

FEMINIST FOREIGN POLICY EVALUATION TOOL GUIDELINES

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The development of the evaluation tool and the drafting of the present document correspond to Bruna Soares de Aguiar with contributions from Jara Henar, Itziar Ruiz-Gimenez, Karen Uchuari and Cristina Fernández-Durán. Oxfam also would like to thank Paula Marta Osés for the copy-editing and translation and Eli Landa and Celina Hernández for the graphic design and layout.

The paper is part of a series written to inform public debate on development and humanitarian policy issues. For further information on the issues raised in this paper please email:

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SUMMARY

The Feminist Foreign Policy evaluation tool is a methodological instrument designed to evaluate a foreign policy that identifies itself as feminist.

Over the last 10 years the consolidation of the fight for gender equality and the rights of women in the international agenda have led to a number of states adopting the term “Feminist Foreign Policy” (hereafter, FFP). This development, together with the intense academic debate generated in the field of feminist studies, explains the political and academic relevance of developing this methodological proposition so that the academic world, civil society organisations, the media, states and international organisations can evaluate the degree to which the feminist and intersectional perspective has been integrated into a particular state’s foreign policy. The ultimate aim is to highlight the progress made in this integration, as well as identifying areas for improvement where more resources and stronger political will are required.

Intense research has been conducted to construct this methodological tool, including a review of the specialist literature on feminist Foreign Policy and semi-structured interviews. A number of proposals have also been taken into account with indicators on FFP¹, as well as international legislation on Human Rights and the main instruments of Spanish and EU Foreign Policy. As a result, an evaluation instrument has been created that generates qualitative data on the way in which the feminist and intersectional approach is becoming integrated (or not) into the foreign policy of a country that considers itself feminist.

The proposal presented here is the creation of a tool (a scorecard) that will have the three colours of a traffic light, the aim being to identify the level of mainstreaming of both approaches into the different dimensions of a State’s foreign policy. Three possible approaches are considered:

- 1. Gender-blind approach**
- 2. Classic gender approach**
- 3. Feminist and intersectional approach**

¹ Indicadores consultados: <https://www.oxfam.ca/feminist-policy-scorecard-2021/>
<https://www.icrw.org/publications/ffp-in-us-scorecard-on-biden-harris-administration-first-year/>
<https://www.ffpindex.org/>

It is important to highlight that these approaches are located on a continuum of positions in which a state may be in its efforts to promote gender equality and carry out an FFP. It is also important to mention that the tool has been designed, in principle, to monitor the design, implementation and evaluation of the Foreign Policy of countries that have officially declared themselves feminist.

The basic concepts for the use of the tool will be presented throughout the manual, together with indicators and recommendations so that foreign policy can make progress towards a feminist and intersectional approach.

WHO ARE WE?

The Evaluation Tool for Feminist Foreign policy is an instrument developed by the consortium consisting of Oxfam Intermon, Alianza por la Solidaridad-ActionAid and the Group of African Studies of the University Autónoma de Madrid (GEA UAM).

This consortium has carried out a number of projects related to this subject, specifically in the framework of Spanish Foreign Policy for the region of the Sahel, by sponsoring debate forums on FFP, Feminist Cooperation and relations between Spain and countries and societies in the Sahel. The track record, experience and participation of many people in the consortium, both from the Sahel and Spain, have inspired the construction of the tool, which also owes a lot to the academic debates that have taken place in Feminist Studies related to the notion of FFP.

What is presented in this guide (the using of the tool) is the result of an intensive collaborative effort over the years, with the ultimate aim of contributing to improving Spanish Foreign Policy in the Sahel, identifying the actions that need to be carried out to make the integration of the feminist and intersectional approach a reality in its discourse and practices, and particularly in the areas of development cooperation, humanitarian aid, economic and trade policy, security, defence, peace-building, climate justice and migration.

The team that has developed the tool has worked on the basis of a consultative methodology. It consists of experts from different areas of knowledge (Political Science, International Relations) and incorporates a series of feminist life experiences (Spain, Ecuador, Brazil).

The study has been conducted together with the page layout, revision and translation team.

WHAT IS OUR STARTING POINT?

In 2021 the Spanish Government announced the adoption of a Feminist Foreign Policy (FFP) and published a **Feminist Foreign Policy Guide**, which presents the guiding principles, instruments and lines of action with which the Spanish government sets out to consolidate FFP in its foreign policy and thus “contribute to making a fairer world a reality, one in which women and would be equal in terms of rights and opportunities. No more, but no less”².

Since then, Spanish foreign policy has taken steps to implement the Guide and its five guiding principles: a transformative approach, committed leadership, inclusive participation, the creation of national and international alliances and intersectionality and diversity. Nevertheless, as we shall see in this manual there are few methodological instruments that propitiate these efforts, aimed at making Spain “a benchmark in feminist foreign policy”³ based on a feminist and intersectional approach.

This is the central aim of a tool that, in principle, has been constructed to evaluate the degree of integration of the feminist and intersectional approach into Spanish foreign policy, with special emphasis on its deployment through bilateral relations in the Sahel. Nevertheless, it is understood that the methodology created (scorecard of indicators) can be of use, after some adjustments, to other countries that have either adopted an FFP or are member states of the European Union.

Due to the possibility of transferring the tool to other contexts, the manual uses a series of general questions as a starting point. They help to evaluate how feminist intersectional foreign policy can define itself as feminist:

- Who are the people who have participated in the design, implementation and evaluation of the foreign policy that claims to be feminist?
- What is the level of participation by society in the design and development of this Foreign Policy?
- Which part of civil society has been invited to participate in its design and implementation? How many women and men? How many people are from groups that are discriminated against?
- What type of diagnosis is done on the subject or context in which the FFP will be deployed? Is it sensitive to gender and intersectionality? Does it include the international dimension and/or Spanish and European responsibility?
- What instruments and resources (political, economic, human and material) are available for the implementation of the FFP?

² Prologue by the then Minister of Exeterior Affairs and Cooperation, Arancha González Laya, p. 4

³ MAEC: Foreign policy Strategy 2020-2024, section 4.1.4

The objective, therefore, is to generate a methodological evaluation tool for foreign policy that enables the identification of progress made and areas for improvement to incorporate a feminist and intersectional approach into the discourses and practices of the foreign policy of a state at both the sectoral and global level, i.e. evaluating the internal and external cohesion of the different sectoral agendas that make up the foreign policy.

INTRODUCTION

In 2014, for the first time in history a country (Sweden) officially adopted a Feminist Foreign Policy. In the following years another ten or so countries (Canada, France, Luxembourg, Mexico, Spain, Germany, Denmark, Norway, Australia, Chile and recently Colombia) followed in Sweden's footsteps. This institutionalised a new concept (FFP) which, although it has generated a certain controversy in academic circles, is seen as step beyond the so-called "gender approach". The latter has consolidated itself in recent decades in a number of areas such as development cooperation (The Gender in Development Approach, GDA), humanitarian action or peace-building (Women, Peace and Security Agenda – WPS).

However, there is some theoretical and political confusion about what really makes a foreign policy feminist. What is its added value with respect to the "gender approach" that many countries had adopted without declaring themselves feminist? and what is its added value with respect to the "gender approach" that many countries had adopted without declaring themselves feminist? These are the questions that have served as the starting point for the construction of this methodological tool, designed to assess the degree of real integration (or not) of the feminist and intersectional approach in a state's foreign policy.

Defining a foreign policy and a government as feminist is undoubtedly a major step forward, especially in these times, after decades of gender blindness and in the midst of a counter-offensive against the legislative and political advances achieved in the promotion of gender equality and women's rights. From a feminist perspective, the official adoption of an FFP therefore has a strong symbolic component and represents a transcendental step in a government's external action, reflecting a firm political commitment to the achievement of more just, egalitarian, inclusive, secure and caring international relations.

However, beyond the importance of this commitment, it is also useful to examine, first of all, how it can be translated into specific instruments and policies in areas as diverse as cooperation, humanitarian aid, security, peace, trade, migration, etc. Second, it is necessary to evaluate -and mediate- the extent to which the diagnoses and solutions proposed by those who carry out the external action of a state that proclaims itself to be feminist can incorporate and consolidate this political commitment. Then

there is a fundamental aspect of any public policy: how many human and economic resources are allocated to the implementation of an FFP in each of these sectoral policies?

This tool has been designed taking into account the case of Spain and, specifically, the policies developed in the framework of its bilateral relations with the countries and societies of the Sahel, an area which, for various reasons (geopolitical, economic, ideological, security, etc.), has become increasingly important in Spanish and European foreign action (GEA, 2020, Oxfam, 2022). It has also been monitored by the consortium behind the design of this tool⁴.

These two reasons explain the choice of sectoral policies on which the indicators included in this tool (in the form of a traffic light) have been designed. It sets out to evaluate the degree of integration of the feminist and intersectional approach both in sectoral policies considered as “high policy” and in those identified as more feminised in recent years. Accordingly, the scorecard is divided into five policy areas:

- 1. International Development Cooperation and Humanitarian Aid.**
- 2. Economic and Trade Policy.**
- 3. Security, Defence and Peace-building Policy.**
- 4. Climate Justice.**
- 5. Migration policies.**

The tool is conceived as an instrument for evaluating the efficiency and effectiveness of the operationalisation and integration of an FFP in the discourses, practices and processes of a state’s external action that is committed to this policy.

