Introduction

Several states have committed to apply a feminist lens to their foreign policies in recent years - as of June 2023, 15 UN Member States introduced feminist lenses to their foreign policies. This includes 13 Member States already applying or developing their feminist foreign policies1 (FFPs) - Sweden (2014, announced withdrawal in 2022), Canada (2017), France (2019), Mexico (2020; evaluation in 2023), Spain (2021), Luxembourg (2021), Germany (2021), the Netherlands (2022), Scotland (2022), Colombia (2022), Slovenia (2023), Chile (upcoming, 2023), and Liberia (under development). Currently, the USA is holding discussions to adopt its own FFP, and Libya announced intentions of pursuing an FFP at the Generation Equality Forum in 2021. These were preceded by ratification of the 1979 United Nations Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) and the four UN conferences on women. In 2000, the UN Security Council adopted Resolution 1325 on Women, Peace and Security (WPS) and in 2010, UN Women was formed. In the following years, the UN has adopted a total of 10 resolutions on WPS.

This brief examines the various FFPs and identifies shared aspects and gaps across seven key themes: WPS; political participation; economic empowerment; diplomacy; official development assistance (ODA); human rights/humanitarianism; violence against women and girls (VAWG).

Women, Peace and Security (WPS)

Many FFPs share common goals regarding commitments related to the Women, Peace, and Security agenda. Liberia and Colombia are the two countries that place the most emphasis on WPS. Both nations have gone through long and brutal civil wars, which led to the recognition of the need to 1) involve women and feminist movements in post-war peace processes and 2) address conflict-related sexual and gender-based violence (SGBV). However, for an FFP to effectively incorporate a gendered lens into peace and security, it must comprehensively address all four pillars of the WPS agenda, namely prevention, participation, protection, and relief and recovery. Twelve countries implementing or developing the

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1 It is important to note that there is no agreed definition of an FFP (UN Women, 2022) and therefore, no clear measure of when a foreign policy is considered ‘feminist’. Source: UN Women Feminist Foreign Policies: An Introduction, 2022
FFP are also implementing their with National Action Plans on WPS. These are Sweden, Canada, France, Mexico, Spain, Luxembourg, Germany, Chile, the Netherlands, Colombia, Liberia, and Slovenia.

In the case of Colombia, the peace negotiations with the Colombian Revolutionary Armed Forces (FARC) have been widely praised for their strong gender perspective. Women’s and feminist movements played a vital role in achieving formal peace. The Colombian government, focusing on intersectional inequalities, fully acknowledged the importance of resolving gender asymmetries and inequities and addressed the rights of victims at the end of the armed conflict. Similarly, women’s participation has been crucial in Liberia’s post-war peace process. As part of its commitment to preventing gender-based violence (GBV), reaffirmed during the Generation Equality Forum (GEF) 2021 through its adherence to the dedicated Action Coalition, the Liberian government is developing an anti-SGBV roadmap. It has also implemented a three-year suspension on the practice of female genital mutilation, considering it a grave violation of women’s rights and a serious threat to global peace and security.

Among other countries implementing or developing FFPs, the Netherlands has prioritized the issue of sexual violence in conflicts and placed it at the centre of discussions during the "Ukraine Accountability Conference" held in The Hague in July 2022. Spain actively participates in the EU Task Force on Women, Peace, and Security and works to integrate gender equality into European instruments. Spain also supports training courses on gender in peace operations and collaborates with other countries to strengthen women’s roles in peace processes. Sweden and Canada both aim to increase women’s participation in prevention efforts and recognize the importance of incorporating women’s perspectives and experiences in conflict resolution and peacebuilding. In 2022, Canada was the eighth-largest donor in assessed contributions to the UN’s peacekeeping budget and one of the largest donors in voluntary funding to help improve and reform UN peace operations. This includes the deployment of gender justice and PSEA (protection from sexual exploitation and abuse) experts and training on gender equality delivered to military, police and civilian personnel. Lastly, Scotland’s feminist approach to foreign policy has contributed to the international WPS agenda since 2016 through the “Women in Conflict 1325 Fellowship” which, since 2016, has built up a network of almost 300 women from 27 countries across the Middle East, Africa, South Asia and Latin America.

