Feminist Foreign Policy Approaches of the European Union Member States: An Index Proposal

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ABSTRACT

Many countries have made gender equality a foreign policy priority and have aimed gender mainstreaming in their external affairs in recent years. Along with individual states like Sweden, Canada, France, and Mexico, the European Union (EU) has also developed a variety of initiatives, policies, and strategies within its external action that either incorporate a gender perspective or that actively aim at fostering gender equality as the strategic approach. However, member states retain a high level of control over external action, mainly security and defense. This requires further member state engagement to feminist foreign policy as a priority to develop the EU feminist foreign policy. In this context, this study investigates the feminist foreign policy approach of the EU member states through indicators of feminist foreign policy. The study is structured as follows: discussion on the conceptual development, definition, and indicators of feminist foreign policy, evaluation of EU member states based on the theoretical background, and indicators of the feminist foreign policy. The results provided a functional framework to evaluate feminist foreign policy approaches of different states and their strengths and weaknesses in different sub-dimensions of feminist foreign policy. These findings may guide states which have the aim of gendering their foreign policies.

ÖZ

Son yıllarda birçok ülke toplumsal cinsiyet eşitliğini bir dış politika önceliği haline getirmiş ve dış ilişkilerinde toplumsal cinsiyet eşitliğinin anaakımlaştırılmasını hedeflemiştir. İsveç, Kanada, Fransa ve Meksika gibi ülkelerin yanı sıra, Avrupa Birliği (AB), dış eylemleri kapsamında bir cinsiyet perspektifi içeren veya aktif olarak cinsiyet eşitliğini teşvik etmeyi amaçlayan çeşitli girişimler, politikalar ve stratejiler geliştirmiştir. Bununla birlikte, üye ülkeler, başta güvenlik ve savunma olmak üzere, dış eylemler üzerinde yüksek düzeyde kontrol sahibidir. Bu durum, AB feminist dış politikasının geliştirilmesi için bir öncelik olarak üye ülkelerin feminist dış politikaya daha fazla katılımını gerektirmektedir. Bu bağlamda bu çalışma, feminist dış politika göstergeleri üzerinden AB üye ülkelerinin feminist dış politika yaklaşımınlarını incelemektedir. Çalışma, feminist dış politikanın kavramsal gelişimi, tanımı ve göstergeleri üzerine gerçekleştirilen tartışma ve feminist dış politikanın teorik arka planı ve göstergelerine dayalı olarak AB üye ülkelerinin değerlendirilmesi şeklinde yapılandırılmıştır. Sonuçlar, farklı ülkelerin feminist dış politika yaklaşımlarını ve feminist dış politikanın alt boyutlarındaki güçlü ve zayıf yönlerini değerlendirmek için işlevsel bir çerçeve sağlamıştır. Bu bulguların, dış politikayı toplumsal cinsiyet temelinde şekillendirmeyi hedefleyen ülkeler için yol gösterici olabileceği düşünülmektedir.

1. Introduction

By 2020, neither a state has achieved a full feminist foreign policy nor has agreed on the definition and components of feminist foreign policy. However, the number of states aiming to transform their foreign policies based on gender is increasing. Besides, the EU supports a transformation towards feminist foreign policy. Sweden, the pioneer of this initiative and the first country to officially adopt a feminist foreign policy, is a member of the EU and actively campaigns for the gender-based transformation of EU external relations. In addition to Sweden, France, which implements a feminist diplomacy policy, also supports the restructuring of EU foreign relations based on gender. In this background, the feminist foreign policy approach of the EU has recently been opened to discussion. In June 2020, The Centre for Feminist Foreign Policy (CFFP) (Bernarding and Lunz, 2020) commissioned a study to "bring gender equality in foreign policy to the top of the EU agenda" to set the foundation for an EU feminist foreign policy.

The feminist foreign policy of the EU has emerged "in a context where gender equality policies and gender mainstreaming are already well known in other foreign policy areas" (Kronsell, 2012: 114). Concerning this, there has been a potential of gendering both the EU's external policy and member states' foreign policies. However, the distribution of norms in foreign and security policy areas remains on the margins, and the control of the member states has a direct influence on the formation of feminist foreign policy. While the tendencies of the states in the formation of feminist foreign policy are important, the policies and practices of states

towards gender equality are of primary importance. From this perspective, any EU member state has achieved full gender equality, and the progress is not fast. The Gender Equality Index 2020[1] shows that the average of member states scored 67.9 out of 100, a score which has increased by 4.1 points since 2010, and 0.5 points since 2017. Considering all these, the actions of the member states towards the structuring of foreign policy based on gender are determinant in shaping the EU feminist foreign policy. This requires the evolution of EU member states through feminist foreign policy indicators. Against this background, the purpose of this research is to create a functional analysis framework that reveals the feminist foreign policy approaches of states in the context of conceptual and theoretical debates on feminist foreign policy.

The study has four parts. Firstly, the concept of feminist foreign policy is discussed in the context of its development and examples of its implementation. This is followed by the description of the research methodology including data collection and analysis. Next, the findings of the study are discussed. The study concludes with a discussion on limitations, and directions for further research.