“Some people ask me: Why do you use the word ‘feminist’? Why don’t you say you believe in human rights or something like that? Because it wouldn’t be honest. It’s clear that feminism is part of human rights, but to use a generic term like ‘human rights’ is to deny the specific and particular problem of gender [...] it’s only fair that the solution to that problem is to recognise that”.

*Chimamanda Ngozi Adichie, Nigerian writer and feminist*⁵

Finally, this guide is divided into three parts. The first presents the conceptual framework which, from a feminist studies perspective, has served to identify the key concepts for which the indicators and the tool have been designed.

⁴ See, for example, the report “Peacebuilding in the Sahel” from 2022.

⁵ DAvailable at: ADICHIE, Chimamanda Ngozi. *Sejamos todos feministas*. São Paulo, Companhia das Letras, 2015.

The second part summarises the reasons why the five thematic agendas have been chosen and, above all, describes the table of indicators that has been specifically designed for each of them, indicating which indicators correspond to each of the three approaches included in the 'traffic light': the gender-blind approach, the classic gender approach and the feminist and intersectional approach.

The third and final part of the guide contains some recommendations on how a government can make an FFP operational in its external action, i.e. by integrating a feminist and intersectional approach. After the Conclusion, and as an Annex, a template for each scorecard is included, divided by policy agenda and area evaluated. The tool itself is included as an extra document, in the hope that it will be of use.

PART ONE

“[...] There is the question of how knowledge is valued and how that knowledge is harnessed... knowledge and knowledge production around Foreign Policy favours hegemonic practices[...].”

Toni Haastrup⁶
Researcher and Professor in Feminist Foreign Policy and Africa-EU Relations

⁶ Available at: <https://africanfeminism.com/feminist-foreign-policy-a-co-optation-useful-framework-or-the-newest-in-stagram-filter-for-empowerment/>

DEFINITION OF THE THREE APPROACHES USED TO EVALUATE FOREIGN POLICY

In order to design a tool to assess the extent to which a state is integrating (or not) a feminist and intersectional approach in its external action, it is necessary to define the characteristics of the FFP and then identify what specific changes are expected to take place in each dimension (sectoral policy) of external action in order to integrate such an approach. This section presents the conceptual framework behind this tool.

First of all, it is important to point out that there is now wide academic and political consensus on the feminist momentum that seems to have permeated the international agenda over the last thirty years, one that led at gender equality and women's rights becoming enshrined in numerous international standards, among them:

The Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) with its optional protocols;

The 1995 Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action and its subsequent development; UN Security Council Resolution 1325/2020, which, together with its nine subsequent resolutions, draws up the Women, Peace and Security Agenda.

The 2030 Agenda and the Sustainable Development Goals, in particular SDG 5 and SDG 16.

There is an intense theoretical and political debate about the strengths and weaknesses of feminist momentum and, in particular, about the best policies and approaches to advance the gender equality agenda at the international level. It highlights the unequal conversation within feminist movements and feminist studies around the definitions of "gender", "gender equality" and "gender violence", as well as the need (or not) for "gender" not to be the only category of analysis and to address, within this agenda, the multiplicity of axes of oppression and privilege (race, nation, ethnicity, religion, class, age, disability, sexual orientation, gender identity and expression, etc...) "which, uniquely and uniquely, are the most important factors of gender equality" / "which, in a singular and contingent manner in time and space, construct the identities of women and men, as well as sustaining international relations that reproduce not only patriarchal, but also -in an intertwined

manner- capitalist, neoliberal, racist, classist, colonial, LGTB-phobic, adult-centric, anthropocentric, etc., structures of oppression/privilege” (Ruiz-Giménez & Rubio, 2020, Grecco, 2020).

A third conversation takes place around how the legislative commitments of states and international organisations on this issue could be translated into action, i.e. how to address the enormous gaps that still remain between discourse and practice, and also in the resources contributed by states to the feminist agenda. In short, how to ensure that states actually commit to a more effective foreign policy transformation that will, in turn, contribute to a more just, egalitarian, diverse, inclusive, secure, caring and sustainable world.

It is within these debates that the debate around FFP takes place. In particular, a number of questions are raised: is the narrative of FFP something new, as claimed by the states promoting it, does it imply substantial changes to the previous gender agenda, or is it more of the same, i.e., ‘business as usual’?

Although the theoretical responses to these questions have been very diverse, the academic and political debate has allowed us to identify the three approaches included in this methodological tool whose purpose is, as mentioned above, to assess the foreign policy of a state that has proclaimed itself to be feminist. These three approaches are the “gender-blind” approach, the “classic gender” approach and the “feminist and intersectional” approach.

1. GENDER-BLIND APPROACH

A foreign policy (or sectoral policies) that does not include “gender issues” in its discourse (legislative or programmatic commitments) and practices would come under this approach, as would one that does not allocate human, material and financial resources to the gender equality agenda (or very few resources).

It is necessary to point out that even a state that has declared itself “feminist” or has a classic gender approach (see below) may have aspects of its foreign policy with significant gender-blind elements. This is the case, for example, of governments that do not include this issue in what they consider to be their “high-level” policies: security, defence, the economy, energy and trade relations, migration management, etc, i.e., the issues considered essential and/or determining in their foreign policy.

It can also happen that governments that promote a classic gender (and/or feminist) agenda and are committed, for example, to promoting care services in their societies can develop a foreign

policy that is insensitive to gender, both in the identification of their priorities and in the approach to the problem they wish to tackle, as well as in the formulation and implementation of the “solutions” (policies and programmes), and the evaluation processes of their foreign policy.

In short, this guide understands that a foreign policy has a gender-blind approach when it lacks analyses that make the differentiated impacts on women and men visible or does not include the promotion of gender equality, equal participation and/or the fight against gender-based violence among its objectives. Then there are policies that do not make reference to international standards (or regional ones) that enshrine women’s rights, including their sexual and reproductive rights. In other words, a foreign policy that is designed, implemented and evaluated as if the reality in which it is deployed (or the policy itself) were neutral and not shaped by gender issues.

2. CLASSIC GENDER APPROACH

This approach is largely driven by the Western feminist movement and aims to remove the legal, political, social or cultural obstacles that prevent women from participating in the public sphere on an equal basis. It is, therefore, based on a liberal conception of gender (women and men) that focuses on promoting women’s (and girls’) rights and generally does not address the differences (in living conditions, levels of influence or needs) that exist between women and girls.

Secondly, it is the dominant approach on the international agenda, especially in the Beijing, the WPS agenda and the 2030 Agendas, as well as in development cooperation and humanitarian action. Its agenda for change mainly focuses on the promotion of women’s rights, including the promotion of sexual and reproductive rights, the fight against the various forms of violence that women face disproportionately because they are women and their inclusion and participation, under equal conditions, in the public sphere (political, labour, educational, etc.). Thirdly, it is committed to what is known as ‘gender mainstreaming’, which the Council of Europe defined in 1998 as:

“[...] the (re)organisation, improvement, development and evaluation of policy processes, so that a gender equality perspective is mainstreamed in all policies, at all levels and at all stages, by the actors normally involved in policy-making”.

This is the approach that now plays an increasing role in the external action of many countries, including Spain and the European Union, and in particular within their cooperation, humanitarian aid and peace-building policies. This has led to the creation of a number of indices, guides and manuals to facilitate its integration in these areas.

This perspective, referred to here as the 'classic gender approach', has also been enshrined in international institutions such as the International Labour Organisation, the World Bank, the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) and many other international actors that are committed, at least at the discursive level, to applying gender mainstreaming when formulating policies or issuing reports.

However, it is necessary to point out that the legislative predominance of this approach in international relations is very recent, subject to dissent and, above all, better developed at the discursive level than in international praxis. Hence the importance of including precise indicators in the methodological tool that accompanies this guide to show how these discourses in favour of gender equality or women's rights are put into practice, i.e. specific policies and actions, and how many resources (political, socio-economic, material, etc.) are actually being deployed for the purpose.

3. FEMINIST AND INTERSECTIONAL APPROACH

For a large part of so-called critical Feminist Studies, the classic gender approach poses a series of problems.

First, the international gender agenda tends to reproduce a conceptualisation of gender (male and female) as stable and binary, thus contributing to the perpetuation of the patriarchal logic and reproducing a cis-heteronormative culture that generates violence and discrimination against sexual dissidents, i.e. LGBTIQ*+ women and men (Butler, 2001).

Secondly, it criticises the monolithic discourse of the classic gender approach regarding female identity, often portraying them as victims 'in need of protection', as more 'peaceful' or in need of training to be 'enterprising'.

