



European Confederation of NGOs working on sustainable development and international cooperation

INTERSECTIONAL FEMINIST POLICY-MAKING FOR EU EXTERNAL ACTION

PART 1: 10 principles

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ABOUT CONCORD

CONCORD is the European Confederation of NGOs working on sustainable development and international cooperation. We are made up of 57 member organisations representing more than 2600 NGOs and are supported by millions of citizens across Europe.

We are the main interlocutor with the EU institutions on sustainable development policy and international cooperation. We are a member-led organisation which means that the members give the strategic direction of the Confederation.

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What do we do to achieve transformative change?



ENGAGE



CHALLENGE



INNOVATE



EVOLVE

Who we are

26

**NATIONAL
PLATFORMS**

24

NETWORKS

07

**ASSOCIATE
MEMBERS**

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ABOUT THIS PAPER

Based on extensive deliberations within the Gender Equality Working Group of CONCORD Europe, this report is the result of a collaborative effort. It builds on dialogue with civil society representatives across Europe and in the Majority World and engagement with policymakers and academic experts over the course of two years. These exchanges have resulted in a comprehensive set of principles aimed at guiding the EU's external action.

This report marks the first in a series of publications. Following publications in the series will delve into more practical implications of a feminist foreign policy at EU level, as well as the essential components needed for such an approach. These are not meant to be static documents but rather a dynamic work, subject to ongoing discussion and refinement. Recognising the importance of representation and the fact that CONCORD does not have all the answers, it remains open to adaptation based on the perspectives of civil society across the Majority World.



INTRODUCTION

Europe finds itself at a crossroads of multiple crises: the triple planetary crisis¹, conflicts and wars, economic instability, increasing inequalities and geopolitical rivalries. The European Union's involvement on the global stage is organised through its policies on common foreign and security (CFSP and CSDP)², trade³, development cooperation⁴, humanitarian aid⁵ and economic, financial and technical cooperation with non-EU countries. As stated in the Treaty of the Union (TEU), the European Union should base its international action on the principles it aims to promote globally: democracy, the rule of law, the universality and indivisibility of human rights and fundamental freedoms, respect for human dignity and the principles of equality and solidarity⁶. In addition, the EU's external action is expected to align with the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development⁷.

However, there has been a worrying shift in the EU's foreign policy trajectory in recent years. Increasingly driven by short-term economic self-interest and security concerns, the EU is veering towards a more closed, militarised stance focused on competition rather than collaboration, manifested by aspirations for a "defence union" outlined in documents like the 'Global Strategy'⁸ and the 'Strategic Compass'⁹. An early draft of the Strategic Agenda 2024-2029¹⁰ suggests continuity with the trajectory outlined in the Granada Declaration¹¹, adopted by the European Council, which emphasises the need to enhance sovereignty, bolster defence capabilities and prioritise resilience against external threats, thus



setting the tone for the EU's future plans. The increased focus on security sidelines rights-based, gender transformative and other fundamental approaches that the EU has historically promoted, limiting the effectiveness of EU external action in addressing global inequalities and systemic challenges.

While the EU's development cooperation aims to reduce, and in the long term eradicate, poverty worldwide¹², the recent revelations regarding the EU's plan to refocus its development aid strategy on domestic corporate interests, illustrate just

1 The triple planetary crisis refers to the three main interlinked issues that humanity currently faces: climate change, pollution and biodiversity loss (See, for example, [UNFCCC](#)).

2 Articles 21-46 TEU.

3 Articles 206 and 207 TFEU.

4 Articles 208, 209, 210 and 211 TFEU.

5 Article 214 TFEU.

6 The foundational principles guiding EU external action are outlined in [Article 21](#) of the Treaty on European Union.

7 Article 208 (2) TFEU.

8 [A Global Strategy for the European Union's Foreign and Security Policy](#).

9 [A Strategic Compass for Security and Defence](#).

10 [OUTLINE: STRATEGIC AGENDA 2024-2029](#).

11 [The Granada declaration](#).

12 The foundational principles guiding EU development cooperation are outlined in Article 208 of the Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union.

how far international cooperation has deviated from its initial intended trajectory¹³. There is a growing concern that if the EU continues to fall short of its international cooperation treaty obligations to tackle poverty and inequalities, and promote human rights, it will fail to uphold the fundamental principles to which it is committed.

