



A FEMINIST EUROPE?

Taking stock of the 2019-2024 term ahead of the European Parliament elections

OXFAM BRIEFING PAPER – MARCH 2024

Today, the European Union (EU) is the region of the world where gender equality is most advanced, and it keeps making progress, even if it will not achieve gender equality before 2082. Far right and 'anti gender' movements are putting this progress at risk globally, and Europe is no exception to this 'backlash' trend. Ahead of the June 2024 European Parliament elections, Oxfam analyses in this paper the main achievements of both the outgoing European Commission and Parliament regarding gender equality. As much remains to be done, the paper also lays out what should be the gender roadmap of next EU leaders.

© Oxfam International March 2024

This paper was coordinated by Clémence Hervieu and written by Cecilia Francisco Carcelén, Emma Rainey and Eleonora del Vecchio. Oxfam acknowledges the assistance of Alan Anic, Daria Antenucci, Charlotte Becker, Alix Chénel, Federica Corsi, Alessandra Croppi, Michelle DoCampo, Aideen Elliott, Cristina Fernandez-Duran, Baptiste Filloux, Quentin Ghesquiere, Aurore Guieu, Amina Hersi, Anna Holmqvist, Karen Hirschfeld, Louis-Nicolas Jandeaux, Sandra Lhote Fernandes, Maria Nella Lippi, Julia Manresa, Philémon Matray, Katinka Moonen, Salvatore Nocerino, Beatriz Novales, Cristina Rovira Izquierdo, Evelien van Roemburg, Rikst van der Schoor and Nicolas Vercken in its production. It is part of a series of papers written to inform public debate on development and humanitarian policy issues.

For further information on the issues raised in this paper please email advocacy@oxfaminternational.org

This publication is copyright but the text may be used free of charge for the purposes of advocacy, campaigning, education, and research, provided that the source is acknowledged in full. The copyright holder requests that all such use be registered with them for impact assessment purposes. For copying in any other circumstances, or for re-use in other publications, or for translation or adaptation, permission must be secured and a fee may be charged. Email policyandpractice@oxfam.org.uk.

The information in this publication is correct at the time of going to press.

Published by Oxfam GB for Oxfam International in March 2024. DOI: 10.21201/2024.000017

Oxfam GB, Oxfam House, John Smith Drive, Cowley, Oxford, OX4 2JY, UK.

Cover photo: [Noémie Schweyckart / Styl'List images]

GLOSSARY

(Based on [Oxfam Inclusive Language Guide](#))

Care work: Work – usually unpaid – to ‘care’ for members of a family or otherwise support people and communities, e.g. cleaning, making food, looking after relatives, etc.

Femicide: the crime of killing a woman because of her gender.

Feminist foreign policy: a strategy integrated into the policies and practices of a state to promote gender equality, and to help improve women’s access to resources, basic human rights, and political participation.

Gender: Gender can be understood as the social and cultural construction of norms and behaviors attributed to people differently on the basis of their sex assigned at birth.

Gender-based violence: Acts of physical and/or sexual violence against a person on the basis of their gender.

Gender equality: a situation in which access to rights or opportunities is unaffected by gender.

Gender-transformative: an approach that aims to challenge gender inequalities by transforming harmful gender norms, roles and relations, while working towards redistributing power, resources and services more equally.

Intersectionality: the interconnected nature of social categorizations such as race, class and gender as they apply to a given individual or group, regarded as creating overlapping and interdependent systems of discrimination or disadvantage.

LGBTQIA+: An acronym that indicates the spectrum of lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, queer, intersex, asexual + other people whose identities are not heterosexual and cisgender.

Patriarchy: Patriarchal systems are built around male privilege and dominant masculinities that perpetuate sexist and hierarchical power relationships. They legitimize the discrimination against and exclusion of women and gender non-conforming people through harmful social norms, policies and institutions.

People with disability: persons affected by a particular disability/disabilities, without defining them by their particular health issue.

Sexual and reproductive health rights (SRHR): SRHR include the right to bodily autonomy, as well as to good-quality essential healthcare such as

treatment for sexually transmitted infections (STIs), access to contraceptives, safe and legal abortion, menstrual healthcare, and maternal care and support for pregnant people.

Women: the term 'women' and 'girls' used throughout this report is broadly defined by Oxfam to include cis-gender women and girls, trans, and gender non-conforming people. However, it should be noted that the majority of the information and data presented in this report comes from external sources which may present a more binary perspective.

SUMMARY

Today, the European Union (EU) is the region of the world where gender equality is most advanced.

- According to the World Economic Forum, Europe should be the first region to achieve equality around 2082, while this will not be the case for Sub-Saharan Africa before 2120 and South Asia before 2219¹.
- With 2,500 femicides in Europe in 2021, Europe has the lowest rate in the world (0.5 per 100,000 women), behind Africa (2.5), the Americas (1.4), Oceania (1.2) and Asia (0.8)².
- Results from the fifth edition of the SIGI (Social Institutions and Gender Index) reveal considerable variation across and within regions. In the Americas and Europe, levels of discrimination are assessed as low and very low respectively, with SIGI scores of 21 and 14 (Figure 1.3). Conversely, in Africa and Asia, SIGI scores reach 40 and 37 respectively, indicating that in these regions levels of discrimination remain high³.
- Europe and North America are the only major regions where no country bans homosexuality. In 11 countries around the world, homosexual relations are punishable by death⁴.
- Despite an overall reduction in the number of people at risk of poverty or social exclusion between 2015 and 2021, there has been a slight increase in the EU average for older people (over 65 years) according to Eurostat data. The rates for women increased from 20.6% to 22.1% and for men from 14.7% to 16.2%. The gender gap in the at-risk-of-poverty or social-exclusion rate for the population over 65 years has consistently been around six percentage points, more than twice the gender poverty gap in the total population during these years.⁵

However, progress towards gender equality has been slowed over the last four years by recent crises, including in Europe. The Covid-19 pandemic, the war in Ukraine, the intensification of climate change and the rise of conservative political movements have all resulted in a backlash against the rights of women and LGBTQIA+⁶ communities, making the EU a patchwork of contrasts when it comes to gender equality.

With Ursula von der Leyen as President of the European Commission, Roberta Metsola as the President of the European Parliament and Christine Lagarde as President of the European Central Bank, women rose to the top of the most powerful European institutions during this past term of office. Nonetheless, advancing gender equality and women's rights requires more than a few women at the top, including as some of them may champion

patriarchal norms. This is all the more true because the predicted rise of the far right in the next elections poses major threats to the gains made⁷, as the social and political agenda of far-right parties ultimately seeks to deprive women of making decisions about their own bodies, lives, careers, livelihoods and society as a whole.

For Oxfam, ahead of the June European elections, parties and candidates should make strong commitments towards a genuine 'feminist Europe' and ensure that key measures to reduce gender inequality and dismantle patriarchy are a core aspect of their manifestos.

1. A mixed record for the European institutions

A. The European Commission's encouraging action

President von der Leyen's commitment to leading 'A Union of Equality' during her 2019-2024 term as President of the European Commission has resulted in significant progress in advancing gender equality in the EU. Key initiatives include the appointment of the first dedicated Commissioner for Equality, Helena Dalli, the adoption of the European Strategy for Gender Equality and three crucial directives: The Work-Life Balance Directive, the Women on Boards Directive and the EU Remuneration Transparency Directive. While progress has been made, significant challenges remain, such as Member State delay in transposing the directives and concerns about the scope and impact of certain measures. In addition, the need for a more institutionalized approach to gender mainstreaming and gender budgeting within the Commission as well as increased financial resources for gender equality underline the importance of continued monitoring and advocacy efforts.

- 3 women at the highest political positions: Commission, Parliament and European Central Bank presidency
- Among 26 Commissioners, 12 were women in 2023 (vs 8 out of 26 in 2018)⁸
- 35% of heads of European Delegations are women in 2024, vs 28% in 2020 (details of the methodology in appendix 1)

B. A European Parliament strongly divided on the issue of gender equality

In 2019, 308 women were elected to the European Parliament (EP), bringing the representation of women to its highest level ever, at 41%. However, quotas for women and positive discrimination are not yet common practice in Member States and political parties, and the lack of parity in the Parliament has a direct impact on the development of policies to promote gender equality. During this past term of office, the majority of the EP has been made up of the political right, followed by left-wing and centre groups. One of the 'traditional' right-wing parties, the EPP, 37% of whose members are women, has had contradictory positions, voting for the Pay

Transparency Directive in 2023⁹ but against the resolution on sexual reproductive health¹⁰ in 2021. The other traditional right-wing group, ECR, which includes only 27% women, has been a fervent opponent of most gender-equality measures, voting against the resolution on LGBTIQ rights¹¹ and the Gender Dimension in Cohesion Policy¹², for example. The far-right group ID considers 'gender ideology' to be a dangerous idea and fiercely opposed the resolution on sexual and reproductive health (96% voted against¹³) and the resolution on LGBTIQ rights (96% voted against¹⁴).

In contrast, the ecologists (Greens/EFA), the far left (GUE/NGL) and the Socialists (S&D) consider gender equality to be a fundamental principle mainstreamed into their formal and informal processes. They have mobilized strongly in favour of all the above measures to promote gender equality. For its part, the centrist group Renew fluctuated, having committed themselves to the resolution on sexual and reproductive health in 2021 (97% voted in favour¹⁵) and the Gender Dimension in Cohesion Policy in 2021 (96% voted in favour¹⁶) but abstained (by 95%) on the resolution on LGBTIQ rights in the EU in 2021¹⁷.

The defence of gender equality was thus not supported by the majority of Members of European Parliament and varied considerably from one political group to another.

C. The Council of the European Union: a stumbling block towards gender equity

Since 2019, the Member States, grouped within the Council of the European Union or – informally – the Council of Ministers, have sometimes collectively been in solidarity with gender equality measures (in particular under the Spanish Presidency), but in general it is the institution where least process is made on gender equality.

2. The EU: a patchwork of conditions for gender equality

Since 2019, equality between women and men in the EU can be described as a patchwork quilt in which progress has been made in some thematic areas, while in others it has mostly stagnated.

A. Striving towards a common jurisdiction to combat gender-based violence

Ratification of the Istanbul Convention on 'preventing and combating violence against women and domestic violence' in June 2023 is an important step in the fight against violence against women at EU level. However, its actual implementation at Member State level has often fallen short of expectations, revealing a disturbing gap between commitment and action, as Bulgaria, Czechia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania and Slovakia have

refused to ratify the Convention.

B. Funding for gender equality largely neglected in the EU

The integration of gender equality into the EU budget is not yet an institutionalized practice within the Commission. On the contrary, it seems to depend on continuous monitoring by gender experts, civil society advocates and the EP, and funding for women's organizations in the EU budget has remained stagnant and vulnerable. Some key Europe's policies remain largely gender-blind —this means they ignore gender norms and roles and can reinforce gender-based discrimination and stereotypes – a prime example being the Commission's Green Deal. Another example is the new Common Agricultural Policy (CAP), which took effect in 2023 and is the biggest budget of the Union¹⁸: it outlines ten key objectives, but not one is fully dedicated to gender equality, and only one mentioning it among other issues.

C. An encouraging but insufficient European care policy

The European Care Strategy, presented by the European Commission in 2022, aims to ensure high-quality, affordable and accessible care services across the EU, both for those being cared for and for professional and informal carers. The strategy focuses on several key areas but does not go far enough in recognizing a solid framework in which care is seen as a key element of the European economic, social and environmental model.

D. Collective progress in favour of LGBTQIA+ communities contested by certain States

While in 2020 the European Commission adopted its first-ever 'LGBTIQ equality strategy' for the 2020–2025 period, in the meantime some EU Member States have refused to recognize and protect the rights of LGBTQIA+ people. For example, Hungary passed a law in 2021 banning the 'representation or promotion' of homosexuality and gender reassignment among minors.¹⁹ In Poland, around 100 local authorities have adopted an 'anti-LGBT ideology' resolution or a 'charter of family rights' since 2019. The rise of the anti-gender movement is a major concern, which could undermine the progress made in recognizing and protecting the diverse rights of the LGBTQIA+ community.

3. For a real European Intersectional feminist foreign policy

The sixth area of action in the EU's Gender Equality Strategy is the promotion of gender equality and women's empowerment outside the EU. In 2020, the EP voted in favour of the report 'Fostering Gender Equality in EU Foreign and Security Policy', calling on the European External Action Service, EU institutions and Member States to 'systematically integrate the gender

dimension into EU foreign and security policy’.

However, the positions of some Member States are weakening the EU’s global leadership and coherence on gender equality. In 2020, for example, the Council was unable to issue conclusions on the third Gender Action Plan (GAP III) because Hungary, Poland and Bulgaria refused to endorse the concept of ‘gender equality’. The EU, as a block, jeopardises its credibility in political dialogues on gender equality with partner countries due to opposition from some of its own Member States, resulting in setbacks for gender equality both inside and outside the EU. Also the percentage of official development assistance (ODA) from EU institutions that contributes to reducing gender inequality has remained flat at 49% between 2018 and 2022, even though the EU has endorsed an official target of 85%. Furthermore, the budget earmarked for women’s rights organizations from the majority world has remained dramatically flat at €25 million²⁰, amounting to a mere 6 cents for every inhabitant within the EU.

Recommendations

The EU feminist golden rules

1. Adopt an intersectional feminist approach

Within the European institutions, gender must be approached in an intersectional manner and in consultation with feminist civil society, so as not to reproduce policy and practice of discrimination in the pursuit of gender equality within the EU.

2. Systematic gender mainstreaming

Gender must be mainstreamed across all institutional practices, policies and laws, within the EU: within the budget, the Directorates-General (DGs) and the measures adopted. For that purpose, the Commission should dedicate specific resources for gender training and gender expertise and establish mechanisms for implementing and monitoring gender mainstreaming in the DGs’ work.

3. Systematic gender monitoring, evaluation and accountability

In order to ensure that gender is integrated in a comprehensive and intersectional way, the EU must put in place rigorous monitoring and evaluation mechanisms. This also involves monitoring and controlling the application of directives at Member State level.

4. Invest in, collect and analyse gender-disaggregated data

The EU must play a role in centralizing data on gender inequalities within Member States by coordinating and extending data collection, particularly on gender-based violence.



OXFAM

Oxfam's specific challenges for parties and candidates ahead of European elections to commit to:

- Ensuring strict gender balance at all levels: Commissioners, Committee chairs, General Directors, Ambassadors and Special Representatives, etc.
- Creating a Gender Equality Committee as an advisory body to the European Council, dedicated to gender equality and justice.
- Adopting and implementing an intersectional feminist foreign policy in particular by achieving the current target of at least 85% of EU ODA including gender equality and consult WROs in making decisions to raise funding specifically targeting gender equality, for example aiming to reach a 20% ratio as some WROs recommend.
- Allocating at least €250M per year (50 cents per EU citizen²¹) to Women's Rights Organizations in the majority world.
- Adopting a new Gender Equality Strategy at the level of Communication for the post-2025 scenario, with more ambitious policy objectives, targets and budget allocations to promote gender equality in the EU. Such a strategy should build on the 2019-2025 Strategy and be developed in close consultation with gender equality stakeholders, including feminist civil society organisations in the EU and beyond.
- Adopting a comprehensive sustainability framework for the green transition, integrating environmental, economic and social dimensions and emphasising gender justice. Moreover, the Commission should ensure that all policy initiatives and funds deployed under the European Green Deal, the Common Agricultural Policy and From Farm to Fork Strategy adopt a gender and intersectional perspective. Gender equality must be integrated into environmental policies to ensure policy coherence and address systemic issues rooted in capitalism, patriarchy and racism that contribute to environmental and social crises.
- Advocating at both EU and Member States level to improve care systems by recognising the centrality of care in our societies based on a holistic life-cycle approach that recognises the collective mechanisms of solidarity and our co-responsibility with one another, as well as the contribution of care to the economy.
- Making annual funds available to Member States to prevent and combat gender-based violence, ensuring that survivors are able to access protection and effective, free, and quality services. These funds should be directed towards supporting anti-violence centres, and shelters, and providing training for all professionals who are likely to come into contact with people who have experienced gender-based violence.
- Promoting minimum standards for mandatory sexual, emotional and consent education in schools from primary school age.
- Acting upon the European Parliament's recommendation to include abortion as a right in the EU Charter for Fundamental Rights.
- Providing funding and support to civil society organisations that work on reproductive justice issues. These organisations often play a crucial role in advocacy, service delivery and community education.
- Advocating for a more unified approach to anti-discrimination laws across Member States and encouraging the adoption and consistent enforcement

of the EU's Employment Equality Directive (2000/78/EC) and the Racial Equality Directive (2000/43/EC) to explicitly include sexual orientation and gender identity as protected characteristics.

INTRODUCTION

The European Union (EU) has recently been committed to promoting gender equality, enshrining it as a core value and fundamental right in its treaties.

Explicit provisions mandate the Union to eliminate inequalities and foster gender equality²³ across all its activities²⁴. The period from **2019 to 2023 witnessed notable strides in gender equality at European level, marked by significant legislative advancements and improved indicators.**

However, overall progress at EU level is challenged by backlash movements within Member States, creating a patchwork scenario²⁵. **The COVID-19 pandemic shed light on the tenuous progress in gender equality** – in terms of not just women's ability to participate in the paid labour market, but also the socioeconomic conditions in which they must deal with rising fuel costs, their access to sexual and reproductive services, and their vulnerability to gender-based violence. Since 2019, there have also been gains for the LGBTQIA+ community at the European level, though some actors in Member States persist in engaging in harmful rhetoric and action.

With Ursula von der Leyen as President of the European Commission, Roberta Metsola as the President of the EP and Christine Lagarde as President of the European Central Bank, women rose to the top of the most powerful European institutions. Nonetheless, advancing gender equality and women's rights requires more than a few women at the top, including as some of them may champion patriarchal norms²⁶. It needs a gender-balanced representation as well as attention and genuine commitment to a feminist policy agenda.

The growing backlash against gender equality across Europe can be seen domestically through the **increasing electoral success and representation of far-right populist groups in countries such as Sweden²⁷, Italy²⁸ and the Netherlands²⁹**. Opinion polls already suggest that these domestic results could be reflected in the outcomes of the European Parliament election in 2024. The right-wing group ID, which is home to far-right parties such as France's Rassemblement National and Germany's Alternative für Deutschland, could gain as many as 40 additional seats³⁰.

A rise in far-right representation in the EP would likely endanger progress in advancing gender-equality and LGBTQIA+ rights in the EU and overall undermine the possibility of achieving the Sustainable Development Goals

'Equality between women and men must be ensured in all areas, including employment, work and pay.'

Charter of Fundamental Rights of the European Union²²

(SDGs) (more details in appendix 2).

Gender equality also fosters economic growth (SDG 8). Almost half of the growth (2.1% per year on average) in the OECD over the nearly 50 years between 1960 and 2008 is linked to the rise in average levels of education, and half of that rise is due to the rise in the average level of girls' education.

From 6-9 June 2024, EU citizens will vote for a new European Parliament, which will be decisive in determining to what extent gender equality will be at the core of EU institutions for the next five years. Voters across Europe need to know how their vote can tip the balance in favour of greater gender equality five years from now, and generally a more just Europe, where patriarchy domination ceases to be the norm.

This report aims to summarize some of the progress made towards gender equality and the remaining gaps since 2019 by looking at the work of the main EU institutions. It will also propose a roadmap for the upcoming EU leaders. The report is divided into three parts: firstly, an analysis of the gender achievements of the European institutions, followed by an analysis of main gender equality related progress _ or lack of thereof _ within the European Union, and finally a reflection on the EU's feminist external action.

'Faster progress across all the SDGs will largely depend on the thorough integration of gender dimensions in public policies. Gender equality makes development stronger and more sustainable. It is not only a pressing moral and social issue but also a critical economic challenge.'

United Nations Sustainable Development Group³¹

1. A MIXED RECORD FOR THE EUROPEAN INSTITUTIONS

A. THE EUROPEAN COMMISSION'S ENCOURAGING ACTION

A.1. 2019-2024: A COMMISSION GEARED TOWARDS "A UNION OF EQUALITY"

The outgoing Commission has made strides to advance gender equality and equality more broadly. In 2019, Ursula von der Leyen was elected President of the European Commission, making her the first woman to take on the role. She was committed to forming a gender-equal College of Commissioners³², but the task proved difficult: nominations for Commissioners are made by individual Member States, but some of them submitted a male candidate only³³. Out of the 26 new Commissioners, only 11 were women, and by the end of 2023 there were 12 women and 14 men Commissioners³⁴. This is a significant change, as the previous term (2014-2019) included only 8 women out of 26 Commissioners, however there is still limited data on the

representation of women and men among the Commission’s staff. Heads of delegations in the European External Action Service (EEAS) have risen from only 28% women in 2020 to 35% in 2024, which is still far from being enough³⁵.