In this way, this narrative reproduces the prevailing gender dichotomy (male and female) and silences the violence, including sexual violence, faced by men and boys, especially those with dissident masculinities. It also highlights the fact that the complex agendas of women (as combatants, community leaders, peace builders, political and economic actors, etc.) are ignored. For this reason, critical feminisms denounce the fact that the classic gender approach means

“adding women” to what already exists. In our case, to the foreign policy of a state, without really contributing to transforming the social structures that reproduce the patriarchal model and, in particular, the sexual division of labour (productive and reproductive), of war and peace or international relations. It also contributes to the confinement of women to feminised activities: care, motherhood, the apolitical space of civil society, etc. (Shepherd, 2008 or Ruiz-Giménez, 2016).

Another criticism is that the classic gender approach does not take into account how gender inequalities are intertwined and intersect with other axes of oppression and/or privilege in the global, regional, state and local spheres, such as skin colour, ethnicity, religion, nationality, migratory status, age, disability, etc. (Crenshaw, 1989, 2002). There is criticism, for example, that the classic gender approach does not include measures that address (in their diagnoses and proposed solutions) these multiple or interrelated discriminations to treat women (or men) equally.

This last critique explains why the concept of intersectionality, promoted by black, African, Latin, post- and decolonial feminisms from Kimberé Crenshaw’s (1989) initial conceptualisation, has become one of the hallmarks of the feminist approach. It is seen as an indispensable tool for highlighting (and therefore addressing) the structural causes that generate the intersecting inequalities that women (and many men) face in an unequal way. These causes are, in the opinion of critical feminisms, related to the prevailing global socio-economic model: neoliberal capitalism. This model, promoted by companies, international organisations and states, even those that incorporate a classic gender approach, continues to reproduce the favoured access of a few -mostly white, Christian, heterosexual, adult, white men, etc.- to political, economic and material resources in the global context, in Europe and Spain, as well as in their Foreign Policy. This model is profoundly unequal and unjust, and is responsible for the current ecological crisis facing humanity.

This is why another distinctive feature of the feminist and intersectional approach is challenging the legitimacy of global and state policies that sustain and reproduce the socio-economic system (neoliberal, militarised, homophobic, racist, patriarchal and anthropocentric capitalism, etc.). This system is not only the cause of the structural inequalities and systematic violence faced by the vast majority of women (and men), but, as ecofeminism reminds us, it is endangering the sustainability of life, ecosystems and the planet. Hence, the commitment to a “feminist and intersectional approach” that firmly places the human rights of women and men in all their diversity, care and the sustainability of life and the planet at the centre of the foreign policy of a state that has defined itself as feminist. For this reason, we advocate the inclusion of measures that help to modify and transform the foreign policy of the state, insofar as it is a co-participant in the maintenance of this system through its sectoral policies and, in particular, trade and mining policies, arms sales, security, migration, etc.

Basically, the feminist and intersectional approach implies conceptualising FFP on the basis of the following features:

Aspects to consider in the feminist and intersectional approach:

- **An inclusive, non-binary and non-essentialist conceptualisation of gender**, in such a way that it is not conceived as an exclusively social construct in masculine and feminine terms, but also of cis-heteronormativity as dominant social patterns related to how -in each society and in international relations- sexuality, biological sex, the body, identities and gender roles, sexual affective links and a fluid and changing relationship.

- **A wide-ranging social justice agenda that goes beyond the changes proposed by the classic approach to gender**: access and participation of women and men on an equal basis in the public sphere, sexual and reproductive rights, and combating male violence against women. Otherwise, the search is for an agenda in the centre, in this case of the Foreign Policy of states, with an integral approach to the previously mentioned inter-related social inequalities. Therefore, we advocate the inclusion in the diagnoses, objectives and proposals in the foreign policy of a state that identifies itself as feminist, when addressing -at least- the six dimensions of social justice contained in Social Inclusion Monitor Europe: prevention of (feminisation of) poverty, education on an equal basis, access to a labour market (decent and inclusive), cohesion and non-discrimination, healthcare and intergenerational justice.

- In this extended agenda, **the inclusion of subjects related to the sustainability of life and care services**. Critical feminism advocates, for example, addressing the unequal distribution of responsibility for care services without delay, as they fall on women and young girls disproportionately throughout the world.

- Insistence is also made on extending the “gender” agenda to include **climate justice**, addressing the causes and persons/entities responsible for the current ecological emergency and the unequal impacts it creates for men and women all over the world.

- Finally, they urge the **decolonisation** of the international agenda and the elimination of racist logic that continues to be seen, for example, in the discourses and practices of -among others- western states, including Spain and the European Union. This involves, among other things, acting “[...] jointly with the stakeholders in the countries of the South to seek a collective and contextualised construction of development, cooperation and feminisms.” (AGUIAR, 2023).

THE STRUCTURE OF THE TOOL

After explaining the three approaches that make up the continuum of positions a state can hold when it integrates a feminist and intersectional approach into its foreign policy, we will now present -based on these three approaches- the structure of the tool to evaluate each of the five dimensions of foreign policy that have been selected. Before that, however, there are a few points to make:

- a. Only bilateral state relations are examined, leaving multilateral relations aside. The main reason is that, in this context of foreign action, political conflicts arise mainly around the priorities and instruments to be used⁷.
- b. A notion of Foreign Policy is adopted as a public policy in which many actors take part: government and civil society, from the country evaluated and the states with which it has bilateral relations. It is also necessary to take into account the influence of the internal characteristics of states and how they affect their exterior projection⁸.
- c. The starting point is the so-called 'public policy cycle', i.e. a diagnosis of the situation or problem to be addressed and the strong and weak points of the policy, its design (guiding principles, objectives, instruments, lines of action, etc.), implementation and evaluation.

This last aspect explains why the indicators in the tool that have been designed to evaluate each sectoral area of Foreign Policy are grouped in three levels: participation and representation, principles and strategic objectives, and the main instruments for implementation, including resources.

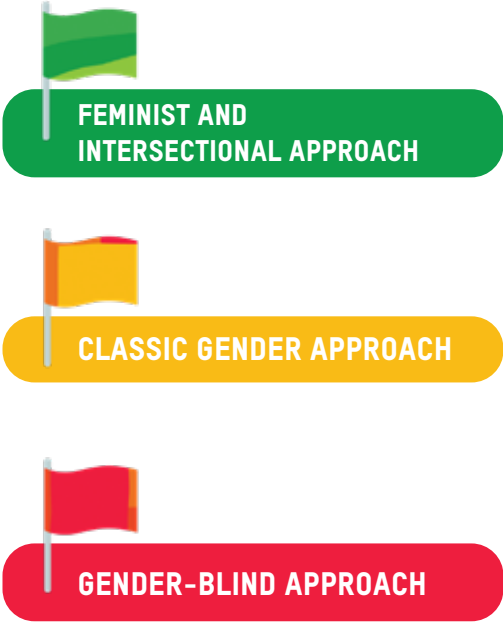
Based on this initial scheme, the indicators help to identify which of the three approaches predominates in each sectoral area evaluated. To do this, a colour-coded scorecard is used, as a kind of 'traffic light' where **red** corresponds to the gender-blind approach, **yellow** to the classic gender approach and **green** to the feminist and intersectional approach.

Red indicates the absence of a gender approach in that particular policy. Yellow indicates that the government pays attention to the agenda promoted by the classic approach, and green means the government has managed to integrate a feminist and intersectional approach into that indicator

⁷ This reflection is made in depth in: SOARES DE LIMA, María Regina. Instituições democráticas e Foreign Policy. Contexto Internacional, Rio de Janeiro, v.2 p. 265-303,2000. .

⁸ Se puede ahondar en este tema en: MILANI, Carlos; PINHEIRO, Letícia. Política externa brasileira: os desafios de sua caracterização como política pública. Contexto Internacional, v. 35, n.1, pp. 11- 41, 2013.

and that it has a wider agenda in the areas of social justice, ecofeminism and decolonisation. It also includes the transformation of structures, decision-making processes and internal culture.



SCORECARD FOR THE EVALUATION OF A FEMINIST FOREIGN POLICY APPROACH

Before presenting the table of indicators that identify which of the three approaches (blind, classic, or feminist and intersectional) predominates in the foreign policy of a state or in a sectorial field, it is useful to highlight some particular features of Spanish foreign policy.

First, in contrast to other public policies, it has a marked multidimensional and multi-theme nature. Second, it is the product of many factors (political, socioeconomic, cultural, identity-based, gender, ecological, etc.,) that emerge from the global context, the actions of other international actors or the internal context⁹.

As we stated earlier, it was considered appropriate to group the battery of indicators in three levels:

- 1. Which people participate (and how they are represented)** in the preparation of the diagnoses and the content of the policy, as well as its implementation and evaluation?
- 2. What is the content of the policy?** What are its guiding principles and strategic objectives?: Regulatory, programmatic and discursive instruments.
- 3. How is it carried out?** What are the instruments for practical application? Resources and practices.

The third step was to define the kind of evaluation, considered more suitable than the tool to make an evaluation of the processes, i.e. not a fixed photo of the extent to which the Foreign Policy integrated, to a greater or lesser extent, the feminist and intersectional approach. Based on that, the proposal should include the three approaches and the possibility of evaluating the efforts made to integrate the discourse or classic gender practices or this approach and those of the classic gender approach.

