

# The Feminist Foreign Policy Reading List

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**CFFP** THE CENTRE FOR  
FEMINIST  
FOREIGN POLICY

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## **About the Feminist Foreign Policy Reading List:**

When CFFP first launched in 2016, there was very little research or writing about Feminist Foreign Policy (FFP). This Reading List was our way to ensure that the small pool of information on FFP was easy to find in hopes of encouraging greater education, awareness of, and research into it. Fast forward to 2020, and we are happy to report that literature on FFP is booming.

Included in this list is writing and scholarship from civil society. (For resources from governments, please see <https://centreforfeministforeignpolicy.org/feminist-foreign-policy>.) You'll find a combination of think pieces, blog posts, and journal articles on FFP from activists and academics so we can all stay up to date with the latest. Every article has included its abstract, or if not available, its first paragraph. We don't necessarily agree with every opinion expressed in these articles, but that's not the point. The point is - what do you think?

Many thanks to Mallory Matheson for updating the list this year. CFFP only has the resources to update it about once a year, but if you see articles that are missing that you believe should be included, please email [hello@centreforffp.org](mailto:hello@centreforffp.org). And if you'd like to support CFFP - and eventually get us to a sustainable place where we can update this list as often as necessary! - please consider becoming a member, the details of which are here: <https://centreforfeministforeignpolicy.org/membership>

Happy reading!

The CFFP Team

***A Feminist Approach To Localization: How Canada Can Support The Leadership Of Women's Rights Actors In Humanitarian Action.* Oxfam Canada, 2018,**

**<https://www.oxfam.ca/wp-content/uploads/2018/06/a-feminist-approach-to-localization.pdf>.**

Local and national women's rights actors play an important role in humanitarian action. As established members of a community, they are well placed to deliver assistance quickly in a crisis and understand the needs of women in that context. Whether they are delivering assistance which is context appropriate and understanding of local norms, or advising other humanitarian actors on how to best support women in their communities, women's rights actors can help ensure that humanitarian action is effective at meeting women's needs.

**Achilleos-Sarll, Columba. "Reconceptualising Foreign Policy As Gendered, Sexualised And Racialised: Towards A Postcolonial Feminist Foreign Policy". *Journal Of International Women's Studies*, vol 19, no. 1, 2018, pp. 34-49.**

**<https://vc.bridgew.edu/jiws/vol19/iss1/4/>**

How can we theorise more effectively the relationship among gender, sexuality, race and foreign policy? To explore this question, this paper brings together two bodies of international relations (IR) literature: postcolonial feminism and post-positivist foreign policy analysis (FPA). This exposes the ways in which FPA marginalises, and renders inconsequential, the gendered, sexualised and racialised dimensions underwriting foreign policy practice and discourse. While post-positivist FPA seeks to rectify the silences that characterise 'conventional' and 'unconventional' (namely constructivist) FPA, this literature remains blind to the ways that intersecting oppressions, operating through hierarchies of social categories made possible through their naturalisation, inform the process, the production and the resultant gendered consequences of foreign policy. These examinations privilege gender as a social category, omitting race and other markers of difference. Rather than presenting 'gender', 'sexuality' and 'race' as concepts only for interdisciplinary inquiry, it is propounded here that they should be seen as vital to the study and practice of foreign policy. Advancing the untested promise of a postcolonial feminist approach to FPA that (re-) centres intersectionality, (re-)instates connected histories, and (re-)configures normative orders, this paper argues that foreign policy should be re-conceptualised as gendered, sexualised and racialised. It is hoped this intervention may offer a blueprint to seriously engage with the possibility of a postcolonial feminist foreign policy approach to FPA, and to think anew about how that may be translated beyond the discipline: advocating for a symbiotic and complimentary feminist foreign and domestic policy that fundamentally challenges rather than maintains the status quo.

**Adebahr, Cornelius and Barbara Mittelhammer. "A Feminist Foreign Policy to Deal with Iran? Assessing the EU's Options." *Carnegie Europe*, 2020.**

**<https://carnegieeurope.eu/2020/11/23/feminist-foreign-policy-to-deal-with-iran-assessing-eu-s-options-pub-83251>**

Disputed nuclear activities, regional proxy wars, and a regime built on discrimination against women and other marginalized groups: Iran hardly seems like a policy field that would be amenable to a feminist approach. Yet this is precisely what the European Union (EU) needs today: fresh thinking to help develop a new strategy toward Iran. Feminist foreign policy critically reflects international power structures, focuses on the needs of all groups of people, and puts human security and human rights at the center of the discussion.

**Aggestam, Karin, and Annika Bergman-Rosamond. "Swedish Feminist Foreign Policy In The Making: Ethics, Politics, And Gender". *Ethics & International Affairs*, vol 30, no. 3, 2016, pp. 323-334.**

**<https://www.cambridge.org/core/journals/ethics-and-international-affairs/article/swedish-feminist-foreign-policy-in-the-making-ethics-politics-and-gender/FEE6103E38181D831DA1BEBE8861C289>**

This essay seeks to unpack and highlight some of the substance and plausible future directions of a feminist foreign policy. The overarching ambition is three-fold: To probe the normative contents of feminist foreign policy in theory and in practice; to identify a number of potential challenges and ethical dilemmas that are detrimental to gender-sensitive global politics; and to advance a research agenda that can deepen the normative and ethical notions of a feminist foreign policy. Sweden's feminist foreign policy is still in the making. Its conduct is mostly incremental and focused on international agenda setting and normative entrepreneurship, which is guided by an ethically informed framework of cosmopolitanism and human rights. Yet, this essay argues that this reorientation is distinct for two reasons: First, by adopting the "F-word" it elevates politics from a broadly consensual orientation of gender mainstreaming towards more controversial politics, which explicitly seeks to renegotiate and challenge power hierarchies and gendered institutions that hitherto defined global institutions and foreign and security policies. Second, it contains a normative reorientation of foreign policy, which is guided by an ethically informed framework based on broad cosmopolitan norms of global justice and peace. The article concludes by advancing a research agenda that draws upon feminist IR theory and enhances the ethical and transformative contents of the English School by making it more gender-sensitive and appropriate for the study of feminist foreign policy.

**Aggestam, Karin, and Annika Bergman Rosamond. "Feminist Foreign Policy 3.0: Advancing Ethics And Gender Equality In Global Politics". *SAIS Review Of International Affairs*, vol 39, no. 1, 2019, pp. 37-48.**

<https://muse.jhu.edu/article/733457>

A growing number of states, including Canada, Norway, Sweden, Australia, and the United Kingdom, have adopted gender- and feminist-informed approaches to their foreign and security policies. Sweden's feminist foreign policy was launched in 2014 and rests on the idea that gender equality is central to security and foreign policy. This article conducts an analysis of the incremental development of Sweden's feminist foreign policy. It underlines three pillars that have informed Swedish foreign policy: rights, representation, and resources. The article assesses how these three pillars have been transformed into distinct policy and practice. It makes the following three conclusions. First, Sweden's feminist foreign policy is distinguished by its working method pertaining to norm change whereby gendered practices and structures in global politics are challenged. Second, from the outset Sweden's feminist foreign policy has pursued a head-wind agenda, which reflects a readiness to confront contestation in global politics. Third, as a way of tackling resistance and promoting pro-norm equality diffusion a fourth "R" has been advanced, which stands for reality checks and research.

**Aggestam, Karin et al. "Theorising Feminist Foreign Policy". *International Relations*, vol 33, no. 1, 2018, pp. 23-39.**

<https://doi.org/10.1177/0047117818811892>

A growing number of states including Canada, Norway and Sweden have adopted gender and feminist-informed approaches to their foreign and security policies. The overarching aim of this article is to advance a theoretical framework that can enable a thoroughgoing study of these developments. Through a feminist lens, we theorise feminist foreign policy arguing that it is, to all intents and purposes, ethical and argue that existing studies of ethical foreign policy and international conduct are by and large gender-blind. We draw upon feminist International Relations (IR) theory and the ethics of care to theorise feminist foreign policy and to advance an ethical framework that builds on a relational ontology, which embraces the stories and lived experiences of women and other marginalised groups at the receiving end of foreign policy conduct. By way of conclusion, the article highlights the novel features of the emergent framework and investigates in what ways it might be useful for future analyses of feminist foreign policy. Moreover, we discuss its potential to generate new forms of theoretical insight, empirical knowledge and policy relevance for the refinement of feminist foreign policy practice.

**Agius, Christine and Sally Clark. “Border Practices, Gender, and Australia’s Approach to Asylum.” *Disrupted* (2019): 11-17.**

<https://static1.squarespace.com/static/57cd7cd9d482e9784e4ccc34/t/5eb91acb06715c55584c5e09/1589189375189/Centre+for+Feminist+Foreign+Policy+Disrupted+-+The+Migration+Issue+PDF.pdf>

In assessing its two-year term as a non-permanent member of the UN Security Council (2013-14), Australia highlighted the protection of women in conflict and promotion of women in peacebuilding as part of its achievements (Australian Government, 2015). Despite this, Australia continued to pursue foreign policy objectives at odds with the protection of women by its pursuit of punitive asylum seeker policies. Australia’s human rights record with regard to asylum has been widely criticised by international organisations such as the UN, peak medical associations, and human rights activists, including the impact of its asylum regime on women and children, who have been subjected to mental, physical and sexual abuse (Australian Human Rights Commission, 2017). In this article, we examine the gendered impact of Australia’s asylum policy in two ways: first, by highlighting the incoherence between this policy and Australia’s claims to protect women and children, and second, how Australia’s border practices reflect gendered ideas of security and sovereignty. We then consider how a feminist foreign policy can account for, and challenge, the hidden gendered outcomes of forced migration and state practices.

**Ahn, Christine, Yifat Susskind, and Cindy Wiesner. “Biden Should Embrace an Anti-Imperialist Feminist Foreign Policy to Heal Wounds Abroad—and at Home.” *Common Dreams*, 2020.**

<https://www.commondreams.org/views/2020/11/17/biden-should-embrace-anti-imperialist-feminist-foreign-policy-heal-wounds-abroad>

In the 2020 presidential election, Black women, Indigenous women and people of color across the country delivered the votes to throw Donald Trump out of office. These voters want a new era in policy priorities, requiring radical change to the status quo—not just when it comes to U.S. domestic affairs but foreign policy as well.

