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1. INTRODUCTION

This paper presents Cordaid's position in the current debate on the development and implementation of the Dutch Feminist Foreign Policy. It gives an insight into the most recent developments and shows the challenges and opportunities for Cordaid, and the various themes we work within and on.

Looking at the obstacles hampering gender equality, it briefly explains the importance of a Feminist Foreign Policy as a tool to drive positive structural changes to support inclusive societies. After providing an overview of Dutch Feminist Foreign Policy, it presents Cordaid's opinion in light of the opportunities and challenges brought forth by the implementation of such a policy.

2. EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

In November 2022, the Netherlands committed to a Feminist Foreign Policy (FFP), thereby joining a growing group of countries that have adopted such a policy in recent years. First launched by Sweden in 2014, Feminist Foreign Policies aim to advance gender equality by generating positive changes to harmful norms, values and structures. Thus, committing to Feminist Foreign Policies can be described as "a country leveraging all aspects of its foreign policy and international relations to advance a more equitable world".

Feminist Foreign Policies are a unique instrument to advance a more gender-equitable world. They respond to the multiple forms of discrimination against women, girls, LGBTQI+ people and other marginalised groups. Because gender inequalities are rooted and perpetuated by harmful gender norms and patriarchal systems, a FFP endeavours to implement a holistic and transformative approach to promote more inclusive societies.

Numerous states have endorsed a Feminist Foreign Policy in recent years, but an ambitious and substantial initiative that would have the potential to impel lasting changes in unequal power systems remains to be seen. At Cordaid we value such a policy, as we believe it can generate sustainable change when put into practice. Hence, we have committed to implementing a gender- transformative approach in all our work by 2030. By transforming the Netherlands' practice of foreign policy, the Feminist Foreign Policy will also impact Cordaid's work in multiple areas (health, security and justice, Triple Nexus, sustainable livelihoods, etc.). As our work can benefit from a strong and effective FFP, we critically consider this initiative. We view the implementation of a Dutch Feminist Foreign Policy as a promising endeavour that could, however, turn into a meaningless policy if critical issues are not tackled. Relying on our experience working in the world's most fragile and conflict- affected settings, we believe that the following elements must necessarily be addressed to embark on a substantial Feminist Foreign Policy:

■ Make reality checks a core element of the Feminist Foreign Policy

Conditions differ between countries, as well as within a country. It is therefore fundamental to develop programs that resonate with local norms and values. The Dutch Feminist Foreign Policy should not be applied alike in all countries, but rather, adjusted to the context in which the Ministry operates. Contextualisation should be the guiding principle driving the Dutch FFP in all stages. Therefore, it is critical to rely on gender-transformative context analyses and to consider the most relevant contextual factors in order to develop a significant Feminist Foreign Policy.

Implement a decolonial approach

As a former colonial power, the Netherlands must reckon with its history. Its Feminist Foreign Policy should be rooted in a decolonial approach seeking to shift unequal power relations between the 'global north' and the 'global south'. The specific needs and priorities of local communities should drive programs and they should have equal access to resources. Partnerships with local organisations should also be reshaped, facilitating them in taking the lead in all stages of program development and enhancing cooperation.

■ Work with - and not against - men and boys

Harmful gender norms, values and structures impact all members of societies, regardless of religion, sex, gender, race, social background, disabilities, etc. Men and boys also suffer from toxic masculinities and patriarchal systems. Therefore, the Dutch Feminist Foreign Policy should not be narrowly focused on women and should rely on men and boys to promote greater and more sustainable changes.

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¹ Feminist Foreign Policy Collaborative, "FAQs: What is a Feminist Foreign Policy?", accessed on March 23rd, 2023 Frequently Asked Questions – Feminist Foreign Policy Collaborative (ffpcollaborative.org)

■ Ensure that the Feminist Foreign Policy is applied across all foreign policy areas

As all fields of foreign policy overlap and are intertwined, Cordaid promotes a FFP applied to all areas and not only development and cooperation. If crucial areas, such as security, defence, migration or arms trade are not addressed through a gender lens, the Dutch FFP is likely to lose meaning and effectiveness.

Implementing a Feminist Foreign Policy is a step toward building more just and inclusive societies. It should be apprehended as a process rather than a goal per se. Therefore, Cordaid will continue to closely monitor the Dutch Feminist Foreign Policy to ensure that its ambitions are translated into meaningful and efficient actions.

3. BACKGROUND

3.1 Introducing Feminist Foreign Policy

Despite all the efforts that have been implemented so far on gender, it might take another three hundred years to achieve gender equality². Before the COVID-19 pandemic, it would have taken 100 years³, showing the vulnerability of the progress that has been made. If progress has indeed been achieved in some parts of the world, the rights of women in all their diversity, LGBTQI+ people and other marginalised groups have suffered from severe backlash over the past few years. From growing hunger and poverty to the backsliding of democratic progress, inequities are growing and the rise of anti-gender and patriarchal forces all over the world may well undermine the work achieved so far. In this context, Feminist Foreign Policies have emerged as a new tool to reshape diplomatic relations by placing gender equality at the heart of foreign policies.

Feminist Foreign Policies (FFPs) have the potential to propel changes by addressing the roots of multiple and intersecting forms of inequalities and uneven power relations. Sweden was the first country to implement a Feminist Foreign Policy⁴, in an attempt to better address gender inequities and challenge power structures. Up to now, ten countries officially announced they have a Feminist Foreign Policy: Canada, France, Mexico, Spain, Luxembourg, Germany, Chile, Colombia, and Liberia⁵. Other States expressed their commitment in favour of a FFP. For example, Germany drafted guidelines on how to shape a Feminist Foreign Policy⁶ and implemented a Feminist Development Policy, which aims to eliminate discriminatory structures and enable equitable and self-determined participation by all people in social, political and economic life⁷. What is important to note is that each country takes a different approach to Feminist Foreign Policy.

