the majority voice against victims, and particularly affects those who feel most at risk in the offline world, ultimately influencing who takes up public cyberspace and replicating offline inequalities.

The design of some digital technologies makes it easier for cyberbullies and others seeking to harm or marginalize people to amplify their reach. There is now extensive evidence that digital platforms create a perverse incentive to produce divisive content because this content is more likely to go viral.⁴⁸ Content expressing hate towards out-groups⁴⁹ or political opponents⁵⁰, content that expresses moral outrage⁵¹ and content that expresses disgust⁵² are all substantially more likely to engage users – and to target marginalized groups. For example, deep fake porn, primarily aimed at humiliating female politicians, went viral in Germany’s 2021 general election.⁵³ A 2019 Build Up study that analyzed refugee-host community narratives on social media in Lebanon found that social media acts as a magnified mirror of marginalization, amplifying negative perceptions of refugee communities.⁵⁴ The so-called Islamic State

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- 44 Strand, C. & Svensson, J. (2022). *Towards a Situated Understanding of Vulnerability – An Analysis of Ugandan LGBT+ Exposure to Hate Crimes in Digital Spaces*. *Journal of Homosexuality*, 1-22. <https://doi.org/10.1080/00918369.2022.2077679>
- 45 Reventlow, N. J. (2019). *A Digital Future for Everyone*. *Digital Freedom Fund*. Retrieved 9 February 2023. <https://digitalfreedomfund.org/a-digital-future-for-everyone/>
- 46 Brown, D. & Pytlak, A. (2022). *Why Gender Matters in International Cyber Security*. APC.
- 47 Abaido, G.M. (2020). *Cyberbullying on Social Media Platforms among University Students in the United Arab Emirates*. *International Journal of Adolescence and Youth*, 25(1), 407-420. DOI: 10.1080/02673843.2019.1669059
- 48 Overgaard, C. S. B. & Woolley, S. (2022). *How Social Media Platforms Can Reduce Polarization*. Brookings. Retrieved 12 February 2023. <https://www.brookings.edu/techstream/how-social-media-platforms-can-reduce-polarization/>
- 49 Yu, X., Wojcieszak, M. & Casas, A. (2021). *Affective Polarization on Social Media: In-party love among American politicians, greater engagement with out-party hate among ordinary users*. <https://link.springer.com/article/10.1007/s11109-022-09850-x>
- 50 Rathje, S., Van Bavel, J. J. & van der Linden, S. (2021). *Out-group Animosity Drives Engagement on Social Media*. PNAS. Retrieved 12 February 2023. <https://www.pnas.org/doi/10.1073/pnas.2024292118>
- 51 Ibid.
- 52 Nelson, B. (2022). *How Stochastic Terrorism Uses Disgust to Incite Violence*. *Scientific American*. Retrieved 12 February 2023. <https://www.scientificamerican.com/article/how-stochastic-terrorism-uses-disgust-to-ignite-violence/>
- 53 Hoppenstedt, M. (2022). *Juso-Vorsitzende und weitere Politikerinnen fordern Vorgehen gegen KI-Pornos*. DER SPIEGEL. Retrieved 11 February 2023. <https://www.spiegel.de/netzwelt/apps/deepfake-apps-politikerinnen-fordern-vorgehen-gegen-fake-videos-a-cf5592ca-df32-4511-8f1c-fc4fe0280265>
- 54 Lefton, J., Morrison, M., El Mawla, M. & Puig Laurarri, H. (2019). *Analyzing Refugee-Host Community Narratives on Social Media in Lebanon*. Prepared by Build Up for UNDP Lebanon.

(IS) also used mainstream social media platforms to amplify its messages and harmful practices.⁵⁵

Even where content moderation is deployed by platforms to dampen the impact of their design, unfair over-enforcement can reinforce the marginalization of certain voices, as has been the case with Palestinian social media accounts.⁵⁶ Furthermore, patterns of virality reinforced by platform design can result in shadow bans (when certain content no longer appears in news feeds), which disproportionately impacts the opportunities of women, LGBTIQ+ people and people of color to be seen and to organize online.⁵⁷ Actors wishing to silence a voice can supercharge their discriminatory attacks and impact an entire ecosystem. For example, in 2021, the International Center for Journalists produced a comprehensive assessment of online violence against celebrated digital media pioneer Maria Ressa detailing “the intensity and ferocity of this abuse”, and demonstrating “how it is designed not only to vilify a journalism icon, but to discredit journalism itself, and shatter public trust in facts”.⁵⁸

1.4 From exploration to analysis

The start of this section defined digital peacebuilding as an emerging body of practice that includes both the use of digital technologies towards a peacebuilding objective and the use of peacebuilding approaches in response to digital conflict drivers. In order to apply an intersectional feminist lens to amplify the opportunities to use digital technologies towards a peacebuilding objective, the paper first investigated the strategic goals of adding an intersectional feminist lens to peacebuilding (Section 1.2). **Section 2 builds on this to investigate how we can use digital technologies to build a just and sustainable peace, with an intersectional lens.** In order to use an intersectional feminist lens to reduce the risks of digital peacebuilding, the paper had to first investigate the strategic goals of understanding digital technology through intersectional feminism (Section 1.3). **Section 3 builds on this to explore how we can use peacebuilding approaches to better fight digital conflict drivers, understood through an intersectional lens.**

55 Blaker, L. (2016). *The Islamic State's Use of Online Social Media*. *Military Cyber Affairs*, 1(1). <http://dx.doi.org/10.5038/2378-0789.1.1.1004> Available at: <https://digitalcommons.usf.edu/mca/vol1/iss1/4>

56 Oremus, W. (2022). *Social Media Wasn't Ready for This War. It Needs a Plan for the Next One*. *The Washington Post*. Retrieved 13 February 2023. <https://www.washingtonpost.com/technology/2022/03/25/social-media-ukraine-rules-war-policy/>