In navigating the complex landscape of global challenges, a feminist perspective offers a critical and transformative pathway towards inclusive, long-term and sustainable solutions. Despite considerable efforts to advance gender equality and other rights-based agendas, through strategies such as the EU's Gender Action Plans¹⁴, Disability Rights¹⁵ and LGBTIQ Equality¹⁶ strategies,

and the Human Rights and Democracy Action Plan¹⁷, the EU's external action often falls short of its objectives. These initiatives serve as a good baseline, highlighting the EU's commitment to promoting human rights and equality globally. However, they need to be implemented more rigorously across all of the EU's external action. Indeed, the effectiveness of these plans and strategies is often undermined by competing interests, geopolitical considerations, and some Member States backtracking on fundamental rights and the rule of law. Therefore, there is a pressing need for the EU to prioritise and mainstream these principles in all aspects of its external engagement, ensuring consistency and coherence in promoting human rights, gender equality and social inclusion worldwide.



13 <https://www.politico.eu/article/focus-hard-rival-china-investment-plan-belt-road-initiative-brussels-eu-global-gateway/>

14 See the [JOINT COMMUNICATION TO THE EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT AND THE COUNCIL EU GENDER ACTION PLAN \(GAP\) III – AN AMBITIOUS AGENDA FOR GENDER EQUALITY AND WOMEN'S EMPOWERMENT IN EU EXTERNAL ACTION](#) (2020)

15 See [The Strategy for the Rights of Persons with Disabilities 2021-2030](#)

16 See the [COMMUNICATION FROM THE COMMISSION TO THE EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT, THE COUNCIL, THE EUROPEAN ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL COMMITTEE AND THE COMMITTEE OF THE REGIONS Union of Equality: LGBTIQ Equality Strategy 2020-2025](#)

17 [The EU Action Plan on Human Rights and Democracy \(2020-2024\)](#)



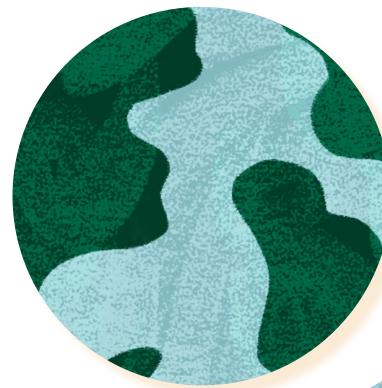
A FEMINIST APPROACH TO THE EU'S EXTERNAL ACTION

There is a need for a paradigm shift and a feminist approach to EU external action which can provide a transformative framework for systemic and sustainable change. Gender equality is at the heart of this ambition, encompassing the diverse experiences and identities of women, girls, men, boys, trans, intersex, and non-binary persons.

Intersectionality, as a core component of feminism, underscores the importance of understanding how various forms of discrimination intersect, affecting individuals differently based on their multiple identities. However, the urgency of embracing feminist principles in the EU's external action cannot be overstated, given the current climate, in which civil society advocacy for human rights, especially the rights of women and LGBTQI+ people, is under threat. The rise of anti-gender movements both within and outside Europe underscores the vital importance of upholding fundamental rights and actively countering regressive forces. By embracing an intersectional feminist foreign policy framework, the EU can not only reaffirm its commitment to promoting human rights, including gender equality, but also foster greater solidarity and justice in the face of global challenges.

There are several ways to approach feminist foreign policy-making. As currently implemented by national governments, feminist foreign policy (FFP) can bring together gender equality initiatives and promote them at the core of the country's foreign policy¹⁸. However, **CONCORD believes that the potential scope and impact of an Intersectional Feminist Foreign Policy approach can be much greater.** An EU external action adhering to feminist principles would aim to balance power structures and address intersecting inequalities and their underlying harmful norms and practices. It would put discriminated groups

of people, marginalised communities and fragile countries at the centre of its external action. It would promote collaboration over competition, enshrine human rights, pursue human security and ensure a long-term commitment to peace, sustainable development, environmental integrity, and prioritise power- and resource-sharing and caring. In this paper, the term IFFP (Intersectional Feminist Foreign Policy) is applied to the EU context, acknowledging that although feminist foreign policy is an adopted term focusing on a country's foreign policy, it should here be interpreted to fit the EU's unique external action architecture, encompassing all EU external action and not just its foreign policy (CFSP and CSDP).