**Alwan, Christine. et al. “What is Feminist Foreign Policy? An Exploratory Evaluation of Foreign Policy in OECD Countries”. 2017 European Conference on Politics and Gender. 2017.**

<https://ecpr.eu/Filestore/PaperProposal/05def9c8-34c6-4415-8df1-55144d2fd016.pdf>

In 2015, Sweden’s foreign affairs minister boldly acclaimed that the state had a feminist foreign policy, with rights, representation, and resources at its core (Patel 2015). While these criteria may be a helpful for understanding the variety of issues foreign policy makers must consider to develop and implement gender equitable policy, they do not provide a specific framework for a feminist foreign policy theory. We hope to address this lack of specificity by drawing on existing theories of foreign policy and feminist IR. We argue why the idea of a feminist foreign policy is radical given the nature of international politics, state militaries, and government actors. We point to the symbiotic relationship between militarism and masculinity with militarism and the state. This androcentric view of international politics does not adequately address the ways in which women’s lives affect and are affected by foreign policy decisions. We hope that these initial discussions will help both policy scholars and practitioners develop and incorporate a feminist theory of foreign policy into foreign policy decision-making.

**Angevine, Sara. “Aborting Global Women’s Rights: The Boundaries of Women’s Representation in American Foreign Policy.” *Politics & Gender*, First View (2020): 1-28.**

<https://doi.org/10.1017/S1743923X20000112>

American foreign policy has expanded in recent years to address issues that affect women and girls worldwide, global women’s rights, yet there has been minimal investigation into how these representative claims for women worldwide are formed and the substantive U.S. commitment. Is this a reflection of a growing American feminist foreign policy or symbolic rhetoric for domestic audiences? To better

understand the representation of global women's rights in American foreign policy, I analyze the political context behind three widely supported American foreign policy bills focusing on women that were introduced during the 111th Congress (2009–10). Each of these bills failed to become statute. Drawing from qualitative comparative case study analysis, I show how antiabortion politics constrain the legislative success of any American foreign policy legislation that focuses on women, regardless of relevance. This suggests that foreign women's bodies are a terrain for U.S. legislators to advance abortion policy objectives with minimal electoral constraint. Although advancing women's rights furthers broader U.S. foreign policy objectives, such as preventing terrorism and growing market economies, domestic abortion politics shape the boundaries of how global women's rights are represented in American foreign policy.

**Ansorg, Nadine, Toni Haastrup, and Katharine Wright. "Feminist Interventions on Foreign Policy and Diplomacy." In: Confortini, Catia and Väyrynen, Tarja, eds. *Routledge Handbook of Feminist Peace Research*. Routledge. (2020).**

<https://kar.kent.ac.uk/79503/>

In this chapter, we examine the contributions of feminist scholarship and activism to the discourses and practices of foreign policy and diplomacy. From the changes in the make of foreign policy actors to include more women, to the implications of the Women, Peace and Security agenda and the nascent adoption of Feminist Foreign Policy by some countries, we show how feminism has been fundamental to the evolution international politics' search for peace. We nevertheless highlight persistent blind spots and unintended consequences of the 'feminist' turn in foreign policy and diplomatic practice highlighting their challenges to credible ethical practices of states. As we argue, states located in the Global North are more predisposed to branding their foreign policy as 'feminist'. The implementation of feminist foreign policy for the distant other obscures domestic realities, while reinforcing colonial logics. We conclude that while this feminist turn has given more space for feminist interventions, the adoption of an ethical code is crucial when tackling tensions and contradictions between idealism and pragmatism in feminist foreign policy.

**Anthony, Christopher and Andrea Korsch. "Feminist International Assistance Policy" in *Rethinking Canadian Foreign Policy: Review by Students of Norman Paterson School of International Affairs* (2020): 77-97.**

<https://iaffairscanada.com/wp-content/uploads/2020/04/2020-NPSIA-Foreign-Policy-Review-13407.pdf#page=77>

The problems that Canada currently faces in the wake of implementing a feminist policy are those of identity crisis and hypocrisy. Canadians are split in terms of whether or not they agree with feminist values due to our colonial past. While Canadians often hold the image of being an avid helper, we often fail to follow through. Given these problems facing the nation and the fact that Canada's Feminist International Assistance Policy (FIAP) has received criticism of being nothing more than rhetoric, the policy drafters recommend to Global Affairs Canada (GAC) under the FAM's leadership, three policy options. Firstly, GAC can follow Sweden's Feminist Foreign Policy (FFP) approach to ensure a proven successful model for what Canada should be achieving. Secondly, GAC can re-brand FIAP as a gender and development policy while increasing implementation efforts through greater funding to ensure positive, incremental changes towards achieving global Gender Equality (GE). Thirdly, GAC can adopt Stonewall International's queer approach towards sustainable development and reposition FIAP to be feminist in implementation. These three policy options, in their own right, will attempt to address the problems facing Canada's nation. Following the analysis of these policy options, the policy drafters recommend GAC to implement policy option three. Despite the fact that the two other options are reasonable, this policy is more suitable, acceptable, and feasible in its implementation efforts to ensure that Canada's hypocrisy and identity problems can be rectified and that FIAP can have its greatest global impact.

**Arden, Jacinda. et al. "10 Reasons Why We Need Feminist Foreign Policy". *Open Canada*, 2018,** <https://www.opencanada.org/features/10-reasons-why-we-need-feminist-foreign-policy/>.

Ten women — from New Zealand leader Jacinda Arden to Nigerian human rights activist Osai Ojigho to co-chair of Argentina's W20 Andrea Grobocopatel — reflect on the idea of a feminist foreign policy, why it matters and where this concept needs to go next.

**Thompson, Lyric, and Christina Asquith. "One Small Step For Feminist Foreign Policy". *Foreign Policy*, 2018,** <https://foreignpolicy.com/2018/09/20/one-small-step-for-feminist-foreign-policy-women-canada/>.

On Sept. 21 and 22, Canada will host the first-ever meeting of female foreign ministers, as part of a package of commitments it made to prioritize women's issues under its G-7 presidency this year. Currently, about 30 women lead their countries' diplomacy, including eight in Europe, 10 in Latin America and the Caribbean, five in Africa, and others in Asia, Australia, and the region. The Montreal meeting will be historically unprecedented in its display of female power on the world stage. But symbolic achievements shouldn't suffice. It would be a tragedy not to use the opportunity to focus attention on concrete ways to improve women's status globally and advance what has been called a "feminist foreign policy."

**Aziz, Shaista. "A Feminist Foreign Policy". *Fabian Society*, 2017,** <https://fabians.org.uk/a-feminist-foreign-policy/>.

Sweden is the first county in the world to champion a feminist foreign policy. The country has a population of 10 million people and is one of Europe's biggest donors of foreign aid. It is also among the top five exporters of arms around the world. However, under the leadership of its foreign minister Margot Wallstrom, Sweden has unapologetically put the security of women and girls at the heart of its foreign policy. I worked as an aid worker for more than 15 years and have had the privilege of working across the Middle East, East and West Africa and Pakistan, gathering testimonies and stories from women and girls. More often than not many of the women and girls I've worked with have survived sexual and physical violence. And all of them are locked in a daily battle against poverty which hits them the hardest because of their gender.

**Barry, Ellen. "Sweden's Proponent Of 'Feminist Foreign Policy,' Shaped By Abuse". *New York Times*, 2017,** <https://www.nytimes.com/2017/11/17/world/europe/margot-wallstrom-sweden.html>.

Margot Wallstrom's embrace of activism over realpolitik has antagonized powerful players in Sweden, one of the world's largest per capita weapons exporters. She has attacked the human rights record of Saudi Arabia, a major trading partner; she has endorsed a United Nations ban on nuclear weapons, ignoring warnings from NATO. She has made no secret of her dislike for President Trump. When people accuse her of being undiplomatic, she cheerfully agrees. "I have very little time," she said. "I don't have time to walk around cocktail parties. I don't think that is the work of a diplomat."

**Bernarding, Nina and Kristina Lunz. "A Feminist Foreign Policy for the European Union." *Centre for Feminist Foreign Policy*, 2020.**

<https://centreforfeministforeignpolicy.org/report-feminist-foreign-policy-for-the-eu>

This study calls for the mandatory representation of women in foreign policy and recommends increases in financial and human resources to make this possible. It calls for addressing and understanding the experiences of ethnic and sexual minorities and breaking down the male-dominated hierarchy in foreign policy arenas. We embrace these recommendations and hope that this study will contribute to tear down prejudices embedded in the EU's external action policies.

**Bigio, Jamille and Rachel Vogelstein. "Understanding Gender Equality in Foreign Policy." Discussion Paper. Council on Foreign Relations, 2020.**

<https://www.cfr.org/report/understanding-gender-equality-foreign-policy>

A growing body of research definitively links gender equality with global prosperity and security. Unlocking the potential of half the population is not just a moral obligation—it is an economic and security imperative. At a time when resources are limited, investing in women and girls is a proven way to bolster good governance, economic growth, community health, and peace and stability. Nations seeking to advance national security, maximize the utility of foreign aid, and bolster stable and democratic partners should prioritize women's advancement.

**Broadhead, Lee-Anne, and Sean Howard. "The Nuclear Ban Treaty and the cloud over Trudeau's 'feminist' foreign policy." *International Journal* 74.3 (2019): 422-444.**

<https://journals.sagepub.com/doi/abs/10.1177/0020702019876368>

The Canadian Liberal government of Justin Trudeau claims to be ushering in a new era of a "feminist" foreign policy. While serious steps have been taken in this direction, this paper focuses on the government's opposition to the Treaty on the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons, a treaty that has been negotiated with a logic and language explicitly linking issues of disarmament and gender, reframing "security" as fundamentally a question not of state but of human (and environmental) security. Ignoring its own public statements that repeatedly link women with peace and security, the Trudeau government's opposition to the Treaty exposes the hollowness of its claims.

**Bryce, Hannah. "For The UK, A Feminist Foreign Policy Is Both The Right Thing To Do And Smart Strategy". *Chatham House*, 2017,**

<https://www.chathamhouse.org/expert/comment/uk-feminist-foreign-policy-both-right-thing-do-and-smart-strategy>.

The UK actively promotes gender equality both at home and abroad but it falls short of defining itself by a feminist agenda. At a time when it is not clear what does define UK foreign policy, other than the looming exit from the EU, promoting a feminist foreign policy could be an opportunity for the UK to provide leadership and to promote its human-rights based values abroad at a time when both are being challenged on the world stage.

