The Women, Peace and Security Survey

REFLECTIONS FROM WOMEN PEACEBUILDERS

by Kristine Baekgaard, Vanessa Rickenbrode, and Jessica M. Smith



GIWPS Georgetown Institute for Women, Peace and Security

EMBASSY OF DENMARK
Washington D.C.

Georgetown University's Institute for Women, Peace and Security (GIWPS) seeks to promote a more stable, peaceful, and just world by focusing on the important role women play in preventing conflict and building peace, growing economies, and addressing global threats like climate change and violent extremism. The institute pursues this mission through research that is accessible to practitioners and policymakers, global convenings, strategic partnerships, and nurturing the next generation of leaders. Melanne Verveer, the first U.S. Ambassador for Global Women's Issues, is the institute's executive director. Hillary Rodham Clinton is the institute's honorary founding chair.

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Foreword

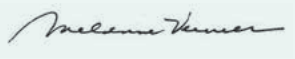
As we entered the new century in 2000, the world was in transition. The international community was increasingly focused on building peace, strengthening democracy, and promoting women's rights. From Kosovo to Timor-Leste, peacekeeping operations were reshaping the global response to war, while armed conflict in Rwanda and Bosnia-Herzegovina exposed the need to address sexual violence in wartime and protect civilians from mass atrocities. Freedom House recorded several years of steady gains in political rights and civil liberties worldwide. And just five years earlier, 189 governments had endorsed the Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action, a historic commitment to advancing women's rights. Against this backdrop, the adoption of United Nations Security Council Resolution (UNSCR) 1325 in 2000 marked a historic moment: the first formal recognition by the Security Council that peace cannot be achieved without the inclusion, leadership, and experiences of women.

Twenty-five years later, the world is at another inflection point. But this time, it is one defined by greater fragility and reversals of progress. Conflicts are intensifying and becoming more intractable. The global order is more divided, and international mechanisms for preventing and resolving violence are under unprecedented strain. In this shifting landscape, the hard-won gains of the last two decades, particularly those made by women in fragile and conflict-affected contexts, are being eroded. Democracy is in decline, civic space is shrinking, and backlash against women's rights is accelerating. In 2023, the world witnessed the highest number of armed conflicts since 1946, and in 2024, nearly one in four countries reported backlash against women's rights. These converging crises are not gender neutral; they are profoundly shaping the world in which women peacebuilders operate.

Despite recent challenges, the Women, Peace and Security (WPS) Agenda has fostered meaningful and measurable progress over the last two decades. More than 100 countries have adopted National Action Plans for integrating a gender perspective into their peace and security institutions. Civil society organizations, particularly women-led groups, have built powerful movements for peace, advocated for survivors, and held governments and institutions accountable for actions that undermine peace and security. From Colombia to South Sudan, women have negotiated ceasefires, brokered peace, and delivered justice. Amid ongoing conflict, from Myanmar to Ukraine, women advocate for peace, call out abuses, and demand to be included when conflict ends. These victories are not small—they are transformative. Women's work has reshaped peacebuilding from the ground up. But the gains remain precarious, often unsupported, and frequently unrecognized.

This year marks more than the 25th anniversary of UNSCR 1325. It is a moment for deliberation and resolve. As we confront a world of growing violence and of civic freedoms under siege, the stakes for women peacebuilders have never been higher. This report is both a reflection and a call to action. Centering on the experiences of women peacebuilders from around the world, it highlights spaces where they find influence and meaning, reveals areas where improvement is needed, and offers recommendations for the future of WPS grounded in the voices of women from around the world.

Based on survey responses from 2,744 women in 121 countries—one of the largest samples of women peacebuilders to date—this report charts the landscape of gains and gaps in WPS. Most important, it looks ahead to a future that can and must be different: one in which women's voices in peace and security are not optional but foundational. As we enter this next era of work, we invite the international community to listen to, learn from, and stand with women peacebuilders everywhere. The moment calls not for caution, but for courage. The world cannot afford to backslide. The future of peace depends on our collective willingness to act.



Melanne Verveer
Executive Director



Kristine Baekgaard
Lead Author

Acknowledgments

This report would not have been possible without the time, insights, and collaboration of countless individuals and organizations committed to advancing peace and women's leadership.

We are deeply indebted to every person who took the time to sit with us and add their voice in the survey. Your insights are at the heart of this work, and this report would not exist without you.

We extend our gratitude to the peacebuilders and women's organizations that shared their expertise, contributed to content, and helped distribute the survey to their networks. Their collaboration was essential:

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- **SIHA Network**, Hala Alkarib (Sudan)
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We are grateful to all who contributed to the research process, including Kate Lee and Sophie Romana from Althae Strategy on the design of the survey instrument, and our research assistants for their support: Ananya Balakrishnan for help translating qualitative responses and Ava Kawamura for assisting with the literature review. Miki Jacevic also offered critical guidance and supported outreach.

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We would like to acknowledge Denmark's tremendous leadership and commitment to the Women, Peace and Security Agenda, including our partners at the Embassy of Denmark in the United States whose generous support made this project possible. In addition, we are grateful to The Rockefeller Foundation and the UK Foreign, Commonwealth & Development Office (FCDO) for their generous support for our women leaders' networks.

Finally, we extend our deep gratitude, admiration, and solidarity to the peacebuilders around the world who work with courage and persistence every day to build more just and peaceful societies.

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Key survey findings and implications

With 2,744 women respondents in 121 countries, our survey is one of the largest datasets on women peacebuilders and reveals the importance of the Women, Peace and Security (WPS) Agenda.

The vast majority of women do not use the term *peacebuilder* to describe themselves, identifying instead as activists.	• 53 percent of respondents identify as activists, while 29 percent would call themselves peacebuilders. • This distinction matters because it expands our view of who is doing peacebuilding work and reveals the need to build broader coalitions that include activists, human rights defenders, and feminist movements to fully mobilize the collective power of peace and security actors.
Women frequently engage in multiple peace and security activities simultaneously.	• 77 percent engage in multiple peace and security activities, reflecting both the breadth of women's contributions and the interrelatedness of peace and security issues. • WPS efforts must move beyond siloed programming and invest in integrated, flexible approaches that match the reality of women's work on the ground.
Women participate extensively in traditional peace and security activities, such as mediation and peace processes.	• 40 percent participate in mediation, and 37 percent in peace processes, demonstrating women's central role in conflict resolution despite limited formal recognition. • WPS efforts must continue to prioritize these core areas while expanding to address emerging threats such as climate change and technology.
Women have leading roles in advancing the broader social and structural conditions that sustain peace and security.	• Over half the respondents participate in women's and girls' education or in sexual and gender-based violence services. • WPS initiatives must recognize and support this expansive work by investing in approaches that bridge formal processes and community-level peacebuilding.
Women report that many of the programs intended to support their peace and security work are falling short.	• 35 percent or more rate disarmament, demobilization, and reintegration, environmental and climate resilience, and justice and legal initiatives as ineffective. • Because poorly designed programs risk reinforcing marginalization and eroding trust, effectiveness requires designing, implementing, and evaluating initiatives in genuine partnership with women from the outset.

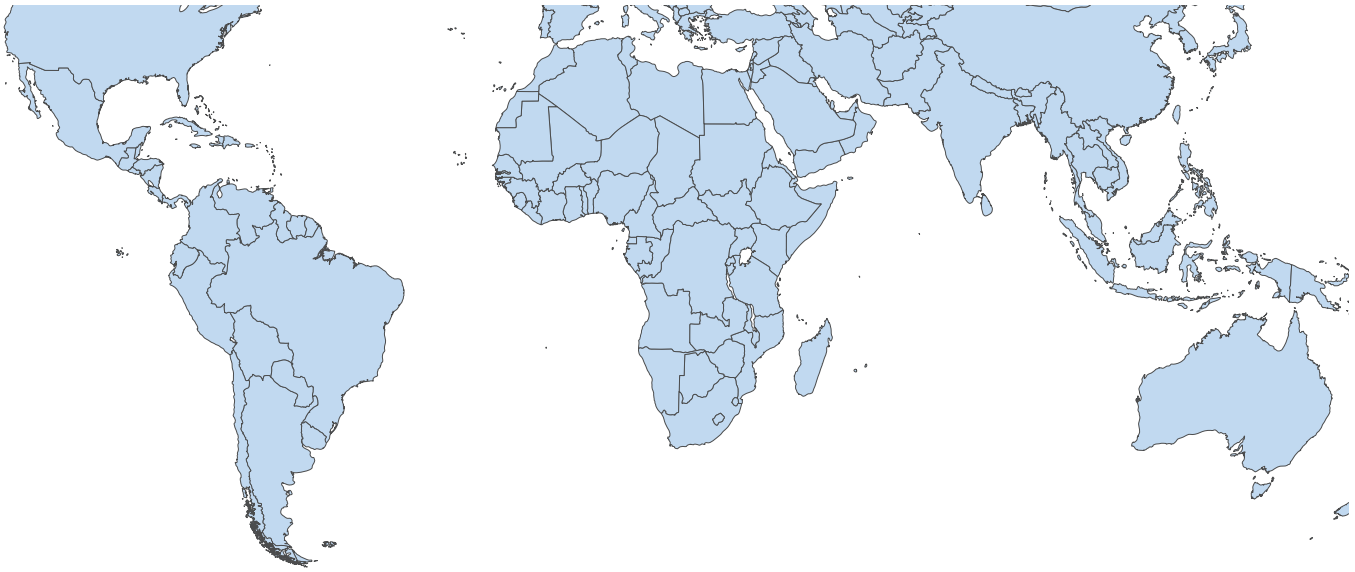
Across regions, women highlight education, leadership development, and cooperation mechanisms as among the most effective services to advance peace and security.	• Across regions, more than half consider education, leadership development, and cooperation mechanisms to be most effective. • Equipping women with the tools and support needed to lead multidimensional peace and security efforts requires sustained investment in programs that strengthen skills, networks, and social cohesion, even when the programs fall outside traditional WPS frameworks.
Women drive change in their communities, but they have limited influence in formal spaces such as government and international organizations.	• 62 percent see themselves as able to create change in their households, and 51 percent in their workplaces, but 21 percent report no ability to create change in national government. • While women's influence at the community level is crucial, we must continue to expand efforts to ensure women's meaningful, rather than tokenistic, inclusion in all spaces where decisions are made, including formal institutions.
Women report that their peace and security work is deeply meaningful, but it comes at great personal cost.	• 63 percent report gaining new skills through their peace and security work, but 46 percent experience fatigue, and one in four report burnout and worsening mental health as negative consequences of their peace and security efforts, underscoring the strain of sustaining these efforts with limited support. • Addressing challenges that endanger women peacebuilders and jeopardize broader progress toward peace and security, such as burnout, financial strain, and exposure to risk, requires interventions that provide sustained protection, resources, and support to women doing this crucial work.
The risks and opportunities women face are shaped by more than their gender.	• WPS work is riskier for vulnerable populations. Migrant, refugee, and displaced women are more than twice as likely as women who are not in these groups to perceive more risks associated with their peace and security work. A one-size-fits-all approach limits impact, so programs should be designed to meet the diverse needs of women from different backgrounds and fully leverage their contributions to advancing peace and security work.
Poverty is one of the most pressing challenges shaping women's experiences of their peace and security work.	• One-third identify poverty as one of the biggest challenges in their work, highlighting deep interconnections between peace and development. • This finding fundamentally challenges the idea that WPS and development work are separate: sustained investment in development is essential to unlock the full power of women's contributions to peace and security because without addressing women's poverty and access to livelihoods, WPS work will fall short of its transformative potential.
The issues women identify as most challenging and urgent differ by region.	• Education in South Asia (highlighted as a core challenge by 46 percent of respondents), women's leadership in the Middle East and North Africa (42 percent), climate-related security concerns in East Asia and the Pacific (15 percent), and infrastructure deficits in Central and Eastern Europe and Central Asia (26 percent). • WPS implementation will be more successful if it is tailored to local needs and priorities, as identified by women in those contexts.
Across regions, women are calling on the international community to provide long-term funding to support their peace and security work.	• 43 percent identify long-term funding as an urgent need to accomplish their peace and security goals; 40 percent also report a decrease in funding for their work over the past two years. • Responding to this call requires donors to offer funding that is sustained, accessible, and flexible, empowering women-led organizations to respond to crises, build lasting peace, and strengthen their communities.