For the same reason, it was also considered advisable for the tool to include the possibility of making intermediate measurements and reflecting (and evaluating) the progress and efforts made, not just the results obtained. The aim is to achieve this based on the specific definition of the indicators and through the methods for generating identified data.













A final comment on the tool: its structure enables the identification of not only which of the three approaches predominates overall in the foreign policy of a state. It also means that the sectors and political agendas that have made most progress in the integration of the feminist and intersectional approach in both discourses and practices can be seen. Finally, it contributes to giving visibility to the coherence (or not) among the different sectorial profiles in their commitment to consolidate a FFP.

⁹ Disponible en: <https://www.scienceopen.com/document?vid=e779543c-9424-45bf-a833-fd73edf84ad4>

To carry out this evaluation, the scorecard has a total of 70 indicators that allow a simple mathematical calculation to extract the percentage per approach in each sectoral policy and the overall percentage per approach of the foreign policy. For example, if the evaluation of the migration policy is done on the basis of 12 indicators, a country adds up 8 blind gender indicators, 4 indicators with the classic gender approach and no indicator with a feminist approach. It can be said that, of the total of the indicators, the policy has a gender-blind approach of 66.66% (8 out of 12) and 33.34% (4 out of 12) show a classic gender approach.

The table below illustrates how the calculation should be made based on this hypothetical situation:

POLICY X

SCOPE	GENDER-BLIND APPROACH	CLASSIC GENDER APPROACH	FEMINIST AND INTERSECTIONAL APPROACH
 PARTICIPATION AND REPRESENTATION			
Indicator 1			
Indicator 2			
Indicator 3			
 PRINCIPLES AND STRATEGIC OBJECTIVES			
Indicator 1			
Indicator 2			
Indicator 3			
 INSTRUMENTS FOR IMPLEMENTATION			
Indicator 1			
Indicator 2			
Indicator 3			
% of gender-blind approach	66.66%		
% of classic gender approach		33.34%	
% of feminist and intersectional approach			0



This calculation can be applied to each policy evaluated, and then transferred to external action in this case using the same mathematical formula but only taking into account the total of the 70 indicators. The results can act as a gauge, i.e. the more policies in green in the thematic policies, the closer one is to a feminist and intersectional approach. The closest to red, the farthest away from feminism.

BRIEF OUTLINE

Below we offer a brief outline as an introduction to illustrate the tool to evaluate a feminist foreign policy in terms of structure and content. The table sets out to provide an overview of the manual and its areas of analysis, although it should not be considered the definitive result of the tool, rather as a flexible guide that requires a dynamic and adaptable perspective.

SCOPE	GENDER-BLIND APPROACH	CLASSIC GENDER APPROACH	FEMINIST AND INTERSECTIONAL APPROACH
PARTICIPATION AND REPRESENTATION			
Gender parity in spaces of representation	No	Yes	Yes
Level of inclusive and diverse participation in decision-making processes and the entire policy, planning or sectoral programmes cycle	Low	Average	High
Degree of adoption of gender-sensitive approaches	Low	High	High
PRINCIPLES AND STRATEGIC OBJECTIVES			
Alignment with international instruments and compliance with commitments related to:	No	Yes	Yes
• Promotion of Human Rights and GAP III ¹⁰ (EU) Action Plan, as well as the integration of gender and other social indicators into cooperation policies.	No	Yes	Yes
• Economic and trade policy guarantees the prevention of the feminisation of poverty and the care services economy.	No	Yes	Yes
• Firm commitment to UN Resolution 1325, MPS ¹¹ and other principles to hold back militarisation, rearmament, and the arms trade.	No	Yes	Yes
• Implication with the Paris Agenda, the reduction of ¹² carbon emissions and the mitigation of the effects of Climate Change in the COP.	No	Yes	Yes
• Anti-racist and intersectional migratory policies.	Non-existent	Existent	Suitable
Incorporation of the Gender and Development (GAD) perspective			
INSTRUMENTS FOR IMPLEMENTATION			
Resources and budgets to make the international commitments signed operational	Insufficient	Sufficient	Appropriate
Indicators to measure differentiated gender impacts and intersectionalities	Insufficient	Sufficient	Appropriate
Creation of reporting systems and active and inclusive participation mechanisms for the target population	Insufficient	Sufficient	Appropriate
Monitoring and evaluation systems to measure the degree of application of the principles and strategic objectives.	Insufficient	Sufficient	Appropriate

¹⁰ The EU Gender Action Plan for 2021-2025 (GAP III) sets out to foster gender equality and the empowerment of women and girls in the EU's exterior action. Joint Communication-EU Gender Action Plan III

¹¹ Resolution 1325 of the UN Security Council on Women, Peace and Security (WPS - 2000) seeks to promote a greater participation and representation in women in conflict resolution, as well as protecting women's and girls' human rights against sexual violence and other forms of abuse. RESOLUTION 1325

¹² The Paris Agreement (2015) covers all the aspects related to the fight against climate change, including the mitigation, adaptation and means of implementation, in addition to establishing commitments to reduce emissions and cooperation among countries. The Paris Agreement.

PART TWO



“[...] a FFP goes beyond the promotion of the gender equality as an intersectoral practice.. In principle, it requires states to incorporate feminism into all areas of foreign policy, for example, defence, security, migration, trade, climate change policy, among other areas of international relations. The spirit of feminism should challenge the status quo and try to transform existing systems of foreign policy”.

*Toni Hastrup*¹³

¹³ Professor Toni Hastrup was awarded the Emma Goldman Prize of the Elax Foundation in 2002 for her work and research into gender and feminism themes. This text was extracted from an article that can be consulted at: <https://afripoli.org/making-feminist>.



**INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT
COOPERATION AND
HUMANITARIAN AID**

WHY?

Nowadays, development cooperation is one of the inherent elements of the foreign policy of countries of the Global North, i.e. it is the reality on which the external action of those countries is structured, mainly in their relations with countries of the Global South. From an intersectional feminist gaze with the aim of fostering social justice, it is understood that cooperation would not be an instrument of external relations *per se*, given that it is an extension of the colonial model and the consolidation of existing power relationships.

However, by proposing the evaluation of the integration of the feminist and intersectional approach in the existing reality, it is essential to make an effort to understand how an approach like this, more focused on intersectionality and social justice, can be integrated into policy agendas. Although the approach has its limitations in the cooperation agenda and in the aid system, it is necessary to drive these elements in the agendas.

The development cooperation system as it has been put forward over the years gives priority to the higher classes of society and directly affects the sustainability of the nature and access to basic rights by the female population, gender-sensitive populations, indigenous peoples, and people with disabilities, among others.

Humanitarian aid follows this logic. In many cases it generates more dependence among fragile-context countries and those that emerge as providers of aid and protection. It is important to analyse these agendas from a critical point of view, recognising that both the cooperation and humanitarian aid systems are solutions created from the logic of the side that generated the problems. In other words, it is a cyclic process in which the power structure of the rich countries creates a need for cooperation and humanitarian aid in the countries of the Global South.

Development cooperation and humanitarian aid are able to go beyond a mere empowerment of women at the end of the impact chain. Furthermore, they can have an effect on the structures of the cooperation and aid system to change the structure of dependence.



GENDER-BLIND APPROACH

The gender-blind approach in these policy agendas precisely ties in with *anti-cooperation and anti-aid*¹⁴, given that it sustains the structures of subjugation that prevent the full development of the beneficiary

¹⁴ For more information, see David Llistar (2009).

populations. In many cases the results are the opposite, generating more inequality and oppression.

Done this way, the indicators of a gender-blind cooperation and humanitarian aid agenda will show the following characteristics within the three areas selected on the scorecard:

- a.** The tools are not adopted for the inclusion of women, children and LGBTQIA+ persons in the decision-making processes in humanitarian response contexts.
- b.** There is no equal basis approach in appointments to bodies such as Development Cooperation Agencies.
- c.** The bodies that participate in decision-making processes do not choose intersectoral representation in terms of gender, race or nationality.
- d.** There is no mention of international standards to guarantee women's rights nor of the coherence of these policies with GAP III¹⁵ or other specific regional standards.
- e.** Cooperation or humanitarian aid policies do not include specific objectives under the perspective of gender and development, so therefore do not include measures for the mitigation of the feminisation of poverty and the care economy, or for the prevention and mitigation of male violence against women in humanitarian aid.
- f.** There are no indicators or monitoring instruments of the positive impact of the policies on the lives of women, girls and LGBTQIA+ persons due to race, ethnicity or nationality.
- g.** There are no resources allocated to measures to prevent discrimination against women, girls, LGBTQIA+ persons, indigenous peoples and racialised persons.
- h.** Specific resources are not allocated to support local humanitarian organisations that work on the rights of women and other groups made vulnerable by the development system.
- i.** Evaluation processes do not pay attention to classic gender or feminist issues to analyse the differentiated impacts of cooperation and humanitarian aid policies.

¹⁵ The Gender Action Plan III for 2021–2025 (GAP III) sets out to foster the gender equality and empowerment of women and girls in the foreign policy of the EU. Joint Communication–EU Gender Action Plan III



CLASSIC GENDER APPROACH

The United Nations, and in particular within the framework of the 1995 Beijing Conference, concluded that development should be conceived from the gender perspective. The so-called “gender and development” approach is now called ‘mainstreaming’ on the cooperation agenda, and the mainstreaming of gender is the ultimate aim.

