

# Gender Equality, Democracy Support and Security in the EU's Neighbourhood Policies

## - Concept Paper -

### Paper by:

Gawrich, Andrea [andrea.gawrich@sowi.uni-giessen.de](mailto:andrea.gawrich@sowi.uni-giessen.de) and Lea Konrad  
[lea.konrad@sowi.uni-giessen.de](mailto:lea.konrad@sowi.uni-giessen.de) (both Justus-Liebig-University Giessen)

To be presented at the 12<sup>th</sup> Biennial Conference of the SGEU,  
Universidade NOVA, 19-21 June 2024

\*draft, do not circulate or quote without permission of the authors\*

**Abstract:** This paper conceptualises the triad of security, gender equality and democracy (support) practices to investigate how the European Union addresses the multifaceted interdependencies between these issues within its Neighbourhood Policy. After discussing the individual conceptual linkages, it sketches out how all three dimensions might be brought together while focusing specifically on possible reinforcing and contradicting tendencies between the gender equality-democracy and the gender equality-security nexuses. After outlining the general role of the triad within the EU's Foreign Policy and overall Neighbourhood Policy, we will use the triad framework to map the EU's discursive and behavioural practices within key Neighbourhood Policy documents for the case countries Armenia, Georgia, Lebanon, Ukraine, Palestine and Tunisia.

## Introduction<sup>1</sup>

This paper's main objective is to scrutinise the EU's gender equality agenda as a component of its foreign democracy support and neighbourhood policies linked to the issue of security. In doing so, this paper relies on conceptualisations of the EU Horizon project SHAPEDEM-EU<sup>2</sup>, while further developing the analytical aims of SHAPEDEM-EU (Achraimer and Pace, 2024b; Gawrich et al., 2024; Pace and Achraimer, 2023). We start with the argument that there is a gap between the EU's ambition and its external support practices of gender equality. While its

---

<sup>1</sup> This paper draws from the author's contribution to the concept manual of the SHAPEDEM-EU project and a working paper on gender equality and democracy support drafted by the authors in this context. A previous version was presented at the ECPR Joint Sessions of Workshops at the Leuphana University in Lüneburg 25 – 28 March 2024. We thank Lidiia Shumska and Meike Jakob for their support in collecting and compiling the empirical data.

<sup>2</sup> [www.shapedem-eu.eu](http://www.shapedem-eu.eu)

priority of integrating women into existing structures, rather than challenging power structures and fully realising gender equality, has arguably shifted in the last decade, many documents and practices still reflect a superficial understanding of gender equality. We argue that this is still visible in the largely isolated approaches to furthering gender equality with regard to democracy and security and even more so concerning the inclusion of the LGBTIQ community. While the EU highlights its commitment to intersections between gender and security as well as gender and democracy, it still lacks a strategy to address more complex interdependencies.

In the realm of security, while certain approaches still focus more narrowly on the impact of violent conflict on women, broader perspectives challenge the underlying gendered understandings of peace and conflict at large. Concerning democracy, such a spectrum can be found between approaches focusing on extending women's participation through non-discrimination and affirmative action and a broader attempt to uncover the gendered assumptions underlying understandings of democracy that might limit substantial representation and participation of women and the LGBTIQ community. Broadening approaches that take the gendered norms underlying both fields into account seem especially relevant in so far as they also include non-heteronormative perspectives and thus consider the impact on queer people.

This concept paper places a particular emphasis on the EU's agenda to link gender equality to democracy and security issues. Such a linkage, however, requires a discussion on the connection between security studies and conceptualisations of gender equality and democracy. The paper begins with mapping the conceptual linkages between i) gender equality and security, ii) democracy and security and iii) gender equality and democracy (support). Next, it explores the role of gender equality within EU foreign policy more broadly, followed by an empirical examination of how these linkages are addressed within the European Neighbourhood Policy.

## **The Democracy - Gender Equality – Security Triad: Conceptual Considerations**

Gender equality is defined as “the notion of equal treatment and equal opportunities for women and men, irrespective of their sexed identity” (Griffin, 2017). A fully inclusive definition, however, goes beyond sexual equality to include the entire spectrum of gendered identity. The

Council of Europe (CoE)<sup>3</sup>, which has overseen significant legal expansions on the concept of gender equality, defines gender equality comprehensively in terms of “equal rights for women and men, girls and boys, as well as the same visibility, empowerment, responsibility and participation, in all spheres of public and private life. It also implies equal access to and distribution of resources between women and men” (Council of Europe, 2018, p. 5).

We conceptualise gender equality *support* as a practice in terms of “competent performances” encompassing socially significant patterns of action that both express and potentially reinforce underlying knowledge and discourse within the material world (Adler and Pouliot, 2011, p. 4) as they indicate fundamental elements shaping and structuring the social fabric. As social orders, governance systems, or institutions are not primarily shaped by either material power or ideational factors and social behaviour is not solely the product of deliberate decision-making, but also influenced by an implicit “unspoken know-how” (Pouliot, 2008, p. 270). Thus, practices are significant analytical links, explaining especially competent performances at an international level. Even though practices, based on shared experiences and socialisation, typically have a rather durable character, they might be adapted to changed circumstances and are therefore part of societal transformation (Bueger and Gadinger, 2018, p. 37). SHAPEDEM-EU distinguishes discursive (e.g. strategy documents and speeches) and behavioural practices (e.g. funding activities) (see Achraimer and Pace, 2024a). Research from the field of organisational studies suggests that gender equality practices are often undermined by their underlying normative assumptions or competing practices within the same organisational context (Grzelec, 2022). To further conceptualise this complex interplay for the democracy-gender equality-security triad, the following sections will first, discuss the nexus between gender equality and security before, secondly, sketching out the intersection between democracy and security. In the third step, we will discuss the relationship between democracy and democracy (support) and finally, draw a picture of the triad.

## Gender Equality and Security

Without a doubt, women and other people marginalised because of their sexual identity and/or gender are among the groups most disadvantaged by armed conflict. They face issues such as

---

<sup>3</sup> Gender equality considerations by the CoE are especially interesting to consider, as its member countries cover both, the EU member states and those of the EU Eastern neighbourhood. Hence, it can be seen as an example of norm building including, at least, one of the two EU neighbourhood regions.

conflict-related sexual violence<sup>4</sup>, poverty, widowhood and human trafficking, which are often exacerbated by intersections with other social traits like class, race or ability. Moreover, the literature on gender in security studies is increasingly looking into the relationship between the proliferation of weapons and increases in gender-based violence like femicides (Bernarding et al., 2020; Cóbar and Maletta, 2019). Women's overall socio-economic empowerment, which studies on gender equality and democracy regard as a necessary condition for more equal access to democratic processes, is also frequently hampered in (post-)conflict situations, as women are often responsible for re-building or taking care of their families and household if their partners do not return. While the gendered role conceptions in the field of security also exacerbate risks to the livelihood of men in conflicts, as will be discussed below, they simultaneously grant them social and political privileges (Whitworth, 2018, p. 82). Oftentimes, even if women gain more visible public positions due to their engagement in military action, their roles are not properly acknowledged in the aftermath, leading, for example, to a lack of inclusion in disarmament, demobilisation, and reintegration programs (MacKenzie, 2009). Thus, focusing *solely* on female victimhood might hamper empowerment initiatives.

