

Opportunities for a more Inclusive Indian Foreign Policy

India is on the cusp of
being a critical ally to
widen the global Feminist
Foreign Policy
conversation and make it
truly inclusive.

Are we ready?





Applying a Gender Mainstreaming Lens to our Foreign Policy Future

Why Now

New and emerging challenges, from the uncertainties caused by climate change to the cascading effects of the ongoing pandemic, call for alterations in traditional approaches to decision making. Voices need to be heard from diverse skill sets, backgrounds, expertise and lived experiences. A more inclusive foreign policy lens recognises the emerging threats to a nation and global relationships with an approach that is both progressive and realistic. A status quo or business as usual attitude towards hyper security and building global coalitions will no longer suffice. We collectively, need to reimagine global governance systems and their future, both for an interconnected world and for our national and local futures.

Data and studies indicate that policies, both at the domestic and international levels, which consider gender, have greater impact, and that societies where women are treated more equal to their male counterparts tend to perform better and are more secure.¹ The feminist foreign policy and similar gender mainstreaming approaches that are being implemented in countries including Sweden, France, Canada, Mexico, Spain and Germany, broaden the potential for inclusive policy making and could provide the perspective required to help us deal with emerging challenges. Our project seeks to widen the lens of both gender and the concept of what is intersectional in the Indian context and offer the global conversation a different

perspective that is not rooted just in western experiences. Men, women and people of other genders are not a homogenous group, both within countries and across the world and thus intersectionality and inclusivity must also be about vulnerabilities, equality and equity, history and social constructs.

By proactively advocating more inclusive policies that address concerns about gender based discrimination, we signal a strong commitment to larger global peace efforts. This also ensures that India is recognised as a strategic geopolitical ally that is committed to effectively shape the contours of the changing global governance and a new rules based order.

"The Feminist Foreign Policy is one step in the right direction, there is a whole process of cultural change that must come with it"

– H.E Federico Salas,²
Ambassador of Mexico to India

Countries with Feminist Foreign Policy



Sweden

Feminist Foreign Policy - 2014



Canada

Feminist International Assistance Policy - 2017



France

Feminist Diplomacy 2018



Mexico

Feminist Foreign Policy - 2020



Spain

Feminist Foreign Policy - 2021



Libya

Feminist Foreign Policy - 2021



Luxembourg

Feminist Foreign Policy - 2021



Germany*

Feminist Foreign Policy - 2021

*Started with a Gender equality through foreign policy in 2020



Why India

The idea of a feminist foreign policy, as pioneered by Sweden in 2014, is based on the premise of feminism as the pursuit of gender equality. Drawing on UN resolution 1325 on Women, Peace, and Security (WPS), the Swedish model is straightforward. It concentrates on the rights, representation and resources when dealing with gender equality; arguing for more women in all aspects of foreign policy making, to ensure that all forms of decision making include the perspective of women and girls. Change is considered on two fronts – one being the inclusion of more women and their voices at higher levels of decision making, and the other being the application of a gender/inclusive lens to policy decisions, with the aim to achieve better, more sustainable outcomes for our combined geopolitical futures. The imperative here is to go beyond what is traditionally considered ‘gender’ or ‘women’s’ issues and realise that all policies need a gender lens to be lasting.

Our approach for India, reinforced through numerous consultations and conversations, is that diversity and inclusion need to go beyond the single focus on women and girls. Equity in policy making and equality at the discussion table requires a broader lens, especially in the context of a diverse multi-ethnic pluralistic society. We need to go beyond the binary concept of gender, to ensure that all sections

of society are represented when policies are formed, especially those that are likely to be most affected by the very policies. While such considerations exist in a domestic context, we argue that this is required in a foreign policy context as well. To achieve that larger goal, we advocate for a more inclusive foreign policy making framework, where issues of human rights are placed at the heart of discussion by using the tools, values and ideology of a feminist foreign policy framework, within an Indian context.

We believe that India is well poised to embark on this path. Our research and consultations (as presented in the following section) indicate that India has made some progress in terms of both, the area of greater representation of women, and in bringing a gender lens to the policy making space. However, it is also evident that while the numbers might be increasing, the application of a gender or an even larger human rights lens is still nascent, and somewhat ad hoc. Understanding the thinking and approach applied to some of these foreign policy decisions, especially in the areas of development aid and assistance as well as climate and disaster management could ensure that policies are created under a framework that has a gender and inclusion lens by design. While we have already found some evidence of this, we continue to further

study and undertake research to fill in existing gaps. Adopting such an approach would not only strengthen our foreign policy goals for the future but also enable us to contribute to the growing global discussion that is largely rooted in the transatlantic space.

