An Overview

THE #SHECUrITY INDEX

Edition 2022

TABLE OF CONTENTS:

Authors:
Dr. Hannah Neumann
Sofiia Shevchuk

Based on data collected in a joint effort of the
AllBright Foundation, the European External Action Service,
the European Parliament Research Service,
the Inter-Parliamentary Union, NATO, UN Women and others

Access to full dataset here:
www.shecurity.info

1. FOREWORD

© European Union 2022 - Source: EP | Photographer: Geneviève Engel

22 years since the implementation of United Nations Security Council resolution 1325 (UNSCR 1325) on Women, Peace and Security (WPS), progress is moving in the right direction, with increasing numbers of women serving in important positions in the sector. Yet, as recent events have sadly reminded us, this progress cannot be taken for granted.

Since the Taliban assumed power in Afghanistan, women and girls have been increasingly shut out of political and public life. Thousands of women working in the security sector or the administration had to flee the country or go into hiding. This included the 69 women who served as parliamentarians before the Taliban's takeover. Yet, they are not giving up.

In Europe, earlier this year, Ukraine was invaded by Vladimir Putin, a leader who frequently engages in toxic, hyper-masculine performances of power. The ongoing violence sanctioned by this one man is, again, proof that we desperately need a different foreign policy: a foreign policy that seeks to dismantle power structures that enable despots to rule by intimidating their citizens and bombing their way into foreign countries.

How can we bring about such a policy change? Diversity and inclusivity are key. Societies are more peaceful if they are more gender equal. If those who decide on matters of peace and secu-

rity are all alike, the results will always be alike. If women and representatives of marginalised groups are systematically included, the outcome will be different. This is precisely why the #SHEcurity Index was first launched: to focus on how the representation and diversity of women working in politics, diplomacy, the military, and police are changing over time in selected countries, such as those that committed to the implementation of the WPS agenda.

Today, the picture is varied. In many countries, glass ceilings remain firmly in place, with women still seriously under-represented in leadership positions. For example, in 2021, only 23,1% of all ambassador posts were occupied by women – less than the 2 years prior. At the same time, since the launch of our Index in 2020, more and more countries have adopted (or pledged to adopt) a Feminist Foreign Policy (FFP), including Mexico, Libya, and Spain, and with its first woman foreign minister appointed, Germany is also currently working on its FFP strategy. We can see how this slowly translates into an increased representation of women across all sectors.

However, the WPS agenda is not only about the nominal representation of women in governments and state institutions, which is why we created the #SHEcurity+ section in previous reports. In this year's edition, we highlight the work from our partner organisations in the Global South, focusing on the best practices to advance women's representation and WPS across four different regions: the Middle East and North Africa, Latin America, Sub-Saharan Africa, and Asia.

The development of this report would not have been possible without the collaboration and partnership of an ever-growing network of partners globally. The Index greatly relies on and benefits from the support of embassies, and delegations, especially the European External Action Service (EEAS), in data collection and expert input and advice. I strongly hope this network will grow even further in the coming years because there is still so much work to do, and no wo*man can change the world alone.

Hannah Neumann

2. KEY FINDINGS

The #SHEcurity Index takes stock of women's representation in the security and foreign policy field since the adoption of UNSCR 1325 on WPS. In the third edition of the #SHEcurity Index, we track the developments, progress, and sometimes lack thereof during 2000-2021. This edition relies on 106 sets of data from the European Union (EU) and G20 countries, the EU institutions, and all countries committed to the WPS agenda by adopting respective national action plans (NAP). We continue to provide analysis in the field of politics, diplomacy, military, police, and international missions and expand observations in the area of arms manufacturers.[1]

The key trends identified in the previous edition of the #SHEcurity Index remain pertinent this year: (1) while women are more represented in foreign policy (e.g., ministry of foreign affairs staff), the representation of women is minor or almost absent in some countries among ambassadors, police, and the military; (2) the number of women working in junior and administrative positions is increasing faster, but women's representation in more senior and leadership positions is still increasing slowly or sometimes is even decreasing; (3) there remains a significant lack of data due to absence or obstacles in collection and monitoring.[2]

Key findings across the five areas of analysis (Politics, Diplomacy, Military, Police, International Missions, and Arms Manufacturers):

- **Politics:** An average of 35 years is still needed to reach global parity in national parliaments. Latin America, as a region, is closest to gender parity in national parliaments, with an average of 24 years, while Asia is the furthest, with an average of 41 years. Three countries, Mexico, Rwanda, and United Arab Emirates achieved gender parity in their national parliaments in 2021 (primarily due to enforced gender quotas). In 2021, Burkina Faso, Côte d'Ivoire, the Democratic Republic of the Congo, and Germany appointed their first women foreign ministers. Among defence ministers, the total estimated years until gender parity increased from an average of 37,6 years in 2020 to 38 years in 2021.

- **Diplomacy:** Among foreign ministries' staff, the representation of women almost reached parity with 46,8% of women in 2021.

17 countries included in the #SHEcurity Index have reached and even overachieved gender parity among their staff. However, only around 23,1% of all ambassador posts are occupied by women, a decrease from the last two years, resulting in an estimated 38 years, on average, until parity.

- **Military:** The representation of women in national armies remains low at 12,6% but improved from 2020 by 1,3 percentage points. Representation of women in the military differs significantly from country to country, ranging from 26,2% in Nepal to 1,1% in Saudi Arabia. Within the military, an average of 154 years is still needed to reach gender parity.

- **Police:** The overall average of women's representation in police forces is 22% in 2021. This is 0,1 percentage points higher than 2020, leaving 69 years, on average, until gender parity.

- **International Missions:** Within United Nations (UN) missions, gender parity was achieved in 2021 among both Heads and Deputy Heads. Within EU missions, women's representation in leadership remains significantly lower. Among civilian missions, women comprise 26,2% of the total staff, and a slightly better representation among Heads of the EU civilian Common Security and Defence Policy (CSDP) missions with 27,3%, which is notably an increase of 18,2 percentage points from 2020. However, no woman has yet been recruited as a Head of the EU CSDP military mission.

- **Arms Manufacturers:** Overall, women's representation among boards of arms manufacturers has significantly increased. The biggest change was in Germany, where women's representation increased by 7,7 percentage points (5,8% in 2020, 13,5% in 2022). The smallest change was in the United States (2,4 percentage points increase), where women still remain the most represented across the boards of arms manufacturers, compared to other countries (23% in 2020, 25,4% in 2022).

- Overall, women's representation in security and foreign policy is slowly increasing. While there may not be a specific trend indicating improvements in some regions over others, specific

countries do stand out, especially those prioritising the WPS agenda, developing feminist foreign policies, or similar gender equality initiatives in their national and foreign policies.

Like last year's edition, this year's report also includes a #SHEcurity+ section, which looks beyond the quantitative representation of women and offers a more qualitative focus on changes in women's participation and representation. This year, we focus on regional perspectives of women's participation and WPS agenda implementation, mainly from Asia, Latin America, the Middle East and North Africa, and Sub-Saharan Africa. We provide a short overview of the experiences and best practices of women's participation beyond institutional actors, showcasing the work and perspectives from civil society and grassroots organisations.

The #SHEcurity Index provides a holistic overview of women's representation and inclusion in foreign and security policy. It is a tool that collects different (in most cases) publicly available data sources to provide a summary of the progress of the WPS agenda and beyond. Starting from a quantitative analysis of women's representation across different institutions, #SHEcurity is now a network of like-minded organisations promoting the WPS agenda globally. Today, the #SHEcurity Index is a collective effort of a team of researchers, governments, and institutions that annually collect, quantify, and provide data on women's representation. We thank all our partners for their expertise, support, and input.

We hope you find this year's Index useful and practical in your work. We welcome you to use and engage with the Index to push the WPS agenda forward and collectively devise creative solutions to the gaps, obstacles, and shortcomings highlighted in this report.

3. RECOMMENDATIONS

This section summarises observations, obstacles, and experiences identified in all three editions of the #SHEcurity Index. The recommendations target the organisations responsible for data collection within the foreign policy and security field, including national governments, political institutions, international organisations, and businesses.

- Create international standards that allow for data collection with quantifiable metrics for comprehensive comparison.
- Ensure regular, qualitative, and detailed data collection of progress in women's representation across foreign policy and security-related national and international political and public institutions (including EU institutions) and women's inclusion in peace processes and arms manufacturers.
- Provide an intersectional lens in collecting, monitoring, and evaluating data in line with the UN guidelines for the Sustainable Development Goals (SDG) indicators.[3]
- Ensure transparent and complete reporting of women's representation in politics, diplomacy, military, police, international missions, and arms manufacturers.
- Improve public accessibility to information and data on women's representation in foreign and security policy.
- Formalise legislation and policies that facilitate women's representation and participation, including but not limited to gender-based quota systems that meet the WPS agenda target of 50%.

To national and international governmental institutions, specifically:

- Lead qualitative research beyond numbers to monitor and better understand the obstacles to women's representation and inclusion in the foreign and security policy sector, especially in leadership.
- Increase funding and resource allocation to progress the WPS agenda and the development and implementation of NAPs.
- Actively engage with and provide funding for local initiatives and civil society organisations to implement activities identified within NAPs.
- Create and foster a safe environment for women to participate and actively engage in security and peace processes.

4. INTRODUCTION

The #SHEcurity Index takes stock of women's participation and representation in security and foreign policy across 105 countries, including EU member states, G20 countries, and all countries that have adopted the WPS NAPs. Notably, it also tracks and interprets women's representation in (inter)governmental organisations and institutions that work in security and foreign policy, such as the EU and UN institutions.

The Taliban takeover in Afghanistan, the Russian invasion of Ukraine, and the civil war in Yemen are perhaps the most prominent recent examples that illustrate the continuous risk women and girls face from conflict and breakdowns of security. According to UN Women, more than 70% of women experience gender-based violence during a crisis.[4] Yet far too often, women are excluded from decision-making processes relating to both war and peace. In building a safer and more peaceful world, ensuring women's representation and full participation across all levels and areas of decision-making in peace and security is essential.

Towards this goal, the #SHEcurity Index tracks both the achievements and setbacks made in the representation of women in peace and security in the last 22 years. Overall, women's representation in foreign and security policies is slowly improving. In countries where things are moving faster, political will is supported by several initiatives and legislations, including but not limited to gender quotas.

Yet, representation and participation are not just about numbers. Last year's report looked 'beyond women's representation', taking stock of the experiences and perspectives of LGBTIQ+ individuals and people of colour in foreign and security policy. Like last year, the current #SHEcurity report includes a SHEcurity+ section, which provides a deeper analysis of what contributes to the inclusion of women and marginalised groups in peace and security.

This year, SHEcurity+ provides perspectives from our partners in Asia, Latin America, the Middle East and North Africa, and Sub-Saharan Africa on implementing the WPS agenda and the best practices for making progress. We are grateful to Kubernein Initiative, Women in Security, Conflict Management and Peace (WISCOMP), Women In International Security Global (WIIS Global), Arab Reform Initiative, and the Women's International Peace Centre for their contributions. Their recommendations touch upon the nuances of women's representation in foreign policy and security institutions, the role of women in negotiations; the importance of intersectionality; the provision and ringfencing of resources; the enjoyment and promotion of rights; and the quality and implementation of NAPs.

Addressing women's representation and compiling data from different organisations and sources in a single database provides a clear and comprehensive overview of the topic. Throughout the last few years of the #SHEcurity Index, we have noticed an improvement in governments' dedication to collecting and monitoring gender data in security and foreign policy institutions. This year, our data gathering has significantly profited from the support of the EU's External Action Service (EEAS), which supplied data via EU Delegations worldwide. Missing, unavailable, or untraceable data remains a key issue in providing a comprehensive overview of women's representation in security and foreign policy. As we continue working on the #SHEcurity Index, we hope to encourage governments and other institutions to improve data collection on women's representation. We also hope to engage diverse stakeholders, including those from marginalised groups and more traditional security and defence communities, to join the debates and discussions on how to improve representation and ensure global inclusive peace and security.

5. METHODOLOGY

The #SHEcurity Index database focuses on key security and foreign policy areas, mainly politics, diplomacy, military, police, international missions, and arms manufacturers. The 2022 edition of the #SHEcurity Index includes a unique set of 106 data sets, including data from 105 countries and EU institutions. Compared to last year's Index, we have added Djibouti, Gabon, and the Republic of Congo and removed Bougainville.[5]

COUNTRIES INCLUDED IN THE #SHEcurity INDEX 2022

■ NEWLY ADDED SINCE 2021
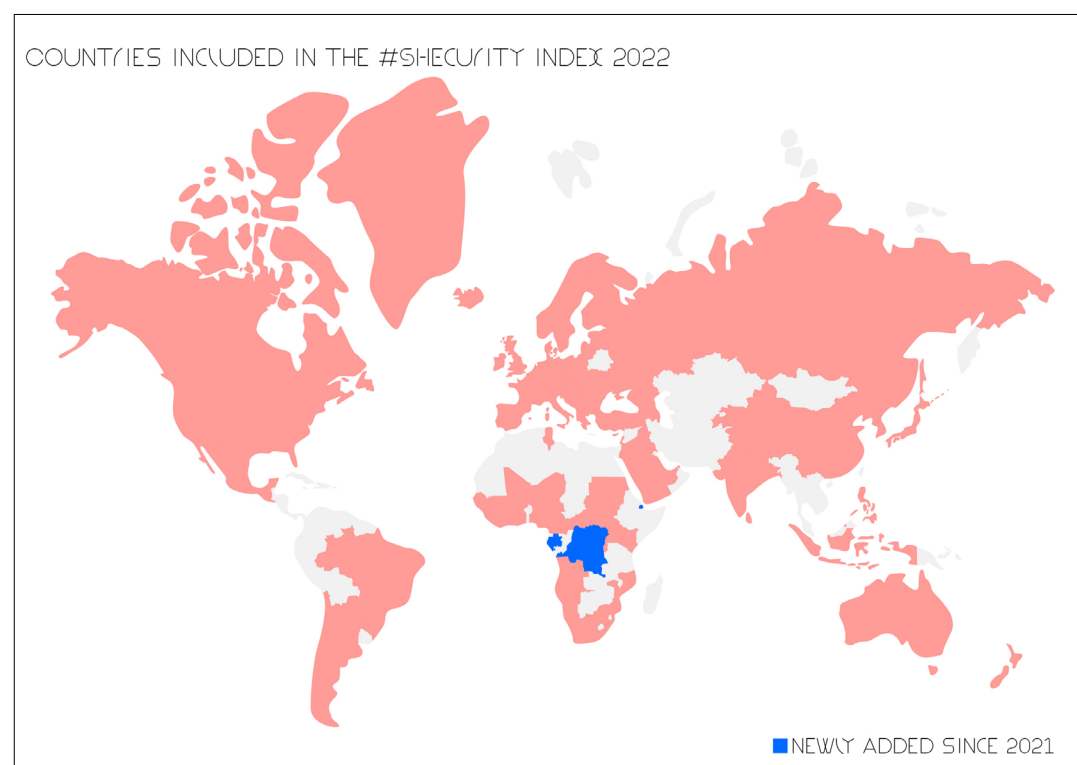
Map by macrovector / Freepik

Considering annual progress based on data available, the #SHEcurity Index also calculates and provides a forecast of how many years, on average, it will take to reach gender parity in a respective country or other areas of analysis.[6] Where data sets are insufficient to calculate a trend, the current representation of women is presented as a single percentage value.

