

Is Feminist Foreign Policy driving progress for women's representation in diplomacy?

Caroline Green Marta Kozielska Karen E. Smith





Women in Diplomacy

Women are still underrepresented in diplomacy, foreign policy and public policy, particularly in senior positions. This is despite a proliferation of networks advocating for women across sectors, purported support by numerous governments for increasing women's representation in negotiations and research illustrating the benefits of including women in negotiations.

This project at LSE IDEAS was set up to help address this issue, understand what obstacles remain and how they can be overcome. The project hopes to create better access to and accelerate women's representation in international organisations, share knowledge and tools to effectively do so and support structural change.

Read more about the project

www.lse.ac.uk/ideas/projects/women-in-diplomacy

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Contents

4	The Authors
5	Introduction
9	An Overview of Feminist Foreign Policies
13	Who is Driving the Adoption of Feminist Foreign Policies?
16	Implementation of FFP Commitments on Women's Representation
19	Conclusions and Implications
21	Endnotes
Figures	and Tables
8	Figure 1. Timeline of Adoption of Feminist Foreign Policies
9	Table 1. Feminist Foreign Policies
15	Table 2. Drivers of Feminist Foreign Policies
17	Table 3. Percentage of female ambassadors appointed, Countries that have declared a commitment to feminist foreign policy (compared to world average)

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omen's representation in leadership roles within national diplomatic services and multilateral organisations varies widely across countries and organisations. As of October 2023, there were forty-four female foreign ministers, out of 191 United Nations member states; a higher number than ever, but not even a quarter of the total.2 Only one in five ambassadors to the United Nations (UN) in New York are female.3 Some international organizations are currently led by women, including the European Commission, the European Central Bank, the International Monetary Fund and the World Trade Organization, but representation is patchy across international organisations at senior levels. At the UN, the percentage of women in senior positions and in several departments and agencies is approaching 50%; however, women's representation is well below that percentage in several areas, such as international tribunals—where women occupy only 19% of permanent positions—and there has never been a female Secretary-General of the UN.4

Women's representation in diplomacy is important as a goal in and of itself: more diversity among decision-makers is increasingly considered to lead towards better, more legitimate, and therefore effective decision-making. Yet barriers to more

66

Feminist foreign policies can lead to concrete change, for example in decisions about aid allocations. and can provide an impetus to focus on issues of gender (in) equality across government. For some, this may be seen as radical given the pushback against women's rights seen across the world

77

FFPs do not tend to focus explicitly on fostering greater participation of women in international organisations or diplomatic negotiations.

equitable representation in diplomatic negotiations and foreign ministries exist, and (even worse) sexual harassment of diplomats persists. For example, female diplomats at UN climate talks in 2023 reported being harassed and intimidated, prompting two dozen countries to complain to the UN about it.5 Increasing women's representation in diplomacy-including women whose identities encompass other underrepresented groups—is but one goal that could help to diversify foreign ministries, global decision-making processes and international organisations. Given the historic and continuing underrepresentation of women in diplomacy, seeking to remedy the imbalance can contribute to broadening diversity within diplomacy.

Could the spread of feminist foreign policies help to improve women's representation in senior diplomatic roles at the state level, and in international negotiations and organisations? Since 2021, ten states have either adopted a feminist foreign policy (FFP) or declared their intention to do so, bringing the total number of states with an FFP to over a dozen (see Figure 1: Timeline). Flsewhere there have been discussions in think tanks. and policy circles about the potential benefits of implementing an FFP, including within the Labour Party in the UK and the Scottish Government, Australia, the European Union, Finland, India, and the United States.6 Although Sweden's new conservative government announced in October 2022 that it would no longer use the label 'feminist foreign policy', there is still considerable interest elsewhere in adopting it. In this LSE IDEAS Strategic Update, we assess the implications of this trend of FFP adoption for driving progress on improving women's representation in diplomacy.