57 Are, C. (2021). *The Shadowban Cycle: An autoethnography of pole dancing, nudity and censorship on Instagram*. *Feminist Media Studies*, 22(8), 1-18, p.3. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14680777.2021.1928259>

58 Posetti, J., Maynard, D., Bontcheva, K., Hapal, D. K., & Salcedo, D. (2021). *Maria Ressa: Fighting an Onslaught of Online Violence – A Big Data Analysis*. International Center for Journalists. Retrieved 9 February 2023. <https://www.icfj.org/our-work/maria-ressa-big-data-analysis>

2. Digital approaches for intersectional feminist peacebuilding

This section explores how the design and implementation of digital approaches can successfully support the strategic goals of intersectional feminist peacebuilding outlined in Section 1.2, namely building better relationships of trust, broadening participation and ownership, ensuring better safety and security, and challenging existing dynamics of power and oppression.⁵⁹

2.1 Building better relationships of trust



Digital communication tools have been shown to “enhance and build social cohesion and a shared sense of communal identity among dispersed and heterogeneous populations”.⁶⁰ Peacebuilders can use digital approaches to build better relationships of trust by understanding who plays unnoticed roles as trust holders in a process, and elevating their work. To do so, they can focus on how digital communications address distrust patterns identified through intersectional analysis, and provide a platform for those who might not otherwise speak up in a process.

In practice, addressing distrust requires subtle, individual **side conversations with people who**

are not trusting of a process or group, and with individual trust holders who are not taking up space. These individual conversations are often difficult to organize in person or synchronously, but messenger app exchanges can fill the gap. Being able to regularly communicate with those at risk of being marginalized well ahead of an in-person meeting allows peacebuilders to solve questions and concerns in ways that account for marginalization.

In addition, in-person settings can make it difficult for process facilitators to check in with people who face marginalization to encourage their participation. Being put on the spot in front of a group, or seen with a facilitator in a power holder position, may create uncomfortable situations or reinforce othering, for example. Using asynchronous messenger apps allows for a more subtle approach to engage or **understand anonymously how marginalization plays out in a situation** – without forcing people who face it to either disengage or speak up at their own risk. For example, in 2020, Build Up used WhatsApp to define questions for a research project in Burkina Faso. The facilitators noticed that when following the different inputs from their peers, participants could only see their phone numbers, but not their faces or other social status signs. This had an equalizing effect on the discussion and allowed people who are otherwise not listened to in online settings to be “heard”, as everyone had to read every message.⁶¹

59 We note that Hirblinger uses a similar organizing logic in a framework describing the strategic uses of digital inclusion, focusing on mediation processes (legitimacy, participation, relationship transformation, and protection of marginalized groups). See: Hirblinger, A. T. (2020). *Digital Inclusion in Peacemaking: A Strategic Perspective*. CCDP Working Paper.

60 Hirblinger, A. T. (2020). *Digital Inclusion in Peacemaking: A Strategic Perspective*. CCDP Working Paper, p. 28.

61 Meier, C. (2021). *Four Observations from Running Consultation Processes via WhatsApp*. Build Up – Medium. Retrieved 9 February 2023. <https://howtobuildup.medium.com/four-observations-from-running-consultation-processes-via-whatsapp-f954c6c29f91>

Digital tools can therefore create opportunities for synchronicity and cohesion. But even when adapting processes to different abilities, motivations and identity intersections, creating safer virtual environments still calls for solidarity in mutuality⁶², a key pillar of mutual aid and organizing in turbulent contexts. This means adopting a horizontal approach to understanding oppression and its systemic causes, and centering them while recognizing who is in the room and designing conversations, interventions and platforms for continuous work.

2.2 Broadening participation and ownership



Digital technologies can offer ways to increase participation opportunities for people facing overlapping forms of discrimination.⁶³ In order to use digital approaches to this end, peacebuilders can consider how **digital communications can overcome offline barriers to diversified participation** – both in process design and in priority-setting.

Digital messaging platforms can help overcome offline barriers to diversified participation during peacebuilding processes. Traditional peace negotiations, for example, often still privilege face-to-face discussions at all costs, and also often involve rituals like alcohol consumption which, in many contexts, exclude women. People facing oppression are more likely to opt out (or are shut out more easily) without a digital alternative. **Giving people online access to join discussions cuts across class, mobility and social status lines** in conflict countries, and gives citizens or the

„grassroots“ space to comment on ongoing peace efforts, hold leaders accountable, flatten the lines of communication, and shift them from a two-way dynamic of peacemaker and stakeholder to a nuanced view of networked communication based on online and offline methods.⁶⁴

For example, when swisspeace designed their peacebuilding negotiations between diverse actors in Syria, they used a hybrid combination of offline and online events. The aim was to reach people who could not participate offline, either because they could not move safely at all, or because their identities (namely political and gender) kept them from accessing specific spaces because of heavy military monitoring, inaccessibility to women, or adversity to diversity in political opinions, etc. Knowing that class was an accessibility factor due to high mobile costs, swisspeace made sure participants received data packages. In Burundi, the Conflict Alert and Prevention Centre (CENAP) noticed that young people’s visions were not adequately reflected in discussions about Burundi’s future. To ensure that they not only provide data, but also analyze it together, CENAP built an online dashboard to allow young people with little statistics training to analyze data visually, draw their own conclusions, and present them to policy makers. With this technology-enabled participatory process, CENAP enabled young people to own the data collected by them.⁶⁵

One of the participants in a Build Up innovation program in the Sahel region was blind. The team engaged with him early on to ensure accessibility for two training weeks which, due to COVID-19, took place on WhatsApp and via a three-point audio/video connection across countries, respectively. Compared to training in the physical space, the digital approach entailed fewer non-verbal interactions which tend to privilege seeing people. It also had a surprising effect: When

62 Spade, D. (2020). *Mutual Aid: Building Solidarity During This Crisis (And The Next)*. Verso Books, London. 128 pp. (paperback).

