



Feminist Foreign Policy: Is Switzerland's foreign policy a secretly feminist foreign policy?

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Dept. of Global Political Studies Bachelor Programme - IR103L

15 Credits Thesis

Thesis submitted: Spring 2023

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Abstract

Recently, a new IR movement called Feminist Foreign Policy (FFP) has become more influential and achieved certain success when states like Sweden, Canada and France adopted these theories. This study will analyse Switzerland's foreign policy to understand to what extent it is a FFP. Feminist Foreign Policy Analysis has developed new frameworks to answer this research question. Such as Aggestam and True's four commitments, which is adapted in this thesis. Through a qualitative content analysis, policy documents of the Swiss government are analysed for gender mainstreaming, international development assistance, Women, Peace and Security (WPS) and gender equality mechanisms. The findings are that the implementation of WPS policies is at an advanced stage, and the international development assistance includes clearly defined budget goals and many pro-gender objectives. On the other hand, there is a lack of gender mainstreaming throughout Switzerland's core foreign policy papers and gender equality mechanisms are rather sparse. The research concludes that, although Swiss FP contains feminist elements, it cannot be defined as feminist.

Word Count: 13792

Keywords: International Relations, Global Politics, Foreign Policy, Feminism, Feminist Foreign Policy, Gender, Gender Equality, Women's Rights, Switzerland, Qualitative Content Analysis

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1. Introduction

Since the proclamation of a feminist foreign policy by Sweden in 2014, followed by Canada in 2017 (Lee-Koo, 2020:238) the development within the foreign policy debate has evolved rapidly. There has been an increase of liberal countries, whose political sphere has commenced the discussion of how suitable a feminist foreign policy would be for their goals.

The debate about the need of a feminist foreign policy among international relations (IR) and specifically foreign policy scholars has been ongoing for decades and resulted, amongst other things, in the adoption of the UN Resolution 1325 (Aggestam & Bergman, 2016; Aggestam, Bergman & Kronsell 2018; Aggestam & True, 2020; Akça Ataç, 2021). The resolution emphasizes the significance of ensuring both women and men are equally involved in preventing violent conflicts, peace negotiations and rebuilding state institutions. Additionally, it urges the comprehensive protection of women and girls, who are disproportionately impacted by sexual and gender-related violence during conflicts (FDFA, 2018:4). The ramification of Resolution 1325 was that liberal governments had elements of a feminist foreign policy in their white papers without the countries being portrayed as feminist. Most state's white papers include sections on women's security, education, and their inclusion into the labour market. However, only including these elements into the white papers is not enough to qualify as having a feminist foreign policy. Among others, Aggestam and True have put together a framework on how to evaluate if a foreign policy includes feminist concepts (2020). They collected a catalogue of commitments that a state's foreign policy, including documents but also actions, needs to include to qualify as a feminist foreign policy (Aggestam & True, 2020:144).

This can be extended by Katarina Lee-Koo's framework to evaluate the Australian foreign policy. A policy that is not officially feminist, because that would be unpopular in the current conservative political environment, but nonetheless includes certain feminist commitments (Lee-Koo, 2020). An important part of Lee-Koo's analysis of the foreign policy is the examination of missing elements. Her research also considers what is not included in the white paper, namely certain pro-gender norms. Enloe (2004:22), another feminist scholar, advises and argues that structural violence

and marginalized identities are also imperative to consider. Booth (2007:160) adds to this, that “all silences are against somebody or something”.

Several states have adopted a feminist foreign policy and, as the author of this thesis is a Swiss citizen, Switzerland’s foreign policy is a field of interest for their research. Especially as Sweden, the nation with the first proclaimed feminist foreign policy, is similar to Switzerland in many cases. Both are highly developed Western European states, share a liberal world view and are neutral when it comes to defence policies, although that is about to change with Sweden’s application for NATO membership only waiting for its ratification by the Turkish and the Hungarian parliament. Both also have a humanitarian tradition with Switzerland being the home of the Geneva Convention and Sweden having the self-understanding of being a humanitarian superpower (Aggestam & Bergman, 2016:326). Hence, the motivation for research project to analyse Switzerland’s foreign policy white paper and other foreign policy related documents to find out how much of a feminist foreign policy the country has.

Sweden’s newly elected centre-right government has, though, renounced the official feminist foreign policy. It remains to be seen what effect this may have, as the country’s foreign policy is already in an advanced stage of implementing FFP concepts. Therefore, it will take time for the new government to adapt the structures, and changes may not be as dramatic as communicated to their conservative voters. The literature on Sweden’s implementation of FFP still remains valid, especially for the evaluation of the adaptation process in other countries.

1.1. Purpose

This thesis will explore how far Switzerland’s commitment to pro-gender norms in foreign policy goes. This is a gap in research about Swiss foreign policy and, therefore, a research problem to explore further. Like many liberal Western democracies, Switzerland promotes pro-gender norms but not to the degree that it would publicly proclaim a feminist foreign policy. Therefore, it is interesting to explore how the country’s foreign policy is validated by FFP scholars’ theories, which define what a FFP is and what it is not.

The paper will be guided by the research question “to what extent is the Swiss foreign policy a feminist foreign policy?”. Many liberally oriented countries have included gender into their foreign policy to the extent that they revise their whole policy from the point of view of gender. However, only a handful of countries have officially declared to implement feminist foreign policy: Sweden (2014), Canada (2017), Luxembourg (2018), France (2019), Mexico (2019), Spain (2021), Libya (2021), Germany (2021), Chile (2022), the Netherlands (2022), Colombia (2022), and Liberia (2022) (Aggestam & True, 2020:156; Achilleos-Sarll et al., 2023:3). Other states have been identified as promoting the ideas of gender equality and feminist theories. Some have even been labelled as having included feminist goals at the core of their foreign policy and coming very close to Sweden or Canada, albeit without officially declaring a feminist foreign policy. (Lee-Koo, 2020; Haastrup, 2020; Skjelbaek & Tryggestad, 2020). One of them that will be portrayed later is Australia (Lee-Koo, 2020). The research is guided by the following hypothesis:

Hypothesis: The Swiss foreign policy can be labelled as feminist.

The analysis in thesis is based on Aggestam and True’s theory on feminist foreign policy analysis (2020). They implemented a framework with four commitments which must be fulfilled for a foreign policy to be labelled as feminist. Proceeding from there, a qualitative content analysis is used to test these commitments on Swiss foreign policy white papers and reports. From the analysis a statement can be made on the feminist quality of Switzerland’s foreign policy.

The ways in which gender shapes and is shaped by policy making is a critical area of study in both international relations and feminist studies. Hence, the case study of Switzerland is a valuable work in this intersectional debate. By analysing another state, that has not yet been widely researched in connection to feminist foreign policy, this thesis adds to the understanding of how different states interpret and implement feminist foreign policy, creating additional value to the field of International Relations.

2. Literature Review

The following chapter presents and critically discusses the existing literature relevant to the carried-out research. At the core of the literature review are the theory and framework around the four types of commitments in foreign policy described by Aggestam and True (2020).

2.1. Traditional Foreign Policy

2.1.1. Traditional Understanding of Foreign Policy

Foreign policy is understood to be the interactions and relations between states, as well as their structural organisation. The structure of how foreign affairs is conducted by a state (Scheyer & Kumskova, 2019:59).

To define foreign policy as understood by traditionalists, Waltz's (1979) writings serve as a guide, because he was one of the leading international relations scholars. Conventional theories of international relations characterise foreign policy as the interplay between nations as well as the structural arrangement of a government and its dealings in international matters. Presently, relations between states and their administrative systems are designed around a neo-realist approach (Waltz, 1979). Neo-realists see the world as "competitive and uncertain" and argue that "the structure of the international system makes power politics the dominant policy paradigm", hence policy makers still trust in the principles of power (Baylis, 2011:127). This approach organizes these relationships and systems in a hierarchical manner, places them within a context of a security quandary, aligns them with national interests, and anchors them on the tenet of sovereignty (Waltz, 1979). It is the dominating concept for current decision makers within foreign policy (Baylis, 2011:127). It is predominant, as according to Kenneth Waltz, the current government systems and the states relations are based on the neo-realist school of thoughts. Because of that they are hierarchically structured with security at heart. Hence, the neo-realist's core principle of sovereignty can be derived (Waltz, 1979).

As the definition of foreign policy is a pleasurably debated issue amongst scholars, Aggestam and True, on which this research relies heavily, base their understanding

of FP on Walter Carlsnaes' works. Carlsnaes argues for a purposive foreign policy which constitutes "explicitly stated goals, commitments and directives" (2002:335). Therefore, FP is more of an actor-oriented practise (Aggestam & True, 2020:151). Concerning the agency-structure problem, which debates whether actions in international relations are driven by independent choices or shaped by social structures, Aggestam and True view "human agents and structures as fundamentally interrelated and mutually constituted" but criticise the lack of problematisation of gendered structures, political actors, and hierarchies (2020:151). The two authors strive to highlight the importance of patriarchy and its power to leave its mark on the structure and the principles of international society.

The flaw of traditional methods is that they turn a blind eye on certain aspects which are necessary to unravel the research problem they detect. If processes in decision making are gendered as Acker (1992) claims, then the outcomes of every research done without considering gender will be biased. Therefore, feminist foreign policy scholars criticise the limited viability of traditional approaches (Acker, 1992).

