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FEMINIST FOREIGN POLICY

The Feminist Foreign Policy Reading List

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Achilleos-Sarll, Columba. 2018. Reconceptualising Foreign Policy as Gendered, Sexualised and Racialised: Towards a Postcolonial Feminist Foreign Policy. Journal of International Women's Studies. <https://www.cjr.org/opinion/women-foreign-policy-op-ed.php>

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.

Aggestam, K. and Bergmann, R. A. 2016. Swedish Feminist Foreign Policy in the Making: Ethics, Politics, and Gender. Ethics and International Affairs. <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.

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

Ardem, Jacinda et al. 2018. 10 reasons why we need a feminist foreign policy. OpenCanada. <https://www.opencanada.org/features/10-reasons-why-we-need-feminist-foreign-policy/>

Ten women — from New Zealand leader Jacinda Ardern 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.

Asquith, Christina and Thompson, Lyric. 2018. One small step for feminist foreign policy. Foreign Policy. https://foreignpolicy.com/2018/09/20/one-small-step-for-feminist-foreign-policy-women-canada/amp/?__twitter_impression=true

Both authors argue that the first meeting of female foreign ministers, hosted by Canada, is a historic achievement in displaying female power, but that it should also be used to advance topics like FFP. The article gives an overview of the concept of FFP with its historic development and prominent advocates. It then discusses several possibilities to advance women's rights in international policies. Towards the end, the authors also address some of the criticism brought up against FFP.

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

Now more than ever then a real feminist foreign policy needs to be developed by the UK government along with its counterparts in Sweden and Norway, two countries leading on this area of work. A true feminist foreign policy has to be rooted in an ethical approach that puts

human rights above arms sales profits. We need a foreign policy that safeguards women's agency and puts women centre stage in developing policies that offer long-term security, justice and economic opportunity to the first victims of failed western foreign policy – women.

Barry, Ellen. 2017. Sweden's Proponent of 'Feminist Foreign Policy,' Shaped by Abuse.

<https://www.nytimes.com/2017/11/17/world/europe/margot-wallstrom-sweden.html>

In this portrayal of the Swedish Foreign Minister Margot Wallström, the author describes her FFP and the importance she gives to the topic of sexual violence in the light of her Wallström's own experience with sexual violence. Barry not only describes the positive reactions Wallström gets with her FFP and outspoken persona, but also negative feedback, for example by Saudi Arabia over her human rights criticism or Israel for her support for the Palestinians.

Bryce, Hannah and Herten-Crabb, Asha. 2017. For the UK, a Feminist Foreign Policy Is Both the Right Thing to Do and Smart Strategy.

<https://www.nytimes.com/2017/11/17/world/europe/margot-wallstrom-sweden.html>

The authors argue in this article that adopting a foreign policy that prioritizes gender equality and human rights could help define post-Brexit Britain as a positive force in the world, assuming leadership in unstable Brexit-times. Even though some efforts have been made by Britain, for example appointing the first ever Foreign and Commonwealth Office's special envoy for gender equality, the authors make clear that there is still work to be done. They take examples from Sweden's and Canada's FFP.

Canadian Council for International Co-operation. 2017. Reviewing Canada's New Feminist International Assistance Policy, CCIC Brief.

<https://www.nytimes.com/2017/11/17/world/europe/margot-wallstrom-sweden.html>

This policy paper provides a short overview of the key elements in the new Feminist International Assistance Policy (FIAP). It situates the policy within the broader context of the foreign policy statement and the new defense policy; and it analyses the new FIAP, including against CCIC's formal submission, the What We Heard summary of the consultations released by Global Affairs Canada (GAC), and In Our Own Words, CCIC's assessment of 80 CSO submissions to the International Assistance Review (IAR). While applauding the important commitments contained in the new policy, this paper notes continued challenges in terms of substance, process, and funding that will need to be addressed as the new policy is implemented and to realize the policy's full potential. They argue that delivering on the government's intentions will require more than just a bold new vision and policy. It will require new programs and partnerships, including with CSOs, guided by aid and development effectiveness principles, core humanitarian principles and the Istanbul Principles for CSO Development Effectiveness. This will need to be backed by opportunities for generating new knowledge and shared learning around human rights- and feminist based approaches, among other areas. It will require forging stronger, more effective capacity among both government and its partners to deliver on these agendas in support of peoples' efforts to achieve their own development and claim their rights.

