

# KWDI ISSUE PAPER

Research Title : Mainstreaming Gender in Foreign and Security Policy: The Case of Feminist Foreign Policy

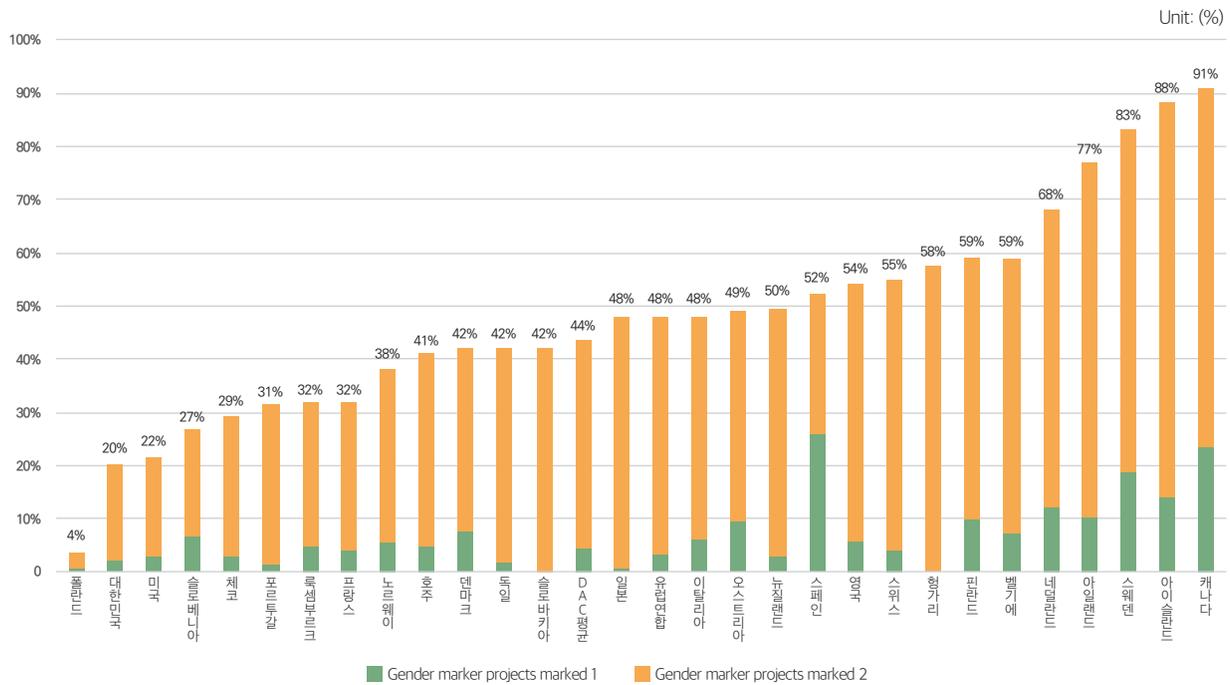
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## Tasks for Implementing Gender-Sensitive Foreign Policies

### Abstract

- Recently, attention is being paid to the feminist foreign policy that places gender equality and empowerment of women's rights at the center of its national foreign policy agenda, based on the understanding that women's economic/political/social participation directly leads to a more enriched and peaceful world order.
- Effective gender mainstreaming of foreign security policies requires a comprehensive approach such as the feminist foreign policy.
- According to our analysis on the case examples of three countries (Sweden, Canada, France) that could give meaningful implications to Korea, these countries adopted feminist foreign policies to ultimately mainstream gender in their foreign security policies. One thing these countries have in common is that their strong political will had an important influence on the adoption of feminist foreign policies.
- Based on such global case examples, this study explored the necessity for Korea to adopt a feminist foreign policy and suggested a feasible policy plan.