1.1. Conceptual Framework: Feminist Foreign Policy

Thinking of foreign policy based on gender dates back to before the official announcement of feminist foreign policy by the Swedish government. At the beginning of the 20th century, one of the most important organizations of feminist international relations, Women's International League for Peace and Freedom (WILPF), was established at the end of the Hague Congress, which was held in 1915 and revealed the relationship between war, patriarchy, and militarism. In the following years, the feminist foreign policy approach is articulated by academia, civil society, and politics. Feminist international relations theory has gained ground by the publication of the special issue of "Women in International Relations" of Millennium magazine in 1988, followed by the publication of Cynthia Enloe's "Bananas, Beaches & Bases". It came to the fore with studies that establish the relationship between gender and international relations as Ann Tickner's "Gender in International Relations" which was published in 1992. After these developments, the number of studies increased, and the topics diversified. For example, Cynthia Cockburn (2010: 152) pointed out that masculinity and militarism are systems that create and feed each other continuously. These systems, as well as being the basis of wars, form an order that will disturb the peace forever with their pre- and post-peace existence.

Efforts of activists and scholars paved the way for the governments to consider a transformation of foreign policy by prioritizing gender. In 2014, Sweden became the first country to pursue a feminist foreign policy by integrating a gender perspective throughout its foreign policy agenda. Canada seizes a feminist international assistance approach, and France is developing feminist diplomacy. Lastly, Mexico introduced a feminist foreign policy in January 2020. In six years between Sweden's and Mexico's announcements, some questions regarding the content of feminist foreign policy continue to be discussed by various circles, mainly civil society, academy, and actors of politics. Although the feminist foreign policy concept is discursively powerful, the definition of the concept is not agreed on yet, therefore open to different interpretations and approaches.

By combining definitions of foreign policy and feminism of the Merriam Webster's dictionary, feminist foreign policy can be defined as "the policy of a sovereign state in its interaction with other sovereign states based on the theory of political, economic and social equality of the sexes, delivered to advance women's rights and interests" (Thompson and Clement, 2019: 6). However, this definition focuses on the state-centered global order and women by excluding non-state actors, the link between power relations and gender equality, and intersectionality. For this reason, Thompson and Clement (2019: 6) define the feminist foreign policy as

> "The policy of a state that defines its interactions with other states and movements in a manner that prioritizes gender equality and enshrines the human rights of women and other traditionally marginalized groups, allocates significant resources to achieve that vision and seeks through its implementation to disrupt patriarchal and male-dominated power structures across all of its levers of influence (aid, trade, defense, diplomacy), informed by the voices of feminist activists, groups and movements".

By this definition, feminist foreign policy requires a nonbinary, gendered lens, an effort to show and change historical patriarchal imbalances. It requires tools as aid, trade, and defense policies along with diplomacy and international assistance. Another element of feminist foreign policy is intersectionality as the "Feminist Foreign Policy: A Framework" indicates. The "Framework" which was prepared by feminist scholars, advocates, experts of governments and aims to consider what a "global gold standard for feminist foreign policy" is, states that "feminist foreign policy should be rooted in an intersectional approach" (Thompson and Clement, 2019: 3). It is required by governments to consider intersectionality fundamentally while gendering their foreign policies. However, until today, feminist foreign policy has been designed and evaluated through the indicators of liberal feminism such as the integration of women to the institutions as military and government, legal reform to achieve equality in law, representation in elected offices, and leadership in appointed positions (Garner, 2013).

Apart from intersectionality and liberal feminism, the pacifist and anti-militarist approach of feminist foreign policy considers the commitment to demilitarization as a prerequisite for the development of feminist foreign policy. Institutions as the Center for Feminist Foreign Policy and Reaching Critical Will argue that it is impossible to have a genuine feminist foreign policy without strong political commitment towards a nuclear-weapon-free world and towards demilitarization. However, until now, only Mexico signed the Treaty on Prohibition on Nuclear Weapons among states that adopted a feminist foreign policy directly or have a gender-sensitive feminist foreign policy.

Alwan and Meldon (2017: 7) specify three approaches to feminist foreign policy as "liberal, anti-militarism and pacifist, and global intersectional feminism". They develop empirical indicators[2] for these approaches and evaluate 34 OECD countries in this context. Referring to indicators set by Alwan and Meldon, this study examines the feminist foreign policies of states across four

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[1]The Gender Equality Index has been developed by the European Institute for Gender Equality (EIGE) since 2013. It is comprised of six main areas: power, time, knowledge, health, money, and work.
[2]These indicators include "the presence of a military, %GDP devoted to military, women in combat, women integrated into the military, CEDAW ratification, advocacy for human rights, adoption of a NAP under SC

Resolution 1325, women's political presence in foreign policy executive, race discrimination treaty, development assistance, gender as a basis for granting refugee status, a total number of women in foreign policy executive positions, average aid contributions to gender equality" (Alwan and Weldon, 2017: 29).

fundamental themes instead of theoretical approaches: women in decision-making, ratification of international treaties, aid to contribute to gender equality, and anti-militarism.

Women in Decision Making

It is widely accepted that, as stated in the Beijing Declaration 25 years ago (1995: 79), "without the active participation of women and the incorporation of women's perspective at all levels of decision-making, the goals of equality, development, and peace cannot be achieved". The active participation of women in the foreign policy process has also been discussed for a long time. However, as Tickner argues (2001:54), "in the West, the image of a foreign policymaker has been strongly associated with elite, white males and representations of hegemonic masculinity". This gendered institutional framework necessarily affects all foreign policymaking processes or outcomes[3] (Smith, 2019: 4).