The narrative of female victimhood is also reinforced by dominant assumptions about behaviours and characteristics connected to *femininity* and *masculinity* (Whitworth, 2018, p. 75; Sjoberg, 2009, p. 187). Masculinity is often related to “competitiveness, combativeness, physical strength and assertiveness, courage, and ambition” (Cockburn, 2013, p. 438), as are privileges grounded in patriarchal structures and physical differences (Fiala, 2008, p. 49). This dominant image of “masculinist protection” (Young, 2003) and military service as a “distinctly manly occupation” (Kirby, 2016, p. 51) is often contrasted with hegemonic perceptions of femininity connected to “peacefulness, passivity, emotion, empathy, and cooperation” (Sjoberg, 2010, p. 181), often connected to narratives of motherhood (Skjelsbaek, 2010, p. 62). Narratives of female victimhood have empirically been utilised to underscore incentives for military interventions such as the U.S. intervention against the Taliban in Afghanistan (Peksen, 2011; Parashar, 2009, p. 238; Young, 2003, pp. 17–19) with the risk of further deteriorating the economic and political situation of women. Feminist security studies scholars have thus warned that the militarisation of political culture empirically leads to a fortification of gender roles and even an increase in gender inequality (Enloe, 2014 [1989]), especially in non-democratic regimes, low-income countries and societies marked by religious and culturally justified

---

<sup>4</sup> Sexual violence as a systematic tactic of war is a common feature in armed conflicts (United Nations 2023; Bouta and Frerks 2002, p. 30; Grey and Shepherd 2013, p. 116).

dominance of conservative family models (Elveren, 2022; Elveren and Moghadam, 2022). These gendered narratives of security also bear negative consequences for those portrayed as male or those who do not fit within binary identities (Kirby, 2016, p. 53; Fiala, 2008, p. 50). While many humanitarian initiatives indistinctly regard women and children as “civilians”, “fighting-aged men” are seen as possible combatants, resulting for example in their exclusion from humanitarian protection efforts (Carpenter, 2006). These gender-based characterisations tend to uphold military cultures that link hegemonic masculinity and militarisation (Cockburn, 2013).

Likewise, increasing the representation of women and queer people, for example, in military and civil-military forces, might lead to a change in the gendered culture of these institutions which could lead to broader societal change. In this regard the United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325 on Women, Peace, and Security (WPS)(UN Security Council, 2000) and subsequent action represents a significant shift in the international community's approach to gender and security. While the victimhood narrative was still dominant (McLeod, 2016), acknowledging and promoting the unique perspectives and contributions that women bring to conflict prevention and resolution marks a pivotal moment in recognising the importance of gender equality within the realm of security, in response to growing global awareness. As WPS, calls, among other aims, for the inclusion of women in conflict mediation and international peacekeeping missions, the resolutions and implementation programs support a more general trend of the rising political agency of women. Along with a rising share of women in national parliaments and governments (Inter-Parliamentary Union and UN Women, 2023), the shares of women in UN peacekeeping missions (United Nations, 2022; Lindborg 2017), national armed forces (see Mathers, 2013, p. 131) and international (security) organisations gradually rise.

## Democracy and Security

While our main focus is on conceptually linking the gender equality-democracy with the gender equality-security nexuses this section will sketch another side of the triad – the equally broad and multi-faceted nexus between democracy and security. However, due to the limited ambition of this section, we will focus on individual linkages that appear most relevant for a more holistic approach to the gender-democracy-security triad.

While neorealists within International Relations largely argue that states function as like units in striving for security, regardless of their political system (Waltz, 1979, pp. 95–96), liberal scholars going back to Immanuel Kant have long asserted a connection between democratic

regime-type and peaceful external relations most prominently found in democratic peace theory (Doyle, 1983). These debates focus on the occurrence of armed conflict and do not cover women's security in particular. One could assume a rough interdependence since, for example, empirically cases of sexual violence are higher in (post-) conflict situations and assuming that democratic regimes are less prone to conflict, women and members of the LGBTIQ community might be *relatively* safer.

Even though the dyadic claim that mature democracies behave more peacefully towards other democracies can be empirically backed up, it does not translate to regimes in transition or the monadic claim of peaceful relations between democracies and autocracies (Quackenbush and Rudy, 2009; Russett, 1993). Similarly, the EU often de-prioritises democratic principles if they compete with interests related to stability and security (Dandashly, 2018, p. 64; Youngs, 2010, p. 2). At the same time, it has previously invoked democratisation as a means of countering terrorism or supporting conflict resolution (Youngs, 2010, pp. 6; 9-10) and actively framing efforts of democracy support as an instrument in geopolitical competition in light of Russia's full-scale invasion of Ukraine (Farinha and Youngs, 2024). However, if such policies do not build on a democratic culture of security (ibid), it might have negative impacts on democracy and gender equality. For example, in cases where national security and regime survival are conflated, oppression of democratic reform, freedom or human rights might be justified in the name of national security, endangering advancements in women's and LGBTIQ rights alike.

Scholars also point to the ambiguous relationship between democracy and *human* security, with Caprioli (2004, pp. 413–415) arguing that democratic reform does not necessarily bring human rights to *all* of society, as long as women's access to these rights is in practice constrained by violence in the private sphere. Arguing that gender inequality leads to structural violence against women in the form of oppression, exclusion and the manifestation of inferiority, which in turn further legitimises violence against women in the private space (Caprioli, 2004, pp. 412–413), she places combatting gender inequality and violence against women as a pre-condition for political participation and a measure for democratic reform. Accordingly, efforts of democracy support would have to include measures to address broader societal norms and socio-economic gender inequalities, beyond formal civil rights, to increase security for women and (other) members of the LGBTIQ community.

## Gender Equality and Democracy (Support)

Granting citizens of all sexes and genders equal rights before the law and participation in society is a fundamental feature of full-fledged democracies. However, the interdependencies between democracy and gender equality are complex and dependent on the overall cultural and societal context as well as the type of democratic regime<sup>5</sup>. By omitting the gender equality dimension, ‘traditional’ democratisation approaches may serve to perpetuate a disadvantaged political position for women (Stokes, 2012, 395; 397; Caprioli, 2004, p. 421) and *counteract* gender equality, expressed by the so-called “democracy paradox” (Tickner, 2001, p. 104). Consequentially, various empirical studies highlight how democratisation efforts have led to a decrease in women's presence in formal political institutions and economic status in certain countries (Tickner, 2001, 97; 107; Moghadam, 2016, p. 194; Watson, 1993). While women and other marginalised groups often mobilise for their rights during democratic transitions (Moghadam, 2016, p. 194), gender equality has frequently been perceived as a low-priority subject and become more contested in such contexts (Tickner 2001, pp. 107–108). At the same time, Lombardo et al. (2021, p. 521) argue that *de-democratisation*<sup>6</sup> brings about “consequences for equality [including] the growth of far-right parties with explicit anti-gender, anti-feminist, anti-migration, and/or homo-/transphobic components” (Lombardo et al., 2021, p. 521). Thus, the quality of a democratic regime concerning gender equality has to be evaluated by “its capacity for inclusion and its ability to adopt policies for substantive equality as well as constitutional guarantees of formal equality” (Moghadam, 2014, p. 141).

Gender equality practices usually entail the abolishment of legal and political restrictions to enable women and (other) members of the LGBTIQ community full participation in society<sup>7</sup> and balance male-dominated spheres (Tickner, 2001, p. 13). Such measures range from the establishment of women’s suffrage to the introduction of quotas or other affirmative action measures (Jaquette, 2016, p. 98; Moghadam 2014, p. 138). While women’s formal political representation in parties, parliaments and governments has often had a significant influence on gender-related policies<sup>8</sup> gender equality approaches have to reflect on *how* women fill these

---

<sup>5</sup> Depending on the respective definitions, gender *inequality* is deeply embedded in liberal democratic thought (Phillips (1992); Okin and Satz (2013)).