Ratio of gender equality ODA in the total bilateral assistance among the OECD DAC (Development Assistance Committee) member countries (2018-2019)



Note: OECD(2021). <https://www.oecd.org/development/gender-development/aid-in-support-of-gender-equality-2021.pdf> (Accessed: Dec. 7th, 2021)

## Research Background

- The Korean government has neither announced a pledge or a declaration to achieve global gender equality, nor has any framework to implement global women’s agenda (SDGs, 1325 National Action Plans, Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women, etc.) in an integrated manner.
- The Ministry of Foreign Affairs which leads the Korean government’s foreign policies, in particular, has a significantly low proportion of women in the positions of senior public officials who serve as the key decision makers, compared to other government departments. For example, female senior public officials account for an average of 7.9% in the total senior public officials of the Korean government departments as of 2019. In the case of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, however, the proportion of female senior public officials stood at 5.9%, which is 2% lower than the average (Ministry of Personnel Management, 2020: 83-86).
- Despite the Korean government’s continuous efforts to expand the gender equality ODA, Korea is ranked at the bottom among the Development Assistance Committee member countries in terms of the proportion of gender-related projects. In addition, the Korean government has not made a visible achievement in terms of allocating resources to support the gender equality efforts of developing countries (Permanent Representative of the Republic of Korea to OECD, 2020).

## ● Analysis of feminist foreign policies of overseas countries

### Background of the adoption of feminist foreign policies

- ▶ Sweden, Canada, and France all introduced feminist foreign policies to ultimately mainstream gender in their foreign security policies.
- ▶ Another aspect that these three countries have in common is that their strong political will had an important influence on the adoption of feminist foreign policies.

### Concept & structure

- ▶ In terms of the concept of feminist foreign policies of these three countries, Sweden's feminist foreign policy is different from that of Canada and France in that Sweden defines its feminist foreign policy as part of the overall gender equality policy, whereas Canada and France emphasize the importance of applying feminist perspectives to their 'foreign' policies.

<Table> How the Swedish Ministry of Foreign Affairs promotes its feminist foreign policies

#### ● Leadership

- Clear, open, consistent, "everywhere, all the time"
- Integrated into the Statement of Government Policy on Foreign Affairs
- Regularly raised in speeches, articles and tweets
- Targeted decisions and initiatives

#### ● Ownership

- Inclusive co-creation process for the feminist foreign policy
- Focal points at every department and mission abroad
- Managers are responsible for a gender equality perspective being integrated into all operations, including in decision-making and resource allocation processes

#### ● Guidance

- Clarified distribution of responsibility for gender equality in the rules of procedure
- Integration of the action plan for feminist foreign policy in ordinary monitoring of objectives and results
- Stronger gender mainstreaming, including in the form of gender budgeting
- Regular gender equality analyses

#### ● Support

- Theme page on the intranet
- Collection of examples for the first years with the feminist foreign policy
- Fact sheets and other information materials
- Ambassador for Gender Equality and Coordinator of Feminist Foreign Policy
- E-training for all Swedish Foreign Service staff

#### ● Examples of methodical work:

- Gender equality aspects in consular issues
- Operational support (e.g. security and premises) with a gender equality perspective
- Innovative staffing policy for greater representation of women

Source: Government of Sweden, Ministry of Foreign Affairs(2019), p.47

- ▶ Sweden, Canada, and France have similar feminist foreign policies to each other in that they place gender equality at the center of their foreign security policies and that they establish the principles and concrete spheres of action for their feminist foreign policies.
- ▶ Each of these three countries has a department in full charge of feminist foreign policies, which cooperates with related government departments to implement the feminist foreign policies.
  - All these three countries have conducted evaluation on the performance of their feminist foreign policies and have made the evaluation results public since the adoption of the policies.
  - France has a clear performance monitoring system and plan in place. Sweden established a feminist foreign policy action plan, but is lack of a monitoring system such as performance management indicators. Meanwhile, Canada established clear performance management indicators and a monitoring system only for the foreign aid policy, which is part of its feminist foreign policies.
  - Regarding the budget, it is difficult to identify the size of budget allocated to the feminist foreign policies of these three countries. However, all these three countries stipulated specific budget target to expand gender equality-related ODA. Canada took one step further to prepare a separate gender equality fund to support local and global feminist women’s groups.