India sits as a non-permanent member at the UNSC (2021). As it takes on its presidency of the G20 in 2023, the time is opportune to engage and shape emerging discussions around feminist foreign policy and other gender mainstreaming approaches. By weighing in on the ongoing global discussion, India can offer a unique perspective in shaping

existing and defining new frameworks, and by extension the way forward. Through our research we have sought to consolidate past and current perspectives to better understand the extent of gender mainstreaming within India's foreign policy making space, lending to what could be the Indian perspective. Through this paper, we outline a few areas where there is opportunity for greater and more structured gender mainstreaming in India's foreign policy. While more research and understanding is required, we see great potential and opportunity in the current establishment and policy making space, where a well-designed inclusive framework is the way forward.

This report is the outcome of an intensive six-month process which included the following activities:



Secondary research



Stakeholder mapping & analysis



Conducting interviews and consultations with stakeholders from a wide gamut of the foreign policy ecosystem including academics, intellectuals, practitioners, diplomats, bureaucrats, historians and members of the media.



Engaging with and learning from countries that have already embarked on this path including Germany, Mexico, France, Sweden and Canada as well as other global organisations conducting similar research efforts, in Germany, USA, the European Parliament and Australia.

State of Play

In this section we examine and highlight some of the gaps that exist in-terms of equal representation. While the Ministry of External Affairs (MEA) has seen tremendous change within, both in terms of more female entrants and women at senior decision making positions, a significant gap still exists. Based on data available from the MEA website we

have highlighted this gap in heads of divisions and heads of missions globally (page 10), which are both key positions of foreign policy making and implementation. More efforts are needed to bridge these gaps and ensure that a diverse set of voices is represented at all levels of policy making and power.

Ministry of External Affairs



	Total Divisions	Men	Women
Head of Divisions*	54	36	11

^a

* Heads of Division from org chart and correlated with MEA division website.

* Data from MEA website as of Jan 2022.

* Discrepancy of 7 because certain ministry officials are heading more than one division.



Challenges

Overcoming Structural Inequality

Organizational structures, in general or in the policy making space, often operate within a set of rules, where power, responsibility, authority and accountability is consciously planned. Both men and women experience this, but differently, thereby giving rise to inequality within the work space. Despite changes in laws and gender sensitization trainings, gender biases continue to persist within organizations. Even in diplomacy, which is viewed as a gender neutral subject, neutrality and equality are two different things: that the foreign services are 'open for all' is different from being equitable. Women are 'accommodated' rather than treated as an integral part of the institution contributing equally to its success. As a result, over the years, women diplomats have had increased representation but are 'kept busy' in softer conversations such as consular affairs sections or with people-to-people and development issues.

Inherent gender biases lead to questioning of women's ability to function in challenging spaces. Strategic and defence portfolios are

seldom allocated to women. Women often lack access to the professional experience, financial backing, networking, growth opportunities and mentoring that their male counterparts often have access to, perpetuating a cycle. Gendered expectations within organisations mostly place the heavier burden on the woman as a parent to be the primary care giver, often leading to break in service. Gendered issues within the workspace such as maternity leave, lack of mobility, inability to take up non-family postings due to dual responsibilities of family and work, lack of support from spouses who do not relocate when women officers are posted out, are all treated as 'women's problems' thereby placing the burden of addressing and resolving them squarely on women. This 'othering' of the issue reinforces inequality within the system as women officers are 'too busy' trying to resolve these 'women's issues' and report on what they have done for their fellow women officers, instead of concentrating on furthering their careers and advancing overall goals of policy and diplomacy.