In her political guidelines for the 2019-2024 term, Von der Leyen undertook to lead ‘A Union of Equality’ and laid down several initiatives to advance gender equality in the EU during her term of office as President of the European Commission³⁶. She appointed the first Commissioner uniquely dedicated to Equality, Helena Dalli, whose responsibilities have included strengthening the EU’s commitment to inclusion and equality in every aspect, developing EU anti-discrimination legislation, stepping up the EU’s response to gender-based violence (GBV), supporting the EU’s accession to the Istanbul Convention and progressing on the adoption and implementation of three key directives in the area of gender equality³⁷.

In March 2020, the European Commission adopted its Communication for a Gender Equality Strategy 2020-2025³⁸, which marked a real step forward compared with its predecessor, the Strategic Engagement for Gender Equality 2016-2019. This latter brought the EU’s political action to promote gender equality to a standstill³⁹, due to a lack of concrete benchmarks and specific budget.

In addition to the adoption of the Communication for a Gender Equality Strategy 2020-2025 and the 3rd Gender Action Plan (GAP III), several directives and strategies have been adopted with further proposals under consideration, with significant potential to contribute to reducing gender inequality. The aims of those texts are briefly summed up in appendix 3.

Directives	Strategies	Proposals
Work-life Balance Directive (2019) Women on Boards Directive (2022) EU Pay Transparency Directive (2023)	EU Strategy on victims’ rights (2020-2025) EU Strategy on Combating Trafficking in Human Beings (2021-2025) LGBTIQ Equality Strategy (2020-2025) EU Roma Strategic Framework for Equality (2020-2023) Inclusion and Participation (2020-2025) EU Anti-Racism Action Plan (2020-2025)	Extending the list of EU Crimes to Hate Speech and Hate Crime (2021) Directive on Combating Violence against Women and Domestic Violence (2022) Directive on Strengthening Equality Bodies (2022)

	EU Disability Rights Strategy (2021-2030) European Care Strategy (2022)	
--	---	--

It should be noted that the Commission tends to reflect the ideological diversity of the EU according to who the Member States nominate. So although Ursula von der Leyen made gender equality a key priority area for her term of office, **some Commissioner appointments caused controversy due to their positioning on gender equality and LGBTQIA+ issues.** For example, Maroš Šefčovič openly supported and welcomed the position of the Slovak parliament and government not to ratify the Istanbul Convention, citing his concerns about so-called gender ideology⁴⁰.

The Commission plays a central role in shaping the legislative agenda of the EU while also ensuring that Member States comply with EU treaties and laws. This was demonstrated in 2021 when the Commission took **legal action against Poland and Hungary for violations of the ‘fundamental rights of LGBTIQ people’** as enshrined in Article 2 of the Treaty of the European Union⁴¹.

A.2. THE GENDER EQUALITY STRATEGY 2020-2025 HAS BEEN THE BLUEPRINT FOR EU ACTION IN THE AREA OF GENDER EQUALITY

The Gender Equality Strategy 2020-2025 has sought to step up the Commission’s commitment to gender equality and gender mainstreaming and sets an ambitious framework for advancing gender equality in the EU and beyond. **The strategy underlines the EU’s commitment to the dual approach to gender equality**, that is, targeted actions to advance gender equality and gender mainstreaming across all EU policies. The strategy also adopts **intersectionality** as a cross-cutting principle and recognizes that women are a heterogeneous group and may face intersectional discrimination based on several characteristics.

However, various organizations have expressed their concerns on the European Commission’s Gender Equality Strategy, highlighting issues on a number of its aspects. Despite the commitments outlined in the Gender Equality Strategy, it **lacks specific actions to ensure the implementation and monitoring of gender mainstreaming in the work of the European Commission.** For example, there are no provisions for proper strengthening of the institutional supporting framework or for systematic collection and analysis of sex-disaggregated data and gender-related objectives and indicators⁴². **The lack of coordination across policy domains, which results in gender equality being kept separate from other policy areas such as the European Green Deal, is also a major issue**⁴³. While the Commission

mentions adopting an intersectional approach to support gender mainstreaming, it seems this is not applied consistently throughout the strategy and results in **intersectionality becoming an afterthought or 'add-on'**⁴⁴, if mentioned at all.

A.3. THREE NEW DIRECTIVES HAVE BOLSTERED THE EU LEGAL FRAMEWORK ON GENDER EQUALITY

Since 2019, three key directives on gender equality have been adopted (see Appendix 4 for more details):

- **The Work-life Balance Directive** seeks to address the unequal sharing of care responsibilities, the perpetuation of traditional gender roles, and gender inequalities in earnings and employment prospects stemming from inadequate family-related leave policies. To this end, the directive establishes minimum standards on paternity leave.
- **The Women on Boards' Directive** establishes targets to achieve a more gender-balanced representation among the directors of listed companies, in order to accelerate progress towards gender balance in their boards. The aim is for women to make up at least 40% of non-executive board members and 33% of all directors by 30 June 2026, including both executive and non-executive directors.
- **The Pay Transparency Directive** establishes that employers with at least 100 employees will have to publish information on pay gaps between women and men workers. In the first stage, employers with at least 250 employees will report every year, and employers with between 150 and 249 employees will report every three years. Five years after the transposition of the directive, employers with between 100 and 149 employees will also have to report every three years.

A.4. THE EUROPEAN COMMISSION'S PROGRESS REMAINS MIXED

Although the EU Gender Equality Strategy 2020–2025 seeks to include a gender perspective across all policy areas, at all levels and in all stages of policy making⁴⁵, the objective has failed to materialize as a standardized practice. Currently, the Commissioner for Equality, Helena Dalli and the Commissioner for Justice, Didier Reynders, lead the Directorate-General (DG) for Justice and Consumers, which is primarily responsible for coordinating gender mainstreaming across the DGs of the European Commission⁴⁶. Research indicates that **the implementation of gender mainstreaming has been uneven across the Commission's DGs**, although there are examples of good practices (e.g. DG Research & Innovation and more recent methodology produced by the Commission)^{47 48}.

- On the one hand, legislation like the Digital Service Act of 2022 has

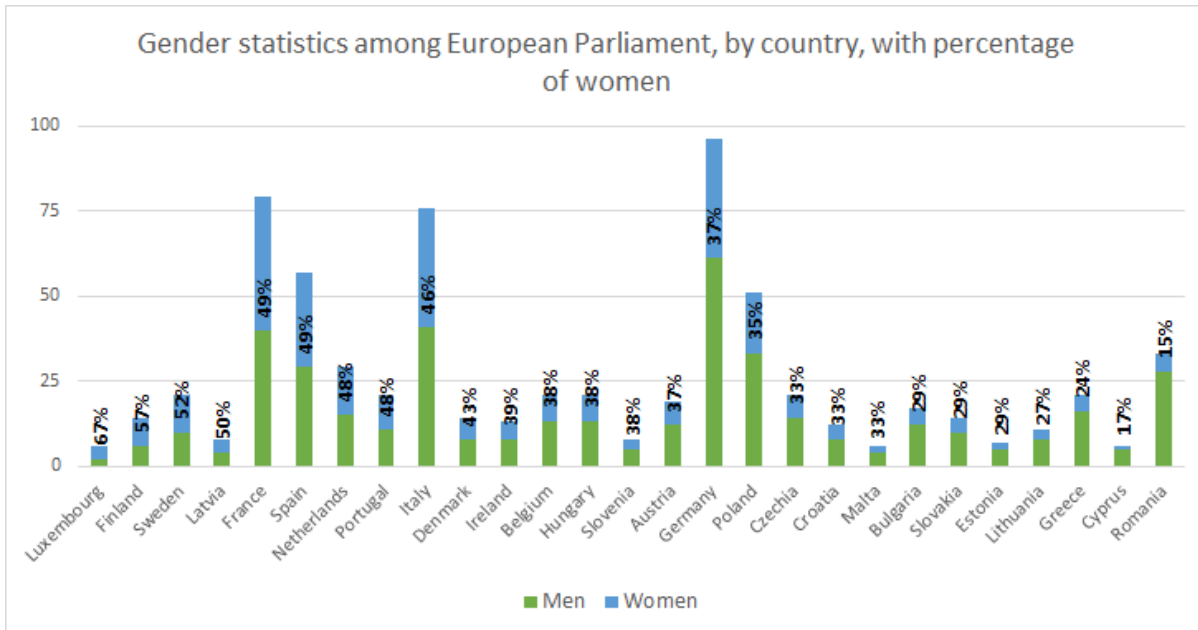
shown willingness to i) mainstream a feminist perspective (for example by requiring large online platforms to address “systemic risks’ associated with the supply of their services by countering illegal content online and implementing effective safeguards for users, including the possibility to challenge platforms’ content moderation decisions) and ii) **mitigate against risks such as disinformation, election manipulation and online gender-based violence (OGBV)**⁴⁹.

On the other hand, key legislations and policies, such as the Green Deal, the ‘Farm to Fork’ strategy or the Common Agricultural Policy (CAP), have turned out to be largely gender blind. The Green Deal mobilise €1,000 billion over 10 years without any mention of gender in its policy document. In this respect, the Gender Equality Strategy 2020-2025 recognises a paradox between the importance of the Green Deal’s impact on women and the lack of appropriate recommendations. The new Common Agricultural Policy, which took effect in 2023 and is the biggest budget of the Union⁵⁰, outlines ten key objectives, without a single one fully dedicated to gender equality, and only one mentioning it among other issues⁵¹.

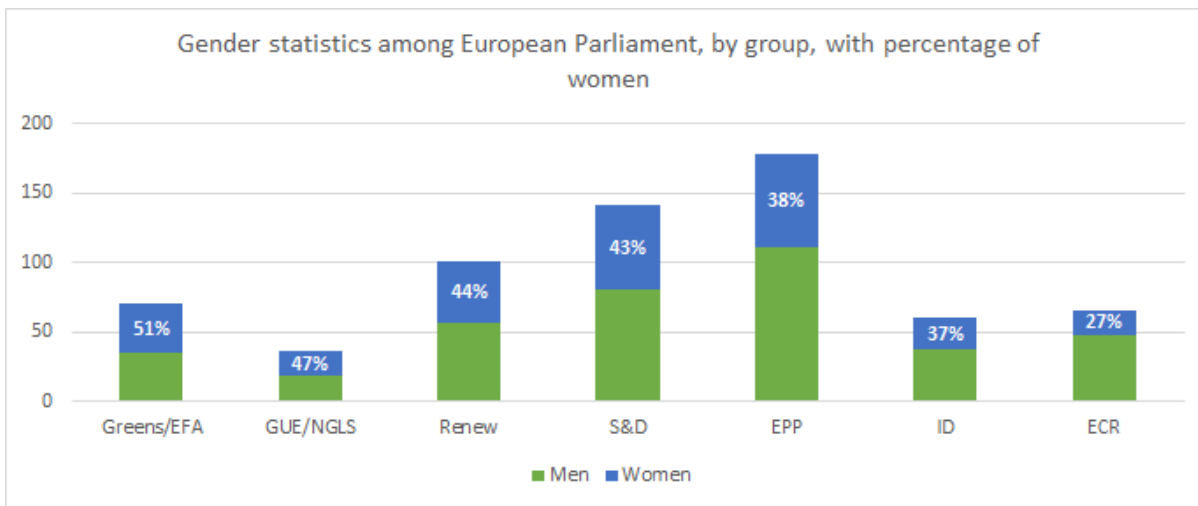
B. THE EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT: THE PLACE WHERE ‘GENDER’ BECOMES A BATTLEGROUND

Representing more than 447 million people across 27 countries, the EP will soon enter its 10th legislative term (2024-2029).

While women account for 40% of MEPs overall, the figures are much more uneven when analysed on a country-by-country basis. Seven Member States have fewer than 30% women MEPs. Romania, for example, has the lowest rate of female representation in the EP, at 15%. Achieving gender balance in political representation is an important goal however it is not sufficient to guarantee the advancement of gender equality agenda, as some women leaders have mixed commitments to women rights and gender equality.



Gender statistics among European Parliament, by country, with percentage of women. Source: EIGE⁵²



Gender statistics at the European Parliament, by group, with percentage of women. Source: European Parliament⁵³

Women chaired 7 of the 23 standing committees and subcommittees. By the end of 2023, 3 out of 7 political groups had a women leader: the Socialists and Democrats, the Greens and the Left. Since Brexit, available data suggests that only 3% of the MEPs belong to a racial or ethnic minority⁵⁴.

The EP political groups constitute formal parliamentary representation of national political parties and independent MEPs. EP political groups are organized along ideological lines rather than by national cohorts. The political right presently comprises the majority of the EP, followed by the left-leaning groups and those in the centre.

Oxfam research shows that the EP’s political groups could be broadly divided into four strands regarding gender equality perspectives and group practices. The first group is the Greens/EFA and GUE/NGL, which construct gender equality as a fundamental principle that is embedded in their formal and informal processes⁵⁵. Meanwhile, S&D/PES and Renew see gender equality as important but not always consistently upheld. The conservative EPP and ECR are highly contradictory and see gender equality as a divisive issue. Lastly, the far-right ID group sees ‘gender ideology’ as a dangerous construct⁵⁶. This analysis of each political group is further developed below and highlights **what can be expected for the European elections in 2024 and the new parliamentary term.**

A major overhaul of the EP’s make up can be expected by the end of this legislative term, which may lead to **major changes in the EP’s legislative process⁵⁷, including ones that endanger women’s rights and gender equality⁵⁸.**

B.1. AT EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT, POLITICAL GROUPS’ POLICY AGENDAS FOR GENDER EQUALITY RANGE FROM TRANSFORMATIVE TO REGRESSIVE

Name of group	Representation in the EP	Position on gender
European People’s Party	178 MEPs (25.3% of the EP) including 67 women (37.6%)	<p>The EPP 2019 manifesto:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> frames equality in the gender binary without mentioning ‘gender’ makes no mention of supporting the LGBTQIA+ community, only frames women’s rights in the context of a ‘European Social Model in a Globalised World’ which focuses on economic participation, equal pay and balancing caregiving responsibilities with work⁵⁹ <p>EPP’s Working Group on Legal & Home Affairs has a committee focusing on ‘Women’s Rights & Gender Equality.’</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> It defines, promotes and protects women’s rights along horizontal lines across all EU policies⁶⁰. Thematic areas which the committee prioritizes include the gender pay gap, economic participation, women’s political participation and under-representation, trafficking, and gender-based violence⁶¹.

		<p>In the EP:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • tends to be ambiguous and 'sit on the fence'⁶² concerning gender equality issues⁶³ • undergoes conflicts and contradictions to reach agreements on gender equality
<p>Progressive Alliance of Socialists and Democrats (S&D/PES)</p>	<p>141 MEPs (20% of the EP) including 60 women (42.6%)</p>	<p>The S&D/PES 2019 manifesto:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • defines a 'Feminist Europe' as one of its six core themes • calls for a binding EU Gender Equality Strategy that would focus on addressing the gender pay and pension gaps, combating sexual harassment and gender-based violence, and ensuring that sexual and reproductive rights are accessible to all⁶⁴ • outlines their support for promoting equal childcare responsibilities among women and men and work-life balance • focuses on equal political participation • calls to remove social and legal obstacles for LGBTQIA+ people • also mentions gender equality in reference to sustainable development in EU external action • when speaking about social protection and taxation, no attempt made to integrate a gender perspective⁶⁵ <p>S&D/PES has three core areas of gender equality work:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 'a feminist economy' • 'all rights for all women' • 'combatting gender-based violence'. <p>Within the group: → Its PES Women working group has a dedicated manifesto for 'A Europe Free from Gender-Based Violence'.</p> <p>In the EP:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • tends to support gender equality consistently, even if it has blind spots regarding its contradictions • has mostly argued in favour of ratification of the Istanbul Convention⁶⁶ • undergoes internal conflicts between national delegations⁶⁷



		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> defines safe and legal access to abortion services as a human right and a precondition to gender equality⁶⁸
Renew Europe	101 MEPs (14.1% of the EP) including 44 women (43.6%)	<p>The Renew Europe 2019 manifesto:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> positions equality in the individualistic framework of ‘self-determination’ mentions equality for ‘sexual orientation’ but fails to recognize the full spectrum of the LGBTQIA+ community; believes that the situation of vulnerable groups can be improved ‘by embracing the dynamics of market economies’ criticizes the position of ‘Fortress Europe’ and calls for a more progressive legal form of migration to meet Europe’s demographic challenges concerning external action, adopts a human rights approach but neglects to include gender equality⁶⁹ <p>As part of their 2019-2024 priorities:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> highlights the importance of countering the backlash against ‘women’s rights’ within the EU and beyond by integrating an intersectional gender perspective in all policies while pursuing an upward harmonization between the Member States⁷⁰ ‘Gender and Trade’ also a central policy area⁷¹ <p>Renew also has two initiatives focusing on gender equality:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> The Simone Veil Pact for Gender Equality⁷². The Renew Europe Women’s Network⁷³. Renew supports the implementation of gender mainstreaming across all policy areas; however, it relies on the participation of its MEPs in the EP’s Committee on Women’s Rights and Gender Equality (FEMM committee) to integrate its gender perspective⁷⁴. <p>In the EP:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> one of the main actors that position gender equality and LGBTQIA+ rights as an integral part of European identity⁷⁵, however overwhelmingly did not vote in favour of the 2021 resolution in favour of LGBTIQ rights in EU argues in favour of ratification of the Istanbul



		<p>Convention</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • one of the most vocal supporters of abortion rights • as part of the #MeTooEP initiative, defined sexual harassment as an impairment of the democratic functioning of parliamentary work and an abuse of gendered power and demanded new measures to combat it⁷⁶
<p>The Greens / European Free Alliance⁷⁷ (Greens/EFA)</p>	<p>71 MEPs (10% of the EP) including 36 women (50.7%)</p>	<p>The EGP (European Green Party) manifesto⁷⁸:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • calls for a feminist and inclusive EU that leads the way to gender equality. • requests equal pay, longer parental leave and protection for pregnant workers • suggests addressing equal representation in politics and companies, through gender quotas. • promotes access to free, accessible, good-quality and safe sexual and reproductive healthcare and services for all, including abortion. • requests fight against gender-based violence. <p>EGP key priorities for 2019 streamline the language of justice in the context of climate change and social and economic rights:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • advocates for abortion to be included in the EU's Charter of Fundamental Rights⁷⁹ • supports the implementation of the Istanbul Convention • advocates to redress gender imbalance in power structures as well as to combat discrimination in all its forms, including against the LGBTQIA+ community⁸⁰ • limited vision of gender integration, especially concerning social protection and taxation • calls for the development of an EU green feminist foreign policy rooted in intersectionality⁸¹ • needs to combat anti-gender movements⁸² • as part of the post-pandemic EU recovery plan, advocates for an integrated gender perspective⁸³ • explicit about supporting the rights of trans people and advocates for trans-inclusive feminism to be included in the policy work of member parties⁸⁴ <p>The EGP adopted an internal gender mainstreaming plan to ensure that all political group briefings include gender mainstreaming.</p>



		<p>In the EP:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> tends to consistently support gender equality (particularly concerning combating gender-based violence and supporting reproductive and abortion rights⁸⁵) <p>EFA 2019 manifesto:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> gender equality featured as one of the EFA’s 10 principles applies an intersectional focus on women’s and LGBTQIA+ experiences addresses gender-based violence through legally binding instruments supports gender parity in decision-making as well as advancing women’s economic independence⁸⁶ demands that the EU improve antidiscrimination laws by mainstreaming gender into all fields under its competence, along with gender-sensitive budgeting⁸⁷ <p>In 2020, the EFA launched its Women’s Forum, which includes a space for discussion and for integrating a gender perspective into policy development⁸⁸.</p>
<p>European Conservatives and Reformists (ECR)</p>	<p>66 MEPs (9.4% of the EP) including 18 women (27.3%)</p>	<p>ECR 2019 manifesto⁸⁹:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> neither mentions gender equality nor women’s rights in its six core areas since Brexit in 2020, has moved to ultraconservative, nationalist and anti-gender positions akin to the far right⁹⁰ <p>→ In other ECR publications, supporting the rights of women tends to be centred on very specific issues, such as female genital mutilation⁹¹, agriculture and land ownership rights⁹² and opposition to compulsory veiling in Iran⁹³.</p> <p>→ ‘Family and Life’ is the only ECR policy group to mention ‘women’, and it does so from the position of motherhood being the ultimate fulfilment for women.</p> <p>In the EP:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> firmly opposed to the Istanbul Convention, not just its ratification but also the text itself