2.1.2. Previous research on Swiss Foreign Policy

Swiss Foreign Policy has sparsely been researched. Existing investigation often only focuses on very specific issues, mainly the economical side of foreign policy. During the research for thesis no analysis of the Swiss foreign trade in its entirety was found. However, there were a few results where the Swiss foreign policy was compared to another country's foreign trade policies. One of the studies was conducted by Hirschi and Widmer (2010). They have done a thorough comparative case study of Switzerland's foreign policy approaches towards two different regimes, the South African Apartheid state from 1968-1994 and Saddam Hussein's Iraq after its invasion of Kuwait in 1990. Both countries have violated international law which significantly challenged Swiss foreign policy. Switzerland treated South Africa differently than Iraq. There were no consequences for South Africa's apartheid regime despite many countries sanctioning South Africa (Hirschi & Widmer, 2010:538). However, in the case of Iraq, economic sanctions were adopted after the invasion of Kuwait. This was a novum as it was the first time in Swiss history a country has been sanctioned. Before,

its neutrality was interpreted by politicians as incompatible with any kind of sanctions, shall it be political or economical (Kreis, 2012).

Another study compares the Ukrainian foreign economic policy to the Swiss policy. This is due to the authors claiming Switzerland to be “one of the world's leading economic centers”, hence its suitability for comparison (Hudima, Kamyshanskyi & Malolitneva, 2022:317). Hudima, Kamyshanskyi and Malolitneva (2022) use the comparative analysis for their paper. This method is used to address the chronic lack of strategic and institutional planning in the Ukraine. The deficiency of a comprehensive foreign policy results in a situation, where different governmental departments speak with different voices in the global political sphere. The absence of a coordinated communication strategy weakens Ukraine's political clout internationally.

Another popular topic in Swiss foreign policy research is Switzerland's EU integration. Lavenex's (2009) investigates the Swiss unique form of integration without membership. It highlights the various academic perspectives on Switzerland's association with the EU and its bilateral agreements. The study also explores the implementation of this flexible integration, the institutional participation in EU policies, and the implications of Switzerland's non-membership status. It suggests that Switzerland's influence in EU decision making extends beyond the formal legislative instruments through alternative channels, such as sectoral and network governance. It also highlights the scope and limitations of Switzerland's participation in EU policies and emphasises the importance of expertise in how to establish and sustain those alternative channels. The findings of the research demonstrate that policy domains in EU policy making, where network governance is prominent, provide opportunities for the participation of non-member states in decentralized decision-making bodies (Lavenex, 2009:568).

A further subject of Swiss foreign policy research is the compatibility of the political systems of the EU and Switzerland. Several studies have highlighted the possibility of conflicts arising between the decision-making procedures of the European Union and the direct democracy's primary instruments (Kaufmann, Kreis, Gross, 2005). Additionally, the extensive autonomy of the Swiss cantons limits the federal

government's power to negotiate with the EU in certain areas. This means the EU would have to deal with the cantons instead of the federal executive which contradicts the EU habit to interact with the highest level of a member countries government (Goetschel, Bernath, Schwarz, 2002:60-61). Switzerland's present and potential future affiliation with the EU can be characterized as "customized quasi membership" (Kriesi & Trechsel, 2008: 172)

2.1.3. Feminist Critique of Traditional Foreign Policy

Feminist international relations theory holds a critical view of the patriarchal systems and procedures prevalent in foreign policy. These scholars in the field of feminist international relations express their critiques specifically towards the dominance of patriarchal frameworks in foreign policy (Scheyer & Kumskova, 2019:59-60). The first wave of feminists in international relations saw the problem of "gender bias" in "the concepts of security, power, and sovereignty" as these were "made by and for men on the basis of their experiences" (Scheyer & Kumskova, 2019:59-60). The whole aspect of women was missing and the concepts therefore incomplete and thus only partially useable. But just including women into the system and structure is not what the feminist theory is about. It is not a question of involving a single female and by that way solve all the problems connected to the exclusion of a gender. What feminist IR scholars demand to improve problem-solving is that structures and institutions are from bottom to top gendered (Acker, 1990:146 & Acker, 1992). Scholars like Scheyer and Kumskova (2019) agree and argue that the goal of achieving equal representation, or the increase of female participation is not enough for a foreign policy (FP) to be defined as feminist. Therefore, feminist FP must rethink the prevailing systems and structures and put the gender perspective into the core of those. (Scheyer & Kumskova, 2019:59). Security is a main subject of traditional foreign policy makers. To explain how governments proceed and attain security traditionalists use the theories of national and human security. Feminists disagree with these concepts and argue they disregard or miss the influence gender has on security. Feminist security studies accentuate the imperative of challenging the traditional security discourse by posing critical questions like "security for who, by whom". When militarized security fails to

“protect women, children, civilians, migrants, among others, neither in times of conflict nor in times of peace” Scheyer&Kumskova (2019:62) point out gendered security concepts are crucial.

Another weakness of the traditional approach is that predominant foreign policy theorists ignore that all institutions are inherently gendered. But when all the processes and decision-making procedures that create and regulate institutions and hierarchies are already gendered, the outcome can only be biased and not neutral. Problem-solving becomes less viable with such fundamental biases (Acker, 1992).

Furthermore, feminists criticise that development policies which only concentrate on the growth of the economy of developing countries, can have a negative impact on women or even hinder the improvement of conditions for women. Therefore, contrary to the goal of achieving equality: “[E]conomic growth in the context of global market economy marginalizes and makes invisible types of work that are not mediated through market relations – which happens to be the case with lots of work that women do: domestic work, food production, child care, etc” (Arnfred, 1998:4).

Feminist IR is also critical of the state because they see it as being a construct, used to legitimise prevailing patriarchal structures by masculinist politics (Akça Ataç, 2021:106). In an attempt to counteract this development and bring back the gender perspective, the feminist movement of international relations recently resuscitated the debate about the definition of the statist world order. The predominant statist model of hard borders victimizes women especially, because they are “barriers of oppression” which stop people from the possibility of escaping violence. Not only conflicts but also exploitative circumstances. (Tickner, 2018).

2.2. Feminist Foreign Policy

A goal behind feminist IR theory is to redevelop IR theories so that the structures of inequality which they have cemented in the past, can be overcome (True, 2017). The introduction of pro-gender norms onto the international politics stage with the implementation of the CEDAW (Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women) in 1979 and the UNSCR 1325 in the year 2000 were the

starting signal to the new emerging field of feminist foreign policy (Lee-Koo, 2020:237-38).

2.2.1. Definition of Feminist Foreign Policy

In one of the recent attempts to define feminist foreign policy, Scheyer and Kumskova (2019, 61) have underlined six indicators: 'Political dialogue' in matters of 'conflict resolution, diplomacy and trade'; 'feminist political economy' aiming at fair access to resources; individuals' 'safety and wellbeing'; 'empathetic community' created by states' policies of 'empathy, trust, transparency, respect, global justice beyond borders and shared responsibility'; 'inclusion and intersectional approach' benefitting from the 'expertise and experiences of civil society and local communities'; and finally 'gender analysis' focusing on the deconstruction of 'power relations on the basis of intersectionality'.

Besides the feminist opposition other resistance has been formed which also criticizes the currently dominating principal of power in foreign policy making. Notably in the adoption of the 2017 Treaty on the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons. This agreement deviates from the prevailing principle of power as the states initiating it grouped together on the common ground of "opposing a security scheme that has not been working for everyone" (Scheyer & Kumskova, 2019:58).

Alternatively, actors of civil society offer a definition of Feminist Foreign Policy (FFP). Namely, the International Council for Research on Women (ICRW) and the Centre for Feminist Foreign Policy (CFFP). They both understand it as a policy that simply does not include the interests of women but also those of all marginalized groups (Achilleos-Sarll et al., 2023:6).

2.2.2. Distinctions of Feminist Foreign Policy

In this section, the defining elements of feminist foreign policy are outlined.

As the first country in the world, Sweden commenced with the implementation of an official FFP in 2014 (Akça Ataç, 2021:105). The driving force behind that was foreign minister Margot Wallström but it was also helped by the very pro-feminist environment in Swedish society. Sweden's lead was followed by Canada in 2017 and

France in 2019. Both countries now also officially claim to have feminist foreign policies. They hope pro-gender norms will help in the global political sphere to find solutions for transnational and international problems (Akça Ataç, 2021:105). The recent development shows that it is not only a phenomenon that is occurring in developed states of the Global North. Countries of the Global South like Mexico (2019), Libya (2021), Chile (2022), Colombia (2022) and Liberia (2022) have adopted or announced the implementation of FFP in recent years as well (Achilleos-Sarll et al., 2023:4). Western European nations followed when Germany and Spain in 2021 and the Netherlands in 2022 adopted an FFP. Because this is a very recent development, research on these countries' application of the new theories and their inclusion into their foreign policy strategies is very sparse (Achilleos-Sarll et al., 2023:3).

The foundation for the emergence of the feminist foreign policy has five pillars (Uspenskaya & Kozlova in Achilleos-Sarll et al. (2023:4-5). The first pillar is the Intellectual Contribution of Women. This includes the plethora of thought and envisioning by women intellectuals who aspired for a world devoid of violence. Notable thinkers like Christine de Pizan, Bertha von Suttner and Jane Addams played a significant role through their intellectual work. The second pillar is called Feminist Advocacy for Peace. The feminist pursuit for peace, which ushered in a reimagined concept of the international framework, particularly during the International Women's Congresses in 1915 and 1919. Scholarship in Feminist International Relations is the third pillar. This constitutes the academic inquiry within feminist international relations that scrutinized the global hierarchies and power structures. The fourth is Agent of Change and Standards. Here, individuals like Margot Wallström, who was Sweden's foreign minister, are recognized as norm entrepreneurs who have been trailblazers in shaping policies and standards. The fifth and last pillar is United Nations' Endeavours for Gender Equality. The last element includes the pro-gender equality measures adopted by the United Nations, encompassing the Women Peace and Security (WPS) agenda which has been a cornerstone in this context (Uspenskaya & Kozlova in Achilleos-Sarll et al. (2023:4-5). However, Achilleos-Sarll et al. (2023:5) highlight that the prevailing discourse tends to neglect certain proponents and their share of the FFP development. In particular, "feminist peace activists from the Global North and feminist anti-colonial thinkers and peace activists from the Global South".