¹⁸ See for example the UN Women brief "[Feminist foreign policies: an introduction](#)" (2022) or the "[Centre for Feminist Foreign Policy Glossary](#)" (2021, p. 2)



10 FEMINIST PRINCIPLES

to underpin the EU's External Action

Inspired by existing feminist foreign policy frameworks¹⁹ and the thinking by feminists in the Majority World²⁰ CONCORD has adapted 10 principles that should underpin an intersectional feminist foreign policy, tailored to the EU's external action. Of note is that an intersectional feminist foreign policy approach to the EU should serve as a tool for introspection within the EU about its own approaches to foreign policy and ways of working, that in consequence should translate into EU external action policies and practices.

1. Pursuing Gender Transformative and Systemic Change

- ▶ A feminist approach to the EU's external action has transformative potential, as it aims to challenge entrenched patriarchal power dynamics and structural discrimination. Central to the success of an intersectional feminist foreign policy at EU level is the need for mindset shifts at all levels of society and governance. This entails challenging traditional notions of power and privilege and embracing alternative perspectives that prioritise empathy, cooperation, and inclusivity and applying it to policy-making and funding resources. By fostering a culture of critical reflection and continuous learning, the EU will cultivate values and ambitions that actively work towards justice in all spheres of domestic and external actions.

- ▶ Incorporating gender transformative approaches into the EU's external action involves going beyond surface-level gender mainstreaming to address the root causes of gender inequality and discrimination. This includes actively seeking to redistribute power and resources, challenging harmful gender norms and practices, and promoting the meaningful participation of groups experiencing discrimination in decision-making processes. By adopting such approaches, the EU will provide policies and practices that mitigate the effects of gender inequality and contribute to sustainable systemic change.

2. Correcting Power Imbalances

- ▶ The EU is part of a world in which inequalities are deeply rooted for historical reasons²¹. For example, the EU's trade agreements with EU partner countries can reflect neo-colonial patterns. These agreements often benefit European companies while exploiting the labour and resources of less powerful countries, harming the environment, weakening labour rights, and perpetuating economic dependency



¹⁹ For an overview of FFP frameworks, see for example the UN Women report "[GENDER RESPONSIVE APPROACHES TO FOREIGN POLICY AND THE 2030 AGENDA: FEMINIST FOREIGN POLICIES](#)" (2023) or the Swedish three R's framework, "[A Handbook: Sweden's Feminist Foreign Policy](#)" (p.13, 2018)

²⁰ For example, the "[CHARTER OF FEMINIST PRINCIPLES FOR AFRICAN FEMINISTS](#)" (2016).

²¹ See for example the CONCORD report "[Inequalities unwrapped: an urgent call for systemic change](#)" (2019)

and inequality²². The EU itself thereby contributes to exacerbating unequal power structures, such as patriarchy and capitalism, which perpetuate neo-colonialism and uphold racism, sexism, ageism, homo- and transphobia, classism, ableism and other intersecting forms of discrimination and oppression.

When formulating policies or developing practices for the EU's external action, EU policymakers should recognise that individuals facing intersecting forms of discrimination will be differently impacted by these policies and practices, analyse the potential negative impacts on these individuals, and develop policies and practices that mitigate these impacts and improve their social standing, for example through laws, regulations and social protection mechanisms.²³ As part of its efforts to counter neo-colonial practices, the EU needs to challenge the current economic model that is highly reliant on the extraction, exploitation and appropriation of human and ecological resources from the Majority World to the benefit of the Minority World.