While there is a broad array of topics that may be addressed by a Feminist Foreign Policy, most countries cover the same topics8:

- 1. A FFP must be rooted in a **rights-based approach**: it should seek to identify and analyse inequalities lying at the heart of development issues and dismantle unjust distributions of power impeding development progress.
- A FFP should be **intersectional**: it needs to acknowledge the existence of different and overlapping systems of oppression, based on components such as race, gender, (socioeconomic) class, sexual orientation, disability, religion, ethnicity, age, etc., and address these forms of discrimination.
- A FFP should be **gender-transformative**, meaning that transforming unequal gender relations is central to promoting gender equality and achieving positive outcomes. Hence, carrying out a Feminist Foreign Policy is defined as "a country leveraging all aspects of its foreign policy and international relations to advance a more equitable world"9.

3.2 A Feminist Foreign Policy: goals and prospects

When effectively and meaningfully implemented, Feminist Foreign Policies have the potential to change harmful patriarchal systems, structures and norms, and to build sustainable and inclusive societies. A FFP aims to create a unifying political framework for the different policies and strategies

² UN Women, "Progress on the Sustainable Development Goals: The Gender Snapshot 2022", 2022

Progress on the Sustainable Development Goals: The gender snapshot 2022 | Publications | UN Women - Headquarters

³ UN Women, "COVID-19 threatens four 'lost decades' for gender equality", October 1st,

^{2021 &}lt;u>COVID-19 threatens four 'lost decades' for gender equality | UNCTAD</u>

4 In December 2022, Sweden officially withdrew the term "feminist" from its foreign policy.

⁵ UN Women, "Feminist Foreign Policies: An Introduction", 2022

Brief-Feminist-foreign-policies-en.pdf (unwomen.org)

⁶ Federal Foreign Office, "Shaping Feminist Foreign Policy: Federal Foreign Office Guidelines", February 2023 Shaping Feminist Foreign Policy (auswaertiges-amt.de)

⁷ Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development, "Feminist Development Policy. For Just and Strong Societies Worldwide", March 1st, 2023

Feminist Development Policy | Bundesregierung

⁸ UN Women, "Feminist Foreign Policy: An introduction", 2022

<u>Brief-Feminist-foreign-policies-en.pdf (unwomen.org)</u>

⁹ Feminist Foreign Policy Collaborative, "FAQs: What is a Feminist Foreign Policy?", accessed on March 23rd, 2023 <u>Frequently Asked Questions – Feminist Foreign Policy Collaborative (ffpcollaborative.org)</u>

implemented by governments. It goes beyond the mere implication of women in all their diversity, LGBTQI+ persons, and marginalised groups in decision-making processes. It endeavours to adopt a new framework that aims to counter discrimination and challenge power structures in every domain of society. It should target men and boys, as they are also affected by harmful social norms and toxic masculinities¹⁰. Ideally, a FFP seeks to implement feminist analyses and approaches that strive against intersectional discriminations, such as gender inequality, economic and political injustice, or social exclusion of people with disabilities.

The ultimate goal of a Feminist Foreign Policy is to transform the practice of foreign policy in a way that impacts various fields of a state's diplomacy, such as defence, security cooperation, trade, climate security, immigration policies, development and humanitarian assistance. It is supposed to be coherent in its approach across its levers of influence, as well as progressive and intersectional. It should seek to promote gender equity and strive against patriarchal systems and their detrimental effects, both on women and men in all their diversity. Several countries have already published guidelines or handbooks in which they describe their own FFP, the issues they seek to address and the targeted results¹¹.

¹⁰ Toxic masculinities are behaviors, values and norms regarded as appropriate for men and boys in a given society, and that are unhealthy both for boys and men conforming to them and for the rest of society (violence, dominance, emotional illiteracy, sexual entitlement, hostility to femininity, etc.).

The Conversation, "Toxic masculinity': what does it mean, where did it come from – and is the term useful or harmful?", September 21st, 2022

^{&#}x27;Toxic masculinity': what does it mean, where did it come from - and is the term useful or harmful? (theconversation.com)

¹¹ For instance, Canada released its "Feminist International Assistance Policy" in 2017 and the French Ministry of European and Foreign Affairs published in 2018 its "International Strategy on Gender Equality (2018-2022)".

4. THE DUTCH FEMINIST FOREIGN POLICY AS INTRODUCED BY THE MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS

The Netherlands announced its commitment to a Feminist Foreign Policy on November 8th, 2022, in a letter addressed to Parliament¹². Feminism should be at the heart of the Dutch FFP, and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs identifies "rights" and "inequalities" as the core principles driving the measures it seeks to implement.

Specifically:

- **Rights:** the Dutch FFP should focus on the rights of marginalised groups, especially women and LGBTQI+ people, and endeavour to enhance them by increasing their meaningful participation in conflict resolution and decision-making processes.
- **Inequalities**: the Dutch FFP should be based on equal treatment, equal opportunities and equal access to services for marginalised groups, as a way of addressing and eliminating the root causes of economic inequalities, poverty, terrorism and conflicts.

Implementing a FFP is part of a global effort to enhance the Dutch Foreign Policy as a whole.

The next steps planned by the Dutch Ministry of Foreign Affairs are the following:

- Setting the agenda on gender equality and rights of minorities such as LGBTQI+ people;
- embedding a gender lens in the policy cycle (taking into account the specific needs of women in all their diversity and marginalised groups, as well as assessing the potential harmful impact a policy may have on these very groups);
- making gender budgeting a keystone of funding activities (conducting a gender analysis would become mandatory for fund expenditures);
- including and consulting civil society organisations in policy and decision-making processes;
- looking critically at its own organisation and promoting diversity, inclusivity and gender parity.

In 2023, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs will work on a handbook to detail the implementation of the FFP. It will focus on four principles, described as the "4Rs": rights, representation, resources, and reality check.

- **Rights**: Women in all their diversity should be able to claim their fundamental rights all over the world.
- **Representation:** Women should be represented and participate in decision-making processes.
- **Resources:** Sufficient resources must be allocated so that they can reach these objectives.
- **Reality check:** A specific approach must be implemented, adjusted to the political and cultural contexts in which the Dutch ministry operates.

<u>Letter to the Parliament on feminist foreign policy | Parliamentary document | Government.nl</u>

¹² Minister of Foreign Affairs and Minister for Foreign Trade and Development Cooperation, "Letter to the Parliament on Feminist Foreign Policy", November 8th, 2022

5. CORDAID'S VIEW ON THE DUTCH FEMINIST FOREIGN POLICY: ROOM FOR MORE AMBITION

For Cordaid, a Feminist Foreign Policy is an opportunity both for implementation and advocacy. Cordaid has already taken commitments to a gender transformative approach as a cross-cutting theme in all our work.

