



Education for peace and human rights

# WOMEN, PEACE AND SECURITY

Recommendations to the Brazilian National Action Plan  
on Women, Peace and Security

OCTOBER 2023





## ABOUT THE STUDY

This is a study developed by Think Twice Brasil with the support from the global campaign *She Builds Peace*, an initiative led by the International Civil Society Action Network (ICAN) and the Women's Alliance for Security Leadership (WASL), in response to the public call made by the Commission of Foreign Relations and National Defense (CRE) of the Brazilian Senate to evaluate the National Action Plan on Women, Peace and Security, which is under the rapporteur of Senator Mara Gabrilli.

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## ABOUT TTB

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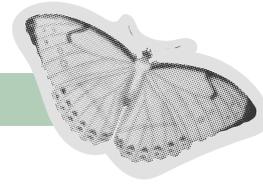
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# INTRODUCTION

Brazil is one of the 107 countries that by July 2023 already had a National Action Plan ("NAP") on Women, Peace and Security that arises from Resolution 1325/2020 of the UN Security Council. In South America, Brazil is alongside Argentina, Chile, Peru, Uruguay and Paraguay. Colombia began developing its NAP in 2023 and has already been identified as a reference in the process of public consultation and collective construction with civil society.

- The **Resolution 1325/2020** seeks to ensure the active participation of women in conflict prevention, conflict resolution, peacebuilding and decision-making related to national and international security, recognizing the disproportionate impact that conflicts have on women and children. The agenda aims to create a more inclusive and equitable environment to promote global peace and security.

Like other South American NAPs, the Brazilian document focuses on guiding the country's actions on the international stage, following the standard usually adopted by European countries, serving more as a symbolic message on the topic, rather than a true action plan. This characteristic has even compromised the real implementation of the NAP since its publication in 2017, and as far as we know, there is no public information about the evaluation of this initial phase. The lack of public information on the monitoring and evaluation of the NAP limited the recommendations presented in this document to a rough analysis of the current version of the plan.

It should be noted that from a political point of view, the international focus of the NAP has chosen to reinforce the figure of Brazil as a territory belonging to what is called "*zone of peace*", since, despite the unquestionable numbers that demonstrate the experience of violence and insecurity, Brazil is not formally considered a zone of armed conflict. Given that, the intention to concentrate the application of the agenda to the international context ends up disregarding the complexity and impact of the various conflicts faced in national territory.

In this sense, the NAP review is an opportunity to investigate, recognize and contemplate the Brazilian reality as an object of the plan itself, proposing the nationalization and localization of the agenda. To this end, it is convenient to start from a decolonial perspective, which values local knowledge, culture and diversity, while questioning the historical and structural violence and inequalities that shaped the region.





The literature on the topic points out that *high-impact* NAPs are organized into four central elements (Jacevic, 2019):

- Strong political commitment;
- Inclusive development process and coordinated system for implementation;
- Plan for monitoring and evaluating results; and
- Definition and allocation of resources for implementation and evaluation.

Based on these elements for the review of the Brazilian NAP, it will be essential to identify bottlenecks and propose effective measures that can be implemented in the national territory and also in its diplomatic and humanitarian missions. The nationalization and localization of the Brazilian NAP can represent a significant reinforcement in confronting structural violence and inequality that mainly affect women and children, jointly addressing sensitive issues in the country, such as domestic violence, police lethality, political gender violence, structural racism and the constant threat to indigenous peoples and territories.

Furthermore, as relevant as addressing national issues in the NAP, it is recommended to also consider issues of transnational impact, which represent immanent threats that are not limited to territorial borders, such as climate emergency, digital and cyber insecurity, human trafficking and sexual exploitation.

Finally, considering the political and economic position that Brazil occupies in the Global South, the NAP review process can contribute to the country leading cutting-edge discussions, influencing new paradigms of cooperation, implementation and financing of the agenda on Women, Peace and Security.



## HIGH-IMPACT NATIONAL ACTION PLANS

As mentioned before, the current version of the Brazilian NAP has little practical applicability and does not mention in detail those responsible for its implementation, as well as monitoring indicators and sources of financing for the proposed actions. Notably, this absence may signal little political will to recognize the importance of effective application of the NAP, placing the document as a symbolic device in the foreign policy framework. It is important to note that the development of a robust and consistent NAP takes time and the mobilization of human and financial resources, and it is essential to plan activities prior to writing the NAP itself, such as awareness-raising workshops, stakeholder mapping, gathering of diverse perspectives, field visits, composition of working groups and broad communication about the agenda and ongoing process, as will be seen in the following chapters.