**Cadesky, Jessica. "Built on shaky ground: Reflections on Canada's Feminist International Assistance Policy." *Canada's Journal of Global Policy Analysis* 75:3 (2020): 298-312.**

<https://journals.sagepub.com/doi/full/10.1177/0020702020953424>

In October 2017, Canada launched its Feminist International Assistance Policy (FIAP). While Canada's explicit use of the words "feminist" and "feminism" may be refreshing, critical questions on the FIAP's interpretation and application of these concepts remain. These challenges are not unique to the FIAP. Rather, the central weaknesses of the FIAP can be seen as symptomatic of several endemic challenges that persist in the current policies and practices that seek to promote gender equality in the developing world and beyond. This article presents the theoretical and conceptual lineage that has informed the FIAP, drawing from challenges present within literature on security, gender equality, and gender mainstreaming. Three main shortcomings relevant to both the literature and the FIAP are explored: first, the assumptions and essentialization of "gender" to mean "women"; second, the frequent conflation of "gender equality" with "women's empowerment"; and last, the paradox of gender, gender equality, and feminism being simultaneously over-politicized and depoliticized to suit prevailing policy environments, with particular implications for the global coronavirus pandemic, as well as impacts in fragile and conflict-affected states. This analysis sheds light on persistent challenges in feminist foreign policymaking and offers insights for the development of Canada's White Paper on feminist foreign policy.

**Chapnick, Adam. "The origins of Canada's feminist foreign policy." *International Journal* 74.2 (2019): 191-205.**

<https://journals.sagepub.com/doi/abs/10.1177/0020702019850827>

In January 2019, a leading Canadian foreign policy blog, OpenCanada.org, declared that “[u]nder the government of Justin Trudeau, Canada has embraced a feminist foreign policy—gradually at first, and with fervor over the past year.” Although critics have debated the policy’s effectiveness, the embrace, if not also the fervor, was indisputable. By 2019, the Trudeau government’s second foreign minister, Chrystia Freeland, was proclaiming Canada’s feminist approach to international relations openly and regularly. The international community had also noticed. This article investigates the origins of the new Canadian foreign policy “brand.” It finds that, contrary to popular thinking, the prime minister himself played at most a minor role in the initiation of what became a full-fledged transformation of Canada’s global image.

**Cichocka, Beata, and Ian Mitchell. “Gender and the CDI: How Committed Are Countries to Gender Equality in their International Policies ‘Beyond Aid’?” Center for Global Development, 2020.**

<https://www.cgdev.org/blog/gender-and-cdi-how-committed-are-countries-gender-equality-international-policies>

Earlier this year, we launched the Commitment to Development Index (CDI), after commissioning a holistic two-year review to reassess which policies from the world’s major economies matter most for global development.

**Claesson, Annina. "Hiding Behind The F-Word: The Failures Of Sweden's Feminist Foreign Policy". *The Centre For Feminist Foreign Policy*, 2017,**

<https://centreforfeministforeignpolicy.org/journal/2017/8/21/hiding-behind-the-f-word-the-failures-of-swedens-feminist-foreign-policy>.

In the autumn of 2014, the Swedish Minister for Foreign Affairs Margot Wallström presented the world’s first self-defined feminist foreign policy. This bold choice of language suggested radical policy change, where an explicitly feminist perspective would become integral to all areas of Sweden’s foreign policy. This declaration not only welcomed the idea of a normative reorientation of foreign policy but made it explicit that foreign policy should be ethically guided, even at the risk of political controversy.

**Conway, Marissa. "A Feminist Nuclear Policy: A New Vision For US Nuclear Policy". *Ploughshares Fund*, 2019, <https://www.ploughshares.org/issues-analysis/article/feminist-nuclear-policy>.**

I founded the Centre for Feminist Foreign Policy because I kept seeing the same patterns in foreign policy: the exclusion of marginalized communities in policymaking, the pressure on women to bear the burden of peacekeeping and the insistence that gendered ideas (in particular those relying on the threat of violence) were "best" for national security. Wearing feminist-tinted glasses, I could no longer ignore the disconnect between state action and human consequence.

**Conway, Marissa. “A Feminist Foreign Policy: What Would it Mean for the UK?”. *Oxfam and the Foreign Policy Centre*, 2020,**

<https://fpc.org.uk/a-feminist-foreign-policy-what-would-it-mean-for-the-uk/>.

Brexit, with all its upheavals, does present a chance to hit reset and break such a historical pattern of trauma and violence both abroad and at home. We now have an opportunity to re-envision foreign policy in a way we’ve never conceived of it before, and it’s going to take more than reappointing positions when politicians fall short. Now that we are outside of the political structures of the EU, how will we craft our legacy? I believe the UK can be a leader in building peace through its foreign policy not by means of claiming power over others, but by adopting a strong ethical framework to guide its decision making in

order to set a new international standard for placing human rights at the centre of policy. And there is no better way to do so than by adopting a Feminist Foreign Policy.

**Conway, Marissa. "Smashing the Patriarchy: The Feminist Case Against Killer Robots". Centre for Feminist Foreign Policy, 2020,**

**<https://centreforfeministforeignpolicy.org/smashing-the-patriarchy-the-feminist-case-against-killer-robots>**

Lethal autonomous weapons, also known as killer robots, are weapons systems that select and fire upon targets without any human intervention. In order to do this, they use Artificial Intelligence (AI) programmed with algorithms and data analysis capabilities. Such weapons are worrying to actors across the policy, technology, and activist sectors for a multitude of reasons. This report highlights some of the issues revealed when a feminist lens is turned onto killer robots, including chapters on militarisation and masculinity, gender-based violence and accountability, and racism and imperialism.

**Conway, Marissa. "The UK Needs A Feminist Foreign Policy". Fawcett Society, 2019,**

**<https://www.fawcettsociety.org.uk/blog/the-uk-needs-a-feminist-foreign-policy>.**

Feminist foreign policy (FFP) is quickly gaining traction around the world as a powerful way to transform foreign policy as we know it. First launched by the Swedish government in 2014, countries like France and Mexico have followed suit by announcing their intent to develop a full FFP framework, and others have developed one-off feminist policies, like Canada's Feminist International Assistance Policy or the UK's Labour Party's Feminist Development Policy. Activists, researchers, academics, celebrities, and policymakers alike are vouching for its transformative potential. So what exactly is a feminist foreign policy, and why does the UK need one?

**Conway, Marissa, and Asha Herten Crabb. "Security Council Weapons Of Mass Destruction And Feminist Foreign Policy". Turkish Policy Quarterly, 2019,**

**<http://turkishpolicy.com/article/961/security-council-weapons-of-mass-destruction-and-feminist-foreign-policy>.**

Modern understandings of security tend to rely on the threat of violence as the key means to achieve or maintain peace. Nowhere is this more measurable than in nuclear policy. Mitigating the risk of nuclear weapons is not possible without their total elimination, however, the status quo of nuclear policy is difficult to change, particularly as the five states which possess nuclear weapons in accordance with the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons (NPT) also sit on the Security Council as the Permanent Members (P5). This dynamic makes steps toward nuclear elimination difficult to secure. However, France and the UK, two of the P5, have shown interest in adopting feminist foreign policy (FFP).

**Crouch, David. "Is Sweden's Feminist Agenda Working?". BBC News, 2017,**

**<https://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-39004991>.**

Feminism in Sweden is not so politically charged as in some other European countries or in the US. Only one political party does not include feminism in its programme - the far-right Sweden Democrats - while of the four centre-right opposition parties, three are led by women. During most of the past century, the Nordic countries have been dominated by centre-left Social Democrats who championed women's rights. But there have been big changes in recent years. Sweden is famous for its generous parental leave provisions, allowing parents a total of almost 18 months off work, most of it on 80% of full pay. However, women still take the lion's share (75%) of paid parental leave. And of those forced to work part-time due to caring for a child or adult relative, almost nine out of 10 are women.

**Driver, Alice. "The Women And Girl Migrants Who Disappear, And The Feminist Policies That Could Save Them". Opencanada, 2018,**

<https://www.opencanada.org/features/women-and-girl-migrants-who-disappear-and-feminist-policies-could-save-them/>.

Disappearance is an absence that manifests itself, much like violence, in starkly gendered terms. When unaccompanied migrants cross borders, the only sex-disaggregated data that exists records who arrives. Disappeared migrant girls — victims of global trafficking rings who often end up as domestic and sexual slaves — seldom reach the promised land, a place where they hope they will be allowed to educate themselves, to access health care and to live a life free of violence. In policy terms, it is hard to address disappearance, but that is one key issue a feminist immigration policy would need to tackle, and it would involve ensuring that countries have policies in place to identify and prevent the human trafficking and prostitution of unaccompanied migrant girls.

**Farley, Alex. "Refugee Legislation In South Africa: A Feminist Foreign Policy Analysis - Part 1". *The Centre For Feminist Foreign Policy*, 2019,**

**<https://centreforfeministforeignpolicy.org/journal/2019/6/3/refugee-legislation-in-south-africa-a-feminist-foreign-policy-analysis-part-1>.**

This series applies a feminist foreign policy (ffp) framing in a case study analysis of refugee policy in South Africa. It was undertaken as part of the completion of an MSc in African Development. The study utilises feminist foreign policy as an analytical framework for a policy and discourse analysis of gender inclusivity in South Africa's refugee and asylum-seeking legislation. Part 1 of this series outlines the feminist foreign policy principles, migration legislation and discourse analysis that I engage with in my analysis to determine the extent of gender inclusivity in refugee law. Part 2 reveals a strong nationalist discourse which permeates discussions about refugee policy in South Africa, and provides contextual understanding of the challenges that need to be addressed for a gender sensitive refugee policy.

**Farley, Alex. "Refugee Legislation In South Africa: A Feminist Foreign Policy Analysis - Part 2". *The Centre For Feminist Foreign Policy*, 2019,**

**<https://centreforfeministforeignpolicy.org/journal/2019/6/3/refugee-legislation-in-south-africa-a-feminist-foreign-policy-analysis-part-2>.**

This is the second part of a two part series that utilises a feminist foreign policy (ffp) framing to analyse refugee policy in South Africa. The study was undertaken as part of the completion of an MSc in African Development. Part 1 previously outlined the feminist foreign policy principles, migration legislation and discourse analysis that I engage with in my analysis to determine the extent of gender inclusivity in refugee law. The second and following part explores ideas of national security and sovereignty which dominate discussions about the asylum regime to provide a contextual understanding of the barriers to a gender sensitive refugee policy in South Africa. This section will show that these barriers are often rooted in a wider debate about the economics of migration, which helps explain recent changes to the country's refugee policy.

