



PROGRESS UNDER THREAT

**A REPORT CARD ON THE SECRETARY-
GENERAL'S SECOND YEAR
FROM THE FEMINIST U.N. CAMPAIGN**



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INTRODUCTION

The Feminist U.N. Campaign was born in 2016 out of a global call — from member states to civil society groups — for feminist leadership at the United Nations. At the time, the International Center for Research on Women (ICRW) convened leading global thinkers and U.N. watchers to assemble a blue-sky vision outlining what a more feminist United Nations would look like. These ideas were compiled and published in a white paperⁱ that, upon the inauguration of Secretary-General António Guterres, was adapted into an advocacy agenda known as the Feminist U.N. Campaign. The agenda articulates a set of targeted recommendations the Secretary-General could take to begin to shape a more feminist United Nations. This vision led to the 100-day agendaⁱⁱ and became the basis upon which his progress was first evaluated in a 100-day report cardⁱⁱⁱ. The Secretary-General received an overall score of A-, reflecting that he had already far outstripped any other in commitments to gender equality, taking a number of our initial recommendations and setting a high bar for himself while challenging advocates to “hold his feet to the fire.”

Following the early success of the agenda as an advocacy tool with clear and measurable objectives, ICRW designed a more rigorous progress assessment — incorporating analysis of the Secretary-General’s speeches, a global civil society survey and key informant interviews with a number of experts within and outside of the U.N. system — that could be replicated at the end of each year in an attempt to document Mr. Guterres’s progress against our agenda over time. The report from his first year in office, **A Year of Progress, a Long Way to Go**, included a detailed review of his efforts on each of the six thematic areas of the Feminist U.N. Campaign which were then weighted and scored. By this measure the Secretary-General scored highly in some areas of the

agenda — most notably efforts to promote gender parity and respond to sex-based harassment and violence within the U.N. system — but lower on other areas, most notably improving the freedom of information in the U.N. system and reforms to support a more feminist UN Women, Commission on the Status of Women and implementation of the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs), receiving an overall grade of C+.^{iv}

Following the release of that report, the Secretary-General’s team was quick to respond to our critiques, immediately implementing some of our recommendations, such as publishing online more information about his efforts to advance gender equality or ensuring in his speeches to speak about women as active agents of change, not simply victims of discrimination and violence. Throughout the year, his delegates have made overtures to the Campaign to make them aware of activities that he and his team were taking and ensure that they were documented. As 2018 drew to a close, we once again evaluated the Secretary-General using the same methodology and when subjected to the same process we find the Secretary-General’s performance has improved: **a B- compared to last year’s C+**, with slow but steady progress across most areas of our agenda.

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It is important to note that this assessment evaluates the Secretary-General’s *progress against the Campaign’s recommended agenda*, not his own. We welcome the Executive Office of the Secretary-General to publish their

own progress reports detailing the efforts the Secretary-General has made that may not have been demanded by civil society and evaluated here. The goal and intention of this effort is to seed ideas for the SG's action that would lead to necessary transformation within the U.N. system, giving credit where he has taken up civil society's ideas and calling attention where he has not. As we saw in those first, historic days, this is a Secretary-General who is listening to civil society's calls for feminist leadership and is willing to take good ideas on board. We insist that our six action areas are equally worthy of his attention and will continue to push for their consideration and uptake even if he gives no indication of intent to take them on board. For even if Secretary-General Guterres does not act on all of the recommendations, some future Secretary-General might, and in the spirit of forward momentum and future progress we will continue to present them.

We also recognize that the Secretary-General is not solely responsible for effecting the recommended changes and there are considerable factors beyond his control — not the least of which are political undercurrents surrounding this era of decreasing resource flows, intensifying ethno-nationalist (and misogynist) sentiments undergirding the rise of authoritarian governments and ongoing reforms that reflect and manifest these trends. Ours is, therefore, an admittedly tall order. Nonetheless, as an institution born out of international crisis, in direct response to authoritarianism, chartered specifically “to reaffirm faith in fundamental human rights, in the dignity and worth of the human person, in the equal rights of men and women and of nations large and small,” we believe the United Nations is up to the task and hence present our progress assessment as an appropriate and essential call to action to realize these founding ideals. There is a drift towards illiberalism in some countries that threatens the rights and livelihoods of vulnerable populations and has contributed to shrinking civil society space

and even fostered direct attacks against civil society. These include attacks that have specifically targeted women's rights organizations and have taken the lives of women's human rights defenders that have spoken out against repressive forces. It is therefore critical that as the leader of our global safeguard against war, hatred and discrimination, the Secretary-General take an active and visible role as chief advocate for gender equality and women's rights, actively supporting and defending those who are working for the very principles upon which the United Nations was founded: equality, non-discrimination and human rights.

It is in this spirit that we applaud Secretary-General Guterres for another year of continued efforts to articulate and implement necessary changes throughout the U.N. system in pursuit of gender equality. He and his team have continued or accelerated progress on top priorities and in response to the #MeToo/#AidToo moment, also taking visible and immediate steps to respond to Campaign recommendations and critiques in last year's report card. For that we commend and celebrate his leadership, modeling the kind of responsiveness and attention to civil society that we want to see in the United Nations. We once again offer a number of recommendations on areas where progress has not been as strong and hope that our constructive criticism will be useful to continuing to shape that agenda and the foster meaningful engagement with civil society, “holding feet to the fire” as we were invited to do.

***Please note that the methodology replicates the approach applied last year, we provide an exposition of how we score the different dimensions of the Feminist U.N. agenda in the annex following the results. Please see page 26.**





HOW TO BUILD A MORE FEMINIST UNITED NATIONS

The election of a new Secretary-General of the United Nations in 2016 provided an important opportunity to ensure that the United Nations implements an agenda that puts women's and girls' rights at the heart of everything it does.

Below are six recommendations by the Feminist U.N. Campaign:

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1

IMPLEMENT A FEMINIST LEADERSHIP AGENDA FOR THE UNITED NATIONS

Secretary-General Guterres should set out and implement a full-fledged women's rights agenda for the duration of his term, including a commitment to report on progress and work with feminist civil society to hone and implement it.



ENSURE FEMINIST IMPLEMENTATION AND ACCOUNTABILITY FOR THE SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT GOALS (SDGs)

2

The SDGs represent the single best opportunity to achieve gender equality and include a focus on gender and advance women's rights across the UN's efforts. Ensure the goals have a strong accountability framework and continue to focus on gender including and beyond Goal 5, and in alignment align with other commitments such as the Beijing Platform for Action and have a clear mandate for oversight at the Commission on the Status of Women (CSW).

3

FINANCE FOR GENDER EQUALITY

Ensure there are sufficient funds committed to gender equality across the UN, including full funding for UN Women as well as for gender integration throughout the UN system. Convene an annual High Level Panel on Financing Gender Equality to analyze and present the state of financing for women's rights and gender equality within the UN system. Publish funding sources to enhance transparency across all agencies.



UTILIZE FEMINIST LEADERSHIP

4

Increase the numbers of women and feminists in UN leadership, and protect women's rights across the system. Secretary-General Guterres should achieve gender parity in his appointments, call for nominations for strong female candidates to head critical agencies and establish and implement feminist policies across the system, including whistle-blower policies and a zero-tolerance policy for all forms of gender based violence.



5

ENABLE A FEMINIST TRANSFORMATION FOR CSW AND UN WOMEN

Commit to ensure that the CSW and UN Women live up to their potential by serving as inclusive platforms for civil society participation, with a specific focus on the inclusion of southern, feminist voices.



PROMOTE THE FREEDOM OF INFORMATION IN THE UN SYSTEM

6

Announce system-wide reforms to increase transparency within the UN and to build public trust in the UN system. Institute universal Gender SWAPs for all UN agencies and bodies, including the fifth committee, and make that data publicly available on a central platform.

agenda. We will explore parity in more detail in a dedicated section, below.

It is important to note that the Secretary-General often spoke about the widespread benefits of fostering women's rights and gender equality, but also emphasized that upholding women's rights as a fundamental objective and imperative should not be seen instrumentally as a means of achieving other development objectives. This is a laudable and notable shift in the Secretary-General's language that is responsive to our Year 1 report card criticism that his speeches overly concentrated on women as victims as opposed to taking opportunities to emphasize women's rights and agency.

An illustrative example is the Secretary-General's remarks with regard to the women, peace and security agenda. In last year's report card, we issued a criticism that Guterres was more likely to speak about women and girls as victims in conflict settings, placing a heavy emphasis on the need for protection from violence, which is only one pillar out of four that make up the women, peace, and security agenda. We saw a marked change in this framing in 2018 with the Secretary-General placing a heavier emphasis on women's participation in peace and security initiatives, particularly in peacekeeping, but also as agents of change as mediators and negotiators for peace. We tracked 38 speeches with references to peace, conflict and security, and a full 34 of them had substantive mentions of women that emphasized their voice and agency in peacekeeping and post conflict reconstruction and development, such as this one:

"Sustaining peace requires support for inclusivity, particularly of those who are frequently marginalized and excluded. That means women and girls, the elderly, the young, people with disabilities and minorities of all kinds. Women's empowerment through meaningful participation is a proven way to deepen the effectiveness and sustainability of peacebuilding."