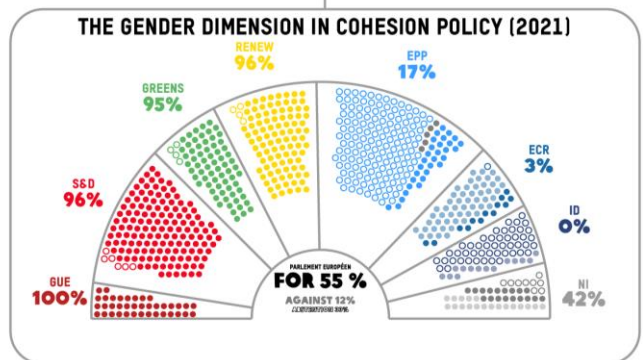
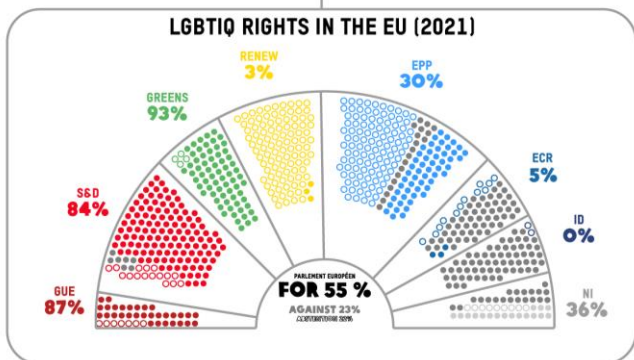
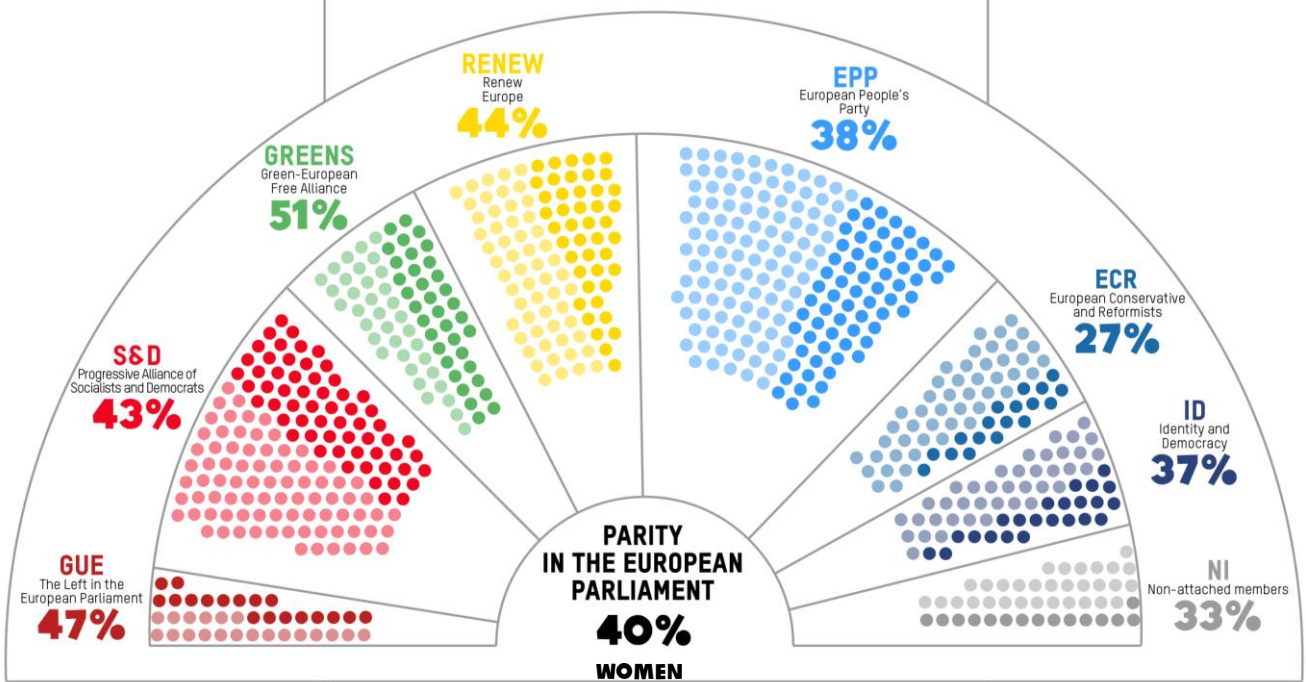
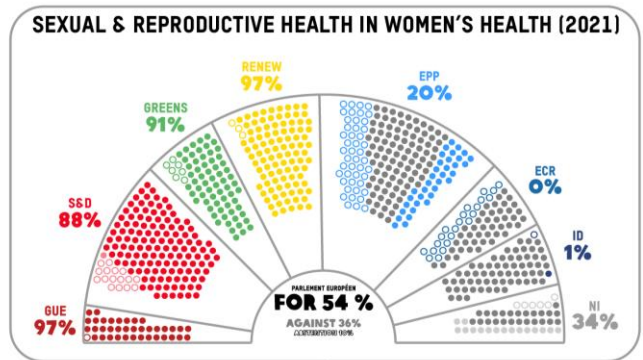
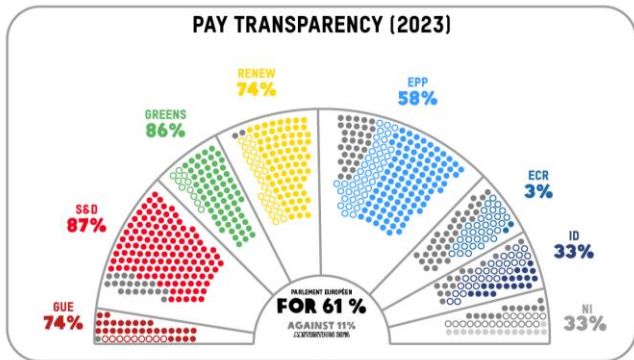
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> opposition articulated through a series of Eurosceptic arguments along with anti-feminist and pro-religious discourse to distort the content and pose it as a threat to traditional values⁹⁴
Identity and Democracy (ID)	60 MEPs (9% in the EP) including 22 women (36.7%)	<p>Comprises far-right nationalist and Eurosceptic anti-immigration parties such as Lega (Italy), Rassemblement National (France), and Alternative für Deutschland (Germany) ⁹⁵. This group was formed after the 2019 elections and thus did not have a manifesto.</p> <p>In the EP:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> voted against a resolution to declare the EU an LGBTIQ Freedom Zone voted against the Pay transparency directive voted against the resolution on Sexual & Reproductive Health in Women’s Health voted against the Gender Dimension in Cohesion Policy <p>⁹⁶.</p>
The Left in the EP (GUE/NGL)	36 MEPs (5% in the EP) including 17 women (47.2%)	<p>GUE/NGL 2019 manifesto:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> focuses on the idea of a social, ecological, solidarity-based Europe with rights for everyone establishes feminism as one of its six principles highlights the importance of integrating a gender perspective in all EU policymaking⁹⁷ calls for a strategy to end gender-based violence mentions the need to fight for equal pay and to safeguard women and the LGBTQIA+ community from attacks from the far right by securing their fundamental freedoms critical of ‘Fortress Europe’ rhetoric and claims that more needs to be done to tackle racism and xenophobia calls for a foreign and security strategy that centres on peace instead of the current trend towards militarization⁹⁸ limited in implementing a cross-cutting gender perspective in other core areas <p>In other publications, GUE/NGL:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> emphasizes its determination at national, European and international levels to promote sexual and reproductive rights while strengthening women’s

		<p>economic and social rights</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • highlights women’s political participation and representation in decision-making as important • views the gender perspective in climate action and sustainable development as essential • places gender equality at the centre of EU foreign policies, including trade, development and security policies⁹⁹. <p>The GUE/NGL has a formal working group designated for gender mainstreaming in the group’s initiatives¹⁰⁰.</p> <p>In the EP:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • vocal in their support for including rape provisions in the EU Directive to combat Gender-Based Violence and Domestic Violence¹⁰¹ • sees gender mainstreaming as an intersecting issue that is relevant in all policy areas and is the responsibility of all group members
Non-attached members	49 MEPs (7% of the EP) including 16 women	No common positions ¹⁰² .

B.2. VOTING ON GENDER EQUALITY HANGS ON A TENUOUS BALANCE INSIDE THE EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT

Because its members are directly elected by EU citizens, the EP is the most democratic of all EU institutions. It is also frequently seen as the most gender-friendly institution, notably for its role in politicizing core issues like gender equality on the European political stage by adopting policies tackling gender inequality and LGBTQIA+ discrimination¹⁰³. However, the above analysis on the individual political groups inside the EP demonstrates that **supporting issues of equality is not a unanimous endeavour and that gender equality remains a disputed concept and a norm subject to contestation in the EP¹⁰⁴.**

Within the EP, positions differ from one political group to another when it comes to voting for gender-equality measures (see more details in appendix 5).



OXFAM

We can see that the left and far left (**GUE/NGL, Greens/EFA, S&D**) have similar positions on decisions relating to gender equality, with generally massive support, whereas the liberal **Renew group** and the centre-right **EPP group** have a more ambiguous position varying from case to case and playing on abstention. Finally, the **conservative ECR group** and the **far-right ID group** strongly oppose these gender-equality measures.

Thus, the Left-Green-Liberal sphere in the EP acts generally as a coalition to ensure gender equality is on the agenda, but its success depends on the EPP and its contradictory positions¹⁰⁵.

C. THE COUNCIL OF THE EUROPEAN UNION: MEMBER STATES HAVE TENDED TO HINDER COLLECTIVE PROGRESS

The Council of the European Union, or informally the Council of Ministers, **does not have a dedicated formation that can regularly gather all EU Member States' ministers responsible for gender equality**¹⁰⁶. Gender equality is generally addressed in the Employment, Social Policy, Health and Consumer Affairs (EPSCO) Council, which has adopted several relevant conclusions on gender equality over the past few years¹⁰⁷. Under the rotating Spanish Presidency of the EU (July–December 2023), slight progress has been made on:

- The conclusions on care systems of the EPSCO Council meeting of 29 November 2023¹⁰⁸, and
- the Guidelines for Economy and Policy of Care for EU Development Partners¹⁰⁹.

Other noteworthy conclusions adopted by the Council include:

- Gender equality in disrupted economies: focus on the young generation (2022)¹¹⁰,
- Women in sports and gender-based discrimination (2023)¹¹¹, and
- Mainstreaming a gender-equality perspective in policies, programmes, and budgets (2023)¹¹².

Despite this work, the Council has halted progress on some legislative reforms on gender equality, for example when the Directive on 'Combating Violence against Women and Domestic Violence' was tabled. Due to opposition from some member states in the Council, no agreement was found on the criminalisation of rape based on the lack of consent, sadly missing an opportunity for ambitious EU legislation. The Council has also not

acted upon the resolution of the EP to include the right to abortion in the EU Charter of Fundamental Rights.

Accountability is hampered by the lack of openness regarding the governments directly involved in Council decision-making. This allows government ministers to deflect their active participation and hide behind the 'faceless' European Commission¹¹³. The lack of transparency on which governments are blocking legislation to advance equality limits the ability to effectively monitor and influence EU decision making.

2. THE EU: A PATCHWORK OF CONDITIONS FOR GENDER EQUALITY

2.A. TOWARDS A COMMON JURISDICTION TO COMBAT GENDER-BASED VIOLENCE?

No specific legal instrument currently exists to address gender-based violence and domestic violence at the EU level. Nevertheless, the topic is covered by several directives and regulations, particularly in the areas of judicial cooperation in criminal matters (especially regarding crime prevention and the rights of victims of crime), equality between women and men, and asylum policy¹¹⁴.

In June 2023, the EU ratified the Council of Europe Convention on Preventing and Combating Violence against Women and Domestic Violence, known as the 'Istanbul Convention'¹¹⁵. This means that the EU accedes to the Convention regarding institutions and the public administration of the Union, as well as concerning matters related to judicial cooperation in criminal matters, asylum and non-refoulement¹¹⁶. It is a milestone in terms of gender equality as **the EU has committed to a set of comprehensive binding measures to address gender-based violence**, to reporting on its implementation and to data collection¹¹⁷.

Nevertheless, the Convention has faced resistance, with states such as Bulgaria and Slovakia declining to endorse it. **Primary objections revolve around apprehensions regarding the particular 'gender ideology'** advocated by the Istanbul Convention, which critics argue directly contradicts their

constitutional principles. In 2020, Poland announced the possibility of withdrawing from the Convention¹¹⁸. Polish Minister of Justice Ziobro argued that the Convention violated the rights of parents and ‘contains elements of an ideological nature’¹¹⁹. More generally, **those who oppose the Istanbul Convention typically align with ‘traditional family values’** and advocate for adherence to stereotypical gender roles for women and men, which they perceive as ‘natural’. They view the Istanbul Convention as ‘a menace to these values’ and depict it as ‘a tool of the liberal agenda and a potential threat to the moral foundations of the nation’¹²⁰.

These tensions and disagreements among Member States can also be seen in the failure to adopt Article 5, defining rape based on lack of consent, in the **Directive on ‘Combating Violence against Women and Domestic Violence’, which was tabled by the Commission on 8 March 2022**. The directive has been adopted, but without the definition of rape, because of the opposition of several countries including, among others, France¹²¹. Although this directive represents a step forward as the very first legislative instrument to combat violence against women, it is a missed opportunity to adopt ambitious legislation on rape at EU level, due to the Council’s blockage.

Spikes in domestic violence reports during COVID-19 lockdowns are a sad reminder that women frequently face the most danger from those who are closest to them¹²². **When the pandemic struck, no EU Member State had a disaster plan specifically designed to address potential increases in gender-based violence**¹²³.

The EU has incorporated new measures¹²⁴ in response to intimate partner violence which include the Victims’ Rights Directive and EU Strategy on Victims’ Rights¹²⁵. On 29 November 2023, the Commission established the EU Network on the Prevention of Gender-Based and Domestic Violence, where the engagement of men and boys is identified as a key focus. The network will meet twice yearly and consist of Member State officials and stakeholders¹²⁶.

2.B. THE EU BUDGET IS INSUFFICIENTLY GENDER-SENSITIVE

What is gender-responsive budgeting?

A gender-responsive budget is a public budget that is designed to benefit everyone, including women and girls and men and boys, by ensuring an equitable distribution of resources and promoting equal opportunities. **Gender-responsive budgeting is crucial for both gender justice and fiscal justice**. It involves scrutinizing government budgets to assess their impact on different genders, considering associated norms and roles, and examining the relationships between genders. The process also

entails transforming these budgets to realize commitments to gender equality¹²⁷.

The distinct practical and strategic needs of women and girls and men and boys often vary. The under-representation of women in public life can lead to government policies, including economic ones, that neglect their specific needs and priorities. These differences may result in seemingly neutral policies having unintended consequences, such as exacerbating gender inequality. For instance, benefits and pensions tied to full-time paid employment may exclude women in the informal economy or those who don't work full-time due to care responsibilities¹²⁸.

Governments typically base their budgets on data from the formal, paid labour market and sectors contributing to GDP. However, the exclusion of relevant factors, such as the unpaid economy (comprising caring, cleaning, child rearing, and domestic food production), can lead policy-makers to overlook significant aspects when formulating policies. Despite the substantial value of the unpaid economy, it often goes unmeasured and unconsidered in policy-making processes¹²⁹.

A gender-responsive budget in the EU would implement gender mainstreaming across all policy areas to ensure the budget equally benefits women and men. It would also address and eliminate gender gaps and stereotypes and allow for critical structural changes to be made across how the EU funds women's equality. A gender-responsive EU budget would strive for **feminist economic alternatives**¹³¹, such as:

- taxing the rich and implementing sustainable progressive taxation;
- steering away from austerity policies that primarily harm women, girls and marginalized groups;
- investing in public goods, services and infrastructure and challenging privatization; and
- supporting and providing increased funds to gender equality and the work of women's organizations to shift power¹³².

In 2021, the European Court of Auditors (ECA) assessed whether the Commission had applied gender mainstreaming in the EU budget from 2014 onwards. It concluded that **the Commission had not yet lived up to its commitments**¹³³, even though¹³⁴ a year earlier the Commission had committed to improving gender equality and gender mainstreaming in implementing and monitoring the relevant programmes of the Multiannual Financial Framework (MFF) 2021-2027¹³⁵. Following the recommendations of the ECA, the Commission has developed a methodology to track expenditure on gender equality and piloted it across all spending programmes in the context of the 2023 draft budget, and then again in 2024.

While the European Commission has announced **that 84% of the EU draft budget contributes or has the potential to contribute to achieving gender equality**¹³⁶, the detailed assessment is much more nuanced.

In order to establish the level of commitment to gender equality of EU interventions, the European Commission has established a scoring system to differentiate programmes¹³⁷ that have gender equality as their main objective (score 2, corresponding to 2% of the Commission's total budget),

'Gender-responsive budgets are necessary to ensure that government policies do not create, maintain or exacerbate inequalities between men and women, but rather work to meet the unique, intersectional and evolving needs of all people.'

UN Women¹³⁰

programmes that have gender equality as an important objective (score 1, corresponding to 9% of the Commission's total budget) and those that have the potential to contribute to gender equality (score 0*, corresponding to 73% of the Commission's total budget).

In particular, the OECD would require gender-specific objectives or indicators disaggregated by gender as a minimum criterion. However, the Commission does not include those in its pilot methodology¹³⁸. Furthermore, **it does not account for potential negative effects: it considers whether interventions reduce gender inequality but not the risk that they might increase it.**

The direction taken by the MFF for 2021-2027 and the Recovery and Resilience Facility (RRF)¹³⁹ highlights that integrating gender equality into the EU budget is not yet an institutionalized practice within the Commission. Instead, it appears to be reliant on continuous oversight from gender experts, advocates from civil society and the EP. The vigilance of these experts and advocates has proven crucial¹⁴⁰. It has thus become urgent to monitor the Commission's work on gender budgeting with gender experts, advocates from civil society and the EP to ensure that a more reliable methodology is implemented in the assessment of the EU budget and to advocate for increased financial resources for gender equality.

2.C. AN ENCOURAGING BUT INSUFFICIENT EUROPEAN CARE POLICY

Building a caring European society

With the lessons learned from the COVID-19 pandemic, care work should be at the heart of all policies and decisions. Oxfam proposes a **caring society that challenges assumptions and transforms current structures and models, based on an ethics of care**¹⁴¹. Moving forward with a feminist Europe would adopt a framework on care that aims to do the following:

- **Recognize** unpaid and poorly paid care work as a type of work that has real value.
- **Reduce** the number of hours spent on unpaid care tasks via better access to affordable and quality time-saving decision-making and care-supporting infrastructure.
- **Redistribute** unpaid care work more fairly within the household and simultaneously shift the responsibility of unpaid care work to the state and the private sector.
- **Represent** the most marginalized caregivers and ensure that they have a voice in the design and delivery of policies, services and systems that affect their lives¹⁴².

The European Care Strategy, presented by the European Commission in 2022, aims to ensure quality, affordable, and accessible care services across the EU for both care receivers and caregivers, whether professional

or informal¹⁴³. The strategy focuses on several key areas¹⁴⁴: early childhood education and care, long-term care, **work-life balance, fair working conditions and training, and adequate funding for quality care systems and infrastructure (see more details in appendix 6).**

Considering the persisting gender inequalities in the area of care, whether paid or unpaid, the Commission has invested in taking the lead in an underexplored policy area. **Overall, the strategy shifts attention in the care sector towards a sustainable and human rights-based care model, focused both on formal and informal care**¹⁴⁵. The emphasis on quality, affordability, accessibility and inclusiveness as the core elements driving care services has been welcomed by feminist CSOs, as well as the fact that the strategy recognizes that care is crucial to achieving gender equality¹⁴⁶. Overall, the strategy also addresses **the gender imbalance in the care workforce, primarily represented by women, including migrant women, and calls for promoting the sector and improving pay and working conditions.** This, in turn, can have an impact on closing the gaps in gender pay, pension and subsequently poverty, as well as tackle gender stereotypes¹⁴⁷.

