

ISSUE BRIEF

The Future of Women in India: Barriers, Facilitators, and Opportunities

MARCH 2023

AMITA N. VYAS, MISHA IQBAL, CAPUCINE QUERENET, HARRIS SAMAD, AND IRFAN NOORUDDIN

Introduction

Women and girls across South Asia are more literate and educated than ever before, but these successes have not translated into increased women's labor force participation and economic opportunities. While increases in girls' secondary school enrollment and higher education increased in India between 2010 and 2020, for example, the number of working women dropped to 19 percent from 26 percent.¹ And while women's employment in the formal workforce was dismal prior to the COVID-19 pandemic, it is without question that the pandemic not only stalled the region's economic growth but also that those hardest hit were women. In India, women made up just 24 percent of the workforce before the pandemic, yet accounted for 28 percent of all job losses as the pandemic took hold. As COVID-19 infections surged in 2020 and 2021, it is estimated that female labor force participation plummeted to 9 percent by 2022,² and that women lost over two-thirds of their incomes during the lockdown.

The **South Asia Center** serves as the Atlantic Council's focal point for work on greater South Asia as well as relations between these countries, the neighboring regions, Europe, and the United States. It seeks to foster partnerships with key institutions in the region to establish itself as a forum for dialogue between decision-makers in South Asia, the United States, and NATO. These deliberations cover internal and external security, governance, trade, economic development, education, and other issues. The Center remains committed to working with stakeholders from the region itself, in addition to partners and experts in the United States and Europe, to offer comprehensive analyses and recommendations for policymakers.

Amid COVID we found that being at home, working, and taking care of the family is a lot of pressure mentally, emotionally, and physically. There needs to be a division of labor.

—Female leader from Bangladesh

The barriers South Asian women face in the workforce are deep and intersecting, including but not limited to: accessing digital technology; disruptions to supply chains; the dual burden of managing eldercare and childcare; limited physical and mental health services; and the increased risk of gender-based violence (GBV). These are key obstacles to women's labor force participation, and all were exacerbated by the COVID-19 pandemic. According to a joint report published by the International Finance

1 "School Enrollment, Secondary, Female (% gross)-India," World Bank.

2 Ronojoy Mazumdar and Archana Chaudhary, "90% of Women in India Are Shut Out of the Workforce," Bloomberg, June 1, 2022, <https://www.bloomberg.com/news/features/2022-06-02/covid-cut-india-s-women-out-of-the-job-market-now-90-aren-t-in-the-workforce>.

Corporation and the United Nations Entity for Gender Equality and the Empowerment of Women (UN Women), 35 percent of women entrepreneurs in India reported that they have suffered declining revenues due to COVID-19, and 72 percent of female small business owners in Sri Lanka reported experiencing difficulties accessing their usual financial services. The same report found that female job-loss rates resulting from COVID-19 are about 1.8 times higher than male job-loss rates globally.³

Women's participation and advancement in the labor force not only benefits women themselves, but also men, families, communities, and the entire nation. Despite this, women's work is a minefield of visible and invisible barriers, rooted in inequality, patriarchy, and privilege.

Global corporations, civil society, governments, and businesses across the South Asian region and the globe are committed and poised to support women's advancement in the workplace, and are well positioned to accelerate and complement these efforts through direct investments and advocacy. But, first, two key areas must be explored, and they serve as the foci for this issue brief:

1. Raise awareness of key economic challenges facing women across the region.
2. Explore best practices and opportunities for addressing these pressing challenges.

To date, these efforts have been limited and/or siloed within particular domains and there is a paucity of scientific evidence pointing to how these efforts are effectively supporting women's economic recovery.

After August 15, everything changed in Afghanistan, especially for women. The public sector lost all women. The private sector didn't ban anyone, issue any decree or policy, but initially everyone was afraid of a repeat of the 1990s, so many didn't go back at first but after a month they started to go back.

—Female leader from Afghanistan

This issue brief describes cross-cutting themes, a proposed theory of change, and recommendations that emerged from the Atlantic Council and US Department of State expert convening, "Future of Women and Work in South Asia." The convening's goal was to foster cross-sectoral collaboration and catalyze knowledge sharing to support women's

economic empowerment in South Asia. The project also aimed to elucidate strategies for increasing philanthropic and corporate investments to appropriately address the challenges and barriers women face.