63 Hirblinger, A. T. (2020). *Digital Inclusion in Peacemaking: A Strategic Perspective*. CCDP Working Paper.

64 Ibid.

65 Centre d’Alerte et de Prévention des Conflits en partenariat avec Interpeace (2018). *Étude sur les Aspirations des Jeunes pour le Burundi de demain*. CENAP. Retrieved 12 February 2023. https://www.interpeace.org/wp-content/uploads/2018/07/Burundi-Aspirations_des_jeunes-WEB_Version.pdf

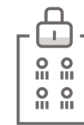
everyone finally met in person one year later, some explained that they had not even noticed the visual impairment of their fellow participant during the online interactions. This meant that they engaged without stereotypes possibly standing in the way of their connection.

Digital means can also support **adequate participation by people previously marginalized in process design**. This is crucial – if discriminatory participation patterns are not addressed from the outset, they are difficult to walk back on during implementation. The United Nations Department of Political Affairs, for example, identifies inclusive peacebuilding process design as key to enabling multiple entry points and diverse mechanisms for participation.⁶⁶ When Build Up teamed with the Office of the Special Envoy to the Secretary-General in Yemen (OSESGY) to conduct consultations on peace, conflict and the ongoing political peace process in the country over WhatsApp⁶⁷, a participatory approach to designing the process was critical to their success. The process design was brokered through individual WhatsApp conversations weeks before the consultations started. The consultations eventually provided a digital space for Yemeni women to speak directly with one another without the constraints of compromising their daily (paid or unpaid) work, and crossed physical barriers that had affected the social fabric among women since the conflict intensified.

In 2021, the AI start-up Remesh supported the United Nations in gathering views from people across Yemen and Libya on issues such as the impact of COVID on conflict. Using AI allowed them to ask open (rather than closed) questions and still derive conclusions from them. As a result,

people were not confronted with predefined questions, but could shape the conversation, bringing in points that were important to them. After the project, the people designing the process said that women’s participation was higher than expected due to the possibility to contribute anonymously.⁶⁸

2.3 Ensuring better safety and security



Digital means can assist peacebuilders to address identified intersectional concerns related to online or offline harassment or intimidation in a targeted way. The literature points to digitally enabled warning systems and non-hierarchical avenues of communication as a way to protect marginalized groups in mediation processes.⁶⁹ To ensure better safety and security for all people by taking into account multiple layers of discrimination, peacebuilders can use digital tools to **carve out anonymous safe spaces online to accompany both online and offline processes**, and to **surface “narratives, photos, and videos that might have stayed invisible”**.⁷⁰

The organization Soliya, which facilitates virtual exchanges across the world, has developed specific safety tactics for international dialogues among young people. In the online learning management system, where participants converse asynchronously, they often face harassment or unwanted connections. The Soliya team has developed a confidential, anonymous and simple

66 United Nations Department of Political Affairs (2017). *Guidance on Gender and Inclusive Mediation Strategies*.

67 Even in places with low tech penetration such as Yemen, WhatsApp remains a widely used social media platform and is accessible in most areas because of its low data usage. Most Arab countries also provide bundles that allow purchase of data exclusively for WhatsApp use.

68 Brown, D. (2021). The United Nations is Turning to Artificial Intelligence in Search for Peace in War Zones. The Washington Post. Retrieved 12 February 2023. <https://www.washingtonpost.com/technology/2021/04/23/ai-un-peacekeeping/>

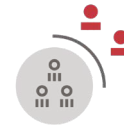
69 Hirblinger, A. T. (2020). *Digital Inclusion in Peacemaking: A Strategic Perspective*. CCDP Working Paper.

70 Schirch, L. (2020). *25 Spheres of Digital Peacebuilding and PeaceTech*. Alliance for Peacebuilding. Retrieved 7 February 2023. <https://www.allianceforpeacebuilding.org/afp-publications/25-spheres-digital-pb-sep-2020>

process for users to report on these breaches. Additionally, users can ask at any time to have their data deleted from the platform. Names or photos are never published unless participants request it.⁷¹

Where anonymous safe spaces are not possible, peacebuilders can use other digital media to **expand subtle means of reaching people facing marginalization.** For example, in March 2020, following the COVID-19 lockdown, Lebanon started witnessing a rise in domestic violence with little or no options for survivors to reach out for support. Abaad, a Lebanese women’s rights NGO, launched the ‘LockdownNotLockup’ campaign to invite people to disseminate the hotline number in their buildings, neighborhoods and on their balconies. A parallel online campaign⁷² suggested sharing the number implicitly in videos that would not jeopardize a person’s safety should they be caught watching the video. Influencers shared videos of random things featuring the hotline number in the subtitles or in the messaging. One sports coach, for example, concealed it in the number of laps or push-ups to be done. The campaign thus worked around the particular danger of exposing women who are primarily affected by domestic violence due to control (e.g., with a husband watching or a brother reviewing a browser history). A report about the campaign registered an increase of almost 270% in cases of domestic violence being reported to the authorities following the campaign.⁷³

2.4 Challenging existing power asymmetries and oppression



Digital technology makes organizing cheaper and easier⁷⁴, and in so doing shifts the balance of power – including in the peacebuilding field. Studies have shown how digital technologies can foster a “culture of openness” conducive to challenging existing power asymmetries.⁷⁵ In order to use digital approaches to challenge existing power as expressed in structures of oppression, peacebuilders can collaborate with the activists emerging through new forms of digital organizing. **Digital activism can be a means to equalize offline power dynamics where only some are listened to in a peace process.**

Starting from a critique that “liberal peacebuilding” is an imposition on local populations affected by conflict (rather than a negotiated synergy between international and local actors), Tellidis and Kappler conducted an “analysis of whether (and how) ICTs can be the tool through which hybrid frameworks of peace avoid the reproduction of liberal peace’s inclusion and exclusion logics”.⁷⁶ Reviewing examples of digital peacebuilding practices in Cyprus, Bosnia and Sri Lanka, they conclude that ICTs risk furthering exclusion by reinforcing hegemonic narratives, but have much greater potential to promote inclusion when they serve to decentralize organizing power in ways that allow for grassroots and resistance movements – such as Cyprus’s Occupy Buffer Zone – to drive peace

