

## *The WIIS Gender Scorecard: Washington, DC Think Tanks - 2018*

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For over 30 years, Women In International Security (WIIS) has worked to advance the role of women in national and international security. While much progress has been made, the number of women occupying prominent positions in foreign and defense policy remains limited. As a result, the role of women in decision-making in foreign and defense policies is under-developed.

Indeed, while women constitute 40 percent of the Foreign Service officer corps, they hold only one-third of the chief of mission positions.<sup>1</sup> Women make up 33 percent of the Department of Defense civilian staff and 18 percent of the DOD active duty officer corps, and they remain grossly under-represented at the highest ranks—less than 8 percent have the rank of general or flag officer.<sup>2</sup>

Women also remain under-represented as expert commentators in the media. Women accounted for just 24 percent of foreign affairs and national security experts invited to speak on major political talk shows.<sup>3</sup> Manels—that is, event panels with only men—remain common in the United States, including in Washington, DC.<sup>4</sup>

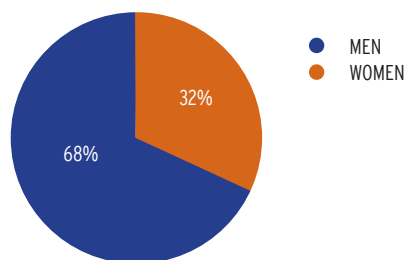
The lack of women in prominent positions in the foreign policy and national and international security establishments is surprising since for over a decade more than 60 percent of those enrolled in graduate programs (masters and doctoral programs) in the social and behavioral sciences (including political science and international relations) have been women.<sup>5</sup> The 7,000-member International Studies Association (ISA), the professional association for scholars, practitioners, and graduate students in the field of international studies, has 43 percent female membership. Amongst its graduate student members, women are in the majority.<sup>6</sup>

In 2000, the UN Security Council adopted resolution 1325 on Women, Peace and Security, which recognized the importance of the role of women in matters related to international peace and security.<sup>7</sup> In 2011, the US rolled out a US National Action Plan on Women, Peace and Security, and in November 2017, the US Congress adopted the Women, Peace and Security Act, which posited that “the United States should be a global leader in promoting the meaningful participation of women in conflict prevention, management and resolution, and post-conflict relief and recovery efforts.”<sup>8</sup>

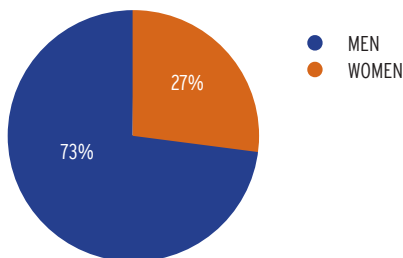
Think tanks play an important role in shaping foreign and defense policy agendas. Think tank experts shape these agendas by moving in and out of many critical positions in the US government and by participating in policy debates in the media.

Many think tanks have recognized the importance of diversifying their staff and recruiting and retaining more women.<sup>9</sup> Many have in recent years added programs highlighting women in the field (see below). Unfortunately, many think tanks continue to suffer from significant gender gaps. First, only 32 percent of the national and international security think tanks are headed by a woman.

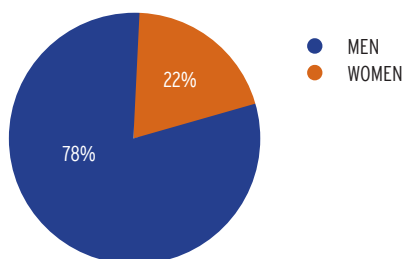
Figure 1: Heads of Washington, DC Think Tanks



**Figure 2:** Average % of Experts in Washington, DC Think Tanks by Gender



**Figure 3:** Average % of Governing Board Members of Washington, DC Think Tanks by Gender



Second, on average only 27 percent of expert staff are women. Only 3 out of 22 think tanks (14 percent) have achieved gender parity within their expert staff. Third, only 22 percent of think tank governing boards are women. Finally, only one think tank has integrated gender in its programs.

Since 2007, the Think Tanks and Civil Societies Program (TTCSP) of the University of Pennsylvania has published an annual *Global Go To Think Tank Index Report*. The report measures the roles think tanks play in governments and civil societies around the world. It does so by ranking think tanks in a variety of categories, including top think tanks by region and areas of research.<sup>10</sup>

Unfortunately, the *Global Go To Think Tank Index Report* does not consider how gender balances or gender programming influence these roles. In sum, up until now there has not been a systematic effort to collect data on the gender balances within the major think tanks active in national and international security arena.<sup>11</sup> Nor has there been a systematic effort to survey the programs of think tanks to see how gender is integrated into them.