Ratification of International Treaties

States' commitment to the advancement of women's rights is an important element of feminist foreign policy. One of these commitments is the ratification of international treaties that promote and protect women's rights, especially of the Convention on the Elimination of Violence Against Women (CEDAW), without reservations. Making reservations to treaties is very important in determining the tendency of states and the proper implementation of treaties. "Feminist scholars of international law have emphasized how such reservations to CEDAW undermine the Convention" (Alwan and Meldon, 2017: 13).

In recent years, the importance of advancing women's rights in conflict and post-conflict processes, supporting women's involvement in the conflict solution processes and involving women in the implementation of international treaties and women's role in the post-conflict reconstruction period has been accepted by a large circle by the adoption of the United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325 in 2000. After that, countries have begun to develop National Action Plans (NAP) to implement and screen the implementation process of the SC Resolution 1325. Whether a state has a national action plan or not is a functional tool in evaluating feminist foreign policy.

It is stated in article 226 of the Beijing Declaration (1995: 92) that "the factors that cause the flight of refugee women, other displaced women in need of international protection and internally displaced women may be different from those affecting men. These women continue to be vulnerable to abuses of their human rights during and after their flight". As a tool to prevent and combat all forms of violence against women, the Council of Europe Convention on Preventing and Combating Violence against Women and Domestic Violence, Istanbul Convention also contains provisions (Article 60 and 61) specific to asylum-seeking and refugee women (Hooper, 2019: 5). This raises the importance of ratification of the Istanbul Convention related to the feminist foreign policy.

Aid to Contribute to Gender Equality

Aid to advance gender equality and women's empowerment is also an element of the feminist foreign policy. In this context, donor countries aim to support programs advancing gender equality and women's empowerment in other nations, particularly poor nations. OECD's "gender marker" helps to analyze gender spending in terms

of the foreign assistance spending that commits resources for gender equality and women's empowerment. Contributions to the UN Women also show the voluntary financial contributions of government partners that are committed to make gender equality and women's empowerment a global priority.

Anti-Militarism

The connection between patriarchy and militarism is one of the powerful arguments of feminism. Almost all feminists agree that "most forms of militarism and militarization are fundamentally anti-feminist" (The Conversation, 2018). Viewing feminist foreign policy in terms of anti-militarism goes beyond the foreign policy approach towards the articulation of women to existing structures, and it includes a vision for the transformation of structures that are constructed on hegemonic masculinity. Therefore, feminist foreign policy should promote non-violence and anti-militarism. It should be designed to address "the gendered structural causes of conflict, including patriarchy and gender inequalities, militarism and violence, the political economy of war, and the impact of neo-liberalism" (Rees and Chinkin, 2016: 1213) Because all institutions of foreign policy are inherently gendered, a feminist foreign policy requires rethinking gendered structures of institutions and governance systems. As Scheyer and Kumskova (2019: 59) argue, "it cannot be equivalent to a foreign policy that merely aims to ensure equal representation meaningful participation of women in the position of power". The relationship between patriarchy and militarism necessitates a reverse relationship between the militarist policies of the states and the feminist foreign policy.

1.2. Pioneers of the Feminist Foreign Policy

In December 2014, the newly formed Swedish government, a coalition of the Social Democrats and the Green Party, officially introduced the feminist foreign policy of Sweden. In the first place, this policy was not clear, and the details were not submitted to the public by the government. Relatedly Swedish feminist foreign policy has been met with skepticism and criticism (Sundström and Elgström, 2020: 423). Over time, the government elaborated on how the feminist foreign policy would take place in practice. In 2018, to clarify the discussions on the feminist foreign policy and to outline the concept, "the Handbook", Sweden's feminist foreign policy was published. The Handbook reflected Sweden's feminist foreign policy takes three Rs, "rights, representation, and resources as its starting point and is based on a fourth R", the reality in which women and girls live.

In terms of rights, as stated in the "Swedish Foreign Service Action Plan for Feminist Foreign Policy 2019–2022" (2019: 4), it is aimed to contribute to "all women's and girls' full enjoyment of human rights, freedom from physical, psychological and sexual violence, participation in preventing and resolving conflicts, and post-conflict peacebuilding, political participation and influence in all areas of society, economic rights and empowerment, sexual and reproductive health, and rights". With regards to representation, it is aimed to promote "women's participation and influence in decision-making processes at all levels and in all areas, dialogue with women representatives at all levels, including in civil society". In terms of resources, it is planned to work "to ensure that resources are allocated to promote gender equality and equal opportunities for all women and girls to enjoy human rights". In this context, foreign and

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[3]Smith (2019) asks an important and under-discussed question regarding the growing number of women in foreign policymaking institutions: "will they make a difference to foreign policy decisions?" This question requires

comprehensive research by considering different contexts.

security policy, international development cooperation, and trade and promotion policy are three policy areas of the Swedish foreign policy (Government Communication, 2019: 13). Objectives and context of Sweden's feminist foreign policy reflect its transformative agenda. This policy is defined by Swedish Foreign Service as "it is based on intersectionality, which means taking into account the fact that people have different living conditions, levels of influence, and needs" (Government Offices of Sweden, 2019: 11).