Future of Women and Work in South Asia

The COVID-19 pandemic drew much-needed attention to the unequal access to and disproportionate challenges in labor force participation for women. It also presented a unique and important opportunity to understand and address women's barriers to economic participation, both pandemic related and preexisting.

In 2022, the Atlantic Council's South Asia Center and the US Department of State hosted a private roundtable entitled "Future of Women and Work in South Asia" (see the appendix for a full list of participants). Leaders and experts from across industries and sectors, and across the United States and South Asia, dove deeply into the myriad challenges and opportunities for advancing women's economic empowerment in South Asia. This convening included remarks from: Ambassador Donald Lu, assistant secretary, Bureau of South and Central Asia Affairs, US Department of State; Payal Dalal, senior vice president, social impact and international markets, Mastercard; Katrina Fotovat, senior official of the Secretary's Office of Global Women's Issues, US Department of State; Irfan Nooruddin of the Atlantic Council and Georgetown University; and Dr. Amita Vyas of the Atlantic Council and George Washington University.

In addition, small moderated breakout sessions focused on key subcategories:

- Mental health, safety, and well-being.
- Child and elder care.
- Access to digital technology.
- Supply chains and access to markets.
- Access to capital and financial inclusion.

The breakout section topics were determined after private consultations with key experts and leaders in the South Asia region, and included the major themes that emerged from those discussions. The smaller sessions provided a forum for participants to share their experiences,

³ International Finance Corporation and UN Women, *Bridging the Gap*, n.d., https://www.ifc.org/wps/wcm/connect/46e7eed-307b-46f7-90bc-e50046a0b610/202012_Bridging_the_Gap_UNWomen_IFC.pdf?MOD=AJPERES&CVID=npd30Y-

lessons learned, and insights on how best to approach collaborative efforts in the future.

We are sitting on a huge opportunity to transform the world we live in, and investing in women will make the world a safer, more stable, more prosperous, and a more healthy place, more quickly than through any other intervention. When we invest in women, we invest in the people who invest in everyone else.

—Dr. Amita N. Vyas,
nonresident senior fellow, Atlantic Council

Cross-Cutting Themes

Experts selected which breakout session to participate in based on their interests, professional roles, and expertise. Although each breakout session focused on a specific challenge/barrier to women’s labor force participation, a review of detailed notes from the breakouts yielded four cross-cutting themes. These themes provide a framework for understanding the nature of barriers to women’s participation and safety in the workforce on a broad level:

1. Gender attitudes, roles, and norms within households, workplaces, and communities.
2. Long-term impact of the COVID-19 pandemic.
3. The critical role of companies to support women with equitable structures and policies.
4. Access to quality training and education for women and girls.

Gender Attitudes, Roles, and Norms within Households, Workplaces, and Communities

Women’s economic empowerment is constrained by societal, workplace, and household structures; attitudes; and behaviors that perpetuate harmful social norms, gender roles, and barriers. These root causes stem from long-held beliefs about girls’ and women’s roles in society, and extend beyond the household and family into workplaces and the communities. Specific examples were noted by participants:

- Gender-based violence and harassment in the household limits women’s abilities to consistently present themselves at work, particularly when women are physically injured. Further, the short- and long-term impact of violence within the household yields adverse mental health outcomes, also posing significant risks for succeeding in the workforce.

- Gender-based violence and harassment is prevalent in the workplace, and a lack of policies, enforcement, and safe spaces limit women’s abilities to thrive there.
- A lack of community safety in transit to and from work and/or educational settings places women and girls at increased risk of physical and sexual violence.
- Women and adolescent girls continue to be disproportionately burdened with primary household responsibilities such as household chores, family health care, child care, and eldercare.
- Women have unique health needs and, without access to adequate services, these needs inhibit their ability to consistently stay engaged in the workforce. Examples of such needs include:
 - ◆ Menstrual health.
 - ◆ Nutrition/anemia.
 - ◆ Sexual and reproductive health (SRH).
 - ◆ Maternal and child health.
- Women and girls continue to face a digital gender divide as a result of inequitable gender norms—there is a perception that women have limited abilities to learn and utilize technology.
- Women face gender discrimination with respect to access to financial support and supply chains, thus limiting their abilities to obtain loans and grow businesses.
- Women face gender inequities surrounding access to capital. Despite exposure and education, women struggle for the opportunity to present their ideas for financing, and there continues to exist a lack of women in the banking sector to support and mentor new women entrepreneurs.
- Women’s care work is invisible and devalued as it is not considered a “legitimate” form of employment but rather a “by-default” gender role. Child care is seen as a personal problem rather than a public good, and disproportionately falls on the shoulders of women.