The *WIIS Gender Scorecard: Washington, DC Think Tanks* fills this gap by presenting data with regard to the gender balance of 22 major think tanks that work on foreign policy and national and international security issues and are based in the Washington, DC area. We also present information about the gender and women’s programs within these think tanks.

This scorecard is part of a broader WIIS initiative to promote the integration of gender perspectives into national and international security agendas.<sup>12</sup> Indeed, we believe that gender perspectives are insufficiently integrated into analyses of national and international security challenges.<sup>13</sup> An important step in the right direction is to achieve gender parity at the level of the expert staffs. In addition, we believe that it is important to achieve gender parity at the level of the governing boards of think tanks. Indeed, boards of directors and trustees have judiciary responsibilities for the governance of think tanks, they oversee think tank activities, and help set the strategic direction. Without leadership from the top, gender gaps will remain.<sup>14</sup>

By publishing this scorecard, we hope to stimulate discussions within the think tanks on how to close the gender gaps on their expert staffs and governing boards. We also hope to stimulate a broader discussion about the importance of gender when examining important international security challenges. We believe that a more diverse staff within think tanks, as well as more diverse governing boards, will stimulate innovative and better approaches to critical national and international security challenges and help to make the world a better place.

### Scoring the Tanks

- The scorecard reviews think tanks along four main axes:
- (1) percentage of women that lead the think tanks;
  - (2) percentage of women experts in the think tank’s foreign policy and national and international security programs;
  - (3) percentage of women in the governing bodies of the think tanks.
  - (4) number of think tanks with significant commitment to gender and/or women’s programming.

Table 1: Washnigton, DC Think Tanks with Women at the Helm		
Center for American Progress (CAP)	Ms. Neera Tanden, President and CEO	2011
Center for a New American Security (CNAS)	Ms. Victoria Nuland, CEO	2018
German Marshall Fund (GMF)	Dr. Karen Donfried, President	2014
Heritage Foundation	Ms. Kay Coles James, President	2017
New America	Dr. Anne-Marie Slaughter, President and CEO	2013
US Institute of Peace (USIP)	Ms. Nancy Lindborg, President and CEO	2015
Wilson Center for International Scholars	Ms. Jane Harman, President and CEO	2011

## Heads of Think Tanks

Of the 22 institutions surveyed, only seven (32 percent) are led by women – the Center for American Progress, the Center for a New American Security (CNAS), the German Marshall Fund (GMF), the Heritage Foundation, New America, the US Institute of Peace (USIP), and the Woodrow Wilson Center for International Scholars.

## Experts

Only three think tanks—the Stimson Center, the Nuclear Threat Initiative (NTI), and the US Institute of Peace (USIP)—have reached gender parity at the level of their expert staff.

On average, only 27 percent of the expert staff of Washington, DC think tanks surveyed are women.