5.1. SCOPE AND STRUCTURE

In the 2022 edition of the #SHEcurity Index, we have decided not to expand the scope but instead focus on providing more comprehensive data for 2021 and addressing gaps for missing coun-tries and years from previous editions of the Index. As previously mentioned, three countries that released WPS NAPs in 2021 were also added to the database.

The #SHEcurity Index continues to focus on 6 areas of analysis:

- **Politics:** % of women in national parliaments, the European Parliament, respective foreign policy, and defence committees (if not unicameral than from lower chambers), as well as representation of women among foreign affairs and defence ministers
- **Diplomacy:** % of women among national and EU ambassadors and staff members within the ministries of foreign affairs and the EEAS. Data on 'diplomatic corps' was excluded from the diplomacy section due to misinterpretation of this category by different institutions.
- **Military:** % of women in national armed forces
- **Police:** % of women in national police forces
- **International Missions:** % of women among the leadership staff in the UN Missions, mainly Heads and Deputy-Heads of Missions, as well as those within the EU CSDP military and civilian missions
- **Arms Manufacturers:** % of women on the boards of arms manufacturers in Germany, France, the United Kingdom, and the United States. This section was first integrated in 2020 and is included again for 2022, thanks to the support of the AllBright Foundation.

We gathered annual data for 2000-2021 for the three newly added countries. For the EU, G20, and WPS NAP countries from the 2021 edition, we included the data for the year 2021 and addressed any gaps where possible for 2000-2020. It is crucial to note that the data represented in the Index presents an annual overview of women's representation. In most cases, we have collected data from 31 December each year, but in some cases, such as Japan, data was collected from July each year. While this might slightly affect the comparability of data across sections and countries, the #SHEcurity Index relies on publicly accessible data from multiple, differing sources. Currently, no one source or standard would allow for the most accurate comparability (see recommendations section).

5.2. DATA COLLECTION

The 2022 edition of the #SHEcurity Index is the result of a data collection process over the last three years. Most data has been provided by the embassies, missions, and representations of national governments in Brussels, international organisations, and institutions, including the Inter-Parliamentary Union (IPU), the UN, the EU institutions, and the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO). The European Parliament Research Service provided data for the EU institutions and, in certain cases, for the EU and G20 countries. Additionally, this year the #SHEcurity Index has significantly benefited from the support of the EEAS, which supplied data via its Delegations from across the world.

Where needed and possible, we have complemented data with additional desk research based on publicly available information and data, analysing other databases, indices, platforms, and websites of respective institutions and national parliaments. Data provided by external sources are referenced and indicated accordingly within the #SHEcurity Index database.

In some cases, the data presented in last year's Index may have changed slightly by percentage points due to additional or updated data provided by national governments. Where possible, the #SHEcurity Index prioritises data provided by national governments, which have the most direct access to up-to-date statistics.

In some cases, countries do not have a certain institution or position (such as defence ministers, defence committees, or national armed forces). In those cases, cells are marked with a dash (-) in the Index to distinguish them from empty cells, indicating that data was unavailable or not provided.

Overall, the data collection process for the #SHEcurity Index 2022 edition has been a considerable team effort, if not a global one, to ensure the most comprehensive overview of women's representation in security and foreign policy. Again, we could acknowledge that (1) more national governments were able to ensure a timely data collection, as well as for the previous missing years (in most cases due to the support of the EEAS and the EU Delegations); (2) certain governments continue to fail to collect and provide data due to various reasons, including lack of time, accessibility of data, and low prioritisation; (3) over the last three years, we can see that our continuous requests for data have had an impact. Governments are now providing more data for the #SHEcurity Index, and it is quite clear: political will and determination can and does lead to more comprehensive data being collected, monitored, and made accessible.

5.3. COMPARABILITY

Like last year's Index, this year includes analytical clusters to ensure better comparability. The database depicts women's representation in each area and sub-section for countries individually and on average at the EU, G20, and regional levels (Latin America, Asia, Europe, the Middle East and North America, Pacific, and Sub-Saharan Africa). It is crucial to note that regional averages (where available) represent only the average of EU member states, G20 countries, and those countries with a WPS NAP and should not be misinterpreted as the overall regional average[7]. Averages are calculated as a sum of all percentage data on women's representation in each region and each area of analysis. There is no distinction based on the size of the country or other nationally representative characteristics (the data is unweighted).

As there were no considerable changes between the #SHEcurity Indices 2021 and 2022, the two databases are easily comparable throughout most countries and areas of analysis. Consequently, it is possible to trace the changes in women's representation across years or estimated years until parity within the EU, G20, and different regions, as well as a total average. The lack of data in some categories and the absence of any standard for the data collection on the national level hampers the ability to provide a more accurate analysis and comparability between some countries, regions, and changes across all the years in certain categories (particularly in diplomacy, military, and police).

5.4. CHALLENGES AND LIMITATIONS

Similar to previous editions, the key challenge for the #SHEcurity Index is a significant lack of data, and some areas of analysis within the Index are more comprehensive than others. Considering the importance of public accountability, data provided for analysing political representation is more accessible and comprehensive than in other areas. Consequently, the data on women's political representation was primarily gathered from

publicly available sources. Correspondingly, most data gaps were identified in diplomacy, military, and police, which is considered a significant limitation in the detail the Index provides. There are also limitations in calculating regional averages where data for many countries in the region does not exist. Regional averages are not provided in the areas where we observed that results would be unreliable.

The absence of data is a finding in itself and continues to show a lack of commitment toward implementing global gender equality goals. Over the following years, we plan to continue our work on the Index to raise awareness and generate momentum for actions toward gender parity in foreign and security policy.

The #SHEcurity Index accumulates data from diverse sources, from government to inter(governmental) and non-governmental institutions. While some datasets are taken from secondary sources, the #SHEcurity Index serves as a platform to combine existing databases, datasets, and sources in one document that allows for relative comparability. We rely on cooperation with our partners and continued collaboration to provide up-to-date and comprehensive data. Do not hesitate to contact the team if you have access to additional data.

6. #SHECURITY 2022

This section highlights a snapshot of the data provided in the #SHEcurity Index database with 106 datasets and focuses on year-on-year trends and examples of successful and under-achieving countries and regions (please consult the available Excel file for a full picture).

## 6.1. POLITICS

Parliaments

Based on data from 2000 to 2021, on average, another 35 years is needed to reach gender parity among national parliaments of the countries included in the index. This has only slightly improved since last year's outlook (37 years), illustrating how slowly progress is being made.

WOMEN'S REPRESENTATION IN NATIONAL PARLIAMENTS

72,6% MEN*

27,4% WOMEN*

35 YEARS
until gender parity in national parliaments
(countries surveyed)

*as of 2021
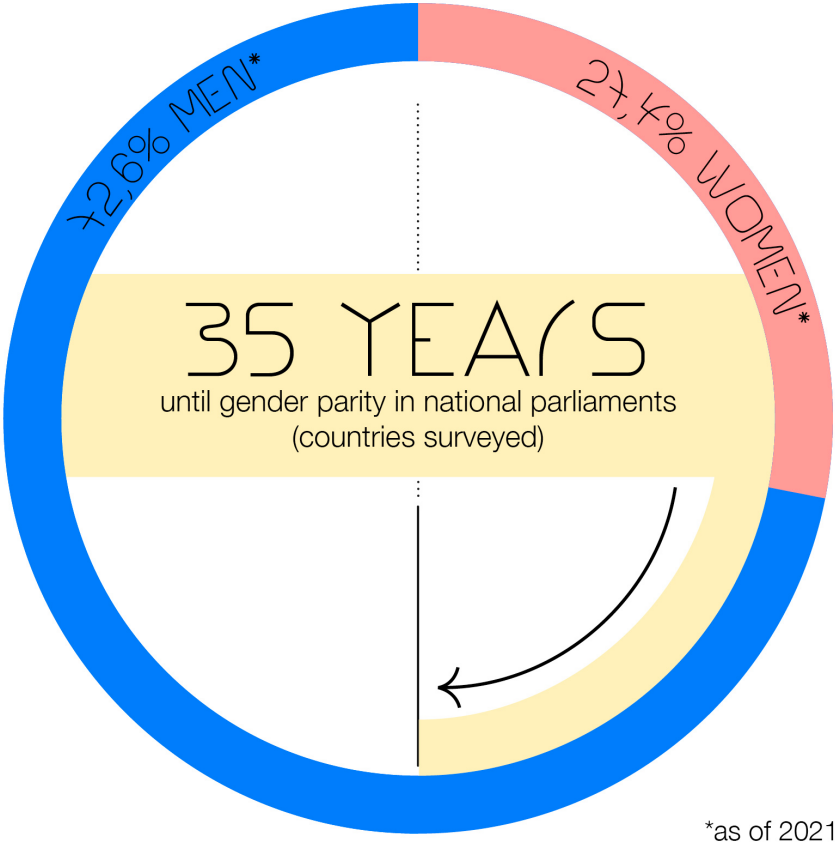
Similar to last year's projections, Latin America is closest to gender parity with an average of 24 years until gender parity (29,6% of women represented in national parliaments), followed by Europe, which needs an average of 30 years (30,9%); the Middle East and North Africa with an average of 38 years (20,2%); the Pacific with an average of 40 years (29,4%); Sub-Saharan Africa (24,5%) and Asia (23,4%) both with an average of 41 years. The region with the lowest average among women in national parliaments remains the Middle East and North Africa; however, the region continues to progress relatively fast.

% OF WOMEN IN NATIONAL PARLIAMENTS IN 2021
(TOP 10 AND BOTTOM 10 COUNTRIES)
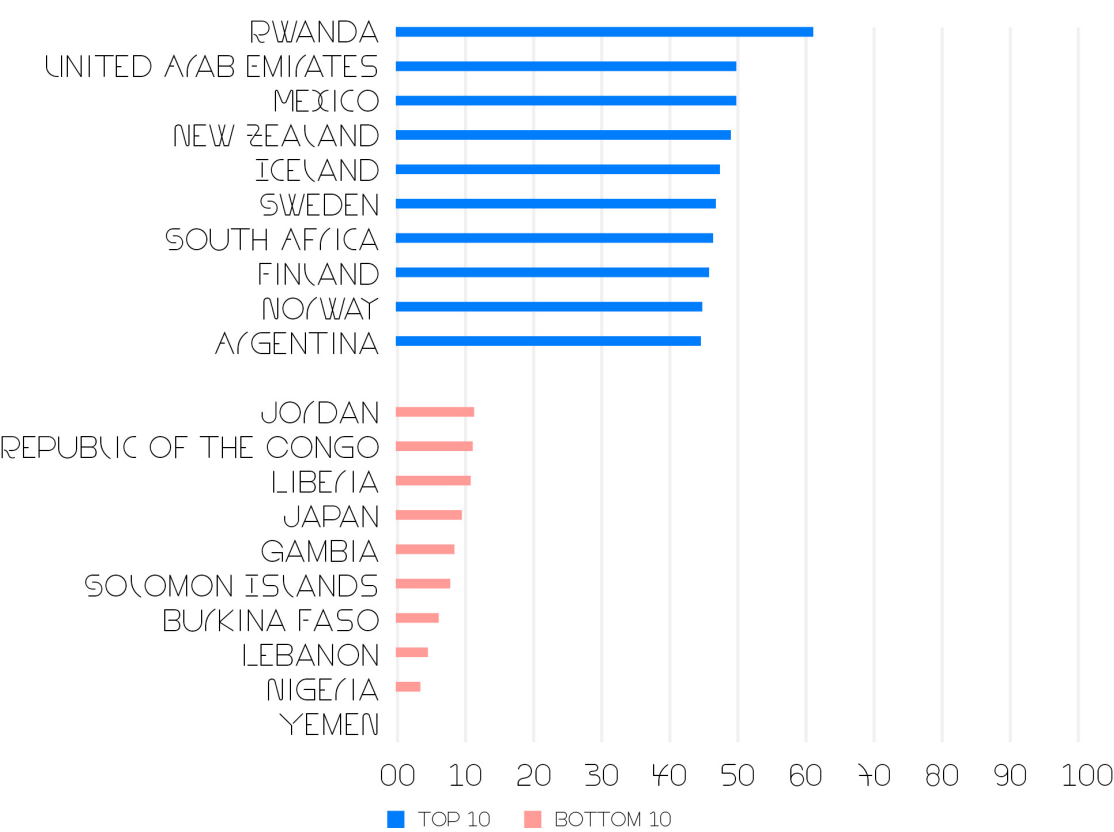
On a country level, three countries stand out for achieving gender parity. Those are Mexico (50%), Rwanda (61,3%), and the United Arab Emirates (50%), which also have gender quotas. Mexico, as the newest addition, managed to reach gender parity for the first time due to the implementation of its constitutional mandate – "gender parity in everything".[8]

These top three are followed by countries that are very close to gender parity in their national parliaments but are not quite there yet: New Zealand (49,2%), Iceland (47,6%), Sweden (47%), South Africa (46,6%), Finland (46%), Norway (45%), and Argentina (44,8%). Most of these countries were also ranked in the top 10 in the previous edition of the #SHEcurity Index; however, some deserve a special mention for their considerable progress. For example, after its elections, women's representation in the Icelandic parliament increased by 9,5 percentage points, leaving the country with four years until parity. Similarly, in Norway – an increase of 3,6 percentage points, with 13 years until parity, and in Argentina – an increase of 3,9 percentage points, leaving 6 years until parity. Notably, North Macedonia experienced the second biggest increase over the last 20 years, after Rwanda, jumping from 6,7% in 2000 to 41,7% in 2021, primarily due to the introduction of gender quotas.