‘Thoughts and Ideas on Gender Mainstreaming and Foreign Policy in India’

A snapshot of the most commonly occurring words and phrases during discussions and roundtables



Breaking Binary Barriers

Traditional portfolios in foreign policy such as military, security, arms, trade, and power seldom see active participation and decision-making by women.³ This is largely due to the patriarchal construct that supports the idea that these fields are traditionally a male domain and therefore unsafe for women and/or also out of the purview of their understanding and experiences. This gender binary, reinforced from an early age, promotes the idea that men and women have inherently different and opposite skills. Gendered issues are typically held in such binaries: soft power versus hard power, masculine versus feminine, security issues versus non-security issues, domestic versus foreign, etc. where everything powerful is masculine and everything marginalised is feminine. While explicit biases

have been addressed to some extent and we have made significant strides, sub-conscious biases still exist not only in our organisational systems, but also in foreign engagements. For policies to be inclusive, especially foreign policy, experiences of diverse communities who are impacted by the policy must be considered. In every consultation we have heard that the term 'intersectional' must be used to define a feminist foreign policy; as when we talk of gender we are also talking of vulnerabilities, inclusivity, and equity. As newer and various dimensions of diversity and inclusion come to the forefront, there is minimal focus, for example, on the inclusion of gender neutral language within current policies and governance.

Moving from Representation to Meaningful Participation

India has come a long way in terms of the evolution of the role and place of women in the foreign services since the case of C.B Muthumma, the first woman to clear the civil service examination. She went to court in 1979⁴ to protest the denial of a promotion on account of her gender. In the early stages of India's foreign services, several rules⁵ reflected a stereotypical view on the abilities of married women, linking performance to the traditional understanding of a woman's domestic commitments, and even treating a male spouse of a serving officer very differently from a female spouse (with the former having access to greater privileges). Today, there are more women in the foreign services than ever before. As of early 2021, women constitute 21.6

percent of Foreign Service Officers although only 16 serve as the heads of Indian Missions in other countries. The last available figure for the total number of women diplomats in the MEA was 176 (out of a total of 815 diplomats).⁶ The question that has featured prominently in our discussions was the 'value' that women's participation adds to the discourse - whether having women in positions of power brings any considerable change to the way that decision making takes place; and subsequently if women are able to alter the agenda to reimagine 'hard' and 'soft' aspects of security policy. Do women also advance the cause of women's empowerment at the highest echelons of power? But perhaps it is time to move beyond asking these

questions, which continue to place the onus of responsibility on a woman's ability, when very often, similar questions are not asked to their male counterparts. Through this research process, it has also become clear that a

fundamental re-imagining of what constitutes 'hard' and 'soft' power is needed and accordingly, diplomacy must be conducted based on these changing realities.

Ambassadors and High Commissioners



Missions Abroad	132*
Total Men	116
Total Women	16

b

Angola | Bhutan | Cambodia | Cyprus | Denmark | Eswatini | Italy | Kazakhstan | Republic of Korea | Mauritius | Malta | Poland | Switzerland | Slovenia | Thailand | United Kingdom

* Include Embassies & High Commissions as of January, 2022

* Total Missions Abroad- 167 (4 vacant, Indian Embassy in Afghanistan shut/in transition and 30 Honorary Consulates are headed by the same Foreign Service Officers serving as Ambassadors and Honorary Consuls in other countries)

Feminist Vs Gender

There is great reservation around the use of the term 'feminist' while proposing a more inclusive foreign policy approach. This is not unique to India. Germany for instance, until December 2021, did not use the word 'feminist' in the framing of its foreign policy. From Germany we have heard that the word reminded society of the feminist struggles of the 1970s and was therefore met with reluctance. The preferred term was 'gender justice' or 'gender equality'. Through 2020-21, the Federal Foreign Office implemented several programmes that spoke to the values of justice and quality where the new coalition government has now broadened that approach to a feminist foreign policy as a whole. From Canada we have also heard of some backlash faced for the use of the word 'feminist', while Mexico's Feminist Foreign Policy is imagined as affirmative action for women.

In India, the use of the word 'feminist' has also raised its fair share of concerns. It is often associated with disruptive activism where both men and women feel that women will hijack and alter the agenda in a way that men will lose out on power, authority and influence, and that control will lie only in the hands of a small minority of privileged women, which could present a new set of issues. In our consultations, both men and women suggest the use of a more neutral term for a gender mainstreaming approach, one that treats all genders equally and fairly and takes an intersectional approach that is

more reflective of the country. Even though India has a rich feminist history, the use of the term 'feminist foreign policy' is viewed as a western concept that undermines the work undertaken to eliminate intersecting forms of discrimination and marginalisation based on caste, class, age, religion disability etc. While there is an assumption that the push to adopt this approach is external, it is evident from our conversations that external advocates and practitioners of feminist and gender inclusive policies have no such prescriptive intentions and strongly propose that countries develop and adopt their own context specific feminist policies.