Below we will present brief reflections on how it is possible to revisit the Brazilian NAP based on the elements considered central to the formulation of high-impact NAPs (Jacevic, 2019).

- **Political commitment**

The articulation of strong political will for the development and effective implementation of the NAP depends not only on the commitment of the senior leadership of the ministries, secretariats and agencies involved, but above all on the civil servants who will be in charge of directly implementing and monitoring the PNA.

In this sense, considering the Brazilian context, it is essential to map all the actors that could positively or negatively influence the agenda, building a public narrative about the NAP that is consistent and sensitive to political disputes. Political will is also built from increasing the awareness of the population and public leaders on the topic, with the implementation of continued educational training actions on the Women, Peace and Security agenda being binding from a Brazilian and Latin-American perspective.

- **Inclusive process and coordinated system for implementation**

To create a high-impact NAP, it is essential to establish an inclusive process of co-creation, involving authorities and collaborators from different ministries and secretariats, the legislative, the judiciary, security forces, international organizations, and leaders from civil society organizations.

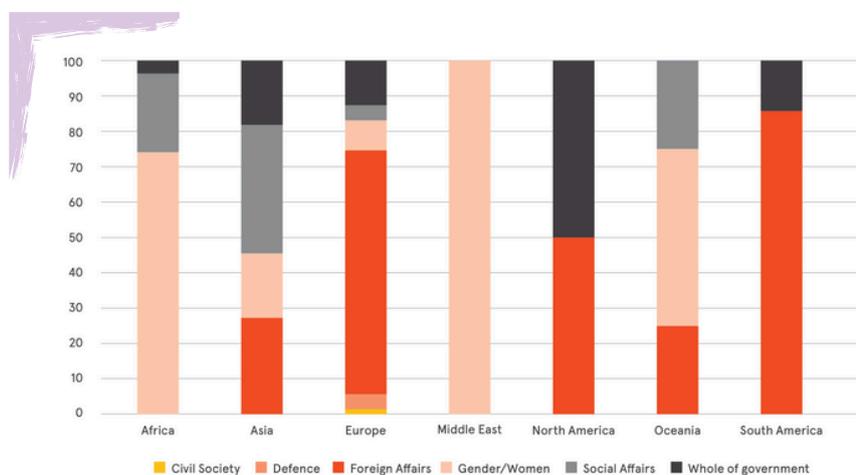




The inclusion of all stakeholders can occur through the application of national and regional questionnaires, interviews with community leaders, periodic meetings with civil society representatives and visits to strategic regions for the agenda. Mapping the stakeholders is essential, understanding who are the most suitable partners to carry out each stage of the process, which must include awareness raising, data collection, consultation with civil society and female leaders, recollection of the national and international legal framework, collaborative construction of the NAP by the responsible public bodies and civil society representatives, transparent communication of the process to society, public awareness and training of public servants and community leaders on the topic.

Furthermore, it is important to define which ministries and secretariats will be central to the development and implementation of the NAP, highlighting specific civil servants who will form a continuous working group alongside representatives of civil society. Creating a clear and objective flow of activities, deliveries, responsible parties and deadlines is essential to ensure the progress of the process. A good question to ask is: what is the smallest possible number of people needed to form the NAP management, development, implementation, monitoring and communication groups?

The first version of the Brazilian NAP published in 2017, was coordinated between the Ministries of Foreign Affairs, Defense, Justice and Public Security and the Secretariat of Policies for Women. The trend observed in most NAPs already adopted in other countries is to centralize the governance of the plan under the responsibility of the Foreign Affairs or Gender department (Hamilton, Naam & Shepherd, 2020). Both cases can be problematic, because when the NAP is under the main management of the foreign relations department, the plan tends to focus on international operations and when under the management of the Gender department, it is possible that there will be no transversalization of the politics in order to influence all sectors of government. Therefore, the recommendation is to highlight an inter-ministerial group to coordinate the development and implementation of the plan and eventually establish alternate management of the plan by a specific department.



• Figure 4, extracted from Hamilton, C., Naam, N., & Shepherd, L. J. (2020). Twenty years of women, peace and security National Action Plans: Analysis and lessons learned, page 7.



Currently, given the ministerial composition of the Brazilian government until October 2023, it is recommended that in addition to the Ministries mentioned above, the Ministries of Women, Human Rights and Citizenship, Racial Equality, Indigenous Peoples, Integration and Regional Development, Environment and Climate Change and Planning and Budgeting are also invited.

