Sachdokumentation:

Signatur: DS 3094

Permalink: www.sachdokumentation.ch/bestand/ds/3094

open think tank network

Introducing the Purple Age

Crowdsourced recommendations for a Feminist Foreign Policy

Partners

ag::ra

argo

foraus

POLIS 180

ponto
GRASSROOTS THINK TANK AUSTRIA

Policy Kitchen is supported by

ENGAGEMENT
A DEVELOPMENT FUND OF THE MIGROS GROUP

Authors

Maelys Bablon
Maelys is a gender analyst consultant and a volunteer for Agora.

Ninja Bumann
Ninja is a co-founder of the Vienna-based think tank Ponto and a PhD student working on Gender and Legal History in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Sian Chatha
Sian is a Gender, Policy and Inequalities graduate from LSE and co-heads the Identities research programme at Agora.

Sophie Domres
Sophie studies International Relations in Berlin and is a member of Polis180.

Holly Harwood
Holly is a Politics and International Relations LSE graduate and Head of Outreach for Agora.

Katie Humphries
Katie is a master's student in France and volunteer at Paris-based think tank, Argo.

Marylia Hushcha
Marylia is a research assistant at the International Institute for Peace in Vienna and a board member of Ponto.

Meral Kaufmann
Meral is a policy advisor for education in the German Bundestag.

Sophie Knabner
Sophie is a program manager for education for sustainable development and global justice as well as a volunteer at Polis180.

Helena Lüer
Helena is a master's student of peace and conflict studies in Frankfurt and a member of the gender & international politics programme at Polis180.

Esther Luigi
Esther is a member of the gender & international politics pogramme at Polis180. She is currently a trainee at the European Parliament.

Katharina Müller
Katharina is a Political Science graduate from Freie Universität Berlin and member of the Gender and International Politics programme at Polis 180.

Jonas Nakonz
Jonas is responsible for Policy Kitchen and a member of the executive committee at foraus.

Eva Rana
Eva is a Politics and History graduate from LSE and co-heads the Identities research programme at Agora in London.

Hannah Reinl
Hannah is a consultant for gender equality, diversity and inclusion at the United Nations and co-programme lead for gender at foraus.

Pascal Roelcke
Pascal is co-founder and president of the UK foreign policy think tank Agora. When not involved with Agora, he works as research executive in public affairs.

Clarice Schreiner
Clarice is an International Relations student and volunteers with immigrants and refugees in Porto Alegre, Brazil.

Pauline Seppey
Pauline is a master student in development studies and volunteers for the Gender Programme at foraus.

Sophie von Wartburg
Sophie is a policy advisor in development cooperation and co-leads the Gender Programme at foraus.

Amber Zenklusen
Amber is a research master's student of social sciences at the University of Amsterdam and previously interned for Policy Kitchen with foraus.

Alina Zurmühlen
Alina is a political communication consultant for ministries, foundations, and civil society organisations. She is a member of the gender & international politics programme at Polis180.

Menu

Acronyms

ATT	Arms trade treaty
COP25	2019 United Nations Climate Change Conference
COVID-19	Coronavirus Disease-19
EU	European Union
FDI	Foreign direct investment
FFP	Feminist foreign policy
GAP	Gender Action Plan
GBV	Gender-based violence
GDP	Gross domestic product
GRB	Gender-responsive budgeting
ICT	Information and communication technology
IFF	Illicit financial flows
IIA	International investment agreement
ILO	International Labour Organisation
IO	International organisation
LGBTQI+	Lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, queer, intersex, and people of other sexual orientations
MSME	Micro, small, and medium enterprises
NAP	National action plan
NDC	Nationally determined contributions
NGO	Non-governmental organisation
PPDP	Public-private development partnerships
SDG	United Nations Sustainable Development Goal
SRHR	Sexual and reproductive health and rights
UCW	Unpaid care work
UN	United Nations
UNFCCC	United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change
WHO	World Health Organisation
WTO	World Trade Organisation

Amuse-bouche
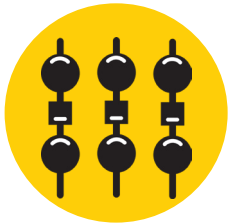
Abstract This report presents the output of a transnational participatory process – Policy Kitchen – organized and implemented by the Open Think Tank Network and dedicated to the question: *What should a feminist foreign policy look like in the 2020s?*

This bottom-up process with over 200 participants from five continents has generated a wealth of relevant policy recommendations for decision-makers in international affairs. The recommendations for a comprehensive feminist foreign policy (FFP) are presented in five thematic chapters, which emerged during the process:

Intersectionality and Representation
- FFP is a comprehensive approach that, beyond seeking gender equality, aims at achieving overall equality based on rights. It is

fundamentally pacifist and promotes a regenerative approach to nature.
- FFP must always be intersectional and critical towards postcolonial structures, power asymmetries and oppressive hierarchies.
- FFP decision-making processes must be based on the experiences and demands of civil society representatives from all walks of life. The discourse about women as victims must shift towards one that acknowledges women as independent agents.

Health, Safety and Autonomy
- Ensuring that women and traditionally marginalised groups are secure and have autonomy over their bodies is a central objective of FFP.
- FFP should define 'Purple Lines', a set of minimum standards with regards to gender-based violence (GBV) and sexual and reproductive health and rights (SRHR).
- Participants proposed specific recommendations in areas as diverse as health, education, finance, and urban development. The context of armed conflicts is treated separately in the Peace & Security chapter.

Environment and Climate Change
- The link between gender and climate change must be acknowledged. The social justice impact of mitigation and adaptation policies must be assessed. Data and indicators to inform policy making should be disaggregated by gender.
- Environmental, climate, and energy policies must be based upon inclusive decision-making approaches, with particular focus on the inclusion of indigenous knowledge.
- Women and traditionally marginalized groups must be empowered to shape environmental, climate, and energy policies with measures ranging from educational programmes to gender mainstreaming and gender budgeting.

Peace and Security
- FFP prioritizes human security over 'traditional' national security approaches.

- Measures must be taken to address the stark underrepresentation of women and traditionally marginalized groups in peace negotiations.
- FFP requires countries to disengage from arms trade and prioritize the global disarmament agenda.

The Economic Sphere
- Gender biases and thereto linked dynamics of exploitation and discrimination are pervasive and reproduce in the economic sphere. FFP strives to reshape economic priorities based on inclusion and sustainability.
- Recommendations cover a wide range of policy areas: from education (particularly digital empowerment and digital literacy), employment, informal work, unpaid care work, social protection, family policy, taxation, public financial management, trade and investment to global economic governance.
- The chapter highlights the responsibility of the private sector, including measures to strengthen corporate social responsibility, transparency, and providing accessible banking services. ●

The Kitchen

Policy Kitchen is a policy crowdsourcing methodology developed by foraus – Forum Aussenpolitik/Swiss Forum on Foreign Policy. It enables a diverse network of thinkers from Switzerland and abroad to find creative policy recipes to pressing foreign policy challenges. The methodology is built on three components: an online crowd innovation platform, ideation workshops, and a support process to create impact with the best crowdsourced policy recipes. The platform is public and any person, irrespective of background or location, can participate and contribute ideas. To ensure a high level of expertise, we partner with experts and professionals of various sectors (science, government, international organisations, civil society, business, etc). We encourage and support other actors in using participatory methods in their respective domains and generating high-quality outputs. The code for Policy Kitchen is made available as open source software. Policy

Kitchen has been made possible with the support of the Engagement Migros foundation.

This crowdsourced report is the result of the first Policy Kitchen "challenge" collaboratively organised by all five think tanks of the Open Think Tank Network; foraus (CH), Ponto (AT), Polis180 (DE), Argo (FR) and Agora (UK). We believe that transnational challenges have to be addressed in cross-border collaboration and through bottom-up participation. From March to May 2020, participants were encouraged to reflect on the question: What should a feminist foreign policy look like in the 2020s? Each think tank organised one or several ideation workshops, in which experts and group discussions inspired participants to collaboratively develop policy recipes and submit them to the Policy Kitchen platform. The project team, composed of 45 young volunteers from all the participatory think tanks, was dedicated to making the process as participatory as possible. Due to the COVID-19 pandemic, these workshops were held virtually instead of physically.

The crisis turned into an opportunity: the virtual format allowed for participation from five continents. Overall, over 200 international participants joined the challenge on the platform, contributing 89 policy ideas. Participants included students and the interested public as well as senior representatives from government, international organisations, private sector, non-governmental organisations, and academia, thus diversifying the thematic foci of the policy proposals. The first series of ideation workshops were complemented by a joint workshop a few weeks later, in which participants had the opportunity to refine ideas. The ideas were then clustered into different thematic chapters by a core team of think tank representatives. They were written by transnational groups composed of think tank members and challenge participants, maximising the participatory nature of this report. The draft was reviewed by a high-level advisory board. The full list of partners, experts and contributors is presented in the final chapter of this report. All contributions are public on policykitchen. com/feministfp. ●

Starter: Why Feminist Foreign Policy Now?

This feminist foreign policy challenge is timely for several reasons: 2020 is an extraordinary year for international commitments on gender equality. It marks the 25th anniversary of the Beijing Platform for Action, the 20th anniversary of United Nations (UN) Security Council Resolution 1325 on Women, Peace and Security and the 5th anniversary of Sustainable Development Goal (SDG) Nr. 5 on Gender Equality and Women's Empowerment.

At the same time, we are experiencing a significant backlash against gender equality and women's rights, along with increasing inequality around the globe. Unequal power relations perpetuate the exclusion of individuals and communities along social, cultural, political and economic dimensions from accessing equal and full social and political rights. This interlocking system of power disproportionately affects traditionally marginalized individuals, the

latter including LGBTQI+ individuals, racial and ethnic groups, people with disabilities, low-income or migration backgrounds. Women and traditionally marginalized groups have also been historically underrepresented in government, policy-making and, subsequently, in foreign policy. This has led to foreign policies that traditionally neglect the interests of these groups and have, in consequence, sometimes increased (pre-existing) gender inequalities. By centering on the needs and potential agency of traditionally marginalized groups and by analysing international affairs through a bottom-up perspective that acknowledges the intersectional nature of inequality (age, gender, class, ethnicity, etc.), FFP could provide an alternative to power politics and the behaviour of domination prevalent in today's global climate.

As the first country, Sweden adopted FFP in 2014 in line with its longstanding commitment to gender equality. In 2017, Canada followed with a feminist international assistance policy, while France announced its own FFP in 2019. In January 2020, Mexico launched its FFP. Luxembourg, Malaysia, and Spain have pledged to develop similar policies. Finally, the European Parliament adopted a report calling for gender equality in the EU's foreign and security policy in October 2020.[1] However, there is no universally accepted definition of FFP, with several governments and organisations promoting different definitions and implementations.[2] In this report, we present crowdsourced recommendations by practitioners, scholars and students from all over the world to inspire existing and future FFP. ●

Main Course: Outputs of the Participatory Process

The following chapter introduces the basic concepts essential for FFP. In this context, an intersectional and postcolonial approach that aims to disrupt the unequal power structures of our societies is of particular significance to the Policy Kitchen participants.

Defining a Feminist Foreign Policy
It is important to be aware that there is no single model of FFP which could be applied to all countries and institutions without considering local contexts. Nonetheless, Policy Kitchen participants agreed that a clear definition of FFP was key for progress to be made:

"[T]here needs to be an overall concept of what is to be achieved and how."
– Sandra Hochstöger, Policy Kitchen participant[3]

More specifically, several participants agreed on the need to embrace ambitious, comprehensive definitions of FFP. They stressed that while achieving gender equality is an integral part of FFP, a feminist vision is by no means limited to that objective. An emergent theme was a shift in foreign policy priorities from traditional values of sovereignty and national security to values of solidarity, empathy and care. Finally, participants stressed that these values should extend to nature itself and that any FFP should articulate a strong commitment to fighting the climate emergency.[4]

Based on all of the inputs, the Policy Kitchen team put forward the following definition:

FFP seeks to achieve overall equality based on rights, is fundamentally pacifist, and promotes a regenerative approach to nature.

Participants' recommendations

- Committing to a concrete definition of FFP and disseminating it among all relevant state institutions to ensure that a state's commitment to FFP is consistent across all policy areas.

- Promoting this definition in all relevant fora for foreign policy. This includes state governments and ministries in charge of foreign policy as well as international and regional organisations (for example, the UN, the African Union, or the European Union (EU)).

Mainstreaming Feminism in Foreign Policy

To mainstream feminist perspectives means systematically taking them into account at every step of decision-making in the foreign policy-making process. So far, feminist perspectives have rarely been acknowledged beyond the realms of peace and security and development cooperation. The comprehensive definition we have

outlined above is key to mainstreaming efforts because it highlights the extent to which feminism, far from being solely concerned with achieving gender equality, is a relevant political approach for all aspects of foreign policy.[5] Thus, the policy areas covered in this report also extends beyond those typically discussed within the Feminist Foreign Policy discourse.

Participants' recommendations

- Integrating feminist perspectives in all areas of foreign policy — especially more traditional areas where it has so far been neglected, such as trade.