Although Sweden became the first country that announced to pursue a feminist foreign policy and released a well-designed plan that is inclusive and gives intersectionality a priority, it has been met with criticism. A group of Swedish non-profit organizations has noted hypocrisies in the implementation of the feminist foreign policy, particularly concerning Swedish arms exports and migration policy, both of which have gendered consequences. The Swedish-European civil society-based organization for global development, CONCORD, has made several critical interventions to contest the contradictory policy of Sweden in regards to the arms trade, which according to CONCORD is inconsistent with a feminist foreign policy (Aggestam and Rosamond, 2018: 38).

Following Sweden, on 7 June 2017, the first official government declaration of Canada appeared when "Strong, Secure, Engaged: Canada's Defence Policy" was released. The report itself refers explicitly to Canada's "feminist approach to international policy" Two days later, Canada's "Feminist International Assistance Policy (FIAP)" was introduced to guide its foreign aid programming (Open Canada, 2017). The FIAP was aimed to focus on six principal action areas: "gender equality and the empowerment of women and girls, human dignity, growth that works for everyone, environment, and climate change action, inclusive governance, and peace and security" (Government of Canada, 2020). In 2018, Canada held the G7 Presidency, put gender equality –for the first time- on the agenda for the G7 annual meeting, and established a G7 Gender Equality Advisory Council. By 2019, the second foreign minister of the Trudeau government, Chrystia Freeland, proclaimed the feminist approach of Canada to international relations by stating "it is important—and historic—that we have a prime minister and a government proud to proclaim themselves as feminists. Women's rights are human rights.....These rights are at the core of our foreign policy" (Chapnick, 2019: 202-203). François-Philippe Champagne, the next foreign minister following Freeland, announced extending Canada's feminist approach beyond the FIAP in February 2020.

As in the Swedish case, gender equality has been a central value in foreign policy debates for more than a decade, however, Canada's FIAP has met with skepticism because it was not enough to implement a fully feminist foreign policy. It is argued that Canada's feminist approach is limited to the aid sector when it is compared with the application of feminist principles of Sweden or Mexico to their entire foreign policy practices. Additionally, the FIAP "adopts mainstream liberal feminism that excludes many peoples and groups from the core of Canada's aid efforts" (Morton, Muchiri and Swiss, 2020: 330-332). In other words, it seems that the principle of intersectionality is not at the root of Canadian feminist foreign policy practices.

Apart from Sweden and Canada, France also developed strategies to adopt the elements of feminist foreign policy. One of them was the definition of the first gender and development strategy in 2007. By this development, French cooperation policy gained a gender dimension. A second strategy adopted by the "Interministerial Committee for International Cooperation and Development (CICID)" in July 2013, was an extension of the first strategy and

further secured the inclusion of gender in development policy until 2017. The third strategy, "International Strategy on Gender Equality 2018-2022" was the groundwork behind the transition to feminist diplomacy. Minister for Europe and Foreign Affairs Jean-Yves Le Drian and Secretary of State for Gender Equality Marlène Schiappa announced a feminist approach to their diplomacy in 2019.

Mexico became the first state in the global South that announced a feminist foreign policy. In his address during the 74th session of the United Nations General Assembly in September 2019, Mexico's Secretary of Foreign Affairs, Marcelo Ebrard, stated that Mexico would adopt a feminist foreign policy. Following this statement, in January 2020, during the annual meeting of ambassadors and consuls, an international policy that emphasized gender equality was announced. Mexico´s feminist foreign policy has both domestic implications and international implications. With the launch of a feminist foreign policy, in terms of domestic policy, it strives to achieve gender equality within the Foreign Ministry personnel. Parity within the Foreign Ministry and organizational reforms to achieve gender equality in the workplace is of the five goals of Mexico. Others include a foreign policy with a gender perspective and international leadership on this issue, a foreign ministry that is free of violence and that emphasizes collective action to create a working environment free of gender-based violence, making feminist leadership visible and raising awareness of women's contributions to Mexico's foreign policy, and finally an intersectional feminist approach to all foreign policy actions (Delgado, 2020: 36). Considering that, a comprehensive approach, for example, the link between gender discrimination and climate justice is created within Mexico's feminist foreign policy. More importantly, it has both concrete targets and an evaluation scheme when it is compared with Canada or France.

Although there are differences between feminist foreign policy approaches, all four countries, Sweden, Canada, France, and Mexico, are the countries with the most comprehensive feminist foreign policies to date. Spain, Luxembourg, Malaysia, and Cyprus are expected to launch feminist foreign policy soon. Besides, the EU, different from individual states, is expected to implement a feminist foreign policy. In this transition process, from traditional, male-dominated, and structured in masculinity foreign policy to feminist foreign policy, certain member states' experiences and all member states' tendencies to embrace feminist foreign policy are crucial. In this context, Sweden distinguishes itself from other member states. Sweden's most important foreign policy platform is the EU and the feminist foreign policy is "a clear profile issue for Sweden's work in the EU". Sweden is the leading member state that encourage the EU to work for gender equality foreign policy actions and advocate for gender mainstreaming by the treaties. For example, the EU has proposed an entire chapter on gender equality for the first time for the free trade agreement with Chile (Government Offices of Sweden, 2019: 62). The perception of Swedish feminist foreign policy by the actors of the EU and other member states is also crucial. In this context, Sweden is mainly accepted as a norm entrepreneur by external actors (Sundström and Elgström, 2020).