- **Monitoring and evaluation plan**

Monitoring and evaluation processes require the creation of indicators that can be measured and monitored. These indicators may refer to objective short, medium and long-term goals. To this end, it is initially convenient to propose an initial period of implementation of the NAP, which usually varies from 2 to 5 years of applicability, placing each of the indicators at the appropriate time of the plan.

Furthermore, it is important to have knowledge about the starting point of each of the expected results, in order to make the application of the indicators viable. The clarity of this information and the definition of a periodic monitoring process will make it possible to assess whether or not the initially outlined results are being achieved depending on the performance of those responsible, the proper allocation of resources, the unfeasibility of the goal or deadline or any other reason must be brought to the attention of the NAP management group, in order to reflect any necessary adjustments to the process and/or document.

Using the concept of SMART goals - Specific, Measurable, Achievable, Relevant and Temporal - can be a relevant guide for defining indicators. Below we adapt the text of Pillar 4 of the current Brazilian NAP, as a simplified example of how SMART indicators can be formulated.

			Indicators				
Result	Activities	Execution	Also 1	Term	Again 2	Term	Resources
Deepen and disseminate knowledge about the Women, Peace and Security agenda among public servants in the Ministries and Secretariats involved in implementing the NAP.	Conduct training workshops on the WPS agenda for all components of the NAP working groups	--	10 training workshops for all working groups	Out/24	--	--	--
	Conduct training workshops on the WPS agenda for senior public leaders directly involved with the NAP	--	5 training workshops for senior leaders	Out/24	--	--	--



- **Resource definition and allocation**

According to studies and analyzes on NAPs (Jacevic, 2019; Bognon & Anderlini, 2020), most documents adopted by the 107 countries do not mention the sources of financing for the development, implementation and evaluation of the policy, nor do they discriminate the resources needed to the execution of each proposed activity. The absence of a budget forecast drastically compromises the implementation of the NAP, almost always reducing it to a document of purely symbolic significance.

The adequate forecast of the necessary financial resources must be constructed realistically and supported by the knowledge of experts on the subject. This is because it is common to come across budget plans that highlight superfluous amounts and are unable to cover the minimum costs of the proposed activities. Furthermore, once the cost forecast has been prepared, it is time to define the sources of financing, which will certainly be supported by the budget of the Ministries involved, but which may also consider international financing, the composition of national and regional funds, development banks and private social investment. It is also important to consider the inclusion of the NAP in the Annual Budget Law.

Finally, once the costs have been established and the sources of financing defined, it is essential that there is clarity and transparency in the management of resources, as well as some autonomy for the different executors of the NAP, in order to guarantee speed in implementation. The publication of periodic resource application reports is recommended.



# NATIONALIZATION AND LOCALIZATION

The current Brazilian NAP focuses on Brazil's actions in international territory, proposing national interventions only with regard to the participation of women in strategic positions and linked to diplomacy and security forces, in addition to raising awareness among Brazilian public servants about the agenda of Women, Peace and Security.

It turns out that, although Brazil is not formally considered a conflict or post-conflict zone, the numbers show violence as a norm in Brazilian territory. A survey by the Ipsos Institute (June/2023) in 29 countries, placed Brazil in 3rd. place in relation to the feeling of violence and insecurity experienced by society. Furthermore, according to the national report published by the Edelman Trust Barometer (2023), Brazil is at risk of severe polarization, with a significant breakdown in trust relationships between individuals, public institutions and the media, which increases the risk of regional and national conflicts.

In this sense, it is worth highlighting that the colonization process in Brazil and Latin America introduced violence as a legitimate tool of domination and control, becoming part of the country's social, economic and political structure. The legacy of colonization, which continues to this day through invisible structures, reproduces inequalities and violence throughout society, but especially for historically minoritized groups, such as women, indigenous people, black people, people with disabilities, LGBTQIA+, refugees, children and the elderly, for example. In this way, the nationalization and localization of the NAP not only serves as a tool for historical reparation, but also has the potential to serve as a catalyst for structural change.

That said, it is possible to conclude that the Brazilian territory is experiencing the concept of Negative Peace, which is configured when there is a formal absence of armed conflict, but there is the maintenance of asymmetrical power relations, silencing of complex conflicts and the perception of constant fear by the population. The construction of a Positive Peace, which is characterized by the absence of evident violence and, above all, the systemic transformation of the structures that support violence, is a long-term construction that requires the mobilization, to some extent, of all sectors of the society.

For this reason, in addition to actions in the field of international relations, it is essential that the NAP can also have national and local application, linking the Women, Peace and Security agenda to the main challenges faced in the country and the expectations of the population itself regarding to what is understood and expected from the concepts of peace and security in practice.