The countries furthest away from gender parity remain mostly the same since the previous year. Yemen bottoms the list with no women at all represented in its national parliament, followed by Nigeria with an average of 5378 years until parity; Lebanon with an average of 404 years; Japan with an average of 352 years; Liberia with an average of 257 years; the Solomon Islands with an average of 149 years; the Gambia with an average of 133 years; and Jordan with an average of 71 years. There is no forecast for Burkina Faso due to a negative trend year-on-year or the Republic of Congo due to a lack of change in women's representation for the past five years.

Foreign Affairs and Defence Committees

This section focuses on women's representation in Foreign Affairs and Defence Committees for 2021 (calculated manually in July-August 2021). The data set for this year's edition remains the same, except for the three additional countries included in this year's Index.

Overall, there are almost as many women represented in foreign affairs committees (26,3%) as in national parliaments (28,2%), considering only the countries that have data for both institutions available. However, for defence committees, women's representation decreases significantly to 13%. This illustrates that wo-

men's low representation in national parliaments is even more pronounced in the area of defence.

For example, in Bulgaria in 2021, women's representation in the national parliament is at 23,8%, foreign affairs committee at 23,5%, and no women are represented in the defence committee. In Côte d'Ivoire, women's representation is 14,2% in the national parliament, 33,3% in the foreign affairs committee and no women in the defence committee. Other countries with no women in defence committees are Croatia, Cyprus, El Salvador, Hungary, Japan, Montenegro, Paraguay, the Republic of Moldova, Romania, Saudi Arabia, Solomon Islands, and Tajikistan (among countries with accessible data). In total, 14 countries have no women in defence committees, compared to three countries with no women in foreign affairs committees (the Democratic Republic of the Congo, Malta, and the Solomon Islands) and one country with no women in national parliaments (Yemen).

The calculations above are presented only for countries where data is available and accessible for national parliaments and committees. With this in mind, it is important to note that while data for national parliaments is available for all countries presented in the #SHEcurity Index, we observe a considerable lack of data regarding foreign affairs and defence committees, which affects the overall comparability between the sections.

Foreign and Defence Ministers

Among foreign ministers, gender parity is now closer than in 2020, down from 40,8 years in 2020 to 22 years in 2021. An additional 5 countries (32 in total) appointed a woman as a minister of foreign affairs in 2021 (Burkina Faso, Côte d'Ivoire, the Democratic Republic of the Congo, and Germany). However, there are still 31 countries that have never appointed a woman foreign minister between 2000-2021.
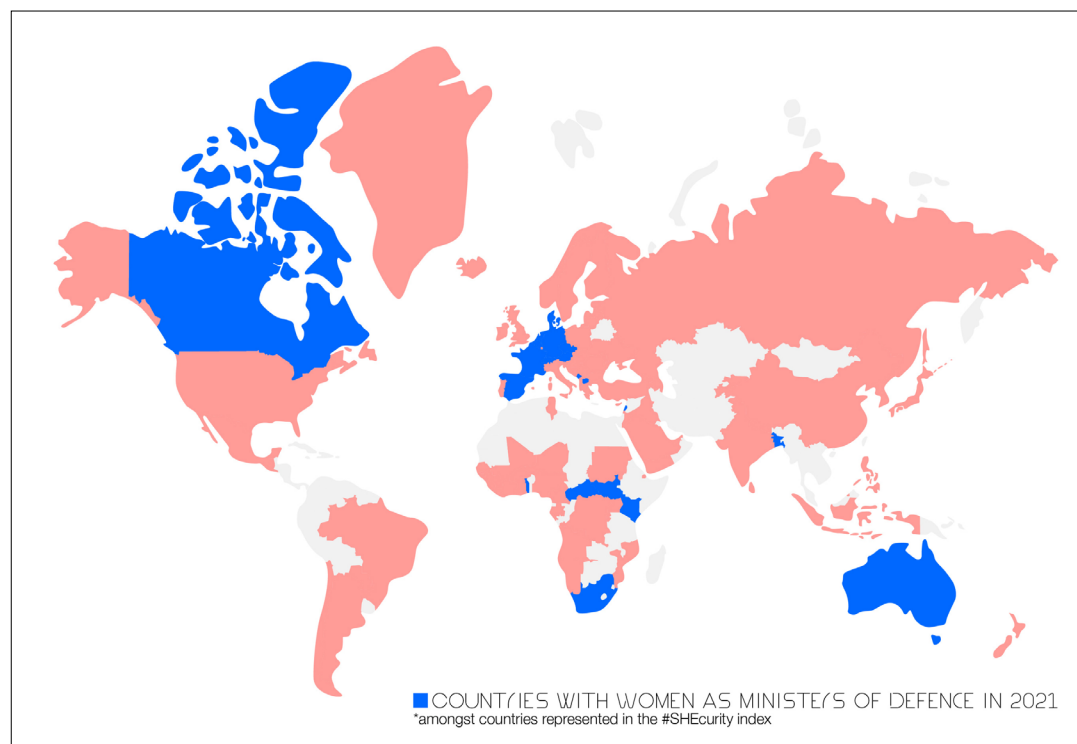
The Pacific region continues to lead, with two-thirds of countries within the region appointing a woman foreign minister during the last two years. The Middle East and North Africa region remains the only region with no women foreign ministers at all during 2000-2021. While Europe had the slowest growth until 2020, this year, the region experienced the biggest regional increase (from 9 to

13 women foreign ministers) with a new average of 24 years until gender parity (compared to 93,3 years in 2020) and new women foreign ministers in Albania, Estonia, Germany, Iceland, and the United Kingdom. To compare, the EU still has 69 years until parity, with only 7 women foreign ministers.

COUNTRIES WITH WOMEN AS FOREIGN MINISTERS IN 2021
*amongst countries represented in the #SHEcurity index
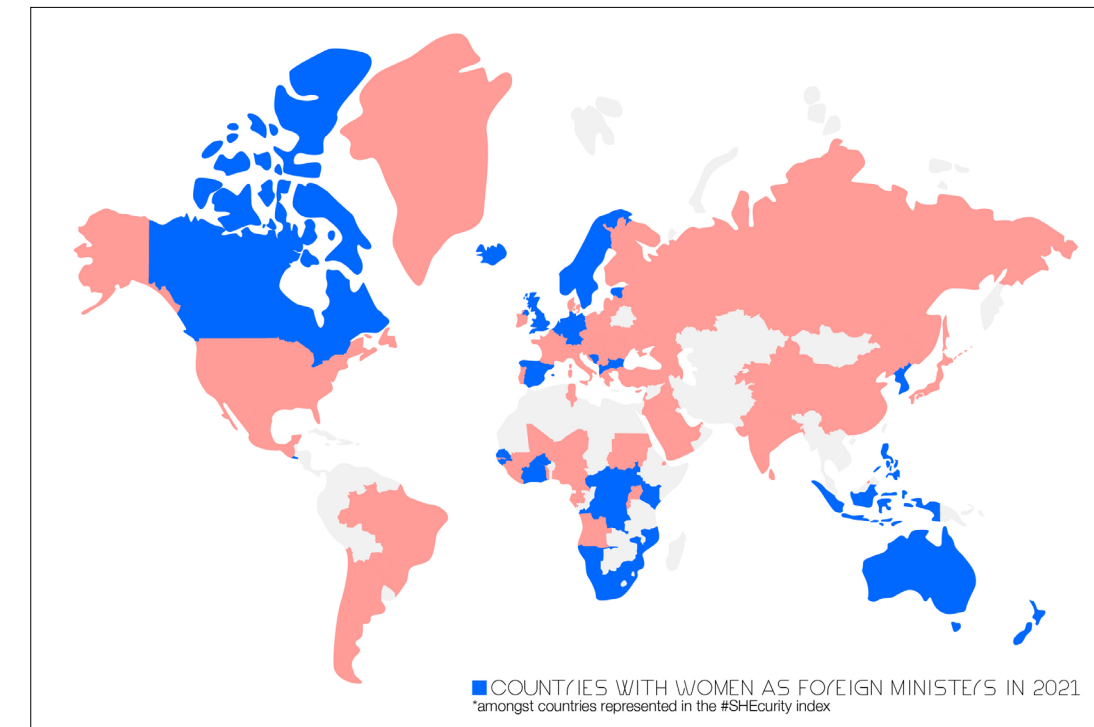
Map by macrovector / Freepik

Among defence ministers, the overall picture is less positive than among the foreign ministers, with the estimated years until gender parity increasing to an average of 38 years. With this year's addition of 3 countries, the list of countries that have never appointed a woman as a defence minister between 2000-2021 has increased from 60 to 62. There is a concentration of women defence ministers in Europe, with 25,6% women defence ministers and an average of 23 years until gender parity. Sub-Saharan Africa follows Europe with 17,2% women defence ministers and 40 years until gender parity. Other regions have appointed only one woman defence minister in 2021, including Latin America with an average of 74 years until gender parity; the Middle East and North Africa with an average of 53 years; the Pacific region with an average of 11 years. In Asia, a calculation of the average years until parity was not possible due to a lack of change during the last two years.

COUNTRIES WITH WOMEN AS MINISTERS OF DEFENCE IN 2021
*amongst countries represented in the #SHEcurity index

Map by macrovector / Freepik

6.2. DIPLOMACY

This section analyses the representation of women among ambassadors and foreign affairs ministry staff (MFA staff). A considerable lack of data on women's representation in diplomacy makes it challenging to draw conclusions across regions or provide accurate trends. However, for the countries where data is available, we can still identify patterns of representation of women in diplomacy.
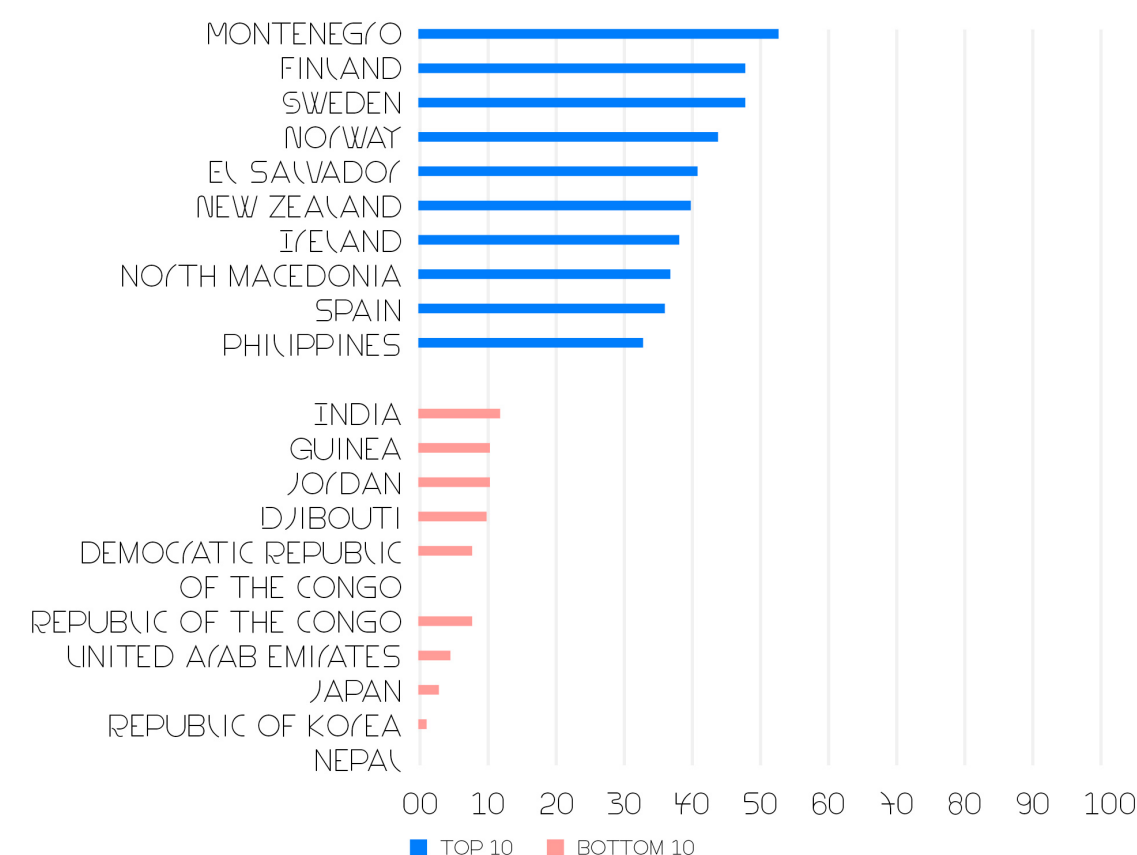
Ambassadors

Among the countries that provided data on the representation of women among ambassadors (48 out 106 datasets), women hold one-quarter (23,1%) of all the ambassador posts. This has decreased by two percentage points from 2020 and 2,9 percentage points from 2019. However, while the number of countries that provided data in the last three years is almost the same, the countries listed for those years are different, which causes a decrease in percentages across the previous three years. Following this, it is important to note that most countries that provided data for 2021 and previous years improved their women's representation among ambassadors. The countries with the biggest increases in

women ambassadors during 2020-2021 were Montenegro (14,7 percentage points); Ireland (5,3 percentage points); North Macedonia (6,7 percentage points); Spain (15,2); Paraguay (5,6); and Ukraine (5,2).