From Kabul to Kyiv: Who are the 2,744 women in our survey?

The responses to this survey constitute one of the largest datasets on women peacebuilders,[1] offering a rare, wide-angle view of a community too often excluded from policy debates despite their central role in conflict response and peacebuilding.[2] The final sample includes 2,744 respondents, 98 percent of whom identify as women,[3] spanning 121 countries and diverse contexts (figure 1).[4] We shared the survey with more than 470 women's and peacebuilding organizations to distribute it to a wide variety of women; women peacebuilders in the survey participate in multiple types of organizations as part of their peace and security work (figure 2). Organizations in Afghanistan, Colombia, Kosovo, the Philippines, Sudan, and Ukraine played a particularly important role in disseminating the survey to their networks.

Figure 1. The dataset represents women's voices from around the world



Note: The map shows the number of women peacebuilder survey respondents in each country. This distribution reflects the reality that some regions, particularly those experiencing intensified violence or with limited civil society space, were more difficult to access and are less well-represented in the survey. The online nature of our survey resulted in a sample that reflects primarily an urban population, as rural populations are more difficult to reach without on-the-ground infrastructure and support.
Source: Authors, based on data from the 2025 Women, Peace and Security Survey.

Figure 2. Women peacebuilders participate in multiple types of organizations

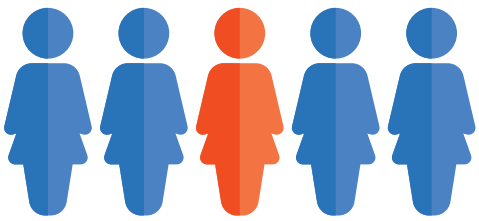


Source: Authors, based on data from the 2025 Women, Peace and Security Survey.

Displacement and exposure to conflict shaped many respondents' experiences. Five percent of respondents report living in a refugee camp—with notably higher rates in Sub-Saharan Africa (15 percent) and South Asia (11 percent)[5]—and 12 percent in an internally displaced persons camp, again with higher rates in Sub-Saharan Africa (31 percent). Globally, 19 percent of respondents report living in an active armed conflict zone at the time of the survey, including 33 percent of respondents in Latin America and the Caribbean, 32 percent in Sub-Saharan Africa, 26 percent in the Middle East and North Africa, and 19 percent in Central and Eastern Europe and Central Asia (figure 3).

Respondents work across the four pillars of WPS—prevention, protection, participation, and relief and recovery—and beyond, contributing to peace in a variety of ways and at multiple levels. They represent the vibrant, diverse ecosystem of actors who work on peace and security. Notably, while 53 percent of respondents identify as activists, just 29 percent describe themselves as peacebuilders. This distinction matters because it expands our view of who is doing peacebuilding work. It points us toward the need to build broader coalitions that include activists, human rights defenders, and feminist movements, to fully mobilize the collective power of peace and security actors. In this report, we use *peacebuilder* to refer to anyone who contributes to peace, in any way, aiming to capture the full scope of work that women do across a variety of organizations.

Figure 3. Nearly one in five women report living in an active armed conflict zone



Source: Authors, based on data from the 2025 Women, Peace and Security Survey.



Women building peace: Powerful impact through many paths

Across countries and contexts, women are leading efforts to advance peace and security that create real change. The stories and data emerging from our global survey offer a powerful reminder: the successes of the Women, Peace and Security (WPS) Agenda would not be possible without the women around the world who lead and sustain this work.[6]

In Women's Own Words

"Despite the cultural and security challenges, I tried to encourage women to attend meetings and educational programs by organizing awareness sessions, dialoguing with families, and leveraging the influence of community elders. This work increased their self-confidence, reduced domestic violence, and raised community awareness about women's role in achieving peace. Now I can see the impact of these efforts at both the family and community levels, which has given me motivation and a sense of purpose. This experience not only strengthened my communication and management skills but also made me develop a greater sense of responsibility toward my community. I am now recognized as an influential individual who amplifies women's voices." (Afghanistan)

Women frequently engage in multiple peace and security activities simultaneously

WPS efforts must move beyond siloed programming and invest in integrated, flexible approaches that match the reality of women's work on the ground.

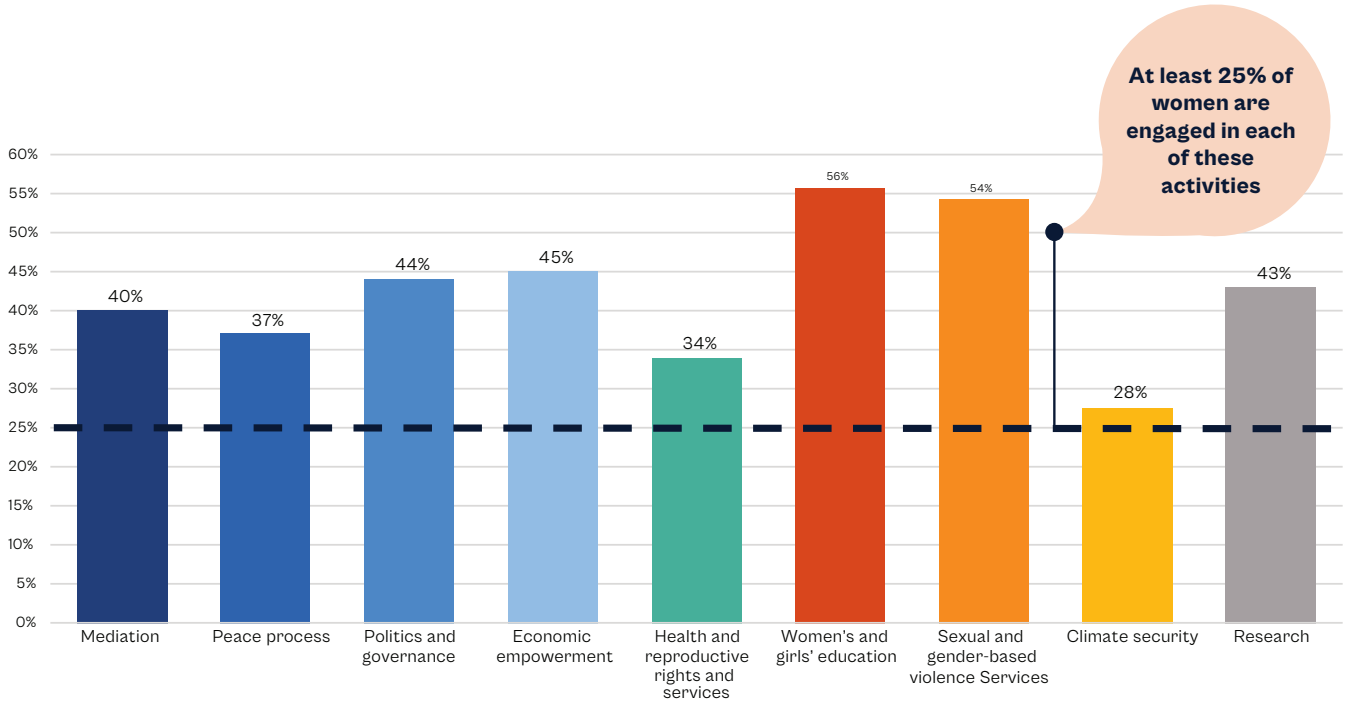
More than three-quarters (77 percent) of respondents report working across multiple peace and security issues, demonstrating that women's contributions are not limited to single-issue interventions. This multisectoral engagement is especially high in Sub-Saharan Africa (94 percent) and the Middle East and North Africa (93 percent). Women's high rates of participation in multiple activities likely reflect the dual reality that peace and security issues are interconnected and that funding is limited. Scarce resources often mean that women must take on multiple roles and responsibilities within their communities and organizations. Regional variation in the data further emphasizes the ways in which women adapt their work to the needs of their communities.