71 From an interview conducted by the research team with Ms Waidehi Gokhale, CEO of Soliya, on 1 February 2023 via Zoom.

72 ABAAD MENA (2020). *#LockdownNotLockup Coverage Report – YouTube*. Retrieved 10 February 2023. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=mpddQVUs6Ns>

73 ABAAD (2020). *#LockdownNotLockup*. Retrieved 10 February 2023. <https://www.abaadmena.org/campaigns-advocacy/lockdownnotlockup/>

74 Martínez-Larnerd, N.J. (2021/2021). *The Path to Intersectional Peacebuilding: An Ontology of Oppression – ASEAN and Myanmar*. Panteion University.

75 Thompson, M. & Walsham, G. (2010). *ICT Research in Africa: Need for a Strategic Developmental Focus*. *Information Technology for Development*, 16(2), 112–127. <https://doi.org/10.1080/02681101003737390>

76 Tellidis, I. & Kappler, S. (2016). *Information and Communication Technologies in Peacebuilding: Implications, Opportunities and Challenges*. *Cooperation and Conflict*, 51(1), 75-93. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0010836715603752>

frameworks, altering the power balance of liberal peacebuilding.

Furthermore, digital technologies can **build larger constituencies of peace activists, coalescing on intersectional allyship**. Social media has proven effective in building solidarity across geographic borders among people facing the same forms of oppression. Furthermore, post-colonial and queer approaches to digital communication suggest

that the media spaces occupied by diaspora communities are also processes of belonging, such that “diverse forms of participatory practices are increasingly found in digital publics”.⁷⁷ Digital means thus solidify participatory organizing efforts for people affected by various intersections of discrimination, which can be built on to challenge power effectively in peacebuilding processes.⁷⁸

3. Digital peacebuilding for intersectional technology harms

This section explores how digital peacebuilding can respond to an intersectional feminist understanding of technology harms, ensuring that existing inequalities and patterns of marginalization are not reinforced. It explores what peacebuilders can do to address or prevent the technology harms identified through an intersectional lens in Section 1.3, namely biases in data collection, access discrimination, vulnerabilities to digital risks and the amplification of explicit harm.

3.1 Rectifying biased data collection



The **seven principles of data feminism**⁷⁹ introduced by Catherine D’Ignazio, provide an excellent framework for peacebuilders seeking to rectify biased data collection. By examining power, peacebuilders can detect which datasets are entirely missing, such as hate crime targeting LGBTIQ+ people, or particular exclusion patterns in peace processes. Challenging power, a second and central principle, invites the question of who collected data with which intent and based on what biases. Embracing pluralism suggests that macro representative data is not useful to disaggregate results by different identity variables.

77 Antonakis, A. & Drüeke, R. (2021). *Global Digital Media: Interventions from Intersectional, Queerfeminist and Postcolonial Perspectives*. *Global Media Journal – German Edition*, 11(2). <https://doi.org/10.22032/dbt.51025>

78 Hirblinger, A. T. (2020). *Digital Inclusion in Peacemaking: A Strategic Perspective*. CCDP Working Paper.

79 D’Ignazio, C. & Klein, L.F. (2020). *Data Feminism*. The MIT Press.

Rethinking binaries and hierarchies can show aspects that are overlooked with simple yes/no answers to very complex social questions. Elevating emotion and embodiment invites peacebuilders to consider people’s lived realities when exploring data, for example through the use of the arts. Considering context helps to avoid erasing the narratives of the community peacebuilders are seeking to engage; additionally, communities’ meaningful participation in the design and use of digital technologies should be a precondition for digital technologies.⁸⁰ The final principle suggests that the effort of people who contribute to surveys, for example, is made visible to surface the emotional labor and time going into data collection.

Peacebuilders can **challenge the identity-based biases that show up in digital data collection.** For example, in 2018, a humanitarian organization assisting people affected by conflict planned an intervention in a large rural area in a West African country. They used Google maps or traditional maps to identify settlements to understand where civilians lived who may need help. This introduced gaps for rural areas, where houses were not registered – meaning that people living there wouldn’t get medical assistance since they were not traceable on a map. To counter this, this organization held a three-day hackathon where activists were invited to create more precise maps after analyzing recent satellite images. This rectified the bias against people living in rural areas.⁸¹

Peacebuilders can also help foster representation of previously marginalized voices in datasets by **changing the means of data collection to make it more accessible to people facing discrimination.** The “Everyday Peace Indicators” initiative is one interesting example where digital tools helped to include marginalized voices. In South Africa and other countries, mobile surveys enabled anyone with a cell phone to provide information to researchers on their lives. These surveys helped to develop “everyday peace indicators” measured by local people according to their own community indicators of peace.⁸²

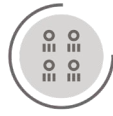
In addition, peacebuilders can **offer alternatives to biased artificial intelligence by applying participatory action research to the design of classification models** used in machine learning to categorize data. For example, Build Up worked with 18 organizations across six countries to conduct social media listening and analysis in order to understand polarization dynamics on Facebook, Twitter and YouTube. In order to identify patterns in the data, the organizations collaborated to create machine learning models that would classify each post according to topics of relevance to their analysis. These topics reflected the intersectional perspectives of the organizations, five of which focused on women’s rights in Jordan that coded a model looking for types of religious discrimination.

80 Arimatsu, L. (2019). *Silencing Women in the Digital Age*. Cambridge International Law Journal, 8(2), 187-217. <https://eprints.lse.ac.uk/104415/>. Available at <https://doi.org/10.4337/cilj.2019.02.02>

81 For safety reasons, this example is decontextualized and not documented online.

82 Firchow, P., Martin-Shields, C., Omer, A. & Mac Ginty, R. (2017). *PeaceTech: The Liminal Spaces of Digital Technology in Peacebuilding*. International Studies Perspectives, 18(1), 4-42. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/26491202>

3.2 Confronting access discrimination



To overcome access discrimination, peacebuilders can apply an intersectional lens to their choice of technology and to an assessment of digital literacy needs.

