

# THE CASE FOR GENDER BALANCE IN ARMS CONTROL, NON-PROLIFERATION AND DISARMAMENT NEGOTIATIONS

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## I. INTRODUCTION

Women face enormous obstacles when it comes to their participation in decision-making processes. This is a phenomenon that affects every level of society and presents itself in local, regional and global contexts. Political decision-making processes are no exception. Women continue to be excluded or marginalized from these processes and when they do participate their influence is often secondary, as they frequently participate from low-level positions from which exerting a powerful influence is difficult.<sup>1</sup>

Arms control, non-proliferation and disarmament (NPD)<sup>2</sup> diplomacy is not immune to gender imbalance.<sup>3</sup> Global efforts to eliminate weapons of mass destruction (WMD) and regulate arms transfers, including controls on small arms and light weapons (SALW), have increased in the past four decades but the number of women involved in such efforts remains alarmingly small. A study published by the United Nations Insti-

<sup>1</sup> Geyer, K. et al., *How UN Agencies and Programmes Can Ensure Women's Meaningful Participation in Their Work* (Women's International League for Peace and Freedom: Geneva, 2017).

<sup>2</sup> Arms control, non-proliferation and disarmament have very different meanings and objectives. Arms control aims at limiting the number of a specific category of weapons or their related activities (e.g. nuclear tests). Non-proliferation aims at preventing the acquisition of certain arms by countries that do not yet possess them. Disarmament aims at completely eliminating a category of weapons. For the purposes of this paper the acronym NPD refers to non-proliferation and disarmament.

<sup>3</sup> The World Health Organization (WHO) defines gender as 'roles, behaviours, activities, attributes and opportunities that any society considers appropriate for girls and boys, women and men'. Recognizing the legitimacy of the broader definition of the term, which includes non-binary and gender-fluid individuals, for the purpose of this paper, the author uses the term 'gender' to address women's participation in diplomatic negotiations. For the purposes of this study, the term 'negotiations' is used to refer to all phases of the negotiation process from early involvement and pre-negotiation, to talks and achieving agreement. The term is also occasionally used to refer to meetings, events and track 1.5 or track 2 diplomatic forums.

## SUMMARY

Global efforts to eliminate weapons of mass destruction (WMD) and regulate small arms and light weapons (SALW) have gradually increased over the past four decades but the number of women involved in these efforts remains alarmingly small. Women face enormous obstacles when it comes to their participation in diplomatic negotiations and decision-making processes, and arms control, non-proliferation and disarmament diplomacy is no exception. Women continue to be excluded or marginalized from these procedures and when they do participate it is often in low-level positions from which exerting influence is difficult. Studies have shown that women represent only 32 per cent of all participants in official arms control, non-proliferation and disarmament forums and that heads of delegations, as well as speakers in related events and conferences, are almost exclusively men. This paper investigates the possible causes of this imbalance and shows why a continuing gender disparity among experts and practitioners in the field is problematic. It demonstrates that the inclusion of women has positive effects on the outcome of negotiations and examines why this is the case. Finally, it discusses the ways in which the European Union (EU) in particular, and the international community in general, can increase the number of women involved in the field.

## ABOUT THE AUTHOR

Federica Dall'Arche (Italy) is a researcher at the International Affairs Institute (IAI) on non-proliferation and disarmament, and on gender in international security. She obtained her Master's degree in Non-proliferation and Terrorism Studies and a Conflict Resolution Certificate at the Middlebury Institute of International Studies at Monterey. Among her professional experiences, she held an internship at the Asian-Pacific Center for Security Studies and was the recipient of the UN Security Council Monitor Fellowship at the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom and of the Non-proliferation and Nuclear Security Fellowship at the Pacific Forum.

tute for Disarmament Research (UNIDIR) found that women make up only 32 per cent of the participants in arms control and NPD forums, and that the heads of delegations are almost exclusively men.<sup>4</sup> The study also found that women's participation drops significantly to 20 per cent in related, yet smaller, forums, such as Groups of Governmental Experts, because 'when States can only send one representative [to a disarmament meeting], they almost always send a man'.<sup>5</sup>

By combining a literature review, insights from practitioners and the author's observations from several years working in the field, this paper investigates the possible causes of such imbalances and demonstrates that gender disparity among experts and practitioners in the arms control and NPD fields is still widespread and therefore a problem. After showing how the inclusion of women has created positive effects on the outcomes of negotiations, this paper explores ways to increase the number of women involved in the sector.

Specifically, section II highlights the importance of achieving gender balance in arms control and NPD diplomacy. Section III puts this assertion in context by introducing the topic of gender parity in international security and offering a brief overview of the Women, Peace and Security (WPS) agenda and the general status of women's participation in negotiating processes. This section also investigates the possible causes of gender disparity in such processes. Sections IV and V specifically focus on arms control and NPD diplomacy, assessing the current state of affairs and exploring additional causes of gender imbalances specific to the arms control and NPD field. Section VI makes recommendations to the European Union (EU) and the international community on how to increase the number of women involved in arms control and NPD diplomacy.

## **II. GENDER BALANCE IN ARMS CONTROL, NON-PROLIFERATION AND DISARMAMENT DIPLOMACY: WHY IS IT IMPORTANT?**

The achievement of gender parity in every single context in society should require neither a justification

<sup>4</sup> In 2018, 76% of the heads of delegation in the First Committee, at the Conference on Disarmament and at the Preparatory Committee of the 1968 Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons (Non-Proliferation Treaty, NPT) were men.

<sup>5</sup> Hessmann Dalaqua, R. et al., *Still Behind the Curve: Gender Balance in Arms Control, Non-proliferation and Disarmament Diplomacy* (UN Institute for Disarmament Research: Geneva, 2019).

nor an explanation. However, given its slow and precarious advancement, a section on why gender equality is imperative might provide useful food for thought to those who are still sceptical or who remain unconvinced of its benefits.

### **Business as usual is no longer working**

SALW continue to be illicitly trafficked, the norm against the use of chemical weapons has been disregarded several times in the past decade and the risk of nuclear conflict is now higher than it has ever been since the end of the cold war. Multilateral and bilateral negotiations and efforts on arms control and NPD have witnessed severe setbacks with the demise of pillar treaties such as the 1987 Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate-Range and Shorter-Range Missiles (INF Treaty) and, most recently, the 1992 Treaty on Open Skies. It is clear that 'business as usual' is no longer working.

Gender balance has been shown to be a prominent factor in successful and durable negotiation outcomes, whether in the private sector or in conflict mediation and peace negotiations.<sup>6</sup> In *Securing Our Common Future: An Agenda for Disarmament*, the UN secretary-general, Antonio Guterres, recognized that 'the meaningful inclusion of women in decision-making increases effectiveness and productivity, brings new perspectives and solutions to the table, unlocks greater resources, and strengthen efforts'.<sup>7</sup>

With their diverse perceptions and experiences, women are a crucial resource, as they can offer critical insights, make important contributions to political and decision-making processes related to arms control and NPD and, most importantly, change the currently dysfunctional discourse surrounding the field. A failure to achieve full and active gender parity—in terms of both participation and leadership—would critically reduce the possibility of addressing the challenges of arms control and NPD effectively.