Language plays a critical role and is an area that must be discussed and debated before we come to the understanding of what terminology suits the Indian context best. Not just the use of the term 'feminist' or 'gender mainstreaming' but also clearly defining the terms is crucial in laying down the foundational ideology of a gender equal, non-binary foreign policy that seeks to correct historical imbalances of power. The language used in Spain's Feminist Foreign Policy for instance reflects its gender-balanced agenda and is inclusive of the LGBTQ+ community. Similarly for India, through wider consultations, we must arrive at the terminology and language that would help further the impact of gender equality and develop a framework to add to the global basket of options for others to consider.



Opportunities for the Way Forward

Systemic Reform	A key element in addressing hurdles of inherently traditional organisation structures and ensuring that an inclusive approach is a standalone forward looking strategic concern.
Bridging the Gap	By understanding that an inclusive foreign policy can co-exist with domestic efforts on gender inclusion, there are not only multiple benefits to reap at home but also offer an important perspective to the global conversation.
Invested Leadership	A central component of any strategic change in foreign policy approach; we believe that India is already on this path, where a serious investment from the leadership is the push required.

Working towards Systemic Reforms

Addressing hurdles of inherently traditional organizational structures require systemic reforms where solutions are institutionalized to empower future generations. Our societies are structured through hierarchy, an ordering principle that is about gender, but also about various forms of social and economic divides. These systems are reflected in national and global politics, where the domestic considerations and realities either through people themselves or institutions affect decision making at the international level. Thus, it is time to work towards creating systemic change and reform where an intersectional and inclusive approach to foreign policy is not in bits and pieces but is the norm. Where the concepts of a feminist foreign policy applied in India rest with the office and not the person. Representation and greater participation, greater investment through intellectual and human resources along with finances and a shift in narrative are key elements of working towards this change.

There is no doubt that India is already on the path of greater representation. Added to this is the core element of training and capacity building at all levels of leadership, and for all genders. This not only works in making organizations more sensitive, but it also leads to an increased awareness of internalized gender biases that manifest themselves in the workplace, both domestically and internationally. The Sushma Swaraj Institute of Foreign Service conducts relevant training for entry and mid-career level diplomats and members of the foreign service. What is also needed is capacity building and knowledge of the core concepts of a more inclusive foreign policy, where bureaucrats and decision makers have the ability to implement that understanding in larger policy decisions.

Added to this is the key element of data and the need to understand the gendered impact

of policies. Systemic changes will then enable dynamic decision-making environments where women's advancement does not depend on their ability to sound like their male peers, or male members do not feel marginalised due to their socio-economic background or other factors. Where younger individuals can ask hard questions without the risk of being sidelined. Where positive notions of masculinity⁷ are promoted that address in a proactive manner, some of the issues relating to the patriarchal power structures between men and women.

As we have learnt, language and a shift in the narrative also play a key role in effective systemic changes. This includes a fundamental redefining of the traditional notions of hard and soft power. The nature and understanding of security issues around the world have widened in scope to include multi-dimensional considerations such as natural disasters, climate, health and resources, the economy, technology, development, and cooperation. There is no such thing anymore as a 'soft' issue, all of these affect the security of people and nations and need a diversity of voices. Moving away from old notions of hard and soft or development and women's issues in rhetoric, understanding and policy is at the core of global discussions on gender mainstreaming in foreign policy. However, in India, strategic foreign policy considerations, such as climate change, technology, global governance systems or others, mention a gender component that is often minimal or piecemeal. The universal topics are however slowly being considered at the core of India's security agenda, and we argue that gender mainstreaming or an inclusive approach needs to be a standalone strategic concern and not simply a paragraph in a larger agreement.



Informed and Invested Leadership

As decision making in India is traditionally top down, an informed and invested leadership will be central to the introduction of any form of gender inclusive foreign policy. We are already on the path towards this, however seemingly more by default than by design. A recent statement by Dr. Jaishankar, External Affairs Minister, stated that “we need to look at three things here: Getting more women to engage with foreign policy issues, reflect women’s interests in foreign policy, and bring in a feminist perspective to foreign policy”⁸, coupled with our research indicates a serious potential for India to create a framework that is inclusive, robust and lasting.