Women participate extensively in traditional peace and security activities, such as mediation and peace processes

WPS efforts must continue to prioritize these core areas even as they expand to address emerging threats like climate change and technology.

A large portion of respondents reported direct involvement in traditional peacebuilding activities: 40 percent of women across the full sample participate in mediation, and 37 percent are involved in formal and informal peace processes (figure 4). These figures are even higher in some regions. In Sub-Saharan Africa, 67 percent of respondents report participating in mediation, and 61 percent in peace processes. In the Middle East and North Africa, 63 percent report participating in mediation, and 66 percent in peace processes. In contrast, participation in these activities was much lower in Central and Eastern Europe and Central Asia, where only 26 percent reported engaging in mediation and 12 percent in peace processes. However, when Ukraine is isolated from this regional group, a much larger portion of respondents report that they participate in mediation (34 percent) and peace processes (35 percent). In Ukraine, 24 percent of women report participating in mediation and 8 percent in peace processes.

Figure 4. Women engage extensively in traditional peace and security work across regions



Source: Authors, based on data from the 2025 Women, Peace and Security Survey.

Women also have leading roles in advancing the broader social and structural conditions that sustain peace and security

WPS initiatives must recognize and support this expansive work by investing in approaches that bridge formal processes and community-level peacebuilding.

Beyond mediation and peace processes, women report participating in a wide variety of activities contributing to peace and security, often addressing the social and structural drivers and effects of conflict and instability. While there is some regional variation, two issues emerge as particularly prominent across the full sample: 56 percent report participating in women's and girls' education, and 54 percent in sexual and gender-based violence services. While education is sometimes categorized as "social" rather than "security" work, our data underscore the importance of education in creating pathways for empowerment, civic engagement, and economic independence (see box). Sexual and gender-based violence work addresses the trauma and power imbalances that are often both causes and consequences of conflict.



Education is a central concern for Afghan women and girls

In Afghanistan, 80 percent of respondents are involved in women's and girls' education as part of their peace and security efforts, despite the Taliban's near-total ban on girls' formal schooling beyond the primary level. With formal avenues of education almost entirely closed, women are taking tremendous personal risks to create and sustain informal and underground learning spaces. Respondents emphasize the centrality of education for both personal and broader empowerment, framing it as essential to any vision of peace and security.

A respondent from Afghanistan shared: "I study in an online school and we have not lost ourselves and I have even made a role model for other girls, in front of 70 people, I read a text full of the dormant feelings of Afghan girls about Afghan women, and I am proud that my words were so effective and made them feel strong. May the strength in their hearts illuminate their life and light the way for themselves and other Afghan girls and women. I am an Afghan girl, full of light, full of knowledge, full of power; they can close the school, but they can never extinguish the science from my mind. I am an Afghan girl, and I am proud to say that I am an Afghan girl."



The state of WPS: Women's experiences advancing peace and security

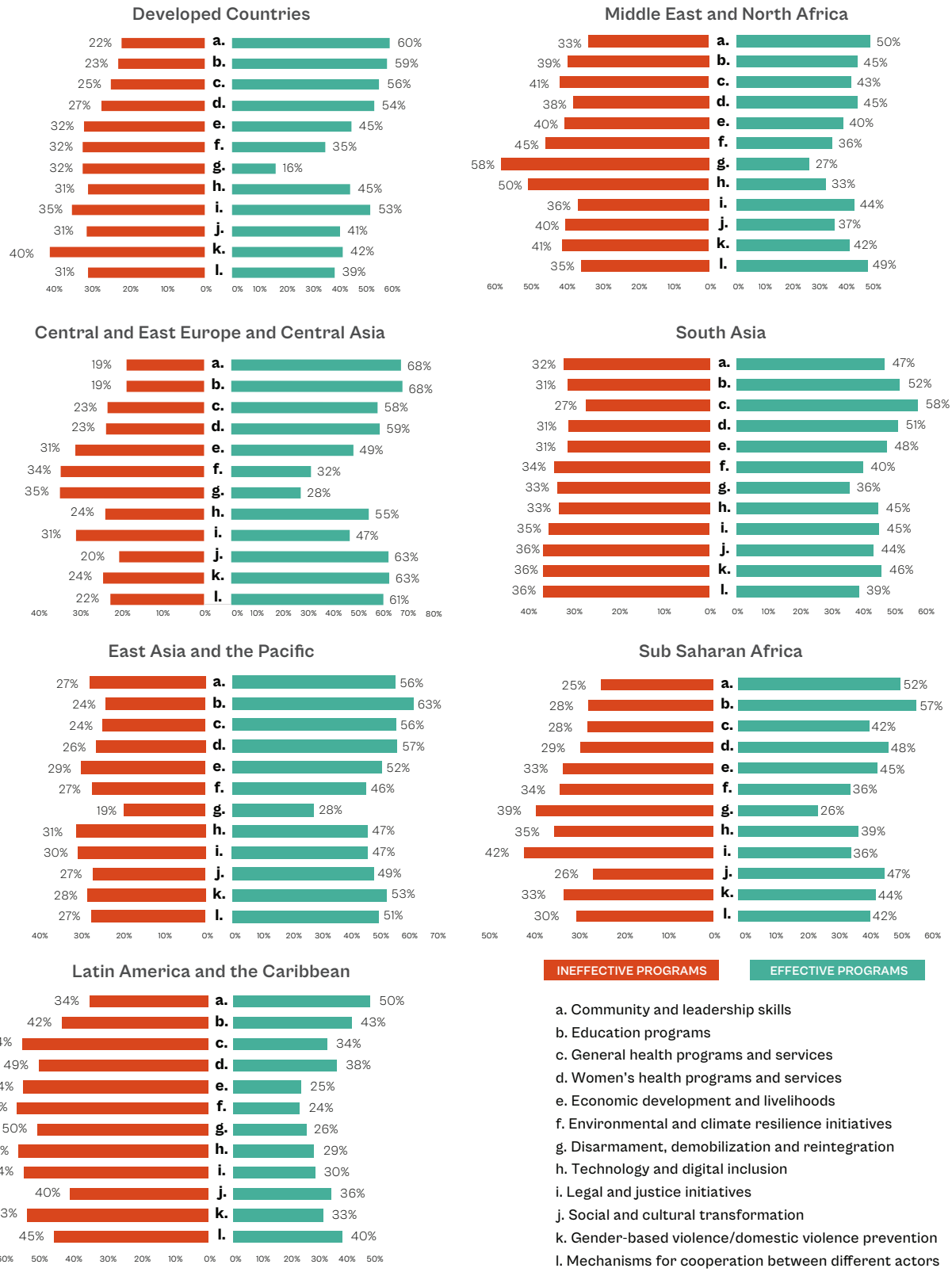
As women around the world lead efforts in peace and security, they continue to face barriers that limit their impact and often put them at personal risk. Here we examine the areas of the WPS Agenda that women identify as working well and those that are falling short, including the institutions where women's influence remains limited. We also highlight the benefits and risks that women face in doing this work and discuss the uneven distribution of risk and opportunity among women who are marginalized in different ways.

Women report that many of the programs intended to support their peace and security work are falling short

Because poorly designed programs risk reinforcing marginalization and eroding trust, effectiveness requires designing, implementing, and evaluating initiatives in genuine partnership with women from the outset.

Disarmament, demobilization, and reintegration initiatives stand out as among the least effective programs, according to women: 18 percent of respondents in the sample rate them as very ineffective, and another 18 percent as somewhat ineffective. Particularly critical of these services are respondents in the Middle East and North Africa (58 percent), Latin America and the Caribbean (56 percent), and Sub-Saharan Africa (39 percent) (figure 5).

Figure 5. Women report mixed effectiveness of WPS initiatives



Source: Authors, based on data from the 2025 Women, Peace and Security Survey.

Environmental and climate resilience initiatives are also viewed poorly: 14 percent of respondents rated these initiatives as very ineffective, and 21 percent as somewhat ineffective. Ineffectiveness ratings are highest in Latin America and the Caribbean, where 29 percent of respondents view environmental programs as very ineffective.

Legal and justice initiatives also receive consistently poor ratings: 14 percent of respondents report these programs as very ineffective, and 21 percent as somewhat ineffective. While women in Latin America and the Caribbean report the highest rates of ineffective programs overall, the data reveal a global need to adapt or redesign services in ways that meet the actual needs of communities.

Across regions, women highlight education, leadership development, and cooperation mechanisms as among the most effective services to advance peace and security

Equipping women with the tools and support needed to lead multidimensional peace and security efforts requires sustained investment in programs that strengthen skills, networks, and social cohesion, even when the programs fall outside traditional WPS frameworks.

In Sub-Saharan Africa, 57 percent of respondents view education programs as effective, while 52 percent highlight leadership skill-building programs as valuable. Aligning these interventions with locally identified priorities can maximize their impact.

In Central and Eastern Europe and Central Asia, education, sexual and gender-based violence prevention, and social and cultural transformation are rated effective by more than 60 percent of respondents, suggesting strong programmatic infrastructure and potential for scaling.

In the Middle East and North Africa, mechanisms for cooperation between actors and leadership development programs are viewed as among the most effective, pointing to promising entry points for improving weaker areas such as disarmament, demobilization, and reintegration, and digital inclusion.

Taken together, these findings reveal both the uneven performance of peace programs across regions and clear opportunities to build on proven approaches that women identify as effective.