<Table 1> Overview of feminist foreign policies

Classification	Definition	Spheres of action
Sweden	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Part of the comprehensive gender equality policies driven by Sweden’s feminist government</li> <li>• Set the ultimate goal of ‘ensuring both women and men have equal authority over contributing to the social development while leading their own lives.’</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Complete enjoyment of human rights</li> <li>• Freedom from physical/psychological/sexual violence</li> <li>• Participation in prevention/resolution of disputes and in peace-building activities after disputes are over</li> <li>• Political participation and exercise of influence in all areas of the society</li> <li>• Ensure economic rights and authority</li> <li>• Sexual &amp; Reproductive Health and Rights (SRHR)</li> </ul>
Canada	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Apply feminist perspectives to all areas of foreign policies including the Feminist International Assistance Policy, which cover ‘trade diversification strategy’, ‘1325 National Action Plan’, ‘Elsie Initiative on Women in Peace Operations’, and ‘national defense policy based on gender equality &amp; diversity.’</li> <li>• Focus on eliminating the fundamental social/structural barriers, based on the requirements from those who face different types of discrimination.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Gender equality &amp; empowerment of women and girls</li> <li>• Dignity of humanity</li> <li>• Growth that benefits all</li> <li>• Environment and climate change actions</li> <li>• Inclusive governance</li> <li>• Peace and security</li> </ul>
France	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• A policy that places gender equality, women’s freedom and rights, and the struggles to eliminate patriarchy at the center of the foreign policy</li> <li>• Emphasize the importance of ensuring the participation of women and feminist activists in the feminist foreign policy establishment/implementation process, allocating long-term resources, and securing a framework for effective policy implementation.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Access to social services including education and sexual/reproductive health</li> <li>• Productive and economic resources such as decent work</li> <li>• Protection from all forms of violence</li> <li>• Meaningful participation in the economic/political/social decision-making process</li> </ul>

Note: Canada and France indicated specific spheres of action defined by FIAP(Feminist International Assistance Policy) and the International Strategy on Gender Equality, respectively. Source: (1) Government of Sweden(2019), p.18; Thompson et al.(2021), p.3; (2) Global Affairs Canada. n.d. Scene-Setter: Feminist Foreign Policy Dialogue. <https://live-amnesty.pantheon.site/sites/default/files/Feminist%20Foreign%20Policy%20-%20%20Scene%20Setter%20%28002%29.pdf>; Thompson et al.(2021), p.6; (3) Grésy et al.(2020), p.3; Thompson et al.(2021), p.11

### Sub-conclusion

- ▶ Sweden, Canada, and France have differences in terms of the timing/background/principles/spheres of action/implementation monitoring of the feminist foreign policies.
- ▶ Although there was no gap among these three countries in ‘declaring’ the feminist foreign policies, they had differences in terms of ‘institutionalizing the declaration into a policy.’ However, their feminist foreign policies have similarities to each other in that each of their policies demonstrate that it is possible to institutionalize the feminist foreign policy in their own national context and in that they aim to reinforce gender mainstreaming in their foreign security policies.
- ▶ Above all, the feminist foreign policies of these three countries are all significantly meaningful because they ‘define the duties of the government in ensuring human rights and economic justice based on the universal principles including human rights and dignity, while also providing a transformative approach to breaking the existing policy framework’ (Ridge et al., 2019: 2-4).

## Achievements & Limits of Feminist Foreign Policies

- **Feminist foreign policies have a significant meaning in that they define the nation as the main entity responsible for realizing the value of human rights and economic justice, while also providing a transformative approach to breaking the existing policy framework based on the universal principles of rights including the human rights and dignity, with the aim of strengthening the gender mainstreaming of foreign security policies.**
- **It is early to discuss the actual achievements of feminist foreign policies for now because it hasn’t been long since the feminist foreign policies were adopted.**
  - ▶ The three countries reviewed by this study are all at the stage of establishing feminist foreign policies. Therefore, it is premature to assess their specific impact on foreign affairs, national defense, trade, and peace, etc.
  - ▶ Considering the current progress in several countries that adopted feminist foreign policies, however, it is possible to assess that they are reinforcing their feminist foreign policies in a substantial manner by, for example, establishing performance monitoring indicators.
  - ▶ It is also positively viewed that they set a process to monitor the implementation of the policies, make the monitoring results public and thereby allow other nations to learn from them.
- **However, their feminist foreign policies have limits in that they focused on ‘women & girls’ while overlooking the importance of intersectional issues of race, disabilities, and class, etc. and in that they have not yet allocated sufficient human/material resources to implement the feminist foreign policies since the adoption of the policies.**