– Briefing to the Security Council on Peacebuilding and Sustaining Peace^{vi}

He did continue to talk about the violence that women face in conflict settings, as he should, but he spoke more substantively about this phenomenon, usually pairing descriptions of violence with statements about the importance of women's leadership, as in the quote below:

"We are also investing in women's meaningful participation and leadership in peace processes, ensuring women always have a seat at the table and that their voices are heard. I have emphasized the importance of inclusive processes to my own special envoys and have appointed three women to senior mediation roles in recent months. [...] Inclusive mediation requires paying greater attention to the gender dimensions of conflict, including conflict-related sexual violence and the gendered impact of decisions around post-war reconstruction. For example, the design of a post-conflict constitutional committee or a federal system will have a significant impact on women and their participation."

– Remarks to the Security Council's debate on the Maintenance of International Peace and Security Mediation and the Peaceful Resolution of Conflicts^{vii}

We applaud the Secretary-General and his office for transforming the rhetoric and emphasizing women and girl's voice and agency in addition to their vulnerabilities.

However, we continue to note a pattern of emphasizing women's "empowerment" over "rights," at a rate of almost two to one (and within empowerment references, the overwhelming majority were to women's economic empowerment, 35 of 43, which is only a very narrow

slice of the comprehensive body of rights women hold). Empowerment references were more likely to be more substantive and reference the drivers and impacts of gender inequality. The Secretary-General spoke most substantively about women's human rights at the Commission on the Status of Women and on International Women's Day, when he spoke at length about violence against women and girls as a violation of rights. Also noteworthy, he devoted a large portion of the speech on the anniversary of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights to the women who contributed to its shaping. However, the SG frequently emphasized empowerment over rights listing human rights and women/girls' empowerment separately; as the leader of the United Nations, we hope to see him emphasize the importance of women's human rights equally with full participation and empowerment, economic or otherwise.

In 2018, the Secretary-General's social media presence emerged as a primary channel for his public leadership on gender equality, so we have extended our speech analysis to include it. Reviewing all of the SG's tweets in 2018, we find that he tweeted about issues related to gender 99 times, accounting for 17 percent of his total of 580 tweets. Here again, he spoke most often of women's leadership and gender parity as a priority for the U.N.: one-third of his gender-related tweets mentioned the importance of women's leadership. A little more than half of those tweets were related to increasing gender parity within the UN system – both celebrating progress and noting areas where there remains work to do. The SG often referenced the importance of women's political leadership in formal positions of power – heads of state, legislatures, peacekeeping forces and U.N. leadership positions—as well as in peace and security contexts and, to a lesser extent, in business.

Importantly, the analysis of the SG's tweets shows a clear intent to utilize this medium—where presumably he has considerably more control of language and messaging—to address our prior critiques that his language was insufficiently rights-based and disproportionately presented women as victims rather than as leaders and agents of change. For instance, our analysis reveals considerable attention to gender as a function of power. Ten tweets, or a little over 10 percent, mentioned the need to address imbalances of power between men and women; almost all contained some variation of the

phrase “male-dominated society.” He directly identified gender-based violence, sexual harassment and sexual violence as stemming from this power imbalance. He also identified gender parity, occasionally alongside a more general “empowerment”, as the solution to these imbalances of power.

22 tweets, or 22 percent, dealt directly with sexual harassment or sexual violence—no surprise in the year of #MeToo, or in the U.N. context, #AidToo. Many of these tweets addressed and condemned sexual violence as a weapon of war; only a few directly addressed sexual exploitation or abuse of civilians by U.N. forces, but these tweets did assert a zero-tolerance policy. The SG also identified ending sexual harassment, abuse and exploitation within the U.N. as a key priority, often in the context of imbalances of power and gender parity as discussed above.

And finally, while only one tweet included the word “feminist” (we also reviewed for “feminism”), it had a powerful impact, widely retweeted by civil society and U.N. officials alike. This was the SG's tweet from his town hall with civil society at the Commission on the Status of Women, when he referred to himself as a “proud feminist” and stated “all men should support women's rights and gender equality”. As one of the most-watched leaders in the world, this sets a strong example.

2. The Team Responsible

Here we are looking for the Secretary-General to have indicated which individuals are responsible for implementing the various elements of his feminist agenda. This does not necessarily mean women in senior positions, as women in leadership is a means toward gender equality in the United Nations but by no means equivocal. However, a number of the individuals the Secretary-General has identified to take forward this agenda are women he tapped in senior leadership positions, including Deputy Secretary-General Amina J. Mohammed, Under-Secretary-General and Senior Policy Advisor Ana Maria Menéndez and Senior Gender Advisor Nahla Valji. Each of these officials has been made responsible for key streams of work —many of which fall directly within our agenda — and has articulated benchmarks and progress against those in a number of our desired agenda areas.

Since the beginning of his term the Secretary-General has also added Jan Beagle as Under-Secretary-General of Management and head of the High Level Task Force on Sexual Harassment, although she has received criticism for her handling of the high profile case of sexual harassment at UNAIDS (see Section 4). A welcome addition this year is Michelle Bachelet, former President of Chile, who will oversee many important components of women's rights and gender equality as High Commissioner for Human Rights. We should note that we are not conflating parity with feminism here— we recognize that gender parity in U.N. leadership does not necessarily imply a feminist mandate. However, in the case of these five officials, it is women in senior leadership who have been clearly tasked with implementing a number of the reforms the Secretary-General seeks to make in this.

3. Opportunities for feminist critique and civil society input

Last year we commended the Secretary-General for hosting a civil society town hall at CSW, a Campaign recommendation and an unprecedented opportunity that was met with excitement and high demand to attend. In the 2018 CSW a town hall was again convened, and key informants assure us that it will again be repeated in 2019. Many civil society informants expressed an expectation that this would not be the only such opportunity throughout the year, but might be replicated in other global and regional meetings. This did not happen. However, a key informant within the U.N. indicated that the Secretary-General convened an Executive Committee meeting to discuss ways in which U.N. leadership could combat the closing of civil society space, an important indication that this concern is being considered at the SG's behest at the U.N.'s highest levels; more details of plans or actions coming out of that discussion were unavailable but are eagerly anticipated.

While consultation with some civil society groups occurred on the margins of the Secretary-General's trips, more could be done here and presumably will be as the SG's memo is implemented. For the most part, the role of liaising with civil society falls to Under-Secretary-General and Senior Policy Advisor Ana Maria Menéndez, whose appointment in 2017 became the most senior focal point for civil society within the SG's office in history. Similar to the convening of

the civil society Town Hall at CSW, it was an unprecedented move that set a positive tone and high expectations. However, there is no formalized process by which she is conducting outreach to women's rights organizations with any regularity, nor is her office tracking which civil society groups it is meeting with to ensure frequency or diversity of perspectives. There is also a question as to the extent to which USG Menendez is accessible to women's groups outside of New York and other country capitals.

Without more formal mechanisms for plural CSO consultation, these types of events privilege only those groups that have U.N. accreditation, visas and travel budgets to enable them to access large fora such as UNGA, HLPF and CSW. By contrast, UN Women's civil society engagement processes have been more favorably reviewed by key informants in civil society; USG Menendez's office may want to borrow some of the best practices from that shop in designing and disseminating more formalized and frequent entry-points.

There is also the concern that at the major convenings of the year — CSW and HLPF in particular — that civil society has now experienced a reduction in opportunities to attend events, contribute to outcome documents, or even access headquarters at all due to travel restrictions recently put in place by the United States government.^{viii} Several key informants from civil society further underscored that they felt their ability to engage delegates and member states and inform the debate surrounding language in outcome documents, has declined over the last year. Further detail on civil society experience of CSW and HLPF is provided in subsequent sections, but here we note simply that while the Secretary-General's commitment to meeting with and hearing from feminist civil society has continued in his second year, demand from civil society for deeper engagement and more substantive opportunities to engage has outstripped supply.

When interviewing U.N. staff as key informants, many indicate that they frequently seek civil society input and expertise and would indeed like to do that more often through more formalized less ad hoc mechanisms. However, several staffers admitted that there are no resources to do this, pointing out a large gap between rhetoric and reality in this area.

What's left to be done: There are three areas in which we are looking for progress here: the articulation and implementation of a “feminist” agenda, per our definition above; the clear articulation and uptake of a team responsible for seeing it through; and accessibility and permeability of that process to civil society stakeholders.

On the first, the Secretary-General has most assuredly expressed a broad vision for gender equality and, to a lesser extent, for women's rights. He has sustained or accelerated progress on his priority areas of gender parity and is beginning to tackle widespread discrimination and abuse in the U.N. system, although he remains at risk of equating parity with the solution to all ills. We are particularly impressed with the depth and breadth of social media messages in embracing feminism, acknowledging power imbalances and abuse as the root of the problem, and affirming his leadership role in tackling this. We encourage him to use his platform to more strongly address known cases of sexual harassment — such as that at UNAIDS — and to accelerate his use of a women's human rights framing including and outside of moments where the audience is already focused on women's rights (such as CSW and International Women's Day).