- Building on the integration of feminist perspectives in the realm of peace and security to make further progress. The women, peace and security agenda shaped by Resolution 1325 of the UN Security Council has gained international recognition and provides evidence of the benefits of integrating feminist perspectives in foreign affairs. This success could be used as a starting point for a wider discussion on FFP.[6]

Intersectionality and Postcolonialism

Policy Kitchen participants stressed repeatedly that foreign policy does not exist in a vacuum, both domestically and internationally. Several participants raised the existence of structural inequalities and asymmetries in power relations in the international system as a hindrance for developing FFP.[7] Those structures are historically connected to the colonial legacies that still influence international relations between states of the Global North and Global South. A postcolonial approach acknowledges and seeks to combat such unequal power relations,[8] as well as intersecting forms of inequality such as race, ethnicity, sexuality, gender, disability, class, and other forms of discrimination.[9] Hence, FFP needs to challenge gender, class, sexual, and racial hierarchies that are at the heart of current patriarchal and racist societies.[10] As one participant pointed out, these patriarchal legacies are "the foundations of our society, from state structures and political leadership models, to our laws, military, and traditional ideas of gendered spheres".[11] As it underscores the need to tackle the existing structures with transformative aims and works against the reproduction of stereotypes and oppressive

patterns, a postcolonial and intersectional feminist approach can be particularly helpful to change unequal structures in the field of foreign policy.[12]

Participants' recommendations

- Making foreign policy durable through a feminist approach by systematically taking into account intersecting forms of discrimination in policy-making processes.[13] In order to do so, implementing training on unconscious gender and racial biases among staff in foreign affairs ministries would be a helpful first step.[14]

- Creating an international feminist monitoring organisation ("watchdog organisation"), with fair representation of women, LGBTQI+ people, people of colour, and people with different educational backgrounds to ensure that local and global policies are equitable.[15]

- Founding a multi-stakeholder alliance of supporters of FFP and incentivising other state and non-governmental actors to join as soon as possible.[16]

Overcoming Discrimination Through Representation

Another key point in tackling structural inequality and implementing intersectional approaches is increasing the representation of marginalized groups in foreign policy circles. For instance, empirical research has shown that peace processes with significant participation of women are more likely to reach and implement peace agreements and less likely to see renewed conflict.[17] Inadequate or insufficient representation often leads to the creation of well-meaning policies that fail to be effective for lack of suitability to a specific local context, or even turn out to be harmful.[18] The participants maintained that FFP must therefore always be elaborated in a participatory way, with the inclusion of as many diverse actors as possible. Concern about the lack of representation of women and marginalised groups in policy-making[19] and the lack of gender expertise in organisations and ministries was widespread among participants.[20] They suggested that special consideration needed to be given both to minorities within countries, and to the countries of the Global South at the international level.[21] [22]

Policy Kitchen participants saw the participation of the local population of the state subject to FFP to be invaluable in ensuring that policies are culturally sensitive and effective.

"We demand that states form decision-making bodies which are representative of the WHOLE society by 2025. This includes the implementation of full gender parity, but also the stronger representation of marginalized groups."
— Ninja Bumann, Mechthild Geyer and Mariam Lalaian, Policy Kitchen participants[23]

Participants' recommendations

- Integrating local knowledge about a foreign state when designing FFP to engage with that state.[24]

- Implementing measures (for example seminars, workshops, career fairs, mentoring and scholarship programmes, and the involvement of the media) to encourage individuals from under-represented genders and groups to apply to positions in the relevant fields.[25]

- Establishing internal mechanisms that hold political institutions, ministries, and international organisations accountable if they fail to deliver on their promises to increase diversity and representation of marginalized groups among their staff.

- Mobilizing male allies for gender equality, diversity and inclusion and promoting transformative masculinities in leadership contexts. This can be done through championing alternative role models, establishing networks for learning and exchange and launching targeted training initiatives and awareness raising campaigns. Some participants also called for enhanced accountability mechanisms.

Feminist Language in Foreign Policy

Some of our participants pointed out that in foreign policy, particularly regarding security policies, discourses prevail which portray and describe women primarily as weak, passive, and as victims.[26] These discourses ignore the fact that women are more than just victims; they also appear in other roles such as politicians, diplomats, combatants, soldiers, mediators, and activists. To resist the pointless tendency to overlook women in these roles, a participant suggested that language in FFP should work toward a neutralization of existing stereotypes

and values when talking about women in foreign policy – in particular shifting away from a predominantly victim-based representation and narrative. For example, participants stressed the importance of using precise, clear, and exhaustive language when talking about GBV and SRHR.[27] Others raised concerns about labelling of certain policies as "feminist" without substantially changing the policies themselves, and highlighted the need for inclusive definitions.[28]

Participants' recommendations

- Designing a toolkit for feminist language. Champions of gender equality, both within and outside government, should develop a toolkit that includes best practices for and approaches to building a case for feminist language in foreign policy.[29] The toolkit should also include guidelines for an inclusive, progressive use of language free of the hierarchies and inequalities that FFP seeks to combat.

- Creating and/or supporting non-governmental organisation (NGO) networks, and raising awareness of the need to transform structural gender inequalities – a precondition to achieve global gender equality in the long term.

Need for Clear Indicators
Finally, the Policy Kitchen participants stressed that for the commitment to FFP to translate into real progress, the ability to measure such progress against specific goals and to evaluate the gender dimension of foreign policies is essential. Participants highlighted the central role which gender experts and relevant women's associations should play in creating good measurements. They also suggested that measurement should be a two-fold process, with an assessment to be conducted in the initial stages before a policy is adopted, and an evaluation in the final stages.

Participants' recommendations

- Systematically assessing the different implications for people of different genders of any foreign policy action, in all areas and on all levels. Specific indicators measuring the gendered impact of policies should be set, and sex-disaggregated data should be collected and made publicly available. Where possible, this should apply to all agreements negotiated and implemented internationally, and the data should include as many relevant categories (age, ability, class, etc.) as possible.[30]

Health, Safety and Autonomy

Ensuring safety and body autonomy, particularly for women, emerged as a key focus area from participants. The 2020s start with the sobering realization that progress in combating GBV and promoting SRHR is under serious threat of global rollback. Within the European context, recent examples include the Polish constitutional court's ruling turning already restrictive abortion laws into a near-total ban,[31] as well as the attempts to restrict access to abortions in Slovakia.[32] Also subject of global media coverage was the Trump administration's expansion of its global gag rule, which subsequently denied US funding to any programme offered by NGOs providing or simply informing about abortion-related services.[33] Furthermore, in 2019, the UN Security Council passed Resolution 2467[34] on combating conflict-related sexual violence without directly acknowledging access to sexual and reproductive health care for victims of sexual violence as in previous resolutions. As one participant underlined, "problems cannot be solved unless they are accurately named."[35] Moving into the 2020s, GBV and SRHR are at risk of being hidden from view in the global arena.

Ideas from participants for these issues were some of the most diverse, while workshop discussions often blurred the lines between domestic and foreign policy. Many SRHR- and GBV-related ideas therefore reflect the need to ensure adequate alignment of domestic and foreign policy. Acknowledging that national frames of reference differ even among close European neighbours, participants called for European consistency of approach and action to tackle these issues at the global level collaboratively and credibly.

Sexual and Reproductive Health and Rights

"A feminist foreign policy cannot be truly feminist without knowledge of, and advocacy for, sexual and reproductive health and rights (SRHR). However, SRHR continues to be a significant obstacle to a global acceptance of feminist foreign policy."
— Amanda Clark, Policy Kitchen participant[36]

Acknowledging that progress on SRHR is coming under pressure in both the national and the international context, recommendations from participants highlighted specific focus areas. These included representation in healthcare decision-making, access to health services and contraception, and abortion rights.

Participants' recommendations

- Promote increased representation at all levels of healthcare decision-making to reduce the barriers women face when making decisions about their own bodies.[37] Only 31% of global health organisations and 20% of their boards are led by women.[38] Coupled with the fact that women continue to be under-represented within governments worldwide, this means women's healthcare needs are often inadequately addressed, underfunded and under-resourced at all levels.

- Monitor access to maternal healthcare and abortion and sexual health services in times of crisis.[39] Crises can be used to curtail hard-won progress on gender and reproductive rights around the world. In these contexts, states that endorse a FFP should increase their vigilance to raise awareness and intervene where possible.

- Coordinate resources with other states to maintain a global supply chain of contraception and reproductive health commodities, taking into account the barriers that women face to receiving full and proper healthcare, such as geographical location, cost, or social stigma.[40]

- Ensure access to safe abortion as a fundamental precodnition for women's autonomy over their bodies. Abortion rights should be a key forcus area of FFP. Participants propose the following measures:[41]

    Clear articulate access to safe abortion as part of SRHR in internation al discourse;

    Apply pressure to create a minimum standard for abortion rights within the EU and its external relations;

    Appoint dedicated "Ambassadors for Gender Equality", mandated with the facilitation of a cohesive approach across these spheres and with other feminist policies globally;

    Amplify the work of local campaigners through financing and advocacy;

    Advocate at the international level against rollbacks of abortion rights to provoke coordinated sanctions from the global community.

In workshop discussions and submissions to the online platform, participants' recommendations pointed to the need to adapt actions and approaches tailored to local contexts. For example, the specific considerations required for small island developing states were raised as an often-overlooked, unique context.[42] Participants highlighted that, given the diversity of attitudes towards SRHR, local knowledge should be consulted to ensure that policies are as relevant and effective as possible.

Gender-Based Violence

GBV is a problem that transcends social, economic, geographical, and development boundaries.[43] Intimate partner violence accounts for most GBV cases[44] and in the context of the COVID-19 health crisis, as half the global population went into lockdown, violence against women has been referred to as the 'shadow pandemic'.[45] Efforts to combat GBV face logistical, cultural and institutional challenges for which there is no single or short-term solution. A FFP will have to apply constant focus on action and awareness if progress is to be made and maintained.

During workshops, participants viewed the soaring domestic violence rates linked to COVID-19 as indications that the next decade should focus on ratifying and implementing existing national laws and international agreements. They highlighted the Istanbul Convention[46] as a significant achievement of the 2010s and pointed to the still-pending ratification of the Convention by major players such as the UK. However, ideas for the 2020s also looked beyond international frameworks and articulated recommendations for ensuring sustainable progress that are not necessarily dependent on the political sphere. As such, three main thematic areas emerged, namely education, financing, and urban design.

Focus on increasing access to education for girls is seen as one means of addressing the socially and culturally complex challenges of GBV, especially in contexts with high rates of child marriage. The longer a girl is educated, the more likely she is to have greater physical and mental autonomy for challenging prescribed gender roles.

Participants' recommendations [47]

- Adapting educational offers to local community rhythms, for instance by introducing half-day school schedules to reduce the number of drop-outs due to time conflicts;
- Investing in the training of local community partners to teach, but also pursue their own further education;
- Ensuring diverse representation among teaching staff;
- Positive representation of educated women and their achievements;
- Ensuring sons are not favoured over daughters to benefit from education initiatives.

In bringing awareness to financing, participants remarked that initiatives to combat GBV often suffer from financial vulnerability which jeopardises their capacity for initiating and sustaining transformational changes. This might be due to insufficient length of funding cycles for projects[48] or to initiatives being considered as "soft issues" that are cut in favour of programmes yielding more short-term results.[49] As investing with a gendered lens is, albeit being far from prevalent, starting to grow,[50] definitional and identification challenges emerge.[51] To help overcome these challenges, FFP could include the creation of a specialised accreditation applied to civic actors investing in projects abroad.

Participants' recommendations

- Develop a Feminist Finance Accreditation that countries could give to their national companies and investment funds which invest abroad in projects minimizing the risks of GBV and actively working towards positive change. An accreditation could raise awareness for combating GBV by normalising it as a consideration in investments, with specific criteria to guide investors who want to benefit from the financial and reputational advantages of doing so.[52]

Beyond the evident human cost, GBV is estimated to cost countries up to 3.7% of their gross domestic product (GDP).[53] Actions towards mainstreaming GBV considerations will highlight the high economic risk in failing to act on it to all stakeholders. Meanwhile, the positive impact of safeguarding long-term progression could be two-fold: diversifying investment sources to reduce risk of total funding cuts,

and a civic-political accountability balance to create additional checks against short-term priority and policy shifts that might occur at national levels.

Although most GBV happens in the domestic sphere, participants also pointed out that, with UN predictions of 68% of the world's population living in cities by 2050,[54] the threat of sexual harassment and assault in the public sphere cannot be ignored: According to a global expert survey from 2018, women and girls in an urban environment routinely face sexual harassment, exploitation and insecurity. Almost half (48%) of the interviewed experts stated that it is (extremely) unsafe for girls to use public transport at night.[55] Participants challenged the notion of urban design as a purely domestic policy subject, since many state development agencies are actively pursuing urban development agendas.

Participants' recommendations

- Investing more in safe public urban infrastructure. The construction of an extensive and safe public transportation network should be particularly supported with the specific needs of women in mind.[56] [57]

- Supporting representation of women and traditionally marginalised groups and their interests in decision-making about urban design, and more generally in institutions impacting urban citizens;[58]

"Targeting cities and urban planning in the frame of a feminist foreign policy agenda does not only support progressive local leaders and local initiatives, but most of all creates a safe and prosperous public space for all citizens."
— Maria Isabelle Wieser, Policy Kitchen participant[59]

With SRHR and GBV under threat in the global policy-making agenda, being clear and forceful about FFP objectives is imperative. Participants recommended that, in the 2020s, abortion rights, access to contraception, and representation in healthcare are key to ensuring the broader, long-term success of FFP. In working towards the implementation of these goals, participants emphasized the

importance of a cohesive framework that aligns international and domestic approaches. Identifying that access to health, safety and autonomy differs by socio-cultural context, participants further stressed the need for tailoring such approaches towards the local context within which they are situated. In light of these complexities, they pointed out that FFP should not shy away from trying to influence topics as diverse as civic investment abroad and foreign urban design.

Highlighting clarity in relation to SRHR and GBV as essential for both the public and policy-makers in FFP, participants recommended the articulation of "purple lines for the minimum standards of what should be actively promoted and defended."[60]

> "Why purple? Purple is the colour of feminism. First used by British suffragists in the early 20th century, combined with white and green, purple is now the world-wide recognised colour of feminism as a social movement defending women's rights."
> – Claire Guiraud, Policy Kitchen participant[61]

Frameworks, conventions, and treaties would be translated into the 'purple lines' of concrete issues and actions that states endorsing FFP will attack, defend, and rally around. With the concept of red lines firmly established in political discourse, 'purple lines' could be transformed into an easily accessible, powerful linguistic vehicle furthering the FFP agenda for GBV, SRHR, and more.

Environment and Climate Change

Examining the linkages between social inequalities and environmental degradation, although still often neglected in policy-making and scientific research, provides useful insights into how greater progress in both areas can be achieved.[62] Therefore, it is important that policy stakeholders take social differences into account when making decisions on climate change. Considered a major milestone in progress towards incorporating a gender perspective into international climate change treaties, for instance, are the outcome documents of the 2009 United Nations Climate Change Conference.[63] In the years following the summit, parties to the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC) recognized the need for addressing gender-differentiated impacts of climate change and ensuring gender equality and the effective participation of women.[64]

Overall, the philosophy behind effective environmental policies corresponds with a feminist worldview. Both strive for greater inclusion and attention to the most vulnerable and systematically discriminated or neglected groups, including women, indigenous communities, and the poor. The two philosophies can reinforce each other on the policy level if their complex linkages are recognized and well understood by decision-makers. In this chapter we take a look at some of the possible connections.