Long-term Impact of the COVID-19 Pandemic

Trends in women’s formal employment in South Asia were declining prior to the COVID-19 pandemic and although it led to job losses for everyone, women were particularly vulnerable. This is related to the sectors they work(ed) in as well as increased burdens of household child and eldercare. The COVID-19 pandemic disproportionately affected women and girls in the following key ways:

- The pandemic's mental health and general well-being impacts during government lockdowns and mandated school closures were disproportionately negative for women and children. School closures had an impact on young people's academic, social, and emotional learning and increased women's household responsibilities as unequal gender roles forced women to take on increased care for children.
- The COVID-19 pandemic was especially risky for sick and elderly family members; as a result, the burden of care fell on women in the household, affecting their own mental health and well-being.
- Women-dominated economies/jobs/businesses were hardest hit during closures and lockdowns, i.e., service, hospitality, and healthcare industries.
- Gender-based violence increased significantly during the pandemic and lockdowns forced women to stay in violent homes, harming their physical and mental health.
- As the pandemic took hold, there was an increased need for business to utilize technology to continue operations. Yet women were "left behind" due to existing disparities with access and use of technology known as the digital gender divide.
- Women's physical health suffered due to lack of healthcare services, i.e., sexual and reproductive health, maternal and child health, and access to vaccinations, all of which affected their ability to work.
- Markets closed during the pandemic; as the need to diversify value chains grew, women's access to these diverse markets remained limited.

Unique, Critical Role of Companies in Supporting Policies and Programs for Women

Government initiatives and gender-focused policies that support women's economic participation would transform the workplace. That said, companies can more quickly and effectively implement key gender-inclusive policies and programs that provide family-centered support and transform workplaces. Companies should:

- Support women facing gender-based violence and resulting health issues by providing care and referrals for services.
- Engage in critical research to document lost wages and earnings associated with gender-based violence for women, and illustrate how violence undermines corporate financial well-being.

- Implement workplace interventions aimed at addressing key physical and mental health issues, i.e., anemia, menstrual health, maternal and child health, and subjective well-being.
- Institute policies that support both men and women in care work, i.e., improved paid maternity and paternity leave.
- Incorporate gender equity funds in their public policies and invest in communities beyond meeting minimum corporate social responsibility requirements.

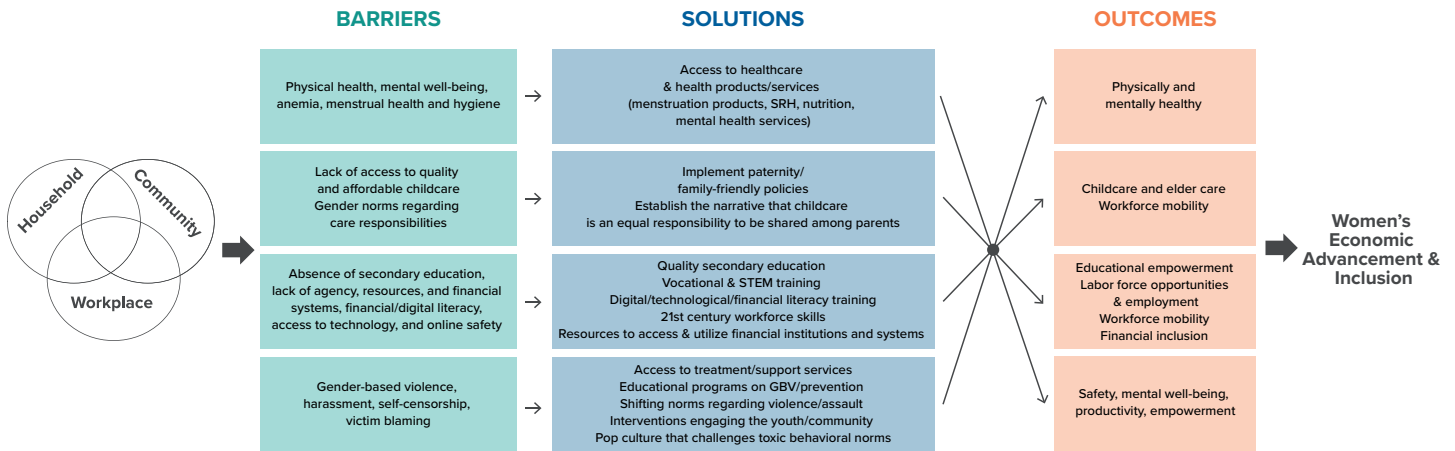
Access to Trainings, Programs, and Other Support for Women and Girls