**RECOGNIZED GLOBAL PLATFORMS ON WPS INCLUDE:**

1. **WPS Focal Points Network** was launched in 2016 to assist UN Member States and regional organisations, in close collaboration with civil society, to improve and strengthen the implementation of the WPS agenda at the origin of decision-making processes. The Network recognized “the need to establish synergy with plans and strategies that address emergency and humanitarian response, refugees and internally displaced persons, climate change, youth, peace and security, counteracting all forms of extremism and radicalization, issues of trafficking, the gendered impacts of small arms and light weapons, and gender-responsive early-warning systems.” 11 out of 95 members (11.6%) are implementing or developing FFPs, namely Canada, Chile, Colombia, France, Luxembourg, Liberia, Mexico, the Netherlands, Slovenia, Spain, and Sweden.

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2. The Compact on WPS and Humanitarian Action was launched in July 2021 in the framework of the Generation Equality Forum. It now has nearly 200 signatories, including 19 UN Member States. Its objective is to drive accountability and action on gender equality to address conflicts and humanitarian crises through strong partnerships, improved monitoring and assessment of progress and a focus on financing and advocacy. 7 out of 19 (36.8%) Member States signatories of the Compact are implementing or developing FFPs, namely Canada, France, Germany, Luxembourg, Mexico, the Netherlands, and Sweden.

3. Group of Friends on WPS is an informal network of 65 Member States, representing all five regional groups of the UN, and the European Union. It was organised by Canada to jointly advocate for the implementation of WPS resolutions, discuss and coordinate positions on issues pertaining to WPS and to keep pressure on the UN system to implement WPS Resolutions. 12 out of 65 members (18.5%) are implementing or developing FFPs, namely Canada, Chile, Colombia, France, Germany, Liberia, Luxembourg, Mexico, the Netherlands, Slovenia, Spain, and Sweden.

MAP:

In red, the countries with FFPs members of 2 out of the 3 cited global platforms on WPS.
In blue, the countries with FFPs members of all 3 cited global platforms on WPS.
POLITICAL PARTICIPATION

Numerous countries implementing or developing FFPs acknowledge that women’s complete engagement in political processes is a prerequisite for addressing gender equality concerns in policies and legislation, including those pertaining to foreign affairs.

In this regard, Sweden’s feminist approach to foreign policy aims to support women’s political participation and representation across various levels, encouraging their leadership roles in politics and decision-making processes. The country has a long history of supporting women’s representation in politics and has achieved a substantive presence of women in parliament and government positions. One of the main goals of Colombia’s FFP is to promote gender equality and the political participation of women “in all their diversity”. Indeed, the 2022 elections in Colombia brought about significant advancements in women’s representation in politics. Canada prioritises enhancing the rights and empowerment of women and girls, including their leadership and involvement in decision-making processes and in fact, it co-leads of the Generation Equality Action Coalition on Feminist Movements and Leadership. Mexico’s FFP aims to reduce and eliminate gender gaps and inequalities, creating a more just and prosperous society. One of its FFP goals is achieving parity within the Foreign Ministry, ensuring equal representation and participation of women in decision-making positions, and promoting gender balance throughout the ministry’s operations. Incorporating women in decision-making processes at all political levels, as well as strengthening visibility and transparency in favour of gender, together with introducing regulatory and normative changes to adapt the working language in the Foreign Ministry and transform it into an inclusive and non-discriminatory one, will be central to Chile’s upcoming FFP.

Similarly, Spain advocates for the full and effective participation of women and girls in political, public, and decision-making spheres; it supports their engagement in local-level politics and leadership, seeks to increase women’s presence in human rights multilateral bodies, and promotes their involvement in peace processes and mediation initiatives. Luxembourg also strives to enhance the representation and participation of women across all sectors of society, actively promoting gender equality within its diplomatic structures. Moreover, the country emphasises increasing women’s involvement in all areas of foreign policy, such as diplomacy, cooperation, defence, and civilian missions. The Netherlands devotes considerable attention to ensuring women’s meaningful participation and considering the impact of policies on women in various realms, including grant awards, diplomacy, and negotiations at international institutions, including the EU.