In Women's Own Words

"Women, especially in vulnerable communities, are silent peacemakers. In the course of my work, I have seen many times how simple dialogue, social solidarity, and mutual support among women have prevented violence and disintegration. However, what we need is not just to be heard, but to be actively involved in major decisions for peace and security. True peace comes when women are not only present on the ground, but also at the negotiating table. As an activist woman, I am not a victim of war, but an architect of social peace, and this is a voice that must be heard globally."
(Afghanistan)

In Women's Own Words

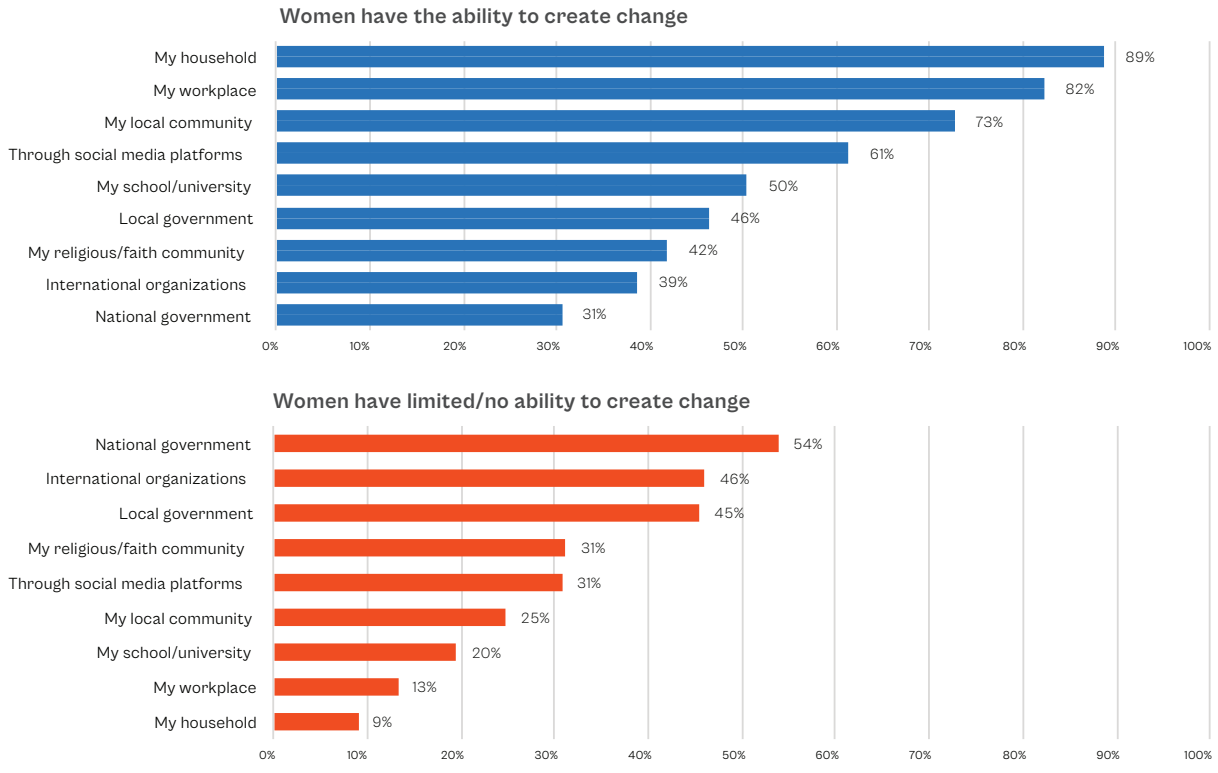
"I would like to highlight the important challenges that we girls and women face, especially in academic and professional settings. Many women, especially young girls, face invisible barriers that they often do not dare to express, whether it is discrimination, gender stereotypes or harassment. My commitment aims to break these silences and create an environment where every girl and woman can reach their full potential, without fear or limitation." (Democratic Republic of the Congo)

Women drive change in their communities, but they have limited influence in formal spaces like government and international organizations

While women's influence at the community-level is crucial, we must continue to expand efforts to ensure women's meaningful, rather than tokenistic, inclusion in all spaces where decisions are made, including formal institutions.

Women's representation has long been a central metric of WPS implementation, but the deeper work of making women count, rather than simply counting women, remains unfinished, particularly in formal institutions. Women report the ability to create change in their immediate environments: 62 percent report a strong ability to create change in their households, 51 percent in their workplaces, and 32 percent in their local communities. Perceived influence in local communities is especially high in Sub-Saharan Africa (52 percent) and the Middle East and North Africa (46 percent).

Figure 6. Women report strong influence in their communities, but little say in formal institutions



Source: Authors, based on data from the 2025 Women, Peace and Security Survey.

Though women report high rates of positive influence over their immediate environments, that influence does not extend to formal institutions (figure 6). Few women in our survey work with national governments or other formal institutions. Just 14 percent of respondents indicate that they work with their national government on peace and security issues. Though low everywhere, participation rates in these spaces vary greatly by region: Central and Eastern Europe (5 percent), Latin America and the Caribbean (7 percent), the Middle East and North Africa (14 percent), and East Asia (29 percent). While these results may reflect our particular sample, other research from the Georgetown Institute for Women, Peace and Security finds that women remain significantly underrepresented in most formal national and multilateral peace and security positions. Data for 2024 show that women represent only 24 percent of ambassadors worldwide, 13 percent of defense ministers, and less than 10 percent of peacekeepers.[7]

Involvement with international bodies does not necessarily translate into greater empowerment or influence

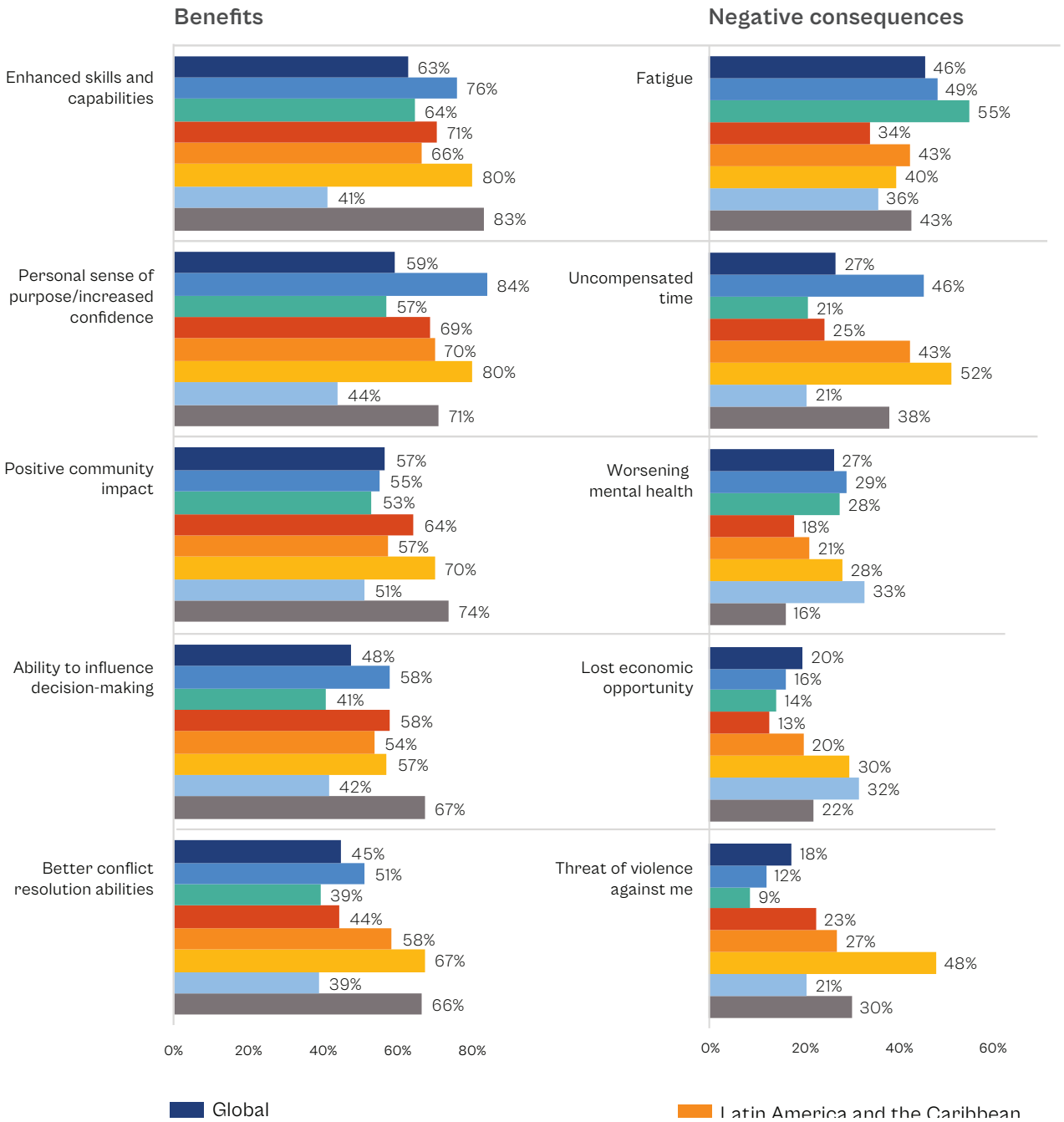
But even involvement with international bodies does not necessarily translate into greater empowerment or influence, raising questions about how these institutions engage with women internally. Among respondents who work with national governments or other formal institutions, many feel limited in their ability to effect change, whether from within or from the outside. Asked about their ability to create positive change within national governments, 33 percent of respondents report having only a limited ability, and 21 percent report having no ability—the lowest perceived ability to influence change across all areas included in the survey.

Women peacebuilders who report working or volunteering directly with national governments were more than twice as likely to believe that they can have a significant positive impact as respondents who do not. Similarly, respondents who engage with community service organizations report a slightly more optimistic view of their influence on national governments, with more of them reporting limited or moderate ability to effect change than respondents who do not engage.

Women's experiences with international organizations are more variable, with perceptions of influence mixed across regions. Notably, women who report participating in international organizations have no greater sense of their ability to effect change within their workplace or in broader peace and security contexts than women who do not.

Despite significant efforts by the WPS community to promote women's participation in formal institutions over the past two decades, women still feel that they lack meaningful influence in national governments and international organizations. Sustained efforts are necessary to dismantle barriers, alongside innovative approaches to promote the full spectrum of women's influence in decision-making.

Figure 7. Women's exposure to benefits or to negative consequences of doing peace and security work varies considerably by region



Source: Authors, based on data from the 2025 Women, Peace and Security Survey.