Given the unique educational and employment challenges girls and women face, particularly with lack of access to quality and equitable education and training, gender-specific programs must be developed and implemented including:

- Development of gender-sensitization programs for adolescents, teachers, school administrators in middle and secondary schools and in higher education; and gender-based violence and assault prevention must be included in curricula.
- More investment in the delivery of quality education and gender-equitable school settings, building on improvement in access to girls' education.
- Design and offer reskilling and training programs for women that are specifically focused on digital technology, business, and entrepreneurship, holding them virtually via hybrid methods as well as in-person.
- Design and offer training sessions for women on market needs, corporate finance, and basic financial literacy, holding them virtually via hybrid methods as well as in-person.
- Development and accessible offerings of comprehensive mentoring for women and access to role models in the form of one-on-one sessions and/or in group settings, as well as peer mentorship opportunities that provide spaces for women to gather and share experiences and insights related to workplace barriers, entrepreneurship, and work-life balance.

These four themes identified by attendees are not only important in their own right, but also because they represent a unique framework for understanding women's experience in the aperture between work, home, and society. The barriers are deep and intersectional in nature: governments, philanthropists, corporations, community leaders, and experts deliberating on how best to invest

Figure 1: Future of Women and Work in South Asia



in women’s economic empowerment must heed these primary source ideas and experiences of women and girls on the ground. Only then can their policies be both successful and grassroots in impact. To understand these lessons within a broader framework for empowering women in the economy, we propose a comprehensive and integrated theory of change.

A New Theory of Change Framework for Women in the Workplace

Women are the foundation of any economy. Across communities and sectors, women are the backbone of society—from the informal care economy to entrepreneurial spaces and factories.

However, women do not receive the critical support and resources needed to survive and thrive. Therefore, the world must transform the way it values girls and women, a change that involves all people and all of society. Interventions targeting women’s empowerment must move beyond singularly focused initiatives that reach large numbers of women but are limited in their sustainability and impact. Ultimately, a woman needs support that makes “her” whole. The proposed Future of Women and Work in South Asia Theory of Change is poised to drive

targeted and smart investments for girls and women (see Figure 1). It is grounded in an integrated holistic life course⁴ approach.

This approach underscores the need for intersectional investments throughout adolescence and adulthood to drive outcomes and impact. These integrated investments will ensure that girls and women are equipped with foundational skills and services that will ultimately lead to economic advancement and inclusion. This theory of change is founded on the four cross-cutting themes described above and is aimed at supporting a set of interventions that change the trajectory for girls and women by ensuring they are educated, skilled, safe, and healthy.

Conclusion and Key Recommendations

Across South Asia, a region that already lags in gender equity, the pandemic has worsened the plight of women disproportionately. The reality is that while women have suffered more, they remain people and innovation focused, making them critical to economic recovery. The pandemic has highlighted the need to change partnerships from transactional to transformational, and taught the importance of trust and shared learning. The private and public sectors are equally important in

4 The life course perspective posits that each life stage influences the next and this along with social, economic, and physical environments influences the health of individuals and communities. This approach reflects the combination of social and historical factors with personal development. See G. H. Elder Jr. and J. Z. Giele, “Life Course Studies: An Evolving Field,” in *The Craft of Life Course Research*, eds. G. H. Elder and J. Z. Giele (New York, London: The Guilford Press, 2009), 1-28.

unlocking achievements in women's issues across the regions and must be further strengthened.