Peacebuilders can **go where people already have access**. For example, Soliya works with education institutions to form, organize and facilitate conversations between students in different parts of the world. When they first started, the main coordination tool was email, until they realized that younger students were more comfortable or responsive on WhatsApp or Signal. Now the students can select their preferred tool.⁸³ Schirch surfaces many examples of creative peacebuilding using basic tools that people are already using, stressing that “digital peacebuilding does not require sophisticated or expensive forms of technology.”⁸⁴

Peacebuilders can offer **different options for accessing a technology to take into account layers of discrimination**. For example, in 2022, Build Up designed a voter education WhatsApp bot in Puntland. Knowing that literacy levels among women and people living in rural areas were low, the bot was designed to work with audio and text files. Users interested in learning about voting first select whether to proceed via audio or via text.

Peacebuilders can **offer digital literacy alongside a peacebuilding activity**. For example, the Myanmar ICT for Development Organization (MIDO) worked to promote technology for social change in Myanmar and to build media and digital literacy through a range of programs. In 2019, MIDO designed and launched a Facebook chatbot to promote media literacy in Myanmar. In a context where low media literacy is closely tied to intercommunal conflict, and misinformation contributes to increasing polarization and division, MIDO’s chatbot provided invaluable content, particularly as Myanmar prepared for elections in 2020. The chatbot provided users with three functions: a selection of five media literacy modules, a set of quizzes to match those modules, and the option to submit a piece of news for fact-checking by the MIDO team. More generally, Lisa Schirch observes how peacebuilders increasingly see the “need to become involved in supporting digital media literacy to improve public awareness of digital communication skills.”⁸⁵

3.3 Countering vulnerability to digital risks



Research has shown that adequate, transparent and reliable accountability mechanisms and effective strategies against surveillance and retaliation have the potential to remedy some of the intersectional vulnerabilities present in digital spaces.⁸⁶

First, just as sensible scheduling of a process can foster accessibility, it can also help **to avoid time-**

83 From an interview conducted by the research team with Ms Waidehi Gokhale, CEO of Soliya, on 1 February 2023 via Zoom.

84 Schirch, L. (2020). *25 Spheres of Digital Peacebuilding and PeaceTech*. Alliance for Peacebuilding. Retrieved 7 February 2023. <https://www.allianceforpeacebuilding.org/afp-publications/25-spheres-digital-pb-sep-2020>

85 Schirch, L. (2020). *25 Spheres of Digital Peacebuilding and PeaceTech*. Alliance for Peacebuilding. Retrieved 7 February 2023. <https://www.allianceforpeacebuilding.org/afp-publications/25-spheres-digital-pb-sep-2020>

86 Buzatu, A.-M., Santos, A. F.-D., Lakehal, D., Pourmalek, P. & Zelenanska, M. (2021). *Women, Peace, and Security and Human Rights in the Digital Age: Opportunities and risks to advance women’s meaningful participation and protect their rights*. GNWP. Retrieved 9 February 2023. <https://gnwp.org/digitalization-research-report/>

specific risks to specific groups. For example, in the Yemen WhatsApp consultation introduced above, married women could not use their phones safely during the day without being surveilled by their relatives. To address this, the team scheduled focus group discussions at night when women could safely use their phones. Soliya struggled with time differences when facilitating video dialogues between countries in the MENA region and the United States. Conversations needed to happen in the afternoon, and poorer students in the MENA region did not have access to the Internet outside the campus or Internet cafes. This meant that female students in particular had to choose whether to disengage, or whether to put themselves in physical danger of being assaulted on their way home in the dark. To counter this, Soliya worked with the universities to offer safety options for anyone who needed them to be safe, for example having a professor accompany them to and from Internet cafes.⁸⁷

Second, digital peacebuilding methods can be used to **counter attempts to surveil individuals at risk of multiple forms of discrimination.** During the 2016-2017 Dakota Access Pipeline protests in the US, law enforcement authorities used Facebook check-ins by Native American protesters to target them for surveillance in attempts to disrupt the prayer camps. Once water protection activists noticed this, they issued a call for anyone on Facebook to check in at the Standing Rock Indian Reservation to undermine this strategy. More than a million people followed suit, making it impossible for police to use it as a means to surveil protesters.⁸⁸

Third, digital peacebuilding methods can **reclaim digital space for those who have been pushed out by cyberbullying.** In 2020, Search for Common Ground in Sri Lanka supported 100 young people in a process of first learning about and then intervening on social media. As “Cyber Guardians”, the young people positioned themselves as a diverse, unified group of promoters of social cohesion, reclaiming a space that was otherwise dominated by an image of them spreading hate speech and false information against each other.⁸⁹

3.4 Dampening explicit attempts to harm



Peacebuilders can dampen the explicit attempts to harm people online that an intersectional analysis of digital technologies reveals. Peacebuilding approaches can be used to **counter harm in digital spaces where discrimination happens.** In Europe, the #ichbinhier (#Iamhere) movement mobilized tens of thousands of volunteer “upstanders” to support victims of digital harassment and misogynist, racist and anti-immigrant hate speech on Facebook. These volunteers interrupt hate speech and offer support to victims directly in Facebook comment threads.⁹⁰ Build Up has produced an action-oriented course that explores the role social media are playing in polarization around race and politics (with a focus on the USA), and the creative roles social media users can play in depolarization.⁹¹ If planning an intervention online that touches on intersectional

87 From an interview conducted by the research team with Ms Waidehi Gokhale, CEO of Soliya, on 1 February 2023 via Zoom.

88 Massie, V. M. (2016). What the viral Facebook check-in at Standing Rock says about activist surveillance. Vox. Retrieved 10 February 2023. <https://www.vox.com/identities/2016/11/1/13486242/facebook-standing-rock>

89 Global Communities (2020). *Cyber Guardians Champion Reconciliation through Social Media*. Retrieved 10 February 2023. <https://globalcommunities.org/blog/cyber-guardians-champion-reconciliation-through-social-media-2/>

90 Bateman, J. (2019). *#IAmHere: The People Trying to Make Facebook a Nicer Place*. BBC. Retrieved 7 February 2023. <https://www.bbc.com/news/blogs-trending-48462190>

91 Build Up. (n.d.). *Rehumanizing Relationships on Social Media*. howtobuildup.org. Retrieved 12 February 2023. <https://howtobuildup.org/community-learning/courses/rehumanizing-relationships-on-social-media/>

forms of discrimination, peacebuilders should expect backlash by default and have countering strategies ready before starting.