Poverty, Injustice, and Climate Change

"A feminist foreign policy must be one that [is not satisfied] with global climate action that reproduces and reinforces existing inequalities. Instead, it needs to promote urgent, radical climate action that is just and leaves no one behind."
— Pauline Seppey, Megan Armstrong, and Irina Herb, Policy Kitchen participants[65]

The poor are most affected by climate change. They are the first to go thirsty, hungry, or lose their homes or land due to droughts,

deforestation, wildfires and other human-driven and natural environmental causes.[66] Women make up for around 70% of the world's poorest.[67] Further, gendered divisions of labor assign domestic and reproductive responsibilities such as rearing children, securing fuel (such as wood) and collecting water primarily to women, rendering them more dependent on communal resources and subsistence farming. Therefore, women often bear the brunt of the cost of environmental degradation in the form of poor harvests, or longer journeys in search of firewood or clean water.[68] Yet, while living conditions of many women and marginalized communities around the world significantly depend on how successfully climate change and environmental decline will be mitigated in the years to come, their ability to act on these issues remains limited.

Participants' recommendations

- Assessing the social justice impact of climate change mitigation and adaptation policies. Such research can inform decision-making as to how different societal groups are affected by environmental policies, drawing attention to women and particularly vulnerable communities.[69]

- Redefining the Nationally Determined Contributions (NDCs) pledged under the UNFCCC. NDCs should include recognition of social justice issues in their wording instead of only focusing on the 1.5ºC target.[70]

- Introducing a mechanism to redistribute resources from wealthy nations and entities to those on the frontlines of the climate disaster. Relevant programmes could include micro-financing loans, funding of green initiatives and direct reparations addressing climate inequality.[71]

- Establishing a climate passport for persons fleeing their home countries due to climate change impact. Such a climate passport would need to include a gendered lens and grant women, who are more likely than men to fall victim to violence during the migration process, specific assurances, including access to psychological assistance, especially when applying for asylum.[72]

Climate Change and Indigenous Communities

Ensuring the inclusion of indigenous and local knowledge is an important part of tackling climate change.[73] For example, research into the practices of Turkana herders in Kenya and their particular understanding of the environment revealed how local knowledge helps contextualize scientific findings about climate change.[74] Yet, as it continues to be underrepresented in political and academic

discourses, the potential of contextualized, local knowledge remains largely untapped.

In addition, environmental policies that lack insights into the life of local populations are at risk of unintentionally harming those communities. For instance, reforestation policies can negatively affect local communities if questions of displacement and compensation are not addressed during their implementation.[75] Similarly, the development of biofuels should not be lauded as a solution without acknowledging green grabbing - the appropriation of land and resources for environmental purposes- it induces in certain regions.[76]

Participants' recommendations

- Promoting the inclusion of indigenous and local knowledge in environmental research and education curricula. This can translate into sharing best practices of localised climate mitigation methods at the regional level or fostering community leadership by women and other marginalized groups. While such projects already exist in many contexts, they need to be more strongly supported and led by governments.[77]

- Strengthening collaborations with local, non-state stakeholders in an active effort to include the most marginalized in decision-making when designing and implementing mitigation and adaptation policies.[78]

Gender and Energy

With energy and fossil fuels emerging as important issues in global security policy, domestic energy usage has become directly linked to states' foreign policy strategies. In getting a clearer understanding of domestic energy consumption, investigating gender differences is indispensable. Across the world, women and men differ visibly in how and for what purposes they use energy sources. A study looking at selected European countries showed, for instance, that "woman-headed households are found to have higher emissions than man-headed households, which is explained by pointing to a gendered division of labour and women spending more time at home, while men have higher emissions related to transport and leisure activities."[79] At the same time, cultural norms labeling building renovations as a male sphere of interest perpetuate the neglect of such differences when accounting for household activities and needs.[80] Whether this

example calls for an active targeting of women in energy renovation projects or a change in the gendering of household responsibilities, it demonstrates that policy instruments, including in the energy sector, are often perceived as "gender-neutral" when in fact they are gender-blind.

Participants' recommendations

- Collecting gender disaggregated data in energy production, use, and energy policy to inform decision-makers. Energy departments/ministries as well as private energy companies should gather gender-disaggregated data and consult the results regularly throughout the decision-making process.[81]

- Making gender mainstreaming and gender budgeting an indelible part of energy policy and of every government.[82]

- Consulting women and considering their perspectives and interests when designing renovation projects in energy efficiency.[83]

Climate Change and Education

Knowledge and recognition surrounding the importance of climate change in broader society are inextricably linked with the sense of urgency related to these topics among policy-makers. When it comes to educational measures related to climate change, approaches should be informed by a gender perspective. As women continue to be primarily responsible for childcare around the world, their knowledge and engagement around environmental issues is likely to shape the next generation's awareness and actions. Further, women are active agents of environmental protection. For example, it was demonstrated that in the field of energy research, female scientists tend to focus more on renewable energy sources and social aspects of energy use than their male counterparts.[84] At the same time, given low rates of gender equality in some countries, entering scientific and technical professions can be a way for many women to gain financial independence. These two findings should reinforce the need to promote greater female participation in environmental sciences.

Participants' recommendations

- Developing university programmes in environmental science that specifically target women. This would, for instance, mean that the programmes would take into account child rearing and household responsibilities of women, making the education process more flexible.[85]

- Allocating more funding to projects targeted at raising awareness about climate change among women as community leaders. The process can work both ways – raising awareness and at the same time collecting local knowledge on already existing practices.[86]

Inclusive Decision-Making

"Climate Change is not gender-neutral: women and men are experiencing climate change differently. Yes, women are being affected by the climate change crisis much harder than men."
— Mereilim Kalen, Policy Kitchen participant[87]

Climate change and climate policies are, as any other policy area, not gender neutral and affect social groups differently.[88] Therefore, climate policies should reflect the differing needs of various groups, placing particular emphasis on women and traditionally marginalized communities. Some significant steps have already been made towards a more gender-sensitive approach within the UNFCCC, the key framework for tackling the climate crisis on the global level. At the Conference of Parties 25 (COP25) in 2019, the second 5-year Gender Action Plan (GAP) was adopted which envisions the inclusion of all stakeholders at all levels as well as women's participation in the UNFCCC process.[89] However, some critics state that this GAP lacks clear indicators for measuring successful implementation. In addition, a precondition for action towards gender equality is the full implementation of the 2016 Paris Agreement, including the limitation of global warming to 1.5ºC target.[90] Participants recommended two policies to make decision-making in the context of the climate and environment more inclusive.

Participants' recommendations

- Expanding access for the most vulnerable by promoting enhanced accountability for diverse representation within states' delegations in international negotiations, such as the UNFCCC's COP.[91]

- Leveraging national, regional and international problem-solving capacities by encouraging the formation of diverse working groups, made up of politicians, delegates from International Organizations, scientists, activists, journalists and private sector representatives.[92]

Peace and Security

Security is a critical pillar of any foreign policy agenda. FFP seeks to re-frame security away from the traditional state-centric approach to the principles of human security[93] — ensuring the right of individuals to freedom from want and freedom from fear. As the current pandemic has shown, security is much more than a matter of external military threats. It can be threatened by a vast array of social, economic, and environmental phenomena such as climate change, mass displacement, terrorism, and poverty. These challenges often hit the most marginalized hardest, and the voices of these populations are erased from policy decisions aimed at supporting these very individuals. As previous discussions of intersectionality have already considered, those that do take into account such voices risk doing so in an oversimplified manner, rather than acknowledging the impact of race, class, sexuality, and other overlapping elements of social identity. The following clusters explore several themes of security raised by participants, and seek to provide guidance to policy-makers and relevant stakeholders on approaching these from a FFP lens. Central to each of these is the need for an inclusive (including bottom-up) approach to decision-making, which incorporates the systematic collection of views and data from individuals across the community, including those typically most marginalized.

Equal Representation in Peacebuilding Processes

Women and other marginalized communities are usually the most impacted by war and conflict and the most likely to face human rights abuses and horrific violence, even by those who have a duty to protect.[94] Despite this dark reality, they are consistently sidelined in peace and conflict talks and negotiations. Indeed, between 1992 and 2018 "women constituted only 13 percent of negotiators, 3 percent of mediators and 4 percent of signatories in major peace processes."[95]

This highlights the slow progress on increasing the representation of women in peacebuilding processes, but underlines the value of gender quotas in peacebuilding initiatives. However, the use of quotas is far from the perfect solution. Typically the women who are able to take part in formal peace and conflict talks and formal negotiations to express their views are not likely to be part of the groups who have

experienced the worst during war.[96] Therefore, the intersectional nuances experienced by women or by actors from local communities in impacted areas could be overlooked and poorly understood. As a result, higher female representation under a quota system does not necessarily give more meaningful outcomes when creating a more inclusive security agenda.

For conflict resolution to be most effective, it must be feminist. Accordingly, the voices of local advocacy groups and grassroots organisations must be central to the peace process.[97]

Participants' recommendations

- Facilitate a network of local actors who are closer to the impacted communities, and ideally of those experiencing the issues themselves.[98] This network should be included at all stages of peacebuilding and peace negotiations in order to "capture the knowledge and expertise of local peace builders, mediators, and other actors".[99] This will enable marginalised women and local communities to voice their needs and as a result play a leading role in the peacebuilding processes. An effective network will place the most marginalised communities at the centre of the process and strive at true representation.

The inclusion of affected groups in peacebuilding initiatives has already been implemented in Ukraine's domestic policy to help resolve conflict in Easten Ukraine.[100] This approach has allowed women and girls to have a say in the decisions that will affect their future and contribute towards ensuring their security. Incorporating bottom-up processes in peace conflicts offer an effective alternative to top-down solutions to underrepresentation, such as quotas.

Arms Control and Trade

As pointed out by a participant,[101] FFP cannot be reconciled with arms exports. Arms trade and patriarchal structures are co-constituting, contributing to masculinised militarism,[102] directly enabling the proliferation of gender-based violence (GBV) and systemic violence along the lines of race, sexuality, disability, class or other sociodemographic factors. Even outside the context of ongoing conflict, arms contribute to the implicit subjugation of women and other marginalised groups in public and private social spheres. The UN Arms Trade Treaty (ATT)[103] has made efforts to regulate the

trade and facilitated discussions about the links between arms sales and GBV.[104] However, it has also been criticized for legitimizing the existing arms trading of major exporters (largely in the Global North) and ultimately prioritise the pursuit of economic gain over justice and human security.[105] As a result, a trade which enables the devastating loss of human life continues through legal avenues.

Despite the evident contradiction between FFP and arms trading, states who have publicly committed to FFP, such as Canada and Sweden, continue to rank among the largest arms exporters globally. Some defend[106] FFP-implementing states' decision to continue exporting arms as legal since it remains in line with international regulations like the ATT which includes a requirement[107] for exporting states to assess the risk of their weapons being used to perpetuate GBV. However, vague guidelines[108] on preventing GBV by limiting arms exports and the continuation of arms exports to human rights-violating regimes even by states claiming FFP[109], demonstrate that a regulation-based approach to the arms trade is inadequate. What is to be done?

> "Can a country's feminist foreign policy be considered feminist if it still permits the export of arms?"
> — Amanda Clark, Policy Kitchen participant[110]

Participants' recommendations

- States aiming to pursue FFP should acknowledge the incompatibility of a feminist agenda with engaging in arms trade and work towards ending their own arms exports.[111]

- Hold accountable the majority of states that have not committed to FFP, urging them, alongside international institutions and bodies like the UN, to move beyond an arms trade regulation agenda to one of comprehensive disarmament.

The Role of Data and Technological Tools

Women have long been made invisible as victims of, and stakeholders in, conflict situations. Challenges such as gender-based violence are often exacerbated during warfare. The intention behind using digital tools to confront this problem is not only to accommodate short-term solutions, but to simultaneously subvert traditionalist conceptions of security. However, as some participants noted,[112] attempts to ameliorate this situation are often thwarted by the lack of sufficient data about women's specific concerns.

Participants' recommendations

- Systemise efforts to collect reliable gender-disaggregated data insights into the unique situation of vulnerable groups. Both international organisations and local NGOs should collaborate on filling gaps in data across different demographic indicators (including age)[113] and regional levels, along the lines of UN Sustainable Development Goal (SDG) indicators.[114]

- Decision-makers must commit to conducting regular gender audits.[115] This will ensure that policies are not being solely informed by those in positions of power. In recognition of the intersectionality of gender, these audits should actively seek out the voices of those who are particularly disadvantaged by race, class, and sexuality. This would not only raise awareness about their plight, but enable a just, evidence-based allocation of resources by policy-makers.

Since digital technology transcends the material resource constraints of war-time, social media may also be harnessed as a tool for the visibility and empowerment of vulnerable groups. To this end, participants recommended a dual approach centred around high profile advocacy and digital literacy.

Participants' recommendations

- Encourage popular celebrities to use their online platform for advocacy around these issues, and the gendered gap in adult digital literacy should be bridged through training programmes aimed especially at elderly women.[116]

- Encourage online message boards among women as a means of sharing experiences of conflict.[117]

- Promote cross-border contact with women from "enemy" territories to mitigate prejudice and contribute towards shared solutions to common problems faced by local communities of marginalised groups.[118]

Regarding this last recommendation, a similar grassroots initiative[119] has called for women, irrespective of geopolitical affiliations, to be involved in a political agreement to resolve the Israel-Palestine conflict. This approach is underpinned by the FFP principle of empathy that undermines the nationalist rhetoric which precludes mutual interest-based solutions during conflict.

Participants' recommendations

- In the intergovernmental arena, attitudes towards international aid should shift from a "developmentalist" perspective to promote capacity-building instead, particularly in the field of technology.[120]

"Multilateral agreements conditioned upon a democratised allocation of digital infrastructure have the potential of ensuring that these resources are allowed to reach women in remote locales or conservative societal contexts and are not merely co-opted by the privileged elite to reinforce existing systems of exclusion."
— Eva Rana, Policy Kitchen participant[121]

Intersectional and Gender-Sensitive Frameworks
FFP can only be successful if domestic and international frameworks are promotive of it. National Actions Plans (NAPs)[122] developed by member states are relevant examples. As of August 2019, 42% of states — or a total of 82 countries — had released NAPs.[123] While this represents a promising starting point, the following policy recommendations should be considered when developing and updating NAPs.