Cordaid critically considers the Dutch framework as a promising endeavour. However, it could turn into a meaningless policy if paramount issues – such as decolonisation, oppressive elements of religious traditions, patriarchal structures, harmful gender norms and roles, power relations, etc. – are not addressed by the Dutch FFP.

5.1 Promising commitments to build upon

The need to support broad ambitions by providing adequate resources

Implementing a Feminist Foreign Policy from scratch is a massive challenge. Fixing broad ambitions without allocating adequate resources to reach them would likely lead the Dutch Feminist Foreign Policy to failure. Based on the lessons learned from prior Feminist Foreign Policies, it is fundamental to provide proportional resources to operationalise the Ministry of Foreign Affairs' goals. Although the Ministry emphasises the importance of resources in its "4Rs" approach, a gap may exist between the ambitions set and the resources allocated to achieve them. As such, Cordaid reaffirms the need to allot sufficient resources so that the ambitions of the Dutch FFP are acted upon.

Strengthening monitoring and accountability

Monitoring and accountability are central components of the Feminist Foreign Policy, as they enable monitoring progress and operationalising goals. Going beyond the mere evaluation of policies, the Feminist Foreign Policy framework should include internal and external monitoring, rooted in a meaningful dialogue with civil society and parliament. To ensure the viability and sustainability of the Feminist Foreign Policy, clear and concrete results should be presented to develop best practices that can be shared internally and with other practitioners. Cordaid advocates for the implementation of clear action plans encompassing monitoring tools so that resources and efforts head toward progress.

Change begins at home: improving the Dutch government as a whole

It is fundamental to ensure the viability but also the credibility of the Dutch Feminist Foreign Policy, as the Netherlands cannot promote abroad values that are not implemented at home. A FFP, like a human rights policy abroad, can only be credible if domestic policies maintain the same standards. The 2023 Sustainable Development Report indicated that the Netherlands is lagging behind in some of the SDG5 domains, for example women's political representation¹³. Thus, according to Cordaid, the Dutch Feminist Foreign Policy should be mirrored by an internal policy aiming to move away from these criticisms¹⁴ and promote good practices within the government.

¹³ Jeffrey D. Sachs, and *al.*, "Sustainable Development Report 2023",

^{2023 &}lt;u>sustainable-development-report-2023.pdf</u>

¹⁴ Government of the Netherlands, "Racism within the Ministry of Foreign Affairs: 'This is not who we want to be'", December 13th, 2022

Racism within the Ministry of Foreign Affairs: 'This is not who we want to be.' | News item | Government.nl

5.2 Main challenges to build a fruitful Feminist Foreign Policy: key elements that must be addressed

Although the Ministry of Foreign Affairs clearly expressed its commitment to promoting gender equality as well as the rights of women in all their diversity and LGBTQI+ people, little is said on some crucial issues, while others are not mentioned at all. In Cordaid's opinion, the following elements must be addressed to develop a solid and significant Feminist Foreign Policy.

The FFP should be applied across all areas of foreign policy

Cordaid promotes a Feminist Foreign Policy that is applied across all areas of foreign policy. A Feminist Foreign Policy should not be limited to development cooperation and foreign trade. For example, it is critical to analyse arms trade through a feminist lens, as the proliferation of arms affects women and girls differently and reinforces harmful gender norms¹⁵. If crucial areas, such as defence, migration or arms trade, are not addressed through a gender lens, the Dutch FFP is likely to lose meaning and effectiveness. As all these areas are not isolated but overlap and intertwine, the Dutch FFP needs to be applied across all of them. In the specific case of humanitarian assistance, the Dutch FFP should respect and be aligned with its core principles: neutrality, impartiality, and independence.

Working with - and not against - men and boys

In the November 8th letter, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs presents the Dutch Feminist Foreign Policy as an attempt to reduce gender inequality and obtain equal status between men, women and nonbinary people in all their diversity. Yet, the letter fails to address the deconstruction of power relations or the transformation of discriminatory and harmful norms, practices and structures. At Cordaid, we understand gender inequalities as discriminatory social norms assigning specific roles to women and men in society and contributing to the construction of power relations¹⁶. Therefore, a Feminist Foreign Policy cannot be meaningful and work towards gender equality without addressing this issue and including key populations. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs seems to put the emphasis on women, and especially on LGBTQI+ people, but does not speak sufficiently about the involvement of men and boys. Diversity is fundamental to ensure the success of the Dutch Feminist Foreign Policy and women should not be the only ones to sit at the table. Men and boys in all their diversity are also negatively impacted by patriarchal systems and toxic masculinities. Therefore, the Dutch Feminist Foreign Policy should be broader than just women and girls, and should focus on gender relations, which necessarily implies the involvement of men and boys.

Reality checks are a core element of the Dutch Feminist Foreign Policy

In order to steer efforts toward changing discriminative practices, contextualisation should be the cornerstone of the Dutch Feminist Foreign Policy. It means that the Ministry of Foreign Affairs should consider the religious and cultural contexts in which its policies and programs are implemented. The letter to the Parliament raises the issue by adding to the traditional "3Rs" a fourth one, named "reality check". As conditions differ between – as well as within – countries, it is fundamental to consider local contexts, at the risk of having a counterintuitive and counterproductive FFP. A case in point is the example of Uganda, which recently passed an anti-homosexuality law¹⁷. It demonstrates that pushing what are regarded as "Western" values and agendas can trigger severe backlashes.