However, **the strategy does not go far enough in recognizing a robust framework in which care is considered a key element** of the European economic, social and environmental model, and it fails to acknowledge the root issue of ending the segregation between people in need of care and the rest of society.¹⁴⁸ Overall, six main weaknesses can be identified:

- **Knowledge and research:** The knowledge component is lacking a gender perspective as well as notions like multidimensional inequalities in care distribution, time use and time poverty, and unpaid care work contribution to the economy, etc.¹⁴⁹
- **Cultural change:** No measures are included to strengthen the social demand for the right to care, and the awareness-raising lacks ambition.¹⁵⁰

- **Local level:** Community-based care and grassroots experiences are totally absent from the strategy, although they are one of the key main actors, especially in the pandemic.¹⁵¹
- **Care system funding:** The strategy is weak on how to finance care and on fiscal justice¹⁵².
- **Life-cycle approach:** The strategy is based on a ‘fragmented’ approach to care, focused on early childhood and long-term care, whereas it should have a life-cycle approach.
- **Global approach:** even though many actors, in particular among civil society, called for a bi-regional pact on care societies with Latin America and the Caribbean, the EU decided to ignore those propositions.

Setbacks to sexual and reproductive health rights (SRHR) require an EU response commensurate with the threat.

There has been limited action to promote access to SRHR within the EU¹⁵³, mostly because EU health policy is a national competence¹⁵⁴, meaning that policy-making, national healthcare system administration, and national healthcare provision – including financing and service scope – remain exclusively within the purview of the Member States¹⁵⁵. We have therefore chosen not to develop this theme in this briefing paper. However, below we outline the significant measures linked to gender equality taken by the European institutions in the field of health from 2019 to 2024.

As extreme right (and anti-abortion and anti-gender) movements and political actors have gained ground (and mobilized state funding) across Europe, there has been increasing discussion in the EU institutions since 2021 on sexual and reproductive health and rights, particularly about abortion. This includes a debate in the EP on Poland’s de facto ban on abortion¹⁵⁶ and the adoption of a resolution on sexual reproductive health and rights of women, which calls on Member States to ensure access to abortion, contraception and sexuality education¹⁵⁷. Recognizing the growing backsliding of abortion rights in the US and Europe, in 2022, MEPs also voted in favour of a resolution calling for the right to abortion to be included in the EU Charter of Fundamental Rights¹⁵⁸. The vote calls for the European Council to amend the Charter by adding that ‘everyone has the right to safe and legal abortion’¹⁵⁹; however, the Council has failed to act upon this resolution up to now¹⁶⁰. Article 35 in the EU Charter on Fundamental Rights already makes provisions for the right to access health care despite it not being an EU competence¹⁶¹.

Towards a European Care Deal?

‘With significant gaps between women and men in the provision of care work, especially unpaid care work, we need an economic and social model that values care, and puts it at the centre. Caring for each other, the planet, children, parents, and persons with specific needs should not be an afterthought but the central purpose of our economic model. That is why we need a Care Deal for Europe. We believe the European Care Strategy provides the first steps in this direction.’

Reka Safrany, President of the European Women’s Lobby



OXFAM

2.D. COLLECTIVE PROGRESS IN FAVOUR OF LGBTQIA+ COMMUNITIES CONTESTED BY CERTAIN STATES

In 2020, the **European Commission adopted its first-ever 'LGBTIQ Equality Strategy'** for 2020-2025, which strives to build a 'Union of Equality' whereby diversity is promoted and protected, and where all people can love who they want to and be themselves without risk of discrimination, exclusion, hatred or violence. The strategy is built on four pillars¹⁶² and includes targeted actions, legal measures, and funding measures for the next five years. The EU has also taken measures to extend legal and social protection for LGBTQIA+ people, including combatting homophobia and discrimination based on sexual orientation and ensuring equal access to health care for LGBTQIA+ individuals. In 2021, the LGBTQIA+ Equality Subgroup was set up under the High-Level Group on Non-discrimination, Equality and Diversity to enhance implementation of the LGBTQIA+ strategy¹⁶³.

Other achievements include:

- legislation to strengthen the role of equality bodies proposed by the Commission in 2022^{164,165};
- more than 100 projects focused on promoting LGBTQIA+ equality under the Erasmus+ and European Solidarity Corps programmes; and
- publication of the Key Findings Report of the Survey on Sexual Orientation and Gender Identity by the European Agency for Asylum in 2022¹⁶⁶.

Currently, under EU law, equality bodies have responsibilities relating to discrimination based on gender and racial or ethnic origin in specific areas. Legal coverage of other grounds, like sexual orientation, gender identity and expression, is at the discretion of the Member States¹⁶⁷. In 2022, the **European Commission proposed binding standards for equality bodies in extending their remit to discrimination based on sexual orientation** in the field of employment and occupation¹⁶⁸.

As part of the legislative developments, in December 2023, the Council presidency and the EP's negotiators reached a provisional agreement on the proposal on harmonized rules on artificial intelligence (AI), the so-called Artificial Intelligence Act¹⁶⁹ which **proposes new mandatory requirements for all high-risk AI systems to protect against discrimination, including on the grounds of sexual orientation** (as well as racial or ethnic origins, disabilities, and age)¹⁷⁰.

The adoption into law of the proposed Equal Treatment Directive¹⁷¹ remains a priority for the Commission. By extending the scope of legal protection against discrimination on the basis of sexual orientation beyond the area of

employment and occupation, the proposed directive would fill a major gap in EU legislation on non-discrimination¹⁷².

However, in spite of this significant progress at EU level, some EU Member States have in the meantime failed to recognize and protect the rights of LGBTQIA+ people. For example, Hungary passed a law in 2021 banning the 'representation or promotion' of homosexuality and gender reassignment among minors.¹⁷⁴ In Poland, around 100 local authorities have adopted an 'anti-LGBT ideology' resolution or a 'charter of family rights' since 2019. The rise of the anti-gender movement is a major concern, which could undermine the progress made in recognizing and protecting the diverse rights of the LGBTQIA+ community.

'International law on children's rights is clear: these anti-LGBT amendments are in violation of Hungarian commitments to the international law framework, and must be repealed.'

International Lesbian and Gay Association¹⁷³

3. FOR AN EU GENUINELY COMMITTED TO GENDER EQUALITY AT THE INTERNATIONAL LEVEL

The EU's external action includes the fight for gender equality at the international level. However, this commitment remains superficial compared not only to the EU's means of action, but also to the needs identified on the ground and the way in which aid is allocated. During this past term, the EU did put in place several strategies to institutionalize gender-sensitive aid. However, the EU needs to adopt an overarching intersectional feminist foreign policy (IFFP), like some of its Member States, in order to bring about a systemic and structural change in foreign action.

The concept of feminist foreign policy (FFP) was actually coined in Europe, **Sweden being the first state to explicitly commit to endorsing and implementing an FFP in 2014**¹⁷⁶. As many European Member States, notably Luxembourg, France, Spain, Germany and the Netherlands, are adopting an FFP, **we are in a feminist momentum that calls for the EU to adopt one too.**

3.A. INSTITUTIONALIZING FEMINIST EUROPEAN ODA STILL REMAINS A CHALLENGE

The sixth area of action of the EU Gender Equality Strategy is the promotion of gender equality and women's empowerment beyond the EU. **The Commission establishes that gender equality is a core objective of EU external action** and that the EU will promote gender equality and women's empowerment in its:

- international partnerships;
- political and human rights dialogues with third countries;
- trade policy;
- neighbourhood and enlargement policies, including as part of accession negotiations and the Stabilisation and Association Process; and
- actions in fragile, conflict and emergencies¹⁷⁷.

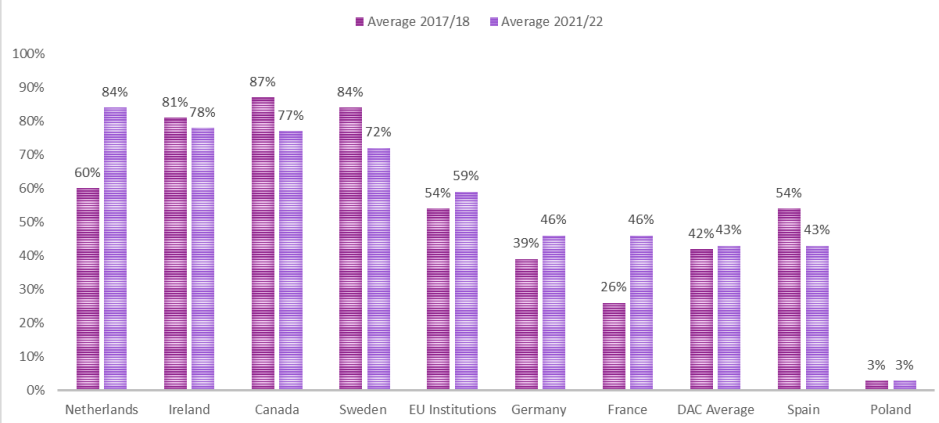
On average, bilateral aid allocable to gender equality and women's empowerment and actually disbursed made up 49.2% of the aid from European institutions examined between 2019 and 2022¹⁷⁸. In 2018, this aid amounted to 49.8%, **far from reaching the 85% target set by the OECD and endorsed by the EU.**

Disbursements have therefore stagnated, but commitments have risen slightly in recent years, as this graph shows below¹⁷⁹.

'Feminist Foreign Policy is the policy of a state that defines its interactions with other states and movements in a manner that prioritizes gender equality and enshrines the human rights of women and other traditionally marginalized groups, allocates significant resources to achieve that vision and seeks through its implementation to disrupt patriarchal and male-dominated power structures across all of its levers of influence (aid, trade, defence and diplomacy), informed by the voices of feminist activists, groups and movements.'

*International Center for Research on Women*¹⁷⁵

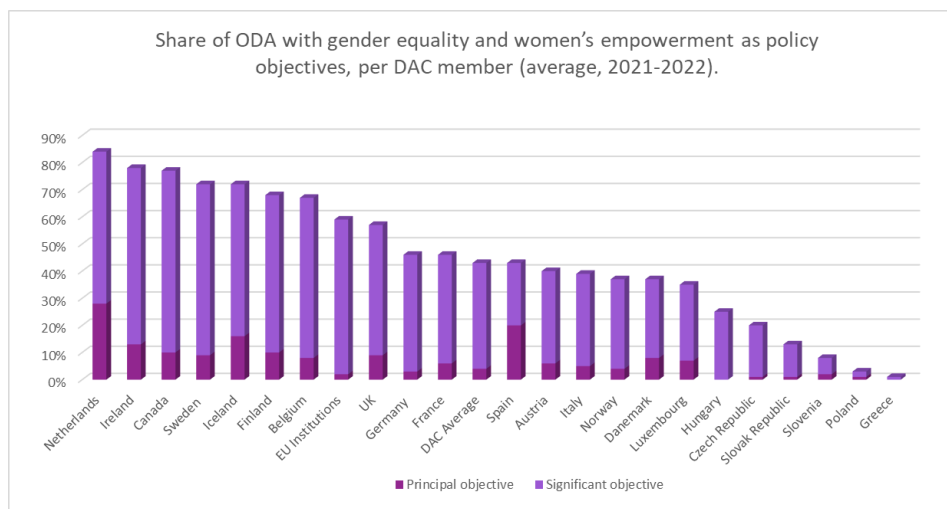
EVOLUTION OF THE SHARE OF ODA WITH GENDER EQUALITY AND WOMEN'S EMPOWERMENT AS POLICY OBJECTIVES



Evolution of the share of ODA with gender equality and women's empowerment as policy objectives¹⁸⁰.
Source: OECD¹⁸¹

The Netherlands has seen strong growth in recent years, becoming the best performer in the European Union. At the same time, it's worth noting that the European Union is a long way from the standards of some of its member countries, such as the Netherlands and Ireland.

Share of ODA with gender equality and women's empowerment as policy objectives, per DAC member (average, 2021-2022).



Share of ODA with gender equality and women's empowerment as policy objective per DAC member.
Source: OECD¹⁸²

It should be noted that the European Union is a very poor performer when it concerns aid projects with gender as their principal objective (see more details on OECD DAC rating system in appendix 7), as it reaches only 2% of its ODA, versus 28% for the Netherlands, while the OECD target, endorsed by the EU, is set at 20%.

THE NEED TO SUPPORT WOMEN'S RIGHTS ORGANIZATIONS (WROS) AND THEIR ALLIES

Feminist organizations are at the front line of the fight to advance women's rights. **Support for civil society organizations is essential to tackle the root causes and consequences of inequality.** However, these organizations receive only a tiny fraction of international aid funding, and this funding is not at all adapted to their situation¹⁸³. The administrative burden is unbearable for these organizations that are often independent and run by a small number of volunteer activists, and exacerbates inequalities: those with clout and power can shape policies and make spending and tax decisions to secure even more money and power for themselves, to the detriment of the majority. **In this context, feminist organizations are mobilized to change laws and practices unfavourable to women and marginalized groups and to implement key programmes to combat inequality.**

It is key to keep WROs and feminist groups at the centre of consultations with donors to co-design and co-lead the projects and funds needed to make an impactful change. Their extensive knowledge should not be used just for reference; rather, inclusive and safe spaces need to be created to make these exchanges happen on a regular basis.

Europe is a poor performer when it comes to funding feminist organizations. Since 2005, average EU aid to women's rights organizations, movements and government institutions has been \$27.5 million per year¹⁸⁴. **This is a particularly low figure, representing just 0.08% of total aid from European institutions in 2022¹⁸⁵.**

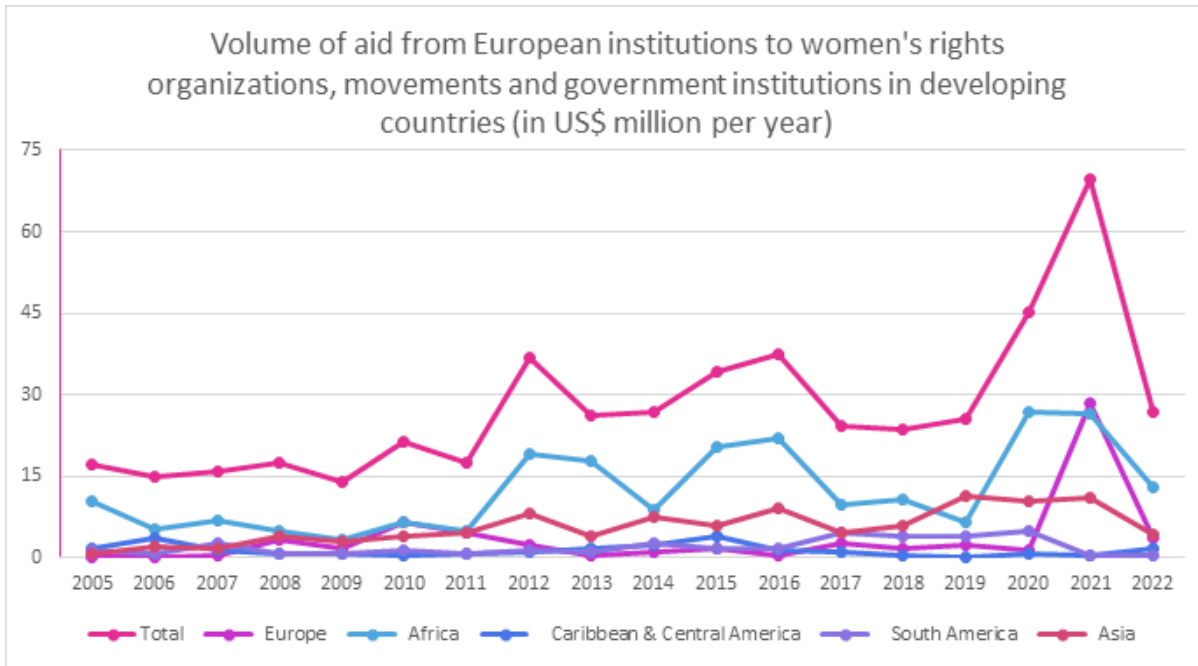


Figure 1. Creditor Reporting System (CRS), OECD; code 15170

During its term, the European Commission was able to reach an average of \$41.8 million/year in support to WROs between 2019 and 2022, amounting to a 41% increase compared to the average of 2014-2018 (\$29.3M); this is a welcome step. However, in 2022 (the last year on record), this support fell to \$26.8 million, thus returning to the levels when this Commission stepped in. Not only is this a worrying trend, but the level of ambition is quite low when compared, for example, to that of a Member State like France, which committed almost twice that amount per year on its own over the next five years. Overall, this support amounts to a meagre 6-cent contribution from every European citizen¹⁸⁶.

In addition, **aid to promote gender equality must include long-term funding and be directly accessible to WROs and feminist groups.** Direct funding to WROs should be flexible and should not impose a strict administrative burden that would prevent smaller organizations from applying for the funds. Access to funds should create cooperation among locally based organizations rather than competition. Donors can also strengthen the impact of budget support on gender issues by making it conditional on the inclusion of gender equality indicators in national poverty reduction strategies.

BOX - The French example: a fund earmarked for feminist organizations

Since 2019, France's 'feminist diplomacy' has led to the launch of several specific initiatives, including the 'Fund to Support Feminist Organizations' (*Fonds de Soutien aux Organisations Féministes / FSOF*), a direct funding mechanism for WROs. Thanks to this initiative, France's financial commitment to feminist organizations increased from \$2 million to \$116 million between 2018 and 2019. The FSOF is made up of three channels:

- Intermediated funds delegated to associations
- CSO initiatives managed by AFD
- Support budget envelopes managed directly by embassies.

Within this framework, an interesting forum for exchange has also been developed during strategic workshops, between French institutions and civil society.

In September 2023, France announced the terms and conditions for the renewal of the FSOF, and the mobilization of a €250-million budget over five years for the FSOF 2023-2027.

This announcement is a second step towards a real commitment to French feminist foreign policy. Nonetheless, **this funding still represents a tiny fraction (less than 1%) of French aid to women.**

A youth initiative against gender-based violence

In Burkina Faso, the association 'Initiative de Jeunes pour le Développement', supported by the Fund to Support Feminist Organizations, organizes innovative forums to prevent gender-based violence: 'Gender-based violence remains a reality in our villages. This project has enabled us to deepen discussions on the subject, identify specific problems and actively involve the population in the search for solutions. Given the relevance of the topic addressed and the interest generated by its performance, it would be beneficial to replicate this project in order to raise awareness among a greater number of people in the future.'

Honorine Baki, Initiative de Jeunes pour le Développement Secretary¹⁸⁷

3.B. THE BEGINNING OF GENDER MAINSTREAMING IN THE EU'S EXTERNAL ACTION

At the end of 2020, a new EU Action Plan on Gender Equality and Women's Empowerment in External Relations 2021-2027 (Gender Action Plan (GAP III))¹⁸⁸ was presented as a joint communication by the Commission and the European External Action Service (EEAS).

GAP III aims to provide a policy framework for the EU to boost its level of engagement, focusing on five pillars¹⁸⁹:

1. Making EU engagement for gender equality more effective¹⁹⁰
-> By 2025, 85% of all new external actions will contribute to this objective
2. Promoting a strategic EU engagement at country, regional and multilateral levels¹⁹¹
3. Towards a gender-equal world: focusing on key thematic areas of engagement¹⁹²
4. The EU leads by example¹⁹³ (The EU commits to leading by example throughout its leadership)

5. Reporting and communicating on results¹⁹⁴

The mid-term evaluation published in 2023 found that GAP III has helped to increase the strategic importance and broaden the approach of gender equality in EU external action. However, the evaluation found persisting internal constraints, namely due to the lack of human resources to manage the increased financial resources on gender equality¹⁹⁵.

Overall, **the EU seems to be stepping up its game by explicitly focusing on changing its own institutional culture by aiming for gender-responsive leadership** at top levels and setting out an ambitious and progressive outlook on gender equality in external action¹⁹⁶. However, critical observers point to a **superficial engagement with intersecting inequalities and GAP III's vague targets¹⁹⁷**. For instance, the target of '85% of all new actions throughout external relations will contribute to gender equality and women's empowerment by 2025' does not imply specific target relating to OECD DAC1 as a main priority¹⁹⁸. A clear and ambitious EU target on actual funding – for example 20%, as suggested by some WROs – would have been much more powerful¹⁹⁹.

Several challenges still persist for the implementation of GAP III, such as the lack of dedicated direct funds and funds for WROs, lack of intersectionality, lack of consultations with WROs and feminist movements (see details of Oxfam's requests on the implementation of GAP III in appendix 8).

In 2020, the Council failed to issue conclusions on GAP III, as three Member States (Hungary, Poland and Bulgaria) refused to endorse the concept of 'gender equality'. Instead, 24 Member States adopted Presidency conclusions. Organizations such as CONCORD have pointed out the subsequent risk that the EU's global leadership on gender equality will be undermined, as the EU as a block can no longer credibly raise gender equality in policy dialogues with partner countries because of this opposition from some of its own Member States. Unfortunately, this lack of leadership may translate into setbacks for gender equality inside and outside the EU²⁰⁰.