1.3. Feminist Foreign Policy of the European Union

Over the last decade, the EU has developed a variety of strategies and policies within its external action that either incorporate a gender perspective or that actively aim at fostering gender equality as the strategic approach or EU Global Strategy. Various developments have encouraged the feminist foreign policy of the EU. One of them is the increasing number of states within and outside of the EU adopting a feminist foreign policy, primarily Sweden and recently

France. A growing number of states making gender equality a priority within and for their foreign policies (Bernarding and Lunz, 2020: 11). Denmark has a strong equality focus on foreign policy. Spain, Luxembourg, Cyprus have very recently announced their intent to either develop a feminist foreign policy or make gender equality a priority to their foreign policies. In March 2020, the German Federal Foreign Ministry launched the report on gender equality in German foreign policy and the Federal Foreign Office (Federal Foreign Office, 2020).

The other significant development is the declaration of gender-sensitive priorities of the new European Commission. Personally, the President of the European Commission Ursula von der Leyen is an advocate of gender equality. Her "Union of Equality" that describes a feminist vision for the EU is one of the major priorities of the European Commission, as outlined in her political guidelines. "A Union of Equality: Gender Equality Strategy 2020-2025" can be seen as a starting point for the development of EU feminist foreign policy. Strategy 2020-2025 portrays action plans for five years and the commitment of the Commission to include an equality perspective in all EU policy areas, major initiatives, and challenges such as climate and digital transformations, also known as gender mainstreaming. The implementation of Strategy 2020-2025 is planning to be "based on the dual approach of targeted measures to achieve gender equality, combined with strengthened gender mainstreaming" (European Commission, 2020: 2). It is also stated in the Strategy that it is "implemented using intersectionality - the combination of gender with other personal characteristics or identities, and how these intersections contribute to unique experiences of discrimination - as a cross-cutting principle" (European Commission, 2020: 2).4

The WPS agenda has provided the necessary momentum for the inclusion of gender as a factor in peace and security issues and the development of mechanisms in this direction. (Guerrina and Wright, 2016: 293). Member states of the EU come into prominence for the realization WPS Agenda because the majority of national action plans on UNSCR 1325 have been developed by European states (Table 1). In 2008 "Comprehensive Approach to the EU Implementation of the United Nation Security Council Resolution 1325 and 1820 on Women, Peace, and Security" made the link between gender and security explicit for the first time and outlined how WPS should be integrated into the EU external action (Council of the European Union, 2018a). The EU Strategic Approach to Women, Peace, and Security (WPS) is annexed to the Foreign Affairs Council Conclusions on WPS adopted on 10 December 2018 (Council of the European Union, 2018b). "Strategic Approach on Women, Peace, and Security" represented "a framework for the implementation, and indeed, a clear normative position on the EU on gender and foreign policy" for the first time (Haastrup, Wright, and Guerrina, 2019: 67). In 2019, the EU Action Plan on Women, Peace and Security 2019-2024 outlined how the Strategic Approach should be implemented.

Table 1: European States and National Action Plans (NAPs) as of November 2020

Denmark	2005	Portugal	2009	Macedonia	2013
Norway	2006	France	2010	Germany	2013
Sweden	2006	Italy	2010	Kosovo	2014
The United Kingdom	2006	Slovenia	2010	Czechia	2017
Switzerland	2007	Serbia	2010	Montenegro	2017
Austria	2007	Bosnia-Herzegovina	2010	Poland	2018
Spain	2007	Estonia	2010	Albania	2018
Finland	2008	Latvia	2011	Luxembourg	2018
Holland	2008	Ireland	2011	Slovakia	2020
Belgium	2009	Croatia	2011	Letonia	2020

Source: PeaceWomen, 2020.

The aforementioned developments have fostered a EU approach to feminist foreign policy. However, there are still challenges and shortcomings regarding feminist foreign policy mainly derived from the EU's narrow gender approach and its neoliberal orientation, although in Strategy 2020-2025 implementation is planned through intersectionality. It is widely stated that the EU refers to women and men when conceptualizing gender and excludes other identities. Muehlenhoff (2017: 11) argues that "the EU conceptualizes gender as a social construct but only refers to women and men, excluding other gender identities". Besides, "the EU documents constitute women as neoliberal subjects, meaning self-responsible individuals with resources for economic development or security". The gender regime of the EU is largely neoliberal in orientation with economic concerns overshadowing feminist ones (Guerrina and Wright, 2016: 298). This approach is built on the "add women and stir principle". Chappell and Guerrina (2020) analyze the status of gender equality within the European External Action Service (EEAS) and argue that "the neo-liberal foundations of the EU permeate the way the EEAS incorporates the principle of equality, leading to a shallow understanding that focuses on adding women into existing structures".