Policy Kitchen participants have found that some of the main obstacles to successful NAPs are the lack of sustainable funding, monitoring, and evaluation frameworks. To ensure their effective implementation, NAPs require systematic monitoring and evaluation

frameworks as well as the widespread inclusion of grassroots organisations, feminist groups, and marginalised communities.[124]

Participants' recommendations

- Define binding quotas, measures, concrete indicators, and measurable objectives, and include clear commitments with binding time plans, budgets, and a distribution of tasks, based on effective interministerial coordination, to reach equal participation of women in civil and military crisis management missions.[125]

- Expand indicators to include sexual orientation and gender identity and define "women" and "gender" as two distinct terms.[126]

- Define a structured procedure to effectively incorporate women's needs, vulnerabilities, and interests in diplomatic prevention and mediation such as comprehensive checklists on the basis of lessons learnt from the previous years of implementing NAPs.[127]

- Increase funding for gender mainstreaming and gender sensitivity training for diplomats and peacekeeping personnel.[128]

- Include non-binary and intersectional language and concepts in NAPs to enable them to better contribute to inclusive safety and peace.[129]

- Include bottom-up reviews by grassroots groups, representing the diversity of women, other gender identity groups,[130] and people with different sexual orientations,[131] and develop a public methodology on how these contributions will be integrated and allow ongoing external review.

Human Security and the Protection of Women in Migration Flows

Traditional state security, which identifies external military threats as the greatest danger to a sovereign state, isn't sufficient for the protection of most political and social groups. Although national security strategies have advanced on widening the understanding of security, operations are still carried through by militarist actions. A human security agenda includes a wider range of non-military threats, as well as of actors to contribute towards the promotion of peace. As the current pandemic starkly reminds us, insecurities may be promoted by a range of situations including trans-border migration flow, trade of weapons and drugs, terrorism, unemployment, and natural disasters.

The reinforcement of traditional state security also contributes to unsafe migration routes, especially for refugees. The investment in border security without a gendered lens fails to provide safety for

the 79.5 million forcibly displaced people worldwide, as of the end of 2019.[30] In this context of trans-border migration, the situation of marginalised groups is precarious, and women, which make up 55% of refugees on the move, are frequently sexually assaulted by policemen, security officers and other refugees.[31]

Participants' recommendations

- Organise access to trained same-gender medical staff for refugee women, both in the host country and in external borders in the case of the EU. This could be implemented following the World Health Organisation (WHO) clinical and policy guidelines, which includes a gender-sensitive sexual assault care provision integrated with other healthcare services.[132]

- Include grassroots groups in international processes and negotiations, such as peace talks, with consultation from these local actors and the involvement of regional experiences and knowledge so that systemic oppression can be overcome.[133]

- Ensure gender expertise is granted at every stage of the route towards protection to address the particular vulnerability of marginalised groups. This right has to be granted in legally binding agreements and perpetrators must be held accountable.[134]

- Develop a feminist process for asylum seekers, which can be firstly established with the inclusion of gender persecution as an asylum claim, but further developed on various forms, such as decreasing barries to the renewal of the regulatory status of those already residing in the country.[135]

More broadly, for human security to feature prominently in FFP, it should emphasise the inclusion of local actors in long-term solutions, and use their experiences and knowledge to inform policies. As pointed out by one participant, these should not be based on a western model, but instead contribute towards the development of south-south structures and communication.[136]

As put forth by feminist economic theory, economic policies in the era of globalisation and the resulting structural changes, macro-economic shifts, and economic crises affect individuals and different segments of societies in different ways: gender, class, ethnicity, sexual identity, and religion (among others) intersect and form axes of socio-economic inclusion and marginalization, respectively.[137] The economy itself, both at the national and the global level, and at the micro and macro-level of analysis, is not value-neutral as orthodox economic theory suggests; gender biases and thereto linked dynamics of exploitation and discrimination are pervasive and reproduce in the economic sphere.[138]

In the last decades, financial and economic crises and the implications of standard responses like policies of austerity and strict restructuring already laid bare and exacerbated social and economic inequalities, including gender inequalities.[139] However, perhaps like never before, the current COVID-19 pandemic and its associated immediate and long-term economic repercussions brutally showed – and will continue to show – how fragile our economic foundations can be, how insecure and precarious the livelihoods of so many in fact are – especially of female 'essential workers' in underpaid frontline jobs.[140] Across the globe, the COVID-19 pandemic reveals the real costs of the many gender-blind social, economic, and labour market policies currently in place. The partial progress achieved towards gender equality in the last decades is facing serious risks of rollback. And while this is true for women in high-income countries, it is all the more critical for women in emerging economies and least-developed countries, the majority of whom work in the informal sector.[141]

Consequently, FFP strives for a recalibration of economic priorities in order to promote inclusive global cooperation in the economic realm and push for sustainable development that benefits everyone.

The Foundations for Inclusive Economic Activity

Ensuring that women and traditionally marginalized groups benefit from equal income and livelihood opportunities heavily depends on them having equal access to education and market-relevant skills,

as well as equal access to and control over productive resources and assets, for example financial services like savings, credit and insurances, legally secured land titles, technology, etc. For instance, despite contrary legal regulations, women in half of the countries worldwide lack access to secure land rights.[142] Discriminatory social laws and obstacles in the registration process, for example because of mobility, illiteracy, and secondary land rights, undermine the financial and legal empowerment of female farmers and the thriving of their families and communities. Regarding these vital socio-economic foundations, several participants elaborated a set of policy recommendations to be pursued by a state's FFP.

Participants' recommendations

- Enshrining safe access to, control over, and informed use of the internet and information and communication technology (ICT) as a human right in the international norms agenda. Without it, individuals and groups can neither participate in the economy nor in local politics, transnational debates and initiatives nor in higher-level education. In light of the economy's digital transformation and related trends such as the 'gig economy', alleviating the current gender digital gap is crucial. Hence, FFP must particularly focus on women's digital empowerment and digital literacy.[143]

- Collect gender-disaggregated data on digital access and education to implement evidence-driven policy-making.[144]

- Going beyond reaching gender parity in school enrollment rates by focussing on fostering inclusive basic education that is suitable for girls. This includes both ensuring girls' physical security and gender-sensitive training of teaching staff.[145]

- Deepening financial inclusion through policy reforms and development programmes. A broader approach for granting equal access to financial products and services going beyond microfinance for entrepreneurs should be pursued to reach those most left behind. A concrete example would be the promotion of simple banking options using non-traditional forms of collateral for female small-scale farmers[146]. This should go hand in hand with financial literacy training.[147]

- Promoting gender-equitable land rights and identifying robust implementation measures to secure individual or collective secure land tenure,[148] depending on local customs, elevating the voices of female farmers and removing barriers to legal protection.

Employment and Informal Work

In developing countries, large numbers of women have entered the workforce and are now disproportionately employed in informal employment.[149] Globally, women are concentrated in the most vulnerable and "invisible" segments of informal work, for example as home-based workers, wage workers or in small family businesses.[150] Informal employment beyond state regulation, without formal contracts and with little to no access to basic safety provisions, is often perceived as the only alternative by a workforce utterly disadvantaged in the formal workplace due to gender, race, class, or legal status. These workers struggle to gain collective bargaining power and, in consequence, fail to make their demands visible.[151] Today, international organisations (IOs) recognise the vulnerablility of these workers to human rights violations, sexual harassment and (feminised) poverty. The 2015 ILO Recommendation 204[152] and the UN's SDGs[153] represent first milestones in the commitment to formalisation. While the complexity of measuring informality alone poses a challenge to policy formulation, it remains crucial to adopt an intersectional lens.

Participants' recommendations

- Including grassroots and civil society organizations advocating in IOs' discussions surrounding labour formalisation to understand challenges on the ground and high-impact policy opportunities.[154]

- Improving the legal conditions around informal occupations. Inter alia, this should entail expediting decriminalization of workers in sex labour[155] and protect workers in care-intensive labour (both nationals and immigrants within global care chains).[156]

- Identifying and including the brunt of essential informal workers in emergency response plans in general and in the COVID-19 context specifically.[157]

- Closing the gender gap in social security protection coverage by promoting country-appropriate social security floors with non-contributory elements[158] to better include the poor and vulnerable groups, including women working in the informal sector.[159]

- Promoting gender-sensitive family policies. While informal work is insecure and underpaid, it often allows women to combine these occupations with care obligations. Maternity protection measures, paid paternity leave, and flexible (formal) working arrangements can help to prevent women from taking up precarious jobs. Such measures should be promoted by IOs, legally binding instruments introduced and states and local actors supported in their implementation.[160]

Unpaid Care Work

> Since unpaid labor is disproportionately carried out by women, failing to measure it introduces a gender bias into economic data.
> — Charlotte Briner and Meral Kaufmann, Policy Kitchen Participants[161]

Globally, unpaid care work (UCW) is carried out overwhelmingly by women[162] and represents a key structural cause of gender inequality, leading to gender gaps in pay, pensions and the underrepresentation of women in positions of power. While essential to societies and the economy, women's UCW is under measured and undervalued. Statistical measurement is crucial when it comes to achieving recognition and — eventually — effective policy formulation for the reduction and redistribution of UCW. However, UCW is not part of the calculations of countries' GDP. It is estimated that if women's UCW were assigned a monetary value it would constitute between 10%-39% of GDP.[163] Failing to measure UCW introduces a gender bias into economic data, which in turn builds the basis for flawed policy decisions. This problem is particularly acute in developing countries, where the overall female time spent on UCW is even higher in comparison. While some states and IOs (for example ILO) are measuring UCW, it still lacks recognition and prominence in global governance. To tackle UCW, two participants elaborated several policy recommendations for the states' FFPs during the workshop.

Participants' recommendations

- Promoting efforts to calculate the value of UCW relative to conventional GDP and lobby for the inclusion of UCW in the system of national accounts — the base framework for calculating GDPs. National statistics bureaus must be supported in developing datasets and statistics that measure UCW, such as time-use survey disaggregated by sex, age, and socio-economic charac-teristics.[164]

- Promoting the engagement of men and boys and raising awareness about the need for care work redistribution at the international level through policy dialogue. To achieve this, FFP should dedicate more funding to NGOs and grassroots organisations tackling these issues on the ground.[165]

- Leading by example, member states of any IO and UN body should take policy measures and fund infrastructure at headquarters and regional offices to account for UCW duties of their employees, representatives, and delegations (for example by reserving day care places, cost-sharing child care, paid parental leave).[166]

Taxation and Public Financial Management

The distributional and allocative effects of taxation schemes, as well as public financial management and budgeting practices at the local, national and international level, play a crucial role when it comes to creating favourable conditions and sufficient fiscal space to actually implement social equality commitments.

For instance, illicit financial flows (IFFs), aggressive tax practices, and tax evasion by corporations and wealthy individuals erode the domestic revenue basis for public expenditure that could flow into policy measures to promote gender equality and support women and girls with essential services and gender-responsive infrastructure.[167] Addressing such public revenue-depleting practices must go hand in hand with efforts to increase domestic resource mobilisation in order to finance the public sectors that women are most affected by and dependent from (for example, health and care services, water and sanitation, transportation, etc).[168]

Participants' recommendations

- Commiting to fighting tax havens, tax evasion and IFFs at the global level, as well as to design and implement linked domestic policies in other relevant government units, accordingly.[169]

- Promoting participatory Gender Responsive Budgeting (GRB) with transparent tracking systems as a standard in public financial management at local and national levels. GRB is a budgetary tool to make sure that policies addressing gender (in)equality are backed by sufficient financial means, for example to address UCW.[170]

- Calling for comprehensive GRB systems abroad must be linked with according efforts at home: GRB should be endorsed by all states globally and not – as currently done – be put forth as an approach to be adopted by developing countries alone. Hence, states and specialised IOs should share practices on how to best implement GRB that is inclusive and accountable to women according to each context.[171]

- Eliminating gender-based price discrimation, the "pink tax", the extra price paid for products branded for female consumers but often virtually identical to the corresponding "male" product, if existent. For instance, menstrual hygiene products are taxed as a non-essential or "luxury" product in many

countries around the world, thus becoming unaffordable to some people and resulting in period poverty, increased stigmatization, and potential hurdles to participate in labour and education.[172]

The Private Sector

According to the Agenda 2030 and the SDGs, it is clear that the private sector plays a pivotal role when it comes to achieving sustainable development and the transformation towards a more equitable global economy. Thus, FFP goes beyond holding private sector actors, especially multinational enterprises, accountable to human rights and their cross-border tax duties. As recommended by several participants, FFP should foresee measures for increased private sector engagement that promotes gender equality at different levels (substance, regulatory framework, and institutional setups).

Participants' recommendations

- Implementing the the UN Business & Human Rights Guiding Principles' Part II (2011)[173] on corporate responsibility to respect human rights, including gender equality, more stringently, for example by supporting ongoing efforts for a new binding UN treaty with compulsory "hard-law" instruments and regulations that would lead to a level-playing field and close regulatory loopholes.[174]

- Revising the UN Global Compact, a non-binding global pact on responsible business practices in the areas of human rights, anti-corruption, labour and environment,[175] to set an explicitly gender-transformative standard for business members (as opposed to simply "including women").

- Agreeing on comprehensive gender equality-related transparency and reporting requirements in commercial codes, business registration rules, and stock exchange memberships.[176]

- States should be supporting the publication of good practices versus poor corporate performance towards the SDGs, especially SDG 5 on gender equality, on a dedicated platform. This could lead to a rating system of the most gender equality-transformative businesses.[177]

- Engaging in gender-transformative public private development partnerships (PPDPs) with development agencies. To ensure effectiveness and positive impact of such PPDPs, a new joint guideline for development agencies with criterias and indicators on how to measure and monitor private sector contributions in different sectors should be adopted. Best practices on how to effectively partner with the private sector to achieve gender equality could be published in a new Annual Report.[178]

A second set of recommendations on gender equality and the private sector focuses on the identification and support of women's leadership and representation in economic policy-related debates and international institutions and entities, as well as ensuring financial support to promote women owned/run-businesses on the ground.