**Fihn, Beatrice. "Canada'S Feminist Foreign Policy Cannot Include Nuclear Weapons". *The Globe And Mail*, 2018,**

**<https://www.theglobeandmail.com/opinion/article-canadas-feminist-foreign-policy-cannot-include-nuclear-weapons/>.**

"Women's rights are human rights," Hillary Clinton famously said in 1995. Canada's Minister of Foreign Affairs, Chrystia Freeland repeated those words in her message announcing Canada's Feminist International Assistance Policy. Prime Minister Justin Trudeau has made women's empowerment a pillar of his government from his gender-balanced cabinet to the push for a "feminist foreign policy."

**Frisell, Johan. "The Swedish Feminist Foreign Policy". *The Centre For Feminist Foreign Policy*, 2019,**

**<https://centreforfeministforeignpolicy.org/journal/2019/11/11/the-swedish-feminist-foreign-policy>.**

For a long time, Sweden has been a prominent champion of gender equality, both domestically and internationally, regardless of the political party in government. For instance, the Swedish Gender Equality Act was introduced in 1979 to create an equal labour market free from discrimination, and it has been a norm since 1994 that half of the cabinet ministers are women. After the 2014 general election, when social democratic Prime Minister Stefan Löfven declared his newly formed government as feminist, he signalled his intent to accelerate the government's gender equality agenda. Declaring a feminist government, Löfven highlighted that gender equality is not only a women's issue, but a question for society at large, not least financially. Power relations among men and women are socially constructed and the barriers preventing women and girls from fully realising their rights and potential must be removed. Economies flourish when a country's entire potential is realised. A 2015 UN study shows that if the world's labour market were completely equal, the gross world product would rise by 26 per cent, roughly equivalent to the combined GNPs of China and the US.

**Garner, Karen. *Gender and foreign policy in the Clinton administration*. Boulder, CO: FirstForumPress, 2013.**

**<https://www.rienner.com/uploads/51e96ab3175ff.pdf>**

Though recent US government attention to global women's rights and empowerment is often presented as a new phenomenon, Karen Garner argues that nearly two decades ago the Clinton administration broke barriers to challenge women's unequal status vis-à-vis men around the world and to incorporate their needs into US foreign policy and aid programs. Garner draws on a wide range of primary sources, including interviews with government officials and feminist activists who worked with the administration, to present a persuasive account of the emergence, evolution, and legacy of US global gender policy in the 1990s.

**Ginting Manik, Junita Yolanda Br. and Satwika Paramasatya. "Diplomasi Digital Midwives4all Sebagai Kebijakan Luar Negeri Feminis Swedia di Uganda." *Journal of International Relations* 6:4 (2020): 498-509.**

**<https://ejournal3.undip.ac.id/index.php/jihi/article/view/28393>**

The existence of digitalization has influenced all aspects of life, including international relations, the internet revolution requires a country to race against the times by working actively outside the field of traditional diplomacy. The increasing use of online platforms as well as the wider, fast and efficient reach generated by the transformation of the internet has produced new concepts in the field of diplomacy, namely digital diplomacy. In connection with the feminist foreign policy ideas adopted by Sweden, the Midwives4all Campaign launched in 2015 is one of the initiatives taken by Sweden to mobilize support for gender equality and fulfillment of women's human rights in Uganda. This digital campaign enables the Swedish government to project Swedish values and reach various communities in Uganda through various media both online and offline as well as through champions embraced by the Swedish government to build awareness of the important role of midwives in increasing fulfillment of sexual and reproductive health and rights (SRHR) which is one of the six external objectives of Swedish feminist foreign policy. This study intends to explain how the Midwives4all Campaign influences efforts to fulfill women's rights in Uganda. This study will be using qualitative research methods with process-tracing data analysis methods and uses the concept of feminist foreign policy and liberal feminism as the basis for analysis in this paper.

**Goetz, Anne Marie. "Feminist Principles in Global Affairs: Undiplomatic Practice." *The Future of Global Affairs* (2020): 149-173.**

[https://link.springer.com/chapter/10.1007/978-3-030-56470-4\\_7](https://link.springer.com/chapter/10.1007/978-3-030-56470-4_7)

Feminist analysis of international relations has been a significant disruptor, revealing that the defense of 'national sovereignty' has allowed states to protect patriarchal preferences, not only blocking women's rights but contributing to some of the most destructive features of national and international decision-making such as conflict-propensity. Efforts to institutionalize gender equality domestically and internationally have been troubled by the need to work with patriarchal states to build capacities to challenge male dominance. The recent emergence of feminist foreign policy (FFP) shows it may be possible to institutionalize feminist principles in international relations in ways that challenge the use of 'national sovereignty' as an excuse for discrimination against women. But for FFP to deliver a significant course correction in international affairs, its practitioners must accept that ending diplomatic silence on abuses of women has costs. It can bring diplomatic isolation or trigger domestic protest since it may make transnational business arrangements, including arms deals, contingent on respect for women's rights.

**Grassroots Global Justice Alliance, MADRE, and Women Cross DMZ. "A Vision for A Feminist Peace: Building a Movement-Drive Foreign Policy." 2020.**

<https://www.madre.org/press-publications/press-release/new-feminist-peace-initiative-releases-movement-driven-foreign>

As the US election approaches and demands for racial justice and defunding the police continue to grow, a new feminist peace initiative led by Grassroots Global Justice Alliance, MADRE, and Women Cross DMZ has released A Vision for a Feminist Peace: Building a Movement-Driven Foreign Policy. This groundbreaking framework dramatically reimagines US foreign policy built on intersectional feminist principles and driven by social movements.

**Guay, Jennifer. "Sweden And Canada Fly The Flag For Feminist Foreign Policy". *Apolitical*, 2017, [https://apolitical.co/solution\\_article/sweden-canada-fly-flag-feminist-foreign-policy/](https://apolitical.co/solution_article/sweden-canada-fly-flag-feminist-foreign-policy/).**

Since launching in 2014, Sweden's radically 'feminist' foreign policy has gained international notoriety. While critics have lambasted the Nordic nation – for brazenly funding abortion, inciting a diplomatic row with Saudi Arabia over human rights, and provoking Israel by recognising Palestine – the strategy has proved successful by many measures. Sweden, through its new policy, has helped more than 20 countries draw up laws and proposals to strengthen gender equality.

**Haastrup, Toni. "Gendering South Africa's Foreign Policy: Towards a Feminist Approach?." *Foreign Policy Analysis* (2019).**

<https://www.storre.stir.ac.uk/handle/1893/30082#Xkqqq5P7TOQ>

South Africa has sought ethical foreign policy since the advent of democracy. This foreign policy outlook focuses on the African continent and the ways in which pro- gender justice norms are articulated. In this article, I reflect on the extent to which South Africa's foreign policy embraces these norms as part of its foreign apparatus and practices. It takes at its starting point the nascent literature on feminist foreign policy applied to South Africa, which shares similarities to countries in the Global North that embrace feminist foreign policy. Moreover, it takes account of gender dynamics at the domestic level and how they are manifested in foreign policy discourses and practices, particularly in the understanding and implementation of the Women, Peace and Security agenda. Utilising qualitative content analysis, this article provides context and meaning for how gender concerns have evolved in South Africa's foreign policy, including the role of certain norm entrepreneurs in shaping the gender narrative. The article concludes that the domestic context is important to shaping and limiting how a country can enact feminist foreign policy. Importantly, the South African case provides an additional Global South dimension to the nascent scholarship.

**Halais, Flavie. "Canada's New Foreign Aid Policy Puts Focus On Women, Rights". *Devex*, 2017, <https://www.devex.com/news/canada-s-new-foreign-aid-policy-puts-focus-on-women-rights-90458>.**

Canada is placing women and girls at the heart of its poverty eradication efforts. Minister of International Development Marie-Claude Bibeau released the country's long-awaited International Assistance Policy last Friday, a strategy that calls itself "feminist" and represents a major shift of the country's vision for international development onto the world's most vulnerable and marginalized populations.

**Ho, Karen. "Canada Puts Its Feminist Foreign Policy To The Test". *Opencanada*, 2018, <https://www.opencanada.org/features/canada-puts-its-feminist-foreign-policy-test/>.**

With its G7 presidency, Canada faces the challenge of applying a gender lens to policy areas like trade, peacekeeping and diplomacy. Such efforts put the feminist foreign policy concept under the microscope.

**Hudson, Valerie. "Gloria Steinem: Toward A Feminist Foreign Policy". *Opendemocracy*, 2016, <https://www.opendemocracy.net/5050/valerie-m-hudson/toward-feminist-foreign-policy>.**

Feminism, when you look at it as Gloria Steinem does, as the recognition of the full humanity and full equality of both men and women, is peace work.

**Hudson, Valerie M. "Feminist foreign policy as state-led expansion of human rights." *Expanding Human Rights*. Edward Elgar Publishing, 2017.**

[https://www.elgaronline.com/view/9781785368837\\_00021.xml](https://www.elgaronline.com/view/9781785368837_00021.xml)

The purpose of the chapter is to trace the arc of the idea that there could be a "feminist" state foreign/security policy, and then to assess both the promise and the pitfalls of such a stance. In this case, the state would become the main agent promoting this human rights expansion. A feminist foreign/security policy (FFSP) would embrace the idea that human rights and national security are not contradictory goals of state policy unless we choose to see them as such. However, an FFSP would go further and also propose that women's empowerment, women's voice, and women's security constitute the great bridge between the two aspirations. The selection of Hillary Clinton as US Secretary of State in 2009, and her tenure until early 2013, provides a rich case study of how the "women, peace, and security" standpoint articulated by the United Nations could be translated into a state agenda. However, given the state's top-down nature, there will always be problems with utilizing the state to expand and secure human rights. Understanding the nature and source of the problems faced in this case is instructive, including moral quandaries, state inconsistency, insincere genuflection, distorted participation, and perverse incentives.

**Hunt, Erin. "Killer Robots, Feminism... And A Feminist Foreign Policy?". *Medium*, 2020, <https://medium.com/@stopkillerrobots/killer-robots-feminism-and-a-feminist-foreign-policy-d55309c60fae>.**

What are killer robots and what do they have to do with feminism? Killer robots are weapons systems that will select targets and decide to engage without meaningful human control. So robotic weapons systems making life and death decisions. Scary right? But why is this a feminist issue? Why are so many feminists working hard for a new international treaty to ban them? And is there a feminist solution?