<sup>6</sup> Understood as entailing “[...] a ‘shallowing’ of political citizenship and popular control over decision-making processes alongside a ‘narrowing’ of the democratic agenda to exclude issues of socioeconomic participation and inequality” (Brown (2020, pp. 1174–1175).

<sup>7</sup> Corresponding to liberal feminism, which emphasizes individuality as well as rational, self-interest driven and utility-maximizing behaviour of individuals (Biewener and Bacqué 2015, p. 66; Tickner 2001, p. 12).

<sup>8</sup> Especially with *feminist* politicians playing an “inclusionary and politicising role” by highlighting issues of equality, social justice and state accountability Lombardo et al. (2021, pp. 522–523).

positions and what their actual policy impact is (Stokes, 2012, p. 396). Moreover, they often overlook non-traditional forms of political participation often used by women like social movements and civil society organisations (Tickner, 2001, p. 7).

In line with Caprioilis's (2004) observations above, Stokes argues that gender equality practices have to go beyond measures focused on political participation to address socio-economic inequality, claiming that “[w]ithout wider and deeper social and economic equality, there is radically unequal access to those fundamental rights, and thus unequal citizenship“ (Stokes, 2012, p. 396). Feminist theories thus call for “feminist empowerment [...] [defined] as a multifaceted process that explicitly addresses social power and inequality and that enables social transformation based on women’s self-organisation” (Biewener and Bacqué, 2015, p. 61). Related practices focus on awareness-building and access to “[...] societal resources like education, employment and political power and house-hold resources like income, property, health, nutrition and decision making [...]” (George and Kuruvilla, 2020, p. 4). Another specific strategy for addressing the multiple symptoms and causes of gender inequality is gender-mainstreaming – “the integration of a gender perspective into the preparation, design, implementation, monitoring and evaluation of policies, regulatory measures and spending programmes, to promote equality between women and men, and combating discrimination”<sup>9</sup>. Such practices range from integrating gender equality into existing policies (*integrationist approach*) to more systemic approaches prompting changes in “decision-making structures and processes, prioritising gender objectives among competing issues, and reorienting the mainstream political agenda from a gender perspective” (*agenda-setting approach*; Jahan 1995 in Lombardo, 2013, p. 114).

Nevertheless, it’s important to note that *external* democratisation and gender equality practices bear the risk of “othering” and “patronising”, which might obscure women’s agency, even if unintended. For example, the construction of the “(Muslim) woman in need of empowerment” within Western foreign policy discourse on the Arab Spring, built on gendered neo-orientalist thinking that presents women’s empowerment as dependent on foreign assistance (Saleh, 2016, p. 91). Accordingly, gender equality practices should be conceptualised as a both-sided learning process rather than “top-down philanthropy” (Spivak, 2019, p. 276). In this respect the inclusion of local feminist civil society organisations as well as *diverse* groups of other feminist voices (Debusscher, 2015, pp. 276–277) is often highlighted as measures to avoid such

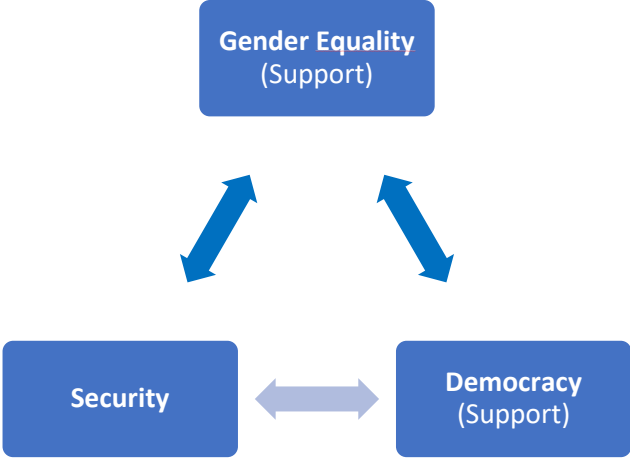
---

<sup>9</sup> <https://eige.europa.eu/gender-mainstreaming/what-is-gender-mainstreaming>.



practices and establish a gender-equal democracy (Acosta et al., 2021, p. 1151; Debusscher 2015, p. 277; Moghadam, 2014, p. 141).

### Grasping the triad



While the linkages are anything but straightforward, some baseline assumptions can be drawn from the theoretical research: Firstly, violent conflict often hampers or sets back democratisation, and might have even more negative effects on women’s and LGBTIQ rights, as progress in gender equality is often downgraded in priority, put on halt or set back during times of conflict, especially when regime survival or national security is prioritised over human rights. Oftentimes, this is also the case during regime transition, accompanied by increased oppression of women and the LGBTIQ community. Thus, secondly, democratisation decreases the risk of armed conflict between mature democracies, but that is not the case for democracy-autocracy relations or phases of transition. Which leads to thirdly, democracy alone is not sufficient to bring about gender equality or human security for women and members of the LGBTIQ community, if the root causes are not addressed. The underlying gendered norms and the resulting socio-economic inequality have to be addressed to put these groups in a position where they can access the civil and political rights secured by anti-discrimination and affirmative action policies.

This reflects, fourthly, the debates on gender and security, especially observable concerning the WPS agenda. Increasing the number of women (and LGBTIQ people) within peace and security institutions and actively including local feminist actors could enhance the democratic quality of decision-making processes and broaden the perspectives needed for more comprehensive political outcomes. However, a fifth point can be made, in which debates on gender equality and democracy critically underscore the questions of how far representation leads to the

*substantive* influence of women and members of the LGBTIQ community over policy outcomes and their implementation and how far intersectional approaches are followed that include more marginalised groups of women. This is crucial regarding a sixth point – when it comes to external democracy support it is important to consider how to include feminist stakeholders on the ground to prevent practices of othering and victimisation, suggesting that empowerment is dependent on foreign assistance instead of local female agency. Finally, underlying ideas of masculinist protection and female victimhood have to be addressed to reform the peace and security sector in the long run. Thus, a holistic approach to combatting gender inequality is likely to benefit *both* – the democratic quality of a given polity and the security of women and other people marginalised based on their sexual identity and/or gender. Thus, gender equality support practices following a holistic approach include:

	Practice Dimensions
1.	Non-discrimination
2.	Socio-economic empowerment
3.	Victimhood
4.	Agency
5.	Gender-mainstreaming
6.	Gender norms

### **Triad in practice – Democracy support, gender equality and security in the EU’s Neighbourhood Policy**

This paper singles out the intersection of gender equality – democracy support – and security to understand possible interdependences. In a first step to assess this triad in the EU Neighbourhood Policy, we outline the general role of gender equality support practices in the EU foreign policy. Building on this, we will discuss the state of research concerning the Neighbourhood policy before presenting a framework to analyse key Neighbourhood Policy documents.

#### **Gender Equality as part of the EU’s Foreign Policy**

The entirety of the EU gender equality practices might be perceived as a gender regime (Connell, 2009, pp. 72–73), shaped by various institutional actors, that play a role in establishing discursive and behavioural practices. The EU has been an ambitious actor in

promoting gender equality within its internal<sup>10</sup> and external affairs, striving for gender equality as a basic value enshrined in its founding treaties and within the global UN Sustainable Development Goals. It intends to implement a dual approach of gender mainstreaming and targeted measures (European Commission, 2020d, p. 2) through “systematically including a gender perspective in all stages of policy design in all EU policy areas, internal and external” (European Commission, 2020a). This goal is also emphasised by the EU’s 2016 Global Strategy (European External Action Service, 2016, p. 11).