The same thing has happened in the context of humanitarian aid. International Humanitarian Law has started to take into account the differentiated impacts on women in contexts of need for aid. Adding to the perspective of coherence of the policies of the European Union, the countries in the bloc that present a classic gender approach in their agendas usually show the following characteristics:

- a.** They include women in the decision-making process, mainly in the humanitarian agendas or cooperation policies aimed at “more feminine” issues, or, to be more precisely, in the field of care services.
- b.** Parity between men and women is an objective to be reached in the governmental structure, although an intersectional gaze is not applied to make progress in the concept of gender diversity.
- c.** The international standards on gender such as CEDAW, Beijing 1995, Agenda 2030, Resolution 1325 or GAP III (Gender Action Plan of the European Union) are applied from a restrictive interpretation of women and girls, i.e. from the biological sense of the term. Furthermore, the patriarchal, racist and xenophobic structures are not called into question. The inclusion of women in existing structures of the development system is limited, however.
- d.** The objectives are more related to the “women and development” approach. Women are still considered in terms of biological sex as passive receivers of cooperation and humanitarian aid. They do not have the capacity to act.
- e.** A commitment to the mitigation of the feminisation of poverty and the sexual division of labour is required, in terms of the economic empowerment and participation of women. The emphasis is on policies to strengthen the entrepreneurial spirit of women and their training for the world of work, for example.
- f.** Driving initiatives focused on the equal access to education of women and men based on a unique development perspective in which progress is exclusively the result of better education.

- g.** A commitment to demographic control programmes through the promotion of sexual and reproductive rights in access to healthcare services, mainly aimed at the use of contraceptive methods.
- h.** A commitment to the mitigation of gender-based and male violence, with a major approach in physical, sexual, political and psychological violence by men against women.
- i.** The indicators offer a gender perspective based on the division between men and women. In some cases in cooperation indicators are observed for gender and age, for example. Nevertheless, indicators of race, ethnicity or nationality are rarely seen in policies that are not specific agendas directly related to things like migration.
- j.** Resources are allocated to support the organisation of women at the local level of cooperation. However, they are projects with themes predetermined by the authorities of the countries that are financing the aid.



FEMINIST AND INTERSECTIONAL APPROACH




The feminist and intersectional approach introduces the perspective of intersectionality as a guide for the agenda at all levels of the policy cycle. In other words, attention is paid to unequal impacts based on the recognition of not only of gender inequality but also of racism, xenophobia, violence against the LGBTQIA+ collective and, mainly, paying special attention to the countries of the South.

It is about matters proposed by feminist perspectives, i.e. the recognition of the unequal and colonial structure of the cooperation and aid system and the application of instruments to offset these inequalities. Therefore, cooperation and humanitarian aid agendas with a feminist approach would show the following characteristics:

- a.** The participation of different women and men through their incorporation into the decision-making processes of humanitarian and development cooperation.
- b.** The practical and effective Incorporation of international instruments for gender equality such as the European Union legislation “Strategy for the equality of LGTBIQ persons 2020-2025”¹⁶.
- c.** A range of indicators that not only identify girls and women but also with sexual and gender diversity, nationality, citizen’s status in countries, race, ethnicity or functional diversity.

¹⁶ Documents consulted: European Commission- LGBTQ Equality Strategy 2020-2025

- d.** The creation of mechanisms to access finance by humanitarian stakeholders, without introducing a thematic rule for action.
- e.** The development cooperation and humanitarian aid agenda should adapt to the demands and objectives of the partner countries in relation to alignment, appropriation and harmonisation, without predetermined issues or formulae laid down by the donor state.
- f.** Promote epistemic diversity in order to value local knowledge and adopt a critical perspective against the one-dimensional conception of development, recognising the limitations of formal education as the only source of progress.
- g.** Fostering policies of access to healthcare that are not only focused on sexual and reproductive health, with the emphasis on contraception but also on the well-being and human and natural autonomy.
- h.** As well as the monitoring of differentiated impacts through differentiated evaluation and follow-up approaches (decolonial, intersectional, rights-based, sustainable and feminist) of cooperation and humanitarian aid, alternative measures are proposed to mitigate the feminisation of poverty and the sexual division of labour. A feminist economy is advocated that would act directly on the care economy.
- i.** Resources are allocated to actions to prevent and mitigate discrimination in all its forms, not just that of gender.
- j.** Transparent instruments are created on the presence of measures to foster gender equality in cooperation, and evaluation reports are drawn up with indicators of progress per area.

SCOPE	GENDER-BLIND APPROACH	CLASSIC GENDER APPROACH	FEMINIST AND INTERSECTIONAL APPROACH
 PARTICIPATION AND REPRESENTATION			
Participation of women and men on an equal basis (parity range 40/60) in decision-making processes (design and implementation of policies and actions)			
Adoption of specific measures to make participation in the entire policy/plan/programme cycle diverse and inclusive			
Adoption of specific measures so that people from different backgrounds/contexts can participate in places where the policy is deployed, particularly women who belong to groups that are discriminated against			
Inclusive and diverse participation in the design, execution and evaluation of Development Cooperation Agency policies and activities			
 PRINCIPLES AND STRATEGIC OBJECTIVES			
Foster compliance with international legislation on Women's Rights			
Foster the coherence of their cooperation practices (instruments, projects, programmes) with international Human Rights standards			
The Spanish Master Plan for Cooperation and other programme instruments are aligned with the priorities of the GAP III plan of the European Union and the Feminist Foreign Policy Guide			
Contains objectives that incorporate the gender and development perspective			
Fosters the strengthening of feminist organisations			
Contains objectives that include the mitigation of the feminisation of poverty, the sexual division of labour and the care services economy.			
Contains objectives that include the mitigation of the effects of male violence against women in humanitarian aid			
 INSTRUMENTS FOR IMPLEMENTATION			
Indicators of gender, race, class and ethnic background in the design of a cooperation policy and the identification of the need for humanitarian aid			
Budget for the prevention of discrimination in all its forms (gender, race, class, ethnic background, nationality)			
Easy access to funding sources for local humanitarian actors			
Resources to support local women's organisations, indigenous peoples, persons with disabilities, among others			
The evaluation processes allow the identification, in a transparent manner, of how gender equality or feminism are present in cooperation projects			
% of gender-blind approach			
% of classic gender approach			
% of feminist approach			



ECONOMIC AND COMMERCIAL POLICY

WHY?

It is essential to recognise that the capitalist system, as it has been conceived and implemented throughout history, is the result and a reflection of the patriarchal system. There is a sense of retro-feedback in these two systems, and the people most affected are precisely those that do not identify with male domination that is masculine, cisgender, white and heterosexual.

The economic and commercial policies of states are part of the process and the problem, and precisely for that reason should be part of the solution. Countries' economic policies and their trade agreements have direct consequences on basic issues for people to achieve a decent life and social justice. Conceiving these economic rules from the feminist perspective involves rethinking part of the structure of the neoliberal system.

While it is necessary to promote a new financial, economic and commercial system, it is difficult to imagine this in the medium to long term. We therefore propose a set of minimums in that direction, placing the emphasis on policies that seek social justice for peoples, at least as a step in that direction.



GENDER-BLIND APPROACH

The economic system that emerged from the processes of colonisation and exploitation of the countries of the Global South and of the populations made vulnerable in the Global North is the expression of these policies with a gender-blind approach. This means that this type of policy focuses on questions related to the benefit of the dominant social system from the outset, without considering the possibility of mitigating existing social inequalities.

Precisely due to the colonial nature of power, the populations of the Global South -and in particular women, migrants, indigenous peoples, people with disabilities and racialised persons- are left out of the benefits and suffer the negative impacts of this kind of economic and trade policy. Profit-making is the common thread here. For this reason, the following aspects are found among those observed:

- a. Those that are part of the decision-making processes in the financial and commercial system do not represent diversity. Indeed, it is usually a mainly masculine and white domain.

- b.** Questions related to the feminisation of the poverty, the sexual division of labour and the care service economy are not included in these policies, which are mostly guided by an economic vision based on production. Therefore, the economic dimension is not challenged by standards and instruments on gender equality.
- c.** The neoliberal socioeconomic model is what sustains the logic of production and reproduction. In a gender-blind space the unequal effects of this system are not observed.
- d.** In this type of trade agreements resources are not usually allocated to a social policy budget, and even less for measures to mitigate gender inequality, race or other intersectionalities. The agreements focus on other questions such as the maintenance of the energy matrix or investment in innovation, without considering the possibility of reducing or cancelling the external debt of countries (and the associated interest payments).



CLASSIC GENDER APPROACH

As put forward in the previous policy agenda, in this indicator one can say that the perspective of “women and development”, and to a certain extent “gender and development”, is what guides the actions of a government in the economic agenda.

The unequal impact of the financial system on women’s lives is recognised, as well as the fact that economic, political, social and health crises (e.g. Covid-19) affect women’s lives with greater intensity. One example is the financial crisis of 2008 in Spain, when women’s rights were among the most affected.