### **Gender-balanced forums deliver better results**

Several studies, some of which are addressed below, have established that the inclusion of women in negotiating processes brings more durable and effective results. Nonetheless, the demand for gender parity

<sup>6</sup> This claim is discussed in more detail in section III.

<sup>7</sup> United Nations, *Securing Our Common Future: An Agenda for Disarmament* (UNODA: New York, 2018).

in these contexts has usually focused on a ‘request’ for inclusion itself, placing minor emphasis on why and how gender parity brings about better outcomes. As a result, women’s inclusion has generally been perceived as a moral and normative obligation rather than a well-understood and recognized necessity. This section identifies some of the reasons why women’s participation is successful. The following section demonstrates why it is also an imperative.

*Women’s inherent genetic propensity towards peace: Another stereotype*

First and foremost, it is important to dispel a myth that is, at the same time, both thorny and counter-productive. Women are not biologically more peaceful, and this assumption should not be used as an argument for including women in negotiation processes. No reputable study has found evidence that women’s brains are essentially biologically different from those of men in terms of ‘peacefulness’, or that women’s brains have specific neurons or glial cells ‘dedicated to peace’. Even biological theories that claim that women are ‘more peaceful’ because of motherhood and their ability to give birth have been extensively refuted.<sup>8</sup>

That said, gender is a social construct and so are gender roles, behaviours, activities and attributes.<sup>9</sup> Sarah Bidgood, director of the Eurasia Nonproliferation Program at the James Martin Center for Nonproliferation Studies (CNS), compellingly states in a recent podcast that the socially attributed roles and expectations imposed on each gender have ensured—or at least tried to ensure—that women in most cases become accustomed to acting and behaving, and have learned how to act and behave, in certain ways; that is, less assertively and less aggressively, more cooperatively and, in general, more reassuringly, empathetically and collaboratively in groups.<sup>10</sup> This acquired cooperative spirit is likely to influence the way women engage in negotiations, ultimately resulting in more favourable outcomes. According to Federica Mogherini, former high representative/vice-president of the European Commission, ‘we [women] manage to find the common ground of win–win solutions much more easily . . . This search for a common ground, this

<sup>8</sup> Skjelsbaek, I., ‘Gender identity: Is femininity inherently peaceful?’ *Internasjonal Politikk*, vol. 56, no. 1 (Jan. 1998).

<sup>9</sup> Kimmel, M., *The Gendered Society* (Oxford University Press: New York, 2000).

<sup>10</sup> Bidgood, S., ‘Promoting peace: Viewing peace through a gender lens’, WorldViews Speaker Series, 21 May 2020.

search for getting out of the zero-sum game that is so powerful in the world politics today, I think is an element that women bring to the table much more than men do and [this is why] we need to empower women’.<sup>11</sup>

*Diversity*

In addition to this socially acquired collaborativism,<sup>12</sup> women contribute with their unique experiences and perspectives to negotiations. Several studies have demonstrated that diverse teams tend to be more innovative, creative and better at problem-solving.<sup>13</sup> This is because people with different backgrounds (or genders) bring their own experiences and opinions, challenging the group to ‘think outside the box’ and obliging actors to confront different perspectives and to step out of their ‘comfort zone’. Diversity breaks the assumption that everyone in the room has the same upbringing, viewpoints and, above all, needs. When given the opportunity in negotiating processes, women offer their standpoints, experience and beliefs, contributing to new ways of thinking and new pathways to resolving deadlocks and achieving diverging objectives.<sup>14</sup>

*Changing the discourse: The case of nuclear weapons*

While pertinent to arms control and NPD negotiations in general, the case for gender diversity and parity is particularly strong in the discourse regarding nuclear weapons. Many interesting studies have linked the possession of nuclear weapons to an expression of masculinity and ego, questioning the genuine commitment of states to disarmament as set out in Article VI of the 1968 Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons (Non-Proliferation Treaty, NPT).<sup>15</sup> Starting from the question, ‘If disarmament is emasculation, how could any real man even consider

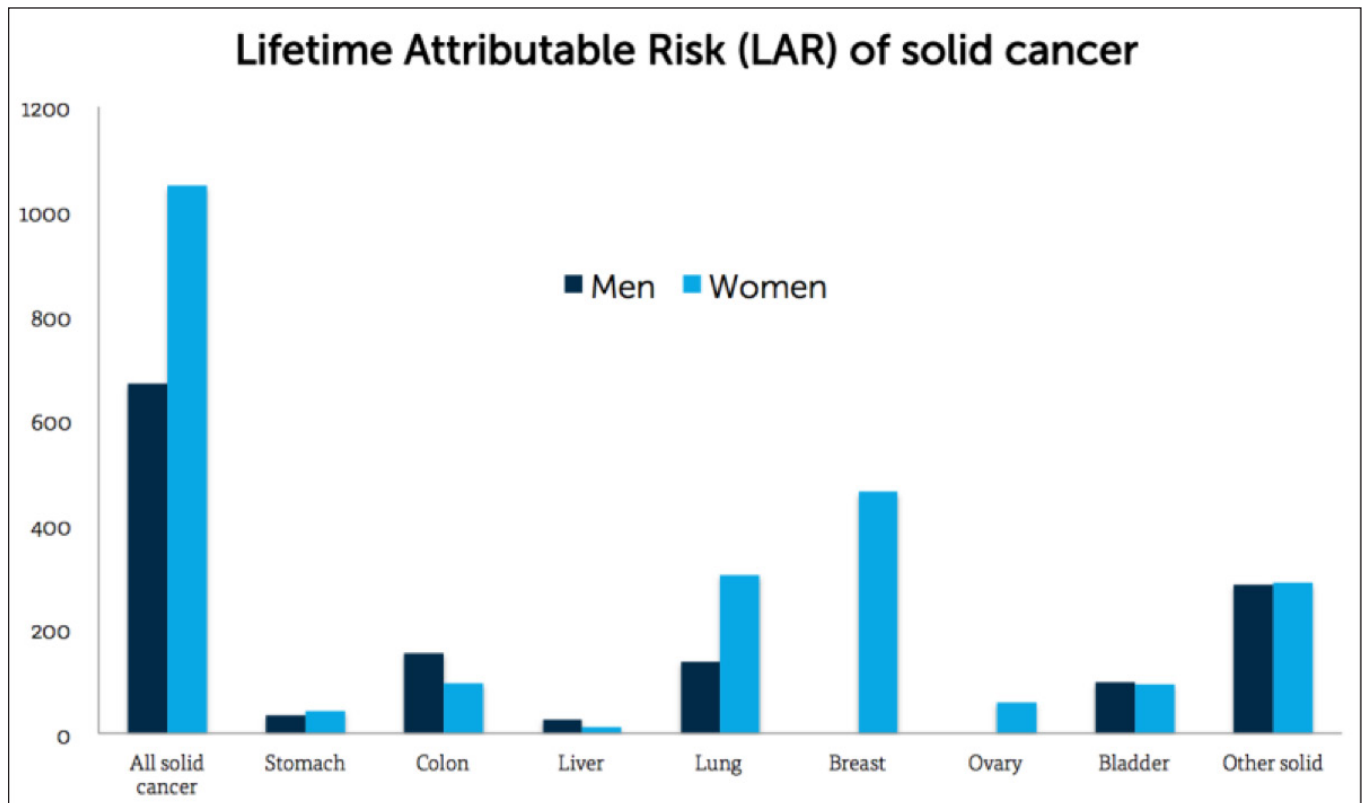
<sup>11</sup> European Union, External Action, ‘Remarks by High Representative/Vice-President Federica Mogherini at High-level event on “Women in Power”’, New York, 13 Mar. 2019.