The rise of countries that develop a national action plan to implement the guidelines of the UN Security Council resolution 1325 on women, peace, and security, shows the growing influence and arrival of the gender perspective into foreign policy practices (Akça Ataç, 2021:106). “To explain, criticise and genuinely transform the tight and complex network of power relations” Feminist IR still must challenge “the interaction between different masculinities” which dominate “the international system” argues Akça Ataç (2021:106).

2.2.2.1. Why should Feminist Foreign Policy be adopted?

The adoption of feminist foreign policy gives feminists the possibility to change the structures which underline the current political and private life and therefore securing status quo. It resists the current state-centric and elite dominated policymakers, and it supports the transformation from the current realist or neoliberal “state self-interest” to a new rights-based approach (Lee-Koo, 2020:238). This new approach focuses, unlike the current neo-realist one, on “an ethical foreign policy and good international conduct” (Aggestam, Bergman & Kronsell 2018:3). Aggestam and Bergman argue that this, feminist orientated, ethic is derived from peace, justice and cosmopolitan norms (2016:323).

Other scholars argue that pro-gender norms can also be in line with traditional state centred theories if these emphasise that state security can be better archived with feminist soft power and military hard power (Hudson,2012). Especially small states have an interest that hard power is discredited as a mean to achieve political goals. Another argument for the implementation of the FFP is that crises, that are the consequences of the current mindset on foreign policy making, cannot be solved by applying the same mindset again. Therefore, FFP is an alternative to solve certain conflicts (Akça Ataç, 2021:108).

Scheyer and Kumskova argue a feminist analysis is not directed at abolishing the other theories but an essential method to include all levels of analysis. Missing that, would mean that problems are not as realistically represented as they could be, and that finding solutions would be aggravated because not all aspects of the issue were considered. Also, the UN reported in 2015 that in order to create peace, the inclusion

of gender analysis is eminent (Scheyer & Kumskova, 2019:58). For those reasons, Scheyer and Kumskova claim that “feminist foreign policy is one that includes whole populations, appreciates diversity, inspires comprehensive analysis, and leaves no one behind” (2019:58).

Achilleos-Sarll et al. (2023:9-10) have identified four blank spots in the knowledge of traditional foreign policy. First, the traditional method of Foreign Policy Analysis (FPA) frames foreign policy as primarily “outward-facing” and concerned with strategies for dealing with other states. This approach tends to reinforce binaries like foreign/domestic, inside/outside, us/them, war/peace and conflict/non-conflict which are based on gendered, racialized, and colonial hierarchies. The narrow focus of FPA often excludes non-elite voices and concerns, particularly those of marginalized communities, and fails to address the ethical implications of foreign policies (Achilleos-Sarll et al., 2023:9). Second, FPA largely concentrates on foreign policy decision-making within state institutions, focusing on an elite group of usually male actors. This neglects the consequences on male-only policy making processes and outcomes. When women are considered, it is usually those in formal decision-making roles, while the contributions of women and non-state actors outside formal power structures are overlooked (Achilleos-Sarll et al., 2023:9). Third, FPA primarily deals with the factors affecting policy choices without considering the consequences of these policies, especially on vulnerable groups, such as women. It often fails to address the asymmetrical power relations and tends to view power as stemming from the material capabilities of states, ignoring the relational aspects of power and how gender and power are interconnected (Achilleos-Sarll et al., 2023:9). Fourth, FPA tends to ignore the ethical dimensions of foreign policy, treating them as secondary. In contrast, Feminist Foreign Policy (FFP) has a normative and ethical dimension, questioning the practices of foreign policy. But FFP must be careful not to duplicate the neoliberal interventionist habit of liberal internationalist post-Cold War governments. (Achilleos-Sarll et al., 2023:9).

These knowledge gaps are a valid argument for why FFP should be adopted by more states. Closing the current blank spots, caused by the traditional approach, can improve their foreign policy strategies, and lead them to better safeguard their national interests.

2.2.2.2. Challenges for Feminist Foreign Policy

What also matters for the debate of how to conduct foreign policy is the evaluation of a country's interests and values. Those two often come into conflict, a compromise between a state's ideals and a pragmatic foreign policy must be found. (Lee-Koo 2020:238) Often, liberal western states run into the problem of betrayal of their own values, as can be seen very clearly when arms deals are agreed with a country like Saudi-Arabia, which is well known for breaching human rights and their marginalisation of women and foreign workers. This is a classic example of when economic self-interest is valued higher than pro-gender norms by policymakers. Those contradictions and inconsistencies, though, are problematic if a country wants to be taken seriously in the global diplomatic sphere. For the credibility of FFP it is eminent that pioneers like Sweden and Canada hold to their, within FFP claimed, high moral values and stay true to their principles. Arms deals Sweden and Canada have agreed with women rights abusing states provide opposition of FFP with arguments against its implementation and general useability in foreign policy making (Zhukova, Rosén & Ole Elgström 2022:197).

Other examples are Sweden's harsh reaction to the 2015 refugee crisis, which had a negative influence on women's human security and therefore contradicting fundamental pro-gender policies, and Canada's neoliberal international development policy, which had in some parts negative effects on women's rights. (Lee-Koo 2020:238).

Other paradoxes are that the currently known official feminist foreign policies are embedded in the neoliberal economic concept of growth (Lee-Koo 2020:239). But to use pro-gender norms only as a part of an economic solution, while forgetting the transformation of current structures, may lead to more negative consequences for women (Lee-Koo 2020:238). Duncanson underlines this is a problem neoliberal peacebuilding currently faces and why it sometimes fails (2016:72-91).

In the field of peacebuilding, other problems occur. Neoliberal solutions for a post-conflict economy work in the way that they confine "women's rights and security" and are therefore in certain aspects contrary to a feminist policy. Consequently, pro-

gender foreign policies not only have to include economical goals but also structural change to justify their feminist branding (Lee-Koo 2020:239).

A critique from feminism within is, that feminist foreign policy tries to improve the situations of women worldwide within the currently dominating capitalist system that relies on growth and the predominant patriarchal structures. A contradiction when some research shows that women are partly suffering from this economic concept (Zhukova, Rosén & Ole Elgström 2022:197).

2.2.3. Previous research on Feminist Foreign Policy

An important role for the deconstruction of traditional concepts of foreign policy with the method of gender analysis have played Enloe, Tickner and True (Enloe, 2014; Tickner, 2001 & True, 2017). In their work “[t]hey revealed the gender bias of security, power, and sovereignty, claiming that these concepts are made by and for men on the basis of their experiences” (Scheyer & Kumskova, 2019:59-60). Especially early feminist theorist such as Ann Tickner (1988:437-438) and Jean Bethke Elshtain (1985:43), suggested in their early work that feminism does not need to reject political realism entirely but could reformulate it to address both moral and realist concerns.

The foundation for the debate on research of feminist foreign policy was laid by Karin Aggestam’s papers alternately together with Jaquie True, Annika Bergman Rosamond and or Annica Kronsell. The starting signal to the debate and the creation of a framework to analyse foreign policy in a feminist perspective was Aggestam’s and Bergman’s thorough analysis of Sweden’s emerging feminist foreign policy (2016). They examined what a feminist foreign policy contains in theory and practice, recognised challenges that FFP may be confronted with and deepened in the field of possible research topics, that scholars who want to contribute to this newly emerging field, may find stimulating and use as a starting point. One of the obvious ethical contradictions was the arms export Sweden conducted at the time and whose recipients often violated basic human rights (Aggestam & Bergman, 2016:329).

They followed up with a theoretical framework that allowed to further study foreign policy from a feminist perspective, so that other researchers have a tool to participate

in the debate (Aggestam, Bergman & Kronsell, 2018). This framework was still vague and difficult to apply. Therefore, Aggestam together with True developed a more usable comparative framework which helps in the examination of a foreign policy concerning its inclusion of pro-gender norms. This will be described more thoroughly in a later section.

Aggestam, Bergman and Kronsell reproach that “existing studies of ethical foreign policy and international conduct are by and large gender-blind” and that, therefore, there is an argument for the development of a feminist foreign policy analysis (2018:24). In their paper they look through a feminist lens for the theorization of feminist foreign policy and argue for its ethical intents (2018:24). “Critical and feminist scholars view the academic study of foreign policy as having too narrow a view of politics, which tends to privilege the state as the ‘proper’ unit of analysis.” (Aggestam, Bergman & Kronsell, 2018:27). State centred framework are therefore, by the arguments of feminist foreign policy scholars, unsuitable to promote gender equality agendas as they’re entrenched in power structures which are oppressive and patriarchal (Aggestam, Bergman & Kronsell, 2018:27)

The most useful frameworks to research if a state's foreign policy consists of feminist elements, was developed by Aggestam and True (2020). There are four commitments that must be fulfilled for a foreign policy to be regarded as a feminist foreign policy. The first commitment requests the application of gender mainstreaming in policy documents. This must be done across various tiers, including foreign security and defence, economic development, trade, aid, and humanitarian policies and other foreign policy making. Gender mainstreaming is defined as the endeavour to consider the repercussions of a decision on the different genders (Aggestam & Bergman, 2020:144). The second commitment, 'international development assistance' contains the promotion and inclusion of gender equality policies. Often measured by calculating the percentage of the aid budget that goes to pro gender programs. The third, assesses the adaptation and implementation of the UN Resolution 1325 and the UN Women, Peace and Security agenda in the foreign policy. The fourth commitment examines if gender equality mechanisms such as actions in the institutions, programs to increase female leadership and to empower girls are thoroughly defined and

strictly adhered. It is a simple and easy to apply framework, consisting of all important feminist elements. Therefore, this research project will be based upon it.