EU still needs to walk the feminist talk in its diplomatic human resources

Data ranging from 2023 to 2024 on gender from the European External Action Service highlight that men are overrepresented in senior management and diplomatic roles (see the methodology in appendix 1).

- 69% of the European External Action Service senior managers are men²⁰¹.
- 63% of EU ambassadors²⁰² and heads of delegation are men²⁰³.
- 7 out of 10 EU Special Representatives are men²⁰⁴.
- 63% of senior managers in EU delegations are men²⁰⁵.
- 72% of participants in civilian Common Security and Defence Policy (CSDP) missions are men²⁰⁶.

However, it should be noted that there has been an **increase in the number of gender focal persons (GFPs), as 99% of EU delegations now have a GFP** (87% of services at headquarters). There has also been improvement in the formalization of the role, as the proportion of GFPs with a job description that refers to their work on gender equality has risen to 44% in the EU delegations and to 79% at headquarters²⁰⁷. It is estimated that **84% of EU delegations engaged in civil society dialogue on gender equality in 2022** within the framework of the EU Civil Society Roadmaps, EU human rights dialogues and the gender-development partners group²⁰⁸.

3.C. THE EU MUST COMMIT TO AN INTERSECTIONAL FEMINIST FOREIGN POLICY

While the EU has not formally embraced an Intersectional Feminist Foreign Policy (IFFP), it channels its commitment through existing frameworks like the Women, Peace, and Security (WPS) agenda. However, the WPS framework has been criticized for reproducing binary conceptualizations of gender²⁰⁹. This creates a hierarchy whereby **the needs of gender minority and queer identities are not accounted for at an international level**, thus enabling discriminatory control over their sexuality, marriage and identity²¹⁰.

The EU institutions should set an example for Member States by making all its ODA gender-sensitive. It can draw inspiration from the models of 'feminist international assistance policy' already in place, such as that in Canada.

IFFP seeks to redefine security into a human-centric concept comprehensively. The idea is to extend security beyond the absence of armed conflict to encompass economic and political security, freedom from global health crises, climate change concerns, and to ensure personal safety and bodily integrity. While the WPS agenda concentrates on making conflict safer for women within existing structures, IFFP advocates a systemic shift, infusing feminist perspectives across diverse sectors beyond peace and security²¹¹.

A ROADMAP TOWARDS INTERSECTIONAL FEMINIST FOREIGN POLICY (IFFP) FOR

THE NEXT EU LEADERSHIP

Although there are several examples of IFFP being adopted at a Member State level within the EU, persistent challenges remain in implementing a truly gender transformative and intersectional approach²¹². **At this stage, and with the upcoming EU elections, an IFFP can be a concrete and complementary tool for GAP III to determine new stronger policies adapting an intersectional and transformative approach to EU external action.** There is a need²¹³ for an intersectional feminist approach to foreign policy²¹⁴ which i) places gender, racial, economic and climate justice at its heart; ii) prioritizes decolonization; and iii) puts the voices of those who have historically been least represented, systematically oppressed and are often most impacted, at the centre of policymaking²¹⁵.

Political parties and groups, and future elected MEPs, should engage in formulating an IFFP which is ambitious, meaningful and sets the standards for the implementation of IFFP at EU and Member State levels. To be credible and effective, any IFFP therefore needs to be complemented by intersectional feminist domestic policy (for **policy coherence**). Too often, countries that develop IFFP focus on exporting ideas that are not necessarily implemented nationally²¹⁶.

The increasing representation of far-right political groups in national governments has also signalled a backsliding in IFFP, as demonstrated in 2022 when the new Swedish government declared that it would not continue with FFP because they claimed the term obscured 'Swedish values'²¹⁷.

CONCLUSION

An IFFP should not be a tick-the-box exercise: it's a conscious decision to embark on a journey of systemic change. The EU needs an ambitious framework, and this must be done in consultation with European-based CSOs and with organizations from the majority world.

The scope of an ambitious IFFP should be broad and encompass many areas so as to make it possible to analyse and adapt various policies impacting marginalized and vulnerable groups and individuals globally. These are policies on climate justice, humanitarian action, migration, defence and security, trade, taxation, and agriculture, etc. The next European leadership should make it a priority to explicitly commit to an IFFP and explore all its implications.

IFFP is not a destination but **a long-term commitment which is accompanied by an internal cultural shift and a decolonial approach.** This cannot be properly done until we commit to rebalancing power structures, undergo a narrative change.

RECOMMENDATIONS

The EU feminist golden rules

1) **Adopt an intersectional feminist approach**

Within the European institutions, gender must be approached in an intersectional manner and in consultation with feminist civil society, so as not to reproduce policy and practice of discrimination in the pursuit of gender equality within the EU.

2) **Systematic gender mainstreaming**

Gender must be mainstreamed across all institutional practices, policies and laws, within the EU: within the budget, the Directorates Generals (DGs) and the measures adopted. For that purpose, the Commission should dedicate specific resources for gender training and gender expertise and establish mechanisms for implementing and monitoring gender mainstreaming in the DGs' work.

3) **Systematic gender monitoring, evaluation and accountability**

In order to ensure that gender is integrated in a comprehensive and intersectional way, the EU must put in place rigorous monitoring and evaluation mechanisms. This also involves monitoring and controlling the application of directives at Member State level.

4) **Invest in, collect and analyse gender-disaggregated data**

The EU must play a role in centralizing data on gender inequalities within Member States by coordinating and extending data collection, particularly on gender-based violence.

Oxfam's specific challenges for parties and candidates ahead of European elections to commit to:

- Ensuring strict gender balance at all levels: Commissioners, Committee chairs, General Directors, Ambassadors and Special Representatives, etc.
- Creating a Gender Equality Committee as an advisory body to the European Council dedicated to gender equality and justice.
- Adopting and implementing an intersectional feminist foreign policy, in particular by achieving the current target of at least 85% of EU ODA including gender equality and consult WROs in making decisions to raise funding specifically targeting gender equality, for example aiming to reach a 20% ratio as some WROs recommend.
- Allocating at least €250M per year (50 cents per EU citizen) to Women's Rights Organizations in the majority world.
- Adopting a new Gender Equality Strategy at the level of Communication for the post-2025 scenario, with more ambitious policy objectives, targets and budget allocations to promote gender equality in the EU. Such a strategy should build on the 2019-2025 Strategy and be developed in close consultation with gender equality stakeholders, including feminist civil



OXFAM

society organisations in the EU and beyond.

- Adopting a comprehensive sustainability framework for the green transition, integrating environmental, economic and social dimensions and emphasising gender justice. Moreover, the Commission should ensure that all policy initiatives and funds deployed under the European Green Deal, the Common Agricultural Policy and From Farm to Fork Strategy adopt a gender and intersectional perspective. Gender equality must be integrated into environmental policies to ensure policy coherence and address systemic issues rooted in capitalism, patriarchy and racism that contribute to environmental and social crises.
- Advocating at both EU and Member States level to improve care systems by recognising the centrality of care in our societies based on a holistic life-cycle approach that recognises the collective mechanisms of solidarity and our co-responsibility with one another, as well as the contribution of care to the economy.
- Making annual funds available to Member States to prevent and combat gender-based violence, ensuring that survivors are able to access protection and effective, free, and quality services. These funds should be directed towards supporting anti-violence centres, and shelters, and providing training for all professionals who are likely to come into contact with people who have experienced gender-based violence.
- Promoting minimum standards for mandatory sexual, emotional and consent education in schools from primary school age.
- Acting upon the European Parliament's recommendation to include abortion as a right in the EU Charter for Fundamental Rights.
- Providing funding and support to civil society organisations that work on reproductive justice issues. These organisations often play a crucial role in advocacy, service delivery and community education.
- Advocating for a more unified approach to anti-discrimination laws across Member States and encouraging the adoption and consistent enforcement of the EU's Employment Equality Directive (2000/78/EC) and the Racial Equality Directive (2000/43/EC) to explicitly include sexual orientation and gender identity as protected characteristics.



OXFAM

APPENDIX

1. Research concerning gender repartition among EU representatives
2. Mention of gender equality in the SDGs
3. Directives, strategies and proposals contributing to reduce gender inequality in the European Commission
4. Since 2019, three key Directives in the area of gender equality have been adopted
5. Parties positions in the EP on gender equality measures
6. The European Care Strategy, presented by the European Commission in 2022
7. OECD DAC rating system
8. Concerning the implementation of GAP III

1_ RESEARCH CONCERNING GENDER REPARTITION AMONG EU REPRESENTATIVES

Methodology

Based on several versions of the official directory of the European Union, concerning European External Action Service. The reports used date from 16/06/2020, 01/07/2020 and 16/01/2024. Concerning European Union Special Representatives, data consolidated on Wikipedia.

- Each member of the EU delegations and offices have been included and sorted by gender, based on their title (Mr or Ms).
- Heads of EU delegations of the European External Action Service 16/06/2020 (consulted on January 24th 2024): 111 men for 43 women (28%)
- Heads of EU delegations of the EEAS 01/07/2022: 122 men for 53 women (30%)
- Heads of EU delegations of the European External Action Service 16/01/2024 (consulted on January 24th 2024): 119 men for 64 women (35%)
- European Union Special Representatives: 2 women over 9 in June 2020 (22%), for 3 over 10 currently (30%)

2_ MENTION OF GENDER EQUALITY IN THE SDGS²¹⁸

While gender equality has its own dedicated SDG (SDG 5), it involves economic, social and environmental issues and is present in all the SDGs. It is explicitly mentioned in 10 of them, such as those concerning:

- ending poverty (SDG 1, Target 1.b *'Create sound policy frameworks at the national, regional and international levels, based on pro-poor and gender-sensitive development strategies, to support accelerated investment in poverty eradication actions'*);
- ensuring health and well-being for all (SDG 3, *'By 2030, ensure universal access to sexual and reproductive health-care services, including for family planning, information and education, and the integration of reproductive health into national strategies and programmes'*); and
- ensuring inclusive and equitable quality education (SDG 4, for example Target 4.5 *'By 2030, eliminate gender disparities in education and ensure equal access to all levels of education and vocational training for the vulnerable, including persons with disabilities, indigenous peoples and children in vulnerable situations'*).

3_DIRECTIVES, STRATEGIES AND PROPOSALS CONTRIBUTING TO REDUCE GENDER INEQUALITY IN THE EUROPEAN COMMISSION

- [Work-life Balance Directive](#) (2019) lays down minimum requirements designed to achieve equality between men and women with regard to labour market opportunities and treatment at work, by facilitating the reconciliation of work and family life for workers who are parents, or carers.
- [Women on Boards Directive](#) (2022) aims to achieve a more balanced representation of women and men among the directors of listed companies by establishing effective measures that aim to accelerate progress towards gender balance, while allowing listed companies sufficient time to make the necessary arrangements for that purpose.
- [EU Pay Transparency Directive](#) (2023) lays down minimum requirements to strengthen the application of the principle of equal pay for equal work or work of equal value between men and women and the prohibition of discrimination, in particular through pay transparency and reinforced enforcement mechanisms.
- [EU Strategy on Victims' Rights](#) (2020-2025) presents five key priorities: (i) effective communication with victims and a safe environment for victims to report crime; (ii) improving support and protection to the most vulnerable victims; (iii) facilitating victims' access to compensation; (iv) strengthening cooperation and coordination among all relevant actors; and (v) strengthening the international dimension of victims' rights.
- [LGBTIQ Equality Strategy](#) (2020-2025) aims to help lift the voices of LGBTQIA+ people and to bring together Member States and actors at all levels in a common endeavour to address anti-LGBTIQ equality effectively, focusing on four pillars: tackling discrimination against LGBTQIA+ people, ensuring LGBTQIA+ people's safety, building LGBTQIA+ inclusive societies, and leading the call for LGBTQIA+ equality around the world
- [European Care Strategy](#) (2022) proposing on the one hand the revision of the Barcelona targets on early childhood education and care, and on the other hand access to affordable high-quality long-term care, with attention to making the care sector more resilient and gender-balanced.
- [EU Anti-Racism Action Plan](#) (2020-2025) sets out a series of measures to step up action, to help lift the voices of people with a minority racial or ethnic background, and to bring together actors at all levels in a common endeavour to address racism more effectively and build a life free from racism and discrimination for all; an intersectional approach is adopted, taking into account combination of racism and discrimination or hatred on other grounds, including gender and sexual orientation.
- [EU Strategy on Combatting Trafficking in Human Beings](#) (2021-2025) aims at identifying and stopping trafficking early on, going after criminals by turning trafficking from a low-risk and high-return crime to high-risk and low-return crime, protecting the victims and helping them rebuild their lives giving specific attention, among other things, to the gender dimension
- [EU Roma Strategic Framework for Equality](#) (2020-2023) addresses equality,

inclusion and participation of Roma people at European and national scale, paying special attention to the gender dimension

- [EU Disability Rights Strategy](#) (2021-2030) aims to improve the lives of persons with disabilities in the coming decade, in the EU and beyond, while promoting an intersectional perspective, addressing specific barriers faced by persons with disabilities who are at the intersection of identities (gender, racial, ethnic, sexual, religious), or in a difficult socioeconomic or other vulnerable situation.
- [Extending the list of EU Crimes to Hate Speech and Hate Crime](#) aims at bringing forward an extension of the list of areas of EU crimes, to include hate speech and hate crime, whether because of race, religion, gender or sexuality.
- [Directive on Combating Violence against Women and Domestic Violence](#) (2022) aims to effectively combat violence against women and domestic violence throughout the EU; it does so by proposing measures in the following areas: the criminalisation of and sanctions for relevant offences; protection of victims and access to justice; victim support; prevention; coordination and cooperation.
- [Directive on Strengthening Equality Bodies](#) (2022) sets out standards for equality bodies, in the field of equal treatment and equal opportunities between women and men in matters of employment and occupation, to ensure that they can effectively assist victims of discrimination to access justice and promote equal treatment and prevent discrimination
- [Revising the Victims Rights Directive](#) (2012) ensures that victims of crime receive appropriate information, support and protection and are able to participate in criminal proceedings, including targeted and integrated support for victims with specific needs, such as victims of sexual violence, and victims of gender-based violence.

4_SINCE 2019, THREE KEY DIRECTIVES IN THE AREA OF GENDER EQUALITY HAVE BEEN ADOPTED

Work-life Balance Directive (2019)

The Directive aims to address the unequal sharing of care responsibilities, the perpetuation of traditional gender roles and gender inequalities in earnings and employment prospects stemming from inadequate family-related leave policies.

For that purpose, the Directive establishes minimum standards on paternity leave, carer's leave, a non-transferable right to parental leave and a right to request flexible working arrangements. The Directive establishes that fathers or second parents have a right to paternity leave of 10 days. It also sets an individual parental leave of four months for each parent, with two months of parental leave being not transferable. Member States can adopt family-related leaves that go beyond the minimum requirements established in the Directive.

The proposal for a Work-life Balance Directive came after the Commission withdrew the review of the Maternity Leave Directive due to a stalemate in the negotiations between the co-legislators. The provisions on the father-



OXFAM

specific leave remain the most contested part of the Directive by the Member States with some very progressive countries like Finland and its 9-weeks long well paid paternity leave, whereas four countries (Deutschland, Hungary, Italy and Slovakia) offer no paternity leave at all, and seven others offer less than a week. In comparison, the directive's proposal concerned the introduction of paternity leave of at least 10 days around the time of birth of the child.

Some have noted that the Directive does not sufficiently recognise the diversity of families and that many non-standard workers fall outside of the scope of the Directive.

'Women on Boards' Directive (2022)

The Directive establishes targets to achieve a more gender-balanced representation among the directors of listed companies to accelerate progress towards gender balance in their boards. The aim is for the under-represented gender to make up at least 40 % of non-executive board members and 33 % of all directors by 30 June 2026, including both executive and non-executive directors.

Companies with a lower share of women on their boards will be required to make appointments based on a comparative analysis of the qualifications of candidates. This analysis should apply clear, gender-neutral and unambiguous criteria, and companies must ensure that applicants are assessed objectively based on their individual merits and irrespective of gender. This approach should respect a candidate's qualifications and merit as the decisive criteria. When two candidates are equally qualified, the choice should be made in favour of the underrepresented gender. Companies will establish the criteria for board positions.

The implementation of the Directive will be monitored through a reporting process. Listed companies have to communicate yearly to a national authority on progress and measures taken to achieve the Directive's objectives. This information should also be made available on companies' websites and included in their annual report. Should a company fail to reach the objectives, it should describe the concrete steps taken and future initiatives to achieve those. In addition, Member States have to report to the Commission every two years.

This Directive was ten years in negotiations. One of the changes from the original proposal of the Commission is the removal of any references to 'sanctions'. Besides, one of the shortcomings of the Directives is that its provisions only apply to listed companies, which represent more than 99% of all businesses in the EU. Others have pointed out the missed opportunity to consider 'diversity' among executive directives in a broad sense.

Member States will have to transpose the Directive by the end of 2024.



OXFAM

EU Pay Transparency Directive (2023)

The Directive aims to strengthen the application of the principle of equal pay for equal work between women and men.

The Directive establishes that employers with at least 100 employees will have to publish information on pay gaps between women and men workers. In the first stage, employers with at least 250 employees will report every year and employers with between 150 and 249 employees will report every three years. Five years after the transposition of the Directive, employers with between 100 and 149 employees will also have to report every three years.

In cases here pay reporting reveals a gender pay gap of at least 5 % and when the employer cannot justify the gap based on objective gender-neutral factors, employers will have to conduct a pay assessment in cooperation with workers' representatives.

All employees, irrespective of the company's size, will have the right to request information from their employer to assess whether they are paid in a non-discriminatory manner compared with other workers in the same organisation doing equal work or work of equal value. Employers are also required to indicate the initial pay level or its range (based on objective and gender-neutral criteria) to be paid for a specific job without the applicant requesting it. In addition, the Directive prohibits employers from asking job applicants about the pay history of their former employment relationship. Confidential contractual clauses restricting workers from disclosing information about their pay shall also be prohibited.

For the first time, intersectional discrimination (the combination of multiple forms of inequality or disadvantage, such as gender and ethnicity or sexuality) has been included in the scope of the new rules. The Directive also contains provisions ensuring that the requirements of workers with disabilities are taken into account.

Member States have to transpose this Directive into national law before June 2026.



OXFAM

5_PARTIES POSITIONS IN THE EP ON GENDER EQUALITY MEASURES

Pay Transparency Directive 2023									
Position	EP P	S&D	Renew	Greens/EFA	The Left / GUE - NGL	ECR	ID	Non-Attached	Total
For	102	125	75	62	28	2	21	12	427
Against	31	19	2	-	1	31	14	15	79
Abstention	6	-	11	-	2	36	18	3	76
No Vote	37	-	13	10	7	10	11	16	123
Total									
Total	176	144	101	72	38	64	64	46	705
Resolution on Sexual & Reproductive Health in Women's Health 2021									
Position	EP P	S&D	Renew	Greens/EFA	The Left / GUE - NGL	ECR	ID	Non-Attached	Total
For	36	128	95	67	38	-	1	13	378
Against	113	2	-	-	-	52	68	20	255
Abstention	18	3	2	3	-	11	1	4	42
No Vote	10	1	1	3	1	-	1	1	30

71

<i>Total</i>	177	146	98	73	39	63	71	38	705
--------------	------------	------------	-----------	-----------	-----------	-----------	-----------	-----------	------------

Resolution on LGBTIQ Rights in the EU 2021

<i>Position</i>	EP P	SSD	Renew	Green s/EFA	The Left / GUE - NGL	EC R	ID	Non - Atta che d	Total
<i>For</i>	53	123	3	68	34	3	-	13	387
<i>Against</i>	20	8	-	-	-	49	68	16	161
<i>Abstention</i>	99	2	93	1	2	10	2	4	123
<i>No Vote</i>	7	13	2	4	3	1	1	3	34

<i>Total</i>	179	146	98	73	39	63	71	36	705
--------------	------------	------------	-----------	-----------	-----------	-----------	-----------	-----------	------------

The Gender Dimension in Cohesion Policy 2021

<i>Position</i>	EP P	SSD	Renew	Green s/EFA	The Left / GUE - NGL	EC R	ID	Non - Atta che d	Total
<i>For</i>	30	140	94	69	39	2	-	16	390
<i>Against</i>	6	-	-	-	-	45	16	15	82
<i>Abstention</i>	13 5	-	4	-	-	13	53	7	212
<i>No Vote</i>	7	6	-	4	-	1	-	-	21


OXFAM

<i>Total</i>	178	146	98	73	39	61	72	38	705

6 THE EUROPEAN CARE STRATEGY, PRESENTED BY THE EUROPEAN COMMISSION IN 2022, FOCUSES ON:

Early childhood education and care
<p>The Commission proposed that Member States revise the targets on early childhood education and care to enhance women's labour market participation, also known as the 'Barcelona Targets'. The EU Ministers adopted the new targets in December 2022. The Council Recommendations on Early Childhood Education and Care encourage Member States to work towards the following targets for 2030:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • At least 45% of children below the age of three participate in early childhood education and care. • At least 96% of children between the ages of three and the starting age for compulsory primary education should participate in early childhood education and care.
Long-term care
<p>The Commission recommends that Member States draw up national action plans to make care in the EU more available, accessible, and of better quality for all. This includes ensuring high-quality criteria and standards for long-term care providers, supporting informal carers through training, counselling, psychological and financial support, and mobilising adequate and sustainable funding for long-term care. Subsequently, EU Member States adopted the Council recommendation on access to affordable, high-quality long-term care.</p>
Work-life balance, fair working conditions and training
<p>The Commission recommend that Member States improve working conditions and attract more people (particularly men) to the care sector. For that purpose, Member States should promote collective bargaining and social dialogue to improve wages and working conditions, ensure the highest standards of occupational health and safety, design continuous education and training for care workers, tackle gender stereotypes around care and launch communication campaigns and ratify and implement ILO Convention</p>

189 on domestic workers.