3. Countering Colonial Continuities

- ▶ The EU should engage in genuine efforts to confront and redress the impacts of its colonial heritage by acknowledging historical injustices, supporting initiatives for reparations and working with countries that were previously colonised to promote reconciliation, address the ongoing legacies of colonialism and advocate for global gender justice. A feminist decolonial approach to partnerships with these countries is possible; it must be genuine, equal, based on respect and mutual interests and reject extractivism. This means that actions should be led by local communities, guided by the specific needs, knowledge and priorities of communities to ensure the inclusion of the diverse groups of women and gender




minorities and to take into account cultural contexts, social dynamics and environmental considerations. The EU's external action should prioritise genuine partnerships with local bodies (including governments, civil society organisations, community leaders, and grassroots movements) who should be the drivers of programmes and services that support their own needs. A true commitment to locally-led development entails respecting the sovereignty of other nations and recognising their right to determine their own trajectories. The EU should avoid imposing external agendas or solutions and instead support locally-driven initiatives and strategies.

4. Embracing Intersectionality

- ▶ In order to achieve gender transformative change, embracing intersectionality as a guiding principle for the EU's external action involves recognising and addressing the interconnected and interdependent nature of various systems of oppression, such as sexism, classism, racism, homo- and transphobia and ableism. It further requires looking at the overlap of different identities such as gender,

²² See for example [“Who’s paying the bill? The negative impacts of EU policies in the world”](#), (p.43, 2019).

²³ For specific tools regarding the European Union's adherence to the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) and impacts on developing countries, see [the Better Regulation Toolbox](#), specifically Tools 19 and 35. These tools provide frameworks for assessing social impacts, including gender equality considerations (p. 309). Policy Coherence for Sustainable Development (PCSD) emphasises improved execution and follow-up of impact assessments, with a focus on inclusivity and systematic evaluation, especially concerning developing countries.



class, race, ethnicity, sexuality, disability, and other identity factors, in order to identify those suffering from discrimination and violations of their rights, as well as the structures enabling the discrimination. By better understanding the intersecting nature of different forms of discrimination and privilege, the EU can develop more targeted and effective policies and practices to address the root causes of inequality and thereby promote social justice. Finally, by genuinely embracing intersectionality, the EU can move beyond superficial approaches to addressing inequality and discrimination and work towards creating more gender-just, equitable, and inclusive societies both within and beyond its borders.

5. Nothing About Us Without Us

- ▶ The concept of “Nothing about us without us” is most strongly associated with the disability rights movement as a powerful call for inclusion and representation²⁴. In the context of foreign policy-making at EU level, this would reflect a commitment to prioritise in decision-making processes those individuals and communities facing systemic discrimination and oppression. This approach acknowledges that some groups face systemic barriers and inequalities that prevent them from fully participating in, and benefiting from, global governance and international cooperation. This approach entails more than token representation; it necessitates genuine inclusion and empowerment. It requires policymakers to proactively engage with representatives of marginalised groups, ensuring that they not only have a seat at the table but also have meaningful influence over outcomes. By actively engaging with

marginalised communities, policymakers can better understand their unique challenges, perspectives and needs, and thus prepare more effective and equitable policies. In consequence, policymakers can also better address systemic barriers and inequalities, working towards a more just and inclusive global governance framework. It requires a fundamental shift towards more inclusive and equitable decision-making processes, ensuring that representatives of marginalised groups are involved in shaping the policies that affect them.

6. Fostering Collaboration and Inclusion in International Relations

- ▶ The principle of collaboration rather than competition in international relations is based on the recognition that collective action is essential to address global challenges effectively. By prioritising collaboration and inclusion in bilateral and multilateral relations, the EU can build stronger partnerships, foster trust and mutual respect, and promote shared prosperity and security. Partnerships could also extend beyond traditional government-to-government relations, encompassing collaboration with diverse organisations, networks and movements. This stands in stark contrast to the current incoherence of the EU approach²⁵ in multilateral fora and international relations, which weaken collective efforts. Substantial investments are being made in defence and security²⁶ and concerns for territorial security frequently take precedence over human security²⁷. However, every analysis of threats to human security underscores

24 <https://www.ohchr.org/en/documents/general-comments-and-recommendations/general-comment-no7-article-43-and-333-participation>.

25 NGOs have criticised the EU’s migration approach and the recently adopted EU Migration Pact for potentially leading to more human rights violations and inconsistency with the EU’s human rights commitments and its promotion of human rights in other areas of its external action. See, for example, the International Rescue Committee brief “What is the EU Pact on Migration and Asylum?” (2023). Another example includes criticism of the EU for its COVID-19 vaccine negotiations, as the lack of effective and transparent mechanisms resulted in inequitable vaccine access, disproportionately affecting lower-income countries and contradicting the EU’s stated commitments to global health equity and human rights. See, for example, the Global Health Advocates and StopAIDS report “[Exploring EU decision making around the EU COVID-19 contract negotiations](#)” (2023).