Victoria Scheyer and Marina Kumskova (2019) evaluated in their article the current development in feminist foreign policy analysis. Connected to this, they developed five indicators of an FFP. A concept that is in direct competition with Aggestam and True's four commitments framework (see Aggestam & True, 2020:144). The article of Scheyer and Kumskova (2019:70) underlines the importance of including pro-gender norms but denies the present governmental approach to feminist foreign policy making a true feminist nature. They criticise the lack of “challenge [put to] political economies of war, exclusion, militarized security, sovereignty, and hierarchy” and a simplistic concentration on improving gender representation to achieve equality goals, ignoring that the structure must be adapted to accomplish them (Scheyer & Kumskova, 2019:69-70). The five indicators are intended to be used as a guideline by policy makers to ensure an authentically feminist implementation of the concept of FFP and, consequently, achieve gender equality.

INDICATOR	FEMINIST FOREIGN POLICY
POLITICAL DIALOGUE	A PREVALENCE OF POLITICAL DIALOGUE IN CONFLICT RESOLUTION, DIPLOMACY, AND TRADE.
SAFETY AND WELLBEING	A SECURITY CONCEPT WITH THE FOCUS ON INDIVIDUAL WELLBEING.
EMPATHETIC COMMUNITY	COMMUNITIES OF STATES BASED ON EMPATHY, TRUST, TRANSPARENCY, RESPECT, GLOBAL JUSTICE, BEYOND BORDERS, AND SHARED RESPONSIBILITY.
INCLUSION AND INTERSECTIONAL APPROACH	INTERSECTIONAL APPROACH BASED ON EXPERTISE AND EXPERIENCES OF CIVIL SOCIETY AND LOCAL COMMUNITIES.
GENDER ANALYSIS	DECONSTRUCTING POWER RELATIONS ON THE BASIS OF INTERSECTIONALITY

Figure 1 Scheyer & Kumskova, 2019:61

The indicators can be explained as follows:

Political Dialogue: This emphasizes open discussions as a foundation for diplomacy, trade, and conflict resolution, advocating for an inclusive approach that incorporates marginalized voices and communities, and rejects militaristic solutions.

Safety and Wellbeing: This calls for a redefinition of security to include the wellbeing of all, especially marginalized groups, and challenges traditional militaristic approaches which often neglect gender perspectives and human welfare.

Empathic Communities: This entails building alliances based on empathy, mutual respect, and common goals such as peace and trade, as opposed to alliances formed strictly on military or defence strategies.

Inclusion and Intersectional Approach: The feminist foreign policy pushes for diverse representation and involvement of civil society, grassroots organizations, and local groups in policy making, promoting collaboration and consultation.

Gender Analysis: A crucial component, this involves critically examining power dynamics through a gender lens to uncover underlying power relations, discrimination, and marginalization, and to foster informed, equitable policies and practices (Scheyer & Kumskova, 2019:61-64).

While this concept is helpful for policy makers. For an analysis of a state's foreign policy strategy, the four commitments of Aggestam and True are better suited. They have been developed specifically for this purpose and reflect this with their simple and individual adjustability. The applicability of Scheyer and Kumskova framework is, on the contrary, limited for a bachelor's thesis because of its focus on policy makers instead of scholars. An adaptation would have been a task for a more in-depth research study rather than a bachelor's thesis.

In accordance with Lee-Koo and Aggestam and True, in this thesis the definition of pro-gender norms is as follows: Pro-gender norms are all "commitments that seek to advance women's rights and gender equality" (Lee-Koo, 2020:238).

Three points that are needed to implement pro-gender policies are "the transparent allocation of resources, implementation strategies, and a commitment to evaluating impact" (Lee-Koo, 2020:238) Those three points are eminent to ensure the sustainability of pro-gender policies and the more these norms are spread throughout all sections of foreign policy the more likely it is they are successfully implemented (Lee-Koo, 2020:238).

In her article, Lee-Koo analyses policy documents from the Defence and the Foreign Affairs and Trade departments of the Australian government. Furthermore, she includes governmental announcements connected to those policy documents. She argues that if Australia has a pro-gender agenda, it will be in these documents, where traces of it can be found and proven (Lee-Koo, 2020:239). Additionally, Lee-Koo assesses accountability publications by the Australian government where they monitor the implementation of their policies (Lee-Koo, 2020:239). She concludes her research by studying the government's own "gender-specific document" as they outline the government's specific effort in foreign policy making (Lee-Koo, 2020:240). The research of thesis will take a similar approach as Lee-Koo's article. It will also examine official governmental documents and mine them for code words in connection with pro-gender norms. Silences as described above will likewise be searched. The thesis' case study is not based on Australia but the author's native country Switzerland. Hereafter, the methods taken from previous research on feminist foreign policy to answer our research question will be outlined.

3. Methodology

The purpose of this study is to find out to what extent the Swiss foreign policy is a feminist foreign policy. The goal is to close the gap of knowledge about Switzerland's foreign policy concerning the influence of feminist theories on it. For this matter, a qualitative content analysis was selected. This section provides the theoretical background for the chosen method and continues with a thorough description of the adaptation of the four commitments by Aggestam and True and the consequent coding which is used for the investigation of the Swiss governmental white papers. Furthermore, it discusses epistemological aspects like validity and reliability, the limitations of the research and argues for the selected data.

3.1. Qualitative Content Analysis

Feminist foreign policy analysis is a young field. Nonetheless, qualitative content analysis has emerged to be an extremely popular method amongst the field's scholars and was widely used in recent research. Lee-Koo (2020), Skjelbaek and Tryggestad (2020), Haastrup (2020), Zhukova, Rose and Elgström (2022), Jezierska (2022) and van Wyk (2023) all adopted this method within their work. Through qualitative content analysis, pro-gender norms within foreign policy can be made visible "by providing the context for determining meaning" (Haastrup, 2020:203). Further, it is suggested by Halperin and Heath to analyse a text's underlying meaning and to examine the motives and purposes within (2020:376).

Berg and Lune describe content analysis as follows: "In content analysis, researchers examine artifacts of social communication. Typically, these are written documents or transcriptions of recorded verbal communications." (2017:184). They continue with the broad definition of content analysis by Krippendorff as "a research technique for making replicable and valid inferences from texts (or other meaningful matter) to the contexts of their use" (2004:18, cited in Berg & Lune, 2017:184). This means that also other classical IR material can be examined for research purposes as Berg und Lune explain: "From this perspective, photographs, videotape, or any items that can be 'read'— that is, virtually any qualitative data—are amenable to content analysis." Or

when viewed from the opposite angle, it can be said that nearly all methodologies of qualitative analysis are essentially variations of content analysis. (Berg & Lune, 2017:184).

The use of content analysis can also reduce bias as it is not based on interviewees or speeches of government officials. Because these actors follow their own agenda and cannot give a neutral picture of the situation. The more, the accountability is increased because content analysis is often based on easily accessible sources with a good amount of validity (Halperin & Heath, 2020:373-376).

A content analysis can be either, quantitative or qualitative. Quantitative in case the researcher is using large datasets and material that is easily observed and simple to convert into numbers. This could be an option if, for example, certain terms would be counted in a speech of a government official. Qualitative is normally used for the analysis of a text underlying meanings and to examine the motives and purposes within it (Halperin & Heath, 2020:376).

For all these reasons, this study resorts to qualitative content analysis as it suits the task of answering the research question perfectly. It is predestined to analyse different kinds of documents such as governmental policy papers and will help to identify the information needed to fulfil the research goals.

3.2. Data Selection

Using a deductive approach, the examination is based on Aggestam and True's four commitments. On the Swiss government website, a variety of foreign policy documents are published, hence, the database is browsed utilizing keywords and questions which were allocated to the four categories beforehand.

In the centre of this research is the *Foreign Policy Strategy 2020-23* which guides the Swiss Federal Council and all departments in their international collaborations and alignments. It is therefore the most important and expressive policy document of the Swiss government. As the thesis' purpose is not to research other scholars' work on Swiss FP, only official documents from the Swiss governmental website admin.ch are

used. Other scholars, like Lee-Koo, concentrated their research on foreign policy also on governmental documents (Lee-Koo, 2020:239).

The documents researched are selected based on the keywords and topics in Aggestam and True's framework (2020:144). For all four commitments they named different factors that must be examined to prove if they are fulfilled and, hence, if the investigated foreign policy is indeed a feminist one.

For the first commitment, documents that depict the whole array of these keywords (see figure 2) are selected. Among them the *Foreign Policy Strategy 2020-23* (FDFA, 2020a) by the Federal Department of Foreign Affairs (FDFA), a description of the foundation of what constitutes Swiss foreign policy. This paper is a guideline for all other departments and serves them well in their interactions with foreign actors. Therefore, it is used in the analysis of all four commitments and their different sub-aspects. Further, the *Digital Foreign Policy Strategy 2021-24* by the FDFA (2020b), is more specifically describing the countries efforts in the digital era and the new fields that emerge because of this. An additional resource is *FDFA's Strategy on Gender Equality and Women's rights*, where they specify their actions regarding the implementation of pro-gender norms (FDFA, 2017). To cover the realm of security and defence, the *Security Policy Report 2021 (Sicherheitspolitischer Bericht 2021)* which defines Switzerland's interests and goals in security politics for the coming years, is included. This kind of security review is published by the government at irregular intervals (Federal Council, 2021). For the economic, trade, aid, and humanitarian parameters, *Switzerland's International Cooperation Strategy 2021-2024* (FDFA, 2020c), will be analysed. It contains details of the foreign department's focus in strategy and used frameworks. The *General Guidance on the Private Sector in the context of the International Cooperation Strategy 2021-24* is used to address the private businesses' role in economic development and possibilities of cooperation between them and the state to achieve common goals (SDC, 2021).