Women report that their peace and security work is deeply meaningful, but it comes at great personal cost

Addressing challenges that endanger women peacebuilders and jeopardize broader progress toward peace and security, such as burnout, financial strain, and exposure to risk, requires interventions that provide sustained protection, resources, and support to women doing this crucial work.

Beyond addressing conflict, women's engagement can offer a pathway to transformation, leadership, and agency

Women in our survey overwhelmingly report that their involvement in peace and security efforts is deeply meaningful, personally fulfilling, and a source of personal and professional growth. The most commonly cited benefits are enhanced skills (63 percent), followed by a sense of purpose or increased confidence (59 percent) and recognition of having a positive impact on their communities (57 percent). These results reflect the empowering potential of peace and security work. Beyond addressing conflict, women's engagement can offer a pathway to transformation, leadership, and agency.

With that said, women pay a high personal cost for involvement in peace and security work, with women across all regions reporting significant fatigue, financial strain, and exposure to risk. Fatigue is the most commonly reported negative impact, experienced by 46 percent of respondents globally and rising to 55 percent in Central and Eastern Europe (figure 7). Despite this, women continue their work, highlighting both their dedication and the unsustainable demands placed on them.

Globally, 27 percent of respondents report uncompensated time, with higher rates in the Middle East and North Africa (52 percent) and Latin America and the Caribbean (43 percent). Indeed, access to paid opportunities is severely limited outside of developed countries, where women are more likely to sustain themselves financially through peace and security work. For others, this work often comes at a direct economic cost.

In addition to burnout and financial costs, women face significant threats from engaging in peace and security work. Threats of violence (18 percent in the full sample) are most common in the Middle East and North Africa (48 percent). Physical violence is reported by 6 percent of respondents, with higher rates in South Asia (12 percent) and Sub-Saharan Africa (11 percent). Online violence affects 14 percent of respondents globally, but surges to 37 percent in the Middle East and

North Africa and 24 percent in South Asia. Community exclusion, loss of social status, and deportation risks were also more frequently reported in these two regions. These findings highlight the precarious nature of peace and security work for women, particularly in lower-resource and high-risk environments.

Addressing these challenges, through better protections, fair compensation, and institutional support, is essential to ensure that women can continue this work without bearing disproportionate personal costs. If women are no longer able or willing to do peacebuilding work, that puts progress in jeopardy not only for WPS but also for peace and security overall, from prevention to conflict resolution and to postconflict peacebuilding.

In Women's Own Words

"Peace and security must go beyond the absence of violence. True peace means ensuring dignity, inclusion, and equal opportunities for all, especially for those whose voices are often left out of decision-making processes, like women, youth, and the LGBTQ+ community. Much of my work focuses on creating platforms where these voices are heard, respected, and empowered. I believe peacebuilding is not a one-time effort, but a continuous process rooted in education, empathy, and justice. We need to invest more in community-led initiatives and ensure that local actors are not just consulted but truly included in shaping policies and solutions." (Kosovo)

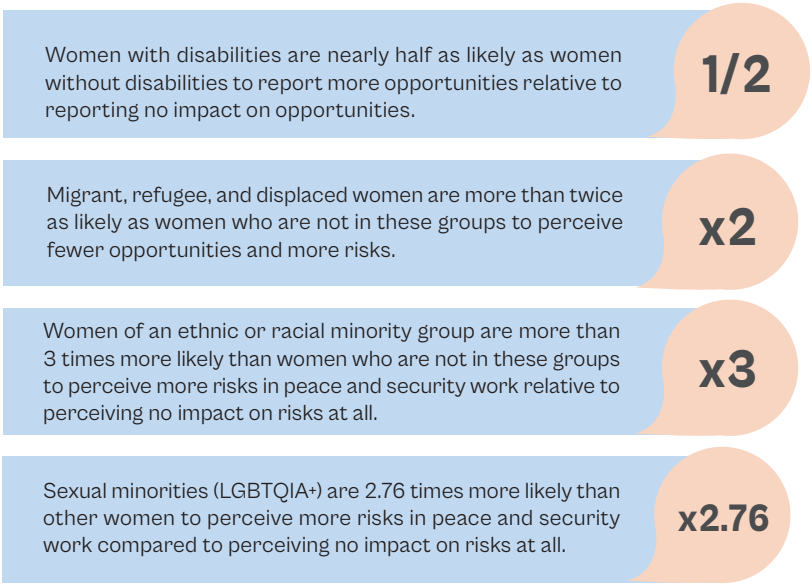
The risks and opportunities women face are shaped by more than their gender

A one-size-fits-all approach limits impact, so programs should be designed to meet the diverse needs of women from different backgrounds and fully leverage their contributions to advancing peace and security work.

Women's experiences of peace and security work are shaped not only by their gender but also by other identity factors, including age, race, ethnicity, religion, sexuality, ability, and more. At times, the WPS community has been critiqued for homogenizing the diversity of women's experiences and failing to adopt an intersectional approach. Our data confirm that women perceive their identities as influencing both the opportunities and the risks of peace and security work (figure 8).

Among respondents, women who identify as being of an ethnic/racial or religious minority or who are young report mixed experiences related to their exposure to opportunities and risks (see appendix 1). Some respondents report that their identity creates increased opportunities for involvement in peace and security work, while others feel that their identities are a barrier. Women who identify as being of an ethnic/racial minority, as well as respondents who identify as nonbinary, are more likely to report that their identity exposes them to more risks in peace and security work than are other women in their community.

Figure 8. Women's opportunities and risks are shaped by aspects of their identity



Note: See appendix 1 for detailed results of the multinomial logistic regression analysis on which these findings are based.

Source: Authors, based on data from 2025 Women, Peace and Security Survey.

Women with disabilities are 45 percent less likely to perceive that they experience more opportunities than other women in their community in peace and security work than respondents who do not identify as having a disability. These variations in experiences may speak to the way different countries provide or fail to provide women peacebuilders with opportunities, mitigate risks, and protect or fail to protect them based on their ethnic, racial, religious status, or other markers of identity—and confirm that women's experiences, opportunities, and risks are shaped by more than their gender.

Migrant, refugee, and displaced women consistently report the most negative consequences as a result of their minority status. They perceive that their identity gives them fewer opportunities to participate in peace and security activities than other women. They also report that they are exposed to more risks and receive less protection in peace and security work than other women in their community.

These disparities underscore the need for more thoughtful, intersectional approaches to peace and security work that go beyond gender sensitivity alone. Targeted efforts must address the often overlapping barriers and risks that marginalized women peacebuilders face.



Are Women, Peace and Security National Action Plans making an impact?

WPS National Action Plans (NAPs) are one of the most widely used tools for implementing the Women, Peace and Security Agenda at a national level. NAPs outline a government's approach to operationalizing commitments enshrined in United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325 and the corresponding resolutions that make up the WPS Agenda.

But how do women engaged in peace and security efforts perceive these tools? Do these tools make a difference to their work? Women shared key insights that can increase the effectiveness of NAPs.

Consultation drives perceived effectiveness

Our data show a statistically significant link between women's involvement in the development of their country's NAP and their perception of the plan's effectiveness. Where women were consulted, they were more likely to view the NAP as useful. However, consultation alone is not enough.

Implementation also matters

Colombia's NAP process is celebrated for being grounded in an extensive consultation process, involving more than 1,500 members of civil society.[1] Despite this, among our Colombian respondents there was no correlation between having been consulted on the NAP and a positive perception of its effectiveness. This points to a frustration commonly voiced by women peacebuilders: being consulted on the NAP but seeing no follow-through. Without commitment to actually implementing the NAP, alongside dedicated funding to do so, even the most inclusive processes risk losing credibility and impact.

Low awareness could undermine use

Many respondents report that they do not know whether their country has a NAP, including women in countries that do have a NAP in place, such as Bangladesh, Colombia, the Philippines, and Ukraine. This gap highlights a critical need to ensure that NAPs are not just policy documents, but accessible, actionable tools for women peacebuilders.

Note

1. ABColombia. 2024. "International Women's Day 2024: Update on the Implementation of UNSCR 1325 and the NAP." https://www.abcolombia.org.uk/international-womens-day-2024-update-on-the-implementation-of-unscr-1325-and-the-nap/



The way forward: Aligning WPS with the priorities of women peacebuilders

As the global landscape becomes increasingly complex and volatile, the WPS Agenda must remain steadfast in addressing persistent issues adversely affecting women while evolving to meet emerging challenges. In determining where to dedicate scarce WPS resources, the international community needs to align its programs with what women say they need. Drawing on regional data and practitioner insights, we identify below the issues that are most difficult to address, examine the enabling conditions required for women to drive meaningful change, and highlight the forms of collaboration and support that are most important in the years to come.

In Women's Own Words

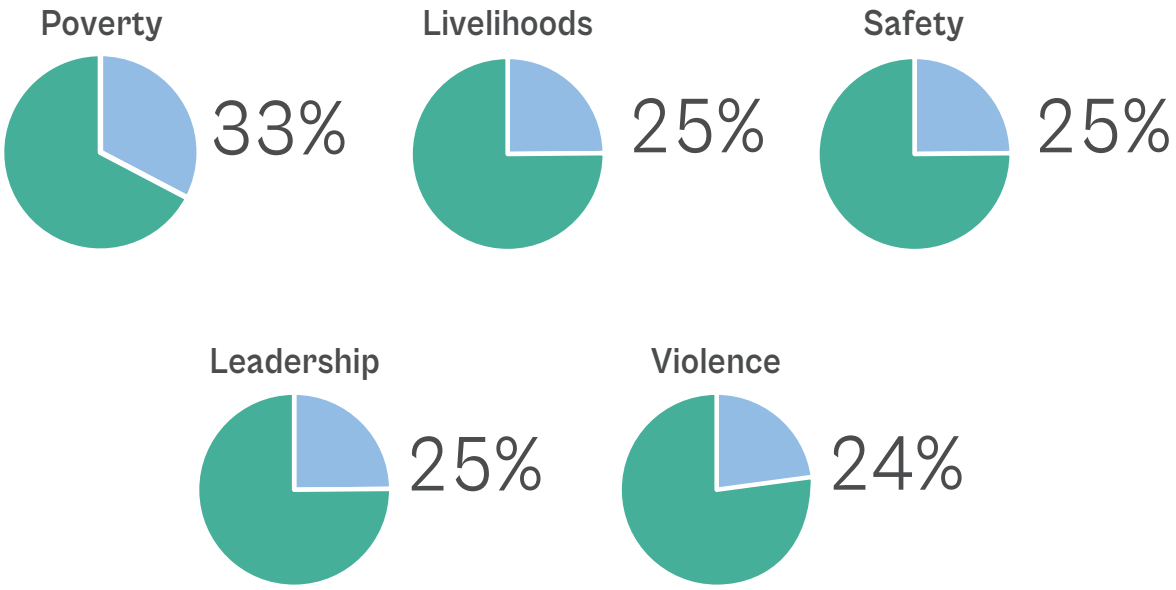
"Work in the field of peace and security is not only about the cessation of hostilities. It is about daily, systematic work to restore human dignity, strengthen economic resilience, and include women in decision-making at all levels. In our work, we see that women who receive support, education, and resources are able not only to overcome the crisis but also to become agents of change in their communities. But without sustainable funding, cross-sectoral collaboration, and political will, these efforts have limits. Peace is built not only by negotiation—it is created in small steps: when a woman opens a business, returns to school, creates a safe environment for children, or helps others endure. These are the actions we should support and scale if we are to achieve true security and resilience in society." (Ukraine)