Figure 4: % of Women Experts in Washington, DC Think Tanks

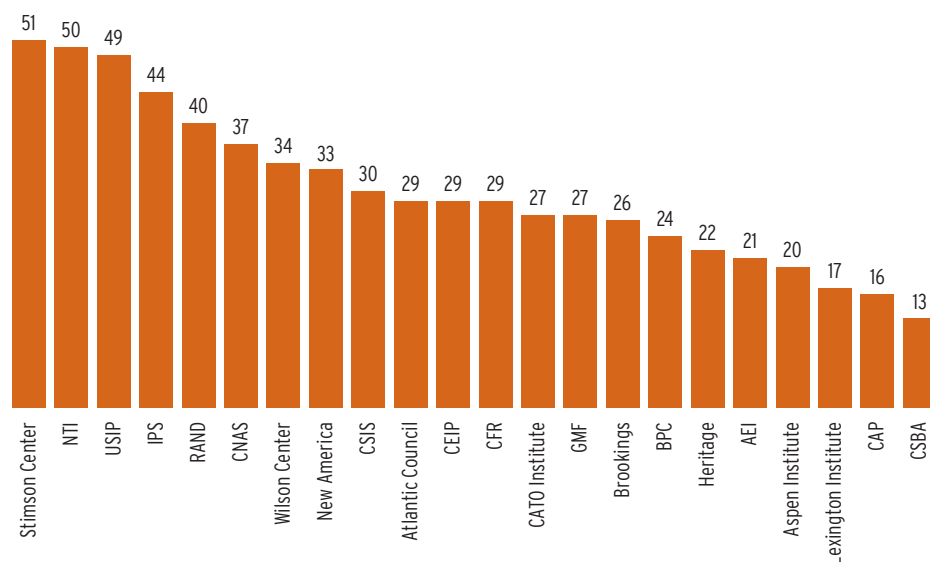
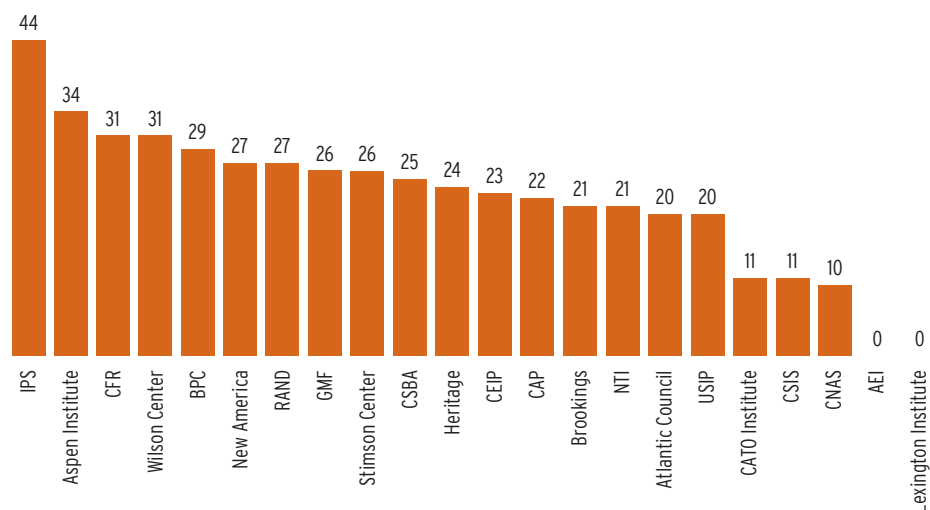


Figure 5: % of Women on Governing Boards of Washington, DC Think Tanks



## Governing Boards

The gender gap is particularly stark at the level of the governing boards. No think tank has achieved gender parity. The Institute for Policy Studies and the Aspen Institute come closest, with 44 percent and 43 percent women, respectively.

On average, only 22 percent of the Board of Directors or Trustees are composed of women.

## Gender or Women’s Programming

Most Washington, DC think tanks do not consider the role of gender in national and international security. For many in the traditional security think tank community—men and women—gender is often equated with “women” or a “woman’s point of view.” A 2016 survey by the New America Foundation found that the majority of US policymakers and elites had little knowledge and understanding of gender. Most equated gender with women. If at all open to the idea of a gender perspective, the majority of policymakers believed that an “add women and stir” approach would be sufficient. More important, most policymakers in the survey believed that a gendered perspective is relevant for only a handful of subjects, such as sex trafficking, sexual violence and sex slavery in ISIS. They did not believe that gender was relevant to national security issues.<sup>15</sup> This lack of understanding of gender as a multilevel social construct that governs relations between men and women within societal structures and institutions is widespread within the DC foreign policy and security think tank community.

Indeed, of the 22 think tanks surveyed only one—the **US Institute of Peace (USIP)**—has recognized gender as an important component of its programming. In 2009, USIP created the Center for Gender and Peacebuilding. In 2014, “promoting inclusion” was identified as an objective in the Institute’s five-year strategic plan. The Institute transitioned

**Table 2: % of Women Experts in Washington, DC Think Tanks**

Rank	Think Tank	% of Women
1	Stimson Center	51%
2	Nuclear Threat Initiative (NTI)	50%
3	US Institute of Peace (USIP)	49%
4	Institute for Policy Studies (IPS)	44%
5	RAND Corporation	40%
6	Center for a New American Security (CNAS)	37%
7	Wilson Center for International Scholars	34%
8	New America	33%
9	Center for Strategic & International Studies (CSIS)	30%
10	Atlantic Council Carnegie Endowment for International Peace (CEIP) Council on Foreign Relations (CFR)	29%
13	CATO Institute German Marshall Fund (GMF)	27%
15	Brookings Institution	26%
16	Bipartisan Policy Center (BPC)	24%
17	Heritage Foundation	22%
18	American Enterprise Institute (AEI)	21%
19	Aspen Institute	20%
20	Lexington Institute	17%
21	Center for American Progress (CAP)	16%
22	Center for Strategic and Budgetary Assessments (CSBA)	13%

the programming center on gender to the front office and began mainstreaming gender throughout its work in 2015, most notably in its field projects and programs. Since 2016, USIP has had a director for gender policy and strategy that oversees and advises all programs on gender. The director sits in the Policy, Learning and Strategy Center, which reports directly to USIP's president.