Our leaders need to understand where our strengths lie and how we can use those strengths towards promoting a wider inclusive policy making space for the country. These could be areas of trade, climate change, health or development aid where India has already made strides. Some of this understanding and drive already exists. For example, India has taken a key interest in leading climate change and disaster management initiatives in the region as well as globally. It established the International Solar Alliance (ISA) along with France in 2015, where the business models developed by ISA, took into consideration gender equity, especially for the solar pumping programme. India also established the Coalition for Disaster Resilient Infrastructure in 2019 and is the first country, which has drawn a comprehensive national plan to fully achieve the Sendai framework for Disaster Risk Reduction by 2030. The Sendai framework emphasizes that “women and their participation are critical to effectively managing disaster risk and designing,

resourcing and implementing gender-sensitive disaster risk reduction policies, plans and programmes.”

The formulation of foreign policy in India is predominantly a function of the legislature and executive and has limited interface with civil society. It is thus critical for the intellectual community, feminist organisations, and development organisations that are connected to the foreign policy ecosystem to research further and develop pathways to mainstream gender equality. This will also aid in identifying and addressing gaps beyond the numerous initiatives that India has. Our all-women peace keeping forces in the past have been much lauded; is there a way then to understand the reason and cascading effects of their success and bring that understanding into other relevant areas of policy making? India’s development cooperation engagements increasingly include activities that promote inclusivity and gender mainstreaming. This can be seen through the ITEC (Indian Technical and Economic Cooperation) programme of the Ministry of External Affairs, that are targeted programmes with partner countries and others.⁹ 2019-21 for example saw a 39.8 percent increase in budget allocation towards grants and loans.¹⁰ Do these funds include a gender lens, are there necessary targets and indicators to ensure that gender is a principle and not just a significant focus of the programme are further questions that need to be carefully considered. Our research indicates that many successes exist within the initiatives spearheaded by India. However, a more detailed study of both successes and gaps could be the necessary building blocks to creating a larger framework.

Bridging the Gaps between Foreign Policy and Domestic Reality

Some scepticism towards a gender inclusive foreign policy stems from the fact that much remains to be done domestically, where India has slipped 28 places to the 140th position on the World Economic Forum's Gender Gap Index 2021.¹¹ However, a gender inclusive foreign policy can co-exist with domestic efforts on gender inclusion. A country's foreign policy is designed to deal with issues that affect its relations with its neighbours, allies, and other state entities. While originally intended to protect national sovereignty and interest, the purview of foreign policy has expanded in the recent past to include engaging with like-minded nations on issues that affect global and subsequently local futures. This shift in perspective opens up the possibility for gender to be a strategic consideration, by design and not by default, within the various aspects of foreign policy. Countries such as Mexico, that have adopted such policies, are using the larger external framework to drive change at home as well.

Let us take the example of trade policies. One of the economic consequences of the pandemic is the disproportionate exclusion of women from the workforce. Women in India were 7 times more likely to lose work during lockdowns, and 11 times more likely to not return to work after nationwide lockdowns were lifted.¹² Research shows that more

women in the labour force lead to economic gains: a boost to growth, higher productivity, progress, and an all-round benefit to society.¹³ Conversely, it is estimated that gender gaps cost the economy some 15 percent of GDP.¹⁴ Having in place the principles of a Feminist Trade Policy, such as seen in Canada, would both recognize the positive impact that women have on the economy and promote gender equality through trade at home.