To validate commitment two, documents in connection with international development assistance are examined. *Switzerland's International Cooperation Strategy 2021-2024* (FDFA, 2020c) is the core element here as it addresses the central points of this commitment. Added to this, is again, the *General Guidance on the Private*

Sector (SDC, 2021). These are the main policy papers concerning international development assistance and therefore important for the validation of the first part of commitment two. The second aspect is the budget question. To address this, *FDFA Strategy on Gender equality and Women's rights* (2017), which contains the Swiss Agency for Development and Cooperation SDC *spending dataset* (SDC, 2023) and *Switzerland's International Cooperation Strategy 2021-24* (2020c) are analysed. Specific information of what funds pro-gender norm programmes receive in relation to the overall budget for aid and development, are found in the SDC's *Status Report on Gender Equality 2019* (SDC, 2020). Unfortunately, the review is the newest available information on exact budget questions. But because the Swiss parliament allocates international cooperation funds only every four years for the whole legislative period, these numbers possess more significance than thought at first glance (FDFA, 2020c:34)

Continuing to commitment three, Switzerland's adaption of the United Nation's Resolution 1325 is researched with the help of the FDFA's own implementation plan, *Women, Peace and Security Switzerland's Fourth National Action Plan to Implement UN Security Council Resolution 1325 2018 – 22* (FDFA, 2018). A policy that has recently been extended until 2024 and covers all domains of the third commitment. To add another perspective, the report *Women, Peace and Security and the Prevention of Violence - Reflections from Civil Society in the Context of the Fourth Swiss National Action Plan 1325* is included in this commitment as well (Mesok, 2019). The paper is a collaboration between the FDFA and civil society actors. It is added to address the weakness of only one available meaningful governmental document in connection to the implementation of the Resolution 1325.

Coming to the fourth and last commitment, the documents *Equal opportunities in the workplace: FDFA Action Plan 2028* (FDFA, 2022), which displays the department's efforts to deliver an equal working environment for its own employees in Switzerland and abroad, and again the papers *FDFA Strategy on Gender equality and Women's rights* (FDFA, 2017) and the *Foreign Policy Strategy 2020-23* (FDFA, 2020a) are utilised to research for gender equality mechanisms such as ambassadors for women's and girl's empowerment, explicit commitments to promotions of women's leadership within development programmes and other tools to reach these goals.

3.3. Coding

Continuing to the coding of this thesis' research, the four commitments from the previous section are borrowed as categories. Hence, a deductive approach as described by Lamont is chosen. This method relies on existing categories for coding, which are then applied to the analysed documents. Information is mined and grouped to one of the four commitments that is most suitable. The contrary approach would be the inductive one, where you first read through your data and create the suitable categories while working on the data (Lamont, 2015:90).

The research is conducted with the help of the analysis tool MAXQDA. The foreign policy documents of the Swiss Federal Department of Foreign Affairs (FDFA) are classified according to the four commitments by Aggestam and True. The results are outlined, and the research question answered with the help of the gained knowledge.

In MAXQDA, the documents are mined for gender related references such as women, girls, feminism, feminist, gender, and gender equality. A similar approach Katrina Lee-Koo has taken in her paper on feminism in Australia's foreign policy (Lee-Koo, 2020:240). The rest of the codes derive from the four commitments by Aggestam and True. These can be found in the following table.

Commitment	Keywords / Codes
C.1 – Gender Mainstreaming	
Foreign Security and Defence	Foreign security, foreign defence, security, defence, sexual violence
Economic development	Economy, economic, development, cooperation, development
Trade	Trade, cooperation, economy, economic, international, development
Aid	Aid, development, assistance, support, humanitarian
Humanitarian Policies	Humanitarian, aid, policy, policies
Other Foreign Policy Making	Policy, policy making, foreign policy, process, strategy
C.2 – International Development Assistance	
International Development Assistance Documents	Development assistance, development, aid, cooperation. Assistance
Budget Questions	Budget, finance, funding, funds
C.3 – Woman, Peace & Security	
Adaptation of UN Resolution 1325	Women's security, human rights, resolution 1325, UN, goals
C.4 – Gender Equality Mechanisms	
Ambassadors for Women's and Girl's Empowerments?	Woman, women, girl, empowerment, empower, encourage, encouragement, ambassador
Explicit commitments to Promotions of Women's Leadership within FP Programmes	Promotion, leadership, female, woman, women, equal chances, equality
Other gender equality mechanisms?	Equality, process, mechanism, gender, equal chances, process, rights

Figure 2 Widmer, 2023

In the process, these documents are mined for silences, a similar approach to Lee-Koo's article on Australia's foreign policy (2020:240). The importance to reveal these missing parts must be underlined, as they are politically caused and not naturally given and therefore intentional (2007:160). Booth highlights that by arguing that "all silences are against somebody or something" (2007:160).

3.4. Validity and Reliability

Scholars always need to scrutinise the validity and reliability of their research. A valid thesis is characterised by the fact that it measures what the author claimed to have measured and that the findings originate from his or her data. To avoid unreliable results, the scholar must pay attention to the four most common sources of unreliability: Firstly, a poorly or vaguely written document. Secondly, unclear coding with equivocal definitions or meanings. Thirdly, the creation of the categories and coding are done without the needed objectivity. Fourthly, when the coder works improperly and makes mistakes (Halperin & Heath, 2020:384-85). If the research process and methods are described thoroughly by the author, a qualitative content analysis produces valid and reliable results. But readers must be able to understand how the results were gathered. An important point is also the availability of data so that other people can verify the study by their own doing (Halperin & Heath, 2020:385).

For the validity and reliability of the documents examined by this research project, the most recent white papers of Switzerland's Federal Department of Foreign Affairs (FDFA) are chosen. The timeframe researched orients itself to the path giving Foreign Policy Strategy (FPS) 2020-23. The FPS is defined for a period of four years, associated with the legislative session of parliament and the federal council. By only using the newest available strategy papers, this thesis guarantees a valid reflection of Switzerland's currently prevailing foreign policy. The reliability of the examined documents is given by the fact that they are all directly published by the Swiss government. Only policy papers directly from the state's institution, like the one used in this research, can guarantee a correct picture of the Swiss Foreign Policy. Sources from third parties may contain a bias from the authors towards a state's FP.

3.5. Limitation

Every theory has its flaws and that's nothing. Feminist foreign policy analysis is not retained of. The four commitments are a very simplistic approach to analyse a state's foreign policy. Which, on the contrary, is also an advantage for the usability for students and other researchers. Results can be verified more easily. Nonetheless,

governmental policies are manifold and need a certain quantity of analysis to see through every level of policy making. A qualitative content analysis always brings a certain degree of subjectivity with it, because as the Frankfurt School argues, no scholar is completely neutral and free of prejudice (Hobden & Wyn Jones, 2011). This limitation is met by pursuing the greatest possible replicability.

The limitation of the data selection was that they all originate from the Swiss Federal Government, as discussed under section 3.2. This means they have political overtones as governments always want to give a good account of themselves. They portray a wishful change in policy, that can still mean a huge discrepancy to their efforts in practice. Despite these limitations, the scientific validity of the research is sufficiently guaranteed.

4. Analysis

In a first step, documents for the analysis are selected based on the keywords from the four commitments sector. They are then mined for codes mentioned above, to detect to what extent Switzerland fulfils the four feminist foreign policy commitments.

Three documents about basic foreign policy implementations are chosen and searched for all commitments. Those papers are the *Foreign Policy Strategy 2020-23*, the *Digital Foreign Policy Strategy 2021-2024* and the *FDFA Strategy on Gender Equality and Women's Rights*. The other three commitments also have their specific documents, which are searched with the keywords from table 2 and chosen to suit the area they examine. Where a commitment has multiple sup-categories, there they are used as subtitles. As the three before-mentioned documents are principal papers on foreign policy and gender-related topics, they are added wherever they are meaningful for a commitment's analysis.

4.1. Commitment 1: Gender Mainstreaming

Commitment 1 asks for the use of gender mainstreaming in policy papers. The following section analysis documents according to the realms of foreign security and defence, economic development, trade, aid, humanitarian policies and other foreign policy making.

4.1.1. Foreign Security and Defence

Concerning foreign security and defence, the *Security Policy Report 2021* is the main source to evaluate as it is there, where the Swiss government and its institutions discuss the future challenges concerning security politics. A diverse field of security threats are identified and measures on how to face them are suggested. The country's interests and goals are defined. The suggestions range from improving the security of supply (Federal Council, 2021:44-45) to securing access to information for a free opinion-forming process (Federal Council, 2021:39) to a new military strategy of hybrid warfare (Federal Council, 2021:37-38). However, the silences in this document are immense. Because not once is any of the mined pro-gender terms mentioned. Not

even a related word. Gender seems to play no role in Swiss security politics. The concept is missing in the country's basic strategic paper.

The *Foreign Policy Strategy 2020-23* turns out meagre in the regard of this sub-sections' realm. Within the thematic focus of peace and security, and there in the paragraph about civilian and military peacekeeping, only one sentence mentions the gender-sensible topic of sexual violence in conflict and not even here explicitly in connection to women or girls (FDFA, 2020a:9). In the concluding objectives of the aforementioned section, they claim to wanting to "strengthen the role of women in peace and security" during their presidency of the Women, Peace and Security network (FDFA, 2020a:11). Both very vague commitments.

4.1.2. Economic Development

One of the foreign policy focus points for Sub-Saharan Africa in the *Foreign Policy Strategy 2020-23* is the promotion of a sustainable economy to improve explicitly women's prospects (FDFA, 2017:26). For the Middle East and North Africa, the FDFA mentions possibilities of cooperation with wealthy Gulf states to boost the local economy and thereby enhance prospects for young women (2017:26). Here they also see gender equality through economic development as a goal (FDFA, 2017:27).