According to the data available in the #SHEcurity Index, there is an estimated average of 38 years until gender parity. This has increased by 8 years since the 2021 analysis. When it comes to the EU countries (the only region where it was possible to calculate the average years until parity), the percentage of women ambassadors has grown by 3,8 percentage points, leaving the EU with an estimated 18 years until parity, compared to 26 years in 2021.

% OF WOMEN AMBASSADORS IN 2021
(TOP 10 AND BOTTOM 10 COUNTRIES)*
*amongst countries which responded

■ TOP 10   ■ BOTTOM 10

Only Montenegro reached and even overachieved (52,9% women ambassadors) gender parity among ambassadors in 2021. Countries that are very close to gender parity include Finland (48% women ambassadors), with an average of 2 years until gender parity; Sweden (48% women ambassadors), missing a calculation

of average years until parity due to lack of changes for the past three years; Norway (44% women ambassadors) with an average of 4 years; El Salvador (41% women ambassadors) missing a calculation of average years until parity due to lack of data for previous years, New Zealand (40% women ambassadors) with an average of 6 years. Among these countries, 4 out of 5, namely Sweden, Norway, El Salvador, and New Zealand, appointed a woman as a foreign minister in 2021.

The countries that have the lowest representation of women among ambassadors included Nepal with no women ambassadors (compared to 14% in 2020); the Republic of Korea (1,2%); Japan (3%); United Arab Emirates (4,7%); Republic of Congo (7,9%); Democratic Republic of Congo (7,9%); Djibouti (10%); Jordan (10,5%); Guinea (10,5%); and India (12%). While these countries are at the bottom of the Index in this area, they are among those who at least collect and provide data, compared to 58 out of 105 countries that did not.

MFA staff

While women occupy only one-quarter of ambassadorial posts, nearly half of the staff working in foreign ministries were women in 2021 (46,8% among 48 available data sets in the #SHEcurity Index). This illustrates a considerable disparity between women's representation within the more junior or administrative levels of ministries of foreign affairs and their representation among higher-ranking positions, such as ambassadors or ministers.

In 2021, 17 countries in the #SHEcurity Index have reached or overachieved gender parity among their staff, with another 17 countries scoring more than 40%. However, most data is unavailable or not provided, limiting general conclusions. If and when all countries can provide data, it will be interesting to observe whether the trend remains.

REPRESENTATION OF WOMEN AMONG THE STAFF OF FOREIGN MINISTRIES AND AMONG AMBASSADORS IN 2021
(those who (over)reached gender parity within foreign ministries' staff)
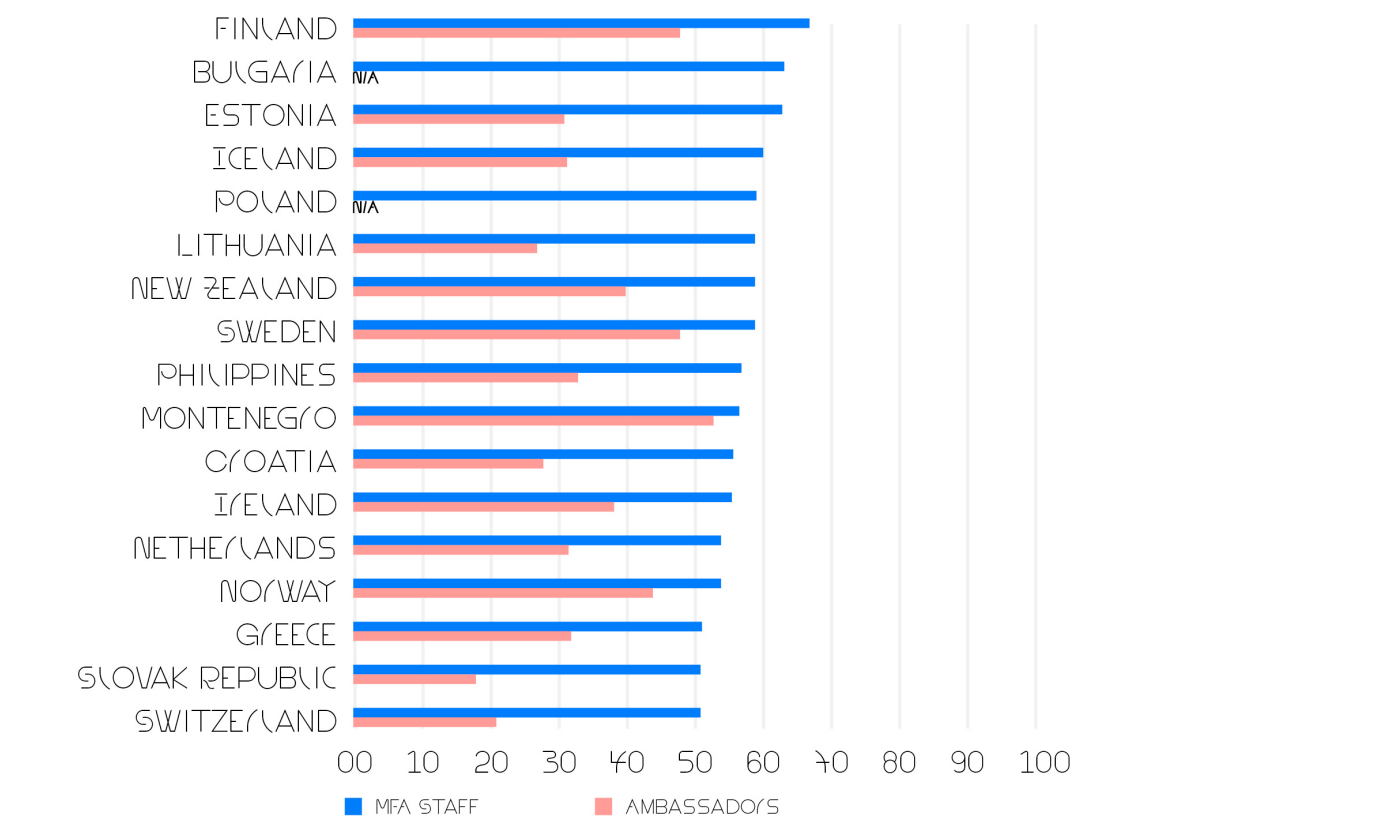
6.3. MILITARY

Data on women's representation in the military and police was the hardest to access in 2021, representing the most significant gaps in the data presented.

Based on the data available (38 out of 105 countries), the representation of women in national armies remains low in 2021 at 12,6% but has improved by 1,3 percentage points since 2020. The disparity between countries is enormous, with Nepal having 26,2% women in its military, while Saudi Arabia only has 1,1%. Overall, an average of 154 years is still needed within the military to reach gender parity (155 years in 2020).

87,4% MEN* **12,6% WOMEN***

154 YEARS

until gender parity in national military
(countries surveyed)
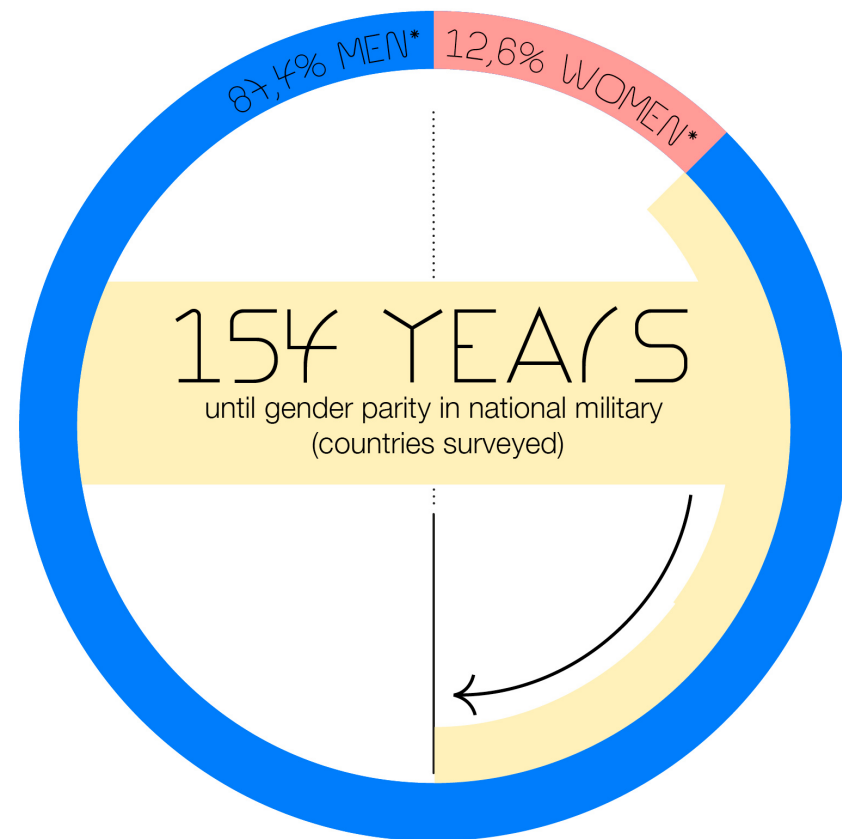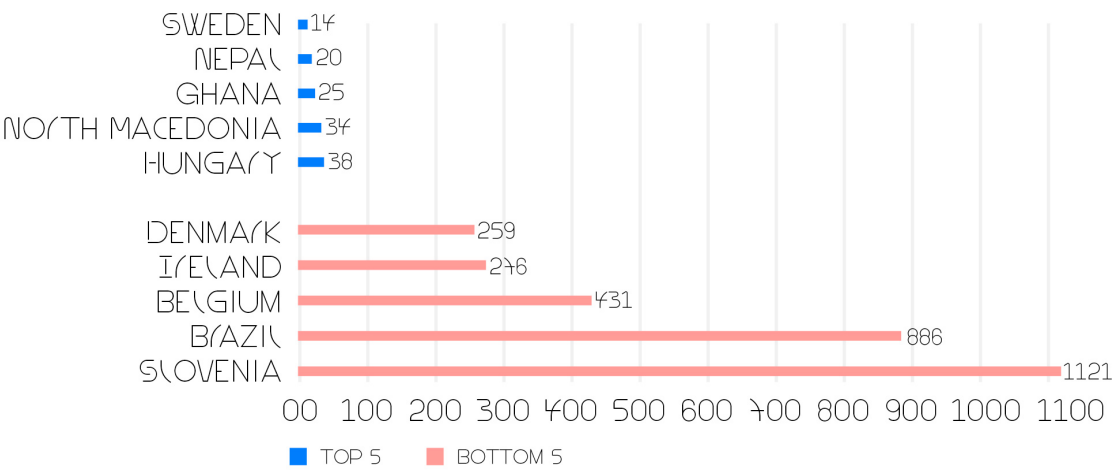
*amongst countries which responded

The leading countries are Nepal, with 26,2% women in the military and an average of 20 years until parity; Serbia, with 24,1% women and an average of 87 years until parity; Sweden, with 22% women in the military and 14 years until parity; Albania, with 20,1% women in the military and 43 years until parity; Norway, with 20% women in the military and 47 years until parity. In total, 14 of the 38 countries with data have 10% or fewer women officers in their armed forces.

In 2021, NATO celebrated the number of women in uniform among NATO member countries doubling since 2000, with 85% of NATO members also opening all positions in their armed forces to women.[9] NATO is one of the few institutional actors that consistently provides data on women's representation among its members and partner countries. This data allows the #SHEcurity Index to work with comparable data and run consistent and useful calculations. Sadly, this is not the case for the whole Index, as countries interpret women's representation differently. Some

count women officers recruited by the national army (a focus we try to maintain), and others include all women recruited by the Ministry of Defence.

SWEDEN	14
NEPAL	20
GHANA	25
NORTH MACEDONIA	34
HUNGARY	38
DENMARK	259
IRELAND	276
BELGIUM	431
BRAZIL	886
SLOVENIA	1121

00 100 200 300 400 500 600 700 800 900 1000 1100

■ TOP 5   ■ BOTTOM 5

6.4. POLICE

Data on women's representation within the police forces remain scarce, although we managed to address some of the data gaps from previous editions of the #SHEcurity Index. Based on the data available, the average representation of women in the police forces is 22%, which has decreased by 0,1 percentage point since 2020 and indicates an average of 69 years until parity.

Some countries reached 40% or more women in their police forces in 2021. Specifically, Norway with 46,9% women in the police and an average of 8 years until gender parity; Saudi Arabia with 42,4% (forecast until parity not provided due to limited data for previous years); Lithuania with 42% and an average of 7 years, and Canada with 40,3% and an average 17 years. The countries furthest from gender parity include Armenia, with 18,5% women in the police and an average of 158 years; the Czech Republic, with 16,6% and 140 years; Greece, with 14,2% and 133 years; and Portugal, with 7,7% and 130 years.