26 Global military spending has been on an upward trend and for the first time surpassed USD2 trillion in 2019 (see the [UNDP Human Development Report 2023-2024](#), p. 36).

27 See the [UNDP Human Development Report 2023-2024](#), p. 199.

the imperative of addressing climate change, pandemics, poverty and debt²⁸. The EU must widen its focus and increase investment in these critical areas, recognising that security ultimately depends on addressing the root causes of global insecurity.

- ▶ In multilateral fora, the EU should champion the human rights based approach principles of transparency, accountability, non-discrimination and participation²⁹. It should promote good governance, open dialogue and consensus-building, while ensuring that prior discussions and negotiations within the EU are based on the same principles, involving a wide range of stakeholders, including community representatives and civil society organisations.

7. Ensuring Cross-Cutting (Whole of Government Approach) and Coherent Policies

- ▶ A feminist approach to the EU's external action, aims for coherence across all aspects of the EU's external action, including security, defence and peacebuilding, trade, international cooperation, humanitarian aid, migration, fiscal justice, climate and environmental policies. Achieving this coherence implies sufficient capacity, know-how, and expertise within the relevant European Commission and EEAS working structures, such as directorate generals and EU delegations, along with effective coordination mechanisms. Moreover, this principle means that EU external action should be fully aligned not only with EU policies such as GAP III, the LGBTIQ Equality Strategy, Disability Rights Strategy, the Human Rights and Democracy Action Plan, but also with international frameworks like the UN Sustainable Development Goals. A feminist approach promotes coherence between internal and external dimensions of policy-making and policies, which is crucial to ensure credibility and to mainstream intersectional feminist principles into EU policies and hence develop an effective

EU IFFP. Furthermore, coherence is not just about aligning policies, but ensuring that these policies are implemented in a way that truly reflects feminist values and principles.



8. Protecting, Promoting and Respecting Human Rights and Civic Space

- ▶ While it may seem obvious, the principle of “Protecting, promoting and respecting Human Rights” needs to be reiterated and singled out as a guiding principle for the EU's external action, especially in light of recent trends where human rights considerations are increasingly sidelined. To work towards a global human rights-based order, the EU should design its external action so that it embeds the Human Rights-Based Approach (HRBA), which places human rights principles and standards at the forefront of policy-making, programming and implementation. This includes demonstrating its commitment to the fundamental values of democracy, rule of law and respect for human dignity on the global stage. By embracing the HRBA, the EU not only reaffirms its commitment to advancing human rights, but also ensures that its external actions are guided by the principles of universality, indivisibility and interdependence of human

²⁸ See for example, the United Nations Trust Fund for Human Security's [Human Security Handbook](#) (2017, p.5-8).

²⁹ See the [COMMISSION STAFF WORKING DOCUMENT Applying the Human Rights Based Approach to international partnerships](#) (2021, p.8)

rights. This approach recognises that human rights are inherent to all individuals, regardless of their nationality, race, gender or other characteristics, and are interconnected and mutually reinforcing. Furthermore, championing human rights in its external action enables the EU to contribute significantly to the promotion of peace, stability and sustainable development globally.

- ▶ The growing restrictions of civic space in many countries around the world, including in the EU, are linked to an anti-democratic development globally that questions the universality of human rights. The closing of civic space has severe negative impacts on inclusive and sustainable development. With respect to the EU Treaties and international and European human rights conventions, the EU must promote and protect civic space and fundamental rights (freedom of assembly, association and expression) online and offline, in its internal and external policies and ensure that civil society is free from different forms of repression (violent, material, legal).³⁰

9. Advancing Sustainable Development

- ▶ Advancing Sustainable Development as part of its external action, means that the EU should prioritise policies and initiatives that promote a sustainable economy, social inclusion and environmental sustainability in partner countries and regions. This can be achieved by fully aligning efforts with the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) outlined in the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development and the Paris Agreement.
- ▶ Environmental sustainability must be prioritised in all aspects of the EU's external action, with a focus on protecting ecosystems, conserving biodiversity, and mitigating and adapting to climate change, in line with the Paris Agreement target to limit global warming to 1.5-2 degrees, the targets of the Global Biodiversity Framework, and the objectives of the Basel, Rotterdam and

Stockholm conventions to address pollution by hazardous chemicals and waste, ending pollution and ensuring the human right to a clean, healthy and sustainable environment³¹.