The EU also intends to empower "women as resources for effective military missions by aiming at gender equality in ESDP missions" Muehlenhoff (2017: 11). Kapur and Rees (2019) interpret this kind of policy as the normalization of the use of force and a militarized approach to security. Growing EU members' interest to further defense and military cooperation and to strengthen the EU's military capacity. Instead of adding women to positions in an isolated way, a holistic approach to foreign and security policy is needed. This approach should have a comprehensive definition of gender and reverse militarization. It should prioritize human security, pursue intersectional gender equality, enhance cooperation with and support feminist civil society, show political leadership towards implementing a feminist foreign policy.

To date, this leadership has been undertaken in the EU largely by supranational institutions such as the European Parliament, the European Commission, and the European Court of Justice. They have become key actors in the advancement of the EU's role as a

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4This approach is coherent with Article 10 TFEU, when "defining and implementing its policies and activities, the Union shall aim to combat discrimination based on sex, racial or ethnic origin, religion or belief, disability, age or sexual orientation" (Consolidated Version of the Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union, 2012).

gender actor. One of the most important reasons for this is that member states retain a high level of control over external relations of the EU. Lack of member state engagement is a major obstacle for the development of the feminist foreign policy of the EU. This raises the importance of the feminist foreign policy approaches of the member states.

2. Methodology

The Feminist Foreign Policy Index (FFPI) examines the foreign policies of countries across four fundamental subindexes: Women in Decision-Making, Ratification of International Treaties, Aid to Contribute to Gender Equality, and Anti-Militarism. In the context of these themes, subindexes and 11 indicators that compose them have been designed as in Table 2.

Table 2. Structure of the Feminist Foreign Policy Index (FFPI)

Subindex	Indicator
Women in Decision-Making	Representation in Parliaments (% of Total, 2020)
	Members of the Government or Political Executive (% of Total, 2020)
	Foreign Policy Executive Positions (Number, 2020)
	(Foreign Minister, Defense Minister, Head of Government or Political Executive, President)
Ratification of International Treaties	Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) Ratification (Y/N)
	Adoption of an National Action Plan (NAP) under Security Council Resolution 1325 (Y/N)
	Convention on Preventing and Combating Violence against Women and Domestic Violence (Istanbul Convention) (Y/N)
Aid to Contribute to Gender Equality	Aid in Support of Gender Equality and Women's Empowerment (% of Total, 2018)
	Contribution to UN WOMEN (% of Total, 2019)
Anti-Militarism	Treaty on the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons
	Gross Domestic Product (GDP) Devoted to Government Expenditure on Defense (% of GDP, 2018)
	Arms Export-Value of Export Licenses (% of Total, 2019)

2.1. Data Collection

Data on the percentage of women in national parliaments were collected from the Interparliamentary Union (IPU) monthly rankings by separating EU member states. IPU data include numbers and proportion of members of a lower or single house and upper chamber. For countries that have a single house, data on the *percentage of women* in parliaments were used as they are. For countries that have a lower house and upper chamber, the average percentage of women in parliaments was used. Data on the numbers of women head of government or political executive and president, percentage of women members of the government or political executive (junior and senior ministers) were collected from EIGE, the Gender Statistics Database (GDS). The numbers of women foreign and defense ministers were calculated through the websites of relevant ministries of the EU member states.

Data on the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) and the Treaty on the

Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons were reached through the UN treaties database. Data on the Convention on Preventing and Combating Violence against Women and Domestic Violence (Istanbul Convention) were collected from the Council of Europe Treaty Office. Data on the national-level implementation of UNSCR 1325 on Women, Peace, and Security were sourced from the WILPF's Peace Women Programme.

Percentage of contribution to UN Women by EU member states data were collected through UN Women publication of "UN Women 2019 Revenue Contributions by Donor". Aid in support of gender equality and women's empowerment data were collected from the OECD database by identifying official development assistance (ODA) allocated by EU member states among the 30 members of the OECD Development Assistance Committee (DAC) in 2018. To calculate the percentage of GDP devoted to aid in support of gender equality and women's empowerment and UN Women, the GDP (current US$) data of the World Bank were used as a general indicator.

GDP devoted to government expenditure on defense data were sourced from Eurostat. Arms export data, specifically data on the percentage of the value of export licenses, were collected from the online database of the EEAS that aims increasing transparency on EU member states' arms exports. In this database, there are three indicators: the number of export licenses, the value of export licenses, and the value of actual exports. Due to some member states such as Germany does not share the amounts of actual exports, complete data on the value of export license were used in the study.

2.2. Data Analysis

The overall FFPI was constructed with a three-step process. Firstly, all data of indicators apart from foreign policy executive positions and ratification of international treaties were converted to percentages. Foreign policy executive positions are the sum of the number of foreign ministers, defense ministers, heads of governments or political executives, and presidents. Ratification of international treaties was given 1 and 0 (Y/N). Reservations to treaties were calculated with less than half a point, 0.5.

Each of the four subindexes was computed as the equal weighting of the underlying individual indicators. Therefore, all variables were given the same weight. Equal weighting can be used when there is insufficient information about causal relationships or a lack of consensus on the alternative (OECD, 2008: 31). In this study, the reason for using equal weighting is that there is no consensus in the literature on the elements of feminist foreign policy. Further studies in this direction will strengthen the determination of the constituents of feminist foreign policy in the future.