ECONOMIC EMPOWERMENT

Overall, a fair number of the analysed FFPs acknowledge and seek to address the structural barriers and discrimination that women face in accessing economic resources, opportunities, and decision-making power. By recognizing how women’s empowerment benefits societies as a whole, the FFPs aim to level the playing field and create more equitable societies, in some cases linking women’s economic empowerment with the fight against SGBV. Compared to other key themes, however, women’s economic empowerment seems to appear as secondary to the various FFPs, and not as widely mentioned as the other areas of concern.

Sweden, Germany, Mexico, and Spain co-led the Generation Equality Forum Action Coalition on Economic Justice and Rights, spearheading efforts to empower women economically. Their initiatives encompass various aspects such as promoting decent work, addressing the care economy, facilitating resource access, enhancing financing options, and embracing digitalization. Spain also actively engages in international fora, making commitments to advance women’s economic rights.

Looking at Sweden’s FFP, it places a strong emphasis on promoting equal opportunities for women in employment and entrepreneurship, with a particular focus on achieving economic empowerment. Sweden has contributed to central recommendations from economic forums, such as the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank, emphasising the importance of including growth and women’s participation in the labour market. The country
has also aimed to enhance a gender equality perspective in trade policy through international organisations, such as the World Trade Organization (WTO) and as part of EU trade negotiations. It has promoted gender equality in corporate social responsibility (CSR) efforts, including through intensified bilateral work with the aim of strengthening women’s roles and rights within the labour market in countries such as Iran, Cambodia, Croatia, Nigeria, Poland and Turkey. It has also supported the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development’s (OECD) Middle East and North Africa programme, which has focused on enterprise with gender equality awareness and has contributed to the establishment of a Women’s Economic Empowerment Forum.

**Canada** also prioritises women’s economic empowerment as a means to combat discrimination, gender-based violence, and to overall enhance the rights and empowerment of women and girls. **Canada** focuses its international assistance on increasing economic leadership and empowerment of women at all levels, including promoting the importance of women’s economic participation at high-level forums and other international gatherings. **Canada** also aims to improve economic opportunities for and the resilience of rural women, including through greater adoption of climate-smart methods of food production and supporting local woman-led agricultural businesses. **Canada** promotes greater financial inclusion for women and encourages lending to women entrepreneurs through Canada’s Development Finance Institute. It also supports women’s economic rights and access to decent work. This includes promoting labour, land, inheritance and property rights for women by supporting the reform of restrictive laws and regulations. Additionally, **Canada** supports technical and vocational training for women and aims to help address unpaid work and the disproportionate burden of care shouldered by women.

Similarly, **Scotland**’s FFP revolves around three key areas of focus, with economic justice being one of them. **Scotland** ensures that its international endeavours align with its commitment to fairness and inclusion domestically, emphasising a feminist approach to policymaking. **Scotland** recognised the importance of gender in their **Vision for Trade** and in their first **Annual Report** considering the differential impacts of trade on society. The Vision for Trade identified some of the actions the Scottish Government can take to make trade more inclusive and to address the impacts of trade liberalisation on women, such as building links between their domestic policies and trade principles to support gender equality and remove barriers to participation in trade faced by women in **Scotland** and internationally.

**Chile** co-leads the **Generation Equality Action Coalition on Technology and Innovation for Gender Equality**, which focuses on leveraging technology to advance gender equality, favour women’s employment and empowerment, and formulate innovative solutions responding to the needs of women and girls.

**DIPLOMACY**

Gender-sensitive diplomacy involves integrating a gender perspective into foreign policy decisions and engagements. This includes advocating for women’s rights in bilateral and multilateral dialogues, negotiations, and agreements. Many of the FFPs count this as a key priority. In addition, many FFPs support women’s increased participation in diplomacy and multilateral fora.

**Canada** and **Sweden** have the highest share of women-ambassadors - 50% - across 40 countries and the EU in 2022, while the Netherlands has 37% and Colombia 26.7%.

For example, **Sweden**’s pioneering policy highlighted multilateral engagement as a priority, aiming to collaborate with international organisations, such as the UN, to advance gender equality globally, as well as actively promoting women’s rights in various forums and pushing for the integration of gender perspectives in multilateral policy discussions and decision-making processes. As a result of its FFP, **Sweden**’s institutional culture has undergone a significant shift. In the UN Security Council, **Sweden** has strongly advocated for women’s involvement in peacebuilding and conflict prevention.