None of the other think tanks have integrated gender into their national and international security programming. Most other think tanks have separate programs that have a focus on women, rather than gender. A few think tanks work on the Women, Peace and Security (WPS) agenda, but most of that work is not integrated into their other national or international security programs.<sup>16</sup>

Think tanks with notable programs on women and/or the WPS agenda include the following:<sup>17</sup>

The **Center for a New American Security (CNAS)** launched a Women In National Security program in 2014.

The **Center for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS)** launched a Smart Women, Smart Power Program in December 2014 and a Women's Global Leadership Program in 2015.

The **Council on Foreign Relations (CFR)** has a Women and Foreign Policy Program and a Women and Foreign Policy Program Advisory Council founded in 2002.

**New America** started work on the WPS agenda in its Better Life Lab and Political Reform Program.

The **RAND Corporation** has a webpage called Rand Women To Watch. It also has programs on Gender Equity in the Workplace and Gender Integration in the Military, which addresses issues related to women and transgender military personnel. In its work on Female Populations RAND addresses issues faced by women and girls, including women refugees, migrants, and gender-based and intimate partner violence.

The **Woodrow Wilson Center** has a Global Women's Leadership Initiative (GWLI) (since 2012) and a Women In Public Service Project.

Most research on the WPS agenda and the intersections of women, gender, and national and international security issues is carried out outside of the foreign policy and national and international security think tank establishment by non-governmental organizations and civil society groups. While many of these groups are active in advocacy and operational work, many also conduct research and produce policy papers. Most of these organizations are members of the US Civil Society Working Group on Women, Peace and Security (US CSWG). (see box page 6).

**Table 3: % of Women on Governing Boards of Washington, DC Think Tanks**

Rank	Think Tank	% of Women
1	Institute for Policy Studies (IPS)	44%
2	Aspen Institute	34%
3	Council on Foreign Relations (CFR) Wilson Center for International Scholars	31%
5	Bipartisan Policy Center (BPC)	29%
6	New America RAND Corporation	27%
8	German Marshall Fund (GMF) Stimson Center	26%
10	Center for Strategic and Budgetary Assessments (CSBA)	25%
11	Heritage Foundation	24%
12	Carnegie Endowment for International Peace (CEIP)	23%
13	Center for American Progress (CAP)	22%
14	Brookings Institution Nuclear Threat Initiative (NTI)	21%
16	Atlantic Council US Institute of Peace (USIP)	20%
18	CATO Institute Center for Strategic & International Studies (CSIS)	11%
20	Center for a New American Security (CNAS)	10%
21-22	American Enterprise Institute (AEI) Lexington Institute	0%

### Concluding Thoughts

The main security policy establishments, including think tanks, continue to be staffed and managed mostly by men.

The top 10 think tanks in the United States, as ranked by the *Go To Think Tank Index Report*—Brookings, CSIS, CEIP, Heritage Foundation, Wilson Center, RAND, CAP, CFR, Cato, Atlantic Council—are often not those who do best in terms of gender balance or gender programming, the Wilson Center being the exception.

While we see an increasing number of women entering the field of national and international security, their influence remains limited. Only 3 out of 22 think tanks have achieved gender parity at the level of their expert staff.

We hope that the publication of this scorecard will stimulate discussions and encourage think tanks to conduct a gender analysis of their organizations.<sup>18</sup>

Such an analysis should include a more fine-grained examination of the gender balance within their institutions. For example, what positions do men and women occupy within the foreign and national and international security expert positions available at the organization? How are hiring and retention policies affecting the gender imbalances? Are there gender pay gaps? Do men and women get interviewed and quoted equally? If not, why not? These discussions should

include not just the human resources department, but also and most important the staff of the policy programs in question.

In addition, think tanks should examine the gender balance at their governing boards and how they can increase efforts to attract more women to the boards. Organizations, like WIIS can help think tanks identify women with the necessary expertise and experience.

A think tank gender analysis would also include an examination of how gender is integrated into the analysis of national and international security issues. Program directors should be encouraged to examine how research on women and gender can become a more integral part of their foreign policy and national security programs, instead of stand-alone, siloed, programs.

Change within institutions require leadership from the top. They also require that programs and program staff are held accountable. Collecting gendered data on such things as new hires, panels, and media outreach is often a first step.<sup>19</sup>

Lastly, think tanks may consider appointing a Gender Advisor (GENAD). Such advisors have been particularly useful in government settings (USAID, State and DoD) and international organizations (United Nations, NATO). When appointing GENADs, it is important to locate them in policy positions or in the think tank's front office so that they have direct access to the leadership.