The Gender Equality Action Plans – GAP I (2010-2015), GAP II (2016-2020) and GAP III (2021-2025) – are the cornerstone of the EU’s external gender equality support practices. While GAP II showed progress due to a more comprehensive and nuanced understanding of gender, shortcomings were observed in attempts to establish quantifiable measurements of gender equality, which, according to critics, are “prone to stereotypical, essentialist and problematic depictions of gender” (Beier and Çağlar, 2020, p. 438) possibly limiting its potential to address the structural roots of inequality and efforts of intersectionality (Beier and Çağlar, 2020, p. 438; Debusscher, 2015, p. 277; Lombardo and Rolandsen Agustin, 2012, p. 497). GAP III titled “Gender Equality and Women’s Empowerment in External Action 2021-2025”, adopted in November 2020, aims to achieve progress in the following key areas: “ensuring freedom from all forms of gender-based violence; promoting sexual and reproductive health and rights; strengthening economic and social rights and the empowerment of girls and women; advancing equal participation and leadership; implementing the women, peace and security agenda, addressing challenges and harnessing the opportunities offered by the green transition and the digital transformation” (European Commission, 2020c, p. 3). The EU tries to tackle the root causes of inequality by employing a “gender-transformative approach” that focuses on “examining, questioning, and changing rigid gender norms and imbalances of power which disadvantage women and girls” and at the same time remains context-sensitive by “forg[ing] strong partnerships and dialogue with local actors, civil society and local” (European Commission, 2020c, p. 4). Moreover, GAP III explicitly aims to address intersectionality, including LGBTIQ rights (European Commission, 2020c, p. 4).

---

<sup>10</sup> In its internal affairs, the EU has established ten Gender Equality Policy Programmes and Strategies to date, including the most recently introduced “Gender Equality Strategy 2020-2025” and has adopted its first LGBTIQ Equality Strategy in 2020 (European Commission 2020d). The various policy programs are marked by a steep legal and functional “downgrading” in their overall ambition and format (Ahrens 2019, p. 62), arguably leading to a gradual marginalisation of gender issues (Haastrup et al. 2019, p. 64; Guerrina et al. 2018).

The EU tries to account for local differences in understandings and progress concerning gender equality between the neighbourhood countries<sup>11</sup> by setting out concrete strategies in form of Country Level Implementation Plans (CLIPs) and reviewing them for all countries in the Eastern and Southern Neighbourhood. According to the EU's GAP III, these plans are to be created by the "EU Delegations, Common Security and Defence Policy (CSDP) operations and missions, in coordination with EU Member States' embassies" (European Commission, 2020c, p. 7) and are based on gender country profiles and gender-sector analysis (European Commission, 2020c, 7, Fn. 27). Regarding local ownership, the GAP III explicitly promises that "[the] country roadmaps for EU engagement with civil society will integrate the gender perspective and will ensure meaningful participation of women's and girls' organisations and grassroots organisations" (European Commission, 2020c, p. 7).

These tasks especially concern the EUs External Action Service (EEAS), which has been directed to support gender equality since the Lisbon Treaty (Thies, 2020, pp. 435–436), arguably leading to a decrease in responsibility for gender mainstreaming within the EU Commission (Guerrina and Wright, 2016, p. 302). While feminist scholars have observed a lack of gender equality *within* the EEAS (Guerrina and Wright, 2016, p. 302), its ambition of "leading by example" was recently reinforced by the EEAS Gender and Equal Opportunity Strategy 2018-2023, the EEAS Gender Parity Action Plan 2021-2024 as well as EEAS Diversity and Inclusion Agenda 2023-2025 (European Commission, 2023). Moreover, the EU tries to increase the visibility of gender equality by designating the role of an Ambassador for Gender and Diversity within the EEAS<sup>12</sup>, who represents the EEAS e.g. in multilateral fora.

The EU also downloads or adopts norms of regional or international gender equality entrepreneurs, has endorsed several international gender equality instruments<sup>13</sup> and establishes strategic partnerships on gender equality with international organisations from within the United Nations System, like UN Women and ILO (Thies, 2020, p. 450). Besides the adoption of gender equality principles enshrined in the UN sustainable development goals or the Council of Europe's Istanbul convention (which not all EU members have yet ratified), the adoption and implementation of the UN Women Peace and Security Agenda appears especially relevant

---

<sup>11</sup> The understanding of gender equality as well as the related process varies greatly within and between the Eastern and Southern Neighbourhood and different EU member states according to indices like the IDEA Global State of Democracy Index, the PARLINE database and the UNDP Gender Equality Index.

<sup>12</sup> [https://www.eeas.europa.eu/eeas/eu-ambassador-gender-and-diversity\\_en](https://www.eeas.europa.eu/eeas/eu-ambassador-gender-and-diversity_en).

<sup>13</sup> Like the UNSR 1325 Women, Peace and Security, Council of Europe's Istanbul Convention, UN Women Beijing Declaration and UN 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development, the G7 Roadmap for Gender Responsive Economic Environment among others.

concerning the democracy-gender equality-security triad. As Guerrina and Wright (2016) stress, before the UNSCR 1325, the EU had lacked a cohesive strategy or significant agency and had been initially reluctant to prioritise gender equality within the security field. Hence, the adoption of UNSCR 1325 led to a re-evaluation of gender dynamics within security structures. The EU gradually began to acknowledge the importance of addressing the gendered dimensions related to conflict and security. Based on the Council Conclusions on Women, Peace and Security from 2018 (Council of the European Union, 2018), the EEAS has provided an Action Plan for the implementation of WPS that focuses on "the key priority areas of prevention, protection, relief and recovery, and the three overarching and cross-cutting principles of participation, gender mainstreaming and leading by example" (EEAS, 2019, p. 5). This policy shift became visible with the adoption of various initiatives to promote gender equality within its security framework and, at a very general level, the inclusion of gender mainstreaming principles into its Common Security and Defence Policy (CSDP) (Muehlenhoff, 2021).

Simultaneously, the EU's gender equality promotion agenda faces challenges from growing anti-gender and anti-feminist movements (Lombardo et al., 2021) within its member states and contestation of its gender equality practices within neighbourhood societies. The main accusations go in the direction of double standards (hence, demanding from others what is not fully and always guaranteed within the EU) or even "cultural imperialism". Furthermore, the EU's promotion of gender equality in its external relations, particularly in its neighbourhood policies, raises important questions about their effects and potential unintended consequences. All in all, linking this back to SHAPEDEM-EU's analytical and empirical ambition, it merits exploration of how far the EU's democracy support practices are sensitive to local circumstances, provide opportunities for a joint democracy learning loop as well as room to include formerly unheard local voices into that policy field exchange.