Adequate funding for quality care systems and infrastructure

The Commission recommends that Member States increase public support for the care sector, improve the fiscal sustainability of care services, and use existing EU funding opportunities to improve services and infrastructure.

7_OECD DAC RATING SYSTEM²¹⁹

NOT GOAL-ORIENTED (VALUE 0):	The project/programme was examined with regard to the marker but was not found to target the objective of gender equality.
SIGNIFICANT OBJECTIVE (VALUE 1):	Gender equality is an important and deliberate objective of the project/programme, but it is not the main reason for its implementation.
MAIN OBJECTIVE (VALUE 2):	Gender equality is the main objective of the project/programme and its pursuit fundamentally determines the design of the project/programme and its expected outcomes. This project/programme would not have been undertaken without the objective of equality between women and men.

8_CONCERNING THE IMPLEMENTATION OF GAP III

Oxfam has been calling for:

- More access to funds to WROs: there is enough evidence that shows the lack to dedicated direct funds and for Women's Rights Organisations (WROs). This can be done by providing long-term funding support to allow sustainable change; by reviewing the structure of the EU's and Member State's funding mechanisms and making sure they are gender-responsive and accessible. AWID pointed to the lack of earmarked funds for local WROs for the last 20 years.
- Indicators for intersectionality. Intersectionality is one of the 3 pillars of GAP III, guiding the EU projects on gender equality in its external action. However, the debate on intersectionality's definition is still ongoing, especially within MS. Thematic and impact objectives on intersectionality are needed.
- Transparency and accountability on implementation and reporting should be timely published, accessible and available in local language too. Data should follow the same structure in all projects and efficacy and outcomes of the projects should be indicated. Where projects are not including gender targets

an explanation should be provided.

- Meaningful Consultations with WROs and feminist movements: EU institutions and national Ministries of Foreign Affairs should engage with feminist movements and women's rights organisations. These groups should be engaged and in regular consultation with the EU and national institutions for the design and the decision of priorities in programmes. EU delegations should create the conditions for inclusive engagement with local WROs. Organisations representing WROs, LGBTQI+, young people, people with disabilities, and any other groups facing intersectional discrimination should be co-creators and co-leaders of consultations with funding institutions.
- Mainstream GAP III in all policy making and policy implementation, internally and externally.
- Cultural change. A feminist and intersectional approach to gender equality needs to impact also EU staff who is working with WROs and feminist movements and is in charge of designing policies. More funds for training and exchanges with organisations, academics and institutions from the global majority should be put in place.

Many themes can be covered by an IFFP. UN lists the following themes: 'this movement should aspire to transforming the practice of foreign policy to the greater benefit of women and girls everywhere, impacting a country's diplomacy, defense and security cooperation, aid, trade, climate security, and even immigration policies'²²⁰. For the purpose of this report the focus is mostly on development aid.

OXFAM

Oxfam is an international confederation of 21 organizations, working with its partners and allies, reaching out to millions of people around the world. Together, we tackle inequalities to end poverty and injustice, now and in the long term – for an equal future. Please write to any of the agencies for further information or visit www.oxfam.org.

Oxfam America (www.oxfamamerica.org)

Oxfam Aotearoa (www.oxfam.org.nz)

Oxfam Australia (www.oxfam.org.au)

Oxfam-in-Belgium (www.oxfamsol.be)

Oxfam Brasil (www.oxfam.org.br)

Oxfam Canada (www.oxfam.ca)

Oxfam Colombia (www.oxfamcolombia.org)

Oxfam France (www.oxfamfrance.org)

Oxfam Germany (www.oxfam.de)

Oxfam GB (www.oxfam.org.uk)

Oxfam Hong Kong (www.oxfam.org.hk)

Oxfam IBIS (Denmark) (www.oxfamibis.dk)

Oxfam India (www.oxfamindia.org)

Oxfam Intermón (Spain) (www.oxfamintermon.org)

Oxfam Ireland (www.oxfamireland.org)

Oxfam Italy (www.oxfamitalia.org)

Oxfam Mexico (www.oxfammexico.org)

Oxfam Novib (Netherlands) (www.oxfamnovib.nl)

Oxfam Québec (www.oxfam.qc.ca)

Oxfam South Africa (www.oxfam.org.za)

KEDV (www.kedv.org.tr)



OXFAM

www.oxfam.org

- ¹ Oxfam France (2020). *Un Futur Feministe: L'éthique du soin au service des personnes, de la justice et des droits* <https://oxfamilibrary.openrepository.com/bitstream/handle/10546/621046/dp-feminist-futures-caring-people-justice-rights-140920-fr.pdf>
- ² United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (2022). *Gender-related killings of women and girls (femicide/feminicide)*, <https://www.unwomen.org/sites/default/files/2022-11/Gender-related-killings-of-women-and-girls-improving-data-to-improve-responses-to-femicide-feminicide-en.pdf>
- ³ OECD (2023). *SI-GI 2023 Global Report: Gender Equality in Times of Crisis*, <https://doi.org/10.1787/115f74ce-fr>
- ⁴ Observatoire des inégalités (2021). *Dans 69 pays sur 193, l'homosexualité est interdite*, <https://www.inegalites.fr/Dans-69-pays-sur-193-l-homosexualite-est-interdite>
- ⁵ European Commission (2023). *Report on gender equality in the EU*, https://commission.europa.eu/system/files/2023-04/annual_report_GE_2023_web_EN.pdf
- ⁶ EIGE (2023). *Gender Equality Index 2023. Towards a green transition in transport and energy*, https://eige.europa.eu/publications-resources/publications/gender-equality-index-2023-towards-green-transition-transport-and-energy?language_content_entity=en
- ⁷ ibid
- ⁸ Based on publicly available data: Wikipedia (consulted on 24/01/2024). *Juncker Commission*, https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Juncker_Commission
- ⁹ HowTheyVote.eu *Strengthening the application of the principle of equal pay for equal work or work of equal value between men and women*, <https://howtheyvote.eu/votes/9986>
- ¹⁰ HowTheyVote.eu *Sexual and reproductive health and rights in the EU, in the frame of women's health*, <https://howtheyvote.eu/votes/4176>
- ¹¹ HowTheyVote.eu *LGBTIQ rights in the EU*, <https://howtheyvote.eu/votes/4506>
- ¹² HowTheyVote.eu *The gender dimension in Cohesion Policy*, <https://howtheyvote.eu/votes/1765>
- ¹³ HowTheyVote.eu *Sexual and reproductive health and rights in the EU, in the frame of women's health*, <https://howtheyvote.eu/votes/4176>
- ¹⁴ HowTheyVote.eu *LGBTIQ rights in the EU*, <https://howtheyvote.eu/votes/4506>
- ¹⁵ HowTheyVote.eu *Sexual and reproductive health and rights in the EU, in the frame of women's health*, <https://howtheyvote.eu/votes/4176>
- ¹⁶ HowTheyVote.eu *The gender dimension in Cohesion Policy*, <https://howtheyvote.eu/votes/1765>
- ¹⁷ HowTheyVote.eu *LGBTIQ rights in the EU*, <https://howtheyvote.eu/votes/4506>
- ¹⁸ With more than 378 billion euros over the period 2021 - 2027, the CAP amounts to 33% of overall EU's expenses. Source : *toutel'europa.eu Le budget de l'Union européenne*, <https://www.toutel'europa.eu/fonctionnement-de-l-ue/le-budget-de-l-union-europeenne/>
- ¹⁹ *Le Monde* (2021). *Droits des LGBT+ : l'UE passe à l'offensive en lançant des procédures contre la Hongrie et la Pologne*, https://www.lemonde.fr/international/article/2021/07/15/droits-des-lgbt-l-ue-passe-a-l-offensive-en-lancant-des-procedures-contre-la-hongrie-et-la-pologne_6088356_3210.html
- ²⁰ OECD. Consulted the 24/01/2024. *Creditor Reporting System (CRS)*, <https://stats.oecd.org/Index.aspx?DataSetCode=crs>
- ²¹ OECD Development Assistance Committee (DAC) Creditor Reporting system (CRS). <https://stats.oecd.org/Index.aspx?DataSetCode=crs>
- ²² Official Journal of the European Union (2012). *Charter of Fundamental Rights of the European Union*, <https://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/TXT/PDF/?uri=CELEX:12012P/TXT>
- ²³ The term "women" and "girls" used throughout this report is broadly defined by Oxfam to include cis-gender women and girls, trans, and gender non-conforming people. However, it should be noted that the majority of the information and data presented in this report comes from external sources which may present a more binary perspective.
- ²⁴ Art. 2 and 3(3) TEU and Art. 8, 10, 19 and 157 *Treaty of the Functioning of the European Union, 2012/C 326/01*, 2012, <https://eur-lex.europa.eu/LexUriServ/LexUriServ.do?uri=OJ:C:2012:326:FULL:EN:PDF>; Art. 21 and 23, *Charter of Fundamental Rights of the European Union, 2012/C 326/02*, 2012, <https://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/TXT/?uri=celex%3A12012P%2FTXT>
- ²⁵ European Economic and Social Committee (2023). *Gender equality still progressing at snail's pace in the EU*, <https://www.eesc.europa.eu/en/news-media/press-releases/gender-equality-still-progressing-snails-pace-eu>
- ²⁶ Roberta Metsola for example has been widely criticised about her positions on abortion. Euronews (2022). *Roberta Metsola on abortion: 'My position is the European Parliament's position'*, <https://www.euronews.com/my-europe/2022/01/18/roberta-metsola-on-abortion-my-position-is-the-european-parliament-s-position#:~:text=%22The%20position%20of%20the%20parliament,as%20president%20on%20this%20issue.%22>

- ²⁷ Euronews (2022). *Sweden election: Why the far right were the biggest winners and four other takeaways*, <https://www.euronews.com/my-europe/2022/09/16/sweden-election-why-the-far-right-were-the-biggest-winners-and-four-other-takeaways>
- ²⁸ BBC News (2022). *Giorgia Meloni: Italy's far-right wins election and vows to govern for all*, <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-63029909>
- ²⁹ Veuger, S. (2023). *Populist Rage Gives Dutch Far Right a Worrying Shot at Power*, <https://foreignpolicy.com/2023/11/27/netherlands-dutch-election-coalition-geert-wilders-pvv-far-right/>
- ³⁰ Cunningham K., Hix, S., Dennison S., Learmonth, I. (2024). *A sharp right turn: a forecast for the 2024 european parliament elections*, European Council on Foreign Relations (ECFR). <https://ecfr.eu/publication/a-sharp-right-turn-a-forecast-for-the-2024-european-parliament-elections/>
- ³¹ UN Sustainable Development Group. *Gender Equality & Women's Empowerment*, <https://unsdg.un.org/2030-agenda/universal-values/gender-equality-and-womens-empowerment>
- ³² von der Leyen, U. (2019). *A Union that strives for more. My agenda for Europe: political guidelines for the next European Commission 2019-2024*, Publications Office of the European Union. <https://op.europa.eu/en/publication-detail/-/publication/43a17056-ebf1-11e9-9c4e-01aa75ed71a1>
- ³³ Herszenhorn, D., & Bayer, L. (2019). *Von der Leyen's tough (gender) balancing act*, Politico Europe. <https://www.politico.eu/article/von-der-leyens-tough-gender-balancing-act/>
- ³⁴ European Commission (retrieved 26 November 2023). *The Commissioners*, https://commissioners.ec.europa.eu/index_en
- ³⁵ See Appendix 1 for more details and methodology
- ³⁶ von der Leyen, U. (2019). *A Union that strives for more. My agenda for Europe: political guidelines for the next European Commission 2019-2024*, Publication Office of the European Union. <https://op.europa.eu/en/publication-detail/-/publication/43a17056-ebf1-11e9-9c4e-01aa75ed71a1>
- ³⁷ European Commission (last consulted 14 February 2024). *Helena Dalli*, https://commissioners.ec.europa.eu/helena-dalli_en
- ³⁸ European Commission (2020) *A Union of Equality: Gender Equality Strategy 2020-2025*, <https://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/TXT/?uri=CELEX%3A52020DC0152>
- ³⁹ González Gago, E. (2019). *Evaluation of the strengths and weaknesses of the strategic engagement for gender equality 2016-2019*. Publications Office. <https://data.europa.eu/doi/10.2838/451205>;
- Debusscher, P. (2023). Chapter 5. *The EU Gender Equality Strategy 2020-2025: the beginning of a new season? In Social policy in the European Union: state of play 2022. Policymaking in a permacrisis.* https://www.etui.org/sites/default/files/2023-01/05_The%20EU%20Gender%20Equality%20Strategy%202020-2025%20the%20beginning%20of%20a%20new%20season.pdf
- ⁴⁰ TA3 (2019). *Čaputová's duel with Šešćovič before the 2nd round of elections*, <https://www.ta3.com/elacija/16047/duel-caputovej-so-sefcovicom-pred-2-kolom-volieb>
- ⁴¹ European Commission (2021). *EU founding values: Commission starts legal action against Hungary and Poland for violations of fundamental rights of LGBTIQ people*, https://ec.europa.eu/commission/presscorner/detail/en/IP_21_3668
- ⁴² European Court of Auditors (2021). *Special Report: Gender mainstreaming in the EU budget: time to turn words into action*, https://www.eca.europa.eu/Lists/ECADocuments/SR21_10/SR_Gender_mainstreaming_EN.pdf
- ⁴³ Debusscher, P. (2023). Chapter 5. *The EU Gender Equality Strategy 2020-2025: the beginning of a new season? In Social policy in the European Union: state of play 2022. Policymaking in a permacrisis.* https://www.etui.org/sites/default/files/2023-01/05_The%20EU%20Gender%20Equality%20Strategy%202020-2025%20the%20beginning%20of%20a%20new%20season.pdf
- ⁴⁴ Debusscher, P. (2023). Chapter 5. *The EU Gender Equality Strategy 2020-2025: the beginning of a new season? In Social policy in the European Union: state of play 2022. Policymaking in a permacrisis.* https://www.etui.org/sites/default/files/2023-01/05_The%20EU%20Gender%20Equality%20Strategy%202020-2025%20the%20beginning%20of%20a%20new%20season.pdf
- ⁴⁵ EIGE. *Gender Mainstreaming - Institutions and structures: European Commission*, <https://eige.europa.eu/gender-mainstreaming/institutions-and-structures/european-union>
- ⁴⁶ Ibid
- ⁴⁷ Mergaert, L., & Minto, R. (2021). *European Policy Analysis: Gender Mainstreaming in the European Commission*, Swedish Institute for European Policy Studies. <https://www.sieps.se/en/publications/2021/gender-mainstreaming-in-the-european-commission/>
- ⁴⁸ Ibid
- ⁴⁹ Ibid
- ⁵⁰ With more than 378 billion euros over the period 2021 - 2027, the CAP amounts to 33% of overall EU's expenses.



OXFAM

Source : [touteleurope.eu](https://www.touteleurope.eu/fonctionnement-de-l-ue/le-budget-de-l-union-europeenne/) *Le budget de l'Union européenne*, <https://www.touteleurope.eu/fonctionnement-de-l-ue/le-budget-de-l-union-europeenne/>

⁵¹ https://agriculture.ec.europa.eu/common-agricultural-policy/cap-overview/cap-2023-27/key-policy-objectives-cap-2023-27_en

⁵² EIGE (2023). *Gender Statistics Database*, https://eige.europa.eu/gender-statistics/dgs/indicator/wmidm_pol_part_wmid_eurparl

⁵³ European Parliament (2022). *Women in the European Parliament*, <https://www.europarl.europa.eu/news/en/headlines/society/20190226ST028804/women-in-the-european-parliament-infographics>

⁵⁴ European Network Against Racism (2019). *ENAR's elections analysis: ethnic minorities in the new European Parliament 2019-2025*, https://www.enar-eu.org/wp-content/uploads/2019_06-Racial-diversity-EU-Parliament-elected-MEPs.pdf

⁵⁵ Kantola, J. (2022). *Parliamentary Politics and Polarisation Around Gender: Tackling Inequalities in Political Groups in the European Parliament*. In: Ahrens, P., Elomäki, A., Kantola, J. (eds) *European Parliament's Political Groups in Turbulent Times*, Palgrave Studies in European Union Politics. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-94012-6_10

⁵⁶ Ibid

⁵⁷ Euractiv (2023). *LEAK: European Parliament gets ready to shake up internal committee structure*, <https://www.euractiv.com/section/eu-reforms/news/leak-european-parliament-gets-ready-to-shake-up-internal-committee-structure/>

Euroactiv (2023). *LEAK: MEPs working on major overhaul of lawmaking committees*, <https://www.euractiv.com/section/politics/news/leak-meps-working-on-major-overhaul-of-lawmaking-committees/>

⁵⁸ Available leaked information indicates that the plans may include reducing the number of committees to 15 in addition to five horizontal committees. According to this proposal, the FEMM committee would be replaced by a horizontal or 'special committee' on gender equality and gender mainstreaming which would only have temporary legislative competences. In November 2023, the FEMM agreed to write a letter to President Metsola, expressing their disagreement with the proposal of FEMM losing its legislative competence and asking for a meeting with the President. Source: European Parliament, Committee on Women's Rights and Gender Equality (2023). *Minutes Meeting of 29 November 2023*, https://www.europarl.europa.eu/doceo/document/FEMM-PV-2023-11-29-1_EN.pdf

⁵⁹ European People's Party (2019). *EPP Manifesto - "Let's open the next chapter for Europe together"*, <https://www.epp.eu/files/uploads/2019/04/EPP-MANIFESTO-2019-1.pdf>

⁶⁰ European People's Party *Working Groups - Women's Rights and Gender Equality*, <https://www.eppgroup.eu/how-we-make-it-happen/working-groups/legal-home-affairs/women-s-rights-and-gender-equality>

⁶¹ European People's Party (2020). *EPP Group Position Paper on Gender Equality*, <https://www.eppgroup.eu/newsroom/publications/epp-group-position-paper-on-gender-equality>

⁶² Defining certain gender equality issues as a national competence allows the EPP to indirectly oppose the development of EU policies, which ultimately benefits the far-right and Eurosceptic groups. Source: Berthet, V. (2023). *Spotlights on the Political Groups as Gender Equality Actors: Struggles over Issues of Gendered Violence in the European Parliament*, The Foundation for European Progressive Studies. <https://fepe-europe.eu/wp-content/uploads/2023/02/Spotlight-on-the-political-groups-as-gender-equality-actors.pdf>

⁶³ Certain EPP delegations - such as the Swedish, French, and Belgian - are more progressive towards reproductive and abortion rights than conservative delegations, such as the Italians, Maltese and Croatians. Source: Ibid

⁶⁴ Party of European Socialists (2019). *A New Social Contract for Europe - 2019 Manifesto*, https://pes.eu/wp-content/uploads/2022/07/PES-Manifesto-2019_EN.pdf_2063069299.pdf

⁶⁵ Ibid

⁶⁶ Berthet, V. (2023). *Spotlights on the Political Groups as Gender Equality Actors: Struggles over Issues of Gendered Violence in the European Parliament*, The Foundation for European Progressive Studies. <https://fepe-europe.eu/wp-content/uploads/2023/02/Spotlight-on-the-political-groups-as-gender-equality-actors.pdf>

⁶⁷ Namely, Bulgaria - ensued over the Istanbul Convention due to expressed hostilities in their country over "gender ideology".