In this context, it is necessary to guarantee intersectionality as a premise, assuming the diversity of the Brazilian population, especially women, and the urgency of considering the aspects of race, gender, ethnicity, class, disability, territory and many others that make up the individual and collective aspects of being a woman in Brazil.

To this end, it is essential to install a prior process of mobilizing civil society and regional and local leaders to collect relevant data, map potential stakeholders, investigate the weaknesses and potential of each region and build a network of support and reference for the national NAP. In this context, there must also be an effort to tailor the NAP to existing legislation related to the topic, as well as other national and regional policies that can serve to implement the plan.

In Colombia, for example, the initial phase of development of the NAP focused on listening to female leaders, feminist movements and civil society representatives, bringing together more than 1,500 people in 6 regional forums, 7 state forums, and 7 other territorial forums. With inputs collected from these meetings, the working groups organized by the responsible ministries began developing the first version of the NAP.

Finally, considering the peculiarities of the Brazilian territory, it is essential to define the national concept of women peacebuilders (Anderlini, 2020), in order to give them legitimacy to integrate all phases of the NAP's development, implementation and monitoring. It should be noted that women peacebuilders are also defenders of human rights and/or the environment, but what differentiates them and places them in an even greater vulnerable position is the fact that they establish and sustain dialogues with diametrically opposed parties, which may usually generates threats to physical and emotional integrity, digital attacks, public retaliation and discredit. It is essential to recognize, protect and value the central role that women peacebuilders play in rebuilding the social fabric.

- **Nationalization - Adapt the recommendations of Resolution 1325 and usually applied in the context of international relations to the demands of the national territory, recognizing and addressing diversities and peculiarities.**

- **Location - Equip the executive, legislative and judiciary powers of States and Municipalities with practical tools to make the necessary adaptations to the PNA so that it can be implemented efficiently in their locations.**



## POSSIBLE STRATEGIES FOR THE NAP

As mentioned previously, the current Brazilian NAP highlights its focus on international relations, although it does not present clear goals and deadlines of what it actually intends to achieve. Even so, Brazil is one of the pioneering countries in considering actions related to migration and refuge in its NAP, both in relation to international missions and in the reception of refugee women and children. This issue remains an emergency and can be addressed with more emphasis in the new version of the plan. Furthermore, it is possible to think about more ambitious actions at the international level, such as the proposal to host global events to discuss the Women, Peace and Security agenda and the articulation of a Global South/Latin American bloc to discuss and implement a potential Regional Plan. Furthermore, it is convenient to link the expected results with the 2030 Agenda of Sustainable Development Goals, as they are already better known to the general public and can instrumentalize the application of the NAP.

Regarding the national agenda, it is recommended to implement a transversal plan, based on evidence and that can support an intersectional approach for all other intersectoral public policies.

In this context, the nationalization and localization of the NAP can start not only from the themes already addressed in the current version and whose focus is limited to international action, but also from the inclusion of themes that are especially sensitive to the Brazilian context. Below we list national challenges directly linked to the Women, Peace and Security agenda and which can be reflected in due course according to the fundamental pillars suggested by the Resolution 1325 (Participation, Prevention, Protection, Relief and recovery):

- Structural Racism
- Militias and organized crime
- Land grabbing and deforestation
- Threats to indigenous peoples and territories
- Food and nutritional insecurity
- Domestic violence
- Sexual violence
- Gender political violence
- Police lethality
- Attacks on democratic institutions
- Disability, autism and neurodiversity
- Sexual and reproductive rights
- Threats to Peacebuilders and Human Rights Defenders
- Care economy and parenting policies





Naturally, the themes previously highlighted may be complemented or even relativized depending on the data collected during the public consultation phase on the agenda. Because of this, the definition of priority strategies for the NAP will also depend on the results found from the investigation and data collection actions on the agenda.

Finally, there are issues of transnational relevance that increasingly represent threats to the peace and security of all countries, regardless of territorial limits. It should be noted that among the 107 NAPs in force, few already addresses such issues, and it is true that in South America there are no records of NAPs that have addressed these topics.