- ▶ The EU should explore alternative economic models that prioritise sustainability, equity and well-being over perpetual GDP growth, fostering an environmentally-sustainable and human rights-based global economic system.
- ▶ Peace and security are essential prerequisites for sustainable development, and the EU should prioritise initiatives that promote peacebuilding, conflict prevention, resolution and post-conflict recovery in partner countries. Such an approach will include prevention of conflict and gender-based violence (GBV), notably by:
 - promoting human rights and changing harmful gender norms;
 - full, equal and meaningful participation of underrepresented groups in all decisions that impact them, including in conflict prevention, mitigation and resolution, humanitarian situations, and peacebuilding;
 - protection of civilians in armed conflict and post-conflict situations, which includes protection from GBV and conflict-related sexual violence (CRSV);
 - relief and recovery in post-conflict stages;
 - demilitarisation efforts aimed at reducing the presence and impact of armed conflict;
 - support for human and organisational safety and well-being.
- ▶ The EU should engage in and support initiatives that address the root causes of conflict through gender transformative approaches and support efforts to challenge patriarchal norms and structures that perpetuate violence and inequality, both within societies and in the international arena.

³⁰ <https://concordeurope.org/resource/standing-strong-in-the-storm-an-eu-strategy-to-safeguard-civic-space-worldwide/>

³¹ <https://www.undp.org/sites/g/files/zskgke326/files/2023-01/UNDP-UNEP-UNHCHR-What-is-the-Right-to-a-Healthy-Environment.pdf>

10. Allocating Resources

- ▶ Embracing a feminist approach to external action goes far beyond rhetoric – it demands concrete action to redistribute resources. Achieving gender transformative change requires a deliberate allocation of resources to empower individuals marginalised by unequal power systems. Implementing a feminist approach to EU external action would necessarily include adopting a gender-responsive and disability-inclusive approach to budgeting and integrating intersectional analysis into all budget planning and allocation processes. This involves conducting rights and gender impact assessments and identifying gender equality objectives for each budget category.
- ▶ **To achieve transformative goals, it is vital to provide adequate and direct resources, and support to local civil society groups, particularly local women's rights organisations, feminist movements and grassroots organisations.** Concessional resources such as Official Development Assistance (ODA) are essential to ensure long-term, core funding for these organisations. Local representatives are often at the forefront of advocacy for the specific needs of certain communities, driving positive change at the grassroots level. By funding local civil society representatives, the EU will ensure that they can safely and meaningfully engage in decision-making processes. Moreover, local civil society organisations play a crucial role in engaging deprived local communities, implementing gender transformative initiatives, ensuring local ownership of development projects and upholding the principle of leaving no one behind. Therefore, prioritising the support of local civil society representatives in a community is essential for fostering inclusive and sustainable development outcomes in the EU's external action and as a means to respect the right to self-determination. Through these funding principles, the EU can effectively advance equality on the global stage, contributing to systemic and sustainable change.

For CONCORD, applying feminist principles to the EU's external action, including its foreign policy, is a long-term effort that starts with changing mindsets. These principles are therefore a starting point for a conversation over the course of the next few years with Member States, EU institutions, civil society and feminist movements around the world. CONCORD is also committing to a long-term journey and decolonial approach. Therefore, we expect revisions of this paper especially in consultation with WROs and feminist movements from the Majority World. CONCORD's main expertise is in international cooperation and we will contribute from this perspective to the discussions, recognising the interlinkages with other areas of the EU's external action and working with relevant stakeholders to ensure that, in the long term, the EU adopts a credible and meaningful intersectional feminist approach to its external action.