Additionally, we are reviewing both the articulation and *implementation* of a feminist agenda; many key informants cited concerns that it is the latter that lags behind. In this regard, we acknowledge that the SG is in the early years of his term and transformative change takes time. Successful implementation of the Secretary-General's agenda will be dependent on the availability of ample resources, political appetite and willingness to embrace change, including the ability to change the culture of the United Nations itself — a tall order indeed. We will explore these factors in more detail in subsequent sections, but all signs point to continued progress in this area.

We express most concern with regard to the final component, the extent to which civil society actors are able to inform that agenda. Multiple respondents surveyed and interviewed feel that they are losing opportunities for input into the agenda in its various forms. As we will explore further in areas regarding financing, SDG implementation and CSW, survey and interview respondents alike expressed dismay at a shrinking of civil society space even at the United Nations. In an environment where that civil society is under attack in so many places around the world. It is imperative that the U.N. take dedicated action to create an open and welcoming space for as many civil society voices to be heard as possible, particularly those from historically marginalized communities such as older women, youth, women of racial minorities, LGBTQ populations and those living with disabilities. Outreach to these groups and others should be broad and proactive, with formalized and frequent mechanisms both created and heavily advertised to ensure widespread awareness and uptake of these opportunities. While it is encouraging to hear that this theme is being debated at the highest levels, and by the request of the SG, we recommend that USG Menendez's office, as the official liaison for civil society within the Cabinet, consider incorporating some of the best practices from other elements of the system (such as UN Women) where considerable efforts are being made to formalize and ensure frequent, two-way communication with civil society, particularly women's rights organizations and movements. This could include formally linking UN Women's Civil Society Advisory Group consultations to the SG's office by having USG Menendez attend these meetings.



SECTION 2: ENSURE FEMINIST IMPLEMENTATION AND ACCOUNTABILITY FOR THE SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT GOALS (SDGS)

2018 Grade: **C**
(2017: D+)

Progress to date: Here again we see progress over 2017. When speaking publicly about gender and sustainable development, the Secretary-General made a clear effort to tie gender to the 2030 Agenda as a whole and not only to Goal 5. In fact, he never directly referenced Goal 5 and only referenced “goals on gender equality” a few times. He spoke consistently about gender equality or women’s/girls’ empowerment as being key to development, as well as the gender-related benefits of addressing other development issues. This is encouraging progress given the feedback from civil society that he has received that there needs to be more of a focus on mainstreaming gender throughout the entire 2030 Agenda and to not leave women’s issues siloed in Goal 5. This publicly expressed support was noted and appreciated by survey respondents, the majority of whom agree or strongly agree that the Secretary-General has expressed full support for SDG 5 (75.51 percent), and for gender mainstreaming throughout all SDGs (57.14 percent). As his deputy principally responsible for SDG implementation, Deputy Secretary-General Amina Mohammed has also consistently recognized the importance of gender equality in the successful implementation of the other goals, referring to it often as a “docking station” through which progress on other goals can be advanced.

Although it is the Secretary-General who is primarily responsible for this area, the SG responded to calls

for demonstrations of committed leadership. A very welcome development in this area was a letter written by the SG to G20 leaders ahead of their summit in November on the importance of Agenda 2030. Citing the agenda as an agreed-upon “blueprint to tackle the most daunting challenges of our times”^{ix}, the SG laid out seven areas that G20 governments should treat as a matter of priority. Among them was gender equality and the empowerment of women, with an explicit call to action for the full realization of their human rights. He condemned the discrimination, violence and unequal access to resources that women around the world face and encouraged member states to take concrete policy actions to address structural barriers to the empowerment of women and girls.

While the Secretary-General and his designates made clear efforts to increase their visibility in this area, this was not always felt by civil society. One key informant focused specifically on the 2030 Agenda acknowledged positive rhetoric but stated that in action, “we don’t feel the presence of a Secretary General on the SDGs.” Another key informant put this critique in a broader political context: “Gender is increasingly contested... Some countries are questioning the legitimacy of the SDGs on gender, especially with regard to sexual and reproductive health, and we don’t see him speaking up in defense of it. In order to maintain the integrity of the SDGs, the SG needs to be vocal about the equal importance of the entire agenda. We can’t only implement the bits we are politically comfortable with. This is especially critical for next year’s HLPF in which the General Assembly will review recommendations for looking forward — we cannot allow gender equality to be marginalized.”

This sentiment was echoed in the global civil society survey responses with regard to the HLPF. Interview respondents and survey respondents alike expressed dissatisfaction with the convening, particularly around the Voluntary National Review (VNR) process, citing windows of opportunity to provide input that were far too narrow. This led to the sense that there is of a lack of transparency, a ceding of space to grandstanding among member states and a lack of opportunity for learning and real dialogue. A majority of survey respondents also reported being dissatisfied or very dissatisfied with

consultation between governments and civil society on SDG implementation and reporting (39.13 percent), opportunities for civil society to submit their own reports on SDG implementation (34.78 percent), opportunities for civil society to offer input into the HLPF outcome document, the Ministerial Declaration (39.13 percent) and notably, the Secretary-General's efforts to increase opportunities for civil society participation in the HLPF (34.78 percent).

One piece of positive feedback from the HLPF was about the VNR labs. CSO and U.N. staff among the key informants and survey respondents reported that these were very useful mechanisms that were easily attended and very substantive, resulting in real dialogue and

learning on the issues involved in SDG implementation. One key informant also reported being encouraged by the large numbers of member states participating in voluntary reporting, seeing this as an opportunity for increased and meaningful engagement with civil society: **“Gender equality and women’s human rights are important to the entire agenda. The Secretary-General has very little power over governments in that space, but we need a moral nod from him that gender equality and women’s human rights are important. He can also instruct DESA in support of that, and they were not this year.”**

FIGURE 1: Survey respondents’ satisfaction with consultation between governments and civil society on SDG implementation and reporting at 2018 HLPF

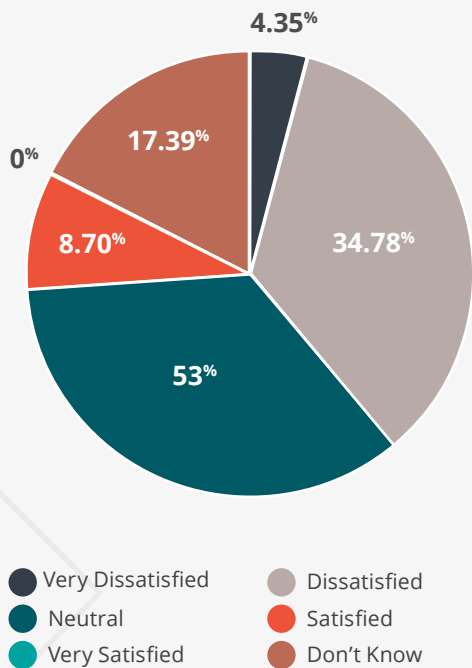
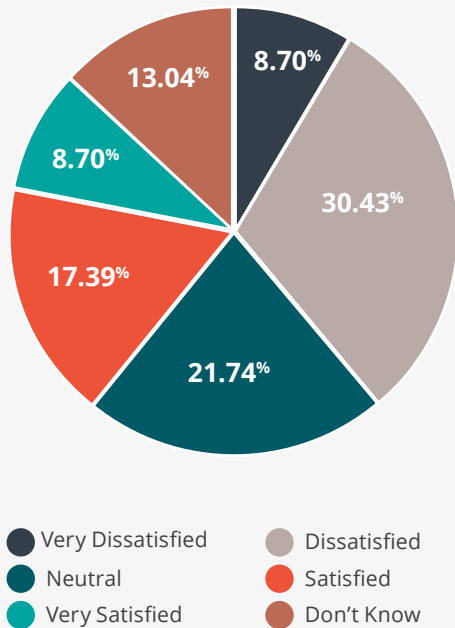


FIGURE 2: Survey respondents’ satisfaction with opportunities for civil society to comment on countries’ Voluntary National Review (VNR) reporting at 2018 HLPF



What's left to be done: While SDG implementation is primarily a process driven by member states, 2019 is an important year for the SG and DSG to exercise leadership in calling for full implementation of Goal 5 — including its more controversial components, such as sexual and reproductive health — and for full civil society participation.

Although Guterres and his Deputy Secretary-General have consistently articulated support for SDG 5 and gender mainstreaming throughout the 2030 Agenda, he and his team have not maximized leadership in this area. With the upcoming procedural reforms slated to be negotiated in 2019, this is an opportunity to use their influence to encourage member states to invest in women's empowerment and gender equality, and to provide extended windows for input along with more numerous opportunities for civil society to engage. DESA emerges as an actor that falls clearly under the SG's control and should be instructed to facilitate this to the greatest extent possible.

Furthermore, SDG achievements could also be more clearly linked to outcome documents and shadow reporting documents from the Conventions and Universal Periodic Reviews. This would allow for more civil society participation and enable SDG commitments and achievements to be interrogated from a rights-based perspective.

There are also opportunities to increase civil society engagement in regional fora and commissions where SDG monitoring and evaluation are discussed.



gender inequality as a characteristic underpinning social inequality, which drives the need for increased investment of humanitarian funds:

"The relentless growth and complexity of humanitarian need stems from protracted armed conflict and mass displacement, lack of development progress, social inequality including gender, disability and high levels of poverty and extreme weather conditions – amplified by climate change."