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3 Source: Women in Diplomacy Index, 2022
4 [https://www.prio.org/projects/1893](https://www.prio.org/projects/1893)
its aims to collaborate with international organisations, civil society, and other countries to advance gender equality. Canada seeks to build partnerships and share best practices for promoting women’s rights and empowerment worldwide. Feminist diplomacy is also a key aspect of France’s foreign policy, aiming to include gender considerations in all diplomatic priorities and actions. Additionally, Mexico’s first principle of its feminist foreign policy emphasises the need for a feminist agenda in international affairs, particularly considering the impact of policies and actions on gender equality and promoting women’s rights and empowerment.

OFFICIAL DEVELOPMENT ASSISTANCE (ODA)

FFPs play a crucial role in the overall development agenda by integrating gender equality and women’s empowerment into national and international decision-making processes. These policies recognise that achieving sustainable development requires addressing the structural barriers that hinder women’s full participation and rights. They emphasise the importance of promoting women’s economic empowerment, access to education and healthcare, and the elimination of VAWG. FFPs also aim to dismantle discriminatory norms and practices, promote equal representation of women in leadership positions, and ensure that women’s voices are heard in policymaking and peacebuilding processes. As such, many countries have integrated their FFPs into their development programming and use them to guide funding priorities.

Sweden pledged to allocate a significant portion of its foreign aid budget to projects and initiatives that promote gender equality and women’s empowerment in partner countries. It aimed to support organisations working on gender-related issues and strengthen the capacity of local women’s rights activists. In 2021, Sweden’s prioritisation of projects that incorporate some gender equality was at 73% of bilateral allocable ODA, well above the DAC average of 42%, although this figure dropped by 12% compared to 2019. Notably, Sweden is to date the largest donor to UN Women7. France and Spain have committed to increase to 85% its ODA allocation to gender policy and promoting gender equality objectives abroad, in line with the EU Gender Action Plan 2021-2025. The French Development Agency manages a grant budget of €120 million to support feminist movements and NGOs in developing countries. The government focuses on healthcare, raising the legal age of marriage, vocational training, education, and improved infrastructure. France also doubled its contribution to UN Women as part of the Generation Equality Forum pledge in 2021. Approximately 99% of Canada’s bilateral international development assistance in 2021-2022 either targeted or integrated gender equality, supported more than 1,800 women’s rights organisations that are promoting gender equality and advancing the rights of women and girls. This past year alone, Canadian-funded programs reached more than 42 million people through projects aimed at ending

5  https://www.gendersecurityproject.com/post/luxembourg-s-feminist-foreign-policy
6  Source: Adopting the feminist foreign policy, 2023
7  https://open.unwomen.org/partners
sexual and GBV, including harmful practices such as child, early and forced marriage and female genital mutilation/cutting. Canada’s funding for gender equality has increased 68% since 2017 when Canada implemented its FFP.8

**FIGURE 1:**
Canada’s ODA related to Gender Equality, 2017-2021

Download Chart
Source: OECD CRS • Disbursements (cash-flow), in 2021 prices. Due to rounding, numbers may not add up accurately to the totals and percentages may not be precise. More information is at https://donortracker.org/donor_profiles/canada/gender

Download Chart, Sources: The Netherlands actively supports women’s rights, gender equality, sexual rights, and reproductive health by providing funding for various activities and programs, and it boasts one of the largest funds worldwide, the SDG 5 Fund, with a budget of €510 million (2021-2025), specifically allocated to women’s rights and gender equality. As part of Germany’s policy, the Federal Foreign Office aims to allocate 85% of aid funding to projects that include gender equality as a secondary objective, with a minimum of 8% allocated to projects where gender equality is the primary objective by 2025. According to the OECD Development Assistance Committee (DAC) data in 2021, 46% of Luxembourg’s ODA was gender-focused (8% with gender as a principal objective, and over 38% as a significant objective).