## EU Neighbourhood Policy

While the EU posits a commitment to gender-mainstreaming throughout all policy areas, the current state of research, which is still limited with regards to the gender-security dimension (Muehlenhoff, 2021) and even more so concerning the EU's Neighbourhood Policy, suggests that this is only partly the case. While the EU has already supported the inclusion of gender mainstreaming in the context of the Union for the Mediterranean (European Commission, 2021, p. 57), it has also declared its support for increasing gender equality initiatives in the Eastern Partnership based on a more gender-transformative approach challenging gendered stereotypes and actively engaging men and boys in the efforts against gender-based violence (European

Commission, 2020b). Although gender was mentioned in several Eastern Partnership declarations starting in 2015, Barseghyan (2020) highlights that gender equality is still underemphasised, for example, in the Joint Communiqué “Reinforcing Resilience – an Eastern Partnership that delivers for all” of 2020 while pointing to a severe underrepresentation and other shortcomings in gender equality in the countries of the Eastern Partnership. In a study of the ENP strategic documents, IDEA highlights that “while gender equality features among the common values on which the ENP is based, clear objectives and specific action points are lacking” and advocates for a gender equality budget line as well as “measurable targets” for progress reporting and higher levels of accountability (IDEA, 2016, p. 6). Moreover, there is a difference in the available gender equality instruments concerning actual membership candidates, as the enlargement procedures represent probably the EU’s strongest instrument in this regard (Woodward and van der Vleuten, 2014, p. 77).

Kunz and Maisenbacher (2017) emphasise the integration of gender equality promotion in the newest European Neighbourhood Policy documents in terms of “gender mainstreaming, specific projects and political dialogues” (Kunz and Maisenbacher, 2017, p. 123). On one hand, they critically examine the documents by focusing on processes of racial Othering and identity-building through normative delineation (Kunz and Maisenbacher, 2017, p. 123). On the other hand, there is concern that “in its attempt not to be seen as post-colonial, the EU runs the risk of reifying’ culture or at least of legitimising inequalities on the basis of cultural ‘difference’ — even where those claims to ‘difference’ are not acceptable or defensible. [There] is little sense though that the EU understands the risk to its own sense of identity and/or perceptions thereof” (David and Guerrina, 2013, p. 60). Thus, an inherent balancing act between patronising and othering practices on the one hand and the risk of diluting normative standards on the other hand remains. We will closely examine how the EU addresses it in context of its ENP documents.

## **Data set and analysis**

The country cases, selected within SHAPEDEM-EU cover three case countries from the Eastern Partnership (EaP) with Ukraine, Georgia, and Armenia and three case countries from the Southern Neighbourhood with Lebanon, Palestine, and Tunisia. Based on the foregoing, this study will analyse the key documents of the EU Neighbourhood policy with a focus on whether they address the following, interconnected but analytically separate dimensions:

	Practice Dimension	Operationalisation
1.	Non-discrimination	Abolishment of formal restrictions to civil and political rights, i.e. active and passive electoral rights, <i>might</i> include affirmative action measures like quotas.
2.	Socio-economic empowerment	Raising awareness and providing access to resources
3.	Victimhood	Addressing and responding to women's and LGBTIQ multi-faceted <i>affectedness</i> by security measures and violent conflict i.e. through policy measures in response to sexual violence, psychological and socio-economic effects.
4.	Agency	Emphasising and increasing women's and LGBTIQ <i>agency</i> a) <i>Overall</i> by including local feminist actors and civil society organisations b) <i>In the security sector</i> i.e. by enhancing their formal and substantial participation.
5.	Gender-mainstreaming	Integrationist or agenda-setting approach concerning a) <i>security issues</i> b) <i>democracy support</i>
6.	Gender norms	a) Addressing and b) responding to underlying gendered ideas, narratives and structures c) <i>Overall</i> and d) within the <i>peace and security sector</i> .

For all practice categories, we will also separately check if the document a) exclusively focuses on women or b) explicitly includes the LGBTIQ community.

The data set comprises 101 Documents for the Eastern Neighbourhood and 86 Documents for the Southern Neighbourhood listed on the DG NEAR website<sup>14</sup> under “key documents” that mention at least the topic of gender (in)equality explicitly. They include strategy documents, agreements, resolutions, reviews, reports, action plans, joint staff working documents, individual measures, declarations and annexes to commission implementing decisions. They will be analysed in a qualitative content analysis based on the categories listed above using MAXQD. Moreover, we have included the available Country Level Implementation Plans for Ukraine, Georgia, Armenia, Tunisia and Palestine (West Bank / Gaza) and Gender Country

<sup>14</sup> For the Eastern Neighbourhood: [https://neighbourhood-enlargement.ec.europa.eu/european-neighbourhood-policy/eastern-partnership\\_en](https://neighbourhood-enlargement.ec.europa.eu/european-neighbourhood-policy/eastern-partnership_en). For the Southern Neighbourhood: [https://neighbourhood-enlargement.ec.europa.eu/european-neighbourhood-policy/southern-neighbourhood\\_en](https://neighbourhood-enlargement.ec.europa.eu/european-neighbourhood-policy/southern-neighbourhood_en)

Profiles for Ukraine, Armenia and Tunisia that we have already subjected to an explorative analysis focusing on the gender equality and security nexus<sup>15</sup>:

EUs Gender Equality CLIPs / GCPs for the ENP						
Country	UKRAINE	GEORGIA	ARMENIA	WEST BANK/GAZA	LEBANON	TUNISIA
Document	CLIP/GCP	CLIP	CLIP/GCP	CLIP	./.	CLIP/GCP

Source: [https://capacity4dev.europa.eu/groups/country-level-implementation-plans-clips-gender/info/european-neighbourhood-policy-and-enlargement-negotiations\\_en](https://capacity4dev.europa.eu/groups/country-level-implementation-plans-clips-gender/info/european-neighbourhood-policy-and-enlargement-negotiations_en) (last access 18th of March 2024)

**Empirical analysis (*Preliminary findings*)**

During the collection of these documents, preliminary trends could be observed: First, starting in 2010 the vast majority (approximately 90%) of all documents for *both* neighbourhoods at least mention gender (in)equality, even if they do not contain a whole part or sub-chapter dealing with the issue. Second, LGBTIQ (as “LGBT+”) issues are only mentioned in 9 documents for the Eastern Neighbourhood (amounting to 9%) and in 5 documents for the Southern Neighbourhood (6%).

The available CLIPs and GCPs depict a multifaceted picture, wherein distinctions between the Eastern and Southern Neighbourhoods are not readily discernible. Instead, the development and content of Comprehensive Local Integration Plans (CLIPs) appear heavily influenced by factors such as the nature of interactions, the breadth of actors involved, the prevailing security environment, and the state of gender equality within each respective country. Furthermore, the assessment of report quality unveils significant variability across several dimensions, including report length, underlying frameworks, strategic formulations, and linguistic nuances. Such disparities contribute to a heterogeneous tapestry of reporting standards, complicating efforts to draw uniform conclusions. A notable gap observed across the evaluated reports is the inadequate representation and inclusion of the LGBTIQ community, underscoring a systemic failure to embrace diverse perspectives and experiences. This glaring omission underscores a persistent pattern of exclusion within the analysed discourse, necessitating urgent remediation. Conversely, the Women, Peace, and Security (WPS) Agenda emerges as a pervasive and favoured framework for shaping strategies aimed at promoting gender parity and combatting

---

<sup>15</sup> As presented at the ECPR Joint Sessions of Workshops 25 – 28 March 2024 at the Leuphana University in Lüneburg.



gender-based violence. Its recurrent invocation underscores its significance as a guiding principle in policy formulation within the examined context.