SECTION 3: FINANCING FOR GENDER EQUALITY

2018 Grade: C+
(2017: C+)

Progress to date: In a few public speeches this year, the Secretary-General highlighted the importance of funding for women's empowerment and gender equality. During his remarks at the annual High-Level Pledging Conference for the United Nations Central Emergency Response Fund, for example, Guterres identified

When addressing financing for gender equality, he paired highlighting existing initiatives with calls for additional funding. During his remarks on the International Day for the Elimination of Violence Against Women, he emphasized that the investments of the Spotlight Initiative and the U.N. Trust Fund to End Violence Against Women, while substantial, should be viewed as seed

funding in view of the amount of work required, and further investment as necessary. He also referenced the Task Force on Financing for Gender Equality, announced in 2017, as a concrete step taken to review the United Nations' own investment in gender equality.

Last year we were greatly encouraged by the announcement that the Task Force would be created, fulfilling a Campaign recommendation and, hopefully, providing a much-needed platform through which spending on gender equality would be examined and potentially increased. Although details on the composition and functioning of the Task Force were unavailable, the Campaign pushed for it to include civil society members and to be as high-level as possible, with findings made available to the public.

One year on, public information remains unavailable as to the composition and mandate of the Task Force, or how civil society might engage with it, despite repeated requests for more information. Key informant interviews with U.N. staff indicate the Task Force is up and running, co-chaired by Under-Secretary-General Menendez and UN Women Executive Director Phumzile Mlambo-Nguka, although broader membership is unclear. This contrasts significantly, and inexplicably, with other high-level task forces convened by the SG, such as on women's economic empowerment and the SDGs, which were well-publicized and peopled by high-level experts within and beyond the U.N. system.

Regarding the Campaign recommendation for civil society participation in the Task Force, we are told that there is an advisory board in place, although the number and mandate of this group is unclear. More broadly, the formal recruitment of civil society advisory groups has been opaque and haphazard. This has been a missed opportunity for the Secretary-General's office to integrate civil society input. It has only been through confidential communication with two interview respondents that we have learned that there are two working groups within the Task Force: one to examine challenges and gaps in system-wide architecture and one to examine gender markers and systems to track resource allocations. This is laudable progress and we appreciate the difficulty involved in creating and institutionalizing these structures, but we would argue

that vesting more transparency in this process would encourage its effectiveness and increase the substantive scope of its inquiry. We are also concerned that there does not seem to be a plan to publish results of the Task Force's investigation, which makes accountability for recommendations difficult to ensure.

Another area of progress this year was around the Spotlight Initiative. Announced in September 2017, the creation of Spotlight was met with high hopes and expectations, although there was initial concern (which constituted much of our critique in last year's report card) that the new initiative was redundant to the U.N. Trust Fund to End Violence Against Women and that it would siphon funding away. The multi-year global initiative to eliminate violence against women and girls received an initial investment of approximately €500 million, with the European Union as the main contributor, stipulating some thematic, funding and implementing agency preferences. Other donors and partners have been invited to join the Initiative to broaden its reach and scope. This structure has potential for high-level impact and should be modeled in the future for other initiatives. However, while not as severe, the Spotlight Initiative suffers from a similar lack of transparency and confusion around how civil society can engage with the Task Force, all of which is exacerbated by the complex coordination mechanisms that define different roles for UN Women, UNFPA and UNDP. Spotlight receives high marks for responsiveness to civil society critique, however. Initial criticisms of the development and roll-out of the initiative quickly received official responses and a number of civil society recommendations were implemented, including the appointment of a civil society advisory group.

The Peacebuilding Support Office (PBSO) has reported a 36 percent increase in its budget this year for gender and peacebuilding, significantly exceeding the benchmark of 15 percent* and perhaps indicating that the benchmark should be increased. The Secretary-General and his team have publicly touted this achievement as a model that can and should be met or exceeded throughout the system. The public celebration of the PBSO's achievement in targeting peacebuilding funds to women's empowerment shows leadership that the

SG and his designates should continue to exercise; although they may not have control over individual agency or entity spending on gender, they can and should consistently communicate the expectation that all efforts must be made to increase funding for gender equality initiatives. In future we will assess whether the Secretary-General has been able to persuade his peace and security institutions (former Department of Political Affairs and the Department of Peacekeeping Operations) to meet the modest minimum of spending 15 percent of peacebuilding budgets on gender equality. In addition to increasing spending on gender throughout the system, another Campaign financing call was that the SG serve as “fundraiser-in-chief” for UN Women specifically, whose core funding budget has never approached the \$500m it was promised at its founding (civil society had campaigned for \$1bn, a sum equivalent to other agencies dedicated to advancing the rights of marginalized populations (such as UNICEF). A more robust (and predictable) budget would allow it to sustain its programming work, rather than acting solely a technical advisor for gender mainstreaming throughout the system. While it is a challenge to determine if actual funds have increased when there is very little information available to track allocations and spending beyond core funding, it seems apparent that the Secretary-General has not taken up the charge of being an advocate for the agency’s funding. Many interview respondents point to this as a major inconsistency

between the rhetoric of the secretariat and whether or not it is in fact actionable. Interviews with officials close to the Secretary-General indicate that it is not and should not be a part of the SG’s mandate to fundraise for particular agencies, UN Women or otherwise, although they acknowledge the SG’s efforts to fundraise for additional humanitarian funding. The willingness to do this, combined with the historical precedent of past SGs advocating for full funding for UN Women (Ban Ki Moon consistently indicated this was a priority when the agency was founded) tell a different story. While the SG has taken valuable steps to elevate UN Women’s leadership in other processes that will be described elsewhere, we find his leadership on the funding question to be lacking. The Secretary-General has also not taken the opportunity to push member states to increase funding for UN Women or financing for gender equality in their own development assistance budgets or in their contributions to the United Nations.

What’s left to be done: We continue to urge the Secretary-General to engage civil society in the operations and implementation of both the Task Force and the Spotlight Initiative and to call for details on the composition, mandate and process for the Task Force to be made publicly available. The activities of the Task Force should be sufficiently resourced to enable meaningful transformation with sufficient attention to their results; the data that is being collected by the Task Force should also be made publicly available to be analyzed and tracked by those within and outside of the United Nations. As an outcome of the Task Force, the SG might consider increasing the 15% benchmark, since it has been exceeded in some cases.

Particular tracking is needed on the capacity of the United Nations’ peace and security institutions (currently in transition from DPA and DPKO) to earmark and spend funds for gender equality. Reluctant and late to the U.N.-wide commitment to spend 15 percent on gender equality in peacebuilding, these institutions, with huge budgets, are well positioned to make a significant contribution to addressing women’s needs in peacebuilding.



SECTION 4: UTILIZE FEMINIST LEADERSHIP: PARITY + RIGHTS PROTECTIONS

Overall Grade: **A-**
2017 Score: B+

Section 4A: Parity
Grade: **A**
2017 Score: A-

Progress to date: Since his inauguration, the Secretary-General has held up gender parity as a top priority of his leadership agenda. He used his inaugural address to declare his commitment to achieving gender parity at the Under-Secretary-General (USG) and Assistant Secretary-General (ASG) levels, including special representatives and special envoys, by the end of his mandate.^{xi} He also called for a clear roadmap with benchmarks and timeframes to achieve gender parity across the U.N. system. He made this commitment official by releasing the System-Wide Strategy on Gender Parity, which sets targets for achieving parity at all levels and calls for special temporary measures to accelerate progress. The Strategy also mandates that if targets are not met by December 2019, a central human resources office will make all hiring decisions for under-represented grade levels for one year.^{xii}

At the end of his second year, the Secretary-General shows no sign of lessening his commitment or slowing progress on his parity goals. He has met, a year early, his target of parity in the United Nations' top leadership. Resident Coordinators are now at parity and the U.N. mission in Cyprus now has a

senior leadership team comprised entirely of women—the first mission to achieve that in U.N. history. The SG is on schedule to meet all other targets and the success of these efforts is acknowledged and felt by civil society, academia and U.N. staff alike.^{xiii}

When speaking publicly about parity, most of his remarks focused on the achievements of the parity plan and the appointment of women to senior posts, but he also spoke about the creation and gender makeup of a new team specifically on sexual harassment. Encouragingly, he also acknowledged toxic masculinity at least in some corporate cultures; he would do well to acknowledge the same within the United Nations and more broadly, particularly in relation to the growing backlash by male field staff members to the parity goals. From an address to the General Assembly^{xiv}:

“We must dismantle obstacles and create opportunities for women, ensure equality and change on-line and toxic corporate cultures.”

An area that has seen variable progress in achieving parity this year is in peacekeeping missions. According to a key informant, 41 percent of leadership of peacekeeping missions are now women, which is the highest percentage to date. On the other hand, there has been little change to the lower level of women in the pipeline to senior peace and security leadership, in the P4, P5 and D1 positions in U.N. missions in conflict-affected states. However, according to a key informant, the SG recognized this issue and established a working group on emergency measures to achieve gender parity in the field and tasked senior leadership to develop actions to ensure faster progress in this area.