 $^{^{15}}$ Centre for Feminist Foreign Policy, "Policy brief: Why the International Arms Trade is a Feminist Issue – and What Germany Can Do About It", December 12^{th} , 2022

CFFP hbs policybrief internationalarmstradefeministissue.pdf (boell.de)

¹⁶ CONCORD Sweden, "The Game Changer. How a Feminist Foreign Policy could transform societies", 2023 <u>The Game Changer - CONCORD Sverige</u>

¹⁷ The Conversation, "US talks sanctions against Uganda after a harsh anti-gay law - but criminalizing same-sex activities has become a political tactic globally", June 22nd, 2023

<u>US talks sanctions against Uganda after a harsh anti-gay law – but criminalizing same-sex activities has become a political tactic globally (theconversation.com)</u>

A meaningful FFP goes hand in hand with a decolonial approach

It is crucial to integrate a decolonial approach into a Feminist Foreign Policy. Cordaid deeply regrets the absence of such an approach in the framework developed by the Dutch Ministry of Foreign Affairs so far. As a former coloniser and oppressor, the Netherlands must reckon with its history. Shifting power dynamics and addressing power relations should be a priority of the Dutch Feminist Foreign Policy, as it is fundamental to avoid reproducing discourses and practices embedded in colonial inequalities. In order to implement systemic changes, the Dutch FFP should address decolonisation and rethink power relations between the 'global north' and the 'global south'. If the Dutch Ministry of Foreign Affairs merely takes the views of white feminism and adds them to a foreign policy rooted in colonialism and imperialism, its FFP will likely be a failure. As Cordaid is part of the development cooperation chain, we are not immune to unjust biases. Yet, we strive to overcome them by combating discrimination and racism and promoting diversity through equity in job opportunities and relationships. Therefore, Cordaid advocates for the implementation of a FFP tackling decolonisation and addressing hegemonic relations to propel systemic and lasting changes.

5.3 Feminist Foreign Policy for Cordaid - Our Work

Advocacy

When it comes to advocacy, it is crucial to pay attention to the values carried by the Dutch Feminist Foreign Policy. It should seek to promote gender equality, not only abroad but first and foremost at home. For this reason, the values promoted by the Dutch Feminist Foreign Policy (gender equality, diversity, inclusion etc.) should also be applied within the Ministry.

Speaking out and advocating for values that do not resonate with local populations may be perceived as (neo)colonialism. Hence, when speaking out, the Dutch Ministry of Foreign Affairs should rely on civil society organisations and like-minded countries. It should also consider and engage with unlikeminded countries, as they can provide new opportunities to influence the agenda.

Advocacy is an important part of the work carried out by Cordaid. We use our partnerships and alliances to amplify the voice of civil society organisations in our local, regional and global advocacy efforts. A Feminist Foreign Policy will support this work by supporting women's organisations and leaders in their efforts to participate in decision-making processes.

Cordaid also advocates for more inclusive reconciliation peace processes, and we will use the Feminist Foreign Policy to create the necessary space for civil society actors – and especially women's organisations – to express their concerns and needs. It will enable us to better defend the rights of underserved populations. As we have decades of experience working in the most difficult circumstances, we are very aware that it is impossible to speak out in all countries alike. Thus, we will advocate for the right of marginalised populations whenever possible, and always by taking into account the limitations of the contexts we work in, to ensure that no harm is done to our staff and partners.

Humanitarian assistance

Over the past years, the people in need of humanitarian assistance have increased, largely due to protracted conflict and climate-related disasters, and with a shrinking humanitarian space it has become more and more challenging to effectively assist people in need. Therefore, Cordaid's humanitarian mandate aims to reach the most vulnerable populations affected by natural disasters or conflicts, and ensure we address the individual, specific needs and priorities of all women, men and diverse people, regardless of gender, disability, sexual orientation, race, ethnicity, sex, age, religion, etc. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs needs to ensure that humanitarian assistance is not politicised and that its Feminist Foreign Policy respects humanitarian principles (neutrality, impartiality, and independence) that are rooted in international humanitarian law. The main goal of Cordaid's humanitarian mandate is firmly founded in and guided by these principles.

Cordaid's humanitarian mandate recognises men and women are affected differently in different crises, and the mandate ensures as such that appropriate protection concerns are considered. Cordaid's humanitarian mandate is gender sensitive and responsive and aims to become more gender transformative in the future. As patriarchal systems and gender inequalities increase vulnerabilities

and risks, the Dutch Feminist Foreign Policy must focus on challenging harmful gender norms, roles and values – all of which have an impact on access and participation in humanitarian assistance – in order to ensure meaningful participation for women, men and gender-diverse people. Finally, the Dutch Feminist Foreign Policy must not overly focus on women and girls. Although addressing the specific vulnerability issues for women, men and gender-diverse people is extremely relevant, overfocusing on women can lead to men (and other genders) being neglected. We need to provide inclusive and needs-based assistance, for women, men and gender-diverse people, taking into account other intersectional elements such as disability, age, and socio-economic status.

Cordaid conducts its humanitarian mandate by prioritising the most affected people in vulnerable conditions. We view survival, recovery, and safety as fundamental. We link life-saving humanitarian assistance to longer-term interventions that support the recovery and well-being of people in chronic crisis and, where possible, support preparedness for and resilience to recurrent hazards. We will use the Dutch Feminist Foreign Policy to better address gender inequalities and build more resilient and effective humanitarian assistance. The FFP will also support our efforts in strengthening the capacity of our local partners, thus ensuring that our humanitarian assistance becomes more locally driven.

Triple Nexus

The "Triple Nexus" refers to the interlinkages between humanitarian, development and peace interventions. It describes the actions needed to increase collaboration, alignment and coherence in the planning and implementation of interventions that aim to address the underlying causes of inequality and fragility. As one such driver of fragility, persistent gender inequalities limit effective international engagement in humanitarian assistance, longer-term development actions, and peace processes. Thus, gender equality is essential to nexus approaches. The 2019 OECD DAC Recommendation on the Humanitarian-Development-Peace Nexus¹8 provides a pathway toward greater coordination. It is critical to take gender equality into account and to identify and build upon the interlinkages between the Women, Peace and Security and the HDP nexus agendas to head toward progress.

One of the main challenges is to foresee and address the longer-term impacts of a policy or a program. Therefore, it is suggested that the Dutch Feminist Foreign Policy supports the development of programs addressing major drivers of vulnerabilities within communities, such as gender inequalities. Interventions developed in the framework of *Triple Nexus* approaches should be based on comprehensive gender-conflict analyses, identifying the root causes of structural inequalities and assessing the specific impacts of conflicts and crises on women and girls. The Dutch Feminist Foreign Policy should implement measures to promote the participation of women and gender minorities in decision-making structures and governance processes (specific clauses in peace agreements, systematic mechanisms and investment for the participation of women and girls, etc.). It should also strengthen local women's and communities' resilience to threats and vulnerabilities. This can be done by increasing cooperation with the United Nations and other international organisations and NGOs (especially local women's organisations).