⁶⁸ Ibid

⁶⁹ Ibid

⁷⁰ Renew Europe (2019). *Priorities 2019-2014 - "Our vision to Renew Europe: From Reflection to Action"*, <https://www.reneweuropengroup.eu/priorities>

⁷¹ Renew Europe (2021). *Gender and Trade - Position Paper*, <https://reneweuropengroup.app.box.com/s/4fi63i3lnz24ful6o9inbzs9dv94asj?>



- ⁷² Renew Europe (2021). *The Simone Veil Pact for Gender Equality*, <https://www.simoneveilpact.eu/>
- ⁷³ Renew Europe (2023). *Renew Her Europe: Renew Europe Women's Network*, <https://www.reneweuropengroup.eu/campaigns/renew-her-europe-renew-europe-womens-network>
- ⁷⁴ Elomäki, A., & Ahrens, P. (2022). *Contested gender mainstreaming in the European Parliament: political groups and committees as gatekeepers*, *European Journal of Politics and Gender*, 5(3): 322-340. <https://doi.org/10.1332/251510822X16547712638806>
- ⁷⁵ Ahrens, P., Gaweda, B., & Kantola, J. (2021). *How political groups frame gender equality and human rights in the European Parliament*, London School of Economics. <https://blogs.lse.ac.uk/europpblog/2021/12/15/how-political-groups-frame-gender-equality-and-human-rights-in-the-european-parliament/>
- ⁷⁶ Berthet, V. (2023). *Spotlights on the Political Groups as Gender Equality Actors: Struggles over Issues of Gendered Violence in the European Parliament*, The Foundation for European Progressive Studies. <https://feps-europe.eu/wp-content/uploads/2023/02/Spotlight-on-the-political-groups-as-gender-equality-actors.pdf>
- ⁷⁷ The European Free Alliance (EFA) brings together political parties and MEPs from regions and stateless nations with diversity, linguistic rights, self-determination and decentralised governance being its underlying principles. Source: European Free Alliance (2024). *Who we are*, <https://e-f-a.org/who-we-are/>
- ⁷⁸ European Greens (2019). *Manifesto 2019*, <https://europeangreens.eu/priorities-for-2019-what-european-greens-fight-for/#manifesto>
- ⁷⁹ European Greens (2019). *Priorities for 2019: What European Greens Fight For*, <https://europeangreens.eu/priorities-for-2019-what-european-greens-fight-for/>
- ⁸⁰ Ibid
- ⁸¹ Schmidt, J. (2021). *A Green Feminist Foreign Policy for the EU*, *Green European Journal*. <https://www.greeneuropeanjournal.eu/a-green-feminist-foreign-policy-for-the-eu/>
- ⁸² Zacharenko, (2019). *The Neoliberal Fuel to the Anti-Gender Movement*, *Green European Journal*. <https://www.greeneuropeanjournal.eu/the-neoliberal-fuel-to-the-anti-gender-movement/>
- ⁸³ Klatzer, E., & Rinaldi, A. (2020). *"#nextGenerationEU" Leaves Women Behind: Gender Impact Assessment of the European Commission Proposals for the EU Recovery Plan*. Greens/EFA Group. https://alexandrageese.eu/wp-content/uploads/2020/07/Gender-Impact-Assessment-NextGenerationEU_Klatzer_Rinaldi_2020.pdf
- ⁸⁴ European Greens (2020). *Trans Rights Here! Trans Rights Now!* <https://europeangreens.eu/resolutions/transrights-here-trans-rights-now/>
- ⁸⁵ Berthet, V. (2023). *Spotlights on the Political Groups as Gender Equality Actors: Struggles over Issues of Gendered Violence in the European Parliament*, The Foundation for European Progressive Studies. <https://feps-europe.eu/wp-content/uploads/2023/02/Spotlight-on-the-political-groups-as-gender-equality-actors.pdf>
- ⁸⁶ European Free Alliance (2019). *Building a Europe of all Peoples - 2019 Manifesto*, <https://e-f-a.org/2019-manifesto-european-free-alliance/>
- ⁸⁷ Ibid
- ⁸⁸ European Free Alliance (2020). *Gender Equality: EFA launches its Women's Forum*, <https://e-f-a.org/2020/11/27/gender-equality-efa-launches-its-womens-forum/>
- ⁸⁹ Presented in their "Vision for Europe" which has since evolved to include policies focusing on the post-pandemic recovery plan. Source: European Conservatives and Reformists (2023). *Vision for Europe*, https://ecrgroup.eu/vision_for_europe
- ⁹⁰ Gaweda, B., Siddi, M., & Miller, C. (2023). *What's in a name? Gender equality and the European Conservatives and Reformists' group in the European Parliament*, *Party Politics*, 29(5): 829-839. <https://doi.org/10.1177/13540688221116247>
- ⁹¹ European Conservative and Reformist Group (2020). *MEP Assita Kanko: We are determined to put an end to Female Genital Mutilation*, <https://ecrgroup.eu/article/mep-assita-kanko-we-are-determined-to-put-an-end-to-female-genital-mutilation>
- ⁹² European Conservative and Reformist Group (2022). *Humanitarian aid for developing countries must be linked to peace building*, <https://ecrgroup.eu/article/humanitarian-aid-for-developing-countries-must-be-linked-to-peace-building>
- ⁹³ European Conservative and Reformist Group (2023). *NEWS: Week Ahead: 16 - 20 January 2023*, <https://ecrgroup.eu/article/week-ahead-16-20-january-2023>
- ⁹⁴ Berthet, V. (2023). *Spotlights on the Political Groups as Gender Equality Actors: Struggles over Issues of Gendered Violence in the European Parliament*, The Foundation for European Progressive Studies. <https://feps-europe.eu/wp-content/uploads/2023/02/Spotlight-on-the-political-groups-as-gender-equality-actors.pdf>
- ⁹⁵ Identity and Democracy (2023). *About Us*, <https://www.idgroup.eu/about>
- ⁹⁶ Ibid



OXFAM

⁹⁷ The Left group in the European Parliament - GUE/NGL (2019). *Another Europe is possible - Manifesto 2019*, <https://left.eu/european-parliament-election-2019/>

⁹⁸ Ibid

⁹⁹ Ibid

¹⁰⁰ Elomäki, A., & Ahrens, P. (2022). *Contested gender mainstreaming in the European Parliament: political groups and committees as gatekeepers*, *European Journal of Politics and Gender*, 5(3): 322-340. <https://doi.org/10.1332/251510822X16547712638806>

¹⁰¹ The Left group in the European Parliament - GUE/NGL (2013). *"Why didn't she scream?" This Nov. 25 the Left demands an end to victim-blaming*, <https://left.eu/why-didnt-she-scream-this-nov-25-the-left-demands-an-end-to-victim-blaming/>

¹⁰² Non-attached MEPs have very different profiles, and their inclusion among the non-attached is often the result of special circumstances. At least 12 Hungarian, 5 French and 2 Greek MEPs come from far-right national parties. On the other hand, two of the Greek MEPs come from the Greek Communist Party. Three other members are non-attached, having been expelled from the S&D group on suspicion of corruption. Finally, the three Spanish MEPs are Catalan pro-independence members of the 'Junts per Catalunya' party.

Source : toutel'europa.eu (2024). *Les groupes du Parlement européen : les non-inscrits (NI)*, <https://www.touteleurope.eu/institutions/les-groupes-du-parlement-europeen-les-non-inscrits-ni/>

¹⁰³ Berthet, V. (2023). *Spotlights on the Political Groups as Gender Equality Actors: Struggles over Issues of Gendered Violence in the European Parliament*, The Foundation for European Progressive Studies. <https://fepe-europe.eu/wp-content/uploads/2023/02/Spotlight-on-the-political-groups-as-gender-equality-actors.pdf>

¹⁰⁴ Ibid

¹⁰⁵ Ibid

¹⁰⁶ EIGE (2020). *Beijing + 25: the fifth review of the implementation of the Beijing Platform for Action in the EU Member States*, https://eige.europa.eu/publications-resources/publications/beijing-25-fifth-review-implementation-beijing-platform-action-eu-member-states?language_content_entity=en

¹⁰⁷ In 2016, the Council stated its commitment to upgrading the status of the Strategic Engagement for Gender Equality to that of a Commission Communication, linking its contents closely to the Europe 2020 Strategy and the UN 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development. In 2018, the Council reached an agreement on the level of payment of paternity and parental leave (Source: EIGE. *Gender Mainstreaming - Institutions and Structures: European Union*, <https://eige.europa.eu/gender-mainstreaming/institutions-and-structures/european-union>), while in 2019, it adopted conclusions on the gender pay gap (Source: Council of the European Union (2020). *Tackling the gender pay gap: the Council approves conclusions*, <https://www.consilium.europa.eu/en/press/press-releases/2020/12/02/tackling-the-gender-pay-gap-the-council-approves-conclusions/>). The Council also adopted conclusions in 2022 to strengthen gender equality and women's empowerment in EU external action in line with the Women, Peace and Security agenda (Source: Council of the European Union (2022). *Council conclusions on women, peace and security*, <https://www.consilium.europa.eu/en/press/press-releases/2022/11/14/council-conclusions-on-women-peace-and-security/>).

¹⁰⁸ The document calls for the transition of care systems with a gender perspective, and invites the Member States and the European Commission to take actions in different ways, like the revaluation and recognition of care work, paid as well as unpaid, or the promotion of gender equality in care work. Source: Council of the European Union (2023). *Council Conclusions on 'the transition of care systems throughout life towards holistic, person-centred and community-based support models with a gender perspective*, <https://data.consilium.europa.eu/doc/document/ST-16094-2023-INIT/en/pdf>

¹⁰⁹ These guidelines are addressed to all EU Member States wishing to build a transformative care agenda. It conveys a progressive message concerning gender equity, like the need for a guarantee of gender mainstreaming at all stages of care policies and for gender equality mechanisms leading its implementation, or the call for better national statistics to mainstream gender and intersectional approaches and to advance in the geo-referencing of gender indicators. Source: European Commission (2023). *Guidelines for Economy and Policy of Care for EU Development Partners*, <https://www.cooperacionspanola.es/wp-content/uploads/2023/12/GUIDELINES-OF-CARE-FOR-DEVELOPMENT-PARTNERS-PEUE.pdf>

¹¹⁰ Council of the European Union (2022). *Draft Council Conclusions on Gender equality in disrupted economies: focus on the young generation*, <https://data.consilium.europa.eu/doc/document/ST-12067-2022-INIT/en/pdf>

¹¹¹ Council of the European Union (2023). *Women in sports: Council approves conclusions to combat gender-based discrimination*, <https://www.consilium.europa.eu/en/press/press-releases/2023/11/24/women-in-sports-council-approves-conclusions-to-combat-gender-based-discrimination/>

¹¹² Council of the European Union (2023). *Draft Council Conclusions on Mainstreaming a gender equality perspective in policies, programmes, and budgets*, <https://data.consilium.europa.eu/doc/document/ST-9026-2023-INIT/en/pdf>

¹¹³ Ibid

¹¹⁴ European Commission. *Ending gender-based violence*, https://commission.europa.eu/strategy-and-policy/policies/justice-and-fundamental-rights/gender-equality/gender-based-violence/ending-gender-based-violence_en

¹¹⁵ The Istanbul Convention is a major human rights treaty establishing comprehensive legal standards to ensure women's right to be free from violence. As a result of the Council of Europe's continuous efforts since the 1990s to prevent violence against women and domestic violence, this European legal instrument was negotiated by its 47 member states and adopted on 7 April 2011 by its Committee of Ministers.

¹¹⁶ Council of the EU (2023). *Combating violence against women: Council adopts decision about EU's accession to Istanbul Convention*, <https://www.consilium.europa.eu/en/press/press-releases/2023/06/01/combating-violence-against-women-council-adopts-decision-about-eu-s-accession-to-istanbul-convention/>

¹¹⁷ European Women's Lobby (2023). *Historic decision of the Council on the EU accession to the Istanbul Convention*, <https://womenlobby.org/EUIstanbulConvention?lang=en>

¹¹⁸ Zbigniew Ziobro, attorney general of Poland, said the document was 'harmful' because it required schools to teach children about gender (Source: BBC (2020). *Istanbul Convention: Poland to leave European treaty on violence against women*, <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-53538205>)

¹¹⁹ BBC (2020). *Istanbul Convention: Poland to leave European treaty on violence against women*, <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-53538205>

¹²⁰ A path for Europe, Katrin Hermann (2021). *The Istanbul Convention and the Rejection of European Values*, <https://pathforeurope.eu/the-istanbul-convention-and-the-rejection-of-european-values/#:~:text=Opponents%20are%20usually%20supporters%20of,the%20moral%20foundations%20of%20nation.>

¹²¹ Euractiv (2024). *Bruxelles tranche et exclut le viol de la directive sur les violences faites aux femmes*, <https://www.euractiv.fr/section/justice/news/bruxelles-tranche-et-exclut-le-viol-de-la-directive-sur-les-violences-faites-aux-femmes/>

¹²² Oxfam International (2021). *The Ignored Pandemic. The Dual Crises of Gender-Based Violence and COVID-19*, <https://oxfamilibrary.openrepository.com/bitstream/handle/10546/621309/bp-ignored-pandemic-251121-en.pdf>

¹²³ EIGE (2021). *The Covid-19 pandemic and intimate partner violence against women in the EU*, <https://eige.europa.eu/publications-resources/publications/covid-19-pandemic-and-intimate-partner-violence-against-women-eu>

¹²⁴ These strategies outline a set of key actions including preventing gender-based violence, supporting and protecting victims (e.g., empowering victims to report a crime, claim compensation, and recover from consequences of crime), and holding perpetrators accountable during crises such as the COVID-19 pandemic. Both strategies are specifically focused on vulnerable victims (e.g., children, victims of gender-based violence, and/or domestic violence) as one of their key priorities (Source: Wijk, D. et al (2021). *The impact of COVID-19 on intimate partner violence in Europe*, Association of Schools of Public Health in the European Region. pp. 1-13).

¹²⁵ Wijk, D. et al (2021). *The impact of COVID-19 on intimate partner violence in Europe*, Association of Schools of Public Health in the European Region. pp. 1-13

¹²⁶ European Commission. *Ending gender-based violence*, https://commission.europa.eu/strategy-and-policy/policies/justice-and-fundamental-rights/gender-equality/gender-based-violence/ending-gender-based-violence_en

¹²⁷ Oxfam International (2018). *Guide gender-responsive budgeting*, <https://oxfamilibrary.openrepository.com/bitstream/handle/10546/620429/gt-guide-gender-responsive-budgeting-280218-en.pdf?sequence=13>

¹²⁸ Ibid

¹²⁹ Ibid

¹³⁰ UN Women (2022). *Action kit: Engaging parliaments in gender responsive budgeting*, <https://www.unwomen.org/sites/default/files/2022-11/Action-kit-Engaging-parliaments-in-gender-responsive-budgeting-en.pdf>

¹³¹ Oxfam International (2022). *The Assault of Austerity: How prevailing economic policy choices are a form of gender-based violence*, <https://oxfamilibrary.openrepository.com/handle/10546/621448>

¹³² Ibid and European Women's Lobby (2020). *An EU budget that works for women's rights and equality between women and men*, https://www.womenlobby.org/IMG/pdf/ewl_an_eu_budget_that_works_for_women_s_rights_and_equality_between_women_and_men_-_january_2020.pdf

¹³³ European Court of Auditors. (2021). *Special Report: Gender mainstreaming in the EU budget: time to turn words into action*, p5. https://www.eca.europa.eu/Lists/ECADocuments/SR21_10/SR_Gender_mainstreaming_EN.pdf

¹³⁴ Specifically, the ECA found that:

The EU institutional framework, although it had been reinforced, did not fully support gender mainstreaming;

The EU's budget cycle did not adequately take gender into account;

The Commission paid little attention to gender analysis of policies and programmes in the EU budget;

There was limited use of sex-disaggregated data and indicators;

Only in areas where legal requirements are set in detail, does this facilitate the incorporation of gender equality into

programmes.

Source: Ibid

¹³⁵ European Union Law (2020). *Interinstitutional Agreement of 16 December 2020 between the European Parliament, the Council of the European Union and the European Commission on budgetary discipline, on cooperation in budgetary matters and on sound financial management, as well as on new own resources, including a roadmap towards the introduction of new own resources*, OJ L 433I § <https://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/TXT/?uri=uriserv:03.LI.2020.433.01.0028.01.ENG>

¹³⁶ European Commission (2023). *Gender equality mainstreaming*, https://commission.europa.eu/strategy-and-policy/eu-budget/performance-and-reporting/horizontal-priorities/gender-equality-mainstreaming_en

¹³⁷ Ibid

¹³⁸ Ibid

¹³⁹ In 2021 the EU agreed to fund a large temporary recovery instrument designed to alleviate the economic and social consequences of the Covid-19 pandemic. Initially lacking any attention to gender inequalities, the RRF Regulation was amended during the legislative process, acknowledging the impact of the COVID-19 crisis on women and requiring Member States to outline measures promoting gender equality. Pressure from civil society and the European Parliament also led to the inclusion of a methodology for reporting social expenditure (Sources: Debusscher, P. (2023). Chapter 5: The EU Gender Equality Strategy 2020-2025: the beginning of a new season? In *Social policy in the European Union: state of play 2022. Policymaking in a permacrisis*, https://www.etui.org/sites/default/files/2023-01/05_The%20EU%20Gender%20Equality%20Strategy%202020-2025%20the%20beginning%20of%20a%20new%20season.pdf. Magdalena, S. & European Parliamentary Research Service (2022). *Gender equality in the Recovery and Resilience Facility*, [https://www.europarl.europa.eu/RegData/etudes/BRIE/2021/698757/EPRS_BRI\(2021\)698757_EN.pdf](https://www.europarl.europa.eu/RegData/etudes/BRIE/2021/698757/EPRS_BRI(2021)698757_EN.pdf). Elomäki, A., & Kantola, J. (2021). *How the European Parliament worked gender equality into the EU pandemic response*, The Loop. ECPR's Political Science Blog. <https://theloop.ecpr.eu/how-the-european-parliament-worked-gender-equality-into-the-eu-pandemic-response>. However, concerns persist among stakeholders about the vague and delayed implementation of gender obligations in the RRF, with experts cautioning that prioritising green and digital transitions may disproportionately benefit men, exacerbating gender inequalities (Source: EIGE (2023). *Evidence to Action: Gender equality and gender mainstreaming in the COVID-19 recovery*, <https://eige.europa.eu/publications-resources/publications/evidence-action-gender-equality-and-gender-mainstreaming-covid-19-recovery>). Additionally, sectors dominated by women's employment, such as care, health, and education, are deemed insufficiently supported by the RRF, prompting calls for a more central integration of gender equality in the initiative (Klatzer, E., & Rinaldi, A. (2020). *"#nextGenerationEU" Leaves Women Behind. Gender Impact Assessment of the European Commission Proposals for the EU Recovery Plan*, https://alexandrageese.eu/wp-content/uploads/2020/07/Gender-Impact-Assessment-NextGenerationEU_Klatzer_Rinaldi_2020.pdf).

¹⁴⁰ European Women's Lobby (2020). *Walk-the-talk: EU funds must mirror women's equality*, https://womenlobby.org/IMG/pdf/ewl_walk-the-talk_eu_funds_must_mirror_women_s_equality_june_2020.pdf

¹⁴¹ The ethics of care is a relatively recent theory built on the idea that people, beyond our close family and friends, are social beings that are connected and interdependent. This means that the care acknowledged and celebrated in so-called private spaces and close relationships can be extended to the wider community and the planet. Transformation at the collective level demands rethinking rooted norms and the understanding of care, which is why an ethics of care represents a moral stance, an organising principle and a mechanism to attain social justice, universal human rights and individual and collective wellbeing (Oxfam International (2020). *Feminist Futures: Caring for people, caring for justice and rights*, <https://oxfamilibrary.openrepository.com/bitstream/handle/10546/621046/dp-feminist-futures-caring-people-justice-rights-140920-en.pdf>; Oxfam International (2020). *Care in the Time of Coronavirus: Why care work needs to be at the centre of a post-COVID-19 feminist future*, <https://oxfamilibrary.openrepository.com/bitstream/handle/10546/621009/bp-care-crisis-time-for-global-reevaluation-care-250620-en.pdf>).