Switzerland's International Cooperation Strategy 2021-2024 includes many elements of economic development (FDFA, 2020c). The FDFA specifically names gender inequality as having a negative effect on a country's long-term economic growth (FDFA, 2020c:9). They underline, that in all their interventions, the Swiss institution must promote gender equality (FDFA, 2020c:17). The Federal Department of Economic Affairs, Education and Research (EAER) collaborates with the FDFA for all economic international cooperations. Its strategies are, therefore, a part of this policy paper. In their framework for international cooperation, gender equality is a fundamental basis, together with climate and resource efficiency (FDFA, 2020c:28). This is a sign of a stronger gender mainstreaming effort in their programme work. Another objective of the policy is the involvement of the private sector to create jobs for which gender equality must be paid respect to (FDFA, 2020c:42). The FDFA underlines its attempts

of promoting pro-gender norms by supporting the UN's development agency Entity for Gender Equality and the Empowerment of Women (FDFA, 2020c:48).

The Swiss Agency for Development and Cooperation's (SDC) General Guidance on the Private Sector in the context of the International Cooperation Strategy 2021–24 mentions goals in connection with gender mainstreaming only briefly. Through the promotion of local businesses, they see a chance to create new economic opportunities for women (SDC, 2021:7). They also present one of their programmes, a collaboration with Swiss banks and investors called Swiss Capacity Building Facility. A platform that supports financial institutions in 33 countries of the Global South to offer financial products such as loans and insurance policies for low-income households (SDC, 2021:11). One of them is Jordan's Micro-fund for Women. An organisation that offered financial credits to some 4000 female Syrian refugees, which made them economically independent through opening their own businesses and such (SDC, 2021:11). Apart from these two examples, no specific pro-gender policies were presented.

4.1.3. Trade

The *Foreign Policy Strategy 2020-23* praises rules-based and reliable trade as pivotal for a stable and secure world and, hence, supports international organisations that towards these goals like the World Trade Organisation (FDFA, 2020a:12). The FDFA mentions trade together with improved prospects for women only once. When it comes to the argument that boosted trade is improving the framework conditions for economic development and, thus, enhancing the women's situation (FDFA, 2020a:26).

The government may promote rules-based trade and names other trade specific policies, but they make no connection to women's and girls' rights or the like in *Switzerland's International Cooperation Strategy 2021-2024* (FDFA, 2020c:28). While claiming Switzerland's policy is guided by humanitarian tradition and the values such as equality of opportunity (FDFA, 2020c:5), women and efforts to more gender equal trade policy cannot be discovered.

The *General Guidance on the Private Sector* delivers no information on trade in connection to pro-gender issues. It may suggest the negotiations of free trade

agreements but gives no concrete norms that should come with it or other human rights goals (SDC, 2021:6).

4.1.4. Aid

The *Foreign Policy Strategy 2020-23* is generally lacking a specific chapter for aid. It is sparsely mentioned through the paper and nowhere in connection to the researched topic of feminist policies.

Switzerland's International Cooperation Strategy 2021-2024 is of more use with a section dedicated to humanitarian aid. The policy paper is intended to give greater details about the country's international cooperation (FDFA, 2020c:15). Further, the FDFA underlines the importance of taking gender equality issues into consideration when implementing their policies such as good governance, climate change adaptations or economic development programmes (FDFA, 2020c:25). A big step towards gender mainstreaming. There is obviously a sensibility towards gender topics amongst the authors of the Cooperation Strategy as for the Global Program Water, the advantages of women participating in the collective management of trans-border water resources are emphasised (FDFA, 2020c:29).

4.1.5. Humanitarian Policies

Promoting gender equality, together with peace and the rule of law, is one of the four main objects the Federal Department of Foreign Affairs defines in *Switzerland's International Cooperation Strategy 2021-2024*. It commits to endorsing gender equality in all the country's intervention in international cooperations (FDFA, 2020c:17). This is also highlighted in the detailed objectives plan in the annex of the policy paper (FDFA, 2020c:43). The departments direct humanitarian aid is split into four areas of which one focuses on the protection of the most vulnerable people and includes actions against sexual and gender-based violence (FDFA, 2020c:23). The emergency relief programme specifically targets victims of sexual and gender-based violence, for whom chaos in conflicts and natural disasters is additionally distressing and dangerous violence (FDFA, 2020c:23). Coming to the field of migration, Switzerland's policy names the fight versus violence against women and girls as a tool in prevention

work, so that less women and girls need to flee (FDFA, 2020c:20). Continuing to peace process, the FDFA emphasises the significance of the inclusion and participation of women in these efforts. Switzerland's goal is to bring, with an increased women's contribution, inclusive and, therefore, lasting peace to conflict situations (FDFA, 2020c:30).

4.1.6. Other Foreign Policy Making

Understandably better is the outlook in the designated foreign policy paper on women issues, the Federal Department of Foreign Affairs *FDFA Strategy on Gender Equality and Women's Rights* (2017). All its foreign policy objectives on women's and girls' issues are outlined in there. But as this document is explicitly about strategy on gender equality and women's rights, it is not as meaningful for gender mainstreaming as statements in the main foreign policy strategy paper. gender mainstreaming must foremost happen in all kinds of foreign policy documentation, and it is a comfortable solution for the, for some government officials tiresome, call of pro-gender norms if the issue can be dealt with by just creating one additional paper, instead of revising all existing policy. The policies in *FDFA Strategy on Gender Equality and Women's Rights* are nonetheless important to evaluate how far pro-gender norms are developed in Swiss foreign policy. For example, the argument for the introduction of pro-gender norms in economic policies is backed by fact that gender equality has been proven to be an acceleration for development (FDFA, 2017:8). In objective 1 of the Strategy on Gender Equality and Women's Rights, the FDFA campaigns for more vocational education as they suggest only with women's participation a sustainable development can be achieved sustainable (FDFA, 2017:10). With suggestions as the above, the state gender mainstreamed economic development. Something where women are often forgotten. Interestingly, as they are in the department's major foreign policy strategy as well. Furthermore, Switzerland demands of the world bank to use gender mainstreaming in their work (FDFA, 2017:11). The path the country seems to take in its attempt to boost pro-gender norms, is to include women further into their economic development plans. Which is a traditional strength of its foreign policy. This is a sign of deepening gender mainstreaming (FDFA, 2017:12). Moreover, the gender-sensitive decision-making process as displayed in the gender equality

and women's rights strategy paper, is a prototype for successful pro-gender norm implementation and should be included in all of Switzerland's foreign policy documents (FDFA, 2017:13).

4.1.7. Silences

Noticeably is the silence on feminism in the core foreign policy paper, the *Foreign Policy Strategy 2020-23*. Not once is it mentioned. And gender, for example, only appears 4 times in the whole Foreign Policy Strategy too. The significance of feminism can be understood as not of a very high importance for the Federal Department of Foreign Affairs (FDFA). The lack of gender mainstreaming in the strategy paper is conspicuous. The UN Resolution 1325 is only ever mentioned at the end of the document in the glossary (FDFA, 2020a:43). In the paragraph about equality of opportunity, the lone mentioning of gender is in the sentence that no one should be discriminated because of their sex (FDFA, 2020a:5). The term gender equality only occurs in the priorities of the Middle East and North Africa (MENA) section (FDFA, 2020a: 26-27). None of the other focus areas has this specifically mentioned. Switzerland focuses often only on economic development. But in the case of the MENA region, there is a gender mainstreaming move as they explicitly mentioned gender equality in an economic development chapter (FDFA, 2020a:27).

The very modern *Digital Foreign Policy Strategy 2021-2024* paper on international understanding on digital matters, is not a showpiece of gender aware policies. While a gender gap in digital skills is identified, there's no specific chapter on gender issues or how to counter such a disadvantageous skill gap (Digital Foreign Policy Strategy 2021-2024:10). In the whole paper, the word gender only appears three times. Gender mainstreaming has not arrived in this field of foreign policy of Switzerland.

A complete failure when it comes to gender mainstreaming are the *Security Policy Report 2021* and the *General Guidance on the Private Sector*. In the first one, not a single time occurred one of the gender-related codes. The vulnerability of certain groups is not acknowledged, and the strategy paper is based on a very neo-realist understanding of security. It is a very state centric report which excludes human security and, hence, women's security issues. The latter may include the example of

a development programme that improves the economic situation of women and makes them independent (SDC, 2021:21), and emphasise that the support for local private enterprises can create new economic opportunities for women (SDC, 2021:7), but apart from that no section concerns the development for women and girls. The word equality does not occur a sign time. Especially in the collaboration with the private sector, a clear accentuation of the importance of the inclusion of pro-gender norms should be self-evident for a Western government agency.

On one side, Switzerland's main *Foreign Policy Strategy 2020-23* papers do not include a lot of detail information on the country's goal to fight inequality and improve the situation of women and girls. On the other side, a detailed document is available with the *FDFA Strategy on Gender Equality and Women's Rights*. The debate must be allowed if this is gender mainstreaming, because including gender into Switzerland's policies is certainly promoted and described in those documents. But the flaw remains that the mainstreaming is not happening in the main foreign policy white paper but mostly in an extra document, explicitly for the FDFA's gender equality strategy.

4.2. Commitment 2: International Development Assistance

For the second commitment, gender inequality must be targeted by international development plans and actions, and funds designated for gender related topics.

The *Status Report on Gender Equality 2019* is the newest reports where the Swiss Federal Department of Foreign Affairs (FDFA) published exact figures on the budget percentage spent on gender-related programs and projects. This is a weakness but it, nonetheless, gives a vague overview on the path the country took. The weakness can be relativised because the Swiss parliament allocates international cooperation funds only every four years, for the whole legislative period. Therefore, these numbers possess more significance than thought at first glance (FDFA, 2020c:34). *Switzerland's International Cooperation Strategy 2021-2024* is, self-explaining, the main report on international development assistance and therefore makes sense to analyse for the first part of this section. It also contains a financial plan for the years of its validity from 2021 to 2024.

4.2.1. Targeting Gender Inequality and Seek Transformation

The second commitment ask for a substantial target of gender inequality and to seek transform gender relations. The *Foreign Policy Strategy 2020-23* is not delivering that. Only one paragraph addresses gender equality in international development assistance (FDFA, 2021:27).