The parity effort has been met with a worrying backlash within the United Nations, triggered by concerns of staff on permanent contracts that they will lose jobs since the parity reforms come at the same time as efforts to downsize, streamline and reduce the overall footprint of the United Nations. As such, some staff unions and associations have expressed opposition to the gender parity effort, arguing that when it comes to personnel decisions, gender is now taking priority over merit and competence. A former vice president of the U.N. Staff Union, has been quoted as saying

“merit left the building years ago.”^{xv} The article containing that quote is entitled “When Gender Parity Knocks at the UN Door, Does Merit Fly Out of the Window?” and this title was often explicitly quoted by key informants as a worrying indication that backlash may reverse progress in this area.

Additionally, some key informants reported an over-reliance on the Gender Parity Strategy as the primary focus of the Secretary-General with regard to gender equality. There

is a risk that the energy around it is sucking up available attention and resources from other necessary reforms. Achievements in appointing women to senior positions are being lauded as ends in themselves, when achieving gender parity is seen as one component of efforts to advance gender mainstreaming throughout the system.

What’s left to be done: Progress has continued in Year 2 in this area, with the Secretary-General on track or even ahead of schedule in meeting many of the benchmarks he has set for himself. However, backlash from within the United Nations when it comes to achieving gender parity is an illustrative example of the importance of addressing the patriarchal culture prevalent throughout the United Nations in order for these efforts to be successful. While according to a key informant there have been inclusion dialogues on the importance of gender parity, a system-wide and externally understood initiative to challenge patriarchal mindsets and practices (e.g., belittling the capacities of women staff) will help the U.N. attract and retain highly qualified and skilled women to its ranks. Generating cultural change is difficult and slow, but there must be a publicly stated commitment to this change. This is an area where rhetoric can be powerful in setting a tone and creating a culture of responsibility and accountability.



Section 4B: Rights Protections

Grade: **B**

2017 Score: B

Progress to date: Although responding to issues of sexual harassment within the United Nations is one of the areas where the most actions were taken in 2018, the Secretary-General's overall score in the area of our agenda where this sits — within an overall frame on protections of women's human rights—remained the same (B). In this area more than others, the SG's score is an average that obscures considerable variations in how those actions were evaluated by respondents. Key informants had drastically varying viewpoints in this area that we have attempted to capture the breadth of here. The SG gets credit for having been visibly engaged in implementing a number of the actions he promised in 2017 and for setting up the teams tasked with carrying out those actions. However, a number of actions taken in this area received constructive criticism from experts within and outside of the U.N., which brought the score back down.

Over the course of the year the Secretary-General has continued to work through the High Level CEB (or Chief Executives Board for Coordination) Task Force on Sexual Harassment established in 2017.^{xvi} He also announced the appointment of more investigators to handle sexual harassment cases — including a special investigative team composed of mostly women — and committed to addressing reported incidents quickly, with a target of three months. He also established a whistleblower hotline and rolled out a staff survey on harassment that was administered across 31 agencies and entities. Additionally, it is now the goal that all sexual harassment complaints will go through the Office of Internal Oversight Services and a database has been created to ensure that offenders are not re-hired in another U.N. entity.

A key output of the Task Force this year was the development of a new U.N. System Model Policy on Sexual Harassment^{xvii}, made official on November 8. The model policy was created to serve as an example for agencies in developing their own policies on sexual

harassment to facilitate formal and informal reporting, prevention efforts, survivor support and protection against retaliation. While not without its faults — insiders report pushback on applying the term sexual harassment to people of all genders, for instance — it has received some positive feedback from experts inside and outside the system. The Secretary-General gets points for honoring his commitments to document the scope of the issue and develop policies and processes to address it and for taking some recommendations from staff and internal experts concerned that the Task Force was overly populated by legal and human resources representatives and did not include sufficient expertise on gender-based violence and survivor-centered approaches. The SG gets points for responding to internal and external critiques on that, however: following a letter from and subsequent meeting with an internal Feminist Network of U.N. staff from across the system, Jan Beagle appointed technical experts to the working groups and UN Women was tapped to co-chair the policy model working group of the Task Force. Not all concerns were addressed, however, and several internal informants reported challenges that arose from the urgency with which the policy had to be adopted by consensus by all 31 agencies, while external experts expressed frustration that the process was not more consultative. Moreover, a worrying element of the new policy model is a provision that allows legal representation for the accused but not for the survivor, an oversight that undermines the promised survivor-centered approach, along with the absence of efforts to consult with survivors in any meaningful or systematic way. An additional concern articulated is the lack of resourcing for Task Force efforts — with Beagle operating largely without staffing or budgetary support — and Task Force members and investigators shouldering their responsibilities in addition to already loaded job descriptions.

A number of key informants in and outside the United Nations expressed concerns about the extent to which emerging processes have been designed to tackle the issue effectively, with some pointed recommendations for where the Secretary-General's action could be improved:

“He has failed to take meaningful action to address the abuse of power and is hiding behind task forces that haven’t delivered concrete actions, haven’t tackled immunities and privileges that sustain the abuse. He needs to announce a concrete plan of action and allow time for groups to review and give feedback. He could have established an independent body to review allegations and monitor in real time. He could review the privileges and immunities within personnel policies that prevent action against employees, including HR policies that protect abusers. There is a willing group of member states who would work to take this forward. We know governments are watching; part of the motivation to establish the group of friends on this was they weren’t seeing enough from the [Secretary-General] on this.”

Concerns about investigatory processes, whistleblower and survivor protections in a system in which the United Nations is responsible for investigating itself continue to be articulated by expert reports, U.N. staff and civil society, many of whom have called for an independent process.^{xviii} When questioned on the topic at his first CSW Town Hall, the Secretary-General expressed support for an independent mechanism, but this support has not been subsequently affirmed and interviews with his staff do not indicate any plans to incorporate this despite insistent government and civil society calls for an independent, external mechanism to monitor complaints, review allegations and examine policies and procedures that are currently protecting abusers. One prominent case of sexual harassment in UNAIDS highlights how conflicts of interest in investigative protocols can substantially undermine whistleblower protections and impede the proper functioning of policies to prevent harassment, abuse and bullying.^{xix} The SG could be more consistent in

articulating support for survivors of harassment within the system and advocate for re-opening cases where concerns about investigative protocols and conflicts of interest have been cited. Moreover, a report by the Joint Inspection Unit in 2018 highlights that support for complainants is inadequate, “Complainants need support and guidance in reporting misconduct/wrongdoing or retaliation, due to the associated risk to their careers, personal safety and/or social and personal well-being. Only four organizations fully met all three of the indicators under this criterion,” (Joint Inspection Unit, 2018: iv).^{xx}

A report^{xxi} on the work of the Independent Expert Panel on prevention of and response to harassment, including sexual harassment, bullying and abuse of power in the UNAIDS Secretariat was similarly critical and explicitly called for an independent, external mechanism in its recommendations. Key informants interviewed for this report also point to the need to develop an independent process and express more vocal support for survivors and complainants and institute more survivor-centered responses. The Humanitarian Women’s Network has posted a petition^{xxii} to advocate for “a one-stop-shop where female aid workers in the U.N. and NGO systems can access first-line legal, medical and psychological care when experiencing harassment and abuse in the humanitarian workplace.”

In regard to sexual exploitation and abuse (SEA) of civilians by U.N. staff in the field, an issue to which U.N. response has been evolving for far longer (since 2002 compared to 2017 for sexual harassment), the Secretary-General and his team has been notably less active and vocal. In public remarks about these efforts, the SG stressed the importance of taking a survivor-centered approach with accountability as a priority but was less concrete about measures that would ensure this, other than appointing the first-ever Victims’ Rights Advocate in 2017, who is now working with member states and across the U.N. system. While he at one time referenced the steps mentioned above as efforts to combat sexual harassment and abuse of civilians, it is not clear to what extent civilians have been made aware of these steps or how they can access them, nor is it clear whether there are differences in implementation when the complainant is a U.N. staff member or civilian.^{xxiii}

Member states have amped up calls for accountability in this area, such as through Voluntary Compacts, in which states agree to support prevention of sexual exploitation by member state-supplied U.N. staff and respond swiftly to allegations. These have now been signed by 82 member states.^{xxiv} Fifty-eight world leaders have also joined the Circle of Leadership in a signal of their public commitment in support of measures to implement a zero-tolerance policy on sexual abuse of civilians.^{xxv, xxvi} These efforts are encouraging, yet voluntary leadership by a few is not equivalent to accountability for all.

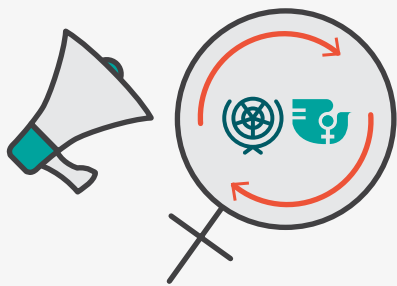
It is also essential to note that the issues of harassment “internal” to the United Nations and abuse and exploitation “external” to the United Nations being treated as parallel and distinct is a false binary. These issues exist along a continuum of violence with the common denominator being U.N. perpetrators against individuals both inside and outside of the system. This is one of the most important reasons it is critical that the patriarchal culture of the U.N. must be acknowledged and addressed.