Key recommendations:

1. Interventions and programs aimed at improving women's workforce participation should include components focused on dismantling inequitable gender norms in the household, workplace, and community, and must include "gatekeepers" whose gender beliefs create barriers for women's inclusion in the workplace.
2. Apply a life course approach that extends beyond a single point in time during a woman's life and invest in key periods when interventions and policies will have the most impact. For example, when adolescent girls are educated, healthy, and empowered, they grow up to become women who lead—in their communities and within companies. Adolescence is one of the greatest investment opportunities across the life course.
3. Apply a comprehensive approach to women's economic empowerment that cuts across sectors, especially education, health, safety, and livelihood training. For example, within the workplace setting, integrate preventive health services into the workplace; develop gender-sensitization training for all levels of workers within a workplace; implement family-friendly policies; and provide ongoing training programs.
4. Interventions and programs must be implemented with quality and fidelity, and must include robust monitoring, evaluation, and learning designs to test approaches and build evidence around "what works" and what is most effective.
5. Engage key interested parties to collaborate and design programs, including governments, corporations, civil society, academics, think tanks, and women themselves. A women-led, community-driven approach will ensure long-term sustainability and impact.
6. Engage companies that have previously implemented programs supporting women to provide models to other corporations.
7. Create a system of mentorship whereby women can give back to the community by teaching other women, and build an ecosystem of women doing business with other women.

Global leaders have failed to sufficiently prioritize girls' education, gender equality, and women's economic empowerment. Indeed, vehicles with strong potential to move these issues forward exist, such as the United Nations Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) as well as companies and communities that are leading innovative interventions. Despite these bright spots and a few select positive indicators regarding girls' education in South Asia, gender equality in the labor force, community, and home remains distant. As we emerge from COVID-19, the international community sits at an inflection point: what works and what does not with regards to the safety and empowerment of women and girls represent lessons that, if heeded, can help to build sustainable, evidence-based, high-impact solutions. If ignored, the women and girls of South Asia (and indeed the world) will continue to be denied their equal, rightful, and independent roles in the workplace, home, and community.

The international community has an incredible opportunity to transform our world for girls and women, and it's upon all of us to continuously reflect, learn, and reassess our efforts. A part of this global introspection involves investments in programs for women and girls, and innovating, collaborating, and ensuring that they take a holistic approach, as opposed to examining individual areas in a vacuum. The prospect of implementing every actionable aspect of our theory of change is daunting, and some may call it unrealistic. However, it represents the ideal toward which all efforts regarding the empowerment of women and girls in South Asia should strive: a comprehensive framework to guide our thinking in the medium- to long-term. Our efforts will yield wider and deeper impact if we invest in interconnected approaches that acknowledge the intersecting barriers women face in society.

Dr. Amita N. Vyas is Nonresident Senior Fellow at the South Asia Center. She is also an associate professor and director of the Maternal and Child Health Program in the Department of Prevention and Community Health at The George Washington University School of Public Health and Health Services.

Misha Iqbal is Program Assistant at the South Asia Center.

Capucine Querenet was Project Assistant at the South Asia Center.

Harris Samad is Associate Director of the South Asia Center.

Irfan Nooruddin is Senior Director of the South Asia Center.

Appendix: Participant List for the Private Roundtable, “The Future of Women and Work in South Asia”

Titles and affiliations reflect the status as of the March 2022 convening. An asterisk designates those who are affiliated with the Atlantic Council and another organization, with both titles listed separately.

Aziz Ahmed

President and CEO
UTC Associates, Inc.

Narjis Ali

CEO
Sure Secure Solutions

Sajeda Amin

Senior Associate
Population Council

Kate Balcerzak

Senior Manager, Government Affairs and Public Policy
Pepsico

***Ridhika Batra**

Vice President, Corporate Affairs,
Mahindra Group Americas
Nonresident Senior Fellow,
South Asia Center, Atlantic Council

Anurima Bhargava

Founder and Director
Anthem of Us

Ritika Chopra

Gender Adviser
USAID India

Payal Dalal

Senior Vice President, Social Impact & International Markets
MasterCard

Disha

Associate
Talentnomics

William Elkus

Founder and Managing Director
Clearstone Venture Partners

Sahra English

Vice President, Global Public Policy
MasterCard

Katrina Fotovat

Senior Bureau Official, Secretary’s Office of Global Women’s Issues
US Department of State

Dr. Isis Gaddis

Senior Economist
World Bank

Saba Ghori

Senior Director
Vital Voices Global Partnership

***Safiya Ghori-Ahmad**

Director, South Asia
McLarty Associates
Nonresident Senior Fellow,
South Asia Center, Atlantic Council