Much progress has been made with regard to gender equality. In the last two decades the number of women studying national and international affairs has grown enormously. Students (women and men) are also increasingly interested in analyzing the role of gender and gender inequalities on national and international security. Think tanks no longer have many excuses for the persisting gender gaps and the neglect of gender perspectives. In a world with increasingly complex national and international security challenges, think tanks need to appeal to broad expertise in order to advance peace and security in the 21st century.

### Methodology

The *WIIS Gender Scorecard: Washington, DC Think Tanks* surveys 22 think tanks with a strong presence in the Washington, DC area. They all work on a broad range of international affairs and national and international security issues. Most are mentioned in the 2017 *Global Go To Think Tank Index Report* and/or get regular mention in the media.<sup>20</sup>

This scorecard does not include university-based research institutes (e.g., the McCain Institute or the Center for Transatlantic Relations). The scorecard also excludes those think tanks focused on a specific region (e.g., the Middle East) or one functional area (e.g., migration or international economic development).

While gender can be defined and discussed as more than just women and men, this survey takes a binary approach and conducted its evaluation using women and men and based its evaluation on the names and photographs found on organizations' websites.

Data on each of the think tanks were collected in August 2018 from the think tanks' own websites. Experts in foreign policy, defense, and national and international security were selected based on the identification of such experts by the think tanks themselves. We did not analyze the positions of the experts. Some think tanks include junior staff; others will identify only more senior staff. Similarly, we did not distinguish between non-resident and resident experts. For each think tank, we followed the think tanks' own identification of its experts. For the full data set, see the *WIIS Gender Scorecard: Washington, DC Think Tanks Data Set – 2018* at [wiisglobal.org](http://wiisglobal.org).

### Members of the USCSWG

- 4Girls GLocal Leadership
- Alliance for Peacebuilding
- American Red Cross
- Amnesty International USA
- Asia Foundation
- Baha'is of the United States
- Equality Now
- Fuller Project for International Reporting
- Futures Without Violence
- George Washington University
- Center for Gender Equality in International Affairs
- Georgetown Institute for Women, Peace & Security
- Human Rights Watch
- Inclusive Security
- Institute for State Effectiveness (ISE)
- International Center for Research on Women (ICRW)
- International Civil Society Action Network (ICAN)
- International Foundation for Electoral Systems (IFES)
- International Republican Institute (IRI)
- International Research and Exchanges Board (IREX)
- Mina's List / Peace is Loud
- National Democratic Institute
- Our Secure Future: Women Make the Difference
- PAI
- Peace X Peace
- Promundo – U.S.
- Protect the People
- Saferworld
- Strategy for Humanity
- The Tahrir Institute for Middle East Policy (TIMEP)
- United Nations Association of the USA
- U.S. National Committee of UN Women
- Vital Voices Global Partnership
- WomanStats Project
- Women Enabled International
- Women for Afghan Women
- Women In International Security (WIIS)
- Women of Color Advancing Peace and Security (WCAPS)
- Women's Action for New Directions (WAND)
- Women's Refugee Commission

Secretariat: USIP

Fiscal Sponsor/Agent: WIIS

**Table 4: WIIS Gender Scorecard: Washington, DC Think Tanks in alphabetical order.**

**American Enterprise Institute (AEI)**

HEAD: Arthur Brooks (M)  
 Nat./Int. Security Experts: 21% women  
 TOTAL: 29           6 (F) + 23 (M)  
 Governing Board: 0% women  
 TOTAL: 27           0 (F) + 27 (M)

**Atlantic Council**

HEAD: Fred Kempe (M)  
 Nat./Int. Security Experts: 29% women  
 TOTAL: 227         66 (F) + 161 (M)  
 Governing Board: 20% women  
 TOTAL: 200         39 (F) + 161 (M)

**Aspen Institute**

HEAD: Dan Porterfield (M)  
 Nat./Int. Security Experts: 20% women  
 TOTAL: 10           2 (F) + 8 (M)  
 Governing Board: 34% women  
 TOTAL: 77           26 (F) + 51 (M)

**Bipartisan Policy Center (BPC)**

HEAD: Jason Grumet (M)  
 Nat./Int. Security Experts: 24% women  
 TOTAL: 17           4 (F) + 13 (M)  
 Governing Board: 29% women  
 TOTAL: 17           5 (F) + 12 (M)