What’s left to be done: It is essential the Secretary-General continue to lead on the issue of gender-based violence, recognizing that sexual harassment, discrimination and abuse are ongoing and insufficiently addressed issues within the U.N. system. His commitment to a “zero-tolerance policy” will not be credible to survivors and offenders alike without stronger action. This must start with implementing swift punishment and firings when harassment is proven, making sure that perpetrators are not simply reassigned, but removed from the system entirely. It is critical that the United Nations acknowledge that policing itself when it comes to crimes of harassment and abuse is inappropriate and establish an independent mechanism to avoid any potential conflicts of interest and increase transparency and accountability. At a minimum, the existing (internal) policy model must allow for survivors to have legal representation.

While the system-wide staff survey on this matter was welcome and its scope laudable, many respondents felt the process was rushed and should have been carried out by experts within the multilateral system (such as the WHO) who have deep expertise and context in the area of gender-based violence and survey development. While we recognize the urgency of the issue and acknowledge time is of the essence, impact should not pay the price of expedience. It is imperative that any and all efforts to combat sexual harassment are fully resourced with issue experts are staff assigned to tackle the problem, whose sole responsibility it is to concentrate exclusively on this effort, rather than adding another burden of work to already stretched portfolios.

Finally, the Secretary-General should vocally and in direct actions support meaningful accountability and survivor-centered approaches to end all forms of gender-based violence, including and beyond harassment, ensuring that efforts:

- Consult survivors in any systematic or meaningful way;
- Require appropriate standards of proof;
- Include minimum protections from retaliation;
- Implement standard disciplinary measures;
- Utilize common definitions and coordination across various offices, agencies and entities, such as ethics offices, the ombudsman, human resources departments, etc.



SECTION 5: ENABLE A FEMINIST TRANSFORMATION FOR CSW AND UN WOMEN

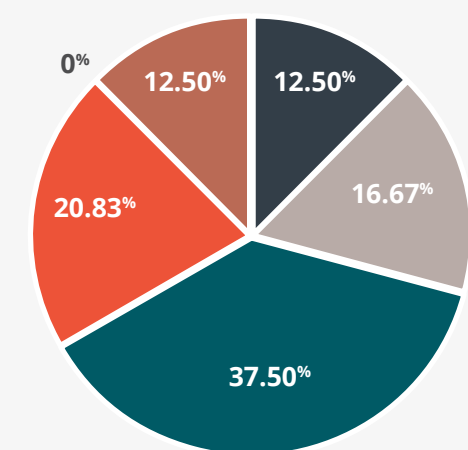
Grade: **C**

2017 Score: C

Progress to date: In this area the Secretary-General made no notable progress over last year and this is clearly not a priority for him or his team. He made very few speeches or public remarks by the SG referencing the CSW. He did indeed attend the CSW, and give remarks, and while we appreciate the acknowledgement

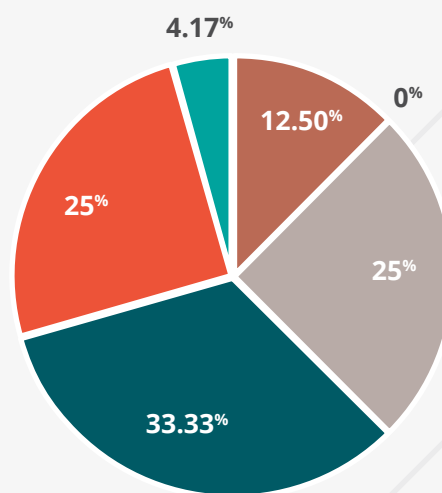
regarding CSW 62 that more needs to be done to ensure that rural women in particular are not “left behind,”^{xxvii} there was no mention of additional support to ensure that CSW is as transformational as possible. These remarks were given at the CSW Town Hall meeting, the precedent for which was established last year. We commended the Secretary-General’s creation of the Town Hall although respondents emphasized the need for more time or more opportunities throughout the year for him to dialogue with civil society in a more regularized manner, with structured follow-up to ensure professional tracking of commitments and decisions. Survey participants reported mixed levels of satisfaction with CSW. On civil society’s access to CSW negotiations on the outcome document, the Agreed Conclusions, 29.17 percent reported feeling dissatisfied or very dissatisfied, 37.5 percent were neutral and 20.83 percent were satisfied. On the Secretary-General’s efforts to engage with and respond to concerns of civil society at the CSW, respondents were evenly split among satisfied and dissatisfied at 25 percent each and 33.33 percent were neutral.

FIGURE 3: Survey respondents’ satisfaction with civil society access to CSW negotiations on the outcome document, the Agreed Conclusions



● Very Dissatisfied ● Dissatisfied
 ● Neutral ● Satisfied
 ● Very Satisfied ● Don't Know

FIGURE 4: Survey respondents’ satisfaction with the Secretary General’s efforts to engage with and respond to concerns of civil society at the CSW



● Very Dissatisfied ● Dissatisfied
 ● Neutral ● Satisfied
 ● Very Satisfied ● Don't Know

Key informants in civil society also felt that CSW has become predictable and mundane: “a formula” that is no longer innovative and that defends Member State positions. Every year, a repeated set of large international CSOs have access to high level negotiations and meetings and the rest are left behind. There are few opportunities to contribute to the outcome document and there is very little follow up. These sentiments are exacerbated by shrinking access for civil society members to New York-based discussions. Respondents feel fewer events are advertised and available to attend, additional screening procedures have been put in place, hindering overall access, and fewer people can attend given challenges with obtaining visas from the U.S. government. The Secretariat has acknowledged these difficulties, but it not taking adequate measures to address them. We reiterate our call to consider hosting CSW in another country if U.S. Government policies continue to depress global representation.

Closely linked with engagement around CSW, the Secretary General has not been seen as an advocate for more support for UN Women, particularly with regard to resourcing for the agency, which remains more than 50 percent below the US\$1 billion that was campaigned for in the beginning and still well below the US\$500

million that was promised. (Please see additional details above in ‘Financing for Gender Equality’.) However, we note the importance of the Secretary-General’s decision to include the Executive Director of UN Women on his Executive Committee, which was a meaningful elevation of UN Women’s leadership within the system and an opening for continued and regular examination of gender equality issues in those meetings. Because the substance of these meetings is not publicly available, we are left only to posit their significance in day-to-day leadership of the United Nations in Year 2. Notably, U.N. staff have indicated in closed correspondence that formal respect for the mandate and expertise of UN Women might not be shared across the Secretary-General’s staff nor amongst the leadership of other agencies. This sentiment is generated by what is perceived as sometimes overly burdensome control over UN Women’s documents and reports.

What’s left to be done: The Secretary-General’s 2018 CSW Town Hall was largely well-received and signals the commitment to ongoing engagement with women’s rights advocates in key U.N. events and fora. However, several experts consulted for this report feel that he should more strongly address issues of restricted access for civil society. He should also broaden the opportunity created by the Town Hall by making the event last longer and holding it more often and deepen the content by making sure he and his senior staff attend in person to listen to feedback as much as to deliver remarks. The Campaign recommends that the Secretariat consider relocating CSW outside of the United States in the global south, either permanently or on a rotating basis, to enable greater civil society access.

Similarly, the Secretary-General has not been seen to be publicly supporting a stronger UN Women, particularly in the area of funding and human resources. While we recognize that the Secretary General has been seen advocating for increased funding for the entire U.N. system, the Campaign believes that he should strongly encourage member states to increase contributions for gender equality, using his own rhetoric to justify the use of these funds as a powerful lever unlocking resources and supporting gender mainstreaming across the system and within the SDGs.



SECTION 6: PROMOTE THE FREEDOM OF INFORMATION IN THE U.N. SYSTEM

Grade: **C-**

2017 Score: **D+**

Progress to date: Freedom of information as a feminist issue insofar as it enables transparency and accountability, not only on commitments to gender equality and women's rights, but to all interconnected rights and principles the United Nations was established to uphold. Although this was not an area that was radically improved over last year, some progress was made, with the Secretary-General's team making visible efforts to publish more information about his efforts to advance gender equality (with a particular spike in activity early in 2018 with the publication of our report card!).

Many respondents reported that access to information in the U.N. system depends on privilege and personal relationships. One respondent estimated that up to half of the information they are working with on a daily basis is "informal" or "unofficial". While tracking funding and developing a gender marker has been part of the notable successes of this year, data on funding and on the gender SWAP are still not easily accessible or regularly updated.^{xxviii}

However, we recognize that the amount of data and information generated by the United Nations is enormous, so for the purposes of this report card we would love to see all data collected as part of the Task Force on Financing for Gender-Equality made publicly available and updated annually, which will be helpful in quantifying spending on gender throughout the system (as well as staffing thereto) and, presumably, make progress on the challenges that rise from inconsistency in how gender data is collected

across the system. Much of the information is indeed available online but given the breadth of U.N. activities and reporting, data can be difficult to find, sift through and understand. Information should be clear and digestible if it is to be actionable. Key informants have also reported inconsistencies between U.N. agencies reporting and data sharing and the Secretariat, with the former being more accessible and the latter feeling like a "black hole." CSOs in the regions, that are closer to the U.N. agencies in the field, appear to find information about the agencies and programs they engage with more accessible than those seeking aggregate global data at headquarters.