Poverty is one of the most pressing challenges shaping women's experiences of their peace and security work

This finding fundamentally challenges the idea that WPS and development work are separate: sustained investment in development is essential to unlock the full power of women's contributions to peace and security because without addressing women's poverty and access to livelihoods, WPS will fall short of its transformative potential.

Foremost among the challenges identified by women peacebuilders is poverty. One-third of respondents globally identify poverty as the most difficult challenge to address in peace and security efforts (figure 9). Poverty has often been treated as a development issue, separate from the core concerns of security, conflict, and peacebuilding. The survey data disrupt that binary belief. Women working on peace and security consistently report that poverty is not a parallel issue—it is a central one.

Figure 9. Top reported challenges faced by women peacebuilders



Source: Authors, based on data from the 2025 Women, Peace and Security Survey.

Closely tied to poverty are issues of livelihoods, safety, and violence. Nearly one in four women cites a lack of access to livelihood opportunities as a major challenge, underscoring the material precarity that limits women's ability to engage consistently in peacebuilding or governance. One in four women also identifies the lack of safety and the persistence of violence against women, including the lack of access to resources for survivors, as core challenges. And a similar percentage cite women's absence from leadership positions as an obstacle to their work in peace and security.

These are not new challenges. What the current data show is not only the persistence of these obstacles, but the need for a holistic approach to WPS implementation. While promoting women's leadership has long been a core focus of the field, WPS actors must also recognize the impacts of poverty, livelihoods, safety, and violence on women peacebuilders. These concerns are not peripheral to WPS; they are security issues, and addressing them is central to achieving meaningful progress on WPS and broader peace and security outcomes.

The issues women identify as most challenging and urgent differ by region

WPS implementation will be more successful if it is tailored to local needs and priorities, as identified by women in those contexts.

In South Asia, for instance, education emerges as a particularly urgent concern, with 46 percent of respondents highlighting it as a core challenge (figure 10). The emphasis on education in this region is likely tied to the large portion of respondents from Afghanistan, where 56 percent of women identify education access as a key barrier. In a context where the Taliban prohibits women and girls from attending school, education is more than a tool for empowerment: it is a frontline issue of survival, mobility, and agency.

Figure 10. The most challenging and urgent issues identified by women differ by region

Education **South Asia**	In South Asia, education emerged as a particularly urgent concern, with 46 percent of respondents highlighting it as a core challenge. The emphasis on education in this region is likely tied to the significant portion of respondents from Afganistan, where 56 percent of respondents identified education access as a key barrier. Following the Taliban's ban on women learning and attending schools, it has become clear that education is not simply a tool for empowerment, but it is also a frontline issue of survival, mobility, and future agency.
Women's Leadership and Climate **Middle East and North Africa**	In the Middle East and North Africa, 20 percent of respondents named climate-related security concerns as a top challenge. Respondents also emphasized women's leadership as a persistent challenge (42 percent), highlighting ongoing barriers to being recongnized, trusted, or empowered in leadership roles. This suggests that while women may be included in processes on paper, meaningful authority remains out of reach for many.
Climate Change **East Asia and the Pacific**	In East Asia and the Pacific, 15 percent of respondents reported climate as one of the most pressing issues. Indeed, respondents from this region also reported working on issues of climate security at higher rates than the survey average (28 percent), with 42 percent engaged in climate security as part of their peace and security efforts.

Source: Authors, based on data from the 2025 Women, Peace and Security Survey.

Climate change is a comparatively lower priority in the full sample, with 8 percent of respondents overall identifying it as among the most difficult challenges they face. However, there is considerable regional variation. In the Middle East and North Africa, 20 percent of respondents name climate-related security concerns as a top challenge, and in East Asia and the Pacific, 15 percent do. Respondents in these regions also report working on issues of climate security at higher rates than the survey average (28 percent): 46 percent of respondents in the Middle East and North Africa and 42 percent in East Asia and the Pacific report engaging in climate security as part of their peace and security work.

Other regional variations further illustrate how challenges manifest differently across contexts. In the Middle East and North Africa, for example, respondents highlight women's leadership as a persistent challenge (42 percent), revealing ongoing barriers to being recognized, trusted, or empowered in leadership roles. This suggests that while women may be included in processes on paper, meaningful authority remains out of reach for many. In Central and Eastern Europe and Central Asia, infrastructure deficits emerge as a significant barrier, with 26 percent of respondents citing it as a core challenge, well above the survey average of 15 percent. This points to the importance of basic systems and services, such as transportation, digital connectivity, and safe spaces for organizing, that underpin women's ability to engage safely and consistently in public life.

In Women's Own Words

"Peace and security are not just about the absence of conflict–they're also about justice, inclusion, and the right to live in a healthy environment. In our community, we cannot feel truly secure while coal plant pollution continues to threaten our health, our livelihoods, and our future. That's why our peace efforts are deeply connected to environmental justice and women's empowerment. By protecting our environment and ensuring women have a voice in decisions that affect our lives, we are building the foundation for long-term peace, dignity, and community resilience." (The Philippines)

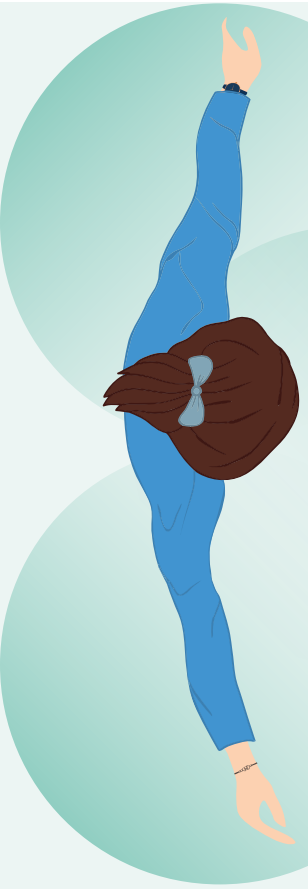
Across regions, women are calling on the international community to provide long-term funding to support their peace and security work

Responding to this call requires donors to offer funding that is sustained, accessible, and flexible, empowering women-led organizations to respond to crises, build lasting peace, and strengthen their communities.

The message from across regions is unambiguous: long-term, sustainable funding is urgently needed to support organizations in accomplishing their peace and security goals, as reported by 43 percent of respondents. This finding is not new, but the survey data reinforce it with greater urgency. Women-led organizations and movements continue to operate with constrained and unpredictable resources. Time and again, we see the centrality of women's contributions,[8] but

without sustained financial support, their ability to lead, respond to crises, and build lasting peace is hampered, undermining prospects for sustainable peace and stability overall.

Around half of respondents in Central and Eastern Europe and Central Asia (51 percent) and Latin America and the Caribbean (49 percent) identify the availability of long-term funding as their top need (figure 11). Flexible funding mechanisms were also ranked highly in Latin America and the Caribbean (35 percent), Sub-Saharan Africa (30 percent). and the Middle East and North Africa (29 percent), suggesting that grassroots and local women's organizations may struggle to access formal donor systems. In contrast, flexibility of funding was rated much lower in South Asia (12 percent), which may reflect the specific conditions in Afghanistan and surrounding countries, where the availability of any funding or resources is often a more urgent concern than flexibility in delivery.



Funding cuts are shutting down critical work

Sustainable funding is essential for peace and security work, yet many women's organizations are experiencing dwindling resources and mounting financial pressure. How are these funding shortfalls affecting their ability to deliver services, sustain operations, and support their communities?

Funding declines threaten to destabilize peace and security work globally

Globally, 40 percent of survey respondents report that their funding has decreased in the past two years, with the highest reports of loss of funding in Latin America and the Caribbean (55 percent) and South Asia (53 percent). Only 14 percent of the full sample saw increases in funding over the last two years.

Organizations close, and services are cut

The impacts of funding cuts are severe. Organizations report having to cut essential services or close altogether. Cuts to essential services for vulnerable groups are the most commonly reported impact, affecting 31 percent of respondents globally. This number rises to 43 percent in Sub-Saharan Africa, 39 percent in the Middle East and North Africa, and 37 percent in South Asia. While 9 percent of all respondents report that their organization had to shut down, in Afghanistan this figure jumps to 33 percent, highlighting the acute vulnerability faced by Afghan women.