**Hushcha, Marylia. "Might Feminism Revive Arms Control? Why greater inclusion of women in nuclear policy is necessary and how to achieve it." *International Institute for Peace*, 2020. [https://static1.squarespace.com/static/58a2c691b3db2b3c6990193a/t/5ea98c18fa38715761be7edf/1588169754727/FINAL\\_Might+Feminism+Revive+Arms+Control+-+IIP+research+paper.pdf](https://static1.squarespace.com/static/58a2c691b3db2b3c6990193a/t/5ea98c18fa38715761be7edf/1588169754727/FINAL_Might+Feminism+Revive+Arms+Control+-+IIP+research+paper.pdf)**

The link between gender and security has become a prominent issue in the public debate over the last decades. On the most basic level, it is understood as greater inclusion of women in security policy decision-making processes. The underlying motivation to promote a greater role for women in foreign

policy is manifold, ranging from social justice arguments about equal political representation of different societal groups, to the benefits of diversity in fostering creativity and innovation, to the special characteristics of women's leadership styles and their distinct communication skills.

**Irsten, Gabriella. "How Feminist Is The Swedish Feminist Foreign Policy?". *The Centre For Feminist Foreign Policy*, 2019, <https://centreforfeministforeignpolicy.org/journal/2019/11/11/how-feminist-is-the-swedish-feminist-foreign-policy>.**

Feminist foreign policy is an important step forward for Sweden's security policy, and the emphasis on conflict prevention is one of the strongest aspects of Sweden's feminist foreign policy on the whole. It is crucial to listen to the grassroots communities and let them lead the way, especially women and minorities, as they are most familiar with the context. A feminist foreign policy should be based on a bottom-up approach. This is the only constructive way to build secure, peaceful and sustainable societies. However, both in Sweden and globally, security policy still lacks awareness of how patriarchal power structures shape politics and actual security for people.

**Irwin, Rachel Elizabeth. "Lessons From Sweden'S Feminist Foreign Policy For Global Health". *The Lancet*, 2019, <https://www.thelancet.com/action/showPdf?pii=S0140-6736%2819%2930209-0>.**

In 2014, the Swedish Government, a coalition of the Social Democrats and the Green Party, became the first government in the world to declare itself feminist and to pursue an explicit feminist foreign policy, with a purpose "to combat discrimination against women, improve conditions for women, and contribute to peace and development". Within global health, this approach has been demonstrated by commitments to sexual and reproductive health and rights, including access to contraceptives, maternity care, and safe abortions. The policy was both a radical step and a logical progression for a country that has been internationally engaged in these issues since the 1950s.

**Kamler, Erin. "Towards A Feminist Foreign Policy In Myanmar". *The Centre For Feminist Foreign Policy*, 2019, <https://centreforfeministforeignpolicy.org/journal/2019/2/16/towards-a-feminist-foreign-policy-in-myanmar>.**

Myanmar is a nation in turmoil. Still recovering from over six decades of authoritarian rule following independence from British colonialism in 1949, civil war continues to wreak havoc on the country's ethnic areas. Despite high hopes for Aung San Suu Kyi's National League for Democracy (NLD), human rights issues have remained woefully de-prioritized under the new democratically-elected government.

**Khullar, Akanksha. "A Case for Feminist Foreign Policy in South Asia." *Modern Diplomacy*, 2020. <https://modern diplomacy.eu/2020/11/14/a-case-for-feminist-foreign-policy-in-south-asia/>**

The South Asian region is home to 860 million women, three-fourths of whom live in India alone. However, women and young girls continue to be systematically disadvantaged across the region. In fact, according to the Global Gender Gap Report 2020, South Asia's gender gap is the second largest among the eight other regions of the world.

**Kilgour, Maureen A. "Canada's Feminist Foreign Policy and the SDGs: Working with Business to Address Gender Inequality." In *Struggles and Successes in the Pursuit of Sustainable Development*, edited by Tay Keong Tan, Milenko Gudic, and Patricia M. Flynn. 2020. <https://books.google.com/books?hl=en&lr=&id=gUDpDwAAQBAJ&oi=fnd&pg=PT143&dq=%22feminist+foreign+policy%22&ots=oCRqaiKWOH&sig=sqSXQaWjZwzfrDB8HrkeXILA85U#v=onepage&q=%22feminist%20foreign%20policy%22&f=false>**

Gender equality and the empowerment of women and girls are critical elements in the achievement of the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs). State governments, businesses and civil society have all been asked to work toward the achievement of the SDGs. Given the complexity of the current global governance regime and the overlapping interests among the various actors, collaboration and innovation are required to move toward the achievement of these goals. The Canadian government (Canada) has historically been a strong advocate for international action on gender inequality. This engagement was formalized in 2017, when the Canadian government committed to a “feminist” foreign policy. The goal of this chapter is to discuss the early successes and challenges in the implementation of a “feminist” approach to the attainment of the SDGs with a focus on Canada’s relationship with business. It examines areas of interaction between Canada’s feminist policy in support of the SDGs and business and identifies both strengths and weaknesses. A review of Canada’s SDG initiatives in support of gender equality provides insights into the ways in which governments intersect with business on sustainability issues and highlights areas of interrogation for responsible management education, especially in the area of gender equality.

**Kouvo, Sari. “A Challenging Agenda for Troubled Times: The Swedish Feminist Foreign Policy.” Retfærd, Nr. 4 (2020): 65-88.**

[https://www.researchgate.net/profile/Sari\\_Kouvo/publication/344803296\\_A\\_Challenging\\_Agenda\\_for\\_Troubled\\_Times\\_The\\_Swedish\\_Feminist\\_Foreign\\_Policy/links/5f90fc07a6fdccfd7b7461fb/A-Challenging-Agenda-for-Troubled-Times-The-Swedish-Feminist-Foreign-Policy.pdf](https://www.researchgate.net/profile/Sari_Kouvo/publication/344803296_A_Challenging_Agenda_for_Troubled_Times_The_Swedish_Feminist_Foreign_Policy/links/5f90fc07a6fdccfd7b7461fb/A-Challenging-Agenda-for-Troubled-Times-The-Swedish-Feminist-Foreign-Policy.pdf)

In 2014, the Swedish Government declared that it was a feminist government. Foreign Minister Margot Wallström also took the opportunity to announce that Sweden would become the first country in the world to adopt a feminist foreign policy. The feminist banner was raised at a time when Europe, including Sweden, was grappling with what has come to be called the migration crisis and a rise in violent extremism across ideological, political and religious boundaries, and when the world seemed to be shifting further into conflict mode. This is also a time when notions of feminism and gender equality are as furiously promoted as they are contested. The aim of this article is first, to situate the Swedish Feminist Foreign Policy in the broader context of Swedish equality politics and foreign policy. Second, to discuss how the term feminism used in the policy and what the overall contents of the policy are. Third, to problematize the policy through two examples focusing on the one hand on the challenge of a braver politics and on the other hand on the in-built tension between Sweden’s Feminist Foreign Policy and the Swedish trade and defence interests and in particular Swedish arms trade. The article focuses on developments during the first government term, 2014–2018, but it will also touch upon the developments during the second government term, 2019–2022. The article shows that the Policy has made a difference. It has raised awareness and built knowledge of women’s rights and equality within the Ministry and helped ensure that these issues are systematically integrated into much of foreign policy. The fact that the Policy has continued after the elections and is now being taken forward for another government term has helped institutionalise the policy and may also have increased international interest.

**Kripke, Gawain. "The Makings Of Feminist Foreign Aid". *Oxfam*, 2017, <https://politicsofpoverty.oxfamamerica.org/2017/07/the-makings-of-feminist-foreign-aid/>.**

I have always been flummoxed that anyone wouldn’t want to be a feminist. It’s just so obvious: men and women are equal. Women face social, political, and other obstacles that men don’t. We should change that. Done. Everything else is noise and silliness. But “feminist” is still a fraught word in mainstream political and policy circles. There are safer alternatives: “Women’s rights” is ok. “Women’s empowerment” – especially economic empowerment – is safe. “Prioritizing women and girls” is just fine. Incorporating gender analysis and disaggregating data by gender is becoming mandatory. But embracing feminism is still too edgy in most contexts. Nevertheless, an exciting mini-trend has emerged in the international development sector: a feminist approach to aid. Sweden started things off by proudly launching the

world's first "feminist foreign policy" in 2015. More recently, Canada announced a "feminist aid policy" which will transform the country's international assistance programs and strategy.

**Lunz, Kristina, and Nina Bernarding. "Feminist Foreign Policy - Imperative For A More Secure And Just World". *The Centre For Feminist Foreign Policy*, 2019, <https://centreforfeministforeignpolicy.org/journal/2019/2/16/feminist-foreign-policy-imperative-for-a-more-secure-and-just-world>.**

When people dare to be visionary we see the most profound changes in history; changes which can fundamentally impact the traditional distribution of power in society and lead to a more inclusive concept of how we envision a future that works for all. Demanding something that has not yet been articulated requires particular courage especially in times when the conventional, the conservative, and the presumably long overcome principles of fascism are rising internationally. Margot Wallström is such a visionary. In 2014, the Swedish Foreign Ministry declared her country's foreign policy to be feminist.

**Lunz, Kristina, Nina Bernarding, Anna Prova, and Sarah Kenny Werner. "Feminist Foreign Policy Responses to COVID." *The Centre for Feminist Foreign Policy*, 2020, <https://centreforfeministforeignpolicy.org/policy-brief-a-feminist-foreign-policy-response-to-covid-19>**

The COVID-19 pandemic knows no borders. It further knows no gender, class, or race. This virus does not discriminate, but our societies do. Around the world we have historically built systems and structures that privilege the few and disadvantage the many. When a crisis as unprecedented as the current pandemic hits, inequalities are exacerbated. This holds particularly true for gender equality which, despite encouraging steps forward, no country is on track to achieve by 2030. This not only fails politically marginalised groups, in particular women, girls, and gender nonconforming people, but also greatly hinders the international community's commitment to foster peace and security.

**MacCormaic, Ruadhán. The case for a feminist foreign policy. *The Irish Times*, 2017, <https://www.irishtimes.com/opinion/the-case-for-a-feminist-foreign-policy-1.3183835>.**

There's a type of foreign policy dilemma that diplomats frame as follows: should we do what's morally right and makes us feel good about ourselves, or what makes the country better off and thus improves our citizens' lives? In Ireland it comes up every time the government sends a high-level trade delegation to visit some autocratic regime and hapless ministers find themselves having to flatter despots who oppress their own people.