¹⁴² Oxfam International (2020). *Care in the Time of Coronavirus: Why care work needs to be at the centre of a post-COVID-19 feminist future*, <https://oxfamilibrary.openrepository.com/bitstream/handle/10546/621009/bp-care-crisis-time-for-global-reevaluation-care-250620-en.pdf>

¹⁴³ European Union Law (2022). *Communication from the Commission to the European Parliament, the Council, the European Economic and Social Committee and the Committee of the Regions on the European Care Strategy*, <https://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/TXT/?uri=CELEX%3A52022DC0440>

¹⁴⁴ European Commission (2022). *A European Care Strategy for caregivers and care receivers*, <https://ec.europa.eu/social/main.jsp?langId=en&catId=89&furtherNews=yes&newsId=10382>

¹⁴⁵ Foundation for European Progressive Studies & Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung (2023). *The European Care Strategy. A chance to ensure inclusive care for all?* https://feps-europe.eu/wp-content/uploads/2023/03/FEPS-FES_Care-Strategy-Policy-Study-web-PP.pdf

¹⁴⁶ European Women's Lobby (2022). *The European Women's Lobby welcomes the European Care Strategy – a stepping-stone towards a Care Deal for Europe*, <https://www.womenlobby.org/The-European-Women-s-Lobby-welcomes-the-European-Care-Strategy-a-stepping-stone?lang=en>. Foundation for European Progressive Studies & Friedrich-Ebert-

Stiftung, (2023). *The European Care Strategy. A chance to ensure inclusive care for all?* https://feeps-europe.eu/wp-content/uploads/2023/03/FEPS-FES_Care-Strategy-Policy-Study-web-PP.pdf

¹⁴⁷ European Women's Lobby (2022). *The European Women's Lobby welcomes the European Care Strategy – a stepping-stone towards a Care Deal for Europe*, <https://www.womenlobby.org/The-European-Women-s-Lobby-welcomes-the-European-Care-Strategy-a-stepping-stone?lang=en>. Foundation for European Progressive Studies & Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung (2023). *The European Care Strategy. A chance to ensure inclusive care for all?* https://feeps-europe.eu/wp-content/uploads/2023/03/FEPS-FES_Care-Strategy-Policy-Study-web-PP.pdf

¹⁴⁸ AGE Platform Europe (2022). *The European Care Strategy has come a long way. What does it change?* <https://www.age-platform.eu/the-european-care-strategy-has-come-a-long-way-what-does-it-change/>

¹⁴⁹ The knowledge component is mostly focused on developing digital solutions for care provision and long term car statistics. More research and knowledge is needed on multidimensional inequalities on care distribution, time use and time poverty, unpaid care work contribution to the economy and GDP, social norms and belief systems around care work, etc.

¹⁵⁰ The strategy is mostly based on awareness raising actions regarding the work life balance directive. If citizens are to be made aware that care is a right, awareness raising, information and public campaigns should be proposed in a much more ambitious way and with the aim of deconstructing stereotypes and social harmful norms. With that regard, the EPSCO 2023 November conclusions for the very first time include mention on cultural change.

¹⁵¹ The strategy should provide for actions to consolidate and sustain these kinds of transformative strategies, which often happen at the local level. The EPSCO conclusions also mention for the first time the role of community-based care.

¹⁵² The strategy suggests that fiscal sustainability is to be ensured by cost-effectiveness and targeted measures, instead of promoting care as a universal right and ensuring sufficient budget by mobilising resources in a progressive way (fiscal justice)

¹⁵³ EIGE (2020). *Beijing +25 policy brief: Area C – Health of women: achieving gender equality in treatments, services and outcomes* <https://eige.europa.eu/publications-resources/publications/beijing-25-policy-brief-area-c-health-women>

¹⁵⁴ EU Treaties provide a limited role for the EU to complement Member States' policies, promote cooperation and support their activities. Although the EU has the financial power to invest in European-level health projects, the Treaty strictly forbids it from passing laws that harmonise public health measures across the EU
Source: Duncan, B. (2002). *Health policy in the European Union: How it's made and how to influence it*, British Medical Journal. <https://doi.org/10.1136/bmj.324.7344.1027>.

¹⁵⁵ European Council. *EU Health Policy*, <https://www.consilium.europa.eu/en/policies/eu-health-policy/>

¹⁵⁶ European Parliament (2021). *The de facto abortion ban in Poland: extracts from the debate*, https://multimedia.europarl.europa.eu/en/video/the-de-facto-abortion-ban-in-poland-extracts-from-the-debate_l202005

¹⁵⁷ European Parliament. (2021). *REPORT on the situation of sexual and reproductive health and rights in the EU, in the frame of women's health*, https://www.europarl.europa.eu/doceo/document/A-9-2021-0169_EN.html

¹⁵⁸ Bencharif, S.T. (2022). *MEPs vote for abortion rights to be included in EU Charter of Fundamental Rights*, Politico. <https://www.politico.eu/article/meps-vote-for-abortion-rights-to-be-in-eu-charter-of-fundamental-rights/>

¹⁵⁹ S&D (2022). *The right to legal and safe abortion should be included in the EU Charter of Fundamental Rights!* <https://www.socialistsanddemocrats.eu/newsroom/sds-right-legal-and-safe-abortion-should-be-included-eu-charter-fundamental-rights>

¹⁶⁰ The application was renewed in December 2023.

¹⁶¹ Official Journal of the European Commission (2000). *Charter of Fundamental Rights of the European Union*, https://www.europarl.europa.eu/charter/pdf/text_en.pdf

¹⁶² 1. Tackling discrimination against LGBTIQ people; 2. Ensuring LGBTIQ people's safety; 3. Building LGBTIQ inclusive societies; 4. Leading the call for LGBTIQ equality around the world.

¹⁶³ The Subgroup is composed of governmental experts, nominated by Member States' governments, to support and monitor progress in the protection of LGBTIQ people's rights in the Member States. Twenty-five Member State and Norway have joined the Subgroup. These Member States are: Belgium, Bulgaria, Czechia, Denmark, Germany, Estonia, Ireland, Greece, Spain, France, Croatia, Italy, Lithuania, Luxembourg, Hungary, Malta, Netherlands, Austria, Poland, Portugal, Romania, Slovenia, Slovakia, Finland and Sweden.

¹⁶⁴ European Union Law (2022). *Proposal for a directive of the European Parliament and of the Council on standards for equality bodies in the field of equal treatment and equal opportunities between women and men in matters of employment and occupation*, <https://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/TXT/?uri=CELEX%3A52022PC0688>

¹⁶⁵ European Union Law (2022). *Proposal for a Council Directive on standards for equality bodies in the field of equal treatment between persons irrespective of their racial or ethnic origin, equal treatment in the field of employment and occupation between persons irrespective of their religion or belief, disability, age or sexual orientation, equal treatment between women and men in matters of social security and in the access to and supply of goods and services*, <https://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/TXT/?uri=CELEX%3A52022PC0689>



¹⁶⁶ European Union Agency for Asylum (2022). *Survey on Sexual Orientation and Gender Identity - Key Findings Report*, Publications Office. <https://euaa.europa.eu/publications/survey-sexual-orientation-and-gender-identity>

¹⁶⁷ European Commission (2023). *Progress report on the implementation of the LGBTIQ Equality Strategy 2020-2025*, https://commission.europa.eu/system/files/2023-04/JUST_LGBTIQ%20Strategy_Progress%20Report_FINAL_WEB.pdf

¹⁶⁸ The proposal aims to ensure that equality bodies can effectively contribute to the enforcement of the EU Equality Directives, offer a certain level of assistance to individuals and groups exposed to discrimination, and take action to promote equal treatment and the prevention of discrimination (European Commission (2023). *Progress report on the implementation of the LGBTIQ Equality Strategy 2020-2025*, https://commission.europa.eu/system/files/2023-04/JUST_LGBTIQ%20Strategy_Progress%20Report_FINAL_WEB.pdf).

¹⁶⁹ Council of the EU (2023). Artificial intelligence act: Council and Parliament strike a deal on the first rules for AI in the world. <https://www.consilium.europa.eu/en/press/press-releases/2023/12/09/artificial-intelligence-act-council-and-parliament-strike-a-deal-on-the-first-worldwide-rules-for-ai/>

¹⁷⁰ The initial proposal suggested measures such as risk assessment and management, including mandatory testing, data quality, documentation, accuracy, human oversight and post-market monitoring (A recent report of the EU Agency for Fundamental Rights on the use of artificial intelligence in predictive policing and offensive speech detection provides the first available evidence on how biases develop. The analysis shows that speech algorithms include strong bias against people based on many different characteristics, such as ethnic origin, gender, religion and sexual orientation.

Source: European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights (2022). *Bias in Algorithms – Artificial Intelligence and Discrimination*, https://fra.europa.eu/sites/default/files/fra_uploads/fra-2022-bias-in-algorithms_en.pdf.

¹⁷¹ European Council (2008). *Proposal for a Council Directive on implementing the principle of equal treatment between persons irrespective of religion or belief, disability, age or sexual orientation*, <https://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/en/ALL/?uri=CELEX%3A52008PC0426>

¹⁷² In December 2022, at the Employment, Social Policy, Health and Consumer Affairs Council, the Presidency presented a progress report about the proposed Directive, in which it stressed the need for further work to reach the required unanimity in the Council. The Commission supported an analysis of the extent to which trans, non-binary and intersex people are currently protected against discrimination in EU and national law

Source: European Commission (2023). *Progress report on the implementation of the LGBTIQ Equality Strategy 2020-2025*, https://commission.europa.eu/system/files/2023-04/JUST_LGBTIQ%20Strategy_Progress%20Report_FINAL_WEB.pdf

¹⁷³ ILGA (2021). *How the new anti-LGBT legislation in Hungary actually violates children's rights, instead of protecting them*, <https://www.ilga-europe.org/blog/how-new-anti-lgbti-legislation-hungary-violates-childrens-rights/>

¹⁷⁴ Le Monde (2021) *Droits des LGBT+ : l'UE passe à l'offensive en lançant des procédures contre la Hongrie et la Pologne*, https://www.lemonde.fr/international/article/2021/07/15/droits-des-lgbt-l-ue-passe-a-l-offensive-en-lancant-des-procedures-contre-la-hongrie-et-la-pologne_6088356_3210.html

¹⁷⁵ International Center for Research on Women (2020). *Defining feminist foreign policy*, <https://www.icrw.org/wp-content/uploads/2019/03/Defining-Feminist-Foreign-Policy-Brief-revised.pdf>

¹⁷⁶ During eight years, 2014-2022, Sweden pursued a FFP, and then other countries followed its lead - like Canada, Luxemburg, Mexico and recently the Netherlands. Sweden's original policy focused on implementing its gender equality objectives through the three Rs: rights, resources and representation. A fourth "R" was later added, which focused on "reality", acknowledging the context in which the Swedish Foreign Services operated, by engaging with local actors and commissioning research toward contributing to strategic and impactful FFP

Source: The Gender Security Project. *FFP Countries: Sweden*, <https://www.gendersecurityproject.com/feminist-foreign-policy-countries/sweden>

¹⁷⁷ European Union Law (2020) *A Union of Equality: Gender Equality Strategy 2020-2025*, <https://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/TXT/?uri=CELEX%3A52020DC0152>

¹⁷⁸ OECD Development Assistance Committee (DAC) Creditor Reporting system (CRS) (consulted on 30/01/2024). <https://stats.oecd.org/index.aspx?datasetcode=crs1>

¹⁷⁹ It is important to note that these statistics refer to the countries' commitments and not to the sums actually disbursed, due to the lack of accessibility of the data at the time this report was written.

¹⁸⁰ It is important to note that these statistics refer to the countries' commitments and not to the sums actually disbursed, due to the lack of accessibility of the data at the time this report was written.

¹⁸¹ All these data are from "DAC Network on Gender Equality, Latest data on official development assistance [ODA] for gender equality and women's empowerment" for the year 2021/22 and "Aid Focussed on Gender Equality: A snapshot of current funding and trends over time in support of the implementation of the Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action" from 2017-18

¹⁸² OECD Statistics https://stats.oecd.org/Index.aspx?DataSetCode=DV_DCD_GENDER

¹⁸³ Oxfam France (2022). *Egalité femmes-hommes, grande cause petit bilan*, https://www.oxfamfrance.org/app/uploads/2022/03/Rapport_egalite_femmes_hommes-Mars2022-VF.pdf

¹⁸⁴ Creditor Reporting System (CRS), OECD; code 15170 Creditor Reporting System (CRS) [oecd.org]

¹⁸⁵ But above all, over the last 20 years, this average has only been exceeded 5 times, with 2 major peaks in 2020 and 2021, the first linked to a project to support women entrepreneurs in Ethiopia through microfinance institutions (a loan implemented by the World Bank), and the second to deal with the impact of the war in Ukraine on Moldova, which helped to artificially inflate this average.

¹⁸⁶ Ibid

¹⁸⁷ Féministes en Action. *Initiative de Développement*, <https://feminaction.fr/osc/ijd-burkina-faso/>

¹⁸⁸ European Commission (2020). *EU Gender Action Plan III - An Ambitious Agenda for Gender Equality and Women's Empowerment in EU External Action* https://international-partnerships.ec.europa.eu/system/files/2021-01/join-2020-17-final_en.pdf

¹⁸⁹ Ibid

¹⁹⁰ The EU commits to making EU engagement on gender equality more effective as a cross-cutting priority of EU external action in its policy and programming work. The European Commission and the High Representative reconfirm that by 2025 85% of all new external actions will contribute to this objective. This requires further gender mainstreaming in all external policies and sectors and a gender-transformative, rights-based and intersectional approach.

¹⁹¹ The EU commits to ensuring a coordinated, strategic, and coherent EU engagement at multilateral, regional, and country levels for the implementation of GAP III.

¹⁹² GAP III aims to accelerate progress towards gender equality and women's and girls' empowerment by setting objectives and action in six key thematic policy areas: ensuring freedom from all forms of gender-based violence; promoting sexual and reproductive health and rights; strengthening economic and social rights and the empowerment of girls and women; advancing equal participation and leadership; implementing the women, peace and security agenda, addressing challenges and harnessing the opportunities offered by the green transition and the digital transformation.

¹⁹³ The EU commits to leading by example by establishing gender-responsive and gender-balanced leadership at top EU political and management levels. It is acknowledged that this requires leadership buy-in, investing in knowledge, resources and pooling action with EU Member States.

¹⁹⁴ The Commission services, in cooperation with the EEAS, commit to reporting and communicating the results of the GAP III by putting in place a quantitative, qualitative, and inclusive monitoring system to increase public accountability, ensure transparency and access to information and achieve better EU outreach on the impact of its work worldwide.

¹⁹⁵ European Commission, Directorate-General for International Partnerships, MacKellar, L., Peebles, D., Vaillant, C. et al (2023). *Mid-term evaluation of the implementation of the European Union Gender Action Plan III*, Publications Office of the EU. <https://op.europa.eu/en/publication-detail/-/publication/d7662329-ee2c-11ed-a05c-01aa75ed71a1/language-en/format-PDF/source-285825215>

¹⁹⁶ Debusscher, P. (2023). Chapter 5. The EU Gender Equality Strategy 2020-2025: the beginning of a new season? In *Social policy in the European Union: state of play 2022. Policymaking in a permacrisis*. https://www.etui.org/sites/default/files/2023-01/05_The%20EU%20Gender%20Equality%20Strategy%202020-2025%20the%20beginning%20of%20a%20new%20season.pdf

¹⁹⁷ CONCORD (2021). *Op-ed: Can the EU assert its leadership and truly deliver on gender equality in 2021 (and beyond)?* <https://concordeurope.org/2021/02/23/op-ed-can-the-eu-assert-its-leadership-and-truly-deliver-on-gender-equality-in-2021-and-beyond/>. Debusscher, P. (2023). Chapter 5. The EU Gender Equality Strategy 2020-2025: the beginning of a new season? In *Social policy in the European Union: state of play 2022. Policymaking in a permacrisis*. https://www.etui.org/sites/default/files/2023-01/05_The%20EU%20Gender%20Equality%20Strategy%202020-2025%20the%20beginning%20of%20a%20new%20season.pdf

¹⁹⁸ Debusscher, P. (2023). Chapter 5. The EU Gender Equality Strategy 2020-2025: the beginning of a new season? In *Social policy in the European Union: state of play 2022. Policymaking in a permacrisis*. https://www.etui.org/sites/default/files/2023-01/05_The%20EU%20Gender%20Equality%20Strategy%202020-2025%20the%20beginning%20of%20a%20new%20season.pdf

¹⁹⁹ Ibid

²⁰⁰ CONCORD (2021). *Op-ed: Can the EU assert its leadership and truly deliver on gender equality in 2021 (and beyond)?* <https://concordeurope.org/2021/02/23/op-ed-can-the-eu-assert-its-leadership-and-truly-deliver-on-gender-equality-in-2021-and-beyond/>. Debusscher, P. (2023). Chapter 5. The EU Gender Equality Strategy 2020-2025: the beginning of a new season? In *Social policy in the European Union: state of play 2022. Policymaking in a permacrisis*. https://www.etui.org/sites/default/files/2023-01/05_The%20EU%20Gender%20Equality%20Strategy%202020-2025%20the%20beginning%20of%20a%20new%20season.pdf

²⁰¹ European Commission (2023). *Joint mid-term report on the implementation of the EU Gender Action Plan (GAP III)*, <https://op.europa.eu/s/y8vl>

²⁰² Data was missing for Mali and Armenia. It is also important to note that Nicaragua withdrew its approval to host an EU ambassador to the country in 2022.

²⁰³ European Union External Action. *Structure and Organisation: Ambassadors/Heads of Delegations*,

https://www.eeas.europa.eu/eeas/structure-and-organisation_en

²⁰⁴ European Union External Action. *EU Special Representatives*, https://www.eeas.europa.eu/eeas/eu-special-representatives_en#10845

²⁰⁵ European Commission (2023). *Joint mid-term report on the implementation of the EU Gender Action Plan (GAP III)*, <https://op.europa.eu/s/y8v>

²⁰⁶ Ibid

²⁰⁷ Ibid

²⁰⁸ Ibid

²⁰⁹ Achilleos-Sarll, C. (2018). *Reconceptualising Foreign Policy as Gendered, Sexualised and Racialised: Towards a Postcolonial Feminist Foreign Policy (Analysis)*, *Journal of International Women's Studies*.
<https://vc.bridgew.edu/jiws/vol19/iss1/4>

²¹⁰ Aguirre Salazar, M. (2022). *Feminist Foreign Policy: The case of the European Union*, European Foreign Policy Unit, LSE.
<https://www2.lse.ac.uk/international-relations/assets/documents/efpu/Feminist-Foreign-Policy.pdf>

²¹¹ Ibid

²¹² For example, the concept of intersectionality has been the subject of considerable debate within certain European countries, such as France, notably concerning race
Source: Le Monde (2021). 'Racisé', 'privilège blanc', 'intersectionnalité': le lexique pour comprendre le débat autour des réunions non mixtes, <https://www.lemonde.fr/les-decodeurs/article/2021/03/31/racise-privilege-blanc-intersectionnalite-le-lexique-pour-comprendre-le-debat-autour-des-reunions-non-mixtes>

²¹³ We need an intersectional approach because it embraces multiple feminisms and perspectives. However, all of them have the common goal of breaking down inequalities based on gender and transforming systems of unequal power
Source: Oxfam International (2019) *Feminist Aid: A call for G7 leaders to beat inequality*,
<https://oxfamlibrary.openrepository.com/bitstream/handle/10546/620755/bp-feminist-aid-g7-090519-en.pdf>

²¹⁴ This approach combined with a core policy strategy for transformational change would tackle unequal gendered power relations by challenging systemic inequality, unjust power systems, and discriminatory laws, policies and programs – at local, national, regional and global levels.

²¹⁵ Oxfam Canada (2020). *Oxfam recommendations for Canada's Feminist Foreign Policy*, <https://www.oxfam.ca/wp-content/uploads/2020/12/Oxfam-Recommendations-for-Canadas-Feminist-Foreign-Policy-2020.pdf>

²¹⁶ Key takeaway from Oxfam IBIS (Denmark) feminist peace event, 20 May 2021.

²¹⁷ Human Rights Watch (2022). *Sweden's New Government Abandons Feminist Foreign Policy - Policy Reversal Is a Step in the Wrong Direction*, <https://www.hrw.org/news/2022/10/31/swedens-new-government-abandons-feminist-foreign-policy>

²¹⁸ United Nations (consulted on 20/02/2024). *The 17 goals*, <https://sdgs.un.org/goals>

²¹⁹ OECD (2016). *Handbook on the OECD-DAC Gender Equality Policy Marker*, <https://www.oecd.org/dac/gender-development/Handbook-OECD-DAC-Gender-Equality-Policy-Marker.pdf>

²²⁰ UN Women (2022). *Feminist Foreign Policies: An Introduction*, https://www.unwomen.org/sites/default/files/2022-09/Brief-Feminist-foreign-policies-en_0.pdf