Finally, it is crucial to develop and strengthen the collaboration, alignment and coherence across humanitarian assistance, development and peacebuilding, to bring synergy and obtain optimal results. Leading joint context analyses and integrated plans, combining resources to develop joint plans together with communities, and embedding programs in a community-driven approach are different examples of steps that could be taken to reinforce collaboration between the Triple Nexus' sectors¹⁹. Because gender inequities are often the root causes of vulnerability within communities, Cordaid believes that promoting gender equity can effectively contribute to increasing resilience. We carry out our humanitarian and peacebuilding work by taking into account power dynamics, cultural practices – which include gender relations – and the needs of key populations. The Feminist Foreign Policy will enable us to enhance the capacities of local organisations to promote more efficient

 $^{^{18}}$ OECD, "The Humanitarian-Development-Peace Nexus Interim Progress Review", May $10^{\text{th}},\,2022$ $\underline{\text{https://doi.org/10.1787/2f620ca5-en}}$

¹⁹ WeWorld, "The Triple Nexus: Questions and Answers on Integrating Humanitarian, Development and Peace Actions in Protracted Crises", June 6th, 2020

<u>The Triple Nexus: Questions and Answers on Integrating Humanitarian, Development and Peace Actions in Protracted Crises - World | ReliefWeb</u>

humanitarian assistance. It will also help us increase the space given to these organisations – and especially women's organisations –, so that these stakeholders become active agents of change. Finally, we will develop gender transformative programs that consider longer-term impacts on societies, investing in communities' resilience to prevent future crises.

Health

Global Health is a great example of areas in which having a feminist approach could bring long-term positive changes. Yet it requires an inclusive process. Sexual and Reproductive Health and Rights (SRHR) has long been the primary focus area of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in health. Although it does not mean that the policies conducted have been "feminist", a strong emphasis has been put on women's and children's health, and on the needs of vulnerable populations. Therefore, the Dutch Feminist Foreign Policy should continue this work and take a step further by implementing an intersectional approach to reach the most vulnerable groups. It should also ensure that organisations and stakeholders running health programs (for instance, CSOs and governments in the 'global north; and 'global south', patient organisations, communities, private sector, etc.) have the necessary resources to be feminist leaders.

Reality checks and contextualisation are core principles in this field. For example, in some countries it is challenging to address the needs of certain key populations, such as LGBTQI+ people. Thus, some principles of the FFP cannot be applied to all countries alike. However, it does not mean that the Dutch FFP should leave these groups behind. On the contrary, the Dutch Ministry of Foreign Affairs should strive to create a safe space for discussions so that these groups feel secure and supported. Having a feminist approach to global health would also require addressing the needs of the most vulnerable populations. For example, those deprived of identity documents cannot always access basic health services - such as getting vaccinated - which, in turn, hampers effective disease prevention. Additionally, LGBTQI+ people, people with disabilities, and young girls are proportionally more vulnerable to abuse and sexual and gender-based violence. This prevents changes in harmful gender norms, while undermining efforts toward gender equity. The Dutch Feminist Foreign Policy should also apply a gender lens and a youth lens to all the policies and programs implemented, to identify vulnerable populations and address their specific needs. Increasing the leadership and the meaningful participation of young people and civil society organisations will also contribute to the development of strong and significant health programs. Cordaid views health as a human right. As such, everyone should have access to health services, regardless of sex, gender, age, race, religion, social class, etc. Because - depending on the context some populations are more vulnerable than others (women and young girls, LGBTQI+ people, refugees, etc.), we will strive to implement an approach that takes into account and addresses their specific needs. A Feminist Foreign Policy will contribute to our work by helping us to identify underserved populations in specific contexts, address the obstacles constraining their access to healthcare, and develop the most appropriate answers to the challenges they face. It will also strengthen the capacities of local organisations and increase locally-led development, enabling us to challenge harmful gender norms and build more inclusive health systems.

Security & Justice

Implementing a feminist approach to Security and Justice means recognising and addressing the gendered dimensions of security challenges, conflicts, and justice systems globally. Specifically, it acknowledges and acts upon the fact that conflicts and security threats affect people differently based on their gender roles and identities. Women and girls are differently impacted by crises and conflicts and not enough attention is given to their specific vulnerabilities and needs²⁰. In many countries, they are left behind when it comes to participating and making their voices heard. For this reason, the Dutch Ministry of Foreign Affairs should promote and push for women's (meaningful) participation in conflict prevention and resolution. Studies have shown that women and girls' participation in conflict resolution increases the likelihood of a peace agreement lasting at least two years by 20 percent²¹Therefore, it is critical that the Dutch Feminist Foreign Policy investigates and addresses the barriers to their involvement in peace processes. It should also apprehend Security and

 $^{^{20}}$ Action Aid, "Leading the Way: The Nexus through a Feminist Lens", December $7^{\rm th}, 2022$ Leading the Way: The Nexus through a Feminist Lens | ActionAid UK

²¹ UN Women, "Women's Participation and a Better Understanding of the Political", accessed on July 18th, 2023 Women's Participation and a Better Understanding of the Political | Global study on the implementation of UN Security Council resolution 1325 (unwomen.org)

Justice through gender analyses of security threats and challenges in order to better address the needs of key populations and reduce vulnerabilities. To do so, different strategies may be implemented, such as investing in women's organisations and promoting their leadership. Finally, it is critical to include the contributions of young people, in conflict prevention and peacebuilding. The Feminist Foreign Policy should comprise an agenda for youth involvement, and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs should work with youth-led organisations (for instance, through capacity-strengthening) but also with other key stakeholders (parents, local authorities, community leaders, etc.) to enhance youth participation.