Shagorika Ghosh

Project Manager, The REVIVE Alliance
Samhita Social Ventures

Dr. Nicole Goldin

Global Head, Inclusive Economic Growth
Abt Associates

Indrani Goradia

Founder
Indrani’s Light Foundation

Jeffrey Grieco

President and CEO
Afghan-American Chamber of Commerce

Dr. Caren Grown

Global Director, Gender
World Bank

Katherine Hadda

Adjunct Fellow, Wadhvani Chair in US-India Policy Studies
Center for Strategic and International Studies

Sumera Haque

Executive Director, Johns Hopkins Women’s Center
Johns Hopkins Medicine

Kate Isler

Cofounder and CEO
The WMarketplace

Sital Kalantry

Associate Professor of Law
Seattle University School of Law

Ipsita Kathuria

Founder and Chief Executive Officer
TalentNomics India

***Dr. Maliha Khan**

Chief Programmes Officer,
Malala Fund;
Nonresident Senior Fellow,
South Asia Center, Atlantic Council

Mehmood Khan

CEO
Life Biosciences

Imrana Khera

Partnership Adviser, Development Partnership and Innovation Office
USAID India

Harini Krishnan

Board Member
Fund Her

Jaya Luintel

Founder
The Story Kitchen

Shaista Mahmood

Founding Member
US-Pakistan Women’s Council

Ufaq Manzar

Grants and Projects Specialist, Centre for Business and Society
Lahore University of Management Sciences (LUMS)

Dr. Karen McDonnell

Associate Professor
The George Washington University

Jennifer Miller

Senior Adviser, Bureau of South and Central Asian Affairs
US Department of State

Shamarukh Mohiuddin

Principal Associate
Nathan & Associates

Dr. Nitasha Nagaraj

Assistant Professor
The George Washington University

Priya Naik

Founder & CEO
Samhita Social Ventures

Rudaba Zehra Nasir

Global Lead, Employment and Childcare/Colead, Economic Inclusion
International Finance Corporation

Dalin Nhean

Program Manager, Economic Empowerment and Entrepreneurship
Vital Voices Global Partnership

***Irfan Nooruddin**

Senior Director, South Asia Center, Atlantic Council
Professor, Georgetown University

Rupa Patel

Assistant Professor of Medicine, Infectious Diseases
Washington University in St. Louis

Radhika Prabhu

Senior Adviser, Bureau of South and Central Asian Affairs
US Department of State

Maryam Qudrat

Lecturer and Director, Writer and Communication Resource Center
California State University, Long Beach

Farida Rokaida

Adviser
US-Pakistan Business Council

Chitra Rajeshwari

Executive Director
Avasant Foundation

Deval Sanghavi

Cofounder and Partner
Dasra

Radhika Shah

Copresident
Stanford Angels and Entrepreneurs

Kapil Sharma

Principal
Kapstone Strategies

Haroon Rashid Sherzad

Country Manager, Afghanistan
Lapis Communications

Ruhma Shahzad

Research Officer
University of the Punjab

Emma Stanton

Manager, Social Impact, Center for Inclusive Growth
MasterCard

Dr. Nandini Tandon

Cofounder and CEO
Tenacity Global Group Inc.

Priya Tandon

Founder and Chair
IndUS Setu Global Foundation

Anurag Varma

Vice President; Head of Global Government and Public Affairs
Infosys

Elizabeth Vazquez

CEO, Cofounder, and Board President
WEConnect International

***Dr. Amita Vyas**

Associate Professor, The George Washington University
Nonresident Senior Fellow, South Asia Center, Atlantic Council

Manizha Wafeq

Cofounder and President
Afghanistan Women Chamber of Commerce and Industry

***Sofyan Yusufi**

GPS Leader, Regulatory, Compliance, and Operational Risk (RC&OR) Transformation, Deloitte;
Senior Advisor, South Asia Center, Atlantic Council