The min-max method of normalization was used to analyze the data. When normalizing data on the GDP devoted to government expenditure on defense and arms export-value of export licenses, they were reversed. After the normalization process, for all subindexes, the highest possible score was 1, and the lowest possible score was 0. The results were centuplicated, and finally, the score distribution occurred between 100 and 0.

A simple average of each subindex score was used to calculate the overall FFPI score. Similar to subindex scores, the final value ranges between 100 and 0.

3. Findings and Discussion

The FFPI consists of four subindexes: women in decision-making, ratification of international treaties, aid to contribute to gender equality, and anti-militarism. The findings are evaluated in the context of the subindexes, the main index, and the correlation between them.

In the subindex of women in decision-making, Belgium, Spain, Finland, and Sweden ranks high, while countries such as Cyprus, Romania, Hungary, and Malta ranks lower. When the correlation between the subindex and the main index is examined, this subindex is the one with the highest correlation with the main index (r=0.82).

Austria, Belgium, Estonia, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, Poland, and Spain ranks high in the subindex of ratifying international agreements. The reason for this is that these countries ratify the CEDAW and Istanbul Convention[5] without reservation and at the same time adopt a NAP under UNSCR 1325. Bulgaria, Cyprus, Greece, Hungary, Malta, and Romania, which do not adopt a NAP, rank lower in this subindex as well as they are in the lower ranks of the main index. The correlation of this index with the main index is quite high (r=0.74).

Sweden leads the subindex of aid to contribute to gender equality, while countries such as Finland, Denmark, the Netherlands, and Germany are at the top. Countries such as Hungary, Cyprus, Latvia, Lithuania, Bulgaria, Poland, and Romania ranked lower in this subindex, as their share of GDPs for programs and projects aimed at gender equality and women's empowerment is quite low. The correlation of this subindex with the main index is 0.73.

The scores on the subindex of anti-militarism presented different results from other subindexes and main index. Countries such as Sweden, Finland, Denmark, and the Netherlands, which are at the top of other subindexes and the main index, are in the middle or lower ranks in the anti-militarism subindex, which is formed on the basis of the share allocated from the GDP to defense expenditures, arms trade, and ratification of the nuclear weapons abolition agreement. On the other hand, countries such as Malta and Hungary, which rank lower in all subindexes and main index, were ranked higher in this subindex. Therefore, the correlation of this subindex with the main index is different from other correlations (r=0,3).

Figure 1: Contribution of Subindexes to Overall Feminist Foreign Policy Index (FFPI)
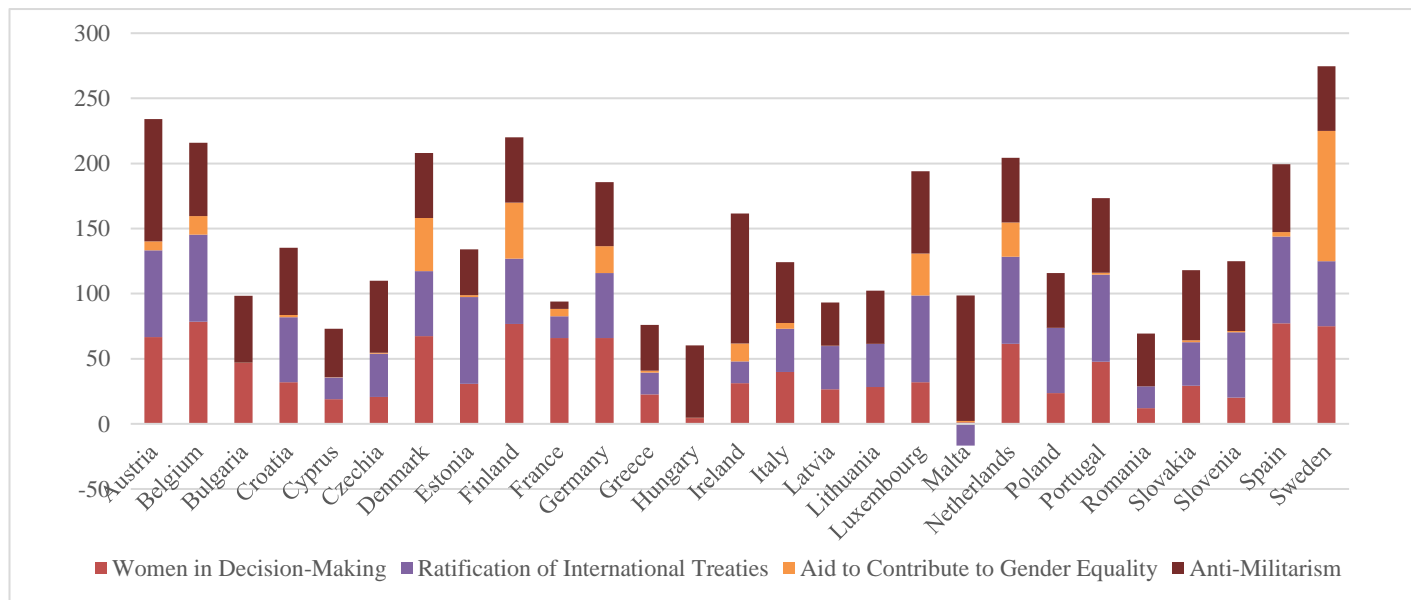