Finally, Canada's commitment must extend beyond good policy and practice to include predictable, ambitious, new and additional human and financial resources for global development and humanitarian assistance.

Charlesworth, H. 1993. Gendered States: Feminist (Re)Visions of International Relations Theory. Michigan Journal of International Law. <https://repository.law.umich.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1592&context=mjil>

In this article, Charlesworth provides a review of V. Spike Peterson's book "Gendered States: Feminist (Re)Visions of International Relations Theory".

Crouch, David. 2017. Is Sweden's feminist agenda working? BBC UK. <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. 2018. The women and girl migrants who disappear, and the feminist policies that could save them. OpenCanada.

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

Immigration policies are largely based on the experience of the male migrant, Alice Driver explains from Mexico and Central America, as she explores what a feminist approach to immigration might look like. She advocates for that the creation of feminist immigration policies first and foremost requires women to be involved at all levels of research and decision-making. It also requires a commitment to recognizing the complexity of life for migrant women and girls.

Garner, Karen. 2013. Gender and Foreign Policy in the Clinton Administration. FirstForum Press. <https://www.rienner.com/uploads/51e96ab3175ff.pdf>

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. Karen Garner has written a comprehensive analysis of gender and foreign policy in the Clinton administration in which she argues that "in substantial ways,

the Clinton Administration transformed its foreign policy and foreign aid rhetoric and programs based on feminist women's rights and women's empowerment prescriptions". Furthermore, in appointing women to high-level positions within the State Department (including, of course, Madeleine Albright as the first Secretary of State), establishing the President's Interagency Council on Women and other offices in the State Department, the Clinton administration championed a good many initiatives that heretofore had rarely been considered in a sustained and successful way in any bureaucracy of the US government. Feminist leaders in the administration "succeeded in altering foreign policy rhetoric and they implemented some foreign policy and foreign aid practices that benefited some global women".

Government of Canada. Canada's Feminist International Assistance Policy. http://international.gc.ca/world-monde/issues_developpement-enjeux_developpement/priorities-priorites/policy-politique.aspx?lang=eng

In this overview of their Feminist International Assistance Policy, Canada describes their motivation and action areas. Canada has adopted a feminist approach because they "firmly believe that women and girls have the ability to achieve real change in terms of sustainable development and peace, even though they are often the most vulnerable to poverty, violence and climate change." The core action area for the new policy—which will be integrated across all areas—is gender equality and the empowerment of women and girls. The other action areas are human dignity, covering humanitarian action, health and nutrition, and education; growth that works for everyone, which targets areas such as sustainable agriculture, green technologies and renewable energy; environment and climate action focusing on adaptation and mitigation, as well as on water management; inclusive governance, including democracy, human rights, the rule of law and good governance; and peace and security, by promoting inclusive peace processes and combating gender-based violence.

Government Offices of Sweden - Ministry of Foreign Affairs. 2017. Sweden's feminist foreign policy: Examples from three years of implementation.

<http://www.government.se/4ab455/contentassets/654bcc72d8f44da087386b4906043521/swedens-feminist-foreign-policy--examples-from-three-years-of-implementation.pdf>

This overview of Sweden's FFP answers the three following questions: Why does Sweden pursue a FFP? What steps has it taken? How have follow-ups and results assessments been conducted? They give examples of implemented policy initiatives based on seven action plan objectives: Full enjoyment of human rights by all women and girls; freedom from physical, mental and sexual violence for all women and girls; participation of women and girls in preventing and resolving conflicts and post-conflict peace building; political participation and influence of women and girls in all areas of society; full enjoyment of economic rights and empowerment of all women and girls; sexual and reproductive health and rights of women and girls; and Swedish Foreign Service internal activities support and advance the policy. Example: Sweden has pushed for the inclusion of women's and girls' full enjoyment of their human rights in resolutions and statements by the UN General Assembly and the UN Human Rights Council. Several further examples are: the inclusion of sexual and reproductive health and rights in the

Resolution on child, early and forced marriage; the UN Human Rights Council's adoption of a resolution on protection against violence and discrimination based on sexual orientation and gender identity; and the emphasis now placed on gender and age disaggregated data in several resolutions.