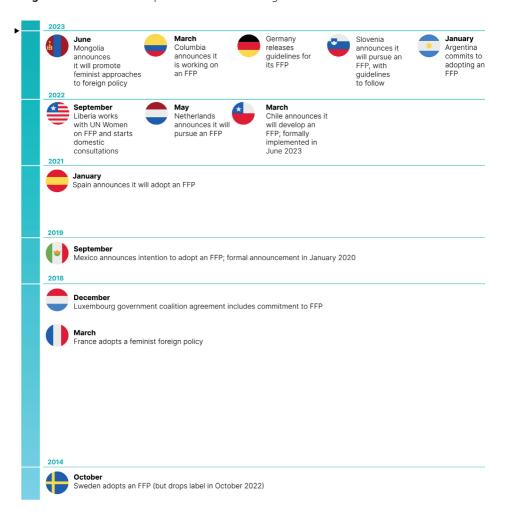
The LSE IDEAS Women in Diplomacy project aims to address the issues of underrepresentation of women in diplomacy and the lack of gender considerations in foreign policymaking. This Strategic Update builds on a discussion of the outcomes and benefits of feminist foreign policy at an LSE IDEAS online event that took place in October 2022, with Sofia Calltrop (then Swedish Ambassador for Gender Equality), Dame Judith MacGregor (former British diplomat), Maryam Monsef (former Minister for Women and Gender Equality for Canada), and Nina Bernarding (codirector of the Centre for Feminist Foreign Policy). The panellists considered how radical a step is the introduction of a feminist foreign policy, what difference it makes to implement one, and the issues facing policy-makers pursuing an FFP. As they pointed out, challenges such as climate change or poverty cannot be adequately addressed without the involvement of women Feminist foreign policies can lead to concrete change, for example in decisions about aid allocations, and can provide an impetus to focus on issues of gender (in)equality across government. For some, this may be seen as radical given the pushback against women's rights seen across the world, from Afghanistan to Europe (see Poland for a recent example) and the United States

Since that panel discussion, the Swedish government renounced the label FFP-seen as too radical-but several other states have announced their intention to pursue an FFP (see Figure 1); nineteen states formed a 'Feminist Foreign Policy Plus (FFP+) group' at the United Nations, issuing a 'political declaration on feminist approaches to foreign policy' during the General Assembly High Level Week in September 2023.7 This Strategic Update takes stock of the spread of feminist foreign policies, and focuses on the potential for feminist foreign policies to improve or strengthen the role of women in diplomacy. Our analysis is based on publicly available documents and on our communication with policymakers involved in the adoption and implementation of feminist foreign policies.

This Strategic Update first explores the key objectives of the feminist foreign policies that have been announced or adopted thus far. To what extent do the FFPs include goals relating to improving the representation of women in diplomacy? Then it looks at the process of adopting a feminist foreign policy. How involved have female policy-makers been in the adoption and implementation of FFPs? In the third part, it analyses the implementation of FFPs, focusing particularly on the realisation

of objectives related to improving the representation of women within foreign ministries and in international decision-making processes. The final part considers the implications of the spread of FFPs for improving the representation of women in diplomacy.

Figure 1. Timeline of adoption of Feminist Foreign Policies



Part I. An overview of Feminist Foreign Policies

As can be seen in Table 1, while some countries have issued formal guidelines on their FFP, many others have yet to do so. 'Representation'-along with 'resources' and 'rights'-have formed the significant basis for many FFPs. We assessed government communications to understand the specific commitments made to improve women's representation in diplomacy where those have been made explicit.

Table 1. Feminist Foreign Policies⁸

Country	Date FFP announced or guidelines published	Commitments regarding women's representation in diplomacy and international decision-making
Argentina	Government issued decree committing to an FFP in January 2023; guidelines forthcoming	Achieve gender parity in diplomacy; equal representation in development, law, and international policy ⁹
Canada	Feminist International Assistance policy published in 2017 ¹⁰	Include women in decision making on climate change; support participation of women in peacebuilding and post conflict reconstruction; improve women's representation in security sector
Chile	2022 announcement of intention to implement an FFP; June 2023 government published guidelines and strategy ¹¹	Key priorities include empowerment and representation of women; Women, Peace and Security agenda
Columbia	Press release for side event at UN Commission for Status of Women 2023 indicates government is working on an FFP ¹² ; no formal guidelines yet	Priorities include political participation of women