Participants' recommendations

- Amending the statutes of political bodies and IOs offering seats to private sector representatives and delegates (for example ECOSOC, ILO) to require diversity and gender balance, with diverging appointments leading to a refusal or, depending on the IO, a member state losing its right to vote.[179] The adoption of a time-limited affirmative action measure for appointments of exclusively female private sector representatives until gender parity is accepted in such bodies should be considered.[180]

- Increasing the visibility and allocating more funding, including Official Development Assistance within development cooperation programmes, for female entrepreneurship programmes and business and social innovation awards that support women economic leaders and female-run micro, small, and medium enterprises (MSMEs) from developing countries (for example the UNCTAD EMPRETEC programme and annual award).[181,182]

- Contributing to international initiatives that promote women 'champions of change' initiatives, where diverse female economic leaders act as role models for gender equality in policy debates.[183]

Trade, Investment and Global Economic Governance

The manifold effects of globalised trade and investment activities are complex and ambiguous regarding their impact on gender equality in general and women's empowerment in particular. The latter is equally due to a lack of robust data, for example, on the effects of foreign direct investment (FDI) on gender equality. Depending on each specific context (country, economic sector, wage segment, etc.) some women may have gained new income opportunities, while others may have lost their livelihoods due to economic liberalisation.[184] Furthermore, international investment agreements (IIAs) are not only inclined to be biased towards investors at the cost of host states, the latter oftentimes being developing countries suffering from weak regulatory and legal systems; to this day, IIAs are also often completely gender-blind.[185]

"Global economic governance should look beyond the G7/G20 and include women's and LGBTQI organisations from the Global South, acknowledging that the impact of economic and trade policies is felt across the globe. Some women may win while others may lose: the voices of the latter must be heard."
— Sophie von Wartburg, Policy Kitchen participant and chapter lead[186]

Participants recommended policies to best ensure that trade and FDI promote instead of sabotage efforts to reach gender equality. ●

Participants' recommendations

- Promoting and implementing standards for robust 'ex-ante' gender analysis of trade agreement and trade policy reforms to identify beneficiaries and negatively impacted groups. Where risks and negative impacts are detected, the allocation of supporting funds and other policy measures to mitigate such gendered impacts should be agreed upon at the outset of each agreement and/or reform.

- Including legally binding chapters on human rights, including a subchapter on gender equality, into all, bilateral or multilateral, trade agreements.[187]

- Striving for a global IIA regime that sets binding investor obligations to respect human rights and host states' policies and international commitments on gender equality. In addition, home countries (where investors are domiciled) should grant their IIA treaty partners the possibility to pursue legal actions against investors under their jurisdiction in order to ensure effective investor compliance.[188]

- Linking state support and subsidies to national companies, in the context of trade and export promotion, to gender equality standards.[189] This could include the reporting on gender equality-related impacts abroad and the availability of an effective corporate policy on gender equality and diversity.

- Securing voices of intersectional organisations in global economic governance, especially from the Global South, in relevant governance institutions and summits (for example G20) as well as trade liberalisation rounds.[190] This could, among other things, entail a reform of the World Trade Organisation (WTO) to include a standing Civil Society Advisory Board[191] and efforts to promote appointments of female directors from the Global South, especially from least-developed countries, in the boards and decision-making bodies of the WTO and the Bretton Woods Institutions.

Dessert: Conclusion

In this report, we have sought to address the key thematic areas which Policy Kitchen participants perceived as most pressing and relevant in framing the future of a Feminist Foreign Policy.

A clear definition is the cornerstone of cohesive FFP development. After reviewing the outputs of the Policy Kitchen process, the authors suggest defining FFP as: seeking to achieve overall equality based on rights, being fundamentally pacifist, and promoting a regenerating approach to nature. This definition implies that FFP is a comprehensive approach to foreign policy, extending beyond a narrow focus on gender equality and also beyond the policy areas of peace and security or development cooperation. Relevant to all themes explored in the report, participants placed intersectionality and representation at the heart of FFP, and mandated FFP with actively challenging the gender, sexual, and racial hierarchies around which current societies

are organized. Finally, in all thematic areas explored in this report, participants voiced the importance of systematically collecting sex-disaggregated data, without which gaps can neither be identified nor bridged.

Looking first at health, safety and autonomy, we raise the widespread access to sexual and reproductive health and rights (SRHR) and the abolishment of gender-based violence (GBV) as a fundamental pillar of FFP. A renewed commitment towards achieving these targets becomes even more important considering that women's access to SRHR and autonomy over their own bodies has been under attack in recent years. On a global scale, the UN Security Council Resolution 2467's failure to account for the importance of providing victims of GBV with access to sexual and reproductive healthcare has been symptomatic of that. On the national level, discussions tend to zoom in on the situation in countries of the Global South, neglecting that recent developments indicate a worrying rollback on these issues in Western contexts as well. European examples include the latest near-total ban of abortions by constitutional court ruling in Poland or the attempts of Slovakian conservatives to significantly restrict abortion rights. At the time of writing, Judge Amy Coney Barrett, known for her strong anti-abortion stance, is being appointed to the United States Supreme Court, potentially setting a course for anti-feminist US policies for years to come.

Recognizing the need for mitigating such developments, participants stressed the importance of improving representation of women and minority groups in healthcare decision-making, abortion rights, and access to contraception. This argument gains particular traction when considering that women make up the majority of the global health workforce, and yet are fundamentally underrepresented in national and international decision-making processes. As a consequence, women's healthcare issues remain inadequately addressed and under-funded. Acknowledging women's rights and autonomy over their own bodies, a FFP should push for enhanced abortion rights in the 2020s. Finally, participants suggested three ways to address GBV: by increasing women's access to education in order to promote greater social and economic autonomy; by establishing a feminist finance accreditation system to incentivize investment in GBV-prevention with reputational benefits for

investors; and through gender-inclusive urban planning aiming to reduce the risk of sexual violence and harassment in public spaces.

The report also flags climate change as an integral part of FFP. Recommendations call for enhanced efforts to explore- and mitigate- the heightened vulnerabilities of women and marginalized communities within the context of the climate crisis. As reflected in our definition of FFP, a feminist worldview goes hand in hand with effective environmental policies. Echoing the recommendations of other thematic areas of this report, participants felt that policies should be reshaped to build on indigenous and local knowledge, as well as incorporate a social justice impact lens. For instance, participants denounced the fact that Nationally Determined Contributions (NDCs) do not include recognition of social justice issues in their wording, and are instead solely focusing on the target reduction of 1.5 °C. Considering the greater impact of climate change on women than men, and a growing evidence base suggesting that women scientists are more likely to focus their research on renewable energy and social aspects of energy use, participants recommended the promotion of women's participation in environmental sciences as a means to couple climate change with gender equality. One way to achieve this could be through university programs in environmental science adapted to women's needs. Moreover, participants saw the green economy as a promising way to leverage action against climate change. For instance, they suggested imposing higher taxes on unsustainable products, and redirecting tax revenue in support of sustainable infrastructure. Finally, the idea of a climate passport for persons fleeing their home countries as a result of the climate crisis was raised.

In the chapter on peace and security, we argue that FFP must shift the focus of security away from physical integrity of a nation and its borders, and towards the security and well-being of its people, seeking to protect them from a wide range of threats including climate change, terrorism, global migration, poverty, and as we are currently experiencing, health crises. FFP's fundamental incompatibility with arms trade was repeatedly surfaced in discussions, and, while acknowledging the complexity of such an endeavor, many participants argued that international regulations and institutions should push for its progressive dismantlement. Furthermore, as in all areas of socio-political life, women and marginalised groups should systematically

be included in the development of peace and security policies and initiatives. National Action Plans (NAPs) should use inclusive and non-binary language, and should be reviewed to accommodate the specific needs, vulnerabilities, and interests of women and other marginalized groups. Quotas and measurable indicators should be used to enhance commitment to the equal participation of women and local communities in civil and military management missions, and notably in peacebuilding initiatives. Furthermore, inclusive networks of local actors should be built to inform peacekeeping initiatives through local knowledge and expertise. Finally, FFP must redress policies and narratives around global migration to account for the precarious situation of women and other marginalized groups who are at significant risk of sexual assault and other insecurities. The process for asylum seekers should be thoroughly reconsidered through a gendered lens, and gender expertise should be granted at every stage of the migration process to address the particular vulnerabilities of women and LGBTQI+ groups.

In the final chapter on gender equality and the economic sphere, we argue that the economy is not gender-neutral, but in fact deeply imbued with gender stereotypes, patriarchal inequalities, and other discriminatory social norms. If recovery measures do not account for the intersectional and gendered realities of those struck hardest, they risk exacerbating existing inequalities. FFP strives for a recalibration of economic priorities in order to promote inclusive global cooperation and sustainable development that benefits all. To this end, participants argued that women and traditionally marginalized communities must have equal access to education and market-relevant skills (including ICT, digital literacy, and financial literacy skills), as well as access to, and control over, productive resources and assets. One such resource is access to land ownership, which women in half of the countries worldwide are denied.

Another key area for the protection of female and precarious workers is in the informal economy, with its heightened risk of human rights violations, sexual harassment, and poverty. The formalisation of this economy must target improving the legal conditions around informal occupations, and discussions around this process must involve informal workers themselves. Equally important are efforts to reduce the gender gap in unpaid care work, which bars women from

having equal access to pay, pensions, and representation in positions of power. Countries must begin to calculate the value of unpaid care work and incorporate it in their GDP. They should also promote the even distribution of care work through paid paternity leave, maternity protection measures, and flexible working arrangements. Finally, trade agreements and trade policy reforms should include gender analyses and should agree on, and uphold, mandatory human rights regulations in international investment agreements.

These recommendations come at a time when divergent trends put the future of FFP at a crossroads. With the adoption of FFP by several countries and the European Parliament's most recent step towards embracing FFP principles by calling for gender equality in the EU's foreign and security policy, recent years have seen an unprecedented momentum for FFP. At the same time, we are witnessing a global backlash against FFP principles, which is only exacerbated by global challenges such as the current health crisis, mass displacement, and the rise of populism –- all of which require a fundamental reconsideration of foreign policy agendas.

By crowdsourcing ideas from individuals across the globe, the Policy Kitchen aims to provide inspiration for policy-makers to transform their foreign policy in a way that leverages positive impact for everyone. ●

Chefs

Advisory Board

Dr. Joy Asongazoh Alemazung (UN Women Germany #HeforShe-Ambassador and Senior Analyst, Global Governance Institute Brussels)

Nina Bernarding (Director, Centre for Feminist Foreign Policy)

Mathilde Ciulla (Programme Coordinator, Paris Office of the European Council on Foreign Relations)

Ben Donaldson (Head of Campaigns, United Nations Association-UK)

Dr Jamie Hagen (Assistant Professor of International Relations, Queen's University Belfast; Co-Director, Centre for Gender in Politics; Visiting Fellow, London School of Economics)

Preet Kaur Gill MP (UK Shadow Secretary of State for International Development)

Patricia Schulz (Former Board Member and presently Senior Research

Associate, UNRISD; former Director of the Federal Office for Gender Equality at Swiss Federal Department of Home Affairs; former member of the Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women)

Saskia Stachowitsch (Scientific Director, Austrian Institute of International Affairs and Professor of International Politics at the University of Vienna)

Workshop Experts

Dr. Joy Asongazoh Alemazung (UN Women #HeforShe-Ambassador/ Senior Analyst Global Governance Institute Brussels)

Marissa Cornway (Co-Founder and UK Director, Centre for Feminist Foreign Policy)

Anoush der Boghossian (Gender Focal Point, World Trade Organisation)

Guillaume Gouffier Cha (Member of French Parliament)

Gabriella Irsten (Policy & Advocacy Officer, Women's International League for Peace and Freedom)

Daliborka Janković (Human Rights Officer, Swiss Federal Ministry of Foreign Affairs)

Dr. Ines Kappert (Head, Gunda Werner Institute)

Caitlin Kraft-Buchman (CEO, women @ the table)

Gea Meijers (WIDE+ Network for Feminists Transforming Economic Development, Working Group Gender and Trade)

Sarah Louis Montgomery (gender cc – women for climate justice)

Delphine O (French Ambassador and Secretary General of the UN World Conference on Women)

Cecilia Pellosniemi (Women, Peace and Security Specialist, UN Women)

Christina Stummer (Gender Expert, Austrian Development Agency)

Tara Varma (Head, European Council on Foreign Relations Paris)

Workshop Partners

International Institute for Peace Vienna (online ideation workshop, 21 April 2020 with Ponto)

Project Team

Agora (UK)

Maëlys Bablon

Sian Chatha

Holly Harwood

Vinya Mehta

Anna-Lina Müller

Eva Rana

Yvonne Reinhardt

Pascal Roelcke

Clarice Schreiner

Noah Sutter

Kristin Thue

Barbara Wachter

Rebecca Wilson

Argo (FR)

Paymon Azmoudeh

Katie Humphries

Pierre Ollier

foraus (CH)

Eduardo Belinchon

Yannic Bucher

Julia Gubler

Meral Kaumann

Timon Lüthi

Jana Muthurasa

Jonas Nakonz

Niniane Paeffgen

Anja Portmann

Hannah Reinl

Cécile Schluep

Pauline Seppey

Lara Twerenbold

Sophie von Wartburg

Amber Zenklusen

Wailea Zülch

Polis180 (DE)
Robert Fischer
Sophie Knabner
Maximiliane Linde
Esther Luigi
Helena Lüer
Kathrin Meyer
Lisa Müller-Dormann
Emilie Rosier
Sonja Schiffers
Alina Zurmühlen

Ponto (AT)
Ronya Alev
Ninja Bumann
Mechthild Geyer
Hanna Grininger
Marylia Hushcha
Mariam Lalaian

Internal Review Board
Nathalie Brügger (Ponto)
Johannes Feige (Argo)
Vinya Mehta (Agora)
Tobias Naef (foraus)
Sonja Schiffers (Polis180)