PERCENTAGE OF WOMEN IN NATIONAL POLICE FORCES[11] (TOP AND BOTTOM 10)"*

*amongst countries which responded, as of 2021


Legend: ■ TOP 10 ■ BOTTOM 10
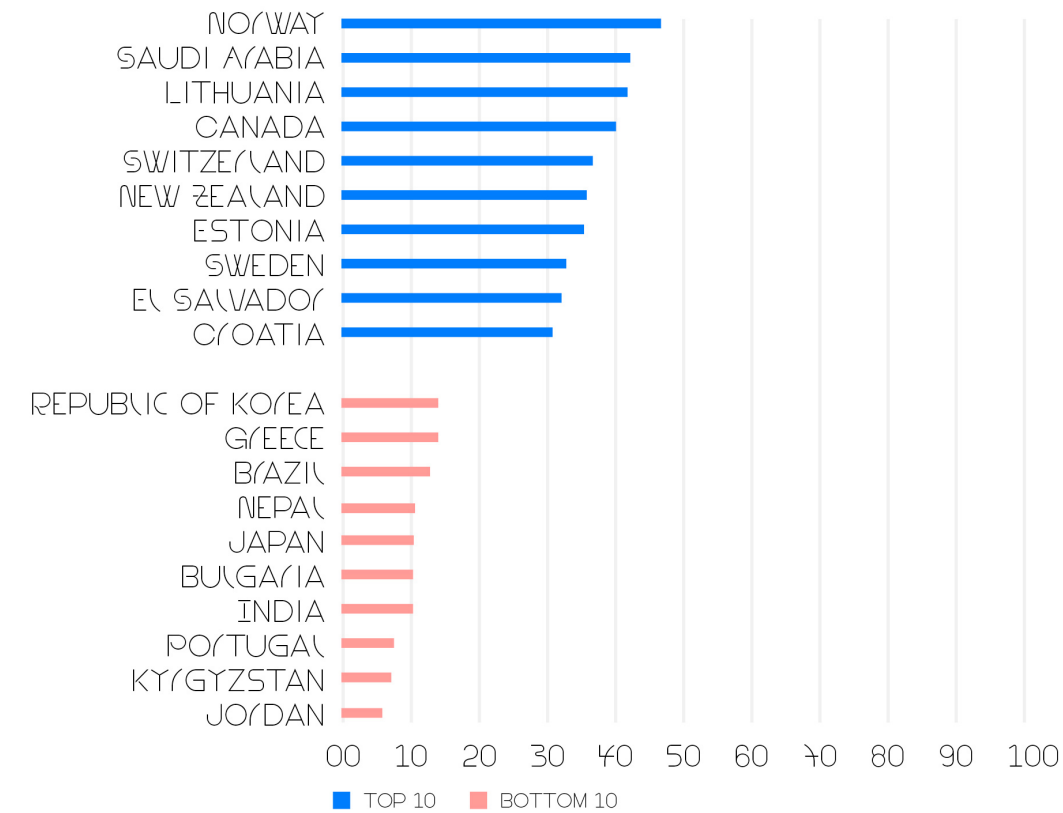
6.5. INTERNATIONAL MISSIONS

Among UN missions, there has been steady progress toward gender parity among leadership. On average, 65,2% of Deputy Heads of UN missions are women, and 36% of Heads of Missions. Another 6 years is needed until full gender parity is reached among Heads of Missions.

Data on police and military officers recruited within the UN Missions is not as positive. There was only a 0,9 percentage point increase in women's police officers, with an average of 40 years until gender parity, and a 0,1 percentage point increase in women military officers, with an average of 139 years until gender parity (consistent with last year's Index).

As for EU missions, gender parity is still far away for both civilian and military missions. Women's representation remains low, sig-

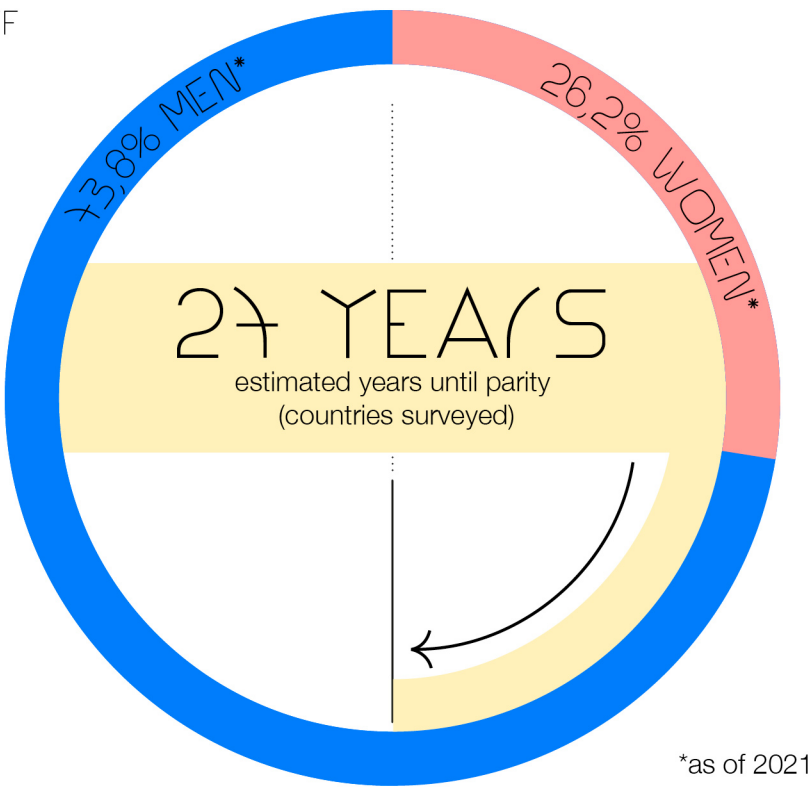## % OF WOMEN AMONG HEADS AND DEPUTY HEADS OF UN MISSIONS
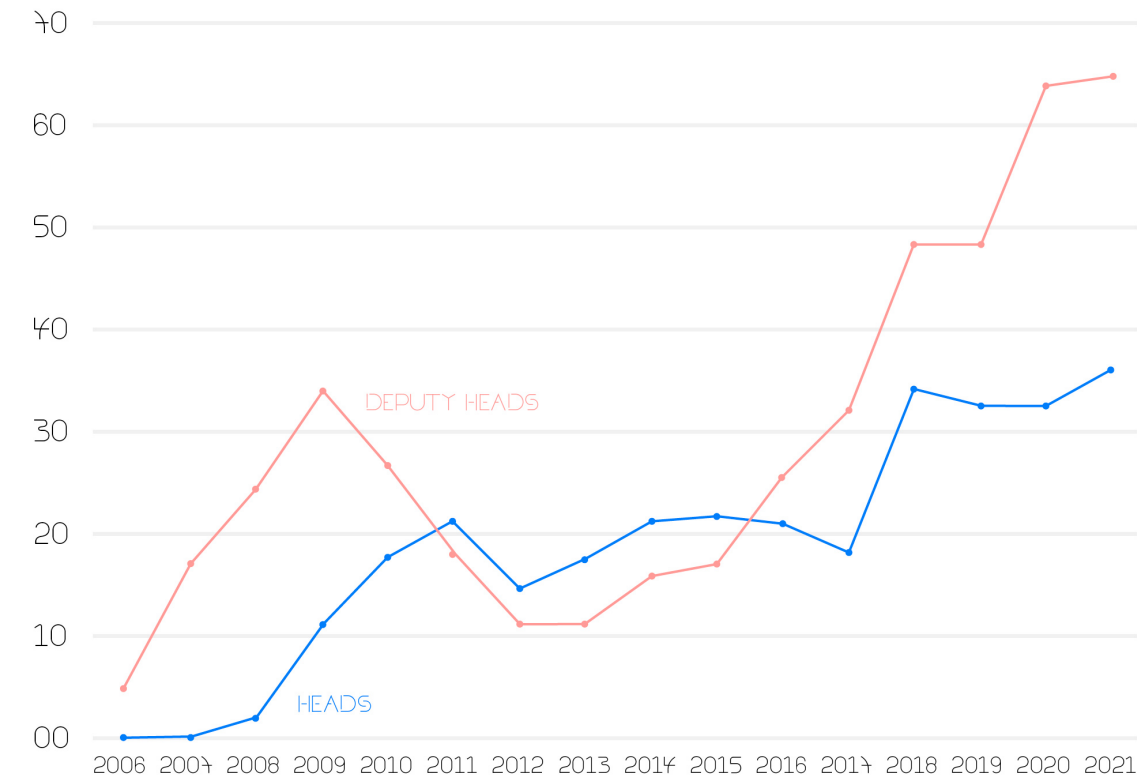
Among the civilian missions, women comprise 26,2% of the total staff (1,9 percentage points increase from 2020), with a slightly better representation (27,3%) among the Heads of Missions – 18,2 percentage points increase since 2020. Overall, it will take an average of 27 years until gender parity is reached within the total staff of the EU civilian CSDP missions. As for leadership levels, the average is 12 years.

Within CSDP military operations of the EU, no single woman has yet been recruited as a Head of Mission. Yet, there has been a slight improvement in the representation of women in the overall staff. Women's representation in executive operations increased by 1,7 percentage points from 2020 to 8,1% in 2021, and in non-executive operations by 0,6 percentage points, to 5,7% in 2021. The second increase could be driven by a new non-executive mission, European Union Training Mission Mozambique (EUTM Mozambique), which has the largest representation of women (10%). Estimating average years until gender parity in CSDP military operations is impossible in most cases due to a negative or non-existent average increase in women's representation.

WOMEN'S REPRESENTATION IN THE EU'S CIVILIAN CSDP MISSIONS

TOTAL STAFF

73,8% MEN*
26,2% WOMEN*

27 YEARS

estimated years until parity
(countries surveyed)

*as of 2021

HEADS OF MISSIONS

72,7% MEN*
27,3% WOMEN*

12 YEARS

estimated years until parity
(countries surveyed)

*as of 2021
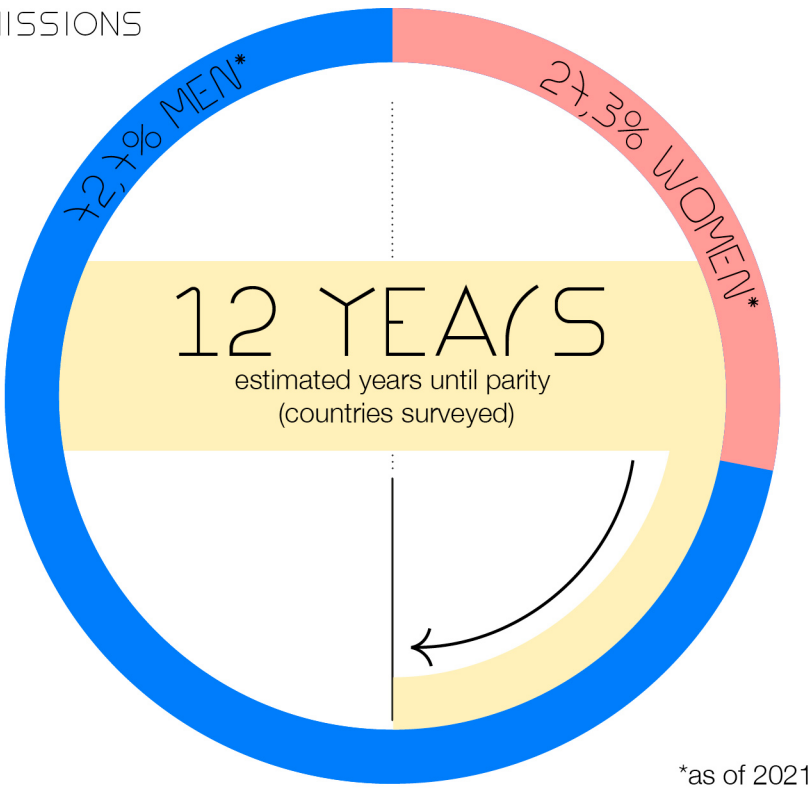
In 2020, UNSCR 2538 encouraged UN member states to develop strategies to increase the deployment of women to peace operations and address barriers to their participation. UNSCR 1325 and UNSCR 2538 also emphasised the need to promote the participation of women in senior leadership positions.[12] Similar observations are provided in an analysis conducted by SIPRI in 2021, which focuses specifically on the representation of women in multilateral peace operations, and highlights that the overall number of women among personnel had been steadily increasing across all the missions led by the UN, EU, or the Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE). However, it remains low mainly due to the overall shortage of women among police and military officers at the national level, which has led to a lack of women officers at the international level.

6.6. ARMS MANUFACTURERS

This year, the #SHEcurity Index has investigated the boards of arms manufacturers in Germany, France, the United Kingdom, and the United States based on data provided by the AllBright Foundation. Comparing data from 2020 and 2022[13], women's representation on boards has increased overall across all four countries. The largest increase in women's board representation was in Germany, with an increase of 7,7 percentage points (5,8% in 2020; 13,5% in 2022), followed by the United Kingdom, with an of 7,4 percentage points (12,3% in 2020, 19,7% in 2022) and France with an increase of 6,3 percentage points (11,3% in 2020, 17,5% in 2022). The smallest change was in the United States, where women's board representation is the highest but only increased by 2,4 percentage points in 2022 (23% in 2020, 25,4% in 2022).

7. #SHEcurity+

The #SHEcurity Index focuses on the quantitative analysis of women's representation, but this does not provide a full picture of women's inclusion and participation in foreign and security policy. An increase in women's representation does not automatically lead to overall progress towards gender equality or the representation of marginalised groups. For instance, how many women of colour are amongst the women working as ambassadors? Are members of the LGBTQI+ community represented in the military at all? Numbers alone also tell us very little about the specific political contexts nor fully represent women's lived experiences working in peace and security. For example, is an increase in representation due to a quota or organic change? Do women represent local movements, or are they sent to represent elite groups? Are they able to drive impact or change, or do social norms act as barriers to their full participation? These are all valid questions that cannot be answered by looking at the numbers alone.