For Cordaid, building strong and resilient security and justice systems is critical to sustainable peace and meaningful development. We strive to meet security and justice needs by closely working with civil society organisations and advocating for equitable policies and legislation. Therefore, we will use the Dutch Feminist Foreign Policy to strengthen the participation of those whose roles in addressing security and justice issues have been minimised or neglected (such as women and youth). We will support more efficiently women peacebuilders through long-term and flexible funds and ensure that they actively participate in decision-making systems. The Dutch FFP will also enable us to engage young women and men to promote positive gender identities and roles, paying extra attention to non-violent masculinities. Finally, the FFP will contribute to reinforcing our partnerships with faith-based organisations and religious actors, as they can play important roles in peace programs.

Food systems

In the area of livelihood, people face different gender-specific challenges, and cultural and gender norms restrict their opportunities within food systems. In many countries or regions, women do not have access to land or knowledge about agricultural input. They are also usually paid less than their male counterparts and the financial system is still male-oriented. These challenges must be addressed in order to implement a gender-transformative approach to sustainable livelihoods. This means working towards a point where everybody is able to equally contribute to and benefit from food systems, regardless of their gender. Among various public and private stakeholders, the Dutch Feminist Foreign Policy should prioritise partnerships with local CSOs- such as (women's) farmer organisations – to tackle harmful gender norms and patriarchal systems. Regarding access to land, it is essential to work with national governments and advocate for a change in legislation, so that women can have legal ownership of the land (for example, having their name on land certificates). It is also fundamental to provide local organisations with adequate resources (funds, women-oriented training, awareness campaigns, etc.) to ensure women's meaningful participation in food systems. To build more climate-resilient food systems, it is imperative to increase the participation and leadership of women's organisations in local, national and international climate policies. The Dutch FFP should also consider the entire value chain, as many challenges are related to financial services and private companies. It means that the Dutch FFP should work closely with multiple stakeholders involved in food systems, to raise awareness about the specific needs of women farmers and the benefits that could result from equitable participation of women. Gender inequalities are deeply intertwined with patriarchal norms, and the Dutch FFP should address these norms, based on reality checks, to propel structural changes.

We recognise that joint advocacy towards enabling environments is one of the pillars of food system strengthening, ensuring that formal and informal rules and regulations support gender transformation within food systems. Often, access and control are facilitated by policies and legislations. However, these can also become forms of restriction. Effective action requires systemic interventions targeting discriminatory laws and policies at a governmental level. Legislation must be adapted to the needs of women and gender minorities, taking into account that these groups are not homogenous and very diverse in their needs and perspectives. Structural change also requires the establishment of committees focussing on gender equality within farmer's associations, national extension services and national land tenure parts, that actively and consistently work on these issues.

Addressing the underperformance of food systems is not just a matter of promoting economic growth. In the face of climate change, taking into account the needs of women and gender-diverse people in programming within the aid and trade agenda can make systems more sustainable on multiple levels. A Feminist Foreign Policy will strengthen the work done by Cordaid to promote equal and sustainable food systems. This means working on issues that affect women's access to income, finance, land and markets while pushing for changes in harmful gender and cultural norms. It will

also reinforce our work with relevant public, private and civil society partners on gender-sensitive value chains, to support multi-stakeholder initiatives promoting gender transformation.

Locally-led development

Locally-led development can be defined as "systems change processes that aim to 'shift power' [...] and global discussions around how to 'decolonise' the sector"22. It calls into question the way international cooperation has been functioning, mainly through top-down approaches, and seeks to find more dignified and sustainable processes that build on existing local assets (human, financial, operational, etc.) and systems. Participation, partnerships and funding are three core elements of locally-led development: local actors (organisations, movements, municipalities, etc.) should meaningfully participate in strategic, operational, financial and policy discussions through genuine partnerships, which should also provide them with adequate resources to achieve agreed objectives. Currently, local organisations - particularly women-led and rights organisations - do not receive enough direct funds²³ and an important part of that money goes to international organisations, who often do not play their intermediary role adequately or do not pass on overhead costs or flexible funding to their partners. For example, studies have shown that currently, less than 2% of funds for humanitarian assistance go directly to local partners²⁴. This keeps local organisations and actors in a "starvation cycle" where they are unable to become independent. The Dutch Feminist Foreign Policy should pay attention to the way local organisations are funded and set concrete, progressive objectives. For instance, it could increase the number of local organisations receiving multiyear core funding, or make sure they receive a fair overhead in all programs as the Ministry of Foreign Affairs already has done with the Dutch Relief Alliance. It should also report on funding provided to local actors across all sectors and request all their partners (including UN agencies) to do the same. Moreover, it is fundamental to develop equitable partnerships between local actors and those supporting them. To promote their meaningful participation, the Dutch Ministry of Foreign Affairs should ensure that local organisations (particularly women-led and women's rights organisations) actively participate in policy discussions and have access to the decision-making system, so that they can raise issues and propose solutions tailored to the realities they face.

It should be noted that local actors and systems might reflect and embody existing exclusionary practices, mindsets or policies which contradict key tenets of a Feminist Foreign Policy (for example on women's leadership and meaningful participation). Therefore, supporting locally-led approaches through a feminist lens does not mean "blindly" supporting local actors, but implies a process of principle-based²⁵ engagement and negotiation to agree on priorities that will reflect joint interests and lead to a transformative process and mutual learning.

For Cordaid, locally-led actions and feminism go hand in hand. Locally-led development is about building on and fostering local leadership to address systemic and cultural changes. As such, shifting power for equitable partnerships is a key element of this approach. Shifting the power means that local actors are leading on decisions and actions that affect them. Because we have a temporary presence while local actors are there to stay, we seek to develop partnerships in which local partners lead and Cordaid plays a facilitating and supporting role. A Feminist Foreign Policy will bolster our work by increasing the resources allocated to these organisations, so that they have the necessary space, power and capacities to contribute to decisions affecting them. It will also contribute to enhancing the participation of those most at risk of being left behind, by supporting the leadership of women's rights organisations through long-term and flexible funding. Such funds are critical for these organisations to develop long-term solutions and effectively tackle harmful gender and cultural norms.