France	Summary of commitment, but no guidelines available on FFP; has an International Strategy on Gender Equality ¹³	Strive for gender equality within Foreign Ministry and French government; commitment to Women, Peace and Security agenda
Germany	Guidelines for FFP published in March 2023 ¹⁴	Promote equitable representation; Women Peace and Security agenda; work for equality, diversity, and inclusion in Foreign Service
Liberia	Intention to develop an FFP announced in meeting between Liberian officials and UN Women, 2022 ¹⁵	Issues raised include women's representation
Libya	Announcement made in speech by Foreign Minister to Generation Equality Forum, 2021; ¹⁶ no formal guidelines or follow up yet	Women, Peace and Security agenda
Luxembourg	FFP a pledge in 2018 coalition government; ¹⁷ short section in 2022 annual report; ¹⁸ brief mentions in Foreign Minister's annual presentations to parliament; ¹⁹ no formal guidelines	Reinforce representation and participation of women in all echelons of society; promote gender equality within the ministry; Women Peace and Security agenda
Mexico	January 2020 press release, but no other guidelines yet ²⁰	Parity within the Foreign Ministry; a Foreign Ministry free of violence that is safe for all; feminism in all areas of the Foreign Ministry
Mongolia	Announced intention to pursue feminist and gender transformative approaches to foreign policy in June 2023 and joined feminist foreign policy plus group at the UN ²¹	Still to be announced
Netherlands	Guidelines on applying FFP are under development; more information on FFP included in a letter to parliament in November 2022 ²²	FFP will focus on representation

Slovenia	Intention to develop FFP announced in March 2023 ²³ ; no guidelines yet	Improve gender balance within foreign ministry
Spain	2021: detailed guidelines published ²⁴	Women, Peace and Security agenda; improving participation of women in decision-making
Sweden (2014-22)	Until 2022, well-developed guidelines, including handbook on FFP ²⁵	Improve representation of women in decision-making

As can be seen in Table 1, almost all the FFPs commit to supporting women's representation in general. This includes within the Women, Peace and Security agenda to ensure the meaningful participation of women in peace processes, which is highlighted as an area of focus by Spain, Canada, Chile, France, Germany, Luxemburg, and Libya. Canada, for example, states that this will be accomplished 'through a combination of targeted support for local women's organisations and programming to help women strengthen their mediation and negotiation skills and expertise so that they can more fully participate in-and influence-peace negotiations'. Canada will 'advocate at international policymaking events for a stronger role for women and girls in conflict prevention, conflict resolution and peacebuilding.'26 Germany, Canada and Chile also pledge to support women's leadership within action on climate change. Some countries mention the broader goal of

increasing diversity in decision-making globally, including by enhancing the participation of marginalised groups. Women's representation is often highlighted as part of broader commitments to women's political representation, the representation and participation of women in all areas of society, or as international development programming focused on engaging women and girls in decision making—at national or international level. However, FFPs do not tend to focus explicitly on fostering greater participation of women in international organisations or diplomatic negotiations.

In addition to the widely-shared FFP goal of improving women's representation and participation in decision-making, Chile, France, Germany, Luxembourg, Mexico, the Netherlands, Slovenia, and Spain include an internal focus on ensuring gender equality within foreign ministries; increasing

the number of women at senior levels in foreign ministries and embassies, as well as at all staff levels, and acting against discrimination and sexual harassment at work.

The inclusion of both internal and external objectives with respect to strengthening women's role in diplomacy appears to be an acknowledgment that FFPs should not practice double standards or hypocrisy, as well as perhaps anticipating that domestic pressure groups and other NGOs could seize on the FFP commitments to focus attention internally; on the need to improve gender balance and diversity within foreign ministers and diplomatic services. As the Dutch ministers for foreign affairs and for foreign trade and development cooperation noted in their letter to the Dutch parliament on feminist foreign policy:

Since everything we promote abroad begins at home, the Ministry will also continue to look critically at its own organisation, increasing its capacity for gender analysis implementation through training and knowledge development. Diversity, inclusion, and gender parity in all job grades at the ministry will remain a continuous focus of attention. When putting together delegations, the goal will always be to ensure diverse and inclusive representation.27

Similarly, the German Federal Foreign Office guidelines on a feminist foreign policy state that 'Credible feminist foreign policy must also look inwards.'28 Chile's guidelines 'recognize the persistence of gender gaps that hinder the full participation of women in all decision-making areas of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs', facilitating not only entry but retention of female leadership.29 Spain's quidelines note that:

It is also important to bear in mind that focusing on increasing the number of ambassadors that are women could hide significant variations in the prestige of postings to which female ambassadors have been posted.