Government Offices of Sweden - Ministry of Foreign Affairs. 2018. Handbook Sweden's Feminist Foreign Policy.

<https://www.government.se/reports/2018/08/handbook-swedens-feminist-foreign-policy/>

This handbook contains a selection of methods and experiences that can provide examples and inspiration for further work of the Swedish Foreign Service, other parts of the civil service and society as a whole. The handbook also describes the first four years of working with a feminist foreign policy. Thereby, it responds to the considerable national and international interest in this policy. The work with the feminist foreign policy is structured according to three Rs: Rights, Representation and Resources. This is the basis for the analysis of the conditions where we work. What do the statistics say about the differences between women and men, girls and boys? Do they have the same rights – to education, work, marriage, divorce and inheritance? Are women represented where decisions that affect them are made – in parliaments, on boards and in legal systems? Is gender equality taken into consideration when resources are allocated – in central government budgets or development projects? The policy has achieved significant results. We have initiated a network of women mediators who are active all around the world. We have championed issues relating to women, peace and security within the UN Security Council. We have campaigned for women's and girls' sexual and reproductive health and rights, and for greater access to midwives, as well as for increased female representation in peace processes, legal systems and in the world's biggest digital reference work, Wikipedia.

Guay, Jennifer. 2017. Sweden and Canada fly the flag for feminist foreign policy?.

Apolitical. https://apolitical.co/solution_article/sweden-canada-fly-flag-feminist-foreign-policy/

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.

Halais, Flavie. 2017. Canada's New Foreign Aid Policy Puts Focus on Women Rights?.

Devex. <https://www.devex.com/news/canada-s-new-foreign-aid-policy-puts-focus-on-women-rights-90458>

A discussion on the Minister of International Development Marie-Claude Bibeau long-awaited release of Canada's International Assistance Policy. She refers to this as a strategy that calls itself "feminist", and represents a major shift in the country's vision for international development to assist the world's most vulnerable and marginalized populations. The new foreign aid policy now provides a clear framework of action for the government's stated feminist agenda, pushed by Prime Minister Justin Trudeau.

Ho, Karen K. 2018. Canada Puts its Feminist Foreign Policy to the Test. OpenCanada. <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. 2016. Gloria Steinem: Toward a Feminist Foreign Policy. Open Democracy. <https://www.opendemocracy.net/5050/valerie-m-hudson/toward-feminist-foreign-policy>

The article thematizes Gloria Steinem's life as a feminist activist and her efforts for peace. One example the authors draws in Steinem walking across the DMZ separating North and South Korea. It quotes Steinem on the importance of having non-patriarchal and non-violent family structures, seeing as family is "the cell of the government", but also on the need to deconstruct masculinity as it is currently presented. Hudson makes the link between feminism and peace work: "Feminism, then, when you look at it as Steinem does, as the recognition of the full humanity and full equality of both men and women, *is* peace work". When presented with the Presidential Medal of Freedom in 2013, Steinem argues that the gender division, in which there is a subject and an object, a masculine and feminine, a dominant and passive, is what normalizes other violence that has to do with race and class and ethnicity and sexuality. The article concludes with Steinem's vision of a better world, an embrace of difference without hierarchy. "Difference is the source of learning ... Difference is a gift, so that we understand and don't fear ... We live in a world of 'either/or.' We're trying to make a world of 'and.' So it is about shared humanity in perfect balance with difference."

Hudson, Valerie. 2017. Feminist foreign policy as state-led expansion of human rights. In: Expanding human rights: 21st century norms and governance. Elgar Publishing. <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.