Nevertheless, this classic approach is limited in terms of its measures, as we shall see below:

- a.** As no structural change took place, although there a process of gender mainstreaming took place, efforts were not made to ensure the participation of women in the decision-making processes in the economic system, nor in the political and economic institutions of the country.
- b.** The prevention of the feminisation of poverty, the sexual division of labour and the care economy are current issues. They are mostly driven by social movements of women and are then introduced into government strategies. However, the practical effects cannot be verified. They are questions that basically appear in the narrative.
- c.** Commitments to international instruments on gender equality are present in the priorities of economic and trade policies. Nevertheless, as in the previous section, the question is limited to the scope of the discourse of government representatives.

d. Trade agreements, despite being described as horizontal, do not guarantee the preservation of governmental institutions in the beneficiary countries, nor compliance with legislation on safety and health at work (human and environmental).

e. No mention is made of the rethinking of the neoliberal model or countries' external debt.

Mention is made, however, of the need to have measures in place for gender equality and resources aimed at the empowerment of women. In practice, the proportion of resources is low in relation to the total budget in a trade agreement, and the resources are used in processes of internationalisation of economic empowerment policies.]



FEMINIST AND INTERSECTIONAL APPROACH

In the specific terms of an economic and trade policy of a government it can be said that the feminist approach emerges from the promotion of the feminist economy. In the European Union, Latin America and Africa the feminist economy -mainly eco-feminism- is the instrument used to design advances in economic terms in a context of FFP.

The objective is that the feminist approach should promote the implementation of the circular economy, valorising small producers and, above all, women's work (starting from equal remuneration) and the conservation of environmental and immaterial resources of native peoples. The following characteristics can be highlighted

a. The decision-making processes in the Ministries and Secretariats responsible for economic policy and trade agreements should be representative of the diversity of people in the country.

b. The care services sector is at the heart of the economic debate, from the promotion of sectoral policies for the redistribution of material and immaterial resources for traditionally vulnerable people (women, LGBTQIA+ persons, indigenous peoples, and migrants).



c. Reproductive health is another of the main interests of this approach, given that menstrual poverty, child pregnancy and homophobia are responsible for the low educational level of women and LGBTQIA+ persons, and this directly affects a country's GDP.

d. A considerable proportion of trade agreements include resources for the prevention of gender-based violence and by men against women, and all forms of discrimination.

e. The issue of external debt is dealt with from a perspective of collective responsibility.

Economic and trade policies do not punish countries so as not to generate a higher level of debt.

It is recognised that the neoliberal system feeds the patriarchal system. However, it is known that a change of economic system cannot be achieved overnight. This is why specific (often one-off) measures are proposed that have effects in the long term by bringing about social participation, for example, the circular economy.

SCOPE	GENDER-BLIND APPROACH	CLASSIC GENDER APPROACH	FEMINIST AND INTERSECTIONAL APPROACH
 PARTICIPATION AND REPRESENTATION			
Inclusion of diverse people in the decision-making process for the design of economic and trade policies			
Representation on an equal basis in the corresponding Ministries			
Inter-sectoral representation in bodies that participate in the design of a country's economic and trade foreign policy			
Committed to gender parity and corresponding intersectionalities in teams that take decisions in the design of trade agreements			
 PRINCIPLES AND STRATEGIC OBJECTIVES			
Economic and trade policy incorporates as guiding principles the fight against the feminisation of poverty and the promotion of a care economy and decent work			
Incorporates commitments to instruments that apply the priorities of GAP III and the Feminist Foreign Policy Guide and the Action Plan in bilateral trade agreements			
Does not include clauses in trade agreements that promote austerity or the privatisation of public services, or that make it easier for Spanish companies to not comply with national laws on the protection of health, employment and social security			
Promotes, through trade agreements, human rights and -in particular- those of women and LGBTQIA+ persons and sustainability, e.g. establishing audits in these areas			
Addresses the transformation of the neoliberal economic model			
Includes the fight against tax evasion and a more equitable and redistributive tax policy			
Commits to trade agreements that promote the ecological transition, not the extractive economy			
 INSTRUMENTS FOR IMPLEMENTATION			
The trade agreements include analyses of the impact of their clauses that are sensitive to gender and intersectionality			
Sufficient budget allocated to address the social impacts of an economic or trade policy, and in particular the prevention of discrimination in all its forms (gender, race, class, ethnic background, nationality)			
The economic and trade instruments that are promoted incorporate specific objectives to foster gender equality from an inter-sectional perspective			
Policies on payment, debt cancellation or release are sensitive to gender and intersectionality			
% of gender-blind approach			
% of classic gender approach			
% of feminist approach			



**SECURITY, DEFENCE
AND PEACE-BUILDING**

WHY?

The international legislative system has updated itself in the process of mainstreaming of gender over a number of years. As well as the specific resolutions of the UN Security Council (1325 and following), it can be said there is also a process of awareness raising at the regional level on the differentiated impacts of armed conflicts on women's lives.

However, the issues of security, defence and the promotion of peace involve other issues that go beyond gender. It is also important to take racism into account in this specific agenda. According to the EU's Anti-Racism Action Plan for 2020-2025¹⁷, Islamophobia is one of the bloc's main concerns. It is understood that forms of religious, cultural and nationality discriminations combine here. Women's status is added to all this.

The vision of Western security forces has been fed over the last 22 years by the idea of the "War against Terror", which fosters racism and xenophobia as principles and instruments of the security policies of Western countries. This culture of discrimination has a direct impact on people's awareness around the issue, and it is as dangerous as gender-based violence in armed conflicts, the arms trade and nuclear weapons.

The FFP approaches this agenda from another angle. The aim is not to maintain the logic of international conflict in which countries allocate resources to defence, but ensure that resources and proposals are focused on peace-building.



GENDER-BLIND APPROACH

A government that does not make gender issues cross-cutting in their security policies ends up repeating the logic of security and armed defence of its territory, as well as the extraction of resources and the invasion of other territories considered friendly.

Beyond considering the unequal impacts of armed conflicts in the lives of girls and women, this type of approach to the security agenda usually strengthens violent relations between people under the pretext of freedom of expression. This process affects the reality as follows:

- a. The persistence of a male-dominated military structure in a direct relationship between militarism and virility, which reinforces sexual and gender violence within military institutions and the use of sexual violence as a weapon of war.

¹⁷ Documents consulted: A Union of Equality: EU anti-racism action plan 2020-2025

- b.** The Ministry of Defence mainly consists of military personnel. The objective is maximum security of borders and the conquest or 'recovery' of territories.
- c.** The arms trade is an integral and fundamental part of the economy of these governments. The levels of import and export of weapons are high.
- d.** UN Security Council Resolution 1325 is not a fundamental part of these treaties. There are no practical commitments to International Humanitarian Law in conflict situations, nor to the Geneva Convention. There are even accusations of the existence of chemical weapons.
- e.** Higher investments in resources for defence, for example, in weapons procurement, the contracting of military personnel and the creation of physical barriers at borders.

CLASSIC GENDER APPROACH

The basis of the classic gender approach in the context of the security agenda is Resolution 1325 of the UN Security Council and its protocols. This legislation sustains and guarantees gender mainstreaming in this political agenda, in countries that show a classic gender approach.

Here, there is ambiguity around what guides governments' actions. Progress has been made towards feminism in the discourses, but in practice a limited margin for action is clearly seen.

- a.** Promotion of the participation of women in the armed and police forces.
- b.** Inclusion of women in Ministries of Defence, although not on an equal basis. Parity is a long-term objective.
- c.** Participation of women, mainly in committees related to Resolution 1325, and specifically in the development of National Annual Plans for Women, Peace and Security.
- d.** Resources are allocated for measures to prevent genocide, the use of violence as a weapon of war and for the protection of women and girls in the context of armed conflicts.
- e.** There is a standing committee to deal with the theme of Women, Peace and Security, based on measures to promote the training of armed forces and cooperation with countries in a conflict situation for the empowerment of women.
- f.** Inclusion of women in peace-building processes. This is done from a limited, (although widespread) logic that there is a greater possibility of reaching a peace agreement when women are involved in its negotiation.

- g.** It is a signatory to all the international and regional commitments and instruments on war crimes.
- h.** Maintenance of the security of borders, mainly those with countries of the South. In the case of Europe there is a systematic closing of borders with countries in Africa and the Middle East.
- i.** The budget for arms procurement and military expenditure in general continues to grow.






FEMINIST AND INTERSECTIONAL APPROACH

This approach consists of imagining a world without security processes; one that is more committed to peace-building. From the standpoint of feminism it is not possible to implement a FFP if the states maintain structures of oppression through armed conflict.

This approach is therefore another step forward in the commitment to instruments of International Humanitarian Law, as it is a case of the practical application of these premises.