<sup>12</sup> Collaborativism is defined as a joint effort of multiple individuals or work groups to accomplish a task or project.

<sup>13</sup> See Phillips, K. W., ‘How diversity makes us smarter’, *Policy & Ethics, Scientific American*, 1 Oct. 2017; and Borrie, J. and Thornton, A., *The Value of Diversity in Multilateral Disarmament Work* (UNIDIR: Geneva, 2008).

<sup>14</sup> Paffenholz et al., *Making Women Count—Not Just Counting Women: Assessing Women’s Inclusion and Influence on Peace Negotiations* (UN Women: Geneva, 2016); and Krause et al., ‘Women’s participation in peace negotiations and the durability of peace’, *International Interactions*, vol. 44, no. 6 (2018), pp. 985–1016.

<sup>15</sup> Cohn, C., ‘Sex and death in the rational world of defense intellectuals’, *Signs*, vol. 12, no. 4 (1987), pp. 687–718.



**Figure 1.** Effects of ionizing radiation on the two sexes

*Note:* Estimated number of cancer cases expected from 100 000 persons exposed to a certain dose (0.1 gray) of ionizing radiation. The figure illustrates only cancer cases that arise from ionizing radiation; it does not cover other causes of cancer. The 100 000-person population has a standardized age distribution.

*Sources:* Dimmen, A. G., 'Gendered impacts: The humanitarian impacts of nuclear weapons from a gender perspective', ILPI-UNIDIR Vienna Conference Series, no. 5 (Dec. 2014). Data plotted by Anne Guro Dimmen from 'Estimated lifetime attributable risks of solid cancer incidence for a population of mixed ages exposed to 0.1 Gy (Table 12-10)' in 'Estimating cancer risk', *Health Risks from Exposure to Low Levels of Ionizing Radiation* (National Academies Press: Washington, DC, 2006), p. 284.

it?', Carol Cohn deconstructs the complexity of a specific type of language used with reference to nuclear weapons and their potential use, demonstrating the role that language plays in minimizing the seriousness and deadliness of this particular category of weapon. According to this 'masculinity theory', the involvement of women certainly serves a purpose. Not being part of the 'missile envy' game, the full and active participation of women brings new perspectives, positively contributing to a change in the discourse and the language, and ultimately facilitating the search for common ground among nuclear- and non-nuclear weapon states.<sup>16</sup>

<sup>16</sup> Caldicott, H., *Missile Envy: The Arms Race and Nuclear War* (Bantam Books: Toronto, 1986).

### It is imperative

#### *Disproportionate effects*

Section IV explores how academia and the international community have carried out 'impact-quantifying' studies showing that women are disproportionately affected by the (mis)use of SALW. Their research demonstrates that the lives of women are dramatically altered by such weapons and that, through their use, women's rights are often abused and imperilled. Women are used, and abused, as a 'tool of war' or forced to engage in illicit arms or human trafficking.<sup>17</sup> To a different degree, the situation is similar when it comes to WMD, as the potential use,

<sup>17</sup> Rape, often facilitated by SALW, is often used as a tool of war. For more information see Office of the UN High Commissioner for Human Rights, 'Rape: Weapon of war', [n.d.]; and UN Security Council Resolution 1820 (2008) On Women, Peace and Security, 19 June 2008.



production and testing of WMD also have gender-disproportionate effects.

The biologically disproportionate effects of the use, production, storage and testing of WMD on women provide an interesting angle. More and more studies demonstrate that biological differences between men and women produce different impacts on the two sexes, as women are biologically more vulnerable to and more likely to develop health conditions from, for instance, exposure to radiation.<sup>18</sup> In an analysis of a series of cases and findings on the effects of radioactivity released as the result of accidents at nuclear power plants (i.e. Chernobyl and Three Mile Island), by nuclear tests (i.e. Marshall Island) and by nuclear weapon use (Hiroshima and Nagasaki), a project by the International Law and Policy Institute (ILPI) found that ionizing radiation causes nearly twice the number of cases of cancer in women than in men (see figure 1).<sup>19</sup> This is attributed to the metabolic differences between men and women and to the fact that ‘women have 50 per cent more high-risk body tissue such as sensitive reproductive and fatty tissues’.<sup>20</sup>

The study also reports that the effects of radioactivity are not just biological, but also social, economic and psychological, and that in the latter cases women are also disproportionately affected.<sup>21</sup>

Against this backdrop, given the strong impact of negotiating outcomes on women’s lives, the significance of women’s participation in negotiating forums on the control, non-proliferation and disarmament of weapons and delivery systems becomes even greater.

#### *Breaking the stereotype: It is not a man’s world*

As the famous song says: ‘This is a man’s world, but it would be nothing, nothing without a woman or a

<sup>18</sup> See e.g. Ozasa, K. et al., ‘Studies of the mortality of atomic bomb survivors: Report 14, 1950–2003—an overview of cancer and noncancer diseases’, *Radiation Research*, vol. 177, no. 3 (2012); Borrie, J., ‘A harmful legacy: The lingering humanitarian impacts of nuclear weapons testing’, *ILPI–UNIDIR Vienna Conference Series*, no. 2 (Dec. 2014); and Borrie, J. et al., *Gender, Development and Nuclear Weapons: Shared Goals, Shared Concerns* (International Law and Policy Institute (ILPI) and UNIDIR: Geneva, 2016).

<sup>19</sup> Dimmen, A. G., ‘Gendered impacts: The humanitarian impacts of nuclear weapons from a gender perspective’, *ILPI–UNIDIR Vienna Conference Series*, no. 5 (Dec. 2014).

<sup>20</sup> Borrie et al. (note 18); and Olson, M., ‘Nuclear: War of human consequences: Reprise of Vienna Conference paper at regional meeting of International Committee of the Red Cross’, Oct. 2016.

<sup>21</sup> Dimmen (note 19); Borrie et al. (note 18); and see Vyner, H. M., ‘The psychological dimensions of health care for patients exposed to radiation and the other invisible environmental contaminants’, *Social Science and Medicine*, vol. 27, no. 10 (1988), pp. 1097–1103.

girl’.<sup>22</sup> Including women in arms control and NPD negotiations is important because the stereotype about women not being interested, smart or strong enough to deal with such issues has proved to be simply incorrect.<sup>23</sup> Women have demonstrated a profound level of awareness about and attention to issues linked to arms control, NPD, and peace and security more generally. Nonetheless, their activism on the ground has not been accompanied by a robust presence in formal decision-making forums. The lack of balanced participation and leadership on WMD and SALW policy continues to perpetuate the disturbing stereotype of international security as a male domain, disincentivizing female students and young professionals from approaching—or remaining in—the sector.