## Policy Recommendations

### ● Reinforcement of gender mainstreaming in Korea's foreign and security policies

- ▶ Korea has not made progress in implementing efficient gender mainstreaming of its foreign and security policies. Activities to achieve gender equality in the areas of leadership, policy, and resource are being operated independent from each other. Moreover, their performance is being monitored individually on a case by case basis.
- ▶ Effective gender mainstreaming of foreign and security policies requires an integrated approach such as feminist foreign policy.

### ● Institutionalization of the gender mainstreaming framework for Korea's foreign and security policies

- ▶ The gender mainstreaming framework for foreign and security policies does not refer to a foreign policy simply by women or for women, but a foreign policy approach that contributes to improving the traditional power imbalance such as patriarchy, racism, and colonialism.
- ▶ The gender mainstreaming framework for foreign security policies need to include the following core elements.

<Table> Elements of gender mainstreaming framework for foreign security policies

- Establish principles to achieve policy goals and objectives.
- Clearly define the policy including the value and approach.
- Specify the policy areas and clarify the responsibilities of the relevant government departments.
- Suggest the timeline to achieve goals and objectives.
- Set a specific implementation plan including the action items to achieve goals and objectives.

- ① Need to clarify the purpose of adopting a gender mainstreaming framework for the foreign policy, and set the underlining principles and priorities of the policy.
- ② Need to make a clear definition of the policy including the value/approach, in order to explain how the policy is differentiated from the existing foreign policies.
- ③ Need to specify the areas to be affected by the policy(national defense, foreign affairs, foreign aid, etc.), and clarify the responsibilities of the government departments and agencies that are involved in the policy.
- ④ Need to stipulate the performance objectives of the policy and suggest a timeline to achieve those objectives.
- ⑤ Need to establish an implementation plan including specific action items and implementation period related to the policy (Thompson, 2020: 5).

- Resource: Specify the human/material resources needed to achieve the policy objectives, and make a list of plans to secure such resources (such as recruiting more personnel and expanding the budget, etc.).
  - Representation and inclusivity: The government should consider diverse contexts including gender and age in its decision-making process for foreign security affairs. The government should also move beyond just ensuring the representation of diverse contexts, and ensure that the feminist civil society organizations take a meaningful part in the overall process of developing, implementing, and evaluating the policy.
  - Report schedule: Monitor the policy implementation on a periodic basis(e.g. annually) both inside and outside the government, and disclose the monitoring results to the public so that they can be used locally and globally as a learning material.
  - Capacity-building: Experts in the areas of foreign affairs, security, and trade do not usually address gender mainstreaming or gender equality perspectives in their daily activities. Therefore, it is necessary to suggest how to integrate gender equality perspectives in their way of working.
- ▶ In addition, the gender mainstreaming framework for foreign security policies should be accompanied by the evaluation & monitoring system to check the progress of the policy implementation.
- The government needs to check the performance of the policy periodically through a transparent procedure, and disclose the result to the public.
  - Give the civil society a responsibility for periodically monitoring the government's performance in implementing the policy.
  - Conduct evaluation and monitoring based on specific indicators.

### ● Establishment of a system to monitor the policy implementation

- ▶ In order to proceed with an effective feminist foreign policy, the government needs to establish a separate framework to mainstream gender in the foreign security policies centered around the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. This gender mainstreaming framework for foreign and security policies should be differentiated from the existing gender equality policy implementation framework.

Relevant ministry : Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Ministry of Gender Equality and Family
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