Switzerland's International Cooperation Strategy 2021-2024 is going into more details. Even though still on a modest level. The FDFA emphasises its policy makers to ensure that gender equality is kept in mind in the implementation processes of the department's development policies (FDFA, 2020c:25). In their water projects, the FDFA underlines the benefit of involving women in the collective management of cross-border water resources. An area that often leads to conflicts or disaster and that can be mitigated by the participation of women (FDFA, 2020c:29). In its objective concerning the cooperation with the private sector, the promotion of gender equality is outlined as one of the focuses when realising projects together with private entrepreneurs. (FDFA, 2020c:42). Another objective of the FDFA is to strengthen human rights and gender equality. Equal access to public services, resources and decision-making processes, and the equal division of decision-making powers are named as the basic condition for prosperity and sustainable development (FDFA, 2020c:43). The FDFA is committed to promote gender equality and women's rights in all its activities, as well as in cooperations with third-party partners. Gender-based violence shall be tackled and political participation and economic empowerment for women boosted (FDFA, 2020c:43). The United Nations' Entity for Gender Equality and the Empowerment of Women was selected by the Federal Department of Foreign Affairs as one of 23 priority multilateral organisations they want to financially support (FDFA, 2020c:48). It can be concluded that six segments of the policy guidelines for Switzerland's international development assistance are targeting gender inequality or in a way seeking to transform gender relations.

4.2.2. Budget Shares

Responsible for the development aid and collaboration is the Swiss Agency for Development and Cooperation (SDC), an under-organisation of the Federal Department of Foreign Affairs (FDFA). Therefore, their budgets and spending information, in the form of the *Status Report on Gender Equality 2019*, are the foundation of this examination.

The SDC spent a great total of CHF 1'559'217'842 on emergency aid, development programmes and institutional contributions to international organisations, state and non-state ones (SDC, 2020:12). Of that, CHF 633'785'574 were spent on not targeted interventions. CHF 865'463'718 were allocated to gender-significant interventions and only CHF 59'968'550 were invested in gender-principal projects (SDC, 2020:12). Gender-significant interventions can be different kind of projects, but all have some positive effects on gender equality. Whereas gender-principal interventions main focus lies on improving gender issues and promoting gender-equality and women's and girls' rights (SDC, 2020:12).

Concerning the expenditure, only 4% of the Swiss Agency for Development and Cooperation were allocated to primarily gender specific projects. In contrast, the not

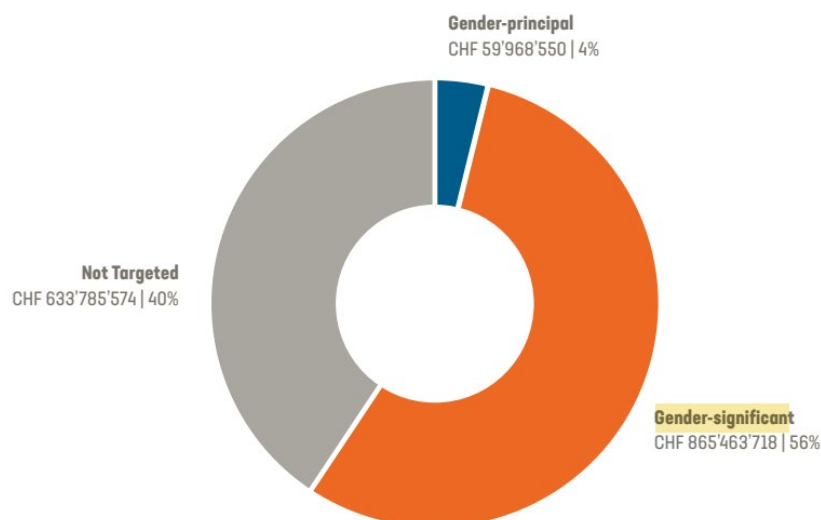


Figure 3 Allocation of the SDC's committed bilateral funds in CHF in 2019 (SDC, 2020:12)

targeted budgetary item made up 40%. Programs and projects which had at least a positive effect on gender issues had the biggest share with 56%.

From the beginning of the records in 2013, the numbers stayed very similar. The SDC's goal is to assign 75% of its annual budget to gender-significant actions. 10% should go to gender-principal interventions. The development away from the targeted 75% for gender-significant and 10% for gender-principal projects are partly due to a new definition code to classify projects regarding their benefit for gender equality. This so-called Gender Policy Marker was inherited from the OECD collaboration on pro-gender norm implementation. Thanks to which the member states of the Organization

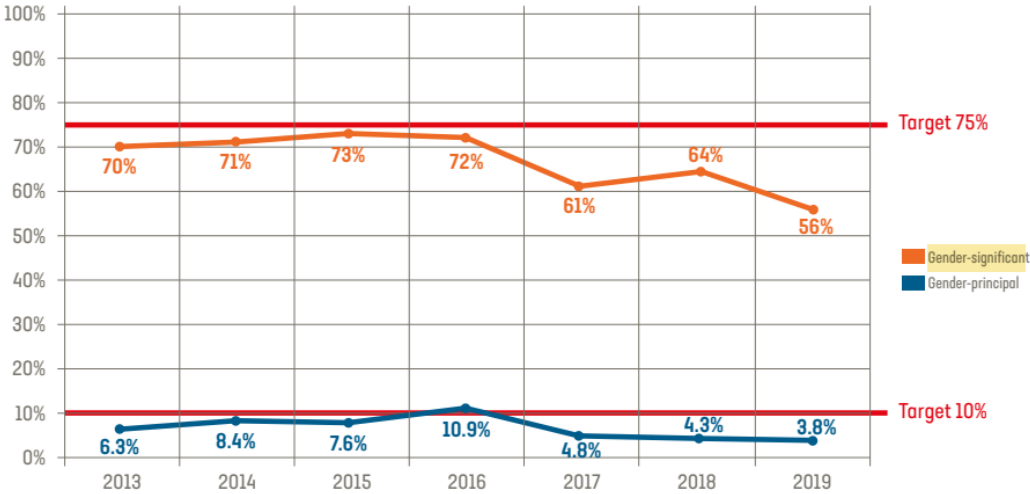


Figure 4 Trends in bilateral funds committed to interventions focusing on gender equality (SDC, 2020:13)

for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) can now work more closely together. One of the goals of this collaboration is to share methods between member states to increase gender equality (SDC, 2020:13).

Considering the clearly set target of 10% of the international development assistance budget going to gender-principal and 75% to gender-significant, one could argue that Switzerland is substantially targeting gender inequality. Even if they take little space in the Federal Department of Foreign Affairs's central policy papers.

4.3. Commitment 3: Women, Peace & Security

The women, peace and security commitment can be assessed by examining the implementation of the United Nations Resolution 1325 on the improvement of women's and girls' rights. As the Federal Department of Foreign Affairs (FDFA) evaluated the implementation of the UN Resolution 1325 themselves, the consequent document

Women, Peace and Security Switzerland's Fourth National Action Plan to Implement UN Security Council Resolution 1325 2018 – 22 is ideal to inquire the resolution's adoption for commitment 3.

But first, the *Foreign Policy Strategy 2020-23* is examined for evidence on Switzerland's execution of the UN's Women, Peace and Security (WPS) agenda. Even though peace and security are one of the four main focus areas of the policy paper, Women, Peace and Security is not even represented with an own more detailed paragraph (FDFA, 2020a). That Switzerland had planned to take over the presidency of the Women, Peace and Security network, an organisation that supports UN member states and regional organisation with the implementation of Resolution 1325, makes this omission even more surprising (FDFA, 2020a:11).

With the fourth national action plan, the implementation of the UN Resolution 1325 on women's and girls' rights is at an advanced stage and further adoptions of UN Resolution 2242 and the UN Agenda 2030 are on their way or planned. While the Resolution 2242's goal is to increase women's participation in prevention of extremist violence. The latter's adoption resulted in the implementation of stricter rules for policy maker to consider gender equality on all levels (FDFA, 2018:5).

A strength of Switzerland's national action plan (NAP) is the inclusion of civil society for the process of implementation and evaluation of the Resolution 1325. This guarantees a more neutral and correct debate about weaknesses and areas to further improve. That way attempts of whitewashing from the authorities can be faced (FDFA, 2018:5).

The fourth NAP starts with a section on the development of WPS in connection to Switzerland since the third plan. By joining the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW), Switzerland committed itself to report every four years to the CEDAW Committee about the status of the country's implementation of the Resolution 1325 (FDFA, 2018:7). The fourth NAP now contains recommendations from the CEDAW Committee, which reported on Switzerland's implementation of the Resolution 1325. The committee's three proposals, firstly, to include women in peace negotiations and mediations. This must happen up to the highest negotiation hierarchy. Secondly, the gender perspective must be part of

policies that target terrorism and intend to hamper violent extremism. Thirdly, the illicit trade and the interrelated abuse of small firearms must be better observed, because of its overly negative effect on women and girls (FDFA, 2018:5).

The foundation of this fourth plan were reports from Swiss civil society organisations and contributions of Swiss representatives abroad and other partners. Together, eleven recommendations for the creation of the new NAP were carried-out and five thematic focuses were defined (FDFA, 2018:7).

The Federal Department of Foreign Affairs had set up an interdepartmental working group to elaborate and coordinate the implementation of the Resolution 1325. Activities were divided into sub-groups, which have their own budget and the duty to report on their activity at the end of the year. The two FDFA divisions responsible for international organisations and human security create together an annual report on the difficulties and achievements the groups and departments had during the implementation of the Resolution 1325. A peer-review process with other states was drafted and realised with the first seminar together with the German foreign department (FDFA, 2018:12). The FDFA focuses on a participative development, implementation, and review of the UN resolution and, therefore, includes its representatives abroad, local actors and the civil society in Switzerland (FDFA, 2018:12).