Policy Kitchen Participants

Jane Aeberhard-Hodges
Ipsa Agnani
Bob Agrawal
Kaan Aksu
Solli Al
Patrizia Albrecht
Elena Antoni
Alejandra Arburola Cabrera
Megan Armstrong
Dima Arqan
Azela Arumpac-Marte
Katharina Bach
Cemre Balaban
Jessica Besch
Leandra Bias
Cindy Bischofberger
Anne Blickhan
Adriana Bou Diwan
Charlotte Briner
Elif Cavuslu
Ananya Chakraborty
Anna Chirniciuc
Amanda Clark
Gioia da Silva
Paula Daum
Daniela Dicks
Corinne Duriaux
Sofie Eifertinger
Karma Ekmekji
Bynta Ernest
Isabella Esquivel
Karoline Faerber
Nafisa Fariba
Ahmed Farrage
Moritz Fegert
Corinna Fischer

Roman Friedrich
Medea Fux
Gabrielle Galdino-Glaeser
Noelia Garcia Nebra
Maria Gargano
Marita Gasteiger
Eilika Gauhl
Laura Gerards Iglesias
Elisabeth Gisler
Luise Gloeckner
Andrea Grossenbacher
Jessica Grün
Claire Guiraud
Kristin Henderson
Irina Herb
Martina Hilmer
Sandra Hochstöger
Leonie Hopgood
Tom Hunter
Lukas Hupfer
Chiara Huwiler
Theologia Iliadou
Qamar Jafri
Eva Japp
Hanna Jarowinsky
Marie Juillard
Aude Juillerat
Mereilim Kalen
Jannis Kappelmann
Samira Keller
Capucine Kerboas
Maximilian Kiefer
Johanna Kieroth
Aminata Buganzi Kinana
Anneke Kirsch
Nikolina Klatt

Isabel Knobel
Franziska Koch
Franziska Krüger
Larissa Kunze
Aline Lahaye
Elmira Lamé
Blerta Lazebeu
Laura Leschinski
Stas Linchevsky
Astrid Lindmar
Bingxing Liu
Franziska Loibl
Melanie Lourenco
Giulia Maci
Fabiola Mallach
Fara Maruf
Pearl P. Mashabane
Ani Mghebrishvili
Njomza Miftari
Jessica Momorie
Julissa Monterrey
Aditi Mukherji
Katharina Müller
Ismaela Murgia
Adam Nabie
Shirley Nakhumicha
Iasmini Nardi
Ole Nekarda
Hannah Newbery
Gabriel P.
Nimita Pandey
Preeti Pasricha
Kaya Pawlowska
Lebohang Liepollo Pheko
Astrid Pregel
Tamara Puerto
Leila Rais
Maximilian Rau

Fernanda Reyes
Mona Richter
Marjolaine Rion
Cécile Rivière
Andrea Ernestina Robles Larios
Constantina Rokos
Sabrina Ropp
Valeria S.
Paula Sanmiguel
Clara Schaeper
Diana Schenkel
Lukas G. Schlapp
Elora Schrauth
Chatrina Schumacher
Pratyush Sharma
Lea Spörcke
Martha Stolze
Vivien Stringer
Magda Stumvoll
Selina Stüssi
Solene Subrin
Kamila Suchomel
Leo Tan
Lyric Thompson
Annamaria Toth
Karolin Tuncel
Stefania Vittori
Nina Vladovic
Shona Warren
Maria Isabelle Wieser
Lina Woelk
Mara Zarka
Michel Zimmermann
Max Zuber

Please note that this list is not
exhaustive.

The Open Think Tank Network

The Open Think Tank Network (OpenTTN) strives for the creation, development, and cooperation of open-source think tanks around the world. We use crowdsourcing methods and participatory structures to provide opportunities for participation in political debates outside of the traditional fora. We thereby seek to democratize the development of international policy.

All member organizations of the OpenTTN share the common goal of developing constructive, coherent, and future-oriented policy solutions with the objective of fostering a culture of open debate and discussions around highly relevant issues in international affairs.

This report is the result of the cooperation of all five members of the OpenTTN:

Agora

Agora describes itself as the UK's open forum for foreign policy. It provides a platform for people who are knowledgeable and passionate about international affairs. Their aim is to create and grow a community that combines the intellectual rigour of academia with the professional standards of a think tank. Agora supports its members in developing ideas and empowers them to influence foreign policy outside of the conventional channels. It works to produce informed, creative, and pragmatic foreign policy proposals. Through its blogs, briefings, reports, and events, Agora allows a wide range of voices to participate in the key debates on the future of international relations. Agora launched in London in November 2017. https://agorathinktank.org/

Argo

In the European super-election year 2017, Argo was founded in France. Argo was officially launched on March 23rd 2017 in Paris and describes itself as inclusive, fact-based, global, and optimistic. Offering an alternative form of political expression for the 21st century, Argo pools policy ideas and expertise through a crowdsourcing platform, following the foraus model. By making policy challenges accessible and engaging, Argo's aim is to be a platform for ideas generated by voices from across society and bridge the gap between people and policy. https://argothinktank.org/

foraus

The Swiss think tank on foreign policy generates independent, high quality recommendations for Swiss foreign policy decision-makers and the public, thereby bridging the gap between academia and politics. foraus is a grassroots organisation founded in 2009. Its non-partisan approach aims to promote an open dialogue and informed decision-making on all aspects of Swiss foreign policy. https://www.foraus.ch/

Polis180

Polis180 is a grassroots, open and volunteer-led think tank for foreign and European affairs. Resolutely future-oriented, it aims to make the voices of young people heard in foreign policy debates and challenge established ways of thinking. At the heart of Polis180's mission are the development of innovative foreign policy ideas and the promotion of dialogue. To achieve this, Polis180 was set up as independent and non-partisan, and strives to work with people of different opinions and diverse personal and professional backgrounds. Since being founded in 2015, Polis has grown 500 members strong and has sister organisations all over Europe (UK, France, Switzerland, Austria). https://polis180.org/

Ponto

Ponto in Vienna brought a more participatory approach to Austria's think tank landscape. As a melting pot of cultures and positioned at a meeting-point between the «West» and the «East» of Europe, Vienna is a hub for global politics. These facts and the new developments in Austria's national political sphere require a new democratic voice. Ponto's aim is to provide a platform for young people, where relevant issues on foreign policy can be discussed beyond established party lines. The think tank officially launched on May 24th 2018 in Vienna. https://www.pontothinktank.org/

Endnotes

1 October 23, 2020, "Fostering Gender Equality In The EU'S Foreign And Security Policy | News | European Parliament". 2020. Europarl. Europa.Eu. https://www.europarl.europa.eu/news/en/press-room/20201016IPR89563/fostering-gender-equality-in-the-eu-s-foreign-and-security-policy.

2 The feminist foreign policy challenge background reader on Policy Kitchen provides an in-depth overview of FFP's history, goals, and important concepts. Go to https://www.policykitchen.com/ffp-reader to learn more.

3 Sandra Hochstöger, Policy Kitchen, April 21, 2020, https://www.policykitchen.com/feministfp/idea/need-conceptualize.

4 Patrizia Albrecht, Mereilim Karen, Laura Leschinski, Policy Kitchen, April 20, 2020, https://www.policykitchen.com/feministfp/idea/working-group-feminist-foreign-policy

5 Elena Antoni, Lukas Hupfer, Lara Twerenbold, Lina Woelk, Policy Kitchen, April 29, 2020, https://www.policykitchen.com/feministfp/idea/lack-comprehension-foreign-policy

6 Noelia Garcia Nebra, Maximilian Kiefer, Franziska Koch, Larissa Kunze, Lukas G. Schlapp, Policy Kitchen, April 20, 2020, https://www.policykitchen.com/feministfp/idea/gender-mainstreaming

7 Isabella Esquivel, Policy Kitchen, May 15, 2020, https://www.policykitchen.com/feministfp/idea/structural-change-feminist-foreign-policy

8 Columba, Achilleos-Sarll (2018). Reconceptualising foreign policy as gendered, sexualised and racialised: Towards a postcolonial feminist foreign policy (analysis), in: Journal of International Women's Studies 19:4, p. 42.

9 FAQ, accessed November 12, 2020, https://www.intersectionaljustice.org/faq/.

10 Ibid., Columba, Achilleos-Sarll (2018). p. 45.

11 Amanda Clark, Policy Kitchen, May 14, 2020, https://www.policykitchen.com/feministfp/idea/can-feminist-policies-coexist-patriarchal-institutions

12 Katharina Bach, Sian Chatha, Holly Harwood, Helena Lüer, Katharina Müller, Pascal Roelcke, Policy Kitchen, April 20, 2020, https://www.policykitchen.com/feministfp/idea/avoiding-reproduction-stereotypes

13 Fabio Di Nardo, Policy Kitchen , May 14, 2020, https://www.policykitchen.com/feministfp/idea/gender-equality-all-sexual-orientation-and-gender-identity-development-co-operation

14 Katharina Bach, Sian Chatha, Holly Harwood, Helena Lüer, Katharina Müller, Pascal Roelcke, Policy Kichen, April 20, 2020, https://www.policykitchen.com/feministfp/idea/avoiding-reproduction-stereotypes

15 Kamila Suchomel, Policy Kitchen, May 14, 2020, https://www.policykitchen.com/feministfp/idea/monitoring-and-reporting-socially-inclusive-process-design-public-sphere

16 Daniela Dicks, Policy Kitchen, April 22, 2020 https://www.policykitchen.com/feministfp/idea/insufficient-cooperation-between-local-and-international-actors-advancement-ffp

17 Preventing conflict, transforming justice, securing the peace. A global study on the implementation of United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325. UN Women, 2015. Chapter 3. https://wps.unwomen.org/pdf/en/CH03.pdf

18 Daniela Dicks, Johannes Feige, Policy Kitchen, April 29, 2020, https://www.policykitchen.com/feministfp/idea/leveraging-local-knowledge-networks

19 Azela Arumpac-Marte, Blerta Lazebeu, Nimita Pandey, Policy Kitchen, April 29, 2020, https://www.policykitchen.com/feministfp/idea/representation-women-policy-making-developing-countries

20 Amanda Clark, Chiara Huwilerm Astrid Lindmar, Policy Kitchen, April 28, 2020, https://www.policykitchen.com/feministfp/idea/more-gender-expertise-organisations

21 Ninja Bumann, Anna-Lina Müller, Magda Stumvoll, Policy Kitchen, April 21, 2020, https://www.policykitchen.com/feministfp/idea/empower-marginalized-groups-different-cultural-contexts

22 Ananya Chakraborty, Paula Sanmiguel, Policy Kitchen, April 29, 2020, https://www.policykitchen.com/feministfp/idea/getting-ffp-global-south-and-making-it-relevant

23 Ninja Bumann, Mechthild Geyer and Mariam Lalaian, Policy Kitchen, May 5, 2020, https://www.policykitchen.com/feministfp/idea/gender-parity-decision-making-bodies-until-2025

24 Ibid., Daniela Dicks, Johannes Feige.

25 Eilika Gauhl, Roman Friedrich, Franziska Krüger, Mara Zarka, Policy Kitchen, April 24, 2020, https://www.policykitchen.com/feministfp/idea/institutionalize-gender-mainstreaming-programmatic-activities-increase

26 Adam Nabie, Sabrina Ropp, Policy Kitchen, April 21, 2020, https://www.policykitchen.com/feministfp/idea/gender-neutral-narrative-shift

27 Amanda Clark, Policy Kitchen, May 14, 2020, https://www.policykitchen.com/feministfp/idea/preparing-backlash-against-use-feminist-language

28 Isabella Esquivel, Policy Kitchen, May 15, 2020, https://www.policykitchen.com/feministfp/idea/structural-change-feminist-foreign-policy

29 Ibid., Amanda Clark.

30 Noeia Garcia Nebra, Policy Kitchen, April 18, 2020, https://www.policykitchen.com/feministfp/idea/gender-mainstreaming-0

31 Monika Pronczuk, "Poland Court Ruling Effectively Bans Legal Abortions," New York Times, October 22, 2020, https://www.nytimes.com/2020/10/22/world/europe/poland-tribunal-abortions.html.

32 "Slovakia: Draconian restrictions on abortion would endanger the lives of women and girls," Amnesty International, September 16, 2020, https://www.amnesty.org/en/latest/news/2020/09/slovakia-draconian-restrictions-on-abortion-would-endanger-the-lives-of-women-and-girls/

33 "Trump expands global gag rule that blocks US aid for abortion groups," The Guardian, March 26, 2020, https://www.theguardian.com/global-development/2019/mar/26/trump-global-gag-rule-us-aid-abortion

34 Resolution 2467 (2019) on sexual violence in conflict, adopted by the UN Security Council on 23 April 2019. https://www.un.org/sexualviolenceinconflict/resolution/resolution-2467-2019/

35 Ibid. Amanda Clark, see footnote 29

36 Amanda Clark and Claire Guiraud, Policy Kitchen, June 21, 2020, https://www.policykitchen.com/feministfp/idea/sexual-and-reproductive-health-and-rights

37 Ibid. Amanda Clark and Claire Guiraud.

38 Delivered by women, led by men: A gender and equity analysis of the global health and social workforce. Geneva: World Health Organization; 2019 (Human Resources for Health Observer Series No. 24). Licence: CC BY-NC-SA 3.0 IGO https://apps.who.int/iris/bitstream/handle/10665/311322/9789241515467-eng.pdf?ua=1

39 Amanda Clark, Policy Kitchen, May 14, 2020, https://www.policykitchen.com/feministfp/idea/using-feminist-foreign-policy-prevent-rollback-gender-and-reproductive-rights-times

40 Aditi Mukherji and Iasmini Nardi, Policy Kitchen, May 7, 2020, https://www.policykitchen.com/feministfp/idea/availability-reproductive-commodities

41 Claire Guiraud and Kaya Pawlowska, Policy Kitchen, May 15, 2020 https://www.policykitchen.com/feministfp/idea/defence-abortion-right-should-become-purple-line-any-feminist-diplomacy

42 Chatrina Schumacher, Jane Aeberhard-Hodges and Bynta Ernest, Policy Kitchen, April 22, 2020, https://www.policykitchen.com/feministfp/idea/fighting-backlash-within-education-different-levels

43 "Gender-Based Violence (Violence Against Women and Girls)," World Bank, September 25, 2019, https://www.worldbank.org/en/topic/socialdevelopment/brief/violence-against-women-and-girls.