In last year's edition, illustrating the importance of applying an intersectional lens to analysing representation in peace and security, #SHEcurity+ focused on the underrepresentation of marginalised groups, namely LGBTQI+ individuals and people of colour, and the barriers to their equal participation and inclusion in foreign and security policy. In this edition, the analysis focuses on women's experiences working in peace and security within civil society and beyond in the Global South.

> This section spotlights women's experiences working in peace and security across Asia, Latin America, the Middle East, North Africa, and Sub-Saharan Africa. These regions are often reduced to be sites of policy implementation within the WPS agenda and NAPs rather than places of local expertise and best practices to learn from.

The section presents analysis from the Kubernein Initiative and Women in Security Conflict Management and Peace for Asia; Women in International Security (WIIS Global) for Latin America; Arab Reform Initiative for the Middle East and North Africa; and Women's International Peace Centre for Sub-Saharan Africa, based on their perspectives and experiences in implementing the WPS agenda in their region.

7.1. SPOTLIGHT: ASIA

Written by: Priyanka Bhide, Co-founder and Director, Kubernein Initiative.

Kubernein Initiative is an independent geopolitical advisory firm based in India, working to mainstream issues that need greater intellectual capacity and focus, such as Inclusive Indian Foreign Policy, Urban Resilience, and Water and Climate Security.

Reality Check

In the case of several countries that make up the geographic region of Asia, human security is at the heart of traditional concerns of society. In Asia's vast and varied landscape, women's vulnerabilities arise from conflict, natural disasters, economic bottlenecks, and social contexts, among other factors. The degree of restrictions women face in the region's countries varies greatly. As a result, for governments and civil society, the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) and SDG frameworks are often as relevant (and at times more relevant than) as the WPS agenda and subsequent country-specific NAPs.

Best Practices

a) Political and Public Institutions Representation

Several countries within Asia have seen an increase in the representation of women in various spheres, including political leadership. While in the case of Bangladesh and India (especially at the local governance level), this often translates into greater agency and decision-making power, there are countries such as Nepal, where the results have been mixed, and Afghanistan, where any gains have been fully reversed by the Taliban's recent violent takeover of power.

Nepal, the first country in South Asia to develop a NAP in 2011, witnessed significant progress even before its adoption. For ex-

ample, the Constituent Assembly was structured on a system of gender quotas (32.77% of the total membership) to ensure greater representation of women. Even today, women represent 32.7% of the national parliament, a proportional representation system. Only 3.6% of directly elected members of the national parliament are women.[15] The inherent patriarchal norms embedded in Nepalese society also remain unaddressed.[16] For example, women in Nepal do not have the right to pass citizenship on to their children or spouses; only Nepalese men enjoy this right.[17]

Despite not having a NAP until recently, India is well-known for sending all-women peacekeeping missions to Liberia and the Democratic Republic of the Congo. It is one of the few countries in the world that has had women in high levels of political leadership, including a Prime Minister and Ministers of Defence and External Affairs. Women have also been at the helm of diplomatic missions as Foreign Secretaries and Ambassadors to nations that are strategic partners. 21.6% of Foreign Service Officers are women, and approximately 16 women serve as Heads of Missions.[18] While this number seems small given its size, India has come a long way from when women faced grave discrimination in the services and were often compelled to leave for several reasons, including marriage. However, prejudices remain in the roles available to women within bureaucracy. Women in politics also face greater public scrutiny and often hostility: an Amnesty report from 2020 shows that 1 in 5 tweets directed at women politicians in India is abusive.[19]

Bangladesh has also seen more women represented in public and political spheres. However, issues persist; as Shafqat Munir writes in an essay for South Asian Voices on Bangladesh where, "Among 25 cabinet ministers, there is only one woman apart from the Prime Minister herself, and as of the 2018 elections, women only occupied 22 of the 300 contested seats" – even though Bangladesh has had 50 reserved seats for women in parliament since 2011.

b) Economic security

Economic empowerment and security are closely intertwined in countries such as India and Bangladesh, and poverty heightens women's vulnerability in many areas, for example, health. Understanding these interconnections requires unpacking the complex realities of women's lives.

Much of the work on women's 'empowerment' in the region has focused on economic aspects within their roles as primary caregivers and in traditional family structures.

As a result, South Asia's female labour participation rate increased by 10% from 2003 to 2016.[20] This includes the agricultural sector, where over 70% of women are smallholder farmers.[21] Progress has been made on several socio-economic indicators, and there has been an improvement in the overall conditions for women and the marginalised groups when tracked over time in some countries. In India, for example, there has been an increase in the number of women having access to and using bank accounts.[22] However, women are not often a part of decision-making processes, and countries committing to international gender targets in the region are falling far behind the curve. According to the Global Gender Gap Report 2022, East Asia and the Pacific will take 168 years to close the gap, and South Asia, with the lowest performance, will take 197 years to close the gender gap.[23]

c) WPS Agenda

Achieving transformational change requires a process rooted in a country's socio-cultural realities. In Afghanistan, for example, such change has not taken place. However, it was the 2nd country to adopt a NAP (in 2015), which was developed with external support from agencies and countries committed to furthering women's rights in a country after decades of war. While the NAP followed a consultation process, there has been criticism that those consulted were not representative of all women and men in Afghan society. As a result, the varying needs for 'security' for women from urban or rural backgrounds were not considered. The work did improve women's participation in public and political spheres, but all progress has now been undone by the Taliban takeover – a government that reflects the far extreme of the patriarchal spectrum.

The case of Afghanistan differs from Bangladesh, where the NAP resulted from a consultation process supported by UN Women and Bangladesh Nari Progati Sangha (BNPS). In Nepal, exten-

sive consultations were held at the local level to ensure inclusion and local ownership.

The implementing agency also plays a pivotal role in determining the success of the NAPs. In most countries, the WPS agenda and NAP adoption process is within the remit of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, supported by civil society (several that are international by nature) and multilateral institutions. This mechanism tends to be more externally driven rather than homegrown, which adds to its fragility.

Further, in a region where most government institutions are patriarchal, experiencing ongoing conflict, climate disasters, or external aggression from other state or non-state actors, the default response is state-centric and not human security directed. The challenge is to find the balance to allow for a path forward. How does one frame policy that works around this tension, keeping changing world order in focus? How do you ensure the gains do not get lost in the long run?

Conclusion and Recommendations

From a regional perspective, the concept of security in Asia is not a monolithic, homogeneous idea. It needs to be considered from a more nuanced perspective of how security affects and is experienced by citizens, not only through a militarised or state-centric lens. The ubiquity of structural violence, as a consistent presence in several Asian societies, adds a layer of complexity to analysing women's need for peace and security in a region of extreme diversity. Progress towards peace, therefore, is not a linear progression. It involves a continuous negotiation between citizens and states and is always a work in progress.

Written by: Ana Velasco Ugalde, Fellow, Women In Internation Security (WIIS Global) and co-founder of Internacional Feminista & Dr Diorella Islas Limiñana, Fellow, Women In International Security (WIIS Global).

Women In International Security (WIIS) is the premier organization in the world dedicated to advancing women's leadership and professional development in international peace and security. WIIS's project Enhancing Security in Latin America and the Caribbean examines to what extent the WPS agenda, and more generally, the principles of gender equality, have been integrated into the security sector in the region.

Internacional Feminista is a civil society platform that promotes critical, multilingual dialogues about feminism, foreign policy, international security, and diplomacy in Mexico and Latin America.

Reality Check

Latin America is a region where real advancement in implementing the WPS agenda remains elusive.

> There are many reasons for the region's countries' low engagement with the WPS agenda. Among them is a prevailing assumption that it is only meant for war-torn countries and not applicable to the Latin American context.

The region is frequently regarded as a "zone of peace" due to the rarity of traditional armed conflicts between neighbouring countries.[24] However, this view minimises, even ignores, the internal violence in most countries[25] and obscures the experiences of countries like Colombia, which has historically dealt with multiple insurgencies.

This traditional conceptualization of insecurity also clashes with women's everyday experiences. The latest report of the Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean Observatory for Gender Equality stated that 60-76% of women experienced gender-based violence. In 2020 alone, more than 4,576 women across Latin America were victims of femicide.[26] It is hard to argue that women facing these dangers live in peace.

Best practices

a) WPS Agenda

Despite these challenges, engagement with the WPS agenda in the region remains restricted to diplomatic, military, and academic elites, susceptible to co-optation and oblivious to the needs of local women.[27] Only 7 countries – Chile, Argentina, Paraguay, Brazil, El Salvador, Guatemala, and Mexico have published NAPs, most of which focus on the WPS agenda's external manifestations with little adaption for local women's experiences and needs.[28]

For example, having published its first NAP in January 2020, Mexico replicates a regional trend, focusing its efforts externally on peacekeeping missions and the multilateral diplomatic sphere. Yet, the Mexican NAP significantly contributes to the overall debate and promotes the creation of networks of women peacebuilders within its goals.[29] As the Mexican government finally recognises,[30] thousands of women organise themselves daily to solve the difficulties that daily life imposes on them. This includes the struggle for water and essential services, access to justice, land ownership and the defence of natural resources. As such, women have indisputable social and community leadership.

b) Peace Processes

Women are particularly eager to engage in peace processes because they are the ones who bear the greatest weight of the social decomposition that generates violence. In individual or collective efforts, it is women who pressure authorities to end femicides and lead searches for missing daughters and sons. This happened decades ago when the Mothers of the Plaza de Mayo protested against the abduction of their children, and it continues today in other corners of the region.

In 2019, to recognise and promote the participation of women in the processes of peacebuilding and conflict resolution in communities, the National Institute for Women (INMUJERES) and the Executive Secretariat of the National Public Security System (SESNSP) began the implementation of the Networks of Peacebuilding Women: the MUCPAZ. This bottom-up approach aims to strengthen the capacities of the women members of the net-

works; foster interactions and neighbourhood links that make it possible to build support networks; increase the capacity for dialogue with the various authorities and security forces; strengthen protocols for attention to violence; and, overall, enhance social cohesion. Since 2021, at least 217 networks have been launched throughout the country.[31]

Relevant efforts can also be found across the region. Argentina, which has a long history of embracing WPS, relies on a Federal Network of Mediators that developed from a joint initiative of the Argentine Foreign Ministry and the Ministry of Justice and Human Rights. It comprises 49 mediators from all the provinces of the country who have been trained in mediation with a gender perspective and have been introduced to the mediation approach in international conflicts and peace processes.[32]

Two examples of the power of these networks are the cases of Guatemala and Colombia. In Guatemala, the grandmothers in the Sepur Zarco Case successfully lobbied for the conviction of two former soldiers for crimes against humanity and granted 18 measures of reparation for survivors and their communities for systematic violations in the form of sexual slavery and domestic violence during the internal armed conflict.[33] In Colombia, the outstanding efforts of Colombian feminists succeeded in incorporating a gender perspective in the peace agreements, thus incorporating the principles of UNSCR 1325.[34]

Other countries that have developed networks of peacebuilders are Brazil, Chile, Paraguay, and Uruguay. These countries are working together to form a regional network of mediators from the Southern Cone, including Argentina. On a similar path, Mexico is promoting the creation of the Ibero-American Network of Women Mediators. If materialised, the network would be introduced during the XXVIII Ibero-American Summit in November 2022 in Santo Domingo, Dominican Republic.[35]

Conclusion and Recommendations

The WPS agenda will be more successful in Latin America if local activists and grassroots organisations see their goals reflected in its implementation. If the insecurities that Latin American women face are region-specific, then the implementation of the WPS

agenda and NAPs should also be region-specific, working with the regional institutions and local organisations that lead the response and prevention of violence. Latin American women were peacebuilders long before the UNSCR 1325, and governments and international organisations must recognise and support them in building upon those foundations.

Written by: Dr. Carmen Geha, Non-Resident Senior Fellow, Arab Reform Initiative & Maria Zambrano Fellow in Migration Studies, Pompeu Fabra University

The Arab Reform Initiative is an independent Arab think tank working with expert partners in the Middle East, North Africa, and beyond to articulate a homegrown agenda for democratic change. It conducts research and policy analysis and provides a platform for inspirational voices based on diversity, impartiality, gender equality and social justice principles.

Reality Check

The Middle East and North Africa (MENA) region is a very difficult place to be a woman. It ranks the lowest worldwide on women's economic and political participation indices.[36] Protracted conflicts, rampant corruption, democratic deficits, and discriminatory legislation are why women are still not treated equally to men in many parts of the region. Women across the region suffer from policies, laws, and practices that discriminate against them in their private and public lives. In situations of violent conflict, this discrimination is exacerbated by threats that women face. Compared to recent history, more women are being trafficked, killed, exploited, and married as children in the region, especially in countries of protracted conflict like Syria, Yemen, and Iraq.[37]

Women in the Arab MENA region have organized collective movements, local initiatives, movements, and transnational networks for decades.[38] Their voices remain unheeded by most regional governments, and their efforts are curtailed by formal and informal policies that lead to systemic discrimination. Women are absent from the decision-making circles that affect their lives and well-being. Alongside a history of mobilization by feminist movements, over the years, local governments, UN agencies, and international donors have exerted efforts to 'empower women' as a societal segment to overcome deeply entrenched discriminatory policies and practices. These 'empowerment' initiatives tend to have three things in common: i) they take women aside to build their capacity and undergo training, placing the burden of change on their shoulders. In reality, this is not always helpful.[39] It is not that women lack the skills holding them back but that the policies

and practices are violent and discriminating; ii) they train women to enter politics through elections without addressing the challenges and structural obstacles within the electoral systems.[40]

Across the region, governments and international organisations tend to deliver programs that empower women without addressing the structures that disempower and discriminate against women.