It is important to note that data on agencies' sources of funding, from member states and for specific trust funds and initiatives, are increasingly easier to access. But data on funds going to particular geographic areas, or private sector funding, and information on staffing quotas are virtually inaccessible, highly fragmented and mostly out of date.^{xxix}

We also specifically acknowledge the website for the Gender Parity Strategy and applaud the easily accessible format and actionable tools housed therein. This website should be used as a model or template for other initiatives or workstreams. Additionally, while we continue to urge more transparency within and about the Task Force on Financing for Gender Equality, we applaud its creation and recognize its potential for creating even greater transparency once it is fully operational.

Finally, the Campaign acknowledges that U.N. meetings are now widely televised including meetings of the different committees.^{xxx} This does provide opportunity for civil society oversight of the U.N. system functioning and of the participation of their member states' delegates and articulation of their positions.

What's left to be done: The Secretary-General must endeavor to make internal processes more public. Conversations with senior U.N. officials have revealed that decisions on gender equality are being made by the Executive Committee, but the group's meetings are confidential. We ask that the Executive Committee report on their decisions and communicate effectively with external stakeholders. The SG should also continue to televise as many high level and substantive meetings as possible.



CONCLUSION

2018 was a year in which the Secretary General sustained or increased progress across each of our Campaign areas, a commendable show of both continued commitment to gender equality and considerable regard for civil society opinion, two important attributes of the style of feminist leadership we seek for the United Nations.

As in 2017, the areas in which he scored highest are on efforts to advance gender parity in U.N. leadership, where he has set and is on track to exceed benchmarks for progress (although internal backlash has been a worrying development that has potential to jeopardize future results if protections are not put in place and the broader, patriarchal culture is not addressed) and on tackling violence, discrimination and abuse in the U.N. system (where there were numerous actions undertaken this year, some of which were celebrated and some critiqued in our interviews and analysis). These are two areas that are fitting for the Secretary-General's leadership, solidly within the realm of his control.

Although there's still considerable room for improvement, the SG made the most progress over last year in visibly advancing the implementation of Goal 5 on gender equality and the mainstreaming of gender across the implementation of all Sustainable Development Goals — coincidentally, the area on which he scored lowest in 2017, again demonstrating a commitment to hearing and addressing civil society critique. He made similar progress over last year in the other area where he was found most lacking, on the freedom of information. Going into 2019, the Secretary General should continue to visibly and audibly act as a champion for gender equality, ramping-up his embrace of women's human rights and empowerment, and making a clear stand for those rights that are under particular attack, such as

sexual and reproductive health and rights. He should call for expanded opportunities for meaningful civil society consultation and oversight, from the Commission on the Status of Women to the HLPF, particularly given the review of modalities that will be undertaken this year. And he should model openness to civil society critique by increasing his own exposure to it, formally developing a mechanism for regular consultation, including and beyond the CSW Town Hall. 2019 will also present a prime opportunity to take initial efforts on financing for gender equality to a new level; the composition, mandate and accessibility of the Task Force must be made public and its deliberations accessible to civil society input and participation, its efforts resourced and publicized and its recommendations implemented. This includes championing full funding for UN Women, ensuring accurate tracking of the proportion of all U.N. funding that is devoted to gender equality and women's empowerment and playing a supportive and visible role in its efforts going into 2020, important anniversaries of Beijing and the agency itself.

Finally, 2019 will be a test of the Secretary-General's efforts on parity and violence, the success of which will only be guaranteed if the patriarchal culture of the United Nations itself is transformed. This means tackling power structures within human resources and across recruiting efforts, which typically reward and privilege seniority and permanent contracts (which are highly correlated with sex) and an acknowledgement that the U.N. cannot and should not police itself in cases of discrimination, harassment, exploitation and abuse. The SG once took the brave and unprecedented step of stating support for an independent mechanism for investigation and holding perpetrators of these crimes to account; he should not shy away from it now.



ANNEX

METHODOLOGY

The scoring reflected in this report card draws on qualitative and quantitative data collected and curated through a variety of different sources and methods. All research procedures were approved by the ICRW Institutional Review Board to ensure full compliance with the Human Research Protection Program.^{xxxi} We sought to be rigorous and generate as representative input as possible. We have also aimed for this endeavor to be replicable, so that similar data can be collected throughout the duration of the Secretary-General's term and thereafter, providing ongoing opportunities for learning and reflection. The intent is to capture whether gender can be effectively mainstreamed across the U.N. system and whether sufficient resources are being dedicated to gender mainstreaming and gender equality and to the more transparent and accountable engagement of civil society in U.N. processes and fora.

Key Informant Interviews

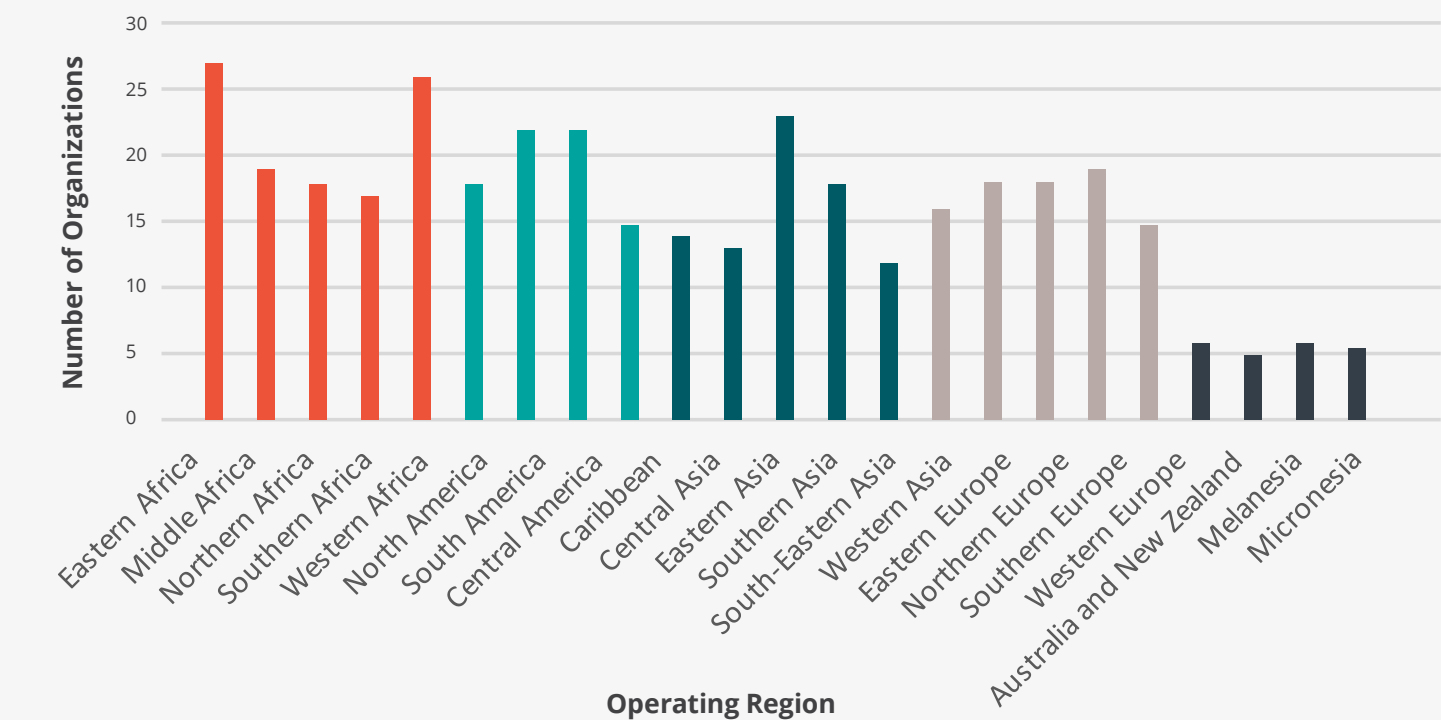
We conducted key informant interviews (KIIs) with 10 individuals and one group comprised of five people, for a total of 16 people. These informants came from within the U.N. system (9), academia (1) and global civil society (5) who possess considerable U.N. expertise. Where possible we interviewed the same individuals we had spoken to last year in the same agencies or organizations. Key informants were identified through a number of civil society and U.N. networks, including: Women's Major Group; Women's Rights Caucus; Association for Women's Rights in Development; U.N. Feminist Network, multiple U.N. agencies, the International Trade Union Confederation; and feminist organizations directly engaged in the Feminist U.N. Campaign. Each interview took about an hour. Key informants were asked questions about the different domains of the report card, including the Secretary-General's support for feminist leadership within the United Nations, the gender parity agenda in staffing and

recruitment, financing for gender equality, financing and support for UN Women, engagement with the Commission on the Status of Women (CSW), the U.N. General Assembly (UNGA) and the High Level Political Forum on Sustainable Development (HLPF), as well as gender mainstreaming throughout the SDGs and full implementation of Goal 5. They were also asked about freedom of information and the pursuit of greater accountability for sexual abuse cases by peacekeepers, humanitarian staff and others across the United Nations Also, given the growing fervor of around the global #MeToo movement and breaking allegations of sexual harassment within the U.N. system, we added a question in the interviews held with U.N. staff about efforts to address and prevent sexual harassment. Key informants' responses were anonymized and individuals are only identified by their organization type and broad geographic location.