44 "30% of women who have been in a relationship report that they have experienced some form of physical and/or sexual violence by their intimate partner in their lifetime. Globally, as many as 38% of murders of women are committed by a male intimate partner", see: "Violence against women," World Health Organization, November 29, 2017, https://www.who.int/news-room/fact-sheets/detail/violence-against-women

45 COVID-19 and Ending Violence Against Women and Girls. (2020). [Issue Brief]. UN Women. https://www.unwomen.org/-/media/headquarters/attachments/sections/library/publications/2020/issue-brief-covid-19-and-ending-violence-against-women-and-girls-en.pdf?la=en&vs=5006

46 "Council of Europe Convention on preventing and combating violence against women and domestic violence," May 11, 2011, https://www.coe.int/en/web/conventions/full-list/-/conventions/rms/090000168008482e

47 Selina Stüssi and Stas Linchevsky, Policy Kitchen, April 29, 2020, https://www.policykitchen.com/feministfp/idea/access-education

48 A 2017 white paper on implementing Grand Challenges Canada's Gender Strategy acknowledges that 'gender equality outcomes

might not always be achieved in one grant or loan cycle'

49   Yadav, Puna. "1325 – is that a taxi number? Implementation of the National Action Plan on 1325 and 1820 in Nepal," LSE Women, Peace and Security Blog May 5, 2017, https://blogs.lse.ac.uk/wps/2017/05/03/1325-is-that-a-taxi-number-implementation-of-the-national-action-plan-on-1325-and-1820-in-nepal-punam-yadav-42017/

50   Sharma Rani, Rikha (2019, September 12). "Protecting Women Will Make You Money – Foreign Policy," Foreign Policy, September 12, 2019, https://foreignpolicy.com/2019/09/12/protecting-women-will-make-you-money/

51   Biegel, Suzanna., Hunt, Sandra M., & Kuhlman, Sherryl (2019). Project Sage 2.0: Tracking Venture Capital With a Gender Lens. WSII.: Rikha Sharma Rani , "Protecting Women Will Make You Money," Foreign Policy, September 12, 2019, https://foreignpolicy.com/2019/09/12/protecting-women-will-make-you-money/.

52   Katie Humphries, Policy Kitchen, April 20, 2020, https://www.policykitchen.com/feministfp/idea/anti-gbv-accreditation-foreign-investment

53   Gender-Based Violence (Violence Against Women and Girls). (2019, September 25). World Bank. https://www.worldbank.org/en/topic/socialdevelopment/brief/violence-against-women-and-girls

54   According to the UN, 68% of the world population is projected to live in urban areas by 2050, United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs, May 16, 2018, https://www.un.org/development/desa/en/news/population/2018-revision-of-world-urbanization-prospects.html

55   The survey was conducted by 400 experts in 22 cities across six continents. See Plan International. (2018). Girls' Safety in Cities Across the World. Expert Survey. Summary, October 2018, 3-4. https://plan-international.org/publications/expert-survey-girls-safety-cities#download-options

56   Ninja Bumann, Marylia Hushcha, Elmira Lamé, and Elora Schrauth, Policy Kitchen, June 19, 2020, https://www.policykitchen.com/feministfp/idea/change-mobility-infrastructure-cities

57   Eva Japp, Luise Gloeckner, and Elora Schrauth, Policy Kitchen, April 20, 2020, https://www.policykitchen.com/feministfp/idea/feminist-economic-approach-climate-policy

58   Maria Isabelle Wieser and Giulia Maci, Policy Kitchen, May 15, 2020, https://www.policykitchen.com/feministfp/idea/reinforce-cities-leadership-and-urban-design-safer-public-spaces

59   Ibid. Maria Isabelle Wieser and Giulia Maci

60   Claire Guiraud and Kaya Pawlowska, Policy Kitchen, May 15, 2020, https://www.policykitchen.com/feministfp/idea/defence-abortion-right-should-become-purple-line-any-feminist-diplomacy

61   Ibid. Claire Guiraud and Kaya Pawlowska.

62   United Nations Environment Programme, UN Women, UNDP and UNDPPA/PBSO (2020): Gender, Climate and Security: Sustaining inclusive peace on the frontlines of climate change. (2020, 11 June). https://wedocs.unep.org/bitstream/handle/20.500.11822/32638/GCS.pdf?sequence=1&isAllowed=y

63   Women's Environment and Development Organization (2010): Gender and Climate Change at Copenhagen COP-15: WEDO's Perspective on a History-making Year. (2010, February). https://www.wedo.org/wp-content/uploads/COP15-Gender-Perspective_WEDO_Feb2010.pdf

64   Examples include: the UNFCCC parties' 2017 Gender Action Plan under the Lima Work Programme on Gender, the COP25 five year Gender Action Plan or the Sendai Framework for Disaster Risk Reduction (2015-2030).

65   Pauline Seppey, Megan Armstrong and Irina Herb, Policy Kitchen, May 7, 2020, https://www.policykitchen.com/feministfp/idea/ffp-approach-global-climate-action

66   Islam, Nazrul; Winkel, John (2017): Climate Change and Social Inequality. UN Department of Economic & Social Affairs Working Paper No.152. ST/ESA/2017/DWP/152. October 2017.

67   IUCN (2015). Gender and Climate Change. Issues Brief. Available from https://www.iucn.org/resources/issues-briefs/gender-and-climate-change [Accessed 2nd October 2020]

68   Bina Agarwal (2000): Conceptualising environmental collective action: why gender matters, in: Cambridge Journal of Economics, 2000, 24: pp. 283-310.

69   Ibid., Pauline Seppey, Megan Armstrong and Irina Herb.

70   Ibid., Pauline Seppey, Megan Armstrong and Irina Herb.

71   Holly Harwood and Shona Warren, Policy Kitchen, May 7, 2020, https://www.policykitchen.com/feministfp/idea/harnessing-commu-

nity-approaches-mitigating-climate-change-impact

72 The idea was suggested by the Vice President of German Bundestag Claudia Roth, surfaced during the COP 24 in Katowice and referred to by a Policy Kitchen participant: Sofie Eifertinger, https://www.policykitchen.com/feministfp/idea/consideration-gendered-injustice-conceptualization-climate-pass. It also finds mention in the following report: "Just & In-Time Climate Policy, Four Initiatives for a Fair Transformation," August 2018. German Advisory Council on Global Change, Policy Paper no.9. https://www.wbgu.de/en/publications/publication/just-in-time-climate-policy-four-initiatives-for-a-fair-transformation

73 For case studies on indigenous communities and climate change see for example: The International Labour Organization. (2019) Indigenous Peoples and Climate Change: Emerging Research on Traditional Knowledge and Livelihoods.

74 See, for example, a case study of Turkana herders in Kenya: Simplici, Greta. (2019). Seeing Like the Herder: Climate Change and Pastoralists' Knowledge – Insights from Turkana Herders in Northern Kenya. In: The International Labour Organization. (2019). Indigenous Peoples and Climate Change: Emerging Research on Traditional Knowledge and Livelihoods, pp. 65-82.

75 For example, India's 2016 reforestation law. See Chandran, Rima. "India's New Reforestation Law Ignores Indigenous People, Analysts Say", Reuters, July 29, 2016. Available from: https://www.reuters.com/article/us-india-law-forest-idUSKCN10919X [Accessed 9th August 2020].

76 Ibid., Pauline Seppey, Megan Armstrong, and Irina Herb.

77 Ibid., Holly Harwood and Shona Warren.t; Ibid., Pauline Seppey, Megan Armstrong, and Irina Herb.

78 Ibid., Pauline Seppey, Megan Armstrong, and Irina Herb.

79 Anfinsen, Martina, Heidenreich, Sara. (2017). Energy & Gender: A Social Sciences and Humanities Cross-Cutting Theme Report. Cambridge: Shape Energy, p. 6.

80 Ibid., Anfinsen, Martina, Heidenreich, Sara.

81 Ideas were discussed by Ninja Bumann and Marylia Hushcha in an online workshop as well as on Policy Kitchen by Anneke Kirsch and Johanna Kieroth. https://www.policykitchen.

com/feministfp/idea/filling-data-gap-gender-and-energy

82 Ibid.

83 Ibid.

84 Anfinsen, Martina, Heidenreich, Sara. (2017). Energy & gender – a social sciences and humanities cross-cutting theme report. Cambridge: SHAPE ENERGY.

85 Ninja Bumann, Elmira Lamé, Elora Schrauth, Marylia Hushcha, Policy Kitchen, June 18, 2020, https://www.policykitchen.com/feministfp/idea/climate-education

86 Ibid., Ninja Bumann, Elmira Lame, Elora Schrauth, Marylia Hushcha ; Ibid., Holly Harwood, Shona Warren.

87 Mereilim Kalen, Policy Kitchen, May 15, 2020, https://www.policykitchen.com/feministfp/idea/working-group-feminist-climate-policy

88 For instruments to measure the gender impact of a policy see Verloo, Mieke & Roggeband, Connie. (1996). Gender Impact Assesssment: The Development of a New Instrument in the Netherlands. Impact Assessment. 14 (1), 3-20. doi:10.1080/07349165.1996.9725883.

89 United Nations Climate Change. (n.d.) The Gender Action Plan. Available from: https://unfccc.int/topics/gender/workstreams/the-gender-action-plan [Accessed 9th August 2020].

90 Women and Gender Constituency (WGC). (2019) Advances for Gender Equality at COP25. Available from : http://womengenderclimate.org/advances-for-gender-equality-at-cop25/

91 Ibid., Pauline Seppey, Megan Armstrong, and Irina Herb.

92 Ibid., Mereilim Kalen.

93 Oscar A. Gomez and Des Gasper. "Human Security:A Thematic Guidance Note for Regional and National Human Development Report Teams," UN Development Programme, "http://hdr.undp.org/sites/default/files/human_security_guidance_note_r-nhdrs.pdf

94 "U.N. Says Peacekeepers And Civilian Workers Are Accused Of Abuse (Published 2017)". November 4, 2017, The New York Times, . https://www.nytimes.com/2017/11/04/world/americas/united-nations-sexual-abuse.html

95 UN Women. (2020). Facts And Figures: Peace And Security. [online], https://www.unwomen.org/en/what-we-do/peace-and-security/facts-and-figures#_Notes.

96 Cross Riddle, Karie (2017). Structural Violence, Intersectionality, and Justpeace:

Evaluating Women's Peacebuilding Agency in Manipur, India. Hypatia 32 (3):574-592.

97 Scheyer, Victoria, Kumskova, Marina. (2019). Feminist Foreign Policy; A fine line between "adding women" and pursuing a feminist agenda. Journal of International Affairs, 72(2), 63.

98 Elif Cavuslu, Jessica Besch, Jessica Grün, Franziska Krüger and Amanda Clark, Policy Kitchen, April 21, 2020, https://www.policykitchen.com/feministfp/idea/inclusion-women-and-marginalised-groups-peace-processes

99 Ibid.

100 UNDP. (2020). Restoration Of Governance And Reconciliation In Crisis-Affected Communities Of Ukraine / EU-Funded. [online]. https://www.ua.undp.org/content/ukraine/en/home/projects/restoration-and-reconciliation-eu.html.

101 Amanda Clark, Policy Kitchen, June 19, 2020, https://www.policykitchen.com/feministfp/idea/weapons-sales-and-feminist-foreign-policy

102 Dvorak, G., 2018, 'Masculinity and Militarism', The International Encyclopedia of Anthropology, John Wiley & Sons, Ltd.

103 Arms Trade Treaty. 2013. [online] 3013 UNTS, opened for signature 3 June 2013, entered into force 24 December 2016. Available from: https://unoda-web.s3-accelerate.amazonaws.com/wp-content/uploads/2013/06/English7.pdf [Accessed 12 July 2020].

104 Control Arms Secretariat, 2019. ATT Monitor 2019. New York. 26 August 2019. Available from: https://attmonitor.org/wp-content/uploads/2020/07/EN_ATT_Monitor-Report-2019_Online.pdf

105 Stavrianakis, A., 2016. Legitimising liberal militarism: politics, law and war in the Arms Trade Treaty. Third World Quarterly, 37(5), pp.840-865.

106 Vucetic, S., 2018. The uneasy co-existence of arms exports and feminist foreign policy. The Conversation, [online] Available from: https://theconversation.com/the-uneasy-co-existence-of-arms-exports-and-feminist-foreign-policy-93930 [Accessed 11 July 2020].

107 Diack, S., 2016. The Arms Trade Treaty From A Feminist Perspective. à propos N° 147. [online] Swiss Peace. Available at: <https://www.swisspeace.ch/apropos/the-arms-trade-treaty-from-a-feminist-perspective/> [Accessed 12 July 2020].

108 Le Ray, L., 2018. Selling Arms is a Feminist Issue. [Blog] The Clandestine, Available

at: https://womenpoliticscom.wordpress.com/2018/02/26/selling-arms-is-a-feminist-issue/#_edn5 [Accessed 12 July 2020].

109 Chase, S. and Fife, R., 2020. Canadian military exports to Saudi Arabia hit record high in 2019. The Globe and Mail, [online] Available at: <https://www.theglobeandmail.com/canada/article-canadian-military-exports-to-saudi-arabia-hit-record-high-in-2019/> [Accessed 12 July 2020].

110 Amanda Clark, https://www.policykitchen.com/feministfp/idea/weapons-sales-and-feminist-foreign-policy

111 ibid.