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

This article looks at what it means to have a feminist approach to policy. Is it enough to promote women's rights or to target women and girls as beneficiaries? Or is there something more we should expect from a feminist approach? There is no clear definition in either the Swedish or Canadian initiatives. They argue *why* a feminist approach is important and valuable. But they're not explicit about *how* a feminist approach differs from a conventional policy. No discussion of underlying principles or concepts. It's assumed. So, what constitutes a feminist approach?

Lee, Danielle. 2018. What is Feminist Foreign Policy? Analysis of Canada's Feminist International Assistance Policy. University of Ottawa. https://ruor.uottawa.ca/bitstream/10393/37379/1/Lee_Danielle_2018_thesis.pdf

This thesis explores what feminist foreign policy is and if this is evident in Canada's Feminist International Assistance Policy. I conceptualize the essential purpose and elements of a feminist foreign policy through feminist theories and civil society research. I, then, examine Canada's Feminist International Assistance Policy through critical discourse analysis to see if it embodies the essential characteristics of a feminist foreign policy. I argue that a feminist foreign policy is profoundly transformative in its conceptualization of security, power and implementation, and that Canada's Feminist International Assistance Policy is ineffective in embodying this transformative potential for development and security. This thesis, thereby, situates Canada's Feminist International Assistance Policy in the feminist framework, with the hope of contributing to better feminist policymaking and implementation.

Mac Cormaic, Ruadhán. 2017. The case for a feminist foreign policy. <https://www.irishtimes.com/opinion/the-case-for-a-feminist-foreign-policy-1.3183835>

In his article, Mac Cormaic argues in favour of a FFP, arguing that a gender equality is not only the morally right thing to do, but also "smart realpolitik". He relies his argument on two facts: First, he quotes the World Economic Forum in stating that the global GDP would increase by \$28 trillion if women were to play an identical role in labour markets as men. Second, he mentions Valerie Hudson's findings on sex and world peace, proving that the best indicator for a state's peacefulness is how well women are treated.

Marshall, Catherine. 1999. Researching the Margins: Feminist Critical Policy Analysis. Sage Publications. <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.

Nordberg, Jenny. 2015. Who's afraid of a Feminist Foreign Policy? <https://www.newyorker.com/news/news-desk/swedens-feminist-foreign-minister>

The article describes Wallström's Feminist Foreign Policy "in practice", taking the incident of Saudi Arabia withdrawing their ambassador after Wallström's critique of the human rights situation in the kingdom as an example. It also talks about Swedish arms trade with Saudi Arabia and how the Swedish Social Democratic Government did not renew the arms deal with Saudi Arabia after public criticism and the question how selling arms to Saudi Arabia fits in with a Feminist Foreign Policy.

Oxfam Canada. 2017. Tackling Inequalities in the Global Economy: Making Canada's Foreign Policy Work for Women. Oxfam Canada. https://www.oxfam.ca/sites/default/files/file_attachments/tackling_inequalities_in_the_global_economy_report.pdf

This paper examines a feminist approach to three economic dimensions of Canada's foreign policy: international trade, corporate accountability and international development assistance. It offers practical suggestions and analytical tools for taking a feminist policy agenda forward, to ensure policies go beyond business-as-usual to address deep-rooted gender inequalities in the economy. In doing so, it seeks to support Canada to realize its ambition of supporting women's rights and gender equality around the world. Gender inequality shapes and structures the economy from the local to the global level. It affects the jobs that women and men do, what is considered and valued as work, and what issues become priorities in policymaking. Feminist economic policies are needed to address these inequalities and ensure women can enjoy their economic rights. The 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 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.