The development of a genuine feminist foreign policy requires a Foreign Service that puts emphasis on the values of equal treatment and equal opportunities and applies them consistently within its own structures. It is about achieving substantive equality and highlighting the role of women in Spanish diplomacy.30

Liberia's Minister of Gender, Children and Social Protection, Williametta Savdee Tarr, noted the Liberian President's commitment to appoint women in key Cabinet positions, advocating for a 30% quota for women's representation.31

A common thread for FFPs therefore seems to be the understanding that successful implementation of an FFP may require looking inward and ensuring that appropriate gender equality measures and resources are in place to improve inclusion, diversity, and gender parity within foreign ministries. In this way, FFPs hold out the potential to improve women's representation in diplomacy, at least in those countries that have adopted an FFP. The objective of improving women's roles in international diplomatic negotiations and/or international organisations is less explicit or elaborated in existing FFPs, though attention to this aspect would also be needed to help effectuate change globally.

Part II. Who is driving the adoption of Feminist **Foreign Policies?**

Female diplomats and politicians have been at the forefront of the adoption and implementation of FFPs, though not exclusively so. Women in the position of foreign minister have been particularly active. Slovenia's foreign minister, Tanja Fajon, even made a link explicitly between her gender and decision to pursue an FFP: 'As Slovenia's first female foreign minister and deputy prime minister, who has made gender equality a priority, I have decided to join the initiative of a group of progressive countries that have formally incorporated feminism into their foreign policy strategy'.32 Mongolia's announcement that it would develop a feminist foreign policy was made at a conference that it hosted solely of female foreign ministers, at least implying a link.33 Yet in Germany, where the position of foreign minister was held for the first time by a woman, Annalena Baerbock, the announcement of the adoption of feminist foreign policy did not explicitly note a connection between her gender and the policy.34 Similarly, Canada's Foreign Minister, Chrystia Freeland, and Minister of International Development and La Francophonie, Marie-Claude Bibeau, have not made explicit links to their gender but underlined their focus on gender equality and women's

empowerment: Canada's Feminist International Assistance Policy (FIAP) aims to achieve both under the government of Prime Minister Justin Trudeau, a self-proclaimed feminist. 35

In the (few) discussions available on the Liberian commitment to establishing a feminist foreign policy, there are repeated references to the Liberian President, George Weah, as 'Feminist-In-Chief'.36 Mexico's Foreign Secretary Marcelo Ebrard pledged the country's intentions to draft a feminist foreign policy—a policy that is said to be a 'hallmark policy'37 of its Foreign Minister. Similarly, representatives of the Chilean government shared with us that 'the Feminist Foreign Policy is part of the presidential commitments and is in the programme of the current government of President of the Republic of Chile. Gabriel Boric Font.'38

In all countries but one (Luxembourg), a female minister was initially put in charge of its implementation, inevitably acting as norm entrepreneurs driving these policies forward (see Table 2). Even if the introduction of a feminist foreign policy had not been driven principally by a woman (or women) in power, governments adopting an FFP have apparently shown some commitment to increasing women's representation in policy-making though supporting female leadership in ministerial positions; including those related to and responsible for the policy itself. In this way, FFPs help to improve women's representation in senior diplomatic roles. Some of the leaders listed below, however, have been removed from office, by election or otherwise: the government's commitment to strengthening women's leadership as well as promoting the FFP will thus become evident also by tracking their replacements.

Table 2. Drivers of FFP

Country	Year in which FFP was adopted/ announced	Minister initially responsible for adoption and oversight
Argentina	2023	Maria Cristina Perceval (Special Representative for Feminist Foreign Policy)
Canada	2017	Chrystia Freeland (Minister for Foreign Affairs); Minister of International Development and La Francophonie, Marie-Claude Bibeau and Maryam Monsef (Minister for Women and Gender Equality and Youth)
Chile	2022	Alberto Van Klaveren (Foreign Affairs Minister) and Gloria de la Fuente (Foreign Affairs Undersecretary) and Claudia Sanhueza (International Economic Relations Undersecretary)
Columbia	2023	Laura Gil (Vice Minister for Multilateral Affairs)
France	2018	Jean-Yves Le Drian (Minister of Europe and Foreign Affairs) and Marlène Schiappa (Secretary of State for Gender Equality)
Germany	2023	Annalena Baerbock (Federal Minister for Foreign Affairs)
Liberia	2022	Williametta Piso Saydee-Tarr (Minister of Gender, Children and Social Protection)
Libya	2021	Najla Mangoush (Minister of Foreign Affairs and International Cooperation)
Luxembourg	2018	Jean Asselborn (Minister of Foreign and European Affairs)
Mexico	2019	Marcelo Ebrard (Foreign Secretary) and Martha Delgado Peralta (Undersecretary for Multilateral Affairs and Human Rights at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs)
Mongolia	2023	Battsetseg Batmunkh (Foreign Minister)
Netherlands	2022	Wopke Hoekstra (Minister of Foreign Affairs) and Liesje Schreinemacher (Minister for Foreign Trade and Development Cooperation)
Slovenia	2023	Tanja Fanjon (Minister for Foreign and European Affairs)
Spain	2021	Irene Montero (Minister of Equality) and Arancha González Laya (Minister for Foreign Affairs, European Union, and Cooperation)
Sweden	2014 (- 2022)	Margot Wallström (Minister of Foreign Affairs)