**Maha, Irayomi F. and Shary Charlotte Henriette Pattipeilohy. "Kebijakan Luar Negeri Feminis Swedia (2014-2018)." *Journal of International Relations* 7.1 (2020): 1-12. <https://ejournal3.undip.ac.id/index.php/jihi/article/view/29344>**

In 2014, for the first time Sweden declared itself a country with a feminist foreign policy. The statement that drew international attention and attention was delivered by the Swedish foreign minister, Margot Wallström, who is an activist for women and gender equality. In implementing this policy, there are six external policies carried out by Sweden which are implemented by the Swedish foreign ministry and the Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency (SIDA). The six policies include; fulfillment of human rights, freedom from acts of physical, mental and sexual violence, participation of women in preventing and resolving conflicts in the pre and post-conflict period, participation in elections, fulfillment of economic and development rights and finally the right to reproduce and sexually healthy. can analyze Sweden's reasons for implementing these six policies. The unit of analysis in foreign policy consisting of individuals, countries and the international system is used. This research is an explanatory research type and qualitative research type with literature research data collection techniques and uses congruent methods to analyze data. The results of this study indicate that the three unit level analyzes, both

individual, state and international system, encourage the formation of feminist foreign policy from Sweden.

**Marshall, Catherine. "Researching the margins: Feminist critical policy analysis." *Educational Policy* 13.1 (1999): 59-76.**

<http://journals.sagepub.com/doi/abs/10.1177/0895904899131006?journalCode=epxa>

The powerful define the mainstream policy problems and determine the appropriate concerns for research in education. Those in power have operated for years from a male-normed paradigm. As a result, the needs and contributions of women have been marginalized. This article uses frameworks from the politics of knowledge and discourse to analyze ways in which gender research has been controlled and depoliticized. It identifies ignored feminist research and then poses challenges to researchers.

**Masood, Hana. "Feminist Foreign Policy and its Applicability in Contemporary International Relations." *Statecraft*, 2020.**

<https://www.statecraft.co.in/article/feminist-foreign-policy-and-its-applicability-in-contemporary-international-relations>

In 2014, the Swedish coalition of the Social Democrats and the Green Party became the world's government to proclaim that it will adopt a Feminist Foreign Policy (FFP), with a goal to become the 'strongest voice for gender equality and full employment of human rights for all women and girls'. This rather radical stance positions Sweden as a normative model for other countries to follow. Most recently, Mexico, under the leadership of Andrés Manuel López Obrador, became the first country in the Global South to announce a feminist shift in its foreign policy. But is an FFP practical in the current global political economy?

**Mølgaard, Mette. "EU parliament calls for feminist foreign policy." *EUobserver*, 2020.**

<https://euobserver.com/institutional/150073>

Several countries have already adopted a feminist foreign policy. Now, it is also on the agenda in the European Parliament, where a majority has voted for a gender-equal foreign and security policy.

**Mølgaard, Mette. "Flere lande har en feministisk udenrigspolitik, men ikke Danmark. Hvorfor?" *POV International*, 2020.**

[https://pov.international/feministisk-udenrigspolitik/?fbclid=IwAR1OXU3tGN6CgxP8ZrNy0g5FgwpNHZblpitPwoZUzWgetzJ47oqaj\\_8JaE](https://pov.international/feministisk-udenrigspolitik/?fbclid=IwAR1OXU3tGN6CgxP8ZrNy0g5FgwpNHZblpitPwoZUzWgetzJ47oqaj_8JaE)

For seks år siden vedtog Sverige som det første land i verden en feministisk udenrigspolitik. Siden har flere lande fulgt efter, og Danmark er ikke et af dem. Men hvorfor er vi så bange for f-ordet? Mette Mølgaard har interviewet to forskere; Annika Bergman Rosamond, 'Senior Researcher' i Globale Studier ved Lunds Universitet og Marissa Conway fra Centre for Feminist Foreign Policy om sagen og talt med tre danske politikere.

**Muravyeva, Marianna, and Toni Haastrup, Carina Minami, Yasmeen Silva, Lovely Umayam, and Marissa Conway (Ed.). *Feminism, Power, & Nuclear Weapons: An Eye on the P5*. Centre for Feminist Foreign Policy, 2020.**

<https://researchportal.helsinki.fi/en/publications/feminism-power-amp-nuclear-weapons-an-eye-on-the-p5>

This project is a collection of articles from five extraordinary civil society thinkers on feminism and nuclear policy to address this precise question. It is our hope that this work inspires a thoughtful interrogation of the status quo in both personal and professional capacities, and encourages us all to think more creatively and holistically about nuclear policy.

**Nordberg, Jenny. "Who's Afraid Of A Feminist Foreign Policy?". *The New Yorker*, 2015, <https://www.newyorker.com/news/news-desk/swedens-feminist-foreign-minister>.**

Wallström, a sixty-year-old Social Democrat who has spent almost her entire career in politics, was appointed foreign minister last fall, when Prime Minister Stefan Löfven took office. She immediately announced that she intended to pursue a feminist foreign policy and went on to explain, in a talk in the U.S., that "striving toward gender equality is not only a goal in itself but also a precondition for achieving our wider foreign, development, and security-policy objectives."

**Oas, Rebecca. "What is feminist foreign policy?" Center for Family and Human Rights, 2019. <https://c-fam.org/wp-content/uploads/What-is-feminist-foreign-policy-.pdf>**

In recent years, several countries have announced their intention to pursue a feminist foreign policy. Feminist groups are lobbying other countries—including the United States—to do the same. But what exactly does that mean, and could it in any way be compatible with a foreign policy strategy that seeks to protect human life at all stages, including before birth? This issue of Definitions explores the way feminist foreign policy has been conducted thus far, examines how it has been framed by its creators and proponents, and considers the impact it has already had thus far.

**"Tackling Inequalities In The Global Economy: Making Canada's Foreign Policy Work For Women". *Oxfam Canada*, 2017, <https://www.oxfam.ca/publication/tackling-inequalities-in-the-global-economy-making-canadas-foreign-policy-work-for-women/>.**

The high-level political commitment of the Canadian government to the design and implementation a feminist foreign policy is a welcome initiative, and one that potentially places Canada at the forefront of thinking globally on diplomacy, trade and development. Realizing that potential will require a re-examination of current policies and explicit efforts to invest in new or traditionally under-prioritized approaches that tackle gender inequality. Achieving the goals of a feminist foreign policy requires moving beyond helping women to benefit from existing economic opportunities. It requires an understanding of the unequal gendered power dynamics that infringe on women's rights, and policies designed to transform such dynamics.

**Parashar, Swati. et al. *Revisiting gendered states: feminist imaginings of the state in international relations*. Oxford University Press, 2018.**

<https://global.oup.com/academic/product/revisiting-gendered-states-9780190644048?cc=de&lang=en&>  
State sovereignty and autonomy in the twenty-first century are both under challenge and continually reasserted in diverse ways through gender, sexuality, and race-making. This paradox makes it pertinent to revisit the idea of states as gendered political entities. Bringing together scholars from international relations and postcolonial and development studies, this volume collectively theorizes the modern state and its intricate relationship to security, identity politics, and gender. Drawing on postcolonial and critical feminist approaches, together with empirical case studies, contributors engage with the ontological foundations of the modern state and its capacity to adapt to the global and local contestations of its identity, histories, and purpose. They examine the various ways in which gender explains the construction and interplay of states in global politics today; and how states, be they neoliberal, postcolonial, or religious (or all three together), impact the everyday lives and security of their citizens. Such a rich array of feminist analyses of multiple kinds of states provides crucial insight into gender injustices in relatively stable states, but also into the political, economic, social, and cultural inequalities that produce violent conflicts threatening the sovereignty of some states and even leading to the creation of new states.

**Prasad, Sandeep. "Is This Really What A Feminist Government Looks Like?". *Huffington Post*, 2018,**

[https://www.huffingtonpost.ca/sandeep-prasad/canadian-government-feminist-policies\\_a\\_23374762/?guccounter=1](https://www.huffingtonpost.ca/sandeep-prasad/canadian-government-feminist-policies_a_23374762/?guccounter=1).

The Trudeau government's adoption of the term "feminist" to describe, among other things, its budget and its approach to international assistance, requires us to look closely at the extent to which Canada is meeting feminist principles — both in policy and in practice. A commitment to sexual and reproductive health and rights is one example, especially important in today's global political climate, of how Canada is — and isn't — walking the talk and putting its money where its mouth is.

**Rao, Sheila and Rebecca Tiessen. "Whose feminism(s)? Overseas partner organizations' perceptions of Canada's Feminist International Assistance Policy." *Canada's Journal of Global Policy Analysis* 75:3 (2020): 349-366.**

<https://journals.sagepub.com/doi/full/10.1177/0020702020960120>

Canada's Feminist International Assistance Policy, introduced in 2017, is an ambitious and forward-thinking policy focussed on gender equality and women's empowerment. The emphasis on a feminist vision, however, raises questions about how feminism is defined and interpreted by Canada's partners in the Global South. In this article, we examine the interpretations of feminism(s) and a feminist foreign policy from the perspective of NGO staff members in East and Southern Africa. The research involved interviews with 45 Global South partner country NGO staff members in three countries (Kenya, Uganda, and Malawi). We consider the partner organization reflections on Canada's Feminist International Assistance Policy using a transnational feminist lens. Our findings provide insights into future considerations for Canada's feminist foreign policy priorities, consultations, and programme design.

**Rhodes, Francesca. "NAFTA 2.0: Will Our Feminist Government Walk The Equality Talk?". *The Globe And Mail*, 2017,**

<https://www.theglobeandmail.com/opinion/nafta-20-will-our-feminist-government-walk-the-equality-talk/article35988854/>.

NAFTA 2.0 will have far-reaching implications for the lives of North American women. Renegotiating the agreement is an opportunity for Canada's self-proclaimed feminist government to put words into action by tackling gender inequality and the structural barriers that female workers and business owners face across all three countries.

**Richey, Lisa Ann. "In search of feminist foreign policy: gender, development, and Danish State Identity." *Cooperation and Conflict* 36.2 (2001): 177-212.**

<http://journals.sagepub.com/doi/abs/10.1177/001083601400422351>

This article investigates the extent to which the Danish state's identification with gender issues is transferred into Danish development policy. Is Denmark pursuing a gender and development policy that is radically different from most other Western donor states and, if not, why might we see a less progressive policy in Denmark than we might expect from a domestically 'feminist' state? In this article, it is suggested that the very nature of development aid and the policies in place to promote it are gendered. Gender and development aid could provide an arena for international constitution of domestically 'feminist' policies. However, it is argued that 'development' itself poses important challenges for implementing the goals of Denmark's gender and development policies. Conversely, implementing the critical strategy of agenda-setting within gender and development would reconstitute both 'development' and the identity of the Danish state as donor.