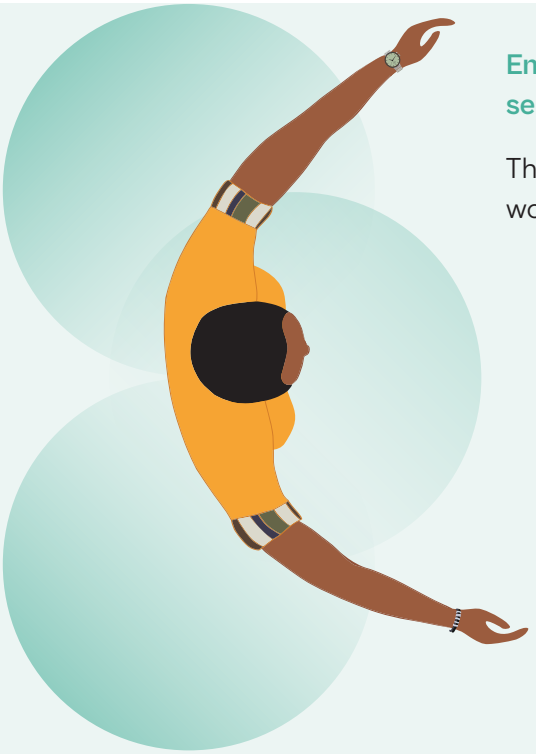
Women are continuing to do the work

Burnout is also a widespread repercussion of declining funding; 25 percent of respondents reported that they or their colleagues are exhausted from doing more with less. Despite the strain, women continue to work, often at high personal cost. Without renewed and long-term funding, these efforts will not be sustainable.

Beyond financial stability and flexibility, regional responses highlight a diverse set of secondary needs that are critical for enabling women's full and effective participation in peace and security work. In South Asia, for example, legal support was identified as a core priority (27 percent), at more than double the full survey average (13 percent). In contexts where women face shrinking civic space or systemic discrimination, expanding access to legal protections and justice systems is an essential foundation for civic engagement and security.

In East Asia and the Pacific, respondents emphasize a need for increased networking and partnership opportunities with other civil society organizations (27 percent), underscoring the value of horizontal collaboration, knowledge sharing, and coalition-building, particularly in contexts where state support may be limited or inconsistent. There was also a notably high level of attention on community support and engagement, with 23 percent identifying this as a top need.

Capacity building and training from international organizations was another priority that cut across several regions, including Sub-Saharan Africa (33 percent), South Asia (32 percent), East Asia and the Pacific (31 percent), the Middle East and North Africa (29 percent), and Central and Eastern Europe and Central Asia (25 percent). Capacity building is an opportunity to invest in both organizations and individuals, equipping them with tools that are transferable, long-lasting, and within their control. It can also foster a sense of ownership, legitimacy, and professional credibility, particularly in environments where women's work is often undervalued or informal. It is important that the focus of these initiatives be informed by the priorities of local women.



Enabling conditions for supporting women's leadership in peace and security work

The survey data point to a clear set of enabling conditions that support women's leadership and influence in driving change in their communities:

- Sustainable funding for women's initiatives.
- Women in decision-making positions.
- Women's access to economic opportunities and control over financial resources.
- Strong networks of women's organizations.
- Legal protections for women and girls.
- Access to education and skills training.
- Community awareness of gender issues and advocacy for women's rights.

Figure 11. Women consistently point to long-term, sustained funding when asked what they most need from the international community



Source: Authors, based on data from the 2025 Women, Peace and Security Survey.

Conclusions and calls to action

Across contexts, women peacebuilders are clear about what works and what stands in their way. Their experiences remind us that effective solutions must be grounded in local realities, but they also highlight issues too widespread to ignore. Women in our survey gave us a roadmap for the way forward. The WPS community must take up these broader calls to action if it is serious about sustaining women's leadership in peace and security.

1. Recognize and resource the structural conditions for peace and security

Women peacebuilders highlight the root causes and drivers of conflict—poverty, lack of education, social inequalities—as core concerns, yet tackling these conditions is often sidelined as "development" rather than peace and security work. As a consequence, activities to ameliorate them may be excluded from WPS policies and programs. Integrating development-focused initiatives such as livelihoods, income generation, and poverty reduction into WPS programming can unlock the full transformative potential of women's contributions to peace and security.

2. Build broader coalitions beyond peacebuilders

Our survey shows that while many women are deeply engaged in advancing peace and security, most identify as activists rather than peacebuilders. By focusing too narrowly on "peacebuilders," WPS efforts risk overlooking the very people driving change on the ground. To fulfill the promise of WPS, the community must broaden its coalitions, engaging, listening to, and reaching out to activists, human rights defenders, and feminist movements whose work is central to building lasting peace.

3. Support multisectoral engagement rather than single-issue interventions

Women are consistently leading across multiple peace and security domains, including both traditional WPS activities such as mediation and peace processes, as well as emerging areas such as climate change adaptation and technology-driven security challenges. WPS programming must move beyond siloed, single-issue approaches, recognizing and funding women's ability to address interconnected challenges. Holistic support amplifies impact and ensures that interventions respond to the full complexity of local realities.

4. Ask uncomfortable questions about power and resources

Our survey surfaced a stark imbalance: women on the ground carry the burden of peacebuilding, yet often do so unpaid, while external actors control funding priorities and program design. The WPS community must interrogate who is being compensated for what work and whose priorities shape funding and policy. Only by confronting these power dynamics can WPS efforts become truly accountable to the women they claim to serve.

5. Confront the burnout and mental health of women peacebuilders

Women in our survey report fatigue, burnout, and uncompensated time as major challenges. While their work sustains peace efforts, the WPS community must find ways to sustain them. This means going beyond program funding to ensure fair compensation, create systems of care and protection, and prioritize the mental health and wellbeing of women peacebuilders so they can continue their vital work without being overextended or undervalued.

6. Address intersectional inequalities in women's peace and security engagement

The survey highlights that women with disabilities are 45 percent less likely to perceive opportunities in peace and security work than other women and that migrant, refugee, and displaced women consistently report the most negative consequences associated with peacebuilding. WPS actors must design funding, programs, and participation pathways that address these intersecting barriers rather than assuming that "women" are a uniform group that can benefit equally from WPS interventions.

7. Reconsider how WPS NAPs and other international frameworks work in practice

Respondents offered mixed assessments of WPS NAPs: some found them supportive, while others saw little real impact. The WPS community should continue to prioritize consulting women in the NAP process, while ensuring that implementation is locally meaningful, adequately resourced, and translates into tangible outcomes on the ground.

8. Recommit to centering women's expertise and leadership

Building lasting peace means placing women's knowledge, insights, and leadership at the heart of decision-making. Women in our survey expressed an inability to exert influence in formal institutions, underscoring the need for the WPS community to sustain efforts to dismantle barriers to women's full and meaningful participation at all levels. This includes moving beyond token inclusion and ensuring that policies, funding, and program strategy, design, and implementation are shaped by the priorities and expertise of women on the ground.

9. Ensure context-specific support and local adaptation

Peacebuilding looks different in every context. Survey respondents in Afghanistan, Ukraine, and the Democratic Republic of Congo highlight how local conditions, from ongoing conflict to restrictions on education, shape the work women can do. International WPS actors must design programs and allocate resources that are responsive to local realities, supporting women to address the challenges they identify as most urgent.

10. Prioritize long-term, flexible, and locally rooted funding

Across regions, women are calling on the international community to provide sustainable financial support that will enable them to lead peace and security work effectively. Responding to this call requires donors to offer funding that is predictable, accessible, and adaptable to local contexts. Long-term, flexible funding allows women-led organizations to respond to crises, build lasting peace, invest in leadership and skills development, and strengthen networks, ensuring that resources empower rather than constrain their work.

Appendix 1. Study methodology and results of multinomial logistic regressions predicting women's opportunities and risks

This report is grounded in a rigorous and inclusive methodology designed to reflect the priorities and perspectives of women peacebuilders worldwide. We began with an extensive review of the literature and data on Women, Peace and Security (WPS). That process made clear that there was both a gap and a growing demand for a comprehensive stocktaking of how we, as a WPS community, are doing according to those we aim to support.

Creating and conducting the survey

To ensure that the survey addressed relevant and actionable issues, we worked especially closely throughout the research process with women's and peacebuilding organizations in countries where GIWPS has robust partnerships, including Afghanistan, Colombia, Kosovo, the Philippines, Sudan, and Ukraine. A handful of our partners received a modest stipend to support costs associated with survey outreach and dissemination to their networks. In addition to playing a particularly vital role in disseminating the survey, these partners informed the scope and substance of the survey. Our goal was to avoid duplicating other efforts and to focus on gathering information that would be useful to peacebuilders themselves. The survey underwent several rounds of review and pre-testing.

The survey was translated into 19 languages and distributed online via the Qualtrics platform between April 23 and June 24, 2025. Respondents were contacted through a combination of direct outreach and distribution through our partner organizations. These partnerships played a critical role in reaching a wide and diverse sample of women peacebuilders. Respondents did not receive compensation for participating in the survey.

Ensuring respondent safety, particularly in high-risk environments, was a central priority. No personally identifiable or sensitive information was collected, and we took care throughout the survey process to minimize risks to participants.

Survey samples and analyses

A total of 5,158 surveys were returned. To ensure the quality of the data, all primary survey data were cleaned and analyzed using Stata 19 BE, following these steps:

1. Dropped respondents who did not answer the country identification question.
2. Dropped respondents who did not consent to taking the survey as well as those who did not answer the consent question on the survey.
3. Dropped respondents who answered less than 8 percent of the survey questions.
4. Dropped respondents who self-reported as male.

After these respondents were dropped, our final dataset included 2,744 unique observations. Data were grouped into seven geographic regions or country groups (see appendix 2), which were coded as categorical variables for descriptive analyses: Developed Countries, Central and East Europe and Central Asia, East Asia and the Pacific, Latin America and the Caribbean, Middle East and North Africa, South Asia, and Sub-Saharan Africa. Country-specific significance testing used binary variables, where the country of interest was coded as 1 and the reference group was coded as 0 (e.g., Ukraine = 1 and Central and East Europe = 0). All binary variable significance testing used a Pearson's chi-squared test.

Survey questions with a "select all that apply" option were coded as categorical variables, and each answer option that was selected was counted. When a respondent failed to select any response (selecting the "no response" option was counted as a response), the respondent was dropped from the analysis for that question. For that reason, the sample size for the descriptive data presented in the report varies. In addition, the "select all that apply" answer options sum to more than 100 percent. All percentages presented for the descriptive analyses were calculated based on the total number of respondents per sample (full sample or regional sample), rather than the total number of responses per sample.