Digital peacebuilding methods can also be used to **correct perceptions distorted by algorithms that privilege hateful content**, to counter attempts to abuse the distortion for political gain. Following the UK government's announcement in 2017 that it would launch a public consultation about the Gender Recognition Act, the LGBTIQ+ rights charity Stonewall began to understand that the debate on social media was distorted and did not reflect public opinion.

At first, Stonewall thought that a majority of accounts argued against trans inclusion and attempted to simplify gender recognition. With help from Build Up, they discovered that this perception was due to the distinct cluster of accounts that Stonewall interacted with. By shifting perspective, widening whom they were following and reading, the Stonewall team managed to reach a broader contingency of people with undecided views to engage in meaningful dialogue.⁹²

4. Conclusion and Recommendations

This paper set out to explore how intersectionality might help us to amplify the opportunities and reduce the risks of digital peacebuilding. It showed that the strategic goal of adding an intersectional feminist lens to peacebuilding is to act from a better understanding of privilege and discrimination to tackle recurring challenges to impactful, inclusive peace processes. It also showed that the strategic goal of approaching digital technology through an intersectional feminist lens is to mitigate the discrimination built into technology design and use.

Existing practice already clearly demonstrates that digital peacebuilding can indeed contribute to adding an intersectional feminist lens to peacebuilding. It can help build better relationships of trust, broaden participation and ownership, ensure better safety and security,

and challenge existing power asymmetries and oppression.

Although fewer examples exist, there is also a nascent practice of intersectional feminist peacebuilding that ensures that digital technologies do not reinforce existing inequalities or the marginalization of at-risk individuals or groups. It has potential to rectify biased data collection, confront access discrimination, counter vulnerabilities to digital risks, and dampen explicit attempts to harm.

This is a hopeful paper. We hope that our analysis offers us all pointers on how to design digital approaches that make peacebuilding more intersectional and more feminist, and how to ensure that digital technologies do not reinforce existing inequalities. Borrowing from Kimberlé

92 Strudwick, P. (2019). *The Most Powerful Woman in the European LGBT Movement is Quitting. This Is The Story Of Her Fight*. BuzzFeed. Retrieved 7 February 2023. <https://www.buzzfeed.com/patrickstrudwick/she-led-britains-largest-lgbt-charity-this-is-why-she-chose>

Crenshaw’s compelling mental image: our recommendations show us how to seal the cracks in digital peacebuilding that those most affected by intersectional patterns of discrimination would otherwise fall through.

The recommendations are listed chronologically along the project cycle of interventions, starting with those relevant to (human-centered) design, then covering considerations important for implementation, and ending with those relevant to influence policy and adapt funding. Box 1 below describes how the recommendations can be applied to an example of a technology-enabled consultation process.

4.1 (Human-Centered) Design

Include people with identity intersections relevant to the project in design and testing.

Peacebuilding processes need to mirror an intended outcome from the outset. Whose voices do we need in the conversation later? If we want to ensure inclusivity, we need to make sure our design teams are inclusive. If we are designing for queer people in Yemen, it is important to involve them from the outset to analyze and navigate intersectional marginalization from the start. Human-centered design provides a useful framework to address intersectional harms from technology – which, as this paper demonstrates, is critical so that technologies do not create or reinforce digital conflict drivers. Human-centered design also helps to strengthen testing of processes, tools and mechanisms – from consultations to AI – to build them from the diversity of those engaging with them, rather than focusing on those with the initial idea.

Make joint analysis a standard practice to build the capacities of team members who are privileged at several intersections and curb White savior tendencies. Literature reviewed

for this paper and Build Up’s practical experience show that intersectional analysis is not a given in the biases of the (digital) peacebuilding world. It needs constant training and questioning. One-off training is rarely sustainable. It is a better idea to weave upskilling and awareness-raising into our general processes. We need to understand our individual and collective biases and that we are never neutral in a process.

Existing tools such as the wheel of power and privilege⁹³ can guide peacebuilders and digital technology designers in understanding who is being harmed by the technology, who benefits from it, and who is over- or underrepresented. Documenting practices is another measure to sustainably anchor learning in our teams.

Always prioritize people’s (online) safety and security over ambitions to understand and address marginalization at taboo intersections. Different identity traits are taboo – or a discussion about them even criminalized – in certain contexts. This primarily concerns gender or sexual orientation, but at times can also concern religious or socio-political identities. Technology opens possibilities to broaden the space of intersectional analysis and interventions on that basis. Done insensitively, however, it can cause harm. Exploring certain intersections can jeopardize our process – e.g., if including a “non-binary” option on a registration form leads to perceptions that a process is driven by an outside agenda. What is more, this paper demonstrated that it can also put people we want to engage in harm’s way, if information about their identities in the digital or offline space leads to persecution or stigmatization. Safety concerns are always more important than our ambition to support progressive change and amplify voices, our outsider curiosity, or pressure to meet success indicators.