**Ridge, A. Lambert, C., and Crawford, J., Clement, R., Thompson, L., Gammage, S., and Goetz, A.M. "Feminist Foreign Policy Key Principles & Accountability Mechanisms: A Discussion Summary." *International Women's Development; International Center for Research on Women; Center for Global Affairs*, 2019.**

<https://iwda.org.au/assets/files/Feminist-Foreign-Policy-Discussion-Summary-IWDA-ICRW-NYU.pdf>

There has been increased focus in recent years on the concept of feminist foreign policy (FFP). With the introduction of policies that call themselves feminist in Sweden (2014) and France (2019), and a feminist international development policy in Canada (2017), there is a growing body of work for feminist civil society to consider and critique. The absence of a common definition or core principles among existing policies is a challenge, and one that activists, academics and advocates are undertaking to respond to, offering ideas as to what constitutes a foreign policy that is responsive to feminist visions for equality, nondiscrimination and justice. It is also important to stress the difference between a feminist foreign policy and one that commits to and advances women's rights.

**Robinson, Fiona. "Feminist foreign policy as ethical foreign policy? A care ethics perspective."**

***Journal of International Political Theory* (2019): 1755088219828768.**

<https://journals.sagepub.com/doi/abs/10.1177/1755088219828768#articleCitationDownloadContainer>

This article argues that a liberal cosmopolitan approach to feminist foreign policy reproduces existing relations of power, including gender power relations and Western liberal modes of domination. I suggest that a critical feminist ethic of care offers a potentially radical and transformative account of ethics as a basis for a transnational feminism – one that reveals and troubles the binary gender norms that constitute the international and which exposes the ways in which patriarchal orders uphold political hierarchies that obstruct the building of empathy and repairing of relationship. To illustrate this argument, I address the recent diplomatic crises faced by Sweden and Canada in their relationships with the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia. Policymakers and diplomats must aim to build understanding by recognizing the material and discursive factors that have constructed, over time, the relationships between Saudi Arabia and Sweden/Canada, as well as the ways in which patriarchal structures – across the globe and at multiple scales – hinder the possibility of attentive listening and connection across borders. It is only through the prism of this relationship – where difference takes on meaning – that the more complex role of Western states in the contemporary system of transnational militarism is revealed.

**Rosamond, Annika Bergman. "Swedish Feminist Foreign Policy and 'Gender Cosmopolitanism.'" *Foreign Policy Analysis* 16:2 (2020): 217–235.**

<https://doi.org/10.1093/fpa/orz025>

Gender justice and equality have risen to prominence in the constitution of foreign and security policy. This article locates the analysis of feminist foreign policy (FFP) within the wider context of Sweden's state feminist tradition as well as its pursuit of "gender cosmopolitanism" in global politics. Both "gender cosmopolitanism" and Sweden's state feminist tradition provided fertile ground for the formal adoption of FFP in 2014. The article employs poststructural discursive techniques that enable the identification of the statist feminist and cosmopolitan foundations of feminist foreign policy. More specifically, the article provides a discursive analysis of the ethical and feminist ambitions, normative contents, and pitfalls of FFP. Though FFP is grounded in other-regarding cosmopolitan care for vulnerable women and girls beyond borders, it exhibits a range of pitfalls and inconsistencies, such as equating gender with women and, at times, privileging results-oriented strategies over thoroughgoing gender analysis of structural injustices such as gendered violence. The article ends with a discussion of Sweden's attempts to translate the feminist and cosmopolitan contents of FFP commitments into policy practice, with a focus on the eradication of gender-based violence.

**Rothschild, Nathalie. "Four Years On, Sweden Remains Committed To Its Feminist Foreign Policy". *Opencanada*, 2018,**

<https://www.opencanada.org/features/four-years-sweden-remains-committed-its-feminist-foreign-policy/>.

Both praised and questioned, Sweden's feminist foreign policy is a global first. But, as Nathalie Rothschild reports from Stockholm, some say it doesn't go far enough.

**Sarosi, Diana. "A Truly Feminist Government Would Prioritize A Crackdown On Tax Dodging".**

*Huffington Post*, 2017,

[https://www.huffingtonpost.ca/Oxfam-Canada/a-truly-feminist-government-would-prioritize-a-crackdown-on-tax-dodging\\_a\\_23271111/?guccounter=1](https://www.huffingtonpost.ca/Oxfam-Canada/a-truly-feminist-government-would-prioritize-a-crackdown-on-tax-dodging_a_23271111/?guccounter=1).

Playing a global leadership role by cracking down on tax dodging is not only the right thing for Canada to do, it's the feminist thing to do. For millions of women around the world living in poverty, every dollar of lost revenue sets them further back, making it that much harder to access public services, find secure jobs and provide for their families.

**Scheyer, Victoria, and Marina Kumskova. "Feminist Foreign Policy." *Journal of International Affairs* 72.2 (2019): 57-76.**

<https://www.jstor.org/stable/26760832?seq=1>

The proliferation of feminist foreign policies has become a sign of commitment to another world order. Governments that adopt such action envision a world where women's rights are equally important to those of men. They commit to empowering women and ensuring their meaningful participation across various issues. Such commitments, therefore, are understood as the objectives of a feminist foreign policy. This article explains that, while a commitment to women's rights is important, the current practices of purportedly feminist foreign policies do not reflect an authentically feminist approach. We look into the theoretical background of feminist analysis in international relations, propose criteria for a feminist foreign policy based on feminist theory, and use these criteria to analyze and conduct gap analysis of existing feminist foreign policies. Overall, this study helps unpack the definition of feminist foreign policy and highlight areas that can be addressed by those willing to commit to redefining security and peace in the current world order.

**Schneider, Anna-Sophie. "Feministische Außenpolitik ist alles andere als weich". *Spiegel Online*, 2018,**

<http://www.spiegel.de/politik/ausland/schweden-vier-jahre-feministische-aussenpolitik-a-1225367.html>

Schweden hat 2014 eine feministische Außenpolitik eingeführt. Das brachte weltweit Aufmerksamkeit, Spott und Probleme. Nun zieht Stockholm Zwischenbilanz - und gibt Nachahmern Tipps.

**Smith, Heather and Tari Ajadi. "Canada's feminist foreign policy and human security compared." *Canada's Journal of Global Policy Analysis* 75:3 (2020): 367-382.**

<https://journals.sagepub.com/doi/full/10.1177/0020702020954547>

Canadian federal governments regularly try to craft a unique image of Canada in the world; however, the Trudeau government's embrace of feminist foreign policy feels strikingly similar to the late 1990s when human security was embraced. There seems to be a "sameness" in the promotion of a progressive values-based discourse that has transformative potential for Canadian foreign policy. The question is, does this sense of sameness bear out when we dig into the comparison? Drawing on speeches given by government ministers; policy documents, such as the Feminist International Assistance Policy (FIAP); media; and scholarship, we compare and contrast analyses of the sources of the human security and feminist foreign policy discourses and then identify common critiques. We also examine two significant differences. We find there is consistent Liberal articulation of values-based discourses and policies that have unmet transformative potential. In both cases, style and rhetoric are privileged over transformative change.

**Stansell, Christine. "The War On Women: Establishing A Feminist Foreign Policy | Dissent Magazine". *Dissent Magazine*, 2009, [https://www.dissentmagazine.org/online\\_articles/the-war-on-women-establishing-a-feminist-foreign-policy](https://www.dissentmagazine.org/online_articles/the-war-on-women-establishing-a-feminist-foreign-policy).**

Coming to the defense of women requires locating ourselves in relationship to allies and enemies on the ground. To denounce sexual terror without identifying who's responsible leaves us nowhere. Not all men turn women into sexual slaves and rape baby girls, as do soldiers of the FDLR (Democratic Forces for the Liberation of Rwanda) in the Democratic Republic of Congo (DCR). Not all Afghan men marry off their little girls or marry someone else's girl. But men with loyalties to particular groups, armies, and reactionary political forces do these things, and more. Urgent circumstances require specific responses. Americans can't undo the worst of patriarchy (child marriage exists in many places in the world, not just in Afghanistan), but we can work for policies that offer some measure of safety and hope.

**Sundström, Malena Rosén and Elgström, Ole. Praise or critique? Sweden's feminist foreign policy in the eyes of its fellow EU members, *European Politics and Society*. (2019).**

<https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/pdf/10.1080/23745118.2019.1661940?needAccess=true>

In 2014, the Swedish Government proclaimed that it would pursue a Feminist Foreign Policy (FFP). This initiative illustrates Sweden's role as a norm entrepreneur, challenging predominant normative frames by enhancing existing gender equality norms. Our article is a first attempt to investigate how other state actors perceive the legitimacy, coherence and effectiveness of this policy innovation. The focus is on the perceptions of diplomatic representatives from other European Union member states. The article is based on a survey and in-depth interviews with officials at member state permanent representations. Our findings demonstrate that it is well-known that Sweden pursues a feminist foreign policy, though knowledge is often superficial. Overall, the FFP is positively perceived. Sweden is generally regarded as a leader in the promotion of gender norms. There are, however, also critical voices. In some countries, the word 'feminist' evokes negative reactions. While most respondents think the FFP has had a positive effect on Sweden's international image, less are convinced that other states will follow suit. The current context, with nationalism and populism on the rise, is not seen as appropriate for pursuing a FFP. Sweden's success as a norm entrepreneur in this field is thus questioned.

**Taylor, Adam. Sweden's Subtly Radical 'Feminist' Foreign Policy is Causing a Stir. *The Washington Post*, 2015,**

[https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/worldviews/wp/2015/10/07/swedens-subtly-radical-feminist-foreign-policy-is-causing-a-stir/?noredirect=on&utm\\_term=.5b52e51e6f61](https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/worldviews/wp/2015/10/07/swedens-subtly-radical-feminist-foreign-policy-is-causing-a-stir/?noredirect=on&utm_term=.5b52e51e6f61).

However, while the Swedish Foreign Ministry has played down the situation, multiple accounts suggest that the opening of Morocco's first Ikea store was unexpectedly blocked as punishment for Sweden's foreign policy. Many in Morocco believe that Sweden is planning to soon become the first Western nation to recognize the independence of Western Sahara, a disputed territory claimed by Morocco.

**Thompson, Lyric. "Feminist Foreign Policy: A Framework." International Center for Research on Women, 2020.**

<https://www.icrw.org/publications/feminist-foreign-policy-a-framework/>

As the world marks the 25th Anniversary of the Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action, a growing number of feminists inside and outside of government are pioneering new approaches to policy that are tailored to address the issues of the day and advance new ground in the global quest for gender equality and the fulfillment of women's human rights.