#### *Fairness*

The use of WMD and the misuse of SALW affect everyone indiscriminately, regardless of their gender, age, sexual orientation, political views or nationality. Therefore, ‘no one group should be entitled to have jurisdiction over policy decisions on the matter’ and it is only fair that ‘no one group should be excluded by these conversations’.<sup>24</sup> When women are not represented, women’s experiences and needs are highly likely to be discounted and not to be addressed. In the long run this facilitates and legitimizes violations of women’s rights and violence against women, and thereby undermines sustainable development, peace and security.

### **III. THE CURRENT STATUS OF WOMEN’S PARTICIPATION IN NEGOTIATING PROCESSES**

#### **The Women, Peace and Security agenda: A demand for gender parity**

In response to the persistent and protracted demand from civil society for gender parity and the recognition that armed conflicts have a powerful impact on women—and thus that women too have a critical and active role to play in pursuing peace—the UN Security Council unanimously adopted Resolution 1325 on 31 October 2000. A solid starting point for the adoption of the resolution was provided by the 1995

<sup>22</sup> Brown, J. and Newsome, B. J., ‘It’s a Man’s Man’s Man’s World’, King Records, 1966.

<sup>23</sup> See section IV.

<sup>24</sup> Bidgood (note 10).

Beijing Platform for Action, which called for women's active participation in all types of social, economic and political decision making. With a focus on political representation, the Platform for Action set a specific target for the participation of women of least 30 per cent.<sup>25</sup>

The 2000 resolution constituted the first landmark effort by the international community to demand the establishment of gender-inclusive political processes.<sup>26</sup> It stressed the importance of women's 'equal participation and full involvement' and 'the need to increase their role in decision-making with regard to conflict prevention and resolution' given that 'full participation in the peace process can significantly contribute to the maintenance and promotion of international peace and security'.<sup>27</sup> For the first time, a UN Security Council resolution recognized women as active agents in the maintenance of security and the sustainability of peace, and established a formal norm against gender discrimination in negotiations, policymaking and decision-making procedures, as well as all phases of peace processes.<sup>28</sup>

Over the years, the principles of the historic resolution have been strengthened by nine subsequent resolutions to formally constitute what it is now known as the WPS agenda.<sup>29</sup> Starting from the 'simple, yet revolutionary idea . . . that peace is only sustainable if women are fully included, and that peace is inextricably linked with equality between women and men',<sup>30</sup> the WPS agenda has over time created an official framework for many global and regional gender balance initiatives and set important targets for women's participation and leadership.<sup>31</sup>

<sup>25</sup> See True, J., 'Counting women and balancing gender: Increasing women's participation in governance', *Politics and Gender*, vol. 9, no. 3 (2013); United States Institute of Peace, 'What is UNSCR 1325? An explanation of the landmark Resolution on Women, Peace and Security', [n.d.]; PeaceWomen, 'WPS: Background'; and UN Women, *Preventing Conflict, Transforming Justice, Securing the Peace: A Global Study on the Implementation of United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325* (UN Women: New York, 2015), chapter 2.

<sup>26</sup> Resolution 1325 has four pillars: participation, prevention, protection, and resolution and recovery. An interesting perspective on the resolution can be found at PeaceWomen, 'UN Resolution 1325: Significant but lacking', [n.d.].

<sup>27</sup> UN Security Council Resolution 1325, 31 Oct. 2000.

<sup>28</sup> Peace processes generally have four phases: pre-negotiation, negotiation, agreement and long-term implementation

<sup>29</sup> UN Security Council resolutions 1820, 1888, 1889, 1960, 2106, 2122, 2242, 2467 and 2493. For more information on each resolution see UN Women, 'Security Council resolutions: Women, Peace and Security'.

<sup>30</sup> UN Women (note 25).

<sup>31</sup> For example, Resolution 2242, adopted on 13 Oct. 2015, called on the UN secretary-general to ensure that the number of women in

The WPS agenda is supported, among other things, by the work of UN Women—a UN entity established in 2010—and complemented by UN Sustainable Development Goal (SDG) 5, which was adopted in 2015. Both are specifically dedicated to the broader spectrum of gender equality: from young girls' access to education and reproductive health to women's empowerment through full and effective participation (and equal opportunities for leadership) at all decision-making levels in political, economic and public life.<sup>32</sup>

## Numbers

Since its creation, the WPS agenda has urged and spurred on states to make policy commitments on adopting gender-inclusive procedures and to increase gender-equal political participation. Nonetheless, the number of women involved in formal processes has remained alarmingly small.<sup>33</sup> Twenty years after the adoption of UN Security Council Resolution 1325, women remain significantly under-represented in all negotiating forums. According to the 2019 UN secretary-general report on WPS, in 2018 just 24 per cent of parliamentary seats globally were held by women, and, in particular, for conflict-affected and post-conflict states this figure reached only 19 per cent.<sup>34</sup> Specifically within the UN framework, in the same year, only 21 per cent of all senior and decision-making positions (P-5 level and above) were held by women. The number of women participating in negotiating delegations was not promising either. In 2018, women were included in only 14 of the 19 delegations of the six active peace processes led or co-led by the UN, and their numbers in these delegations remained extremely low.<sup>35</sup> The situation is even worse with regard to the Blue Helmets: 'only three per cent of the military in UN missions are women, and the majority of these are employed as support staff'.<sup>36</sup>

peacekeeping operations doubled in the next five years.

<sup>32</sup> UN SDG5, 'Gender equality'.

<sup>33</sup> As a result, many peace agreements do not contain provisions on gender that address women's specific security needs.

<sup>34</sup> The UN secretary-general makes an annual report on the status of implementation of Resolution 1325. UN, Security Council, 'Women, Peace and Security: Report of the secretary-general', S/2019/800, 9 Oct 2019.

<sup>35</sup> UN, Security Council, S/2019/800 (note 34), para. 14.

<sup>36</sup> UN Women (note 25). For additional information see Smit, T., 'Towards a more gender-balanced European Union Civilian CSDP', SIPRI Policy Brief, Nov. 2019; and Sacks Ferrari, S., 'Is the United

## Causes of gender imbalance

### *Lack of resources*

The 2015 global study on Resolution 1325, commissioned by the then UN secretary-general, Ban Ki-moon, to assess progress on the implementation of the resolution 15 years after it was adopted, identified a ‘consistent, striking disparity between policy commitments to gender equality and women’s empowerment, and the financial allocations to achieve them’.<sup>37</sup> According to the study, implementation of such commitments was hampered by the lack of dedicated budgets and ‘accountability mechanisms’ that guarantee women’s full participation in political and decision-making processes.

### *Social norms and power dynamics*

Socially attributed gender roles and cultural and hierarchical systems obviously play a part in the gender imbalance. The idea of a division of labour whereby women are the primary childcare providers and household managers while men are the breadwinners is still widespread in many states and shapes most societies. This influences life choices, affects recruitment and appointment decisions—including through a lack of gender-equal selection processes—and ultimately obstructs women’s full and active participation.