112 Maximilian Rau, Nathalie Brügger, Hannah Grininger, Policy Kitchen, April 21, 2020, https://www.policykitchen.com/feministfp/idea/domestic-violence-armed-conflicts

113 Dyan Mazurana, Daniel Maxwell, Phoebe Donnelly, "Gender, Sex, And Age In Humanitarian Response - Tufts - Feinstein International Center". 2020. Tufts - Feinstein International Center.https://fic.tufts.edu/research-item/sex-and-age-disaggregated-data-to-improve-humanitarian-response

114 IARG, Data Disaggregation for the SDG Indicators, https://unstats.un.org/sdgs/iaeg-sdgs/disaggregation

115 Stefania, Vittori, Policy Kitchen, April 20, 2020, https://www.policykitchen.com/feministfp/idea/accountability-local-actors-beyond-foreign-and-security-measures-west

116 Eva Rana, Clarice Schreiner, Leila Rais, Alice Lahaye, Policy Kitchen, Jue 19, 2020, https://www.policykitchen.com/feministfp/idea/access-social-digital-media-tools

117 Ibid., Eva Rana, Clarice Schreiner, Leila Rais, Alice Lahaye.

118 Qamar Jafri, Shirley Nakhumicha, Policy Kitchen, May 7, 2020, https://www.policykitchen.com/feministfp/idea/social-media-women-peace-activism-and-foreign-policy

119 "Women Wage Peace, "Women Wage Peace, https://womenwagepeace.org.il/en/ [Accessed 16th August 2020]

120 Ibid., Eva Rana, Clarice Schreiner, Leila Rais, Alice Lahaye.

121 Ibid., Eva Rana, Clarice Schreiner, Leila Rais, Alice Lahaye.

122 Hood, Melody. (2016). " » What Are National Action Plans And Why Do They Matter?". Inclusivesecurity.Org. https://www.inclusivesecurity.org/2016/08/10/national-action-plan-matter/.

123 Hamilton, Caitlin, Naam, Nyibeny and

Shepherd, Laura J. (2020) Twenty years of Women, Peace and Security National Action Plans: analysis and lessons learned. University of Sydney, Sydney, AU. .https://www.wpsnaps. org/app/uploads/2020/03/Twenty-Years-of-Women-Peace-and-Security-National-Action-Plans_Report_Final_Web.pdf

124 Ibid., Hamilton, Caitlin, Naam, Nyibeny and Shepherd, Laura J.

125 Larissa Kunze and Maximilian Kiefer, Policy Kitchen, May 12, 2020, https://www. policykitchen.com/feministfp/idea/enhancing-participation-and-representation-women-peace-processes-through-nap-iii

126 Hagen, Jamie J.. "Sexual Orientation And Gender Identity As Part Of The WPS Project – Jamie J Hagen (2/2016)". 2017. LSE Women, Peace And Security Blog. https://blogs.lse. ac.uk/wps/2017/01/10/sexual-orientation-and-gender-identity-as-part-of-the-wps-project/

127 Ibid., Larissa Kunze.

128 Paula Daum, Ahmed Farrage, Noah Sutter and Solli Al, Policy Kitchen, May 7, 2020, https://www.policykitchen.com/feministfp/ idea/resolution-1325-outdated-lets-get-2020

129 Ibid., aula Daum, Ahmed Farrage, Noah Sutter and Solli Al.

130 Amber Zenklusen,
Elif Cavuslu and Karma Ekmekji, Policy Kitchen, April 22, 2020, https://www.policykit-chen.com/feministfp/idea/naps-bottom-re-views-and-measurability

131 Ibid., Hagen, Jamie J..

132 WHO European Region (2017). Sexual Violence Against Refugee Women on the Move to and Within Europe. https://www.euro.who. int/__data/assets/pdf_file/0018/319311/9-Se-xual-violence-refugee-women.pdf?ua=1

133 Ibid., Amber Zenklusen,
Elif Cavuslu and Karma Ekmekji

134 Paula Daum, Policy Kitchen, May 7, 2020, https://www.policykitchen.com/feministfp/ idea/gender-expertise-female-refugees

135 Ibid. Paula Daum.

136 Stephania Vittori, Policy Kitchen, April 20, 2020, https://www.policykitchen.com/ node/366

137 These issues are widely explored in femi-nist econmic literature. Consult, for example, Staveren, Irene van (2010): Feminist Econo-mics: Setting out Parameters. In: Bauhardt, C., and G.

138 Nilüfer Çagatay (1998). Engendering Macroeconomics and Macroeconomic Policies (Working Paper No. 6). UNDP. https://www. undp.org/content/undp/en/home/librarypage/ poverty-reduction/engendering-macroecono-mics-and-macroeconomic-policies.html

139 Urban, J., & Pürckhauer, A. (2016). Femi-nist Economics. Exploring Economics. https:// www.exploring-economics.org/en/orientation/ feminist-economics/

140 Robertson, Campbell, Gebeloff, Robert . "How Millions of Women Became the Most Essential Workers in America," The New York Times, April 18, 2020. https://www.nytimes. com/2020/04/18/us/coronavirus-women-es-sential-workers.html

141 Fabrizio, Stefania, Malta, Vivian, Tavares, Marina M. "COVID-19: A backward step for gender equality." June 20, 2020. VoxEU.Org. https://voxeu.org/article/covid-19-backward-step-gender-equality

142 Challenge mentioned by Theologia Illiadou and Lea Spörcke, Policy Kitchen, April 28, 2020, https://www.policykitchen.com/femi-nistfp/idea/informal-sector-and-feminist-foreign-policy

143 Anna Chirniciuc, Pearl P. Mashabane & Eva Rana, Policy Kitchen, May 7, 2020, https:// www.policykitchen.com/feministfp/idea/digiti-zation-access-and-surveillance.

144 Ibid. Anna Chirniciuc, Pearl P.p Mashabane & Eva Rana.

145 Ibid., Selina Stüssi.

146 See also recommendations on microfinan-ce in the climate change context, p. 28.

147 Isabel Knobel, Jane Abeberhad-Hodges, Franziska Krüger, Policy Kitchen, April 28, 2020, https://www.policykitchen.com/femi-nistfp/idea/access-finance-micro-finance-should-no-longer-be-poverty-trap.

148 Theologia Iliadou and Lea Spörke, Policy Kitchen, April 28, 2020, https://www.policy-kitchen.com/feministfp/idea/informal-sector-and-feminist-foreign-policy

149 According to the ILO, 92% of employed versus 87% of employed men in developing countries are employed in the informal sector. Statistics are subject to several measurement difficulties. For a full report, see: Bonnet, Florence, Vanek, Joann, Chen, Martha. (2019). Women and Men in the Informal Economy: A Statistical Brief. WIEGO.

150 Ulrichs, Martina (2016). Informality, wo-men and social protection: Identifying barriers to provide effective coverage (Working Paper No. 435). ODI. https://www.odi.org/sites/odi. org.uk/files/resource-documents/10481.pdf

151 Carré, Françoise, Horn, Pat, Bonner,

64

Chris. (2018). Collective Bargaining by Informal Workers in the Global South: Where and How It Takes Place, No 38; WIEGO Working Paper.
152 International Labour Conference. (2015). Recommendation 204. International Labour Organization. https://www.ilo.org/wcmsp5/groups/public/---ed_norm/---relconf/documents/meetingdocument/wcms_377774.pdf
153 ILO. (2017, June 6). Relevant SDG Targets related to Informal Economy [Document]. http://www.ilo.org/global/topics/dw4sd/themes/informal-economy/WCMS_558574/lang--en/index.htm
154 Comment by Lea Spörcke,Policy Kitchen, April 28, 2020, https://www.policykitchen.com/index.php/node/393
155 Ibid.,Theologia Illadou.
156 Gioia da Sivla and Iasmini Nardi, Policy Kitchen, April 28, 2020, https://www.policy-kitchen.com/feministfp/idea/formalizing-infomal-sector.
157 Capucine Kerboas, Policy Kitchen, MAy 15, 2020, https://www.policykitchen.com/feministfp/idea/covid-19-and-womens-rights-need-evidence-based-policy-times-crisis
158 UNDP definition: Non-contributory social security consists of a set of State cash-transfer and subsidy programmes that are conditional on proof of the beneficiary's need. The non-contributory social security pillar is funded by general income taxes under the principle of solidarity - for example medical care, old-age and invalidity pensions and family allowances. UNDP (2016); "Fighting inequality from the basics: The social protection floor and gender equality." 2012, UN Women. https://www.undp.org/content/dam/undp/library/gender/Gender%20and%20Poverty%20Reduction/Social%20Protection%20Floor%20and%20GE.pdf (September 27, 2020).
159 This recommendation was not produced during the workshops but has been suggested by the external advisor to this chapter.
160 Nina Vladovic, Jane Aeberhard-Hodges and Jonas Nakonz, Policy Kitchen, April 28, 2020, https://www.policykitchen.com/feministfp/idea/oecd-family-policy-recommendations.
161 Charlotte Briner and Meral Kaufmann, https://www.policykitchen.com/feministfp/idea/increase-recognition-unpaid-care-work.
162 Charmes, J. (2019), The Unpaid Care Work and the Labour Market. An analysis of time use data based on the latest World Compilation of Time-use Surveys. International Labour Organisation, Geneva
163 UNRISD Research and Policy Brief 9, Why Care Matters for Social Development. Calculations based on six countries in the UNRISD study: South Africa, Tanzania, Argentina, Nicaragua, India and the Republic of Korea.
164 Charlotte Briner and Meral Kaufmann, Policy Kitchen, June 18, 2020, https://www.policykitchen.com/feministfp/idea/increase-recognition-unpaid-care-work.
165 Ibid., Charlotte Briner and Meral Kaufmann.
166 Ibid., Charlotte Briner and Meral Kaufmann.
167 See: "E-WBA – Empretec". 2020. UNCTAD, https://empretec.unctad.org/?page_id=43 (June 26, 2020).
168 Similar: "Revenue Mobilization For Gender Equity | News & Views | UNRISD". 2015. Unrisd.Org https://www.unrisd.org/road-to-addis-grown-gooptu. [Accessed September 27, 2020].
169 Similar: Othim, Caroline and Saalbrink, Roosje. " It's Time To Tax For Gender Justice ". 2020. Opendemocracy. https://www.opendemocracy.net/en/oureconomy/its-time-tax-gender-justice/ [Accessed June 26, 2020].
170 Sophie von Wartburg, Policy Kitchen, June 18, 2020, https://www.policykitchen.com/index.php/feministfp/idea/gender-responsive-budgeting .
171 See, i.a., the PEFA:"PEFA Launches Supplementary Framework For Assessing Gender Responsive Public Financial Management". 2020. Public Expenditure And Financial Accountability (PEFA) https://www.pefa.org/news/pefa-launches- supplementary-framework-assessing-gender-responsive-public-financial-management [Accessed July 3, 2020].
172 A potential example to follow on the international scene would be Scotland, where Parliament is set to make pads and tampons free for everyone. Source: Yeginsu, Ceylon. Scotland Set to Be First Country to Provide Free Pads and Tampons. The New York Times. February 27, 2020. https://www.nytimes.com/2020/02/27/world/europe/scotland-pads-tampons.html
173 "Guiding Principles For Business And Human Rights: Implementing The United Nations "Protect, Respect And Remedy" Framework | UN Global Compact". 2011. https://www.ohchr.org/documents/publications/guidingprinciples-businesshr_en.pdf

174 Jane Aeberhard-Hodges, Samira Keller, Elisabeth Gisler, Policy Kitchen, April 22, 2020, https://www.policykitchen.com/index.php/feministfp/idea/accountabilityresponsability-private-sector-feminist-foreign-policy-sdg.

175 See: United Nations. (n.d.). Endorse the Women's Empowerment Principles. UN Global Compact. https://www.unglobalcompact.org/take-action/action/womens-principles [Accessed 15th August 2020].

176 Ibid., Jane Aeberhard-Hodges, Samira Keller, Elisabeth Gisler.

177 Ibid., Jane Aeberhard-Hodges, Samira Keller, Elisabeth Gisler.

178 Ibid., Jane Aeberhard-Hodges, Samira Keller, Elisabeth Gisler.

179 Similar to the Plan of Action by the Inter-Parliamentary Union, source: Inter-parliamentary Union, & Canadian Electronic Library (Firm). (2012). Plan of Action for Gender-sensitive Parliaments. http://archive.ipu.org/pdf/publications/action-gender-e.pdf.

180 Jane Aeberhard-Hodges, comments on another participant's ideas, Policy Kitchen, April 22, 2020, https://www.policykitchen.com/user/2358/stream

181 See: Ibid., "E-WBA – Empretec."

182 Ibid., Jane Aeberhard-Hodges, comments on another participant's ideas.

183 Ibid., Jane Aeberhard-Hodges, comments on another participant's ideas.

184 Blanton, Robert G., Blanton,Shannon Lindsey. (2015). Is Foreign Direct Investment "Gender Blind"? Women's Rights as a Determinant of US FDI. Feminist Economics, Vol. 21(4), 61-88; Braunstein, Elissa (2006); Braunstein, Elissa. (2006). Foreign direct investment, development and gender equity: A review of research and policy. UNRISD Occasional Paper, No. 12, United Nations Research Institute for Social Development (UNRISD), Geneva.

185 See UNCTAD. (2019). Taking Stock of IIA Reform: Recent Developments (Issue 3; IIA Issues Note).

186 Sophie von Wartburg, Policy Kitchen, June 18, 2020, https://www.policykitchen.com/feministfp/idea/inclusive-global-economic-governance.

187 Leonie Hopgood, Lea Spörcke, Anne Blickhan and Laura Gerards Iglesias, Policy Kitchen, April 20, 2020, https://www.policykitchen.com/feministfp/idea/eu-trade-agreements.

188 Samira Keller, Eduardo Belinchon de la Banda and Elisabeth Gisler, Policy Kitchen, April 22, 2020, https://www.policykitchen.com/index.php/feministfp/idea/accountabilityresponsability-private-sector-feminist-foreign-policy-sdg.

189 Ibid. Samira Keller.

190 Ibid., Sophie von Wartburg.

191 Leonie Hopgood, Policy Kitchen, Aril 20, 2020, https://www.policykitchen.com/feministfp/idea/reform-wto.

Disclaimer
The policy recipes in this publication are the result of a participatory process with a diverse mix of participants. They do not necessarily reflect the opinions of authors of this publication or the institutions they are affiliated with.

www.openthinktank.org
www.policykitchen.com/feministfp

This report presents the output of a transnational participatory process – Policy Kitchen – organized by the Open Think Tank Network and dedicated to the question: *What should a feminist foreign policy look like in the 2020s?*

This bottom-up process with over 200 participants from five continents has generated a wealth of policy recommendations for decision-makers in international affairs. The recommendations for a comprehensive feminist foreign policy are presented in five thematic chapters: Intersectionality and Representation; Health, Safety and Autonomy; Environment and Climate Change, Peace and Security; and The Economic Sphere. •

www.openthinktank.org

www.policykitchen.com/feministfp