²² Peace Direct, "The nine roles that intermediaries can play in international cooperation", January 11th,

^{2023 &}lt;u>The nine roles that intermediaries can play in international cooperation - Peace Direct</u> ²³ ODI, "The Grand Bargain in 2022", June 2023

HPG report (interagencystandingcommittee.org) ²⁴ World Resources Institute, "Locally Led Adaptation: From Principles to Practice", June 28th, 2022 https://doi.org/10.46830/wriwp.21.00142

²⁵ These principles have been designed by a consortium of searchers and civil society organisations to develop more effective humanitarian and development sectors, where local stakeholders have agency over adaptation design, processes, and outcomes. World Resources Institute, "Principles for Locally Led Adaptation", accessed on July 18th, 2023 Principles for Locally Led Adaptation | World Resources Institute (wri.org)

System strengthening

System strengthening means striving to strengthen or transform existing systems through the alignment and integration of approaches with government policies, to improve service delivery and inclusive market access²⁶. To have a feminist approach to system strengthening, the Dutch Ministry of Foreign Affairs should implement participatory mechanisms to reinforce the inclusion of women, LGBTQI+ people, and other marginalised groups. As a donor, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs should support women's organisations and their development through adequate funds, access to essential inputs, information-sharing, etc. The Dutch Feminist Foreign Policy should also consider policy-influencing and strive for women's organisations to have, firstly the ability to influence policies, and secondly, the institutionalised space to do so.

Reality checks are crucial when it comes to system strengthening. In some countries, the main priority of donors should be supporting women's organisations so that they do not become invisible or disappear. In other countries, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs should ensure that women in all their diversity, LGBTQI+ people, and other marginalised groups, are involved in all layers of the economy. In all areas (peacebuilding, social cohesion, market systems, health, etc.), the Dutch Ministry of Foreign Affairs should examine how they are involved, and design adapted solutions to support their participation and inclusion.

Cordaid is striving to transform and strengthen existing systems to benefit the most vulnerable in fragile and conflict-affected settings. We encourage and promote the participation of local communities, mainly through results-based financing. With a Feminist Foreign Policy, we will pursue this work by putting a strong focus on locally-led decision making and especially by supporting the involvement of women's organisations. It will help us consider the needs of local populations in all their diversity, and pay extra attention to those most at risk, such as women, young girls, LGBTQI+ people, etc., depending on the context we operate in. The Feminist Foreign Policy will enable us to better support women's organisations and provide them with the resources they need (funds, training, access to information, etc.) to pursue their work.

Faith-based work

The letter to the Parliament - describing the Dutch Feminist Foreign Policy - does not provide any answer on how faith-based work should be included. Yet, to propel systemic changes and develop a dialogue with civil society and local stakeholders, it is fundamental to cooperate with faith-based organisations and recognise the importance of religion as a dominant factor in many societies. For instance, these organisations own a large proportion of schools and health facilities in several countries. They work on critical elements, such as sexually transmitted diseases (STIs) and HIV/AIDS, even though they do not report on certain topics (such as abortion). Therefore, the Dutch FFP should not set the standards too high and make abortion or LGBTQI+ rights a rigid requirement when dealing with civil society organisations, as it would de facto exclude cooperation with many faithbased organisations and institutions. As they are fundamental to creating links and dialogue with local populations, not working with them is a missed opportunity. An alternative strategy would be to build broader roadmaps on how to support faith-based organisations to head toward a more gender transformative approach, The Dutch Ministry of Foreign Affairs should also increase religious literacy in a feminist context, and ensure that officials, both in The Netherlands and embassies, have knowledge on religion and the crucial role faith-based actors play in many countries in the 'global south'.

Given that Cordaid emerged from a faith-based network of Catholic and Protestant churches in the Netherlands, faith-based organisations are essential to the work we are doing. They play an important role in the discussion on equality, gender, and inclusivity and enable dialogues with local communities. In our work, we aim to further enhance the capabilities of faith-based actors. The Feminist Foreign Policy will help us to stimulate discussion and use the positive elements of religions to promote a change in harmful gender and cultural norms. Faith-based organisations can be critical agents of change. As such, we will use the Dutch FFP to engage with a plurality of religious organisations on different issues, in order to push for more gender-inclusive societies.

²⁶ Cordaid, "System strengthening: the sustainable way forward", accessed on June 12th, 2023 System strengthening: the sustainable way forward - Cordaid International

Climate

Whilst the climate footprint of men exceeds that of women²⁷, women and girls are disproportionately affected by climate change²⁸. Climate change impacts men and women in different ways, partly because women are less mobile than men and are often expected to stay at home and take care of family and the household. In addition, climate change and environmental degradation often impact and deepen fragility and conflicts in already unstable contexts. On top of the positive roles women often play in peacebuilding processes, there is a dire need to explore and further strengthen the nexus between peacebuilding and security, gender, climate and environmental policies. As such, the Dutch Feminist Foreign Policy should reflect on climate and implement an intersectional approach considering the unique and disproportionate impacts of climate change on women and girls²⁹. This approach should also seek to address climate issues in a way that takes into account the specific needs and vulnerabilities of women and girls. Finally, it should strive to increase the participation and leadership of women and (local) women's organisations in climate policies, at the local, national and international levels.

Cordaid endeavours to implement a climate and environment lens on all our humanitarian and development work. We recognise women and girls' important roles in increasing climate change resilience, for example due to their local environmental knowledge. As such, we support local organisations to assess climate and conflict-related risks, and we ensure that they take leadership in the programs we implement. We will endeavour to strengthen this approach by applying a gender lens to our climate programs, analysing the specific impacts climate change has on women and girls, and developing solutions that answer their needs.