- Environmental and human rights violations caused by companies (Business and Human Rights)
- Cyber and digital threats
- Climate Emergency
- Terrorism and Extremism
- Human trafficking and sexual exploitation
- Crimes and hate speech

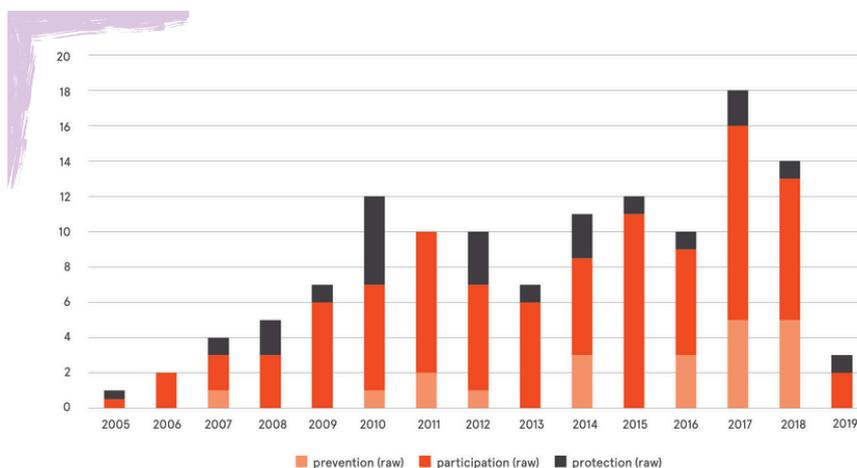


# INTEGRATION OF THE NAP WITH THE PILLARS OF THE RESOLUTION NO. 1325/2020

Resolution 1325 is organized into four fundamental pillars:

- **Prevention:** Highlights the importance of avoiding armed conflicts and treating their structural causes to minimize the social impact, especially for women and children.
- **Participation:** Emphasizes the need for women's active participation at all levels of decision-making related to peace and security.
- **Protection:** Focuses on the protection of women and children in situations of armed conflict, including the prevention of sexual and gender-based violence, as well as support for victims.
- **Relief and Recovery:** Addresses the specific needs of women in conflict and post-conflict situations, including ensuring access to basic health services, education, justice and economic opportunities.

According to a study conducted by the University of Sydney (Hamilton, Naam & Shepherd, 2020), since the formulation of the first NAPs, in 2005, the pillar of participation has emerged as the dominant axis in proposing actions. This trend continues today, probably because it is the pillar with the greatest potential for advancement in a short space of time, as well as the one that most enables monitoring and evaluation with objective and quantitative metrics. From 2016 onwards, it is possible to observe an increasing appreciation of the prevention pillar, but the participation pillar remains the dominant one in current NAPs.



• Figure 1, extracted from Hamilton, C., Naam, N., & Shepherd, L. J. (2020). Twenty years of women, peace and security National Action Plans: Analysis and lessons learned, page 4.





With regard to the Brazilian NAP, the document is also organized around four pillars: Participation, Prevention and Protection, Consolidation of Peace and Humanitarian Cooperation and Deepening, Awareness and Engagement. As the global trend indicates, in the Brazilian NAP, the pillars that stand out when proposing actions are Participation and Prevention and Protection.

It should be noted that although most NAPs focus on presenting proposals to increase women's participation in decision-making and policy formulation processes, there is no guarantee that the inclusion of women in these spaces alone will promote greater alignment and commitment to the Women, Peace and Security agenda (Anderlini, 2020). For this reason, it is essential that the propositions related to each of the four structuring pillars of the Resolution 1325/2020 are balanced, with special attention to the implementation of awareness-raising and training actions for all stakeholders, who are capable of leveraging understanding about the topic and deepen the commitments outlined.

## CONCLUSION

The review of the Brazilian NAP on Women, Peace and Security is an auspicious opportunity to affirm the resumption of Brazil's prestige on the international stage, as well as to contemplate the country's reality. However, for this to be truly achieved, commitment and responsibility are required with robust planning that provides for the broad inclusion and consideration of civil society at all stages of plan development. We highlight the importance of observing the four elements that configure high-impact NAPs, namely, strong political commitment, establishment of an inclusive development process and coordinated system for implementation, clear and feasible plan for monitoring and evaluation, and definition and allocation of financial resources.

Furthermore, the recognition of intersectionality as a premise and of violence and inequality as guiding threads of Brazilian social, economic and political structures can be the starting point for thinking about a NAP with adequate international, national and local application, linking the expectations of the population itself with in relation to what is understood and expected from the concepts of peace and security in practice. In this sense, articulating a new version of the plan that combines more balanced actions between the four fundamental pillars proposed by the Resolution 1325/2020, could contribute to continuous and sustainable implementation over the coming years.

Finally, taking advantage of the political willingness and capacity to revisit the current NAP, Brazil has the chance to propose an innovative, inclusive and collaborative process, being able to influence and lead the advancement of the Women, Peace and Security agenda in the Global South.





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