Oxfam Canada. 2018. A Feminist Approach to Localization. Oxfam Canada. <https://www.oxfam.ca/sites/default/files/a-feminist-approach-to-localization.pdf>

This paper presents findings of research with women's rights actors involved in humanitarian action, and makes suggestions for how the findings could inform Canada's approach to feminist aid and foreign policy. Specifically it discusses how Canada can realize a feminist approach to localization by supporting women's rights actors. Oxfam is exploring how feminist principles can improve our own humanitarian work. The Canadian government is committed to this approach through its Feminist International Assistance Policy and has policy commitments in place to increase the leadership of women's organizations in humanitarian action. The report focuses on the impacts that women's rights actors can have in humanitarian settings, the challenges that they face and how Canada could take a more deliberate, robust feminist approach to localization by

supporting their leadership. Such an approach would require new ways of working that bridges the nexus between humanitarian assistance, peace and security and development policies.

Parashar, S., Tickner, J.A. True, J. (Eds.). 2018. Revisiting Gendered States: Feminist Imaginings of the State in International Relations. Oxford University Press. <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.

Rao, Nirupama. 2018. Feminist Voices Could Change the Nature of International Diplomacy. The Wire. <https://thewire.in/230401/foreign-affairs-diplomacy-feminism-womens-day/>

This article discusses whether diplomacy can organise itself more effectively so that outcomes take into account the interests of these largely silent multitudes that comprise women. And if women can make themselves more effectively heard. Rao also investigates whether women bring a purely feminine-oriented perspective to the conduct of public policy. She argues that the issue would be different if the number of women in public policy decision-making was to substantially increase and if women are no longer in a minority. That becomes the inflection point for greater confidence and assertiveness in speaking out or leaning in, in a manner that is incorporative of concerns about the impact of decisions taken on gender equality. Nevertheless, feminists can come from both genders. The important thing is that we recognise and respect gender equality, the right of women to be heard and to make decisions that affect the peace and security of our homelands, to promote their participation in public life and to expand their leadership opportunities. We, the people must include she, the people.

Prasad, Sandeep. 2018. Is This Really What A Feminist Government Looks Like?. Huffington Post. https://www.huffingtonpost.ca/sandeep-prasad/canadian-government-feminist-policies_a_23374762/

Canada's political commitment to feminism comes at a time of financial crisis in the global sexual and reproductive health and rights movement. From the work done in the global feminist movement it is known that the most neglected areas are the ones where ideological approaches that aren't grounded in evidence have fueled regressive programs and policies, specifically in the areas of abortion, feminist advocacy and comprehensive sexuality education (sex ed that recognizes the realities and human rights of young people). A feminist approach requires a sustained commitment beyond the next election to realize substantive change in the most neglected areas. It requires that Canada continue to be vocally supportive of sexual and reproductive health, and rights in international decision-making spaces, including the G7. It requires the creation of an institutionalized approach to sexual and reproductive health and rights within our development agency (Global Affairs Canada) through a Canadian global sexual and reproductive health and rights policy that can't be swept under the rug with a change in government. It requires modernizing government funding mechanisms so that grassroots feminist organizations working to achieve legal and policy gains are able to receive financial support.

Rhodes, Francesca. 2017. NAFTA 2.0: Will Our Feminist Government Walk the Equality Talk?. The Globe and Mail. <https://www.theglobeandmail.com/opinion/nafta-20-will-our-feminist-government-walk-the-equality-talk/article35988854/>

NAFTA must take into account all the ways women contribute to the economy, including those who work in supply chains, use public services and provide the vast majority of unpaid care and domestic work. By only focusing on women at the top, those at the bottom of the economic ladder lose out, which only reinforces these inequalities. A truly feminist approach to renegotiating NAFTA would ensure not only that women's rights organizations and experts are consulted and represented at the table during these key conversations, but that the entire process is carried out in a transparent and accountable way.

Richey, Lisa A. 2001. In Search of Feminist Foreign Policy. SAGE Journal. <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.

Rothschild, Nathalie. 2018. Four years on, Sweden remains committed to its feminist foreign policy. OpenCanada. <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. The basic premise of the policy and the idea that it should permeate all aspects of Swedish foreign policy, including foreign aid, as well as the entire foreign service, has generally not been questioned in Sweden. That overall support means the government's recent assertion that Sweden should "continue as well as strengthen its leading role in highlighting the gender perspective in the international community" has not faced any major pushback — a signal that, regardless of a possible change of government in September, the feminist approach to Sweden's foreign policy is not likely to be reversed.