93 The wheel of power and privilege is a visual tool to map and explore where one’s privilege sits in an intersectional way. It can be used in group settings or as an individual exercise. Just1Voice (2021). Wheel of Privilege and Power. Retrieved 11 February 2023. <https://just1voice.com/advocacy/wheel-of-privilege>

Draw inspiration from (online and offline) self-organizing among groups affected by multiple layers of discrimination. Mutual support initiatives among marginalized communities exist everywhere – they are just often beyond the radar of the mainstream peacebuilding sector. This paper drew inspiration from several examples where activists and community organizers engaged with intersectional digital issues. We can all find them in the contexts where we work – online and offline – to build on their practical ways to navigate intersections of discrimination. We can learn from community-moderated pages and platforms. For example: How are LGBTIQ+ communities moderating conversations or content in their spaces? And how can we learn to hand over the online content moderation to the communities instead of project volunteers?

Examine – and complement – datasets we intend to work with, asking who collected the data and how, what the impacts are on how people facing multiple layers of discrimination respond, whether there are missing identity markers or questions. Biases need to be made explicit, by explaining how contextual taboo questions (e.g., someone’s sexual orientation or religion) impact the insights. Ideally, missing data important to our project’s ability to address intersectional discrimination should be complemented through other means.

Don’t shy away from moving a process offline. The invisibilization of those who are not online is the key challenge to digital peacebuilding. In certain contexts, we may conclude that groups like Indigenous women or people living in rural communities are fully excluded from online spaces, be it because of a lack of infrastructure, access to education or other drivers. Don’t idolize digital spaces – at times, our best solution is to move an intervention offline to avoid further marginalization.⁹⁴

4.2 Intervention

Provide distinct, asynchronous digital alternatives to existing offline dialogue or mediation forums – and offline alternatives to online processes. This paper demonstrated that intersectional feminist digital peacebuilding needs to overcome diverse access barriers. While the nature of such barriers is context-specific, a general lesson is that intersectional approaches call for an integrated approach between offline and online. Digital alternatives can allow for asynchronous means to reach more people. At the same time, offline strategies can balance privacy or security concerns. Key is that we design online and offline processes as distinct processes. Simply copying the approach into an online space will mean that the offline power dynamics and same marginalization practices occur there (e.g., those who would speak more often offline also raise their hands more readily in an online call). We need to look at the digital space as a space in and of itself, instead of an extension of the offline reality, and design our process accordingly.

Set up diverse and personal communication channels with participants that respond to the specific safety and security needs of people facing discrimination, letting them take the initiative to choose what suits them best. Whether people prefer individual interaction or feel more comfortable in a group discussion on process, for example, is a very individual decision that cannot be derived from a group analysis.

Ensure explainability in everything we do. The use of any technology means that we enter into complex and unfamiliar territory, which can be especially daunting for people who come with a history of discrimination. Is this space safe? What risks am I taking? Who controls the data? All these questions may be taboo to ask in a space where we are perceived as a power holder. Our goal is not just to make a technological solution accessible,

⁹⁴ Buzatu, A.-M., Santos, A. F.-D., Lakehal, D., Pourmalek, P. & Zelenanska, M. (2021). *Women, Peace, and Security and Human Rights in the Digital Age: Opportunities and risks to advance women’s meaningful participation and protect their rights*. GNWP. Retrieved 9 February 2023. <https://gnwp.org/digitalization-research-report/>

but to craft processes that prevent the perception of a “black box” for unfamiliar tech tools. This is particularly important for AI, where only the input and output are seen, and the inner workings of the process or technology often remain unknown.⁹⁵ Understanding and explaining them are key to empower the people we engage with.

4.3 Policy

Share what we know about intersectional tech with those who need to hear it. Locally anchored digital peacebuilders often gain profound insights into how discriminatory design of technology affects the safety, security and online presence – or absence – of marginalized groups. They need to be mindful of this in designing their intervention. These insights may, however, also be relevant to policy makers or those running large and small platforms. We can use them to push for legal reforms and policies that allow victims of digital discrimination to hold abusers accountable. Even beyond specific programmatic insights, the voices of peacebuilders can add much value to debates around making AI more ethical, ensuring data rights, or assessing the impact of platforms on marginalized groups.

Find allies in other fields and document learnings. This paper demonstrated the value of a deliberately intersectional lens on digital peacebuilding. At the same time, the thinking required and questions we need to ask are often similar to those required to ensure participation and inclusion in peacebuilding more broadly. While several people interviewed for this study stressed the need for more conversations and documented learning on these thematics – within and beyond the peacebuilding sector – one also suggested dropping the specialist terminologies and instead called for an ethics guide that would apply to all accessibility-related topics.

4.4 Funding

Donors should require – and challenge! – intersectional analysis for any (digital) peacebuilding project. Current proposal processes do not incentivize intersectional analysis, and this paper demonstrates that peacebuilders taking the initiative to do so is not a given. Donors should, for example, make it mandatory to analyze how different identity aspects intersect with a planned approach, and require representation of affected groups in the design.

Donors need to allow for more flexibility to enable emergent project design and give the space to change course mid-way. Most of the recommendations to digital peacebuilders provided above relate to design. The importance of process design is a central conclusion that crops up in different parts of this paper. Donors need to broaden the space for peacebuilders to be emergent in their programming, rather than forced to religiously follow a detailed logframe based on assumptions from a few months ago. While the need for such flexibility applies to all peacebuilding work, it is particularly important to intersectional digital peacebuilding because of the amplified danger technologies can present, and the need for shifting approaches. Flexibility is crucial to change design based on insights about intersectional discrimination patterns, and to change course – or stop – if threats to specific people’s safety become clear.

Donors should enable peacebuilders’ access to tech companies. Governments often have easier access to digital platforms than peacebuilding organizations. Donors should use this privileged access to help open these doors for peacebuilders who have insights to share about the impact of digital platforms on people facing multiple layers of discrimination. They should walk alongside the (digital) peacebuilders they support financially, and also put pressure on tech companies to rectify design mistakes.