In the actual report section, measures are divided in the five focus areas. Sub-goals, activities are added, as are quantitative and qualitative indicators to ensure a transparent evaluation is possible. Generally, the *Women, Peace and Security Switzerland's Fourth National Action Plan to Implement UN Security Council Resolution 1325 2018 – 22* portrays a good part of the goals of the UN Resolution 1325. The NAP is an extensive effort to improve women's and girls' situation.

The common report from the Swiss civil society under the lead of Elisabeth Mesok, and in cooperation with the FDFA, offers a critical view on Switzerland's NAP (Mesok, 2019). It is called *Women, Peace and Security and the Prevention of Violence - Reflections from Civil Society in the Context of the Fourth Swiss National Action Plan 1325*. The civil society actors criticise the NPA linking of Women, Peace and Security with the prevention and counter of violent extremism (P/CVE). They fear that merging

these two agendas will instrumentalise the WPS discourse and subsume its goals into P/CVE agenda. That way, WPS could be reduced to a method how to do P/CVE and be misused by states to achieve their security goal, while not committing enough to it to reach WPS' objective, the improvement of women's lives. Another risk of this instrumentalist is the militarisation of the WPS agenda. Some in the civil society claim that the P/CVE agenda is harmful for women's and girls' rights, and therefore unsuitable to be linked with WPS. P/CVE actions contain for women harmful interventions, including reducing spaces for civil society debates and gender-specific freedoms, the expansion of surveillance and a more violent behaviour of security forces (Mesok, 2019:5).

Overall, Switzerland has a thorough and long-lasting focus on the implementation of the Resolution 1325. They were one of the first countries to adopt a National Action Plan and are now already on their fourth version. Nonetheless, points to criticize remain. Civil society is active in the evaluation and the FDFA welcome their contribution to further improve future NAPs.

4.4. Commitment 4: Gender Equality Mechanisms

The last commitment asks for mechanisms that seek to enhance gender equality. That can be achieved with actions in the institutions, programs for female leadership or ambassadors for women's or girls' empowerment.

In the *Foreign Policy Strategy 2020-23*, there is no sort of mechanism or other initiative mentioned to achieve greater equality in foreign policy (FDFA, 2020a). On the other hand, in the *Digital Foreign Policy Strategy 2021-24* a collaboration with United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD) is announced, in a project where female entrepreneurs are supported to help them with the use of technology for business. The reason they focus on women, is that they hope to decrease the gender-specific digital divide that way (FDFA, 2020b:38). For the same motive the FDFA associated with the Broadband Commission for Sustainable Development. This organisation develops standards and guidelines for the creation of internet infrastructure and the build-up of digital skills through education in the Global South (FDFA, 2020b:37).

The adoption of a feminist foreign policy should also be reflected at the own institution. The Federal Department of Foreign Affairs (FDFA) has therefore developed its own program to create equal opportunities for their employees, summarised in *Equal opportunities in the workplace: FDFA Action Plan 2028* (FDFA, 2022). To achieve this, they introduced a gender parity on all hierarchical levels: “Each gender should fall within the range of 45% to 55% for its representation to be considered equal (FDFA, 2022:11). To enforce this rule, multiple mechanisms have been put in place. A systematic monitoring secures that all processes in the HR department are gender neutral. Additionally, younger employees should be supported to increase the number of women in the top management. Superiors are constrained to contact candidates for open vacancies in time, to make sure a gender balanced selection is available. Further, open forums and delegations should have an equal distribution. Lastly, trainings and workshops are organised for the employees to sensitise them for gender-equality issues and measurements and the use of mechanisms to act in a gender-sensitive way (FDFA, 2022:11).

In the *FDFA Strategy on Gender Equality and Women's Rights*, Switzerland obliges to help within UN structure with the creation of “human rights mechanisms relevant to gender equality and the protection of women’s rights” and promises to support the CEDAW Committee to work out recommendations through pro-gender policies and the collaboration with other committee affiliates (FDFA, 2017:22). In Georgia and Bangladesh, projects to recognize hindrances for women who try to access the agricultural market were launched as a mechanism to include women into that for rural areas important economic sector (FDFA, 2017:12).

To conclude the research on commitment four, gender equality mechanisms from *Women, Peace and Security Switzerland's Fourth National Action Plan to Implement UN Security Council Resolution 1325 2018 – 22* will be presented (FDFA, 2018). In the goal section of this document, multiple mechanisms to promote gender equality, at home as well as abroad, can be found. Goal 2 demands female participants in negotiations in conflicts, as well as prospects for female Swiss mediators to be part of conflict negotiations and to build-up a network (FDFA, 2018:15). Goal 3 demands the development of a code of conduct for all FDFA employees, this contains the possibility to report abuse or fill in other complaints. It also requires that sexual and gender-

based violence can be reported prudently as cases that become unintentionally public could endanger the victims even more (FDFA, 2018:18). Goal 4 call for the support of female police officers in the process of applying to participate in a UN mission (FDFA, 2018:21). Finally, Goal 5 demands the department to encourage women whenever possible to choose a management career in international organisations (FDFA, 2018:23).

Switzerland uses various mechanisms to achieve greater equality. The measures spread almost entirely in policy documents specifically about women and gender equality.

5. Conclusion

Foreign policy is a widely researched field of IR. It has been dominated by neo-realist thinkers for some time. The recent rise of feminist foreign policy stimulates the debate and introduces new methods like feminist foreign policy analysis. The methodological foundation for this was laid by Aggestam, Bergman and Kronsell's theorisation in 2018. From there, Aggestam and True produced the theory and framework on which this research project was based. As many Western liberal states commit to this new form of foreign policy, others stay quiet, while still adopting pro-gender norms. These quiet states are partly committed to the same values but not willing to publicly declare so. To identify them, their foreign policy must be analysed. Lee-Koo has done this before in the case of Australia. In this thesis, the case of Switzerland is examined. The study is led by the research question "to what extent is the Swiss foreign policy a feminist foreign policy?".

To address the research problem, Aggestam and True's four commitment framework was adapted. This concept helps to examine if a foreign policy can be defined as feminist. To qualify as such, it needs to fulfil all four commitments. For this thesis, the framework had to be elaborated in order to be used in the qualitative content analysis.

The findings of this thesis are summarised in the following section and are segmented into the four commitments.

Commitment 1 - Gender Mainstreaming: Foreign security and defence is not concerned with gender equality. By majorly ignoring the issue, a traditional approach to FP becomes obvious. Throughout its economic development policies, the FDFA attaches importance to the female perspective and engages in gender politics. These are signs of gender mainstreaming. The information on trade is rather sparse and some policies stay completely silent. In the sub-category aid, the findings are ambiguous. One paper makes no connection to pro-gender norms, while the other commits to gender equality. In the humanitarian policies, pro-gender norms are part of the objectives, and female participation is emphasised. All this is a timid attempt at gender mainstreaming. The main foreign policy documents stay silent on the topic of gender issues. These findings show, that the FDFA does not fulfil commitment one.

Commitment 2 - International Development Assistance: This contains two sub-categories which investigate gender inequality and the aid and development budget. *Switzerland's International Cooperation Strategy 2021-2024* is a good example of a policy paper that includes the female perspective with clearly defined objectives. For the budget question, the *Status Report on Gender Equality 2019* contains clearly defined long term goals which are 10% of the expenditures for gender-principal projects and up to 75% for gender-significant interventions. This is a substantial amount of Switzerland's aid and development budget. Therefore, combined with the clear objectives of the first sub-category, commitment two can be validated as fulfilled.

Commitment 3 - Women, Peace & Security (WPS): With the fourth national action plan in power, Switzerland is on an advanced stage in implementing UN Resolution 1325. Together with partners from the civil society and local actors a transparent and participative process was established where critique is heard and implemented in new NAPs. Because of the long-lasting endeavours of Switzerland in the implantation of Resolution 1325 and the transparent and extensive report on its own actions, commitment three can be considered as fulfilled.

Commitment 4 - Gender Equality Mechanisms: The research shows the inclusion of mechanisms to a certain degree. The main foreign policy strategy is silent on these mechanisms, while policy papers on *Equal opportunities in the workplace* and the *FDFA Strategy on Gender Equality and Women's Rights* contain plenty of these. There are undeniably mechanisms present, however they are concentrated on papers

mostly dedicated to women. Therefore, this research argues commitment four is not entirely fulfilled.

Connecting all these findings, the four commitments are not all fulfilled and, therefore, the hypothesis of this study is disproved. Therefore, the Swiss foreign policy cannot be labelled as feminist. Switzerland's main strategy papers for foreign policy only marginally touch the issues of women and attach no great importance to pro-gender norms. The thesis' findings have similarities to Lee-Koo's result on the examination of Australia's foreign policy in the context of feminist influence. Both states' foreign policy contains elements of feminist foreign policy, but a publicly proclaimed FFP is not intended.

The simplicity of the four commitments framework was helpful to answer the research question and makes it easy for other scholars to replicate the results. The concept of taking silences into consideration adds to the validity of the research. This is important because policy papers silence on women's and girls' rights should also be interpreted in the analysis. Nonetheless, the selection of suitable and meaningful policy documents was a challenge, this could be due to the fact that Switzerland is not fully committed to pro-gender norms. Hence, meaningful documents are rarer to find.

Based on this research, future studies could examine why Switzerland is only partially implementing pro-gender norms and the reasons behind the fact it does not promote them more. With the adaptation of Aggestam and True's four commitments, this article has laid a foundation for other researchers to examine their country's foreign policy and add to the debate of feminist foreign policy. An interesting topic for future research would be the examination if Switzerland keeps the promises it made on gender equality.

This thesis added to the understanding of how different states interpret and implement feminist foreign policy, creating additional value for foreign policy studies. Furthermore, it contributed to the ever-growing field of feminist foreign policy analysis by producing knowledge about a state, whose FP has so far been sparsely researched in connection with feminism. Little is known about Switzerland's commitment to feminism in FP and this research helps to fill this knowledge gap.

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