- a.** Gender diversity exists in the armed and police forces. This can be achieved after a long process of training and awareness-raising on sexual, gender, racial and religious diversity.
- b.** The creation of institutional forums for peace-building, going beyond the advice in the Women, Peace and Security Agenda.
- c.** It shows the need to demilitarise borders and create migration policies that mainly focus on the protection of human rights.
- d.** The resources of this agenda are mainly allocated to actions to promote peace and the highlighting of diplomacy as a tool for conflict resolution.
- e.** It allocates resources for actions to combat racism and xenophobia, and also the “culture of terror”. This can be seen in advertising, the incorporation of diverse people to cultural, institutional and governmental spaces, and their recognition as national citizens.
- f.** Reporting systems in institutional military structures and in conflict zones against gender-based violence, including sexual violence from the standpoint of protection of survivors.

SCOPE	GENDER-BLIND APPROACH	CLASSIC GENDER APPROACH	FEMINIST AND INTERSECTIONAL APPROACH
 PARTICIPATION AND REPRESENTATION			
There is gender parity in the armed and police forces			
Encourages gender parity in the design and implementation of National Plans to Monitor the MPS Agenda, in negotiation with Peace Agreements			
Promotes gender parity in mediation and negotiation of Peace Agreements and post-war reconstruction activities			
 PRINCIPLES AND STRATEGIC OBJECTIVES			
Commitment to to reduce on militarisation and intensification of the security of territories and borders			
Commitment to reduce the arms trade			
Commitment to the International Movement for the Abolition of Nuclear Weapons			
Commitment to Resolution 1325 and its associated clauses, mainly with the prevention of sexual violence as a war crime			
Commitment to the fight against Islamophobia in line with the EU Anti-Racism Action Plan			
Signatory to the Statute for the Prevention of the Crime of Genocide			
Signatory to the Geneva Conventions			
Commitment to the training of military personnel in gender violence prevention, intersectionality and prevention of racism and xenophobia			
 INSTRUMENTS FOR IMPLEMENTATION			
Increased resources for peace-building and the fight against xenophobia, with special attention to Islamophobia			
Reduction of budgets for action in armed conflicts or the import and export of weapons			
Creation of systems to report discrimination of all kinds in contexts of peace-building and conflicts in progress, as well as guaranteeing the fight against impunity of people in military service			
% gender-blind approach			
% classic gender approach			
% feminist approach			



CLIMATE JUSTICE

WHY?

The subject of climate justice is directly linked to the UN's Sustainable Development Goals, in particular anything to do with Agenda 2030. However, it is important to acknowledge that climate justice now has greater visibility in international conferences and Agenda 2030, but it relates -and is linked- to thousand-year-old struggles and work done in other territories.

This focus on the mitigation and prevention of climate impacts fosters a multi-sectoral debate on the causes, effects and the impact of climate change.. In this respect, the promotion of Agenda 2030 has contributed to widening the debates and the diversity of voices heard.

A FFP cannot be conceived without taking climate justice into account. Nature has a direct relationship with women, indigenous and native peoples, small farmers and agricultural workers; they should be the protagonists of feminist foreign policy.

It is important to clarify, first of all, that there is a direct relationship of interdependence of the environment with human beings (at community level and regarding the limits of Nature) and, secondly, that groups such as native peoples, small farmers and agricultural workers acquire a leading role in the fight for climate justice, as they are the ones most affected by these issues. These issues should be taken into consideration, above all so as not to 'essentialise' the relationship between women and Nature and indigenous populations and Nature, which leads to linking these groups with a lack of rationality.



GENDER-BLIND APPROACH

At present, a government that does not include a gender approach does not comply with Sustainable Development Goal no. 5 of Agenda 2030. According to this objective, gender mainstreaming is essential in all measures to prevent and mitigate the effects of climate change.

Furthermore, a government may be formed that denies climate change and the promotion of social justice

- a.** There is no commitment in international debates on the subject, particularly in the COP. Neither are institutional structures observed that cover climate issues at national level.
- b.** The effects of climate change can be observed in two ways: 1) the denial of these effects, and 2) a belief that differentiated impacts will not be suffered by the population.

- c. There are no formal commitments to reduce greenhouse gases or to mitigate climate change.
- d. Native populations, small farmers and agricultural workers are not considered part of the citizenship of a country, so they are not included in policy intentions in any area.
- e. Trade, production and cooperation agreements are signed with companies that promote mining practices that affect the daily lives of people in the countries of the Global South.
- f. There are no indicators on the impacts of climate change or on a country's contribution to a rise in temperatures worldwide. If these figures are collected it is by social, international or national organisations that do so to report and highlight the situation. Without information there is no action.



CLASSIC GENDER APPROACH

If the government and companies say that they follow the recommendations of the SDGs it can be said, at least at the discursive level, that the government adopts the classic gender approach.

However, making progress in issues related to climate justice goes beyond narratives. It is acknowledged that this is an important step forward to verify the reality and strengthen the need to take measures. Nevertheless, the limitations of the practical scope of this approach means that the current structure of lack of protection of the environment and actions that perturb the climate is maintained.

- a. Constant participation in international forums to debate climate change, as is the case of the COP. Nevertheless, there is not a strong commitment to actions that can mitigate the impact, mainly in the countries of the Global South.
- b. Climate justice is addressed from a more cross-cutting perspective by governmental institutions. There is not necessarily a specific body to deal with this matter.
- c. As for the narrative, there are commitments to mainstreaming gender in mitigation actions, and even a recognition of the unequal impacts on the population of countries in the Global South. Nevertheless, the narrative and legislative level is restricted.
- d. There is reticence to assume responsibility, as a country of the Global North, for climate change. Proposals to subsidise mitigation policies in the most affected countries are not accepted
- e. Reductions in greenhouse gas emissions are not seen, nor measures to preserve the life and culture of native populations, either in their own territory or in countries with which cooperation takes place.

- f. There is availability of resources for projects coordinated by mining companies in the territories of the Global South.
- g. There are no specific commitments of accountability by countries of the North on the negative/positive externalities they create in the environment.
- h. Indicators of climate impacts are still superficial. They cast very little light on the reality, although there is a differentiation between men and women and geographic location.






FEMINIST AND INTERSECTIONAL APPROACH

As in the case of policy on security, defence and peace-building, in the case of climate justice the feminist approach lies more in the sense of making proposals and recommendations.

With the worsening of the effects of climate change in recent years, and in particular the greater impact on developed countries (snowfalls, forest fires, higher temperatures and -at the same time- greater intensity of rainfall) it can be said that governments are paying more attention to the matter.

As a result, what is expected of the climate justice policy of a feminist government is:

- a. Participation in debate forums on climate change, but with a commitment to implement the proposals signed by the parties.
- b. The creation of a state institution to work directly on the environmental agenda with native populations and the right to land. As well as setting up the institution, the structure should consist of a variety of people who are committed to the theme of environmental justice and, above all, have a mandate in government at the national and international levels.
- c. Climate justice is based on the intersectionality of the effects, and also of the construction of alternatives, to mitigate unequal impacts. The knowledge of local populations in the formulation of public policies should be highlighted.
- d. A commitment to development alternatives based on respect for Mother Earth and different cosmovisions. This is essential for the preservation of native peoples, small farmers and agricultural workers in different areas. They are the most affected, but also the best placed to contribute most to the preservation of the environment thanks to their knowledge and practices.
- e. The promotion of policies to combat environmental racism.
- f. Reserves of resources in all cooperation actions and trade agreements to strengthen climate justice.

SCOPE	GENDER-BLIND APPROACH	CLASSIC GENDER APPROACH	FEMINIST AND INTERSECTIONAL APPROACH
 PARTICIPATION AND REPRESENTATION			
Participates in the COP, sending an inter-sectional delegation with a gender balance			
Existence of a governmental institution dealing with Climate Justice (Ministry or Secretariat)			
 PRINCIPLES AND STRATEGIC OBJECTIVES			
Mainstreaming of intersectionality in the mitigation of the effects of climate change			
Inclusion of a commitment to reduce greenhouse gas emissions and the mitigation of the effects of climate change in all bilateral agreements			
Commitment to –and promotion of- the Paris Agreement the targets for mitigating the effects of climate change defined in the COP			
Commitment to the principles and preservation of indigenous peoples, native peoples and farm workers			
Commitment to the redistribution of the financing of policies to mitigate climate change			
Includes an analysis of the differentiated impacts of climate change from a gender justice perspective			
Reviews agreements of mining companies in the countries of the Global South			
Commitment of companies to explicit accountability on the negative/positive externalities they create in the environment			
 INSTRUMENTS FOR IMPLEMENTATION			
Generates indicators of the differentiated impacts of climate change (gender, race, class, nationality, age)			
Presents a reduction in greenhouse gas emissions			
Enough resources allocated for the promotion for the promotion of climate justice (e.g. training policies, education, climate, public health policies)			
Creation of policies to combat environmental racism			
Promotes the participation social movements affected by climate change in the main negotiation forums on the subject			
% gender-blind approach			
% classic gender approach			
% feminist approach			



MIGRATION POLICY

WHY?

According to UNHCR, in 2022 the total number of displaced persons and refugees was 108.4 million, 70.3 million higher than the figure for 2000¹⁸. Furthermore, according to the International Organisation for Migration (IOM) the number of international migrants in 2020 was 281 million¹⁹. Spain, which is also affected by international dynamics, has around 500,000 migrants in an irregular administrative situation; more than half are women and a third minors²⁰. Even so, it can be claimed that since 2011 the world has looked on with apathy at the exponential growth of people who leave their families behind to seek more secure places to live in.