Multinomial logistic regression analyses of varying opportunities and risks

Multinomial logistic regressions were conducted to determine varying opportunities and risks among women peacebuilders, using one set of explanatory variables against two sets of dependent variables. All but one of the explanatory variables came from the question on the survey asking respondents if any of the minority groups presented as options described their identity (e.g., ethnic/racial minority, sexual minority). All minority group options were coded as separate binary variables. The only option that was excluded from this list was "gender minority (nonbinary, etc.)." It was replaced by a different survey question asking respondents whether they consider their gender identity as "nonbinary" or "not listed" (and the response was re-coded as a binary variable).

The first set of multinomial logistic regression analyses is based on the survey question asking respondents if they felt that their identity affects their opportunities to participate in peace and security activities when compared with other women in their community who did not share that identity (table A1.1). The first set of regressions thus included three possible outcome categories: no impact on opportunities (base outcome), more opportunities, and less opportunities. The dependent variable was coded with the responses "no impact on opportunities" serving as the reference group, enabling estimation of the relative risk of reporting "more opportunities" and "less opportunities" associated with different minority groups.

The second set of regression analyses are based on the question on the survey asking respondents if they perceived more risks or more protections based on their identity compared with other women in their community who did not share that identity (table A1.2). "No impact on risk" was the base outcome, where "more risks" and "more protections" were analyzed in comparison. Relative risk ratios were computed for each explanatory variable, with 95 percent confidence intervals reported.

Table A1.1 Multinomial logistic regressions predicting women's perceived opportunities, by individual characteristics (*n* = 2,180)

Variable	Fewer opportunities relative risk ratio (95% confidence interval)	p-value	More opportunities relative risk ratio (95% confidence interval)	p-value
Ethnic or racial minority	3.38 (2.45—4.67)	<.001	2.41 (1.70—3.44)	<.001
Religious minority	2.68 (1.89—3.79)	<.001	1.58 (1.06—2.34)	.024
Gender minority[a]	1.59 (.64—3.97)	.322	0.64 (.18—2.33)	.500
Sexual minority[b]	0.92 (.56—1.53)	.752	0.84 (.46—1.52)	.566
Has a disability	0.78 (.51—1.21)	.265	0.55 (.32—.92)	.024
Indigenous	0.66 (.47—.92)	.013	1.24 (.94—1.65)	.134
Migrant, refugee, displaced	2.34 (1.78—3.08)	<.001	0.80 (.56—1.15)	.228
"Other" group identity	3.03 (1.91—4.81)	<.001	1.22 (.67—2.20)	.518
Internally displaced persons camp	0.81 (.58—1.14)	.223	1.07 (.77—1.50)	.688
Youth	2.15 (1.64—2.83)	<.001	1.73 (1.29—2.31)	<.001

Note: Results are adjusted for all predictors shown. The base outcome is "no impact on opportunities."

a. A respondent who identifies as nonbinary or otherwise nonconforming to the gender binary.

b. A respondent who identifies as part of the LGBTQIA+ community.

Table A1.2 Multinomial logistic regression predicting minority women's perceived risks and protections, by individual characteristics (*n* = 2,128)

Variable	More risks relative risk ratio (95% confidence interval)	p-value	More protections relative risk ratio (95% confidence interval)	p-value
Ethnic or racial minority	3.21 (2.40—4.30)	<.001	1.49 (.96—2.33)	.076
Religious minority	1.97 (1.42—2.73)	<.001	2.75 (1.80—4.20)	<.001
Gender minority[a]	1.52 (.59—3.92)	.385	0.51 (.06—4.00)	.519
Sexual minority[b]	2.76 (1.65—4.61)	<.001	1.63 (.74—3.61)	.229
Has a disability	0.98 (.64—1.50)	.933	0.84 (.44—1.60)	.595
Indigenous	0.74 (.55—1.01)	.056	0.94 (.63—1.40)	.758
Migrant, refugee, displaced	2.42 (1.86—3.15)	<.001	0.51 (.29—.91)	.023
"Other" group identity	2.94 (1.86—4.65)	<.001	1.07 (.47—2.44)	.879
Internally displaced persons camp	0.96 (.71—1.30)	.789	0.83 (.51—1.33)	.427
Youth	2.00 (1.54—2.59)	<.001	1.67 (1.17—2.40)	.005

Note: Results adjusted for all predictors shown. The base outcome is "no impact on risk."

a. A respondent who identifies as nonbinary or otherwise nonconforming to the gender binary.

b. A respondent who identifies as part of the LGBTQIA+ community.

Appendix 2. Country groups and regions

Developed Countries

Australia	Iceland	New Zealand
Austria	Ireland	Norway
Belgium	Israel	Portugal
Canada	Italy	Singapore
Denmark	Japan	Spain
Finland	South Korea	Sweden
France	Luxembourg	Switzerland
Germany	Malta	United Kingdom
Greece	Netherlands	United States of America

Latin America and the Caribbean

Argentina	Ecuador	Panama
Barbados	El Salvador	Paraguay
Belize	Guatemala	Peru
Bolivia	Guyana	Suriname
Brazil	Haiti	Trinidad and Tobago
Chile	Honduras	Uruguay
Colombia	Jamaica	Venezuela
Costa Rica	Mexico	
Dominican Republic	Nicaragua	

Sub-Saharan Africa

Angola	Gabon	Rwanda
Benin	Gambia	Sao Tome and Principe
Botswana	Ghana	Senegal
Burkina Faso	Guinea	Seychelles
Burundi	Guinea-Bissau	Sierra Leone
Cabo Verde	Kenya	Somalia
Cameroon	Lesotho	South Africa
Central African Republic	Liberia	South Sudan
Chad	Madagascar	Sudan
Comoros	Malawi	Tanzania
Congo	Mali	Togo
Democratic Republic of the Congo	Mauritania	Uganda
	Mauritius	Zambia
Djibouti	Mozambique	Zimbabwe
Equatorial Guinea	Namibia	
Eswatini	Niger	
Ethiopia	Nigeria	

Middle East and North Africa

Algeria
Bahrain
Egypt
Iran
Iraq
Jordan
Kuwait
Lebanon
Libya
Morocco
Oman
Palestine
Qatar
Saudi Arabia
Syria
Tunisia
United Arab Emirates
Yemen

South Asia

Afghanistan
Bangladesh
Bhutan
India
Maldives
Nepal
Pakistan
Sri Lanka

East Asia and the Pacific

Cambodia
China
Fiji
Indonesia
Lao PDR
Malaysia
Mongolia
Myanmar
Papua New Guinea
Philippines
Samoa
Solomon Islands
Taiwan Province of China
Thailand
Timor-Leste
Tonga
Vanuatu
Vietnam
Palau
Tuvalu

Central and Eastern Europe and Central Asia

Albania
Armenia
Azerbaijan
Belarus
Bosnia and Herzegovina
Bulgaria
Croatia
Cyprus
Czechia
Estonia
Georgia
Hungary
Kazakhstan
Kosovo
Kyrgyzstan
Latvia
Lithuania
Moldova
Montenegro
North Macedonia
Poland
Romania
Russian Federation
Serbia
Slovakia
Slovenia
Tajikistan
Turkey
Turkmenistan
Ukraine
Uzbekistan

Endnotes

1 This report refers to respondents as peacebuilders although the vast majority of respondents refer to themselves as activists, not peacebuilders. We use the term peacebuilders in recognition of their work contributing to peace and security.

2 The survey methodology is described in appendix 1.

3 Of the remaining 2 percent, 1 percent identifies as nonbinary (15 individuals), and 1 percent selected "gender not listed" (16 individuals). Men were intentionally excluded from the sample to maintain the survey's focus on women's experiences in peacebuilding. While some respondents identify as nonbinary or as having their gender not listed, the vast majority identify as women. For this reason, we refer throughout the report to our respondents as women, except where otherwise specified. Gender-diverse individuals may face unique threats and challenges, and additional research should focus specifically on their experiences of peace and security work.

4 We recognize that this distribution reflects both the reach of our networks and the reality that some regions, particularly those experiencing intensified violence or with limited civil society space, were more difficult to access and are less well-represented in the survey. The online nature of our survey resulted in a sample that reflects primarily an urban population, as rural populations are more difficult to reach without on-the-ground infrastructure and support.

5 This report uses the country groups defined by the Women, Peace and Security Index. Georgetown Institute for Women, Peace and Security (GIWPS) and Peace Research Institute Oslo (PRIO). 2023. Women, Peace and Security Index 2023/24: Tracking Sustainable Peace through Inclusion, Justice, and Security for Women. Washington, D.C. https://giwps.georgetown.edu/wp-content/uploads/2023/10/WPS-Index-full-report.pdf

6 Ten United Nations Security Council (UNSCR) resolutions form the foundation of the Women, Peace and Security Agenda, beginning with UNSCR 1325 of 2000, the first formal recognition by the Security Council that peace cannot be achieved without the inclusion, leadership, and experiences of women. "These resolutions and related thematic and country-specific decisions by the Security Council and other bodies—such as the UN General Assembly, the Peacebuilding Commission, and the Human Rights Council—promote gender equality and strengthen women's participation, protection, and rights across the conflict cycle, from conflict prevention to post-conflict reconstruction" (UN Women https://www.unwomen.org/en/what-we-do/peace-and-security/global-norms-and-standards#_WPS_resolutions).

7 Rachel George, Carla Koppell, Jessica M. Smith, and Ava Kawamura. 2025. "Progress in Women's Representation in International Peace and Security Roles: 2000-2025." Georgetown Institute for Women, Peace and Security. https://giwps.georgetown.edu/resource/monitoring-progress-on-the-women-peace-and-security-agenda

8 Maha Akeel. 2025. "Including Women in Peacebuilding Leads to More Sustainable Outcomes." Africa at LSE, May 26, 2025. https://blogs.lse.ac.uk/africaatlse/2025/05/26/including-women-in-peacebuilding-leads-to-more-sustainable-outcomes/



GIWPS Georgetown Institute for Women, Peace and Security

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