Moreover, the pervasive theme of female victimhood underscores a pressing societal challenge that demands concerted attention and remedial action across multiple domains. In contrast, there is a noticeable trend in the reports towards acknowledging and promoting female agency, aligning closely with the principles espoused by the WPS Agenda. This emphasis reflects a concerted effort to empower women and elevate their role as active agents of change within their respective contexts. Despite a consistently expressed desire for future collaboration with civil society organisations, their actual engagement in the formulation of CLIPs remains notably limited. This disconnect between aspiration and practice underscores an area ripe for improvement in fostering more inclusive and participatory approaches to policy development and implementation, thereby ensuring a more robust and effective response to gender-related security challenges. Moreover, this absence in certain national contexts can explain the EU's lacklustre effectiveness in supporting democracy.

*To be added.*

## Conclusion

*To be added.*

## References

- Achrainer, C. and Pace, M. (2024a) 'Non-learning Within a Constellation of Communities of Practice: The Case of the EU and Its Democracy Support in the Arab World', *JCMS: Journal of Common Market Studies*.
- Achrainer, C. and Pace, M. (2024b) *SHAPEDEM-EU Concepts Manual*, SHAPEDEM-EU Consortium [Online]. Available at [https://shapedem-eu.eu/user/pages/06.publications/SHAPEDEM-EU\\_Publication\\_2\\_Concept\\_Manual.pdf](https://shapedem-eu.eu/user/pages/06.publications/SHAPEDEM-EU_Publication_2_Concept_Manual.pdf) (Accessed 4 March 2024).
- Acosta, M., van Wessel, M., van Bommel, S. and Feindt, P. H. (2021) 'Examining the promise of 'the local' for improving gender equality in agriculture and climate change adaptation', *Third World Quarterly*, vol. 42, no. 6, pp. 1135–1156.
- Adler, E. and Pouliot, V. (2011) 'Introduction and Framework', in Adler, E. and Pouliot, V. (eds) *International practices*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, pp. 3–35.
- Ahrens, P. (2019) 'The birth, life, and death of policy instruments: 35 years of EU gender equality policy programmes', *West European Politics*, vol. 42, no. 1, pp. 45–66.
- Barseghyan, A. (2020) *An Eastern Partnership that delivers for all, except women?* [Online], Dahrendorf Forum (Debating Europe). Available at <https://www.dahrendorf-forum.eu/an-eastern-partnership-that-delivers-for-all-except-women/> (Accessed 1 February 2023).
- Beier, F. and Çağlar, G. (2020) 'Depoliticising Gender Equality in Turbulent Times: The Case of the European Gender Action Plan for External Relations', *Political Studies Review*, vol. 18, no. 3, pp. 426–443.
- Bernarding, N., Lunz, K. and Wisotzki, S. (2020) *Why the international arms trade is a feminist issue - and what Germany can do about it* [Online], Centre for Feminist Foreign Policy and Heinrich Böll Stiftung (Policy Brief).

- Available at [https://www.boell.de/sites/default/files/2020-11/CFFP\\_hbs\\_policybrief\\_internationalarmstradefeministissue.pdf](https://www.boell.de/sites/default/files/2020-11/CFFP_hbs_policybrief_internationalarmstradefeministissue.pdf) (Accessed 4 March 2024).
- Biewener, C. and Bacqué, M.-H. (2015) 'Feminism and the Politics of Empowerment in International Development', *Africa & Francophonie*, 2nd Quarter 2015 [Online]. Available at [https://www.airuniversity.af.edu/Portals/10/ASPJ\\_French/journals\\_E/Volume-06\\_Issue-2/biewenerbacque\\_e.pdf](https://www.airuniversity.af.edu/Portals/10/ASPJ_French/journals_E/Volume-06_Issue-2/biewenerbacque_e.pdf) (Accessed 31 January 2023).
- Bouta, T. and Frerks, G. (2002) *Women's Roles in Conflict Prevention, Conflict Resolution and Post-Conflict Reconstruction: Literature Review and Institutional Analysis*, Clingendael [Online]. Available at <https://reliefweb.int/attachments/7d15108e-4c73-3988-a35b-e14520f9d487/D946B37BBFD5E431C1256D56002EB960-NetherlandsWomenRole.pdf>.
- Brown, J. (2020) 'Neoliberalization, De-democratization, and Populist Responses in Western Europe, the US, and Latin America', *Critical Sociology*, vol. 46, 7-8, pp. 1173–1187.
- Bueger, C. and Gadinger, F. (2018) *International Practice Theory*, Cham, Springer International Publishing.
- Caprioli, M. (2004) 'Democracy and Human Rights Versus Women's Security: A Contradiction?', *Security Dialogue*, vol. 35, no. 4, pp. 411–428.
- Carpenter, R. C. (2006) *Innocent women and children: Gender, norms and the protection of Civilians* [Online], New York, London, Routledge Taylor & Francis Group. Available at <https://www.taylorfrancis.com/books/9781315588582>.
- Cóbar, J. F. A. and Maletta, G. (2019) *The inclusion of gender-based violence concerns in arms transfers decisions: The case of the Arms Trade Treaty* [Online], Stockholm International Peace Research Institute (WritePeace blog). Available at <https://www.sipri.org/commentary/blog/2019/inclusion-gender-based-violence-concerns-arms-transfers-decisions-case-arms-trade-treaty> (Accessed 4 March 2024).
- Cockburn, C. (2013) 'War and security, women and gender: an overview of the issues', *Gender & Development*, vol. 21, no. 3, pp. 433–452.
- Connell, R. (2009) *Gender: In World Perspective*, Cambridge, Polity.
- Council of Europe (2018) *Council of Europe Gender Equality Strategy 2018-2023* [Online]. Available at <https://rm.coe.int/prems-093618-gbr-gender-equality-strategy-2023-web-a5/16808b47e1> (Accessed 21 November 2022).
- Council of the European Union (2018) *Council Conclusions on Women, Peace and Security* [Online]. Available at <https://www.consilium.europa.eu/media/37412/st15086-en18.pdf> (Accessed 12 June 2024).
- Dandashly, A. (2018) 'EU Democracy Promotion and the Dominance of the Security–Stability Nexus', *Mediterranean Politics*, vol. 23, no. 1, pp. 62–82.
- David, M. and Guerrina, R. (2013) 'Gender and European external relations: Dominant discourses and unintended consequences of gender mainstreaming', *Women's Studies International Forum*, vol. 39, pp. 53–62.
- Debusscher, P. (2015) 'Analysing European gender equality policies abroad: A reflection on methodology', *European Journal of Women's Studies*, vol. 23, no. 3, pp. 265–280.
- Doyle, M. W. (1983) 'Kant, Liberal Legacies, and Foreign Affairs', *Philosophy & Public Affairs*, vol. 12, no. 3, pp. 205–235.
- EEAS (2019) *EU Action Plan on Women, Peace and Security (WPS) 2019-2024* [Online]. Available at <https://data.consilium.europa.eu/doc/document/ST-11031-2019-INIT/en/pdf> (Accessed 12 May 2024).
- Elveren, A. Y. (2022) *The Impact of Militarization on Gender Inequality*, UN Women, Research Paper March 2022 [Online]. Available at <https://www.unwomen.org/sites/default/files/2022-08/Impact-of-militarization-on-gender-inequality-en.pdf> (Accessed 15 May 2024).
- Elveren, A. Y. and Moghadam, V. M. (2022) 'Militarization and Gender Inequality: Exploring the Impact', *Journal of Women, Politics & Policy*, vol. 43, no. 4, pp. 427–445.
- Enloe, C. (2014 [1989]) *Bananas, Beaches and Bases: Making Feminist Sense of International Politics*, 2nd edn, Berkeley, University of California Press.
- European Commission (2020a) *Communication from the Commission to the European Parliament, the Council, the European Economic and Social Committee and the Committee of the Regions: A Union of Equality: Gender Equality Strategy 2020-2025* [Online], Brussels. Available at <https://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/TXT/PDF/?uri=CELEX:52020DC0152&from=EN> (Accessed 21 November 2022).