Moreover, the participation of women in diplomatic processes is often met with scepticism, indifference and resistance and, when it occurs, it is not always a spontaneous process. Women often need to rely on external support from the international community or are forced to take strong proactive steps to get a seat at the negotiating table.<sup>38</sup>

### *Perception of futility*

In addition, the inclusion of women is often seen as a ‘distracting’ or ‘unnecessary’ fight that diverts attention from the ‘real problems’ that in some cases are the topic of negotiations, but in other cases remain unspecified.<sup>39</sup> For example, UNIDIR reports that, when asked, some diplomats and practitioners have

claimed that including more women in negotiating processes would not make any difference, given that the diplomat’s role is that of a ‘messenger’ for the government’s decisions rather than one of ‘policy-producer’. As UNIDIR notes, however, this claim has been critically examined and repeatedly refuted.<sup>40</sup>

### *Lack of empirical evidence*

Another major challenge to the concrete achievement of gender parity in negotiating procedures has been the lack of empirical knowledge or quantitative evidence that the presence of women really has a positive impact on the final outcome of negotiations. A groundbreaking study by UN Women and the Graduate Institute of International and Development Studies of Geneva, published in 2016, addressed this empirical gap by analysing 40 peace negotiations that took place between 1989 and 2014.<sup>41</sup> The study demonstrated the way in which the inclusion of women in negotiating forums influenced the outcomes of proceedings, reaching the important conclusion that women’s participation, when influential, is positively correlated with agreements being reached and implemented. According to the study, the correlation is statistically significant at 95 per cent (Chi square test), a result that is difficult to ignore. A further study published in 2018 confirmed these findings by analysing 82 peace agreements on 42 armed conflicts and demonstrating a ‘robust relationship between peace agreements with women signatories and peace durability’.<sup>42</sup>

## **Direct representation versus actual influence: A detail worth noting**

While a great deal of effort is rightly put into achieving a *numerical* gender balance at negotiation tables, or ‘quotas’, it is worth noting that the mere presence of women does not automatically translate into a positive influence or better negotiating results. Although women’s participation in peace and political processes is increasing, the number of women negotiators still constitutes less than 10 per cent.<sup>43</sup> If women are not empowered or ‘authorized’ to make decisions—that is,

Nations Uniformed Gender Parity Strategy on track to reach its goals?, SIPRI Topical Backgrounder, 12 Dec. 2019.

<sup>37</sup> The global study was commissioned by the UN secretary-general in response to a UN Security Council request in Resolution 2122 (2013), See UN Women (note 25), p. 6.

<sup>38</sup> Paffenholz et al. (note 14).

<sup>39</sup> Smith, P., ‘The gender “diversity” debate is pointless!’, *The Outperformer*, [n.d.].

<sup>40</sup> Hessmann Dalaqua et al. (note 5), p. 35.

<sup>41</sup> Paffenholz et al. (note 14).

<sup>42</sup> Krause, J., Krause, W. and Bränfors P., ‘Women’s participation in peace negotiations and the durability of peace’, *International Interactions*, vol. 44, no. 6 (2018), pp. 985–1016.

<sup>43</sup> Gillis, M., *Disarmament: A Basic Guide*, 4th edn (UN Office for Disarmament Affairs: New York, 2017), p. 123.

they are neither in a leading/decision-making position nor in a position to influence who plays that deciding role—numerical representation alone ultimately has little relevance.<sup>44</sup> This does not entail that the presence of just one woman in a leading position is more desirable than a gender-balanced room. The Broadening Participation in Political Negotiations and Implementation project has demonstrated that in no case has a balanced presence between men and women weakened negotiating processes.<sup>45</sup> Even where women played a less influential role, if they were still able to ‘strategically coordinate among women across delegations’ and create coalitions ‘to advance common interests’, negotiating outcomes were more successful than outcomes generated by single-gender delegations.<sup>46</sup> This ‘detail’ should lead to the conclusion—and reinforces the idea—that gender balance should be achieved at all levels, including, and especially, in policy and decision-making positions. Several studies have demonstrated that when women are in a position to exercise their influence, the chances of outcomes being more favourable and agreements being reached are much higher, not only in the peace and security sphere, but also in the governance, economic and private sectors.<sup>47</sup>

### The private sector

The private sector is an interesting area for analysis. Numerous studies have shown that for companies an increase in gender parity among employees, and particularly among board members and executive teams, results in an outstanding increase in financial returns.<sup>48</sup> A United States think tank has shown that

<sup>44</sup> Paffenholz et al. (note 14), p. 5.

<sup>45</sup> Paffenholz, T., ‘Broader participation project’, Centre on Conflict, Development and Peacebuilding, Graduate Institute of International and Development Studies, Geneva; and Paffenholz et al. (note 14).

<sup>46</sup> Paffenholz, ‘Broader participation project’ (note 45); and Paffenholz et al. (note 14).

<sup>47</sup> The 2015 global study contains research that comprehensively demonstrates that women’s participation at all levels is key to the operational effectiveness, success and sustainability of peace processes and peacebuilding efforts. UN Women (note 25). Other sources have come to the same conclusion. Paffenholz, T., *Beyond the Normative: Can Women’s Inclusion Really Make for Better Peace Processes?* (Graduate Institute: Geneva, 2015); PeaceWomen, ‘Proof: Impact and cases’, [n.d.]; True (note 25); and Hunt, V. et al., ‘Delivering through diversity’, McKinsey & Company, 18 Jan. 2018.

<sup>48</sup> For more information see Deloitte Russia, ‘The gender dividend’, [n.d.]; Zehnder, E., ‘Tracker highlights: 2018 Global Board Diversity Tracker’, [n.d.]; Catalyst, ‘Report: Women in leadership at S&P/ TSX Companies’, 5 Mar. 2020; True (note 25); and True, J. ‘The global

when boards contain at least three women, this creates a ‘critical mass’ that leads to better deliberation, increased financial performance and higher revenues.<sup>49</sup> Growing statistical evidence of the benefits of gender parity among employees has sparked a real movement among corporations to make gender parity, and diversity more generally, a flagship campaign. While the path may still be long, corporations have introduced tools such as gender-equal selection processes and become sponsors of several women’s empowerment initiatives.<sup>50</sup> According to Deloitte, ‘Organizations that are able to capitalize on the roles women play as economic actors will most likely have a competitive advantage as the world pulls out of the global recession’ and ‘promoting gender diversity on boards of listed companies remains a priority’.<sup>51</sup>

When there is greater gender equality, companies, employees and stakeholders deliver better results, and it is difficult to envisage that the benefits of gender parity identified in the private sector would not also manifest in the diplomatic and policy sectors, generating positive effects for citizens and states.

## IV. THE STATUS OF WOMEN’S PARTICIPATION IN ARMS CONTROL, NON-PROLIFERATION AND DISARMAMENT DIPLOMACY

Despite an increase in global efforts to eliminate WMD and regulate SALW over the past four decades, and a milestone resolution—UN General Assembly Resolution 65/69—being adopted in 2016 to encourage UN member states ‘to promote equitable representation of women in all decision-making processes with regard to matters related to disarmament, non-proliferation and arms control’ and to strengthen their effective participation, the number of women directly involved in these diplomatic efforts is still critically small.<sup>52</sup>

The First Committee of the General Assembly, which is responsible for dealing with issues related to disarmament, global challenges and all threats to international security and peace, is the UN committee with the lowest proportion of women representatives

governance of gender’, eds A. Payne and N. Phillips, *Handbook of the International Political Economy of Governance* (Edward Elgar: Cheltenham, UK, 2015).

<sup>49</sup> Catalyst, ‘Women on corporate boards: Quick take’, 13 Mar. 2020.