**HUMAN RIGHTS/HUMANITARIANISM**

FFPs play a crucial role in supporting human rights and humanitarianism by promoting gender equality and addressing the specific needs and challenges faced by women in international contexts. These policies recognise that achieving true equality and respect for human rights requires addressing gender-based discrimination and violence and prioritising the empowerment and protection of women.

8 Canada / Gender Equality
Sweden’s Feminist Foreign Policy demonstrated a commitment to promoting gender equality as a fundamental human right. The policy sought to promote and protect women’s rights globally, including reproductive rights, access to education, healthcare, and economic empowerment.

Spain’s thematic priorities include the human rights of women and girls and its policy supports strengthening women’s rights in civil, political, economic, social, and cultural spheres. It also increased its attention to anti-racism and specific minorities such as indigenous groups, LGBTQI+ persons and people with a disability. Spain monitors UN resolutions, participates in relevant UN sessions, and engages with treaty bodies and special procedures. It also presents periodic reports to the Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women and advocates for the human rights of women and girls bilaterally.

Canada has pledged to prioritise the needs and rights of women and girls in its humanitarian assistance efforts, ensuring their access to vital services during crises. Its policy pledges to strengthen sexual and gender-based violence prevention and response strategies in humanitarian settings; advocate for humanitarian principles and international humanitarian law, including by shining a light on the ways in which humanitarian crises present unique challenges for women and girls; support the full range of women and girls’ sexual and reproductive health needs during humanitarian responses; help strengthen the capacity of local and national women’s groups to assist in humanitarian emergencies and help address the particular unmet needs of women.

Three of the countries which have implemented FFPs are among the top ten largest donors of humanitarian aid worldwide9, Canada, Sweden, and France.10 France donated over 340 million USD in humanitarian aid worldwide in 2022. Canada donated 796 million USD.11

Sweden donated 442 million USD in 2022. Humanitarian assistance remains a growing funding area for Sweden and was the second-largest spending area of Sweden’s bilateral ODA, accounting for 16% of bilateral funding. Despite the withdrawal of the ‘feminist’ label in its foreign policy, gender has continued to feature in Sweden’s humanitarian aid funding allocations. In 2023, Sweden provided almost EUR 11 million in Ukraine and Moldova to meet the humanitarian needs of women and girls impacted by the conflict in Ukraine, channelled through UNFPA and UN Women. The funds will support sexual and reproductive health and rights and combat sexual and gender-based violence, in particular.12

Five of the countries with FFPs are contributors to the Women’s Peace & Humanitarian Fund (WPHF), namely Canada, Germany, the Netherlands, Spain, and Sweden. In 2022, Germany continued to be WPHF’s largest donor, showing a strong commitment to conflict prevention, conflict resolution and forced displacement issues.
**VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN AND GIRLS (VAWG)**

FFPs play a critical role in addressing VAWG in a global scale. These policies recognise that VAWG is a violation of human rights and a barrier to gender equality. By incorporating a feminist perspective into foreign policy, governments can actively work towards preventing and addressing VAWG in all its forms, including domestic violence, sexual assault, and human trafficking.

For example, **Sweden**'s policy aimed to address gender-based violence, discrimination, and harmful practices against women. It stated its actions are channelled through support for organisations within civil society and other actors working with VAWG, including through support centres, helplines and legal support for vulnerable women, as well as working with perpetrators and political influence. Its policy also stated that it is the largest donor to UN Women and UN Action Against Sexual Violence in Conflict and carries out extensive work to highlight the link between destructive masculinity norms, violence and conflict.

**Canada**'s policy addresses the issue of gender-based violence and aims to prevent and respond to it effectively, committing to supporting survivors, combating impunity, and strengthening legal frameworks to eliminate violence against women and girls. **Spain** prioritises combating gender-based violence domestically and internationally. It supports the Istanbul Convention and encourages its ratification by other European countries, and **Chile**'s upcoming FFP focuses on the promotion of the sexual and reproductive health rights of women and LGBTQ people, and to address VAWG.

**The Netherlands** was one of the initiators of the package of sanctions that the European Union (EU) announced on 8 March 2023 to impose on individuals and organisation responsible for sexual violence and large-scale violations of women’s rights. Being placed on the sanctions list will result in the perpetrator’s assets in the EU to be frozen and in the inability to enter the EU13.