Ayesha Zaheer

CEO
Injaz



CHAIRMAN

*John F.W. Rogers

EXECUTIVE CHAIRMAN EMERITUS

*James L. Jones

PRESIDENT AND CEO

*Frederick Kempe

EXECUTIVE VICE CHAIRS

*Adrienne Arsht

*Stephen J. Hadley

VICE CHAIRS

*Robert J. Abernethy

*C. Boyden Gray

*Alexander V. Mirtchev

TREASURER

*George Lund

DIRECTORS

Todd Achilles

Timothy D. Adams

*Michael Andersson

David D. Aufhauser

Barbara Barrett

Colleen Bell

Stephen Biegun

Linden P. Blue

Adam Boehler

John Bonsell

Philip M. Breedlove

Richard R. Burt

*Teresa Carlson

*James E. Cartwright

John E. Chapoton

Ahmed Charai

Melanie Chen

Michael Chertoff

*George Chopivsky

Wesley K. Clark

*Helima Croft

*Ankit N. Desai

Dario Deste

Lawrence Di Rita

*Paula J. Dobriansky

Joseph F. Dunford, Jr.

Richard Edelman

Thomas J. Egan, Jr.

Stuart E. Eizenstat

Mark T. Esper

*Michael Fisch

Alan H. Fleischmann

Jendayi E. Frazer

Meg Gentle

Thomas H. Glocer

John B. Goodman

*Sherri W. Goodman

Jarosław Grzesiak

Murathan Günal

Michael V. Hayden

Tim Holt

*Karl V. Hopkins

Kay Bailey Hutchison

Ian Ihnatowycz

Mark Isakowitz

Wolfgang F. Ischinger

Deborah Lee James

*Joia M. Johnson

*Safi Kalo

Andre Kelleners

Brian L. Kelly

Henry A. Kissinger

John E. Klein

*C. Jeffrey Knittel

Joseph Konzelmann

Franklin D. Kramer

Laura Lane

Almar Latour

Yann Le Pallec

Jan M. Lodal

Douglas Lute

Jane Holl Lute

William J. Lynn

Mark Machin

Marco Margheri

Michael Margolis

Chris Marlin

William Marron

Christian Marrone

Gerardo Mato

Erin McGrain

John M. McHugh

*Judith A. Miller

Dariusz Mioduski

Michael J. Morell

*Richard Morningstar

Georgette Mosbacher

Majida Mourad

Virginia A. Mulberger

Mary Claire Murphy

Edward J. Newberry

Franco Nuschese

Joseph S. Nye

Ahmet M. Ören

Sally A. Painter

Ana I. Palacio

*Kostas Pantazopoulos

Alan Pellegrini

David H. Petraeus

*Lisa Pollina

Daniel B. Poneman

*Dina H. Powell

McCormick

Michael Punke

Ashraf Qazi

Thomas J. Ridge

Gary Rieschel

Michael J. Rogers

Charles O. Rossotti

Harry Sachinis

C. Michael Scaparrotti

Ivan A. Schlager

Rajiv Shah

Gregg Sherrill

Jeff Shockey

Ali Jehangir Siddiqui

Kris Singh

Walter Slocombe

Christopher Smith

Clifford M. Sobel

James G. Stavridis

Michael S. Steele

Richard J.A. Steele

Mary Streett

*Gil Tenzer

*Frances F. Townsend

Clyde C. Tuggle

Melanne Vermeer

Charles F. Wald

Michael F. Walsh

Ronald Weiser

*Al Williams

Maciej Witucki

Neal S. Wolin

*Jenny Wood

Guang Yang

Mary C. Yates

Dov S. Zakheim

HONORARY DIRECTORS

James A. Baker, III

Robert M. Gates

James N. Mattis

Michael G. Mullen

Leon E. Panetta

William J. Perry

Condoleezza Rice

Horst Teltschik

William H. Webster



The Atlantic Council is a nonpartisan organization that promotes constructive US leadership and engagement in international affairs based on the central role of the Atlantic community in meeting today's global challenges.

This issue brief is written and published in accordance with the Atlantic Council Policy on Intellectual Independence. The author is solely responsible for its analysis and recommendations. The Atlantic Council and its donors do not determine, nor do they necessarily endorse or advocate for, any of this report's conclusions.

© 2023 The Atlantic Council of the United States. All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced or transmitted in any form or by any means without permission in writing from the Atlantic Council, except in the case of brief quotations in news articles, critical articles, or reviews. Please direct inquiries to:

Atlantic Council

1030 15th Street, NW, 12th Floor,
Washington, DC 20005

(202) 463-7226, www.AtlanticCouncil.org