GLOSSARY

Foreign Policy is what guides the activities and relationships of one state in its interactions with other states and international actors³². The concept of “foreign policy” has expanded significantly, encompassing a broader range of objectives and subjects in international relations. Traditionally focused on security, defence and diplomacy, foreign policy now includes areas such as economic policy, development, international trade and even aspects of domestic policy like environmental protection.³³ Foreign policy primarily concerns the relations between states, and its impact extends beyond borders, profoundly affecting the lives of individuals and communities, potentially worldwide.

The European Union’s External Action: According to the Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union (TFEU) the EU’s external action comprises its commercial (trade) policy³⁴, development cooperation³⁵, economic, financial and technical cooperation with non-EU countries³⁶, humanitarian aid³⁷, Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP) and Common Security and Defence Policy (CSDP)³⁸ as well as the external dimension of other EU internal policies (such as migration, environmental protection, etc.).

Feminism, which can be defined in many ways, is in this paper interpreted as a framework providing a set of principles which challenge existing power hierarchies and present new and alternative visions for equal and just societies for all. It goes beyond gender equality and aims to end all types of oppression, injustice and power hierarchies including sexism, racism, ableism, classism, capitalism, colonialism and imperialism. Intersectionality is a core tenet of feminism, as it reflects the everyday lived experience and grounds of discrimination of marginalised people with diverse backgrounds, experiences and identities.

Feminist theories of international relations critique traditional frameworks for neglecting gender dynamics, emphasising that gender roles are socially constructed and influential in shaping global politics. They highlight how patriarchal systems perpetuate inequalities and intersect with other identities like race and class. Advocating for women’s representation and agency in decision-making, feminist international relations aim to address GBV and create more inclusive and equitable approaches to global issues. Overall, it challenges mainstream paradigms by centring a gender analysis and promoting a deeper understanding of power dynamics in international relations³⁹.

Intersectionality is originally a concept from critical race theory but has evolved to encompass a broader understanding of how various social identities intersect and interact to shape individuals’ experiences of privilege and oppression.⁴⁰ When applied as a lens through which foreign policy should be made, intersectionality suggests that policymakers must consider the complex interplay of identities such as sexual orientation, gender identity, gender expression or sex characteristics, race⁴¹, age, disability, ethnicity,

32 <https://www.britannica.com/topic/foreign-policy>.

33 [https://www.europarl.europa.eu/RegData/etudes/STUD/2015/549045/EXPO_STU\(2015\)549045_EN.pdf](https://www.europarl.europa.eu/RegData/etudes/STUD/2015/549045/EXPO_STU(2015)549045_EN.pdf).

34 (Articles 206 and 207 TFEU).

35 (Articles 208, 209, 210 and 211 TFEU).

36 (Articles 212 and 213 TFEU).

37 (Article 214 TFEU).

38 Articles 21-46 TEU.

39 See for example, "Gender and International Relations" by Jill Steans (1998)

40 The term 'intersectionality' has its roots in the Black feminist movement, and was coined by US-American critical race and legal scholar Professor Kimberlé Crenshaw in 1989. Her work followed the legacies of other Black feminists who highlighted the multiple forms of discrimination and oppression faced by Black women, based principally on both their gender and race.

41 **CIJ Factsheet:** A social, political and historical construct based on white supremacy, which originated in the 15th century to hierarchize groups of people according to arbitrary physical and phenotypic attributes. The hierarchies of power that underlie race are the basis for the domination and subjugation of certain groups of people over others. Race-based differences were originally grounded in inaccurate scientific, biological studies intended to legally justify colonialism, genocide, plunder and slavery, but were later scientifically disproven. These theories have been replaced by a culturalist framing of race.

religion or belief, socio-economic status, nationality and residency, and statehood and migratory status, in the design of (foreign) policies and in their decision-making processes.

Gender equality means fair treatment and equal opportunities for individuals regardless of their gender identity or expression. By the term gender, CONCORD includes women, girls, men, boys, trans, intersex, and non-binary people in all their diversity. Gender equality acknowledges the diversity of experiences within different gender groups and seeks to create a society where everyone has the freedom to pursue their goals and aspirations without discrimination or prejudice.

Gender Transformative Approaches strive to alter gender dynamics by redistributing resources, shifting expectations and reallocating responsibilities among individuals of all gender identities, including women, girls, men, boys, trans, intersex and non-binary people in all their diversity. These approaches frequently target norms and power structures, and encourage collective action; they are therefore powerful tools to advance the objectives of feminist foreign policy-making and to achieve the necessary mindset shifts.