Iceland co-leads the **Generation Equality Action Coalition on GBV** and **France** co-leads the **Generation Equality Action Coalition on Bodily Autonomy and Sexual and Reproductive Health and Rights (SRHR)**, focused on ensuring that women and girls worldwide are free to make autonomous decisions about their bodies free from coercion, violence, and discrimination.

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Lastly, Canada, Germany, the Netherlands, and Sweden are current contributors to the UN Women managed UN Trust Fund to End Violence against Women (UN Trust Fund), the only global, multilateral, grant-making mechanism that is dedicated exclusively to addressing all forms of VAWG.

OTHER COMMONALITIES AND GAPS

The FFPs mentioned above exhibit common issues and gaps concerning commitments related to WPS agenda and broader gender equality. A common shortcoming is the absence of specific actions or strategies to attain the stated objectives within the FFPs. Often, actions are limited to enhancing women’s representation or to nominal increases in funding for gender equality14. Furthermore, most FFPs concentrate on specific aspects of gender equality and women’s rights (e.g. climate or economic justice), generally failing to encompass all pillars of the WPS agenda, i.e., prevention, participation, protection, and relief and recovery. For example, France, Germany, Sweden, and Spain exemplify a lack of adequate consideration for the connection between the proliferation of arms and gendered violence. These countries are major arms exporters globally, and have repeatedly authorised exports that contravene international human rights and humanitarian law. This serves as a clear illustration of the challenges some countries face in reconciling their FFPs and adherence to the WPS agenda with commitments to universal disarmament and the prevention of armed conflict and gender-based violence.

In certain instances, commitments are restricted to specific government entities or ministries, such as the Foreign Office or the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, neglecting the need for broader coordination across all relevant government bodies. To effectively implement FFPs, a comprehensive and coordinated approach encompassing multiple government sectors such as defence, trade, and climate policy is needed.

Moreover, many FFPs fail to outline specific mechanisms for monitoring and evaluating the progress and impact of the commitments. A good practice is that of Canada, which developed a suite of Key Performance Indicators (KPIs) to track and monitor progress achieved in its six Action Areas of the Feminist International Assistance Policy. Spain, France and Sweden all have internal monitoring systems for their FFP.

Finally, countries with a history of imperialism need to be particularly aware of how their foreign policies address or sustain historic power imbalances. France, in particular, has been criticised by academics and research organisations15 for a feminist foreign policy that falls short in addressing intersectional forms of discrimination and addressing neo-colonialist imbalances of power.

FEMINIST FOREIGN POLICY INDEX 2023

States have frequently faced challenges in effectively translating FFPs into practical and structural solutions, despite the evidence that tackling the impacts of various interconnected crises on women’s human rights, economic justice, and climate justice requires systemic transformation.

The International Center for Research on Women (ICRW) created the FFP Index to assist countries in effectively and meaningfully institutionalising and standardising their FFPs. The Index is based on 27 indicators that not only measure how countries perpetuate significant global challenges and drivers of gender inequalities, but also evaluate their efforts in addressing them. The indicators are grouped into the seven priority areas of peace and militarization; ODA; migration for employment; labour protections; economic justice; institutional commitments to gender equality; climate. The dataset for the FFP Index comprises 48 countries that are members, candidates for accession, or key partners of the OECD.

14 https://www.icrw.org/publications/feminist-foreign-policy-index-a-qualitative-evaluation-of-feminist-commitments/
15 Gender Security Project
ANALYSIS OF COUNTRY PERFORMANCES

In the 2023 FFP Index, seven of the countries that are implementing an FFP are among the ten highest scores: Sweden (ranking 1st, with a score of 0.8), Mexico (3rd, 0.67), Germany (7th, 0.63), Chile (9th, 0.62), Luxembourg (11th, 0.61), Colombia (13th, 0.59), Spain (15th, 0.58).

The other FFP countries ranked by the FFP Index are the Netherlands (18th), France (21st), Canada (24th), and Slovenia (32nd). Scotland and Liberia are not comprised in the FFP Index dataset.