- European Commission (2020b) *Gender Action Plan – putting women and girls' rights at the heart of the global recovery for a gender-equal world* [Online], Brussels. Available at [https://ec.europa.eu/commission/presscorner/detail/en/IP\\_20\\_2184](https://ec.europa.eu/commission/presscorner/detail/en/IP_20_2184) (Accessed 16 March 2023).
- European Commission (2020c) *Joint Communication to the European Parliament and the Council: EU Gender Action Plan (GAP) III - An Ambitious Agenda for Gender Equality and Women's Empowerment in EU External Action* [Online]. Available at [https://international-partnerships.ec.europa.eu/system/files/2021-01/join-2020-17-final\\_en.pdf](https://international-partnerships.ec.europa.eu/system/files/2021-01/join-2020-17-final_en.pdf) (Accessed 16 March 2023).
- European Commission (2020d) *Union of Equality: LGBTIQ Equality Strategy 2020-2025: Communication from the Commission to the European Parliament, the Council, the European Economic and Social Committee and the Committee of the Regions* [Online], Brussels. Available at <https://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/TXT/PDF/?uri=CELEX:52020DC0698&from=DE> (Accessed 24 November 2022).
- European Commission (2021) *2021 report on gender equality in the EU* [Online], Publications Office of the European Union. Available at <https://op.europa.eu/en/publication-detail/-/publication/11d9cab1-fa52-11eb-b520-01aa75ed71a1/language-en> (Accessed 16 March 2023).
- European Commission (2023) *Diversity and Inclusion Agenda in the EEAS 2023-2025* [Online], Brussels. Available at [https://www.eeas.europa.eu/eeas/diversity-and-inclusion-agenda-eeas-2023-2025\\_en](https://www.eeas.europa.eu/eeas/diversity-and-inclusion-agenda-eeas-2023-2025_en).
- European External Action Service (2016) *Shared Vision, Common Action: A Stronger Europe: A Global Strategy for the European Union's Foreign And Security Policy* [Online]. Available at [https://eeas.europa.eu/sites/default/files/eugs\\_review\\_web\\_0.pdf](https://eeas.europa.eu/sites/default/files/eugs_review_web_0.pdf).
- Farinha, R. and Youngs, R. (2024) *Securitization and European Democracy Policy* [Online], Carnegie Europe. Available at <https://carnegieendowment.org/research/2024/04/securitization-and-european-democracy-policy?lang=en&center=europe> (Accessed 15 May 2024).
- Fiala, I. J. (2008) 'Unsung Heroes: Women's Contributions in the Military and Why Their Song Goes Unsung', in Carreiras, H. and Kümmel, G. (eds) *Women in the Military and in Armed Conflict*, Wiesbaden, VS Verlag für Sozialwissenschaften, pp. 49–61.
- Gawrich, A., Schöppner, F., Pace, M., Achraimer, C., Balfour, R., Huber, D., Góra, M., Korosteleva, E., Mikhelidze, N., Soler i Lecha, E. and Youngs, R. (2024) *Ambitions for the Future of EU Democracy Support*, Justus-Liebig-Universität 1 [Online]. Available at [https://shapedem-eu.eu/user/pages/06.publications/SHAPEDEM-EU\\_Publication\\_1\\_Position\\_Paper\\_Final.pdf](https://shapedem-eu.eu/user/pages/06.publications/SHAPEDEM-EU_Publication_1_Position_Paper_Final.pdf) (Accessed 26 February 2024).
- George, I. and Kuruvilla, M. (2020) 'Conceptualizing Gender Mainstreaming and Women Empowerment in the 21st Century', in Erbe, N., Kuruvilla, M. and George, I. (eds) *Handbook of Research on New Dimensions of Gender Mainstreaming and Women Empowerment*, IGI Global, pp. 1–21.
- Grey, R. and Shepherd, L. J. (2013) "'Stop Rape Now?'"', *Men and Masculinities*, vol. 16, no. 1, pp. 115–135.
- Griffin, G. (2017) *A dictionary of gender studies*, Oxford, Oxford University Press.
- Grzelec, A. (2022) 'Doing gender equality and undoing gender inequality. A practice theory perspective', *Gender, Work & Organization*.
- Guerrina, R., Haastrup, T., Wright, K. A., Masselot, A., MACRAE, H. and Cavaghan, R. (2018) 'Does European Union studies have a gender problem? Experiences from researching Brexit', *International Feminist Journal of Politics*, vol. 20, no. 2, pp. 252–257.
- Guerrina, R. and Wright, K. A. M. (2016) 'Gendering Normative Power Europe: Lessons of the Women, Peace and Security Agenda', *International Affairs*, vol. 92, no. 2, pp. 293–312.
- Haastrup, T., Wright, K. A. M. and Guerrina, R. (2019) 'Bringing Gender In? EU Foreign and Security Policy after Brexit', *Politics and Governance*, vol. 7, no. 3, pp. 62–71.
- IDEA (2016) *Supporting democracy in the EU Neighbourhood: the Eastern Partnership* [Online] (Policy Brief January 2016). Available at <https://www.idea.int/sites/default/files/publications/supporting-democracy-in-the-eu-neighbourhood-the-eastern-partnership.pdf> (Accessed 2 February 2023).
- Inter-Parliamentary Union and UN Women (2023) *Women in Politics: 2023* [Online]. Available at <https://www.unwomen.org/en/digital-library/publications/2023/03/women-in-politics-map-2023>.
- Jaquette, J. S. (2016) 'Gender and democratization', in Steans, J. and Tepe, D. (eds) *Handbook on Gender in World Politics*, Edward Elgar Publishing, pp. 94–102.
- Kirby, P. (2016) 'Masculinities in international relations', in Steans, J. and Tepe, D. (eds) *Handbook on Gender in World Politics*, Edward Elgar Publishing, pp. 50–57.