When the main index is analyzed, Sweden, which is the first country that officially announced to pursue a feminist foreign policy, is ranked first. Sweden is followed by Austria, Finland, and Belgium (Figure 2). At the end of the study, the main index was compared with the Gender Equality Index of EIGE, and the correlation between them was analyzed after the EIGE index scores were normalized. In consequence, a high correlation between the index of EIGE and the FFPI was observed (r=0.79). This situation reveals that there is a relatively strong positive relationship between national gender equality policies and practices and feminist foreign policy policies and practices. Countries such as Sweden, Denmark, France, and Finland are at the top of the Gender Equality Index. It is noteworthy that Austria remains out of this trend. Following Sweden in the FFPI, Austria ranks in the middle of the EIGE index. The

reasons for this are that Austria approves the Treaty on the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons and its share of GDP for defense is low compared to other countries. In addition to these, Austria has ratified agreements such as CEDAW and Istanbul Convention and adopted a NAP for the implementation of UNSCR 1325. The position of France, which officially announces its transition to feminist diplomacy in the context of feminist foreign policy, is also striking. While France is at the top of the Gender Equality Index of EIGE, it is in the lower ranks of the FFPI. The most important reason for this is that FFPI contains the anti-militarism subindex. France ranks first in arms exports, leaving other countries behind, while the denominator allocated to defense expenditures from the GDP ranks second. France is one of the nine states that possess nuclear weapons, as it has not signed the Treaty on the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons

[5] "As of November 2020, it has been signed by all EU member states and ratified by 21 (Austria, Belgium, Croatia, Cyprus, Denmark, Estonia, Finland, France, Germany, Greece, Ireland, Italy, Luxembourg, Malta, Netherlands, Poland, Portugal, Romania, Slovenia, Spain, and Sweden). The Polish government announced its intention to withdraw from the Convention in July 2020. One of the priorities in the European Commission's new EU

Gender Equality Strategy 2020-2025 that adopted on 5 March 2020, is concluding the EU's accession to the Istanbul Convention" (European Parliament, 2020).

Figure 2: Feminist Foreign Policy Index (FFPI) Score for EU Member States
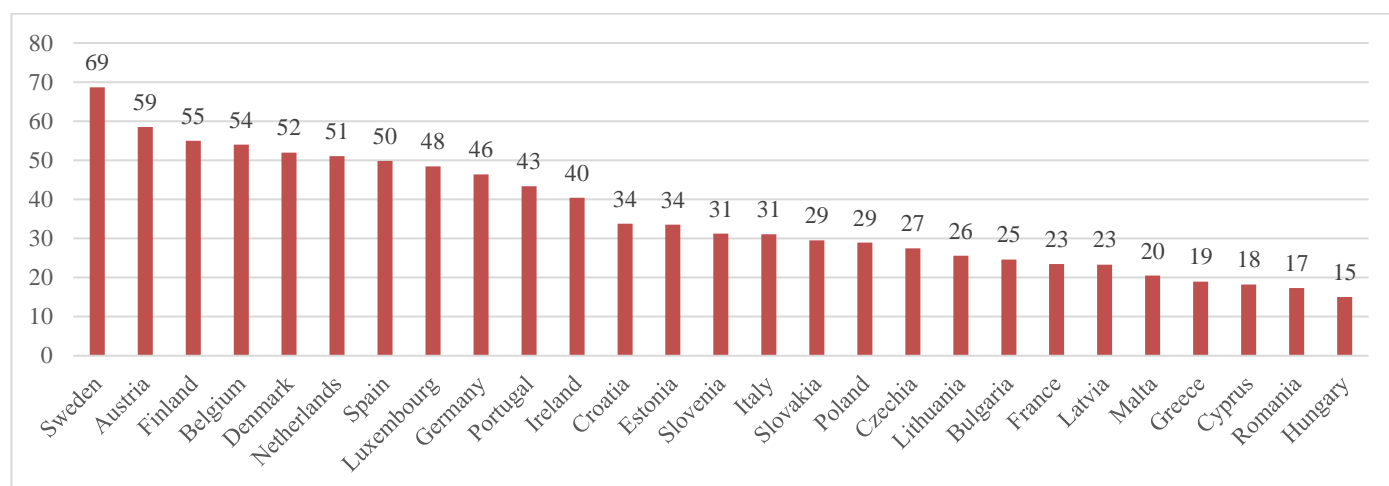
4.Conclusion

Feminist foreign policy has been an important topic of discussion in global politics in recent years. However, there is no consensus on the definition and constituents of feminist foreign policy. The theoretical dimension of feminist foreign policy will gain strength with the deepening of the debates in this direction and the proliferation of practical examples. This study contributed to the discussion by forming a functional model within the framework of the elements of feminist foreign policy through the EU member states.

This study has limitations and is open to further research. In the study, data collection took place through open data sources. Different indicators can be constructed by using alternative data. In other words, although basic indicators were reached in this study, these indicators can be enriched and included in this index. Another limitation of the study is that it is designed on the case studies of EU member states. Discussions of feminist foreign policy outside the global North and implementation of it outside Europe, as in Mexico, requires the index to be applied to different groups of states. In this respect, feminist foreign policy studies can focus on the discussion and enrichment of indicators and their evaluation in the context of geographies outside the global North.

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