**Brookings Institution**

HEAD: John R. Allen (M)  
 Nat./Int. Security Experts: 26% women  
 TOTAL: 109         28 (F) + 81 (M)  
 Governing Board: 21% women  
 TOTAL: 89           19 (F) + 70 (M)

**Cato Institute**

HEAD: Peter Goettler (M)  
 Nat./Int. Security Experts: 27% women  
 TOTAL: 11           3 (F) + 8 (M)  
 Governing Board: 11% women  
 TOTAL: 19           2 (F) + 17 (M)

**Carnegie Endowment for International Peace (CEIP)**

HEAD: William J. Burns (M)  
 Nat./Int. Security Experts: 29% women  
 TOTAL: 31           9 (F) + 22 (M)  
 Governing Board: 23% women  
 TOTAL: 31           7 (F) + 24 (M)

**Center for Strategic and Budgetary Assessments (CSBA)**

HEAD: Thomas G. Mahnken  
 Nat./Int. Security Experts: 13% women  
 TOTAL: 32           4 (F) + 28 (M)  
 Governing Board: 25% women  
 TOTAL: 8            2 (F) + 6 (M)

**Center for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS)**

HEAD: John J. Hamre (M)  
 Nat./Int. Security Experts: 30% women  
 TOTAL: 108         32 (F) + 76 (M)  
 Governing Board: 11% women  
 TOTAL: 44           5 (F) + 39 (M)

**Council on Foreign Relations (CFR)**

HEAD: Richard N. Haass (M)  
 Nat./Int. Security Experts: 29% women  
 TOTAL: 75           22 (F) + 53 (M)  
 Governing Board: 31% women  
 TOTAL: 36           11 (F) + 25 (M)

**Center for a New American Security (CNAS)**

HEAD: Victoria Nuland (F)  
 Nat./Int. Security Experts: 37% women  
 TOTAL: 78           29 (F) + 49 (M)  
 Governing Board: 10% women  
 TOTAL: 21           2 (F) + 19 (M)

**Center for American Progress (CAP)**

HEAD: Neera Tanden (F)  
 Nat./Int. Security Experts: 16% women  
 TOTAL: 19           3 (F) + 16 (M)  
 Governing Board: 22% women  
 TOTAL: 9            2 (F) + 7 (M)

**German Marshall Fund (GMF)**

HEAD: Karen Donfried (F)  
 Nat./Int. Security Experts: 27% women  
 TOTAL: 44           12 (F) + 32 (M)  
 Governing Board: 26% women  
 TOTAL: 19           5 (F) + 14 (M)

**Heritage Foundation**

HEAD: Kay Coles James (F)  
 Nat./Int. Security Experts: 22% women  
 TOTAL: 32           7 (F) + 25 (M)  
 Governing Board: 24% women  
 TOTAL: 25           6 (F) + 19 (M)

**Institute for Policy Studies (IPS)**

HEAD: John Cavanagh (M)  
 Nat./Int. Security Experts: 44% women  
 TOTAL: 16           7 (F) + 9 (M)  
 Governing Board: 44% women  
 TOTAL: 18           8 (F) + 10 (M)

**Lexington Institute**

HEAD: Merrick "Mac" Carey (M)  
 Nat./Int. Security Experts: 17% women  
 TOTAL: 6            1 (F) + 5 (M)  
 Governing Board: 0% women  
 TOTAL: 7            0 (F) + 7 (M)

**New America**

HEAD: Anne-Marie Slaughter (F)  
 Nat./Int. Security Experts: 33% women  
 TOTAL: 104         34 (F) + 70 (M)  
 Governing Board: 27% women  
 TOTAL: 22           6 (F) + 16 (M)

**Nuclear Threat Initiative (NTI)**

HEAD: Ernest J. Moniz (M)  
 Nat./Int. Security Experts: 50% women  
 TOTAL: 18           9 (F) + 9 (M)  
 Governing Board: 21% women  
 TOTAL: 34           7 (F) + 27 (M)

**RAND Corporation**

HEAD: Michael D. Rich (M)  
 Nat./Int. Security Experts: 40% women  
 TOTAL: 613         245 (F) + 368 (M)  
 Governing Board: 27% women  
 TOTAL: 26           7 (F) + 19 (M)

**Stimson Center**

HEAD: Brian Finlay (M)  
 Nat./Int. Security Experts: 51% women  
 TOTAL: 72           37 (F) + 35 (M)  
 Governing Board: 26% women  
 TOTAL: 27           7 (F) + 20 (M)