Comparing the countries implementing an FFP in the various priority areas, Mexico and Chile rank in the top ten in the priority area of peace and militarization, measuring the volume of arms transfers; military expenditures; the ratio of health and education spending to military expenditure; ratification of key disarmament normative frameworks; and the adoption of a NAP on UNSCR1325. Sweden and Luxembourg rank 11th and 18th, respectively. Germany and Canada rank 21st and 22nd, followed by Spain (33rd), the Netherlands (34th), and Colombia (39th). France has the lowest ranking in the group (42nd), recording the largest per capita volume of arms exports. This is the priority area where the European FFP countries perform more poorly, generally due to their arms exports to countries with poor human rights records and undemocratic regimes.

In the priority area of ODA, which measures bilateral allocable commitments to women’s rights organisations and movements, and government institutions (average for the period between 2014 and 2020 and normalised per capita), five FFP countries appear in the top ten: Sweden, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, Germany, and Canada. In addition, Sweden, Luxembourg, and the Netherlands rank in the top five for both the highest volume of gender-equality focused ODA and funding commitments for women’s rights organisations.
Germany and Sweden perform well in the priority area of migration for employment, ranking 6th and 7th respectively, which reflects the existence of minimum standards of protection for men and women migrant workers; of measures to facilitate migration for employment and prevent abuse; and parameters for recruitment, employment, and family reunification.

Mexico and Spain demonstrate fair performance in the priority area of labour protections, having ratified ILO Convention 87 on Freedom of Association and ILO Convention 98 on Collective Bargaining, and signed ILO 190 Convention on the Elimination of Violence and Harassment in the World of Work, the three parameters for this priority area, which has no ranking (globally, only Argentina and Greece have ratified all three conventions).

Chile and Colombia make the top five in the priority area of economic justice, signalling a positive track record of upholding gender equality in trade liberalisation, foreign investment, taxation, and protection of human rights in the conduct of business in the context of an FFP.

**CONCLUSION**

In conclusion, FFPs have emerged as a significant approach to promote gender equality and address the specific needs of women in international affairs. While there is no agreed-upon definition of an FFP, these policies share common goals and commitments across various themes.

In the area of WPS, FFPs emphasise the importance of involving women in post-war peace processes and addressing conflict-related sexual and gender-based violence. Countries like Liberia and Colombia, which have experienced civil wars, have recognised the critical role of women and feminist movements in achieving sustainable peace. FFPs offer a comprehensive framework for advancing gender equality and women’s rights in international affairs. While there are variations in their approaches and scope, these policies demonstrate a commitment to addressing common challenges and promoting the full participation and empowerment of women in all aspects of society. However, the decision by Sweden’s new government to abandon their feminist foreign policy in 2022 serves as a reminder that sustained political commitment is essential for the successful implementation and promotion of these policies.

The adoption of FFPs by an increasing number of countries reflects a global recognition of the importance of gender equality and the need for inclusive and transformative foreign policies. One major impact of FFPs has been in the way that the UN Security Council now deals with multilateral decisions, that is, prioritising feminist principles and with an improved integration of WPS language in its resolutions. Additionally, the UNSC rejects male-only panels and delegations.

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16 [https://timep.org/2022/02/28/what-does-a-feminist-foreign-policy-mean-for-libya/](https://timep.org/2022/02/28/what-does-a-feminist-foreign-policy-mean-for-libya/)
While external evaluations of FFPs have not yet been conducted, they have produced a significant increase in efforts towards gender equality, particularly through gender mainstreaming. Spain and Sweden have reportedly observed an internal cultural shift and a change in mindset, with a widespread integration of gender considerations across all areas of foreign policy since their FFP have been formulated. A specific challenge relates to the insufficient tools that effectively consider intersectionality, an essential aspect of feminism and a truly transformative gender approach. The current OECD-DAC gender marker, for example, fails to account for intersectionality. Similarly, one of the limitations of the FFP Index is that it does not fully reflect intersectional forms of discrimination, due to the lack of indicators capturing efforts at the global foreign policy level to protect and promote the rights of gender-diverse and non-binary people. Notwithstanding the progress made, ongoing commitment and efforts are crucial to ensure the sustained implementation and impact of these policies, ultimately creating a more just and equitable world for all.

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