<sup>50</sup> Deloitte United States, ‘SheBelieves soccer sponsorship’, [n.d.].

<sup>51</sup> Deloitte, ‘The gender dividend: The business case for investing in women’, 2013.

<sup>52</sup> UN, General Assembly, A/RES65/69, 13 Jan. 2011.



(34 per cent in 2018).<sup>53</sup> In addition, as demonstrated by the UN secretary-general's agenda for disarmament published in 2018, just *one* of the First Committee's 72 sessions has been chaired by a woman.<sup>54</sup>

Multilateral forums and intergovernmental meetings on arms control and NPD face an even more dramatic reality: on average, only a quarter of all participants in these meetings are women, even less than the proportion of heads of delegation.<sup>55</sup> There are interesting regional differences within this data. While states in Latin America and the Caribbean have the highest proportion of women delegates, almost 40 per cent, the Asia-Pacific and African states have the lowest proportion, although African states are the most active in promoting the adoption of a gender lens in SALW negotiations.<sup>56</sup>

Before exploring why such disparities are problematic, making recommendations on how to reduce them and investigating the causes of the low level of women's participation in arms control and NPD diplomacy, the following sections analyse the long-standing involvement of women in topics related to arms control and NPD, debunking some common misconceptions.

### Activism

Women have been almost entirely excluded from mainstream politics, diplomacy and the national security apparatus for a very long time. This has not prevented them, however, from voicing their needs and concerns, particularly with regard to the use of WMD and other particularly heinous types of weapons, such as landmines or cluster munitions. Mostly in the form of public demonstrations, women have been more successful than any other group in organizing mass campaigns calling for the abolition of specific types of weapons, for the regulation of the trade of arms, or in pressing warring parties to start negotiations and sign peace agreements.<sup>57</sup> There are numerous historical examples from the mass petitions and marches organized by the Women's International

League for Peace and Freedom (WILPF) to demand a halt to nuclear testing in the late 1950s, to the protests organized by Women's Strike for Peace (WSP) in the 1960s and the recent campaigns supported by the Nobel Women's Initiative to ban fully autonomous weapons.<sup>58</sup>

This clearly demonstrates a profound level of awareness of issues related to arms control, NPD, and peace and security. The lack of women's representation in related political and diplomatic processes cannot therefore be justified by women's alleged lack of interest in these topics, as is still too often heard at conferences and events.

As a matter of fact, women's alleged lack of interest in arms control and NPD issues is often used as an argument to justify their relatively low presence at conferences and events as participants and panellists, or as members of diplomatic delegations. However, while the latter depends on cultural and political decisions and processes, the former merely depends on the efforts of conference and event organizers. The successful gender balance achieved at the most recent annual EU Non-Proliferation and Disarmament Conference demonstrates that when effort is put into 'searching' for female experts on a given topic, female experts can easily be identified.

### Small arms and light weapons

Notwithstanding the numbers highlighted above, the SALW sector of the arms control and NPD field has been slightly more sensitive to gender parity discourses.<sup>59</sup> One of the reasons attributed to this higher 'success rate' is that the discourse surrounding the need to increase women's participation and leadership was taken a step further, focusing on the disproportionate impact that SALW have on the female population. When greater attention was given to 'who' is affected by the illegitimate trade and illicit trafficking of certain conventional weapons, as well as 'how', it was determined that women not only share the burden of conventional weapon misuse, but also bear the brunt of it.<sup>60</sup>

<sup>53</sup> Compared to the other 5 General Assembly Committees, where the percentage is higher. Hessmann Dalaqua et al. (note 5).

<sup>54</sup> Guterres, A., *Securing Our Common Future: An Agenda for Disarmament* (UN: New York, 2018).

<sup>55</sup> Hessmann Dalaqua et al. (note 5); and Guterres (note 54).

<sup>56</sup> Dwan, R., *Women in Arms Control: Time for a Gender Turn* (Arms Control Association: Washington, DC, 2019).

<sup>57</sup> Wittner, L. S., 'Gender roles and nuclear disarmament activism, 1954–1965', *Gender and History*, vol. 12, no. 1 (Apr. 2000), pp. 197–222.

<sup>58</sup> For more information on the campaign see <<https://nobelwomensinitiative.org/stop-killer-robots/>>.

<sup>59</sup> Dwan (note 56).

<sup>60</sup> Office of the UN High Commissioner for Human Rights, 'Small arms: A disproportionate impact on women', 25 Nov. 2014; and Small Arms Survey, *Small Arms Survey, 2014: Women and Guns* (Small Arms Survey: Geneva, 2014).

The proliferation and misuse of SALW dramatically alter women's lives by facilitating gender-based violence in both war-free contexts—contributing for example to the perpetration of domestic violence—and in times of conflict.<sup>61</sup> In the latter case, proliferation and misuse fuel armed conflicts, aggravating women's economic and psychological positions, imperilling and abusing their rights and resulting, in many cases, in their sexual exploitation or engagement in the illicit trafficking of arms and people.<sup>62</sup> According to the UN Office on Drugs and Crime, women and girls comprise the vast majority (72 per cent) of people trafficked globally.<sup>63</sup> They are often coerced at gunpoint for the purposes of sexual exploitation, forced labour or forced marriage—as in the well-documented case of Yazidi women and girls exploited by the Islamic State.<sup>64</sup>

Based on this compelling evidence, the inclusion of women in discourse, negotiations and diplomatic processes that address such issues is just common sense and a rational step to take in the general interests of the whole of society.

This 'impact-quantifying' effort which focused on the 'who' and 'how', was facilitated by international instruments such as UN Security Council Resolution 2220 of 22 May 2015, which encourages the collection of data to better understand the impact of SALW on women, and by the adoption of the 2013 Arms Trade Treaty (ATT)—the first legally binding treaty to recognize a linkage between gender-based violence and the international trade in conventional weapons, including SALW, ensuring that such transfers and trade do not generate negative, violent effects on women.<sup>65</sup> These efforts have complemented the UN Programme of Action on SALW and have been recently reinforced by the 2030 SDGs, in particular SDG5 and SDG16.<sup>66</sup>

<sup>61</sup> Small Arms Survey (note 60).

<sup>62</sup> Guterres (note 54), p. 39; and Gillis (note 43).

<sup>63</sup> UN Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC), *Global Report on Trafficking in Persons, 2018* (UNODC: Vienna, 2018).

<sup>64</sup> UN Human Rights Council and UN Independent International Commission of Inquiry on the Syrian Arab Republic, 'They came to destroy: ISIS crimes against the Yazidis', A/HRC/32/CRP.2, 15 June 2016.

<sup>65</sup> It is worth noting, however, that the persistent lack of common understanding at the national level of what constitutes gender-based violence still obstructs efficient implementation of the ATT's provisions, see Maletta, G. and Alvarado Cobar, J., 'The inclusion of gender-based violence concerns in arms transfers decisions: The case of the Arms Trade Treaty', SIPRI Blog, 23 Aug. 2019.