**US Institute of Peace (USIP)**

HEAD: Nancy Lindborg (F)  
 Nat./Int. Security Experts: 49% women  
 TOTAL: 72           35 (F) + 37 (M)  
 Governing Board: 20% women  
 TOTAL: 15           3 (F) + 12 (M)

**Wilson Center for International Scholars**

HEAD: Jane Harman (F)  
 Nat./Int. Security Experts: 34% women  
 TOTAL: 187         64 (F) + 123 (M)  
 Governing Board: 31% women  
 TOTAL: 16           5 (F) + 11 (M)

**NOTE:** The following experts, fellows, scholars, and staff have been included for: **AEI:** All Foreign and Defense Policy Scholars; **Atlantic Council:** All fellows and non-resident fellows mentioned under experts; **Aspen Institute:** All staff and experts from the following programs: Security & Global Affairs, including the Aspen Strategy Group, the Cybersecurity & Technology Program, and the Homeland Security Program; **Bipartisan Policy Center:** All experts mentioned under the National Security Project; **Brookings Institution:** All experts mentioned under the Foreign Policy Program; **CATO:** All experts mentioned under Foreign Policy and National Security; **Carnegie Endowment:** All experts in the Washington, DC office; **CSBA:** all national and international security analysts and fellows; **CSIS:** All experts; **CFR:** All experts; **CNAS:** All experts (staff and adjunct fellows); **CAP:** All experts mentioned under the Foreign Policy and Security Program; **GMF:** All experts; **Heritage Foundation:** All experts staff identified as working on national and international security issues; **IPS:** all experts identified as working on foreign policy and national and international security; **Lexington Institute:** All experts; **New America:** All current staff and fellows mentioned in the following programs: Cybersecurity Initiative and International Security. **NTI:** All experts; **Rand Corporation:** All experts mentioned under Homeland Security & Public Safety, International Affairs, and National Security & Terrorism programs; **Stimson Center:** All national & international security experts mentioned under "Staff", note: we did not include development staff, finance officers, or other administrative staff members; **USIP:** All experts; **Wilson Center:** All experts.

For a full list of experts go to the WIIS Gender Scorecard: Washington, DC Think Tanks Data Set - 2018 at [wiisglobal.org](http://wiisglobal.org)