Some regions in the world have large flows of people in movement, e.g. migration from Africa (mostly intra-regional) and migration across North-South borders, e.g. the cases of the Sahel and the Mediterranean, the biggest land and sea cemeteries on the planet.

The migration issue is also present in national laws on recognition of citizenship, the granting of asylum and the inclusion of migrants in programmes to access basic social rights, and also with measures to combat racism and xenophobia



GENDER-BLIND APPROACH

This approach is not only gender-blind, it is also blind to migration in general. In these policies the right to migrate is reserved to just a few, always those from a certain group of countries who belong to a particular social class, race or religion. This all adds up, and only a small group of the population can enjoy the human right to migrate.

For the rest, migration policies only exist in terms of security and prevention of migration. This represents a systematic violation of human rights and, in many cases, the assisted genocide of migrant populations, although they are not classified as such by the authorities. This is the case of migrants in Central America on the border between Mexico and the USA, and African migrants at the border with Europe, particularly on Spain's southern borders.

- a. There is a process of denial of rights associated with migration, mainly that from the Global

¹⁸ Global Trends of Forced Displacement 2022 - UNHCR

¹⁹ Interactive Report on migrations in the world in 2022 - International Organisation for Migration Contributions of the #REGULARIZACIONYA movement to the report by the Special UN

²⁰ Rapporteur on the human rights of migrante: <https://www.ohchr.org/sites/default/files/documents/issues/migration/cfis/regularisation/submissions-regularisation-regularizacion-ya.pdf>

South and specifically from Africa. These persons cannot cross the borders to the countries of the Global North without risking their lives, and it is extremely difficult for them to formally participate in a public space in the receiving country.

- b.** Asylum and migration policies are limited, and one can see that instruments are created that do not comply with international obligations.
- c.** The rights of the migrant population are limited and slight in these countries. The only people admitted into the systems of healthcare, education, employment and social security are national citizens recognised by the government and society, or migrants in a regularised situation, e.g. migrant workers.
- d.** Measures are not taken to mitigate racism and xenophobia. On the contrary, in many cases the government feeds hate towards migrants and refugees among the population, even to people of the diaspora who have been present in their territories for years. The instruments of the policy of 'fear of the other' are largely based on a strong system of dissemination of false news in the media.
- e.** Resources in the field of migration are allocated to intensifying the security and militarisation of borders and the detention of migrants.
- f.** Disaggregated statistical indicators on the migrant population are limited. There is no public and institutional interest in the production of information on this population.



CLASSIC GENDER APPROACH

Migration is a sensitive subject, even in countries that present a classic gender approach. Society's vision of migration and, mainly, refugees, is a large part of the current problem of this agenda.

Despite international rules on migration, enormous gaps can be seen in the understanding of migratory processes as a human right for everyone without any distinction of class, race, religion, gender or sexual diversity.

- a.** The need to develop positive migration policies is recognised. This is not achieved, however, because the approach from a gender perspective in institutions is limited as there is no direct representation of the migrant population or of people from diasporas.
- b.** Asylum policies in these contexts are more general, due to the restricted interpretation of the conditions for the granting of international protection. Gender mainstreaming is limited to the division between men and women.

c. Despite the efforts of bodies such as IOM and UNHCR, long-term policies for the inclusion of the migrant population in a decent manner in territories are not formulated (e.g. there is an absence of policies on sexual and reproductive health, restrictions on the access of this population to formal employment, and a lack of recognition of the academic training of these persons in their countries of origin).

d. The absence or low level of dissemination of information on the prevention and the fight against racism, xenophobia, Islamophobia and other kinds of discrimination aimed at migrant populations.



FEMINIST AND INTERSECTIONAL APPROACH

The main aspect of a migration policy with a feminist approach is that migration is recognised as a human right of all persons. In other words, there are no restrictions due to one's origin, religious beliefs, race or gender when crossing national borders.

A feminist approach to migration fights discrimination at all levels but also favours solidarity towards these people, seeking to promote positive inclusion actions and the prevention of the causes of forced migration.

a. An intersectional feminist approach in decisions on granting asylum means that the detention and the criminalisation of the refugee or migrant is not pursued.

b. The participation of migrants and their organisations during the process of consultation and drawing up of laws on foreigners' status, asylum and public security.

c. A commitment to anti-racist policies. In the case of Europe, the inclusion of EU's Anti-Racism Action Plan 2020-2025 as the axis of its migration policy, to guide the actions of civil servants and the security forces.




d. The demilitarisation of borders. Efforts are made so that the reception of the migrant or refugee is done in a humanitarian way, with civilian personnel on the borders (Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Ministry of Equality, migrant civil society organisations, etc.).

e. Specific regulations for the protection of girls, women and LGBTQIA+ persons in the context of inclusion (e.g., guaranteed sexual and reproductive healthcare, access to basic and higher education, protection against male violence and sexual harassment)

f. Training of the media, consultants, teachers, doctors and other professionals who can participate in the dissemination of positive information on migration as a strategy to prevent

racism, xenophobia and Islamophobia, for example.

g. Provision of resources to create policies of inclusion with a humanitarian perspective, and the protection of the migrant population in a territory.

SCOPE	GENDER-BLIND APPROACH	CLASSIC GENDER APPROACH	FEMINIST AND INTERSECTIONAL APPROACH
 PARTICIPATION AND REPRESENTATION			
Adoption of approaches that sensitive to gender or intersectional and feminist aspects in political and legal decisions on asylum status (international protection)			
Contracting trained migrants to work in public institutions			
 PRINCIPLES AND STRATEGIC OBJECTIVES			
Mainstreaming of intersectionality in policies for migrants			
Commitment to anti-racial migration policies			
Commitment to the recognition of international protection for humanitarian questions for LGBTQIA+, people with functional diversity, or in vulnerable health conditions			
Rules to protect women migrants in contexts of formal and information employment, education and healthcare services			
Promotion of access to sexual and reproductive health, in particular for women and LGBTQIA+ persons			
Dissemination of information and awareness raising about racism, xenophobia and transphobia among civil servants in migration-related fields			
 INSTRUMENTS FOR IMPLEMENTATION			
Presents indicators of race, gender, nationality, ethnic group, and training of migrants and refugees			
Child protection practices in the entire migration process from crossing borders without policies for the detention of boys and girls			
Enough resources are allocated for the protection of migrants who survive large-scale atrocities, mainly for reasons of gender, sexual orientation, racism or religious belief			
Policies to integrate pregnant women and mothers in social care services, decent work and public healthcare			
% gender-blind approach			
% classic gender approach			
% feminist approach			

PART THREE



"[...] a feminist attitude exerts a clear influence [...] its implications are still not systematically evident in all political spheres. There is also the issue of coherence."

*Toni Hastrup*²¹

²¹ Available at: Making Feminist Foreign Policy Work for Africa – Africa Policy Research Institute (APRI) (afripoli.org)

RECOMMENDATIONS FOR A FEMINIST AND INTERSECTIONAL APPROACH



ANTI-RACISM

Observe international and regional regulations for the mitigation of racism.

Offer training to institutions and social organisations on the subject of racism.

Analyse data and information on gender from the perspective of race (understood in social terms).

Make the differentiated impact of institutional racism visible in evaluation reports, and recognise this phenomenon in the terms of reference of specific projects.

Widen the debate on anti-racism and xenophobia in the country's bureaucratic structure.

Establish guarantees of access to human rights by migrants and asylum seekers at national borders, as well as promoting actions to offer reparation and accountability.

The management of migration processes in line with Human Rights and current international legislation; the creation of safe and legal migration pathways for migration.



SOCIAL JUSTICE

Provide resources to actions to promote social justice (e.g. access to reproductive and sexual healthcare, digital inclusion, political education programmes, access to education).

Publish disaggregated data to identify specific problems for which foreign policy should create a solution.

Incorporate organisations that work from a feminist economy angle to drive specific objectives to achieve results that contribute to social justice (e.g. educational actions for girls and boys on the domestic economy or the training of girls in science subjects).

Create workspaces with civil society groups and incorporate the demands of these groups into foreign policy (e.g. feminist economy, solidarity economy, redistribution policies)

Incorporate the conceptual issues of Agenda 2030 to generate social, environmental, institutional and economic impacts on foreign policies.



Include strategies of long-lasting solutions for for climate impact out by indigenous peoples.

Break with the 'male protection' manner of protecting the environment and contribute to the mitigation policies proposed by countries of the Global South that have suffered stronger impacts from climate change.

Defend that countries from the Global North should assume the financial cost of the fight against climate change.

In multilateral forums such as the CoP (Conference of the Parties of the UN Framework Convention on Climate Change), design and promote policies of redistribution and reparation of the costs and negative impacts of greenhouse gas emissions.

INTERSECCIONAL



Create instruments to combat environmental racism, including an intersectional perspective on the design of migration policies to mitigate climate impacts.

The state should recognise and identify, publicly and expressly, the structures in the institutions and society that are based on the logic of the oppression of gender, race, religion, nationality, sexual orientation and class, among other categories