<sup>66</sup> UN, Report of the United Nations Conference on the Illicit Trade in Small Arms and Light Weapons in All Its Aspects, New York, 9–20 July 2001. For a detailed account of the 2030 Sustainable Development Goals and the UN Agenda on Violence caused by SALW see Pathfinders for

## V. CAUSES OF GENDER IMBALANCE IN ARMS CONTROL, NON-PROLIFERATION AND DISARMAMENT DIPLOMACY

The previous sections have assessed the current state of women's participation and leadership in policy and decision-making processes, demonstrating that the achievement of gender parity in these areas—be it in arms control and NPD or in peace and international security more generally—still has a long way to go. Section III and IV specifically explored some of the challenges that women face as well as the obstacles to fully gender-balanced participation in negotiation processes. Given that the causes of gender imbalance also apply to arms control and NPD diplomacy, this section looks specifically at the causes of gender imbalance in arms control and NPD negotiations.

### Stereotypes: It is a man's world

The characteristics of the field—highly specialized, technical and often military in nature—certainly feed the stereotype that arms control or NPD diplomacy is more of a man's field and less suitable for women, who are allegedly more suited to 'soft policy' and humanitarian diplomacy. This stereotype affects not only recruitment and appointment decisions, where employers might be more inclined to hire men with military backgrounds or specific technical expertise, but also the number of women who enter the field. Subjects such as the natural sciences, nuclear engineering and war studies are customarily, and by societal gender standards, male-dominated and male-specific academic and professional paths.<sup>67</sup>

### Lack of knowledge and lack of field-specific education

The lack of knowledge about the existence of the field also plays a part. In high school, at undergraduate level and in postgraduate work, it is rare to find courses on or study topics related to arms control or NPD. These issues are sometimes explored at the margins while studying international relations theories or contemporary history, but they are rarely expanded on in detail.

Peaceful, Just and Inclusive Societies, *Gender Responsive Small Arms Control in the Decade of Action for the SDGs* (Center on International Cooperation: New York, Feb. 2020).

<sup>67</sup> Vetter, B., 'Women in the natural sciences', *Signs*, vol. 1, no. 3 (1976), pp. 713–20; and UN Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, 'Women in science: Explore the data', [n.d.].

### Perceived lack of interest

As discussed above, the high degree of women's engagement and activism surrounding arms control and NPD topics provides evidence to easily refute the claim that women have no interest in the topic. Nonetheless, this assumption can end up becoming a cause of unequal gender participation as, following this logic, women tend to be invited to participate in meetings, panels, or track 1.5 and track 2 negotiations less often than men.

### Lack of role models

Renata Dwan, director of UNIDIR, raises the issue of the lack of women role models in the field. According to Dwan, the 'still-limited visibility' of women in these policy areas, and particularly in leading positions, and the 'uncertain or at least unclear career path that such a specialized field can present' might discourage young women from pursuing a career in the field or, even more problematically, remaining in the field, inevitably contributing to the vicious circle of a lack of female participation in and leadership on arms control and NPD-related issues.<sup>68</sup>

## VI. RECOMMENDATIONS

In 2017 Antonio Guterres pledged that gender parity would be achieved across the entire UN system before 2030 and he included the full and equal participation of women in decision-making processes as an action in his agenda for disarmament.<sup>69</sup> The EU made a similar pledge with the aim of advancing the integration of gender issues into its actions and policies.<sup>70</sup> Other regional organizations such as the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) and the African Union (AU) have made similar promises.<sup>71</sup> Without a conscious effort and concrete and impactful measures, however, it is unlikely that a full gender balance, particularly among heads of delegations, will be achieved any time soon. The following recommendations are aimed at the EU and the international community for increasing the number of women involved in arms control and NPD diplomacy.

<sup>68</sup> Dwan (note 56).

<sup>69</sup> Guterres (note 54), Action 36–37.

<sup>70</sup> European Commission, 'Gender equality'.

<sup>71</sup> African Union, 'AU Strategy for Gender Equality and Women's Empowerment: A summary', [n.d.]; and NATO, *Improving the Gender Balance: A Selected List of Best Practices* (NATO: Brussels, 2008).

### Adopt concrete and binding measures at national, EU and international level that allow verifiable equal access to leading positions in academia, in diplomatic delegations and in the workplace in general

*Participation does not necessarily mean active participation: Women need to have equal access to leadership positions in arms control and NPD diplomacy.*

Quotas for gender-balanced participation can be effective at increasing women's representation at the table in arms control and NPD forums but they are not enough. On their own, they do not necessarily lead to women having any significant influence on proceedings. Furthermore, the lack of women in leading positions and as heads of delegations is a double-edged sword as it discourages women from remaining in the field and young women from joining the field in the first place.

Steps should be taken at the national, EU and international levels to combat discrimination during recruitment and appointment processes, and in the workplace more generally through the adoption of concrete and binding measurements that allow verifiable equal access to leading positions in academia, in diplomatic delegations, and in all working positions. Transparency is key.<sup>72</sup>

### Translate good intentions into concrete, quantifiable and verifiable efforts. The EU should live up to its commitments and use its soft power to function as a world model

*The EU is doing well, but that is not good enough and progress is not homogenous in all EU member states.*

In 2019, the then president of the European Council, Donald Tusk, highlighted that 'there sits only one woman: Federica Mogherini', in the top decision-making posts of the EU.<sup>73</sup> The situation is better today as two of the five top EU posts are held by women: president of the European Commission, Ursula Von Der Leyen, and, president of the European Central Bank, Christine Lagarde. From an arms control and NPD point of view, only 37 per cent of all the European delegates participating in arms control and NPD forums are women and there are important

<sup>72</sup> World Economic Forum, 'Gender equality? It starts with data', 18 Sep. 2017; and Henley, J., "'Equality won't happen by itself': How Iceland got tough on gender pay gap', *The Guardian*, 20 Feb. 2018.

<sup>73</sup> Herszenhorn, D. M., 'Gender balance "difficult to achieve" in top EU posts, warns Tusk', *Politico*, 9 May 2019.

discrepancies between European states.<sup>74</sup> For example, at the 2019 NPT Preparatory Committee, only 4 of the 27 EU member states had gender-balanced delegations. In four cases, delegations were composed *exclusively* of men. In five cases, women were the majority of delegates. The rest of the delegations contained a striking majority of men. In terms of leading positions, women were head of delegation in only 8 of the 27.<sup>75</sup>

The EU should live up to the commitments made in its newly adopted strategy and in Council Decision (CFSP) 2018/2011, which recognizes ‘the need for strengthened participation of women in decision-making and implementation processes’ related to arms control and ‘the need for States to mainstream gender dimensions in their implementation efforts’ for the Programme of Action, for national action plans and for relevant UN resolutions and SDG targets.<sup>76</sup>

Specifically:

1. Internally, the EU should resolve disparities among member states by advancing uniformizing and *binding* norms, and urging all states to adopt verifiable, concrete tools and instruments that guarantee women’s representation at all levels of society—and specifically in political leadership positions where women can exert influence and shape outcomes. Concrete efforts should be made particularly on arms control and NPD diplomacy to advance a compact of guidelines and binding commitments that sets, among other things, targets for women’s representation in delegations. The ‘active promotion’ of gender equality, a vague phrase that is often used in EU strategies and commitments on women’s representation, should be translated into concrete, quantifiable and verifiable efforts.<sup>77</sup>

2. On a more general level, the EU should exercise its soft power and use its groundbreaking work to function as a model for—and provide assistance to—third countries.