## References

1. See Andrea Strano, "Foreign Service Women Today: The Palmer Case and Beyond," *The Foreign Service Journal*, March 2016. On the lack of women in leadership positions, see also Katherine Kidder, Amy Schafer, Phillip Carter, and Andrew Swick, *From College to Cabinet: Women In National Security*, (Washington, DC: CNAS, 2017); Women In Public Service Project, Wilson Center, *Roadmap to 50x50, Power and Parity in Women's Leadership*, (Washington, DC: Wilson Center, May 2018); Joan Johnson-Freese, "Half of Heaven: Why More Women are Needed in National Security," *TedxTalks*, August 17, 2018; and Adrianna Pita, Tamara Cofman Wittes and Sarah Yerkes, "Presence and Voice: Women In Foreign Policy," *A Brookings Podcast*, June 8, 2016.
2. See DOD, Office of Diversity Management and Equal Opportunity, *DoD Diversity and Inclusion 2013 Summary Report* (Alexandria, VA: DOD, 2013), pp. B3-B6; and Defense Advisory Committee on Women in the Services, *2017 Annual Report*, (Alexandria, VA: DOD-Dacowits, 2017). See also Kidder et al. *From College to Cabinet*.
3. See Foreign Policy Interrupted, "Women's Voices Marginalized in 2016 News Coverage of Foreign Affairs and National Security," *Media Matters*, March 8, 2017. Foreign Policy Interrupted reports similar numbers with respect to the number of women who have seen their Op-eds published. See website: [www.fpinterrupted.com](http://www.fpinterrupted.com). See also: Amanda Taub, "The #ManPanel problem: Why are female experts still so widely ignored?" *Vox*, March 16, 2016.
4. Several initiatives to combat manels and gender discrimination were launched in 2015. In Australia, the Panel Pledge was launched—i.e., a commitment not to appear on male only panels. In Geneva, the International Gender Champion network was launched, committing heads of organizations to no longer sit on single-sex panels. See also, Daniel Drezner, "A Few Thoughts on Manels," *Washington Post Blog*, June 7, 2018; and Tamara Wittes and Marc Lynch, "The mysterious absence of women from Middle East policy debates," *Washington Post*, January 20, 2015.
5. See Hironao Okahana and Enyu Zhou, *Graduate Enrollment and Degrees: 2006-2016* (Washington, DC: Council of Graduate Schools, 2017). For example, in the Fall of 2016, first-time graduate enrollment in the social and behavioral sciences (including anthropology, economics, political science and international relations) saw 38 percent men and 62 percent women enrolled in doctoral programs and 35.5 percent men and 64.5 percent women enrolled in Masters programs. A separate study should examine what happens with these graduates.
6. See "Gender Distribution of ISA Membership" at <https://www.isanet.org/ISA/About-ISA/Data/Gender>. In the international security thematic group of ISA women make up 37 percent; in foreign policy analysis women 34 percent; in peace studies 53 percent. Women outnumber men in 8 of the 29 thematic groups: interdisciplinary studies, environmental studies, feminist theory and gender studies, global development, global health, human rights, international law, and peace studies. Women also outnumber men in three of its four caucuses: Global South Caucus LGBTQ and allies caucus; and the Women Caucus. The Online Media Caucus has 48 percent women members.
7. See, for example, Kathleen Kuehnast, Chantal de Jonge Oudraat and Helga Hernes, eds., *Women and War: Power and Protection in the 21st Century* (Washington, DC: USIP, 2011), and Chantal de Jonge Oudraat and Michael E. Brown, "WPS+GPS: Adding Gender to the Peace and Security Equation," *WIIS Policybrief*, November 2017
8. The US NAP on WPS was updated in June 2016. See also *Women, Peace and Security Act of 2017*, Public Law No:115-68, 10/06/2017.
9. See for example Vestige Strategies, *Advancing Diversity and Inclusion in the Foreign Policy Sector*, (Washington, DC: Vestige Strategies, July 2018). See also the activities of The Think Tank Diversity Consortium (TTDC).
10. James McGann, *2017 Global Go To Think Tank Index Report*, (Philadelphia, PA: TTCSP, the Lauder Institute, The University of Pennsylvania, 2018).
11. Micah Zenko has been one of the few foreign policy experts paying attention to this issue. See for example, Micah Zenko, "Where are the Women in Foreign Policy Today," *Foreign Policy Blog Post* (September 26, 2015). In the past, WIIS has surveyed women in the State Department, staff in the US Congress and women in Peacekeeping, but never did a survey of women in think tanks. See [wiisglobal.org](http://wiisglobal.org)
12. This scorecard is also part of a broader initiative of the Leadership Council for Women In National Security (LC-WINS) that seeks greater diversity within think tanks. LC-WINS is an informal group of foreign policy and national security professionals created in 2017.
13. See de Jonge Oudraat and Brown, "WPS+GPS"
14. Leadership should also encourage men and women to integrate gendered perspectives into their analysis of international security problems.
15. See Heather Hurlburt, Elizabeth Weingarten and Carolina Marques de Mesquita, *A Guide to Talking Women, Peace, and Security Inside the U.S. Security Establishment* (Washington, DC: New America Foundation, 2017)
16. In 2015, the Compton Foundation launched a \$5 million special peace and national security initiative with a focus on the Women, Peace and Security agenda and the integration of a gendered perspective in US Foreign Policy. Thanks to these grants The Council on Foreign Relations, CNAS, and New America greatly expanded their programs on women and the WPS agenda.
17. We do not include those think tanks that view women and gender mostly through a domestic lens (Brookings and CAP) or those that might have an occasional publication related to women and gender and national or international security.
18. An increasing number of companies in the corporate sector seek EDGE (Economic Dividends for Gender Equality) workplace gender equality certification. WIIS has also a growing portfolio of gender evaluation and analysis and gender trainings.



19. The collection of data and the setting of benchmarks and objectives has proven to be very effective within the Scandinavian academic and think tank community. In August 2018, a consortium of seven European universities launched a new Charter that seeks to build a stronger commitment to gender equality in higher education and research institutions. The Charter is part of an EU Horizon 2020 initiative entitled the SAGE (Systematic Action for Gender Equality) project. It outlines 12 principles that support structural, cultural and political change to eradicate sexism, bias, and other forms of discrimination in research and higher education, and advance an intersectional and inclusive concept of gender. See “New European Charter to Promote Gender Equality in the University Sector,” Press Release, Trinity College Dublin, August 22, 2018; see also <http://sage-growingequality.eu>. The Irish Minister of State for Higher Education, Mary Mitchell O’Connor, announced that University funding would in future be linked to how well universities are tackling gender inequality, including gender inequalities among staff. See Catherine Sanz, “University funding will be linked to gender equality,” *The Times*, August 21, 2018.

20. McGann, 2017 *Global Go To Think Tank Index Report*. We also consulted <https://thebestschools.org/features/most-influential-think-tanks/>

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