Majority world is a term that has superseded the concepts of “Third World” and “Global South”. It conveys the fact that most of the world’s population lives in the countries that are mainly in the southern hemisphere and are relatively poorer and hold less power than people in many countries in the minority world, also referred to as the Global North. The majority/minority world distinction often applies to the characterisation of countries as “developing” or developed.⁴²



⁴² See, for example, <https://sadafshallwani.net/2015/08/04/majority-world/>, https://www.researchgate.net/publication/285046329_Majority_World_Challenging_the_West's_Rhetoric_of_Democracy and <https://blogs.lse.ac.uk/impactofsocialsciences/2021/09/28/what-or-where-is-the-global-south-a-social-science-perspective/>.

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NATIONAL PLATFORMS	<p>Global Responsibility Austrian Platform for Development and Humanitarian Aid</p>	<p>BELGISCH PLATFORM PLATE-FORME BELGE CONCORD CNCOSI 14.15.11 11.15.11 KOOPERATIVNO KOPERACIJSKO</p>	<p>BPID Bulgarian Platform for International Development</p>	<p>Platforma za međunarodnu građansku solidarnost Hrvatske Croatian Platform for International Citizen Solidarity CROSL</p>	<p>FORS</p>	<p>GLOBAL FOCUS</p>
	<p>fingo</p>	<p>COORDINATION SUD</p>	<p>VENRO ASSOCIATION OF GERMAN DEVELOPMENT AND HUMANITARIAN AID NGOs</p>	<p>Hellenic Platform for Development</p>	<p>HAND</p>	<p>dóchas The Irish Association of Non-Governmental Development Organisations</p>
<p>Network of NGOs in Europe per lo sviluppo e l'emergenza CONCORD ITALIA</p>	<p>LAPAS Larvian Platform for Development Cooperation</p>	<p>vbp Výstavnýo kooperačnivo platforma</p>	<p>Cercle de coopération des ONGD DU LUXEMBOURG</p>	<p>SKOP Solidarjeta u Koperazzjoni</p>	<p>PARTOS</p>	<p>ZAGRANICA</p>
<p>ONGD PLATAFORMA PORTUGUESA</p>	<p>FOND Fondus Organizacii Cooperativno-Parteneriale pentru Dezvoltare din Romania</p>	<p>Ambrella Platform for Development Organisations</p>	<p>SLOGA Slovenian Global Action</p>	<p>LA COORDINADORA DE ORGANIZACIONES PARA EL DESARROLLO</p>	<p>CONCORD SWEDEN</p>	<p>bond</p>
NETWORKS	<p>actalliance eu Forum by APRODEV</p>	<p>actionaid</p>	<p>ADRA</p>	<p>Alliance 2015 Towards the eradication of poverty</p>	<p>care</p>	<p>ChildFund Alliance</p>
	<p>CIDSE Together for global justice</p>	<p>eucord European Council of Organisations for Aid and Development</p>	<p>GNDR</p>	<p>Habitat for Humanity</p>	<p>handicap international humanity & inclusion</p>	<p>IPPF International Planned Parenthood Federation European Network</p>
<p>OXFAM International</p>	<p>PLAN INTERNATIONAL</p>	<p>Save the Children</p>	<p>Sightsavers</p>	<p>solidar</p>	<p>SOS CHILDREN'S VILLAGES INTERNATIONAL</p>	<p>Terre des Hommes International Federation</p>
<p>wecf</p>	<p>Wetlands INTERNATIONAL</p>	<p>World Vision EU REPRESENTATION</p>	<p>WWF</p>	ASSOCIATE MEMBERS	<p>alda European Association for Local Democracy</p>	<p>CARDET</p>
<p>ea ea EUROPEAN ASSOCIATION FOR THE EDUCATION OF ADULTS</p>	<p>European Partnership for Democracy</p>	<p>EUROPEAN DISABILITY FORUM</p>	<p>INTERNATIONAL RESCUE COMMITTEE</p>	<p>NRC NORWEGIAN REFUGEE COUNCIL</p>	<p>Co-funded by the European Union</p>	

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