Part III. Implementation of **FFP Commitments on** Women's Representation

Most of the FFPs have been announced recently, so implementation can be assessed only tentatively. Additionally, given that the definitions and approaches to FFPs differ across countries, there is also no consistent framework for assessing the short- and long-term outcomes of FFPs. In this section, we focus on the extent to which countries have taken steps to improve gender diversity within their foreign ministries because, as noted above, the objective of improving women's representation in international diplomatic negotiations and/or international organisations has also not been developed as explicitly as the 'internal' commitment.

Chile, France, Germany, Luxembourg, Mexico, Slovenia, and Spain have all stated that their FFPs include goals such as improving the representation of women in senior positions in the foreign ministry and increasing the number of female ambassadors. France, Germany, and Spain provided specific benchmarks. French law (the Sauvadet Act) specifies that over 40% of appointments at senior level in the civil service should be women. Germany aims for equitable participation in senior positions by the end of 2025; 27% of heads of mission and 26% of senior positions in the ministry were women in 2023. By the

end of the legislature in 2023, Spain aimed to have 25% women ambassadors: the data in Table 3 illustrates that it did meet that goal in 2021.

Elsewhere, the aims were less specific, simply to increase the number of women in senior positions. Chile, for example, aims to increase the presence of women in embassies without specifying a target.39 Chilean representatives confirmed to us that they are working on indicators that will make it possible to measure the results of their FFP, but this is still a work in progress. With respect to Mexico's pledge to improve representation within the Foreign Service, researchers had to submit freedom of information requests for the data: they concluded that there had been no change in the percentage of women by rank in the Foreign Service since 2018 and that women were only 32% of diplomatic appointments proposed between 2018 and 2022 40

Assessing the extent to which these goals have been realised is not straightforward, as statistics on the foreign ministries themselves may not be publicly available. It is, however, easier to track ambassadorial appointments: Table 3 provides data on the percentage of female ambassadors from each country with an FFP, through 2021. This allows a benchmark against which commitments to internal reform may be assessed in future.

It is also important to bear in mind that focusing on increasing the number of ambassadors that are women could hide significant variations in the prestige of postings to which female ambassadors have been posted. Are they appointed as ambassadors to G7 or G20 countries, and/or to the UN? Only Spain has committed to appointing at least 15% women ambassadors to G20 countries—a low percentage which in and of itself is indicative of the general tendency to appoint women ambassadors to lower status posts.41

Table 3. Percentage of female ambassadors appointed, countries that have declared a commitment to feminist foreign policy (compared to world average)

Country	Explicit FFP aim to increase women's representation at ambassadorial level?	1968	1998	2019	2021
Argentina		0	8	14	20
Canada		5	15	52	45
Chile	Yes	0	0	13	12
Colombia		3	18	35	31
France	Yes—over 40% of new appointments	0	5	25	27
Germany	Yes—to parity by end 2025	0 (Federal Republic of Germany)	8	15	19
Liberia		8	25	43	43
Libya		0	2	18	15
Luxembourg	Yes	0	13	30	22
Mexico	Yes	2	5	25	22
Mongolia		No data	No data	10	11
Netherlands	Yes	0	8	35	39
Slovenia		-	16	39	35
Spain	Yes-to 25% by 2023	2	3	17	26
Sweden		2	17	47	47
World average		1	6	20	21

Source for data on percentages of female ambassadors: Birgitta Niklasson and Ann E. Towns, 'GenDip Dataset on Gender and Diplomatic Representation: Fact Sheet', June 2023, https://www. qu.se/en/gendip/the-gendip-dataset-on-gender-and-diplomatic-representation