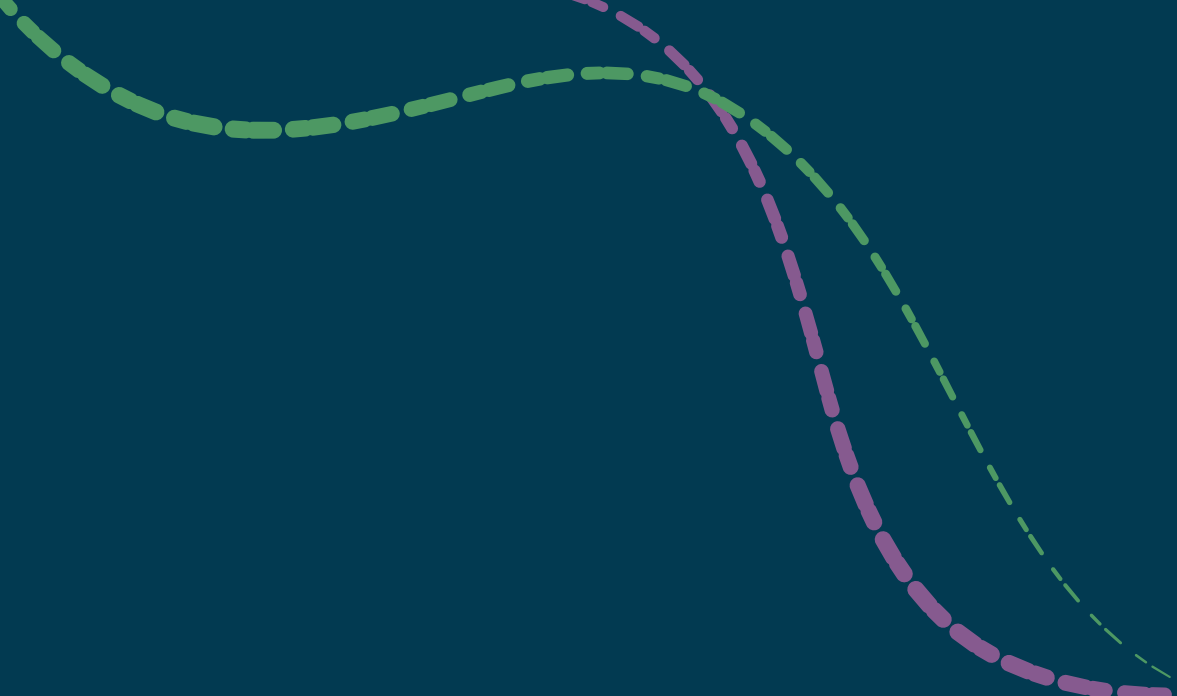
The importance of having a gender component in trade policy is already recognised to some extent, especially in regional trade groupings such as BBIN.¹⁵ India is actively trying to maximise the potential of its blue and green economy, but it cannot overlook the fact that women are the backbone of these industries. Along with having women at the negotiating table and in policy formulation, gender mainstreaming in trade policy could also involve interfacing with industry groups as well as business promotion groups that recognize some issues faced by women entrepreneurs and women business owners and have mechanisms to make the business environment more gender inclusive. A more concerted effort to implement a focused gender understanding within a policy and implementation thereof has multiple positive benefits, including health, climate, education amongst others, both as a foreign policy goal and in a domestic context.



Conclusion

While this project may serve as a starting point, we acknowledge that India might not be ready to announce any form of gender inclusive foreign policy. However, given existing gender considerations in our foreign policy, there are markers that prove we may not be very far behind on our intent. Some areas where we see progress towards achieving gender equality (though we acknowledge that the process has been piecemeal and disconnected, and often reactive to global events or partner countries initiatives) include some of our climate policies, multilateral and regional conversations and institutions, and health diplomacy amongst others. It is our belief that the intent and values behind many of these ideas and initiatives, coupled with increased participation that is meaningful, have the ability to shape our future foreign policy efforts. Areas such as the Indian Ocean Rim Association or our upcoming 2023

G20 presidency offer platforms to not only showcase our resolve and ability but also impact and offer alternative perspectives to the growing global discussion. The last two years of the global pandemic have underscored the need for greater cooperation, especially highlighting the undeniable need for greater participation of women in all areas of decision making. Several countries have taken this path, realising that this not only strengthens global democratic institutions but can have positive effects domestically. There remains a gap between any stated focus and the lines between overall principles in a framework and potential for implementation and between foreign and domestic realities. Countries, institutions, civil society and people are attempting to bridge these gaps and create a more meaningful system that is truly inclusive in all aspects. It is time India weighed in on the conversation.



“We must continue to push the frontiers of gender equality and women’s empowerment in every area - political, social, and cultural; and nationally, in order to carry weight internationally as a gender equality champion.”

– Ambassador Lakshmi Puri²

About Kubernein Initiative

Kubernein Initiative is an independent, female led, geopolitical advisory firm based in Mumbai (India) working to mainstream issues that need greater intellectual capacity and focus. Our vision is to build an organisation that considers critical questions with a perspective that balances traditionally 'western' thought in the field of international relations and diplomacy with new and emerging ideas from the global south. Kubernein Initiative is co-founded by Ambika Vishwanath and Priyanka Bhide, who bring their combined skills of research, analysis and strategic communications to successfully execute projects relating to security, governance, sustainability and development.