²⁷ The Guardian, "Men cause more climate emissions than women, study finds", July 21st, 2021

<u>Men cause more climate emissions than women, study finds | Greenhouse gas emissions | The Guardian</u>

²⁸ UNFCCC, "New Report: Why Climate Change Impacts Women Differently Than Men", June 10th, 2022 New Report: Why Climate Change Impacts Women Differently Than Men | UNFCCC

²⁹ van Sluijs, P., & Masoliver, C. (2022). "The Triple-Nexus and Climate Change in Conflict-Affected Settings: Experiences, Lessons Learned, and Best Practices". Journal of Peacebuilding & Development, 17(3), 364–370. https://doi.org/10.1177/15423166221129811

6. CONCLUSION

A Feminist Foreign Policy should be conceptualised as a process for change aiming to improve relations with countries all over the world to shift power relations and challenge harmful gender norms³⁰. Addressing colonial issues and adopting an intersectional approach are, in this regard, inextricably bound to a Feminist Foreign Policy. Given the numerous requirements that have been raised by various bodies, local stakeholders, civil society, human rights activists and governments, it is unlikely that the Dutch Ministry of Foreign Affairs will be able to integrate all recommendations into its Feminist Foreign Policy. Therefore, the challenge is not so much about *what* will the Dutch FFP encompass but rather *how* the Ministry of Foreign Affairs frames and justifies it. For Cordaid, a Feminist Foreign Policy is not an endpoint, but rather a means, a tool to work toward the implementation of systemic changes. As such, we will continue to watch closely the implementation of the Dutch Feminist Foreign Policy and advocate for broad ambitions, so that it will create lasting and greater progress.

³⁰ Toni Haastrup, "Making Feminist Foreign Policy work for Africa", African Policy Research Institute, April 18th, 2023 Making Feminist Foreign Policy Work for Africa - Africa Policy Research Institute (APRI) (afripoli.org)

7. GLOSSARY

Gender	The social and cultural attributes, expectations and norms associated with being male or female (or other genders)
Gender equality	Gender equality refers to the equal rights, responsibilities, and opportunities of women, men and gender diverse people. Gender equality is not a women's issue but should concern and fully engage men as well as women and gender diverse people. Equality between people of all genders is seen both as a human rights issue and as a precondition for – and indicator of – sustainable people-centred development ¹ .
Women empowerment	The concept of empowerment is related to gender equality but distinct from it. The core of empowerment lies in the ability of a woman to control her own destiny. This implies that, to be empowered, women must not only get equal capabilities (such as education and health) and equal access to resources and opportunities (such as land and employment), but they must also have the agency to use those rights, capabilities, resources, and opportunities to make strategic choices and decisions (such as those provided through leadership opportunities and participation in political institutions). To exercise agency, women must live without fear of coercion and violence. Women empowerment has five components: women's sense of selfworth; their right to have and to determine choices; their right to have access to opportunities and resources; their right to have the power to control their own lives, both within and outside the home; and their ability to influence the direction of social change to create a more just social and economic order, nationally and internationally ² .
Sexual and gender-based violence	Sexual and gender-based violence ((S)GBV) is violence targeted at individuals or groups based on their gender. While research suggests that a considerable proportion of women worldwide will at some point in their lives experience (S)GBV, the extent to which men and boys are affected is unknown. An associated form of violence is Violence against Women and Girls (VAWG), which is directed specifically at females. Another associated form of violence is violence against LGBTQI+ individuals, who express alternative gender identities and/or sexualities.
Women's rights	The rights of women and girls are an inalienable, integral, and indivisible part of universal human rights. The full and equal participation of women in political, civil, economic, social, and cultural life at all levels, and the eradication of all forms of discrimination on grounds of sex are priority objectives of the international community. As defined in Article 1 of Universal Declaration of Human Rights, "discrimination against women" implies any distinction, exclusion or restriction made based on sex, which has the effect or purpose of impairing or nullifying the recognition, enjoyment, or exercise by women, irrespective of their marital status, on a basis of equality fundamental freedoms in the political, economic, social, cultural, civil or any other field, reflects and reinforces underlying gender-based inequalities.

¹ UN Women, "Concepts and definitions", accessed on July 27th, 2023 OSAGI Gender Mainstreaming - Concepts and definitions (un.org)

² UNPF, "Key Actions for Further Implementation of the Programme of Action of the International Conference on Population and Development", 1999 programme of action Web ENGLISH.pdf (unfpa.org)

Masculinities

In all cultures, people have strongly held beliefs about the kinds of behaviours, attributes, and values which are most appropriate for men and those which are most appropriate for women. These are learned from an early age. These socially-constructed gender norms play a key role in shaping the lives of women, men, boys, and girls. The term "masculinity" simply refers to anything which is associated with men and boys in any given culture, just as "femininity" refers to that which is culturally associated with women and girls. Ideas about what is masculine and what is feminine vary over time, as well as within and between cultures. Therefore, there are many different versions of masculinity – masculinities – and they are changing all the time.

Gender neutral, sensitive, and transformative

The primary objective behind gender mainstreaming is to design and implement development projects, programmes, and policies that:

- Do not reinforce existing gender inequalities (gender neutral)
- Attempt to redress existing gender inequalities (gender sensitive)
- Attempt to re-define women and men's gender roles and relations (gender positive/transformative)

The degree of integration of a gender perspective in any given project can be seen as a continuum (adapted from Eckman, 2002):

Gender negative	Gender inequalities are reinforced to achieve desired development outcomes. Uses gender norms, roles, and stereotypes that reinforce gender inequalities.
Gender neutral	Gender is not considered relevant to development Outcome. Gender norms, roles, and relations are not affected (worsened or improved).
Gender sensitive	Gender is a means to reach set development goals. Addressing gender norms, roles and access to resources in so far as needed to reach project goals.
Gender positive	Gender is central to achieving positive development outcomes. Changing gender norms, roles and access to resources a key component of project outcomes.
Gender transformative	Gender is central to promoting gender equality and achieving positive development outcomes. Transforming unequal gender relations to promote shared power, control of resources, decision-making, and support for women's empowerment.

LGBTQI+

Acronym for Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender, Queer and Intersex + other gender identities and sexual orientations.

³ Saferworld, "Masculinities, conflict and peacebuilding", October 2014 <u>masculinities-conflict-and-peacebuilding.pdf</u>

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ABOUT CORDAID

Cordaid is a value-based international development and emergency relief organisation, based in the Netherlands with offices in 14 countries. We work in and on fragility and support communities in their efforts to improve health care, education, food security, and justice. Where disaster strikes, we offer humanitarian assistance.

Cordaid is deeply rooted in the Dutch society with more than 250 .000 private donors. The Christian values of human dignity, justice, compassion and care for the planet guide us in our work. Cordaid is a founding member of Caritas, CIDSE and ACT Alliance.

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