Sakaria, Rafia. 2017. Canada's Hypocritical 'Feminist' Foreign Policy. Al Jazeera. <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. It follows, then, that even while Canadian armored vehicles ply the desert border between Saudi Arabia and Yemen or the lanes of Maiduguri, and while jets with Pratt and Whitney engines drop bombs on civilians in different portions of the globe, Canadian voters energised by the historic nature of their "feminist" government and a "feminist" international aid assistance policy can continue to smugly look away. That the possibility of the "basic justice" identified by Chrystia Freeland as central to empowerment has been eviscerated for these women, that Canada is complicit in the crimes of these regimes, does not give anyone pause. American feminists remained largely silent when feminism became a pretext for war. Canadian feminists, eager to put Canada first, are doing the same, applauding a hollow feminism that diverts and deflects, dresses up and glosses over the dirty business of war and weapons.

Sarosi, Diana. 2017. A Truly Feminist Government Would Prioritize A Crackdown On Tax Dodging. Huffington Post. 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.

Schneider, Anna-Sophie. 2018. "Feministische Außenpolitik ist alles andere als weich". Spiegel Online. <http://www.spiegel.de/politik/ausland/schweden-vier-jahre-feministische-aussenpolitik-a-1225367.html>

In this article, the author gives an overview of Sweden's aspirations in FFP, taking the publication of the Swedish Handbook of FFP as the occasion to do so. They talk about the "dilemma of FFP" between idealism and realistic world politics. It also poses the question if a FFP would be an option for Germany and quotes Ulle Schauws, a Green Politician, on that question.

Sjoberg, Laura. 2009. Gender and International Security: Feminist Perspectives.

Routledge. http://spmehazem.yolasite.com/resources/ebooksclub.org_Gender_and_International_Security_Feminist_Perspectives_Routledge_Critical_Security_Studies_.pdf

This book defines the relationship between gender and international security, analyzing and critiquing international security theory and practice from a gendered perspective. Gender issues have an important place in the international security landscape, but have been neglected both in the theory and practice of international security. The passage and implementation of UN Security Council Resolution 1325 (on Security Council operations), the integration of gender concerns into peacekeeping, the management of refugees, post-conflict disarmament and reintegration and protection for non-combatants in times of war shows the increasing importance of gender sensitivity for actors on all fronts in global security. This book aims to improve the quality and quantity of conversations between feminist security studies and security studies more generally, in order to demonstrate the importance of gender analysis to the study of international security, and to expand the feminist research program in Security Studies. The chapters included in this book not only challenge the assumed irrelevance of gender, they argue that gender is not a subsection of security studies to be compartmentalized or briefly considered as a side issue. Rather, the contributors argue that gender is conceptually, empirically, and normatively essential to studying international security. They do so by critiquing and reconstructing key concepts and theories in international security, by looking for the increasingly complex roles women play as security actors, and by looking at various contemporary security issues through gendered lenses. Together, these chapters make the case that accurate, rigorous, and ethical scholarship of international security cannot be produced without taking account of women's presence in or the gendering of world politics.

Stansell, Christine. 2009. The War on Women: Establishing a Feminist Foreign Policy.

Dissent. https://www.dissentmagazine.org/online_articles/the-war-on-women-establishing-a-feminist-foreign-policy

This article is an introduction to the notion of feminist foreign policy, and of women, peace and security. Stansell argues that American liberals should be thinking about what will constitute a decent feminist foreign policy for the then Obama administration. Using the US as a case study, Stansell seeks to ascertain what more can be done to protect the lives of women and girls in areas of conflict. In doing so she raises questions as to the role of "developed" nations and governments to step in and raise the profile of women's rights at an international security level.

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

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.