Kubernein Initiative Project Team:

Ms. Aditi Mukund, Program Associate and Project Lead

Ms. Sanya Saroha, Research Assistant

Ms. Sriparna Ganguly Chaudhuri,
Gender Consultant

Ms. Aadhya Shah, Project Coordinator

Website: <https://kuberneininitiative.com/>

Twitter: [@Kubernein](https://twitter.com/Kubernein)

LinkedIn: www.linkedin.com/company/kubernein-initiative

E-mail: contact@kuberneininitiative.com

About Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung (KAS)

The Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung (KAS) is a political foundation. With 16 regional offices in Germany and over 120 offices abroad, the Konrad Adenauer Foundation is committed to achieving and maintaining peace, freedom, and justice through political education. KAS cooperates with governmental institutions, political parties, and civil society organizations, building strong partnerships along the way. Together with their partners, they make a significant contribution to the creation of a global order that empowers every country to determine its own developmental priorities and destiny in an internationally responsible manner. The Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung has organized its program priorities in India into five working areas:

- Foreign and Security Policy
- Economic, Climate and Energy Policy

- Rule of Law
- Political Dialogue focused on Social and Political Change
- Media and Youth

The India Office of the Konrad Adenauer Foundation takes great pride in its cooperation with Indian partner institutions who implement jointly curated projects and programmes.

Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung India Office Project Team:

Mr. Peter Rimmele, Resident Representative to India

Mr. Pankaj Madan, Deputy Head- India Office

Ms. Simran Dhingra, Research Officer

Mr. Ashish Gupta, Research Officer

Website: <https://www.kas.de/en/web/indien>

Email: info.india@kas.de

Design Team

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(In alphabetical order)

- Ms. Adriana Villanueva Becerril
- Ms. Akanksha Khullar
- Ms. Alice Ridge
- Ambassador Anil Trigunayat
- Ms. Barbara Mittelhammer
- Dr. Constantino Xavier
- H.E. Federico Salas Lotfe
- Ambassador Gurjit Singh
- ICRW
- IWDA
- Ms. Joanna Pradela
- Mr. Jonatan Klum Stelander
- Ms. Judith Arrieta Munguía
- Ms. Khushi Singh Rathore
- Ms. Kirthi Jayakumar
- Ms. Kristina Lunz
- Ms. Kristin Augsburg
- Ambassador Lakshmi Puri
- Dr. Mallika Joseph
- Dr. Manuel Muniz
- Ms. Megda Bharadwaj
- Ms. Mitali Mukherjee
- Dr. Narayani Basu
- Dr. Preethi John
- Dr. Priyanka Chandra
- Mr. Sebastian Groth
- Ambassador Shivshankar Menon
- Ms. Smita Singh
- Dr. Soumita Basu
- Dr. Swarna Rajagopalan
- Dr. Swati Prabhu
- Dr. Tanvi Kulkarni

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End notes and References

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²Remarks from public virtual event on December 8th, 2021, co-hosted by Kubernein Initiative and India Office of Konrad Adenauer Stiftung.

³Mentioned by a Foreign Policy researcher at a closed-door workshop organized as part of this project

⁴Full text of the ruling in favour of C.B. Muthamma can be accessed here: <https://indiankanoon.org/doc/1339558/>

⁵Rule 8(2) of the Indian Foreign Service (Conduct and Discipline) Rules, 1961 stipulated that a woman member of the service had to obtain permission from the government before marrying and the government could ask her to resign if it was satisfied that her “family and domestic commitments” would affect her performance. Rule 18(4) of the Indian Foreign Service (Recruitment, Cadre, Seniority and Promotion) Rules, 1961 stipulated that no married woman had a right to be a member of the IFS. Similarly, when female officers joined in 1976, they would only get half the allowance of their married spouse. Source: Amb Bhaswati Mukherjee, “Journey of an Indian woman diplomat: A story of struggle, success and empowerment”, *South Asia Monitor*, March 08, 2021, <https://www.southasiamonitor.org/spotlight/journey-indian-woman-diplomat-story-struggle-success-and-empowerment>

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⁸Lalita Panicker, “Indian foreign policy needs more women”, *Hindustan Times*, August 07, 2021, <https://www.hindustantimes.com/opinion/indian-foreign-policy-needs-more-women-101628340364750.html>

⁹The Indian Technical and Economic Cooperation (ITEC) program promotes and implements numerous programmes including vocational training in areas like textiles and garments, computers, enterprise development, rainwater harvesting etc. From 2015 to 2017, USAID partnered with the Governments of India and Afghanistan to support the Self-Employed Women’s Association’s (SEWA), an Indian women’s cooperative, to implement the Afghan Women’s Empowerment Program.

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