**Thompson, Lyric. "A French Feminist Foreign Policy". *Foreign Policy*, 2020, <https://foreignpolicy.com/2019/05/20/g7-france-feminist-foreign-policy/>.**

Earlier this month, France hosted a series of meetings focused on advancing gender equality and women's rights as part of its presidency of the Group of Seven (G-7) major industrial economies. This included official meetings of ministers of gender equality (or relevant high-ranking officials), a high-level council of advisors, including the actor Emma Watson, and a large gathering of civil society advocates from G-7 and other countries together known as the Women 7.

**Thompson, Lyric. "Mexican Diplomacy Has Gone Feminist". *Foreign Policy*, 2020, <https://foreignpolicy.com/2020/01/14/mexican-diplomacy-feminist-foreign-policy/>.**

Last week, Mexico became the first global south country—and only the third country worldwide—to launch an explicitly feminist foreign policy. With this new policy platform, the government is setting a new global standard and, in its own words, “breaking glass ceilings.”

**Thompson, Lyric, and Rachel Clement. "Defining Feminist Foreign Policy." *Washington: ICRW* (2019).**

<https://www.icrw.org/wp-content/uploads/2019/03/Defining-Feminist-Foreign-Policy-Brief-revised.pdf>

A review of existing feminist foreign policies is limited to an exceedingly small sample, within which, surprisingly, there is nary a definition to be found. When pressed about this, officials from these countries have deflected: why expect governments to define FFP if feminists haven't? We take issue with this position, as an increasing number of feminist thinkers are trying to do just that. Perhaps it is fair to say that many of the policy proposals put forward by feminist theorists and feminist movements lack a single, cohesive, definition of what would constitute a feminist foreign policy and instead focus on challenging and changing the existing paradigms to simply include women and gender in their theory and practice. Our goal in this paper is to pull from resources put forward by feminist thinkers and attempt to contribute our own undoubtedly insufficient definition as a starting point for further dialogue.

**Thompson, L., Patel, G., Kripke, G. and O'Donnell, M., 2020. "Toward a Feminist Foreign Policy in the United States." International Center for Research on Women, 2020.**

<https://www.icrw.org/publications/toward-a-feminist-foreign-policy-in-the-united-states/>

Feminist foreign policy is the most recent policy innovation aiming for a transformative and rights-based approach across all auspices of a nation's foreign policy. Following formal announcements of feminist foreign policies in a number of countries, starting with the launch of Sweden's Feminist Foreign Policy in 2014, followed by a Canadian Feminist Foreign Assistance Policy in 2017, announcements by France and Luxembourg in 2019 and, most recently, the launch of a Mexican Feminist Foreign Policy in January 2020, the time has come to consider what approach the United States could take.

**Thomson, Jennifer. "What's Feminist about Feminist Foreign Policy? Sweden's and Canada's Foreign Policy Agendas." *International Studies Perspectives* (2019).**

<https://academic.oup.com/isp/advance-article-abstract/doi/10.1093/isp/ekz032/5715655>

Across politics and public discourse, feminism is experiencing a global renaissance. Yet feminist academic work is divided over the burgeoning use of the term, particularly in reference to economic and international development policy. For some, feminism has been co-opted for neoliberal economic ends; for others, it remains a critical force across the globe. This article explores the nascent feminist foreign policies of Sweden and Canada. Employing a discourse analysis of both states' policy documents, it asks what the term “feminist” meant in preliminary attempts at constructing a feminist foreign policy. It argues that although both use the term “feminist,” they understand the term very differently, with Sweden centering it in domestic and international commitments to change, while Canada places greater emphasis on the private sector. This suggests that this policy agenda is still developing its central concepts, and is thus ripe for intervention on the part of policymakers and civil society organizations.

**Thornberry, Emily. "What Would A Feminist Foreign Policy Look Like?". *New Statesmen*, 2017, <https://www.newstatesman.com/politics/staggers/2017/03/what-would-feminist-foreign-policy-look>**

Most of today's headlines predictably focussed on the budget, but yesterday was important for another reason - International Women's Day. As the Chancellor himself said in his budget speech, there is "no room for complacency" on women's rights. So the question is, what are they going to do?.

**Tiessen, Rebecca. "Canada's evolving feminist foreign policy: Lessons learned from 2017 to 2020." *Canada's Journal of Global Policy Affairs* 75:3 (2020): 294-297.**

<https://journals.sagepub.com/doi/abs/10.1177/0020702020954853>

This essay introduces a collection of articles on the lessons that can be drawn from Canada's Feminist International Assistance Policy (FIAP) as Canada moves toward a more concrete and deliberate approach to feminist foreign policy. The articles in this collection provide insights into the challenges to be addressed, gaps to be filled, and the critical analyses necessary for expanding and enhancing Canada's feminist foreign policy. The aim of the collection is to show that lessons learned from the FIAP can inform the design of Canada's next steps in forging a formalized, comprehensive, and coherent feminist foreign policy. This introductory essay summarizes the five articles in this special section of International Journal on the FIAP and Canada's feminist foreign policy and highlights their key findings.

**Tiessen, Rebecca. "What's New about Canada's Feminist International Assistance Policy and Why 'More of the Same' Matters." *The School of Public Policy Publications* (2019).**

[https://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract\\_id=3506896](https://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract_id=3506896)

Canada's new Feminist International Assistance Policy (FIAP) will succeed only if it leaves behind its instrumentalist feminist approach and takes on a transformative one. Instrumentalist approaches have been the status quo for such policies in the past, but they are limited in their reach because they confine themselves to relatively easy measurements of progress. These measurements include counting how many women and girls are involved in, or affected by, policy interventions that have broader societal and other goals. A transformative approach, however, goes deeper by working to permanently change the structures and institutions that perpetuate inequality.

**True, Jacqui. "A Feminist Foreign Policy?". *Australian Institute Of International Affairs*, 2017, <https://www.internationalaffairs.org.au/the-rise-of-womens-foreign-policy-leadership/>.**

Australia has provided the world with laudable examples of women in positions of political power, while simultaneously perpetuating a male-dominated 'blokey' culture. To what degree, and how, has the presence of women leaders enabled a gender perspective or a different voice on the foreign policy agenda to come to the fore?

**Van den Heuvel, Katrina. "Trump's Machismo vs Sweden's Feminist Foreign Policy". *Washington Post*, 2018,**

[https://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/trumps-machismo-vs-swedens-feminist-foreign-policy/2017/02/27/3f707478-fd2d-11e6-8ebe-6e0dbe4f2bca\\_story.html?noredirect=on&utm\\_term=.21c71c611f3a](https://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/trumps-machismo-vs-swedens-feminist-foreign-policy/2017/02/27/3f707478-fd2d-11e6-8ebe-6e0dbe4f2bca_story.html?noredirect=on&utm_term=.21c71c611f3a).

When it comes to national security, Trump's ostensible strategy is rooted in jingoism and outward displays of strength. Aside from Bannon, whose unusual role on the National Security Council is a matter of grave concern, Trump has surrounded himself largely with generals (including, until his resignation, Michael Flynn) who enable him to project an image of military might. His policies and statements often seem to be driven by an archaic and self-defeating notion of "toughness": immigration raids, the border wall, support for torture, even his all-caps tweets. "If we don't get tough and we don't get smart — and fast — we're not going to have a country anymore," Trump said in a campaign speech on terrorism. "There will be nothing

left." In contrast with Trump's machismo, Sweden, which recently began a two-year term on the U.N. Security Council, has adopted what Swedish foreign minister Margot Wallstrom calls a "feminist foreign policy." This approach puts the pursuit of gender equality at the center of nearly all of Sweden's foreign policy initiatives, from pushing for more female negotiators in peace talks to supporting international development programs for women and girls. In one case, Wallstrom even pulled out of an arms deal with Saudi Arabia over concerns about women's and human rights.

**Wallstrom, Margot. "A Feminist Approach Is Self-Evident And Necessary". *UNA-UK*, 2017, <https://www.una.org.uk/magazine/2017-2/feminist-approach-self-evident-and-necessary>.**

Sweden's feminist foreign policy uses all available foreign policy tools for gender equality and for the full enjoyment of human rights by all women and girls. It is a systematic approach to ensure that we apply a gender perspective in everything we do. It is an analytical tool for making informed decisions. And it is an agenda for change, which aims to increase the rights, representation and resources of all women and girls, based on the actual circumstances where they live.

**Williams, Kristin. "Feminism In Foreign Policy". *Oxford Research Encyclopedia Of Politics*, 2017, <https://oxfordre.com/politics/view/10.1093/acrefore/9780190228637.001.0001/acrefore-9780190228637-e-368?print=pdf>.**

Much of traditional/mainstream international relations (IR) research has neglected to address women and gender in the context of studying foreign policy actors, decisions, and outcomes. Given that women are increasingly gaining access to the political process in terms of both formal government positions and informal political activism, and recognition by the international community of women's roles in peace and war, feminist international relations (IR) scholars have challenged the assumptions and research focus of mainstream IR, including the study of foreign policy. Feminist international relations (IR) scholars have shown that countries with greater gender equality have foreign policies that are less belligerent. How do we account for foreign policies that are explicitly focused on women's empowerment and gender equality? The main questions motivating the research on feminism in foreign policy are as follows. Is there a gender gap between men and women in terms of foreign policy? If so, what explains the gender gap? Research shows that the evidence is mixed—for example, men and women often agree on foreign policy goals and objectives, but sometimes differ on what actions to take to achieve those goals, primarily whether to use force. In considering where the women are in foreign policy, scholars examine women's representation and participation in government, as gender equality is related to women's representation and participation. While an increasing number of women have entered formal politics, whether as heads of state/government, cabinet and ministerial positions, and ambassadorships, for example, women remain underrepresented. The question also arises as to whether and how women's participation and representation (descriptive and substantive representation) impact foreign policy. Does increased women's participation and representation lead to a foreign policy focused on "women's issues" and gender equality? Is a critical mass of women necessary for policies that promote gender equality and women's empowerment? Finally, what does it mean to have a feminist foreign policy?

**Zakaria, Rafia. "Canada's Hypocritical 'Feminist' Foreign Policy". *Aljazeera*, 2017, <https://www.aljazeera.com/indepth/opinion/arms-empowerment-canadas-feminism-falls-short-171102092659647.html>.**

As it applauds itself for following a "feminist agenda", Canada continues to sell weapons to regimes that kill women.