95 Marr, B. (2022). *The Problem with Biased AIs (and How To Make AI Better)*. Forbes. Retrieved 9 February 2023. <https://www.forbes.com/sites/bernardmarr/2022/09/30/the-problem-with-biased-ais-and-how-to-make-ai-better/?sh=26b063f24770>

Practical steps to make a digitally enabled consultation process with women intersectional



To illustrate the recommendations with a practical example, here are some steps a peacebuilder should take to make a remote, digitally-enabled consultation with women in a peace process intersectional:

- Engage with donors ahead of time to negotiate for flexibility and time needed to make the consultation with women intersectional and driven by their priorities. Processes like outreach are often given less weight, although they are the foundation for what will be considered and accommodated when designing content.
- Have a conversation in your project team from outside the context about privilege, bias and White saviorism and how to avoid their negatively impacting the consultation. This can involve internal literature reviews that bring in past lessons from peacebuilding practitioners⁹⁶, and may look like a consultation in itself that draws on approaches from like-minded actors in the field.
- Identify participants through a snowball approach that focuses on underrepresented categories. This can involve offline engagement and intermediaries for those who cannot easily access tech tools or platforms, such as family members of older women without access to technology, for example. Such an approach diverges from the classic notion of “key people” as a core group, and enables a different type of outreach and therefore a context-informed approach to reach beyond “low-hanging fruit”.
- Engage with women from these diverse backgrounds individually to ask about their priorities for digital tools to use and the timing of synchronous and asynchronous engagement and needs to make their digital inclusion in the process secure for them. WhatsApp consultations allowed this to happen: participants were free to mute the group, attend to their paid jobs or unpaid domestic duties, and come back to conversations on their own time. This knowledge could not be assumed without in-depth exchanges in the initiation phase about access to data bundles, cell phone use in the home versus at work or lack thereof, and “peak times” of engagement for participants depending on their areas of residence and lifestyle, among other variables.
- Set up rules of engagement for the consultation process, including codes of conduct and house rules. The former can be more geared towards general safety and security, like not taking screenshots, muting groups or notifications so that conversations are not visible until participants feel safe to engage, or maintaining the option to not answer questions. House rules can be different and more procedural: a legend of emojis or signals to look out for when scrolling through messages/answering questions, establishing a common atmosphere of respect, communicating the schedule of inquiries and the rhythm of accepting inputs, etc.

⁹⁶ See Cohen, S. B. (2014). *The Challenging Dynamics of Global North-South Peacebuilding Partnerships: Practitioner Stories from the Field*. *Journal of Peacebuilding & Development*, 9(3), 65-81. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/48603500>

- Always send documents accompanied with voice notes (if using a messenger app) and allow for both voice note and written feedback to make it accessible for people who struggle with written or oral communication. This includes preparation of materials so they are accessible to women with disabilities, e.g., using PDFs and alt-text for pictures so that text-to-speech options are viable at any time.
- Focus on the content of questions after outreach, i.e., after understanding the intersections that will be present in the group, and adopt a participatory approach to both the content and format of the questions. Are the terms “peace” and “peacebuilding” acceptable in the current context? Can that be a launchpad into the conversation and a finding in itself, or will bringing this to light make participants apprehensive about sharing their insights? Once confirmed, participants and their peripheral networks (who could be family members, neighbors with tech access that can offer a physical space, past participants in similar initiatives) can be involved in a sensitized review of terms and approaches used in the questions and how they are asked.
- During the consultation, set up different channels, and engage with women at different intersections when you notice that they are not participating or are hesitant. Smaller or individual avenues for check-ins and inquiries into barriers to participation are essential here, i.e., private chats, smaller, more homogeneous groups that make certain participants feel safer, or even choosing a formal platform that does not interfere with daily tech use, which can be dangerous and confusing for some women. This may involve choosing different online tools, e.g., Zoom over WhatsApp, although the latter is more accessible in low tech-penetrated areas.
- Share results of the consultation back with women by their preferred means and give the option of maintaining the original channels of communication rather than dissociating or migrating platforms for surveys or post-evaluations. This method can be mutually beneficial because it allows corroboration of honest feedback without compromising trust that can emerge from more informal styles of exchange with participants.

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Annex B: List of interviewees

Lisa Schirch, peacebuilding practitioner, activist and lecturer

Maude Morrison, Advisor on Social Media and Conflict Mediation at the Centre for Humanitarian Dialogue (HD)

Waidehi Gokhale, CEO of Soliya

Diana Maria Dajer, Manager of Citizen Participation at Fundación Corona

Emma Baumhofer, Digital Peacebuilding Expert at Swisspeace

The organizations that were represented at the webinar included Anti-Heroine Media, Pollicy, Swiss Federal Institute of Technology (ETH) Zurich, Fundación Corona, Swisspeace and ICT4Peace.

Annex C: Abbreviations

AI	Artificial Intelligence
CENAP	Conflict Alert and Prevention Centre
CEO	Chief Executive Officer
HD	Centre for Humanitarian Dialogue
ICT	Information and Communications Technology
ITU	International Telecommunication Union
LGBTIQ+	Lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, transsexual, intersexual and any other individuals whose sexual and/or gender identity differs from cisgender heterosexual
MIDO	Myanmar ICT for Development Organization
OSESGY	Office of the Special Envoy of the Secretary-General for Yemen

Annex D: Glossary

Digital peacebuilding	Digital peacebuilding refers to the use of digital technologies towards a peacebuilding objective, and the use of peacebuilding approaches in response to digital conflict drivers.
Intersectional feminism	Intersectional feminism is a theoretical framework that seeks to observe and analyze how different aspects of social and political identities can create overlapping and unique forms of discrimination.
Intersectional feminist lens	An intersectional feminist lens refers to an (analytical and practice-oriented) perspective that makes power asymmetries and imbalances of power visible and points to multiple and overlapping forms of oppression due to race, income, age, religion, ability and other factors.
Digital technology	Digital technology encompasses various types of hardware, software or systems that enable people to access, generate and share information.

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