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

For the UK adopting a feminist approach to foreign policy would mean making sure that women are fully represented in peace negotiations and peacekeeping forces, wherever in the world they are needed. It would place a premium on multilateralism, working with agencies such as UN Women, the UN Development Programme and the World Health Organisation, to name just a few. At a time of appalling violence and crushing poverty in the Middle East and Africa, with the mass movement of refugees on a scale unlike any seen before in our lifetimes, the UK needs some recognition that women and girls can be particularly vulnerable. We need a foreign policy which responds to challenges like forced marriage, and which speaks to the particular needs of women and girls at risk of being sold into slavery. Of course, the real test of any government's commitment to women's rights must be actions. Warm words and good photo-ops aren't enough. And while we've had plenty of rhetoric from the Tories, it will take a Labour government to deliver a truly progressive foreign policy, which puts women's rights front and centre where they belong.

Tickner, J. Ann, and True, Jacqui. 2018. A Century of International Relations Feminism: From World War I Women's Peace Pragmatism to the Women, Peace and Security Agenda. <https://academic.oup.com/isq/article-abstract/62/2/221/4969394>

We examine feminism in international relations from the emergence of women's peace pragmatism during WWI to the development of the United Nations (UN) Women, Peace, and Security (WPS) agenda a century later. We argue that feminism did not come late to international relations. Rather, international relations came late to feminism. Moreover, we show how the principles articulated by women peace activists at the 1915 Hague Conference represent distinct contributions to the discipline. These principles reflect a pragmatic approach derived from women's experiences of promoting peace and inclusion. The pragmatism of these principles is echoed by, and further developed in, four pillars of the WPS agenda—as shaped by advocates of women's rights, working through processes of trial and error, to gain state support for advance principles of equal and lasting peace. States may have rejected discussion of women's rights as an appropriate matter for international negotiations in 1915. But with the evolution of women's political rights during the twentieth century, it is now possible to advance a feminist perspective

on international peace and security. By recovering neglected aspects of the last century of international relations' feminism, this article helps further an alternative, pragmatist perspective on ways of knowing and doing international relations.

True, Jacqui P. 2017. A Feminist Foreign Policy?. Australian Institute of Foreign Affairs.

<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. Subsequently, this article seeks to examine 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 in Australian international relations? In order to examine this notion, this article goes on to question whether or not the ascension of a female foreign minister in Australia has had an impact on the gender balance in the staffing of foreign policy. Additionally, it seeks to understand if having women leaders makes a difference to the advancement of women diplomats and employees? This article also purports to question the potential for foreign policymaking to be guided by feminist principles and the plausibility of this occurring in place like Australia. In doing so, True fundamentally interrogates the contextual issues foregrounding Australia's foreign policy, advocating for an understanding of Australian foreign policy that is inclusive of its "domestic" policies, and the impact it these "domestic" policies have on international relations.

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

Washington Post. 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.

Wallström, Margot. 2017. A Feminist Approach is Self-evident and Necessary. UNA-UK Magazine. <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.

Weiß, Norman. 2016. Frauen, Frieden und Sicherheit - Was hat Resolution 1325 gebracht? Universitätsverlag Potsdam. https://publishup.uni-potsdam.de/opus4-ubp/frontdoor/deliver/index/docId/9293/file/srp_fd01.pdf

Heute sind die Themen Frauen und Frieden auf der Ebene der Sicherheitspolitik der Vereinten Nationen als Resultat von Resolution 1325 (2000) eng miteinander verbunden. Welche rechtlichen und tatsächlichen Konsequenzen haben sich aus dieser Entwicklung einerseits für die Arbeit der Vereinten Nationen selbst, andererseits für die Mitgliedstaaten ergeben und wie steht es um ihre Umsetzung? Die Studie zeichnet die WPS-Agenda nach und diskutiert die diesbezüglichen Aktivitäten der Vereinten Nationen. Die Umsetzungsmaßnahmen Deutschlands werden im Anschluss untersucht und bewertet.

Williams, Kristen P. 2017. Feminism in Foreign Policy. Oxford Research Encyclopedia of Politics. <http://politics.oxfordre.com/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?