Online Survey

We used the same networks and affiliations to enable us to field an online survey about the key domains and levels of civil society engagement and civil society's perceptions of U.N. transparency, accountability and support for gender equality under the leadership of this Secretary-General. The survey was sent out through these networks to individuals in different NGOs, INGOs, unions and academic institutions and snowballed as individuals forwarded it to other similar organizations. Again, all information was anonymized and respondents were coded by their type of organization and geographic location. We reached 82 civil society organizations that work across the regions and various sub-regions, of Africa, the Americas, Asia, Europe and Oceania. Respondents (n=85) were based in 44 different countries.^{xxxii} The chart below represents the operating regions of these civil society organizations, which is not limited to areas where they have formal registration, but reflects where their work is conducted and mission is advanced. The results of the survey capture

FIGURE 5: IN WHICH REGION(S) DOES YOUR CIVIL SOCIETY ORGANIZATION



**Respondents were asked to select all applicable regions of operation. Many organizations worked in multiple regions, thus the number of regions is greater than the total number of respondents.*

the perceptions of civil society respondents about the Secretary-General’s progress in advancing gender equality to date. They are used to augment and substantiate our analysis and are not representative of the views of global civil society.

Speeches

Verbatim text of the Secretary-General’s speeches was taken from the U.N. Secretary-General’s website, for the time period, spanning from the last inclusion date from the Year 1 Report Card (January 3, 2018) to the end of this data collection period (December 14, 2018). In that time, the SG made a total of 197 speeches.

Speeches were searched for the key terms listed below. They were downloaded and all the references to gender were coded on three levels: whether they were substantive or non-substantive, what campaign area(s) the reference related to and the thematic area of the reference.

Tweets

A Twitter analysis was conducted according to the same methodology as speeches. Tweets were included and coded with two Twitter-specific exceptions: we tracked the

SG’s use of hashtags to participate in Twitter campaigns (and relate gender to these campaigns) and manually reviewed images and other attachments to tweets that would not have been surfaced by a text search. Note that the total number of Tweets – 580 – includes some duplicate tweets wherein the SG tweeted the same message in multiple languages. Tweets were captured for analysis via the online platform ExportTweet.

Substantive vs. Non-substantive references. Non-substantive references included quick references to women or gender as an aside on another topic, or as part of a grouping of categories. For instance, when listing the challenges facing the world, “racism, poverty, xenophobia, violent misogyny, homophobia” would be an important, but non-substantive reference. General statements, such as “we must make gender equality a priority” were also non-substantive, if they did not elaborate on why gender equality should be a priority or how to achieve it. It’s important to note that non-substantive statements are not necessarily unimportant – they were often used as a way to highlight that women and gender equality were relevant to the conversation in instances where that may not have been evident. This was especially the case when used in

combination with substantive references, demonstrating an intent to “mainstream” or “surface” gender and highlight specific issues at the same time.

Also worth noting is that the main purpose of this designation is to determine how often and how deeply the Secretary-General is discussing campaign themes and/or gender issues in speeches where the overall topic is not explicitly gender-related. Thus, none of the content speeches directly on gender was coded as either substantive or non-substantive.

Key Terms: Woman/women, girl, female, gender, sex/ual, mother, wife, daughter, sister, feminist/ism, harassment, metoo, aidtoo, SDG 5, Sustainable Development Goal 5, Women’s Economic Empowerment

Thematic areas: conflict, peace and security, migration and refugees, funding, SDGs, economic empowerment, nutrition, agriculture, technology, education, empowerment/agency/voice, sexual violence, abuse and exploitation, humanitarian assistance, sustainable development

Results

Ninety-two of the Secretary-General’s speeches were included in the analysis, representing 47 percent of all speeches in the timeframe covered by the report. Five were primarily addressing gender issues and thus none of their text was classified as either substantive or not substantive, since its purpose was to elucidate gender issues.

Speeches directly on gender included remarks on the importance of women’s leadership, the impact of GBV and especially sexual violence, women’s human rights – including political and reproductive rights – women’s economic participation and empowerment and the importance of women’s civil society organizations. When given the opportunity, the Secretary-General demonstrated that he clearly has a deep understanding of issues of gender and women and girls’ equality and empowerment and that he has a strong vision of what a feminist United Nations, and world, would look like. In these speeches especially, he struck a good balance between recognizing the challenges that women and girls face, the norms and structures that uphold those challenges and the importance of women’s active leadership and voice.

In the 87 speeches that were not explicitly about gender, there were 147 references to gender issues; 127 substantive references and 20 non-substantive references. 73 included at least one substantive references to gender issues and 14 more had only non-substantive references.

Reports

We also reviewed reports pertinent to this period. These included the *System-Wide Strategy on Gender Parity*, the Joint Inspection Unit’s *Review of Whistleblower Policies and Practices in United Nations System Organizations*, the UNAIDS *Report on the work of the Independent Expert Panel on prevention of and response to harassment, including sexual harassment; bullying and abuse of power at UNAIDS Secretariat and the UNCT-SWAP Gender Equality Score Card*. We also reviewed the Secretary-General’s reports on *Repositioning the United Nations development system to deliver on the 2030 Agenda: ensuring a better future for all*; *Repositioning the United Nations development system to deliver on the 2030 Agenda: our promise for dignity, prosperity and peace on a healthy planet*; *Restructuring of the United Nations peace and security pillar*; and *Special measures for protection from sexual exploitation and sexual abuse*.

Appointments

We followed key appointments over the Secretary-General’s second year.^{xxxiii} Appointments at Assistant Secretary-General (ASG) and Under Secretary-General (USG) levels were tracked by sex across the year.

Scoring

The overall weighted average score was informed by scores on each of six dimensions^{xxxiv} and the subcomponents that we tracked under each:

1 Articulate and begin to implement a feminist leadership agenda for the United Nations (30 percent)

- A. Give speeches that make substantive reference to gender in U.N. processes and commitments (percent of speeches)^{xxxv}
- B. Seek parity in high level appointments (percent of new appointments)
- C. Actively engage with civil society in U.N. fora and through town hall meetings (# meetings with civil society)

2 Ensure feminist implementation and accountability for the SDGs (14 percent)

- A. Make efforts to link the SDGs and their targets to the Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action
- B. Make efforts to ensure that CSW has a clear mandate to oversee gender mainstreaming in the SDGs
- C. Link SDG implementation to accountability mechanisms
- D. Emphasize gender equality and human rights in the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development and the HLPF

3 Finance for gender equality (14 percent)

- A. Track and publish what is spent on gender equality throughout the system and support the U.N.-SWAP
- B. Convene an annual high-level panel on financing for gender equality within the U.N. system
- C. Advocate for increased funding for UN Women to US\$1 billion
- D. Commit to a pathway to full financial transparency in the U.N.

4 Utilize feminist leadership as a defining model of the new administration and throughout the system (14 percent)

- A. Support parity among ASGs and USGs
- B. Establish gender parity in the Cabinet
- C. Call for nominations for feminist female candidates in WHO, UNFPA and U.N. Treaty Bodies
- D. Support gender equitable employment practices (respect for care work, flexible working hours, paid family leave, zero tolerance for sexual harassment)
- E. Institute a global commission of inquiry for victims of sexual exploitation and abuse

5 Enable a feminist transformation for CSW and UN Women (14 percent)

- A. Increase amount and scope of civil society participation at CSW
- B. Encourage focus on women's rights and gender equality in outcome documents and proceedings
- C. Support more transparent and plural advisory council for U.N. Women

6 Promote the freedom of information in the U.N. system (14 percent)

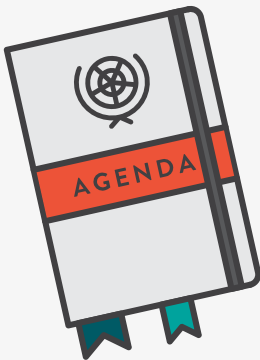
- A. Institute a system-wide freedom of information policy
- B. Publish contributions by member states and staff quotas publicly
- C. Televisе major U.N. meetings and make them available to civil society via internet platforms

Each of these dimensions was scored based on the data from the KIs, the online survey, coded speeches, and analysis of reports and outcome documents. The grading scale is shown in Table 2 below:

TABLE 2: Grading Scale

A+	97%+
A	93-96%
A-	90-92%
B+	87-89%
B	83-86%
B-	80-82%
C+	77-79%
C	73-76%
C-	70-72%
D+	67-69%
D	63-66%
D-	60-62%
F	0-59%

The scores were reviewed by a technical advisory group comprised of members of the Feminist U.N. Campaign and are reported for each of the six components. The sub-component analysis is included in the full report. The first component of the six components was weighted at 30 percent of the overall score in order to reflect that it encompasses the other components by framing an overarching commitment to gender equality within the U.N. system and is an action that is fully within the power of the Secretary-General to undertake alone (i.e., does not require action by member states or bodies beyond his individual control).



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