Without political will at the highest levels for women's rights, this 'empowerment' narrative often tends to be disempowering, as it raises expectations and levels of awareness without contributing to opening the public sphere to make it safe and inclusive for women from different backgrounds. There are also numerous examples where authorities have used references to women's rights as a window-dressing exercise to receive international recognition and/or access to funding without any interest in implementing changes to the structural obstacles that threaten the lives and well-being of women across the MENA. We cannot expect donor programs or top-down government initiatives to empower women to stand up against tyranny, economic crises, and systemic violence. What we can expect, though and advocate for is that governments and decision-makers begin to make headway in removing the obstacles that stand in the way of real women empowerment and meaningful representation. In what follows, we detail this framework in relation to three areas of women's political representation in various governance institutions.

Our first and foremost recommendation is that stakeholders begin to document gender-disaggregated data and integrate qualitative data from interviews with women to devise strategies for institutions within a national context.

Best Practices

a) Multi-stakeholder Mobilisation and Networks

One example of multi-stakeholder mobilisation that has worked and delivered in passing was Lebanon's first anti-sexual harassment legislation with actors from the American University of Beirut (AUB) with businesses, government agencies, parliamentary committees, and feminist activists.[41]

Transnational support networks also strengthen local initiatives/provide visibility. Supporting Arab Women on the Table (SAWT)[42], led by the Arab Reform Initiative (ARI), is helping create transnational networks of activists from civil society, academia, legal practice, and business to advocate for an inclusive peace and security agenda to challenge state hegemony. Another example is the Euro-Mediterranean Women's Foundation's networks, which are bringing together all gender equality actors in the Euro-Mediterranean space.

Lastly, there is a role for social media, as in the case of #Enazeda in Tunisia, a grassroots online movement against sexual harassment, which helped lift parliamentary immunity for the Deputy Speaker who was involved in sexual misconduct of criminal nature in front of a school and push parliament to act against several harassers.

b) Democratic Processes

We need democratic institutions accountable to the public for women to advance an inclusive peace and security agenda. Without this, states will continue monopolising the agenda, narrative, and policies in relation to peace and security. Democratic elections are an important tool in enabling women to be formally represented and for women's rights to emerge onto the agenda of peace and security. New political parties and platforms have been one of the best practices for this. New parties and coalitions are emerging after mass uprisings in Iraq, Lebanon, Tunisia, and Libya to improve representation and push gender issues onto the national agenda.[43]

From the Supreme Council for Women in Bahrain to the Shura Council in Saudi Arabia, more women are represented in high-level positions, and electoral quotas in Tunisia and Libya have also worked to improve the nominal representation of women. More women are active in unions and alternative unions in Lebanon, for example, to take on a leadership role focused on labour rights and economic inequalities.

c) WPS Agenda

Even though the region is overwhelmed by conflict and occupation, women continue to lead efforts related to peace and security.

At the local and grassroots levels in the MENA region, women managed to influence policy, peace processes and transitional justice through civil society, either at the community level or the international level, but with serious omissions at the national level. Despite legal challenges to the rights and empowerment of women and girls in the MENA region, National Women's Machineries (NWMs) have steadily and continuously improved women's rights. NWMs are devoted to women's issues or issues facing families and are commonplace and centralised institutions to support women's empowerment projects and mainstream gender into the government. Many of them have supported the development of national gender equality and gender mainstreaming action plans.[44]

Some NWMs have designated gender focal points in other ministries, as in the case of the State of Palestine, where the Ministry of Women's Affairs has supported the development of gender units within 18 other ministries. In Tunisia, Governmental Order 626 for 2016 established a Council of Peers to work with the Ministry of Women, Family, Childhood and Elderly on a specific mandate for 'Mainstreaming gender equality in planning, programming, evaluation and budgeting to eliminate all forms of discrimination between men and women and ensure equality in rights and duties.' In Lebanon, some ministries have entire gender units; in Jordan, gender teams have been integrated into select ministries. Jordan, Lebanon, and Libya have also supported the development of gender committees in parliament. In Yemen, in the north, the Women's National Committee includes specialists from various governmental and non-governmental organisations who provide consultation and support to gender mainstreaming.[45]

d) Peacebuilding processes

Women have been underrepresented in most formal negotiations to resolve the region's three largest ongoing wars in Libya, Syria, and Yemen. Nevertheless, women have continued peacebuilding efforts through civil society and grassroots organisations. In May 2020, over 90 MENA region women's civil society organisations joined the UN Secretary-General in calling for a global ceasefire to address the COVID-19 pandemic.[46]

Another example could be the Libyan Women's Network for Peacebuilding (Network), created with support from UN Women in July 2019, which has been convening virtually to press for a ceasefire, advocate for imprisoned activists, and condemn violence against women in politics. Additionally, in 2017, Syrian women opposition politicians and activists formed the Syrian Women Political Movement to develop a shared vision for an inclusive peace process.[47]

Lastly, in Yemen, for example, a women-led civil society organisation, the Abductees' Mothers Association, helped to facilitate the largest prisoner exchange of the Yemen war in 2020.[48] Moreover, the Peace Track Initiative (PTI) in Yemen has introduced a protection program for women/LGBTQI+ human rights defenders and peacebuilders, aiming to provide these women with emergency protection guarantees and ease increasing accessibility to international accountability mechanisms. PTI was able to connect women, and survivors of conflict with international accountability mechanisms in Yemen, resulting in improved documentation of sexual and gender-based violence and consequently led to the inclusion of sexual and gender-based violence as a crime in the sanction list imposed on Yemeni perpetrators.[49] Yet, women rarely make it to formal decision-making tables, remaining locked into earlier stages of the negotiations.

Conclusion and Recommendations

There are two main challenges to truly inclusive peace and security. The first concerns representation and the second concerns the content and subject of discussions and negotiations.

> An inclusive peace and security agenda must go beyond numbers to develop a reliable approach for who and what is included and who is served by peace and security institutions.

Across the region, participation is often limited to women elites who have the approval of top political officials to participate in this agenda. This is difficult in a conflict where military and para-military groups do not pay attention to inequalities and violent policies against women, with some women bearing a greater burden than others. Women nationals who are high-ranking or close to high-ranking officers often get called in to sit on meetings or a national committee, leaving behind the more marginalised groups of women, including migrants and refugees. At the

current juncture the region is experiencing, it is possible to mobilize diverse stakeholders towards an inclusive peace and security agenda and platform. To that, we must take stock of both successful and unsuccessful initiatives. For the latter, it is important not to focus on the women in the region but on the current obstacles presented by structures of representation and claim-making.

7.4. SPOTLIGHT: SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA

Written by: Helen Kezie-Nwoha, Executive Director, Women's International Peace Centre & Latifah Namutebi, Research Assistant, Women's International Peace Centre.

Women's International Peace Centre works with partners in conflict-affected settings and with regional institutions in Africa and Asia to ensure that women contribute to peacebuilding processes and results and transform these spaces to be more gender inclusive and gender-responsive.

Reality Check

Sub-Saharan Africa has shown commitment toward implementing UNSCR 1325 through developing NAPs. The Continent has the highest number of countries with WPS NAPs.

Best Practices

a) Political and Public Institutions Representation

The African Union (AU) has promoted the WPS agenda through several legal frameworks, including Aspiration 6 of Agenda 2063, the Solemn Declaration on Gender Equality in Africa (2004), the Protocol to the African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights on the Rights of Women in Africa (2003), and the AU regional Strategy for Gender Equality and Women's Empowerment (2018-2028).

> Following the implementation of these frameworks, a significant number of countries in the African region have put in place laws and policies, such as affirmative action policies, that have brought about a significant increase for women in the political terrain. Political will and respect for laws and policies play a role in advancing gender equality, particularly regarding political appointments.

As a result, some countries have seen dramatic increases in their share of women ministers in 2021. The "Women in politics: 2021" map, created by the Inter-Parliamentary Union (IPU) and UN Women, shows all-time highs for the number of countries with women Heads of State or Heads of Government, as well as

for the global share of women ministers.[50] Women's appointment to foreign policy roles in their home countries is a key strategy to ensure greater participation in international politics.

Despite the existence of normative frameworks that call for women's participation in all aspects of development, including in foreign ministries, commitment towards this goal remains low.[51] African leaders continue to apply hegemonic masculinity and undermine women's capacities to lead and, therefore, their capacity to lead foreign ministries. It must be noted that diplomatic appointments are usually made by the Heads of State and are often based on their perception of one's loyalty to the leader in question or the ruling political party.[52] Judgment based on perception instead of qualification and experience is usually skewed toward men who are more politically active, outspoken and therefore considered superior.

At the regional level, action has been taken to promote women's leadership. In July 2002, African Heads of State unanimously adopted a gender parity principle, bringing the 50-50 policy into the Statutes of the African Union. The parity principle has ensured a gender balance of five male and five female commissioners in the African Union Commission by 2020. Similarly, in 2017, the African Women Leaders Network (AWLN) was launched – a groundbreaking movement of African women leaders that aims to enhance women's leadership in Africa's transformation in line with the African Agenda 2063 and the global Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs). The AWLN is co-convened under the leadership of the AU and UN. AWLN mobilizes African women for gender equality and women's empowerment by building on and working with existing women's networks to facilitate spaces for exchange at global, regional, and national levels, such as solidarity visits, intergenerational dialogues, and high-level briefings. UN Women and the Office of the Special Envoy on Women, Peace and Security are leading the implementation of AWLN. Since its launch, AWLN has established about 30 national chapters.

b) Peace Practices

Despite the progress in a few African countries, women's participation in peace processes and conflict resolution efforts remain relatively low. This signifies the existence of structural challenges that cause barriers to women's participation in peace processes. In order to increase the number of women in negotiations and peace processes, the African Union in 2017 established the Network of African Women in Conflict Prevention and Mediation (FemWise-Africa). FemWise-Africa has vigorously mobilised women and girls from all over the continent and diaspora to promote and professionalise the role of African women in mediation processes, conflict prevention, and peace-making efforts.

African women have been active in peacebuilding operations and institutions with varying degrees of success. While the numbers have increased, as seen in the increased number of women deployed by Ethiopia, South Africa and Ghana to peace operations, the numbers remain low compared to men. Although there has been some involvement, women are still not equally represented in the security sector in Africa. Considering that women bear the brunt of conflict impact through increased violence and unpaid care work, their equal representation and participation are essential as it guarantees that their needs and voices are not excluded from crisis prevention and response.

c) WPS Agenda

Thirty of the 98 countries that developed NAPs on UNSCR 1325 are in Sub-Saharan Africa. Despite the high number of NAPs, its implementation has focused more on developing policies. In addition, most NAPs are usually under-resourced. The appointment of a Special Envoy on WPS to the African Union Commission to increase the focus on WPS can be attributed to the number of NAPs. In 2018, the Office of the Special Envoy on WPS developed the Continental Result Framework (CRF) for monitoring and reporting on the WPS agenda in Africa to address the gap of lack of a mechanism to monitor and hold States accountable. With the CRF in place, many African countries must develop the NAP to report.

The engagement of various stakeholders recognizes that the issues of the WPS agenda cut across various social, economic, and political arenas, which require the support of ministries, institutions, and agencies to ensure women's needs are addressed in the various fields of development. A good practice coming from the development of NAPs is that most have adopted inclusive

processes involving key stakeholders that contribute to fulfilling the objectives of the WPS agenda, with support from UN Women and other development partners. In Uganda, for example, the latest NAP was developed by the Ministry of Gender, Labour, and Social Development in collaboration with Government ministries, departments, agencies, NGOs, and Cultural and Religious institutions. Another good practice is that some of the NAPs include an allocated budget for implementation, reference specific actions towards disarmament and supporting refugees, and allocate specific roles to civil society organisations for implementation.

Enhancing the monitoring and reporting framework led to a significant increase in Regional Economic Communities (RECs) developing regional action plans (RAPs). Regional bodies like the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), Southern African Development Community (SADC), International Conference of the Great Lakes Region (ICGLR) and Economic Community of Central African States (ECCAS) have also developed Regional Action Plans (RAP) on Women, Peace and Security.

The development of NAPs does not only show political will towards the WPS Agenda in Africa. Still, it has also caused tremendous strides that include affirmative action laws and policies, laws that protect women and girls from violence.

For example, the Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD) developed a RAP that supports tackling violence against women and girls, increasing the number of women at the negotiating table and supporting gender-inclusive peace processes. This has resulted in an increased number of women in the South Sudan peace process led by IGAD.

Several African countries have supplemented their NAP implementation with development partners and civil society funding. In addition, there have been strides made with gender-responsive budgeting. Some countries like Ghana, Kenya, and Uganda that did not develop budgets for implementing their first-generation NAPs could effectively plan and allocate resources per priority areas in their second or third-generation NAPs. Additionally, through a multi-sectoral approach to NAP implementation, countries mobilise or pool together funding for NAP implementation.

Women's rights organisations that contribute to NAP implementation have been able to fundraise from within and outside the countries where they are based. For example, the Women's International Peace Centre, whose strategic objectives align with the NAPs in Uganda, South Sudan, Burundi, and the Democratic Republic of Congo, has been able to fundraise to promote the implementation of NAPs in these countries.

Conclusion and Recommendations

In conclusion, while Africa has been heralded for several good practices toward the implementation of the WPS, African governments must still do more to ensure specific budgets are provided not only for the implementation of NAPs but also for the implementation of policies and laws that will benefit and improve the quality of life of women and girls.

8. CONCLUSION

Women's full and equal participation and representation is the central idea behind the WPS agenda. Yet, as this year's #SHEcurity Index shows again, we are still very far from achieving that. Things are progressing (too) slowly, and it will take decades, if not centuries, to reach gender parity unless we speed things up. This should be an encouragement to governments, international organisations, non-governmental organisations, civil society, and all those who care to act decisively to increase women's full and meaningful participation and full involvement in all efforts to maintain and promote peace and security. As showcased in #SHEcurity+: where there is a political will, it is possible to achieve progress no matter the external factors and context. Based on the spotlights provided by co-authors of the #SHEcurity+ subchapters, we highlighted several important points that contribute to the progress of the WPS agenda and overall inclusive peace and security:

1. True inclusion in peace and security emanates from who represents, as well as who and what is reflected and discussed in the agenda. Peace and security can no longer be understood and ensured solely through institutional actors. The #SHEcurity+ spotlights showcase how the WPS agenda can significantly benefit when grassroots organisations and local activists are included and considered throughout the whole process, from the design to the implementation of activities. Such organisations provide channels and means to include women and marginalised groups to engage in the peace and security agenda if they were formally excluded.