- Kunz, R. and Maisenbacher, J. (2017) 'Women in the neighbourhood: Reinstating the European Union's civilising mission on the back of gender equality promotion?', *European Journal of International Relations*, vol. 23, no. 1, pp. 122–144.
- Lindborg, N. (2017) *The Essential Role of Women in Peacebuilding* [Online], United States Institute of Peace. Available at <https://www.usip.org/publications/2017/11/essential-role-women-peacebuilding>.
- Lombardo, E. (2013) 'Gender Mainstreaming', in Evans, M. and Williams, C. H. (eds) *Gender: The key concepts*, London, New York, NY, Routledge, pp. 112–117.
- Lombardo, E., Kantola, J. and Rubio-Marin, R. (2021) 'De-Democratization and Opposition to Gender Equality Politics in Europe', *Social Politics: International Studies in Gender, State & Society*, vol. 28, no. 3, pp. 521–531.
- Lombardo, E. and Rolandsen Agustin, L. (2012) 'Framing Gender Intersections in the European Union: What Implications for the Quality of Intersectionality in Policies?', *Social Politics: International Studies in Gender, State & Society*, vol. 19, no. 4, pp. 482–512.
- MacKenzie, M. (2009) 'Securitization and Desecuritization: Female Soldiers and the Reconstruction of Women in Post-Conflict Sierra Leone', *Security Studies*, vol. 18, no. 2, pp. 241–261.
- Mathers, J. G. (2013) 'Women and State Military Forces', in Enloe, C. H. (ed) *Women and wars*, Cambridge, Malden, Polity, pp. 124–145.
- McLeod, L. (2016) 'The Women, Peace and Security resolutions: UNSCR 1325 to 2122', in Steans, J. and Tepe-Belfrage, D. (eds) *Handbook on gender in world politics*, Cheltenham, UK, Northampton, MA, USA, Edward Elgar Publishing, pp. 271–279.
- Moghadam, V. M. (2014) 'Modernising women and democratisation after the Arab Spring', *The Journal of North African Studies*, vol. 19, no. 2, pp. 137–142.
- Moghadam, V. M. (2016) 'Women and Democracy after the Arab Spring: Theory, Practice, and Prospects', in Shalaby, M. and Moghadam, V. M. (eds) *Empowering Women after the Arab Spring*, New York, Palgrave Macmillan US; Imprint: Palgrave Macmillan, pp. 193–215.
- Muehlenhoff, H. L. (2021) 'Security and defence policy', in Abels, G., Krizsán, A., MACRAE, H. and van der Vleuten, A. (eds) *The Routledge handbook of gender and EU politics* [Online], London, New York, Routledge Taylor & Francis Group, pp. 327–338. Available at <https://www.taylorfrancis.com/books/9781351049955>.
- Okin, S. M. and Satz, D. (2013) *Women in Western political thought*, Princeton, Oxford, Princeton University Press.
- Pace, M. and Achraimer, C. (2023) *Working Paper on Democracy and Democracy Support: Conference Paper at the 10th European Workshops in International Studies (EWIS), Amsterdam, 12-14 July, Amsterdam*.
- Parashar, S. (2009) 'Feminist international relations and women militants: case studies from Sri Lanka and Kashmir', *Cambridge Review of International Affairs*, vol. 22, no. 2, pp. 235–256.
- Peksen, D. (2011) 'Foreign military intervention and women's rights', *Journal of Peace Research*, vol. 48, 4 (July 2011), pp. 455–468.
- Phillips, A. (1992) 'Must Feminists Give up on Liberal Democracy?', *Political Studies*, vol. 40, 1\_suppl, pp. 68–82.
- Pouliot, V. (2008) 'The Logic of Practicality: A Theory of Practice of Security Communities', *International Organization*, vol. 62, no. 02.
- Quackenbush, S. L. and Rudy, M. (2009) 'Evaluating the Monadic Democratic Peace', *Conflict Management and Peace Science*, vol. 26, no. 3, pp. 268–285.
- Russett, B. (1993) 'Can a democratic peace be built?', *International Interactions*, vol. 18, no. 3, pp. 277–282.
- Saleh, L. (2016) '(Muslim) Woman in Need of Empowerment', *International Feminist Journal of Politics*, vol. 18, no. 1, pp. 80–98.
- Sjoberg, L. (2009) 'Introduction to Security Studies: Feminist Contributions', *Security Studies*, vol. 18, no. 2, pp. 183–213.
- Sjoberg, L. (2010) 'Reconstructing Women in Postconflict Rwanda', in Wang, L., Fuller, L. K. and Chandler, R. M. (eds) *Women, war, and violence: Personal perspectives and global activism* [Online], New York, Palgrave Macmillan, pp. 171–188. Available at <http://site.ebrary.com/lib/alltitles/docDetail.action?docID=10445956>.
- Skjelsbaek, I. (2010) 'Is Femininity Inherently Peaceful?: The Construction of Femininity in the War', in Skjelsbaek, I. and Smith, D. (eds) *Gender, peace and conflict* [Online], Oslo, London, Thousand Oaks, Calif, PRIO, pp. 47–

67. Available at

<http://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&scope=site&db=nlebk&db=nlabk&AN=251775>.

Spivak, G. C. (2019) 'Can There Be a Feminist World?', in Marcus, S. and Zaloom, C. (eds) *Think in Public*, Columbia University Press, pp. 263–278.

Stokes, W. (2012) 'Democratization and gender', in Haynes, J. (ed) *Routledge handbook of democratization*, New York, Routledge, pp. 395–407.

Thies, A. (2020) 'The EU's Law and Policy Framework for the Promotion of Gender Equality in the World', in Giegerich, T. (ed) *The European Union as protector and promoter of equality*, Cham, Springer, pp. 429–454.

Tickner, J. A. (2001) *Gendering world politics: Issues and approaches in the Post-Cold War Era* [Online], New York, Columbia University Press. Available at <http://www.h-net.org/review/hrev-a0c4i6-aa>.

UN Security Council (2000) *Women and peace and security: Resolution 1325* [Online]. Available at <http://unscr.com/en/resolutions/doc/1325>.

United Nations (2022) *Women, Peace and Security Highlights of UN Peacekeeping in 2022* [Online], New York. Available at [https://peacekeeping.un.org/sites/default/files/dpo\\_wps\\_annual\\_report\\_-\\_2022\\_-\\_final.pdf?\\_gl=1\\*2jlj9a\\*\\_ga\\*NDU3Njg2OTYzLjE3MDk1NjkzNjQ.\\*\\_ga\\_TK9BQL5X7Z\\*MTcwOTU2OTQxNy4xLjEuMTcwOTU2OTQzNS4wLjAuMA](https://peacekeeping.un.org/sites/default/files/dpo_wps_annual_report_-_2022_-_final.pdf?_gl=1*2jlj9a*_ga*NDU3Njg2OTYzLjE3MDk1NjkzNjQ.*_ga_TK9BQL5X7Z*MTcwOTU2OTQxNy4xLjEuMTcwOTU2OTQzNS4wLjAuMA).

United Nations (2023) *Conflict-related sexual violence: Report of the United Nations Secretary-General* [Online]. Available at <https://www.un.org/sexualviolenceinconflict/wp-content/uploads/2023/07/SG-REPORT-2023SPREAD-1.pdf>.

Waltz, K. N. (1979) *Theory of international politics*, Boston, London, McGraw-Hill.

Watson, P. (1993) 'Eastern Europe's silent revolution: Gender', *Sociology*, vol. 27, no. 3, pp. 471–487.

Whitworth, S. (2018) 'Feminisms', in Williams, P. D. and McDonald, M. (eds) *Security Studies: An Introduction*, 3rd edn, Milton, Taylor and Francis, pp. 74–85.

Woodward, A. E. and van der Vleuten, A. (2014) 'EU and the export of gender equality norms: Myth and facts', in van der Vleuten, A., van Eerdewijk, A. H. J. M. and Roggeband, C. (eds) *Gender equality norms in regional governance: Transnational dynamics in Europe, South America and Southern Africa*, Basingstoke, Palgrave Macmillan, pp. 67–92.

Young, I. M. (2003) 'The Logic of Masculinist Protection: Reflections on the Current Security State', *Signs*, vol. 29, no. 1, pp. 1–25.

Youngs, R. (2010) *Security through Democracy: Between Aspiration and Pretence*, FRIDE, FRIDE Working Papers [Online]. Available at [https://www.files.ethz.ch/isn/130604/WP103\\_Security\\_democracy\\_ENG\\_nov10.pdf](https://www.files.ethz.ch/isn/130604/WP103_Security_democracy_ENG_nov10.pdf) (Accessed 15 May 2024).