There is also less clarity regarding the measures that will be taken to try to reach the goals of increasing diversity within foreign ministries and improving the representation of women at senior levels. Only some of the FFPs list steps that need to be taken with respect to recruitment, fostering career progression and combatting discrimination and harassment at work. Spain outlined a commitment to raise awareness among female university students and to promote a work-life balance through the enactment of a Gender Equality Plan, and through training courses on equality issues.42 France is set to launch a 'Springboard' program which will aim to improve women's access to senior management positions at the Ministry for Europe and Foreign Affairs.43 It also committed to place gender equality liaison officers, contact points and focal points at each diplomatic post and each directorate of the Ministry.44 Further measures that are being taken in the French foreign ministry include consideration of flexible working conditions, parity in appointment panels, and training on equality.45

Germany has committed to ensure that parental leave and part-time work do not have a negative impact on the career paths of women and men, through the use of a career tracking tool.46 Germany's guidelines for feminist foreign policy indicate

that there are flexible working possibilities-and even job sharingat missions abroad, and that it will be easier for diplomats to commute between their posting and Germany if their families wish to stay in Germany.47 Chile has committed to the creation of a Gender Affairs Division to coordinate the advancement of the gender equality plan and gender commitments in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.48

The Netherlands has stated that diversity, inclusion and gender parity will form an important consideration in the composition of its delegations to multilateral fora.49 The Spanish FFP notes that its feminist foreign policy confers a new prominent role to Spain's diplomatic and consular missions and other bodies that channel its external action and has designated gender focal points to support and monitor the equality plans of international organisations in which it participates.50

Declaring a feminist foreign policy helps to shine a light on gender equality within foreign ministries, especially where progress has been slow in the recent past. Setting the goal of improving female representation puts the foreign ministry under more public scrutiny and, as the Mexico case shows, can increase pressure to release data to the public. An FFP may thus

help to improve the representation of women in the diplomatic services of that country and spur the introduction of specific policies that will ensure the retention and promotion of women who have chosen a diplomatic career. It may also help improve the recruitment and retention of other underrepresented groups in diplomacy but, as is the case with women, only if the necessary resources and attention are given to this goal.

Part IV. Conclusions and Implications

The number of countries that have either adopted a feminist foreign policy or are contemplating doing so is increasing. This offers a real opportunity to focus more political attention and resources on women's participation in the field of diplomacy. Given the urgent needs to ensure sustainable peace and prosperity globally, and address the climate crisis, a commitment to fostering women's engagement at international negotiating tables is more important than ever. Monitoring the goals and implementation of the increasing number of FFPs is critically important to ensure that such policies bring more women to the field of international diplomacy.

FFPs have already contributed to increasing a focus on improving the role of women in diplomacy, and some FFPs include specific measures aimed at achieving that goal. Female diplomats and politicians have also been at the forefront of the adoption and implementation of FFPs.,

FFPs also serve as a case study to understand how women's transformative leadership can catalyse change on gender equality within institutional systems. As Leena Vastapuu and Minna Lyytikäinen argue, declaring a feminist foreign policy makes

[An FFP] may also help improve the recruitment and retention of other underrepresented groups in diplomacy but, as is the case with women, only if the necessary resources and attention are given to this goal.

a significant statement in the current international context in which gender has become a flashpoint, as autocratic states stake out anti-gender positions.51 Further, they suggest that although 'adopting an explicit FFP has transformative potential, it is not a magic bullet if not planned and implemented with utmost care.52 In the face of such strong countervailing tendencies that push back against gender equality domestically and internationally, the adoption of FFPs by a growing number of states may help to accelerate change. Yet attention must also be paid to ensuring that a widespread domestic consensus in favour of the adoption and implementation of an FFP is fostered, as otherwise elections or personnel changes could lead to the abandonment of the FFP-as the case of Sweden has shown. Feminist foreign policies are one measure that could improve women's representation in diplomacy, with the focus on internal progress in doing so potentially transformative. But adopting a feminist foreign policy is not the only way to foster greater diversity in the diplomatic field, and countries supportive of gender equality globally can join forces to push policies that will help to do so.

Endnotes

- The authors would like to thank the following for their helpful comments on early drafts of this Strategic Update: thanks to Klaus Brummer, Katarzyna Jezierska, and the participants of the LSE's Centre for Women Peace and Security seminar in October 2023.
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Is Feminist Foreign Policy driving progress for women's representation in diplomacy?

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Building on an October 2022 Women in Diplomacy online event, this Strategic Update assesses the implications of feminist foreign policy (FFP) adoption for driving progress on improving women's representation in diplomacy. Tracking the spread of FFPs globally and the ministers responsible for implementation, this paper focuses on their potential for improving or strengthening the role of women in diplomacy—including in ambassadorial and cabinet foreign-policy roles.

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