2. We should be building upon the foundations and existing experiences that communities at local, regional, and national levels have already created. There are giants on whose broad shoulders we can stand. Women were engaged in peacebuilding before UNSCR 1325 – this experience and knowledge should be recognised and considered in the WPS agenda. On top of this, through enabling and supporting these local and grassroots communities, we all together create a more inclusive peace and security that works for everyone. The instruments are already in place. Now we need a political will to truly implement the agenda.

3. Cooperation between governments and civil society in implementing the WPS agenda is important. However, this cooperation also should be reflected in resource allocation, capacity building, access to information, and funding. There is also a need to ensure progress in policies and legislation that benefit and improve the quality of life of women and marginalised groups. WPS agenda implementation starts at home by abolishing legislation and discriminatory norms and creating favourable conditions for the true inclusion of those groups.

4. Finally, peace and security should be considered from a holistic, intersectional perspective and understood locally, not primarily through military or state-centric prisms. The progress toward inclusive peace and security is not linear but lies through constant cooperation and engagement between governments and citizens locally, regionally, and globally.

To conclude, increasing the nominal representation of women is important. Still, for sustainable peace and security, we need an approach that focuses on meaningful inclusion and trustworthy connections built across and between different actors within society.

9. ACRONYMS

· ARI	Arab Reform Initiative
· AU	African Union
· AWLN	African Women Leaders Network
· BNPS	Bangladesh Nari Progati Sangha
· CEDAW	Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women
· CSDP	Common Security and Defence Policy
· ECCAS	Economic Community of Central African States
· ECOWAS	Economic Community of West African States
· EEAS	European External Action Service
· EU	European Union
· EUTM Mozambique	European Union Training Mission Mozambique
· FemWise-Africa	Network of African Women in Conflict Prevention and Mediation
· ICGLR	International Conference of the Great Lakes Region
· INMUJERES	National Institute for Women
· IPU	Inter-Parliamentary Union
· LQBTIQ+	Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Trans, Intersex and Queer
· MENA	Middle East and North Africa
· MFA staff	Foreign affairs ministry staff
· NAP	National Action Plan
· NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organisation
· NWM	National Women's Machinery
· OSCE	Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe
· PTI	The Peace Track Initiative
· RAP	Regional Action Plan
· REC	Regional Economic Community
· SADC	Southern African Development Community
· SAWT	Supporting Arab Women on the Table
· SDG	Sustainable Development Goal
· SESNSP	Executive Secretariat of the National Public Security System
· SIPRI	Stockholm International Peace Research Institute
· UN	United Nations
· UNSCR 1325	United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325
· WIIS	Women In International Security
· WISCOMP	Women in Security, Conflict Management and Peace
· WPS	Women Peace and Security

10. NOTES

1 Arms manufacturers section was first integrated in 2020 and is included this year thanks to the support of the AllBright Foundation.
2 This is not the case for data on women's representation in national parliaments provided by IPU, which confirms that it is possible to ensure thorough monitoring and accessibility of such data.
3 "Sustainable Development Goal indicators should be disaggregated, where relevant, by income, sex, age, race, ethnicity, migratory status, disability and geographic location, or other characteristics"
4 UN Women (2017), Facts and figures: Humanitarian action. Available: https://www.unwomen.org/en/what-we-do/humanitarian-action/facts-and-figures#notes [Accessed 19 September 2022]
5 Bougainville is an autonomous region of Papa New Guinea and not a state. A document was published in 2016 that refers to the WPS agenda, but strictly speaking, it cannot be considered a NAP. This is because the indicators that #SHEcurity index has developed are not relevant for an autonomous region (such as parliament, ministries, national army, or police).
6 If the average increase during the years is negative or equals zero – the forecast indicator cannot be calculated.
7 With the exception of regional averages presented by IPU, which collects data on women's representation in all countries across the world.
8 International IDEA (2022) Gender Quotas Database: Mexico. Available: https://www.idea.int/data-tools/data/gender-quotas/country-view/220/35 [Accessed 25 August 2022]
9 NATO (2021) NATO International Military Staff marks International Women's Day. Available: https://www.nato.int/cps/en/natohq/news_182009.htm?selectedLocale=en [Accessed: 18 September 2022]
10 Calculations on years until parity is explained in the Methodology Section.
11 Calculations on years until parity is explained in the Methodology Section.
12 SIPRI (2021) „Women in Multilateral Peace Operations in 2021: What is the State of Play?". Available: https://www.sipri.org/sites/default/files/2021-10/women_in_multilateral_peace_operations_in_2021-what_is_the_state_of_play.pdf [Accessed 25 August 2022]
13 Data for Arms Manufacturers is exceptionally provided for 2022 as it was not collected for 2021.
14 WISCOMP (Women in Security, Conflict Management and Peace) is a pioneering peacebuilding, praxis and research initiative in South Asia. Established in 1999, it foregrounds women's leadership in the areas of peace and security and promotes cultures of pluralism and coexistence in the region.
15 The WIRE (2018) "On Gender and Social Inclusion, Nepal's Politics Has a Long Way to Go", Available: https://thewire.in/south-asia/nepal-politics-gender-social-inclusion [Accessed 19 September 2022]
16 UN Women (2015). Preventing Conflict Transforming Justice Securing the Peace. Available: https://wps.unwomen.org/pdf/en/GlobalStudy_EN_Web.pdf [Accessed 19 September 2022]
17 South Asian Voices (2021). Nepal and a Feminist Foreign Policy. Available: https://southasianvoices.org/nepal-and-a-feminist-foreign-policy/ [Accessed 19 September 2022]
18 Kubernein Initiative (2022). Opportunities for a more Inclusive Indian Foreign Policy. Available: https://kuberneininitiative.com/wp-content/uploads/2022/04/Opportunities-for-a-more-Inclusive-Indian-Foreign-Policy.pdf [Accessed 19 September 2022]
19 Amnesty International UK (2020). India: Women politicians face shocking scale of abuse on Twitter – new research. Available: https://www.amnesty.org.uk/press-releases/india-women-politicians-face-shocking-scale-abuse-twitter-new-research [Accessed 19 September 2022]
20 World Bank Blogs (2021). Bangladeshi women are rising-onwards and upwards! Available: https://blogs.worldbank.org/endpovertyinsouthasia/bangladeshi-women-are-rising-onwards-and-upwards [Accessed 19 September 2022]
21 Ibid.
22 Down to Earth (2021). What does NFHS-5 data tell us about state of women empowerment in India. Available: https://www.downtoearth.org.in/blog/economy/what-does-nfhs-5-data-tell-us-about-state-of-women-empowerment-in-india-80920 [Accessed 19 September 2022]
23 World Economic Forum (2022). Global Gender Gap Report 2022. Available: https://www3.weforum.org/docs/WEF_GGGR_2022.pdf [Accessed 19 September 2022]
24 Arie M. Kacowicz (1998). América Latina en el mundo: globalización, regionalización y fragmentación. Available: https://static.nuso.org/media/articles/downloads/3513_1.pdf [Accessed 19 September 2022]
25 Paula Drumond et. al. (2022). BPC Policy Brief: Mapeando a agenda "Mulheres, Paz e Segurança" na América Latina: uma comparação dos Planos Nacionais de Ação da ONU. Available: https://bricspolicycenter.org/wp-content/uploads/2022/05/PB_V12N4_GSUM_Mapeando_agenda-Mulheres_Paz_Seguranca_America_Latina_Planos_Nacionais_Acao_ONU.pdf [Accessed 19 September 2022]
26 Observatorio de Igualdad de Género de América Latina y el Caribe (2021). Available: https://oig.cepal.org/es [Accessed 19 September 2022]
27 Paula Drumond et. al. (2022). BPC Policy Brief: Mapeando a agenda "Mulheres, Paz e Segurança" na América Latina: uma comparação dos Planos Nacionais de Ação da ONU. Available: https://bricspolicycenter.org/wp-content/uploads/2022/05/PB_V12N4_GSUM_Mapeando_agenda-Mulheres_Paz_Seguranca_America_Latina_Planos_Nacionais_Acao_ONU.pdf [Accessed 19 September 2022]
28 Paula Drumond & Tamya Rebelo (2020). Global pathways or local spins? National Action Plans in South America. Available: https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/14616742.2020.1783339 [Accessed 19 September 2022]
29 Daniela Philipson García and Ana Velasco Ugalde (2021). Mexico's First Women, Peace and Security National Action Plan: An Assessment. Available: https://wiisglobal.org/wp-content/uploads/2021/06/Philipson-and-Velasco-Mexico-Nap-June-2021.pdf [Accessed 19 September 2022]
30 Gobierno de Mexico (2021). Mucpaz. Redes de Mujeres Constructoras de Paz. Available: https://www.gob.mx/inmujeres/acciones-y-programas/red-de-mujeres-constructoras-de-paz-mucpaz [Accessed 19 September 2022]
31 Ibid.
32 Ministerio de Relaciones Exteriores, Comercio Internacional y Culto Argentina (2020). Primer Encuentro de la Red Federal de Mediadoras con Perspectiva de Género y la Red de Mediadoras Noruegas. Available: https://www.cancilleria.gob.ar/es/actualidad/noticias/primer-encuentro-de-la-red-federal-de-mediadoras-con-perspectiva-de-genero-y-la [Accessed 19 September 2022]
33 UN Women (2018). El caso Sepur Zarco: las mujeres guatemaltecas que exigieron justicia en una nación destrozada por la Guerra. Available: https://www.unwomen.org/es/news/stories/2018/10/feature-sepur-zarco-case#:~:text=En%202011%2C%2015%20mujeres%5B4,socios%20de%20las%20Naciones%20Unidas [Accessed 19 September 2022]
34 Anabel Garrido Ortolá (2021). El papel de las mujeres en los acuerdos de paz en Colombia: la agenda internacional. Available: https://revistas.ucm.es/index.php/POSO/article/view/60270 [Accessed 19 September 2022]
35 Gobierno de Mexico (2022). Trazando el camino para la consolidación de la Red Iberoamericana de Mujeres Mediadoras. Available: https://www.gob.mx/inmujeres/es/articulos/trazando-el-camino-para-la-consolidacion-de-la-red-iberoamericana-de-mujeres-mediadoras?idiom=es [Accessed 19 September 2022]
36 See for instance: The Arab Barometer, the Knowledge is Power (KIP) Index, OECD, World Bank. For analyses: https://www.arabbarometer.org/wp-content/uploads/AB_WomenFinal-version05122018.pdf [Accessed 19 September 2022]
37 See data for example here: Wolrd Bank Blogs (2021). MENA must take bold action against Gender-Based Violence (GBV). Available: https://blogs.worldbank.org/arabvoices/mena-must-take-bold-action-against-gender-based-violence-gbv [Accessed 19 September 2022]
38 Pernille Arenfeldt & Nawar Al-Hassan Golley, eds. (2012). Mapping Arab women's movements: A century of transformations from within. Oxford University Press.
39 Geha, Carmen, and Charlotte Karam. „Whose Feminism? Gender-Inclusive Policymaking in the Arab Middle East and North Africa." SAIS Review of International Affairs 41, no. 1 (2021): 23-31.
40 Carmen Geha (2019). „The myth of women's political empowerment within Lebanon's sectarian power-sharing system." Journal of Women, Politics & Policy 40, no. 4 (2019): 498-521.
41 American University of Beirut. Sexual Harassment Policy and Legislation. Available: https://www.aub.edu.lb/cibl/Pages/Abouttheinitiative.aspx [Accessed 19 September 2022]

42 Arab Reform Initiative (2021). Supporting Arab Women at the Table (SAWT): Arab Women as Political Actors. Available: https://www.arab-reform.net/project/supporting-arab-women-at-the-table-sawt-arab-women-as-political-actors/ [Accessed 19 September 2022]
43 See for example: Hadeel Qazzaz (2021). „Fighting all demons: feminist voices on popular protests in Lebanon and the Middle East and North Africa (MENA) region." Gender & Development 29, no. 2-3 (2021): 431-446.
44 UNICEF (2020). Situational Analysis of Women and Girls in the Mena and Arab States Region: a Decade Review 2010 – 2020. Available: https://www.unicef.org/mena/media/14311/file/54949%20-%20Design%20MENA%20SitAn%20Report%20-%20v10.pdf.pdf [Accessed 19 September 2022]
45 Ibid.
46 Congressional Research Service (2021). Women in the Middle East and North Africa: Issues for Congress. Available: https://sgp.fas.org/crs/mideast/R46423.pdf [Accessed 19 September 2022]
47 Ibid.
48 Ibid.
49 Arab States Civil Society Organizations and Feminists Network (2021). Women, Peace and Security in the Arab Region. Available: https://arabstates.unwomen.org/sites/default/files/Field%20Office%20Arab%20States/Attachments/2021/07/WPS-Policy%20Paper-EN.pdf [Accessed 19 September 2022]
50 UN Women (2021). Women in Politics: 2021. Available: https://www.unwomen.org/en/digital-library/publications/2021/03/women-in-politics-map-2021 [Accessed 19 September 2022]
51 Primrose Z. H Bimha (2021) The Status of African Women in Foreign Policy. Available: https://www.e-ir.info/2021/05/06/the-status-of-african-women-in-foreign-policy/ [Accessed 19 September 2022]
52 The AU strategy on Gender Equality and Women's Empowerment (GEWE) 2018-2028 calls for the participation of women in political affairs to amplify their voices and integrate gendered perspectives (AU, 2019: 12)

#SHECURITY