### **Invest substantially in arms control, non-proliferation and disarmament education and mentorship programmes**

*Deliberate and appropriately resourced actions need to be taken to ensure that the next generation of European arms control and NPD experts includes more women.*

First and foremost, more courses and specific academic paths on arms control and NPD should be established at high school, undergraduate and postgraduate level. William Potter, director of CNS, has recognized that major arms control and NPD issues are ignored by citizens and the international community. While this is dangerous and unacceptable, it is also ‘understandable given the very limited opportunities for study of the subject in nearly all countries’.<sup>78</sup> Projects such as the Critical Issues Forum, organized by Masako Toki, senior education project manager at CNS, have been successful at raising awareness and educating Japanese and US high school students on major arms control and NPD-related challenges.<sup>79</sup> The EU should support the creation of similar projects to educate the next generation on the threats arising from the proliferation of WMD and the illicit trafficking of SALW.

To facilitate women students and young professionals in approaching the field, and remaining in it, the EU should also sponsor and facilitate the creation of mentorship programmes. By connecting successful European women from the field with young women students and professionals, such programmes would be critical in clarifying the uncertainties surrounding career paths in the arms control and NPD field. In the same vein, more effort should be put into connecting the professional and student worlds through specific internship and training programmes, facilitating entry into the job market.

### **Dismantle stereotypes and break the vicious circle**

*Women are certainly not incapable of dealing with ‘hard’ science and ‘hard’ policy, and there are already plenty of women working in the field.*

Strong national, European and international campaigns should be conducted to revisit common perceptions and break down structural and societal gender stereotypes. Specifically in the area of arms control and NPD, such campaigns should encourage women to

<sup>74</sup> Hessmann Dalaqua et al. (note 5).

<sup>75</sup> Preparatory Committee for the 2020 Review Conference of the Parties to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons, ‘List of Participants’, 23 May 2019.

<sup>76</sup> European Commission, Gender Equality Strategy, 2020–25, [n.d.]; and Council of the European Union, Council Decision (CFSP) 2018/2011, *Official Journal of the European Union*, L322/38 17, Dec. 2018.

<sup>77</sup> See Smit (note 36).

<sup>78</sup> UNODA, *Celebrating 15 Years of Disarmament and Non-Proliferation Education* (UNODA: New York, 2017), p. 48.

<sup>79</sup> For more information see the Critical Issues Forum.



start a career in hard science or at a defence institution by demonstrating that they are not ‘male-only’ career paths.

The concept of security should be revisited globally, defining it not as the result of military strength and the possession of WMD and other arms, but as the result of serious investment in education, development and healthcare as well as investments in tackling the causes of pandemics and environmental and man-made disasters. According to Izumi Nakamitsu, UN under-secretary-general of disarmament affairs, it is the lack of investments in those sectors that is the real future threat to international security and stability.<sup>80</sup>

As a first step, active efforts should be undertaken by arms control and NPD event organizers to invite more women and establish gender-balanced panels. This is not a difficult process. Plenty of resources, such as lists of female experts on a given topic, are available online.<sup>81</sup>

### **Bring everyone on board**

*In 1989 Peggy McIntosh talked about the invisible backpack of privilege that every white person carries on their shoulders without realizing it.*<sup>82</sup>

This simple but brilliant and eye-opening metaphor sent an extremely powerful message and was a turning point for so many who were finally able to put things in perspective and see things through the eyes of people of colour, ultimately providing the fight against racism with a renewed understanding. The reality is that every fight, including the demand for gender equality in arms control and NPD negotiating processes, cannot be a one-sided fight. It needs the involvement of the other side, in this case men, because gender balance is not a ‘women’s issue’ but affects and benefits everyone. New studies should be commissioned on the positive impact of women in arms control and NPD diplomacy and these should be disseminated as far as possible. A ‘gender lens’ should be included in the discourse surrounding the field in order to educate male scholars, both young and old, on the need for gender diversity.

<sup>80</sup> Nakamitsu, I., ‘Global military spending has doubled but the world is no safer’, *Time Magazine*, 25 Apr. 2018.

<sup>81</sup> Resources available at: <https://www.gcnuclearpolicy.org/resources/>; <https://500womenscientists.org/request-a-scientist>; <https://100esperte.it/news/100esperte-politica-internazionale/>; <https://www.reflectreality.internews.org/female-experts>

<sup>82</sup> McIntosh, P., ‘White privilege: Unpacking the invisible knapsack’, *Peace and Freedom Magazine*, July/Aug. 1989, pp. 10–12.

### **Encourage organizations to join initiatives such as the Gender Champions in Nuclear Policy network**

*A number of initiatives have been developed to remove gender barriers and facilitate the achievement of women’s full and active participation and leadership.*

The Gender Champions in Nuclear Policy network, for instance, brings together heads of organizations working in nuclear policy ‘to make gender equality a working reality in their spheres of influence’.<sup>83</sup> Similar initiatives should be sponsored, encouraged and promoted at the local level among different organizations, and at the national and international levels.

<sup>83</sup> For more information see Gender Champions in Nuclear Policy, ‘About: Who we are’, [n.d.].

**ABBREVIATIONS**

ATT	Arms Trade Treaty
AU	African Union
CNS	James Martin Center for Nonproliferation Studies
EU	European Union
ILPI	International Law and Policy Institute
INF	1987 Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate-Range and Shorter- Range Missiles
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organization
NPD	Non-proliferation and disarmament
NPT	1968 Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons (Non-Proliferation Treaty)
SALW	Small arms and light weapons
SDG	Sustainable Development Goal
UNIDIR	United Nations Institute for Disarmament Research
WHO	World Health Organization
WILPF	Women's International League for Peace and Freedom
WMD	Weapons of mass destruction
WPS	Women, Peace and Security
WSP	Women's Strike for Peace

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## A EUROPEAN NETWORK

In July 2010 the Council of the European Union decided to support the creation of a network bringing together foreign policy institutions and research centers from across the EU to encourage political and security-related dialogue and the long-term discussion of measures to combat the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction (WMD) and their delivery systems. The Council of the European Union entrusted the technical implementation of this Decision to the EU Non-Proliferation Consortium. In 2018, in line with the recommendations formulated by the European Parliament the names and the mandate of the network and the Consortium have been adjusted to include the word 'disarmament'.

## STRUCTURE

The EU Non-Proliferation and Disarmament Consortium is managed jointly by six institutes: La Fondation pour la recherche stratégique (FRS), the Peace Research Institute Frankfurt (HSFK/ PRIF), the International Affairs Institute in Rome (IAI), the International Institute for Strategic Studies (IISS), the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute (SIPRI) and the Vienna Center for Disarmament and Non-Proliferation (VCDNP). The Consortium, originally comprised of four institutes, began its work in January 2011 and forms the core of a wider network of European non-proliferation and disarmament think tanks and research centers which are closely associated with the activities of the Consortium.

## MISSION

The main aim of the network of independent non-proliferation and disarmament think tanks is to encourage discussion of measures to combat the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction and their delivery systems within civil society, particularly among experts, researchers and academics in the EU and third countries. The scope of activities shall also cover issues related to conventional weapons, including small arms and light weapons (SALW).

[www.nonproliferation.eu](http://www.nonproliferation.eu)

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