PROGRESS STALLED FOR WOMEN’S RIGHTS, TIME FOR A 2020 JUMPSTART

A REPORT CARD ON THE SECRETARY-GENERAL’S THIRD YEAR FROM THE FEMINIST U.N. CAMPAIGN
INTRODUCTION

The Feminist U.N. Campaign was born in 2016 out of a global call — from United Nations member states to civil society groups — for feminist leadership at the United Nations (U.N.). In response to this call, the International Center for Research on Women (ICRW) convened a number of feminist thinkers, advocates and U.N. watchers to assemble a blue-sky vision outlining what a more feminist United Nations would look like.

The result of that effort, Toward a More Feminist United Nations, called for six areas of action by incoming Secretary-General (SG) António Guterres, which were subsequently adapted into an advocacy agenda known as the Feminist U.N. Campaign. Over the course of Guterres’ three years in office, the Campaign initially pushed for an ambitious 100-day agenda, followed by a number of transformative actions to be implemented over the course of the first term and falling under each of our six recommendation areas. Progress is evaluated in regular, public report cards, the methodology for which is outlined briefly here and in detail on page 36.

Perhaps responding to that international, public pressure for female and feminist leadership, Mr. Guterres has consistently signaled that gender equality ranks among his highest thematic priorities, taking a number of our initial recommendations and encouraging gender equality advocates to “hold his feet to the fire.” This report card series seeks to do just that. Taking our initial, six-point agenda as the standard upon which we evaluate the Secretary-General’s performance, our annual, rigorous progress assessment analyzes the Secretary-General’s speeches and social media messages for frequency and depth of content on gender equality and women’s rights; gathers expert insights through key informant interviews; and measures public perceptions of his performance among feminist civil society globally.

Three years in, we are observing trend lines that will define the legacy of this Secretary-General’s first term with regard to gender equality. The picture that emerges is one of a Secretary-General who has outstripped any other Secretary-General in his commitments to and elevation of gender equality, albeit surpassing a very limited engagement on this issue by previous secretaries-general. Guterres set the bar high early, publicly committing to a number of actions intended to achieve gender parity throughout the U.N. system; respond to gender-based violence, discrimination and harassment within the system; and advance the women, peace and security agenda globally. A proliferation of policy guidance, expert groups and task forces have been instituted to further refine and

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advance these goals, and Guterres has taken steps to elevate UN Women within the bureaucracy and U.N. leadership.

Enough time has gone by now to observe change in some areas and to critique the lack of it in others. Real efforts to transform the system, particularly when it comes to gender parity, have been implemented but are being met with backlash internally — much as we observe a larger global context of backlash when it comes to rights reversals and crackdowns on women’s human rights defenders. This larger context is a consistent theme in the Secretary-General’s speeches (the number of which focus on gender having tripled in 2019), calling for allies to “push back against the pushback.”

The SG’s efforts to advance financing for gender equality have occurred as the U.N. has simultaneously experienced an unprecedented financial shortfall and the institution of budget cuts and austerity measures. Progress also seems to have stalled on internal efforts to respond to sexual harassment and gender-based violence, following a number of rhetorical and policy commitments that proliferated over the course of 2018, during the height of the #MeToo and #AidToo movements.

Since last year’s report card, little change has been observed in other campaign areas on the Sustainable Development Goals, support for the U.N.’s women’s rights architecture or overall freedom of information and transparency.

Overall, it has been a year of incremental progress, frustrated by larger global and institutional obstacles. The Secretary-General’s score of B− reflects this, with minor deviations among the six evaluation areas* but no measurable increase or decrease overall compared to last year.

As the Secretary-General enters the final two years of his term, with next year’s major anniversaries for the United Nations (75th) and a number of hallmark standards for women’s human rights (Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action, U.N. Security Council Resolution 1325, or UNSCR 1325), a reinvention of energy and a renewed push for progress on his established priorities and an embrace of neglected areas is desperately needed. This summer, heads of state, business leaders, U.N. officials and feminist civil society will gather to mark the 25th anniversary of the Beijing Declaration. They will convene at the Generation Equality Forum, a series of high-level events, where they will make public commitments to the next generation of progress on gender equality and women’s human rights. The forum presents an ideal opportunity for the Secretary-General to take a strong stand. Following his challenge to the world in 2018 to create a “champions only” space with a “no lowest common denominator” approach to climate change, Secretary-General Guterres should take similarly bold leadership ahead of the Forum, challenging heads of state and his own U.N. agency and entity leaders to take on the greatest challenges and the most difficult issues where progress toward gender equality has been hardest to achieve. This will require bold vision, strong ambition and a willingness to see this agenda through. It will require marshalling all actors and resources at his disposal throughout the system and “pushing back against the pushback,” as he has encouraged us all to do.

*It is important to note that this assessment evaluates the Secretary-General’s progress against the Campaign’s recommended agenda, not his own. 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 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. Our order is, therefore, an admittedly tall one. 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.
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 gender equality and women’s and girls’ rights at the heart of everything it does.

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

**ONE**

**ARTICULATE AND IMPLEMENT A FEMINIST LEADERSHIP AGENDA**

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.

**TWO**

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

The SDGs represent the single best opportunity to achieve gender equality and include a focus on gender and advance women’s rights across the U.N.’s efforts. Ensure the goals have a strong accountability framework and continue to focus on gender including and beyond Goal 5, and 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).

**THREE**

**FINANCE FOR GENDER EQUALITY**

Ensure there are sufficient funds committed to gender equality across the U.N., including full funding for UN Women as well as for gender integration throughout the U.N. 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 U.N. system. Publish funding sources to enhance transparency across all agencies.

**FOUR**

**UTILIZE FEMINIST LEADERSHIP**

Increase the numbers of women and feminists in U.N. 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.

**FIVE**

**ENABLE A FEMINIST TRANSFORMATION FOR CSW AND U.N. WOMEN**

Commit to ensure that the CSW and U.N. 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.

**SIX**

**PROMOTE THE FREEDOM OF INFORMATION IN THE U.N. SYSTEM**

Announce system-wide reforms to increase transparency within the U.N. and to build public trust in the U.N. system. Institute universal System-Wide Action Plan on Gender Equality and the Empowerment of Women (SWAPs) for all U.N. agencies and bodies, including the fifth committee, and make that data publicly available on a central platform.
REPORT CARD

ONE ARTICULATE AND IMPLEMENT A FEMINIST LEADERSHIP AGENDA

2019 Grade: B+
(2018: B+)

Our Ask: The Feminist U.N. Campaign defines a feminist leadership agenda as a full-fledged women’s rights agenda based on U.N. policies of human rights, equality, fairness and nondiscrimination. It outlines which members of the Secretary-General’s administration are responsible for implementing its key provisions. Progress on such an agenda should be reported to the public on an annual basis with consultation on feminist civil society and U.N. staff to hone and implement.

Progress to date: Secretary-General Guterres had mixed results this year across the three subsections of this agenda item: the content of the agenda itself, the team responsible and the opportunity for feminist critique and civil society input.

The Agenda
In his third year, the Secretary-General turned inward to focus on some key internal processes and outcomes. These included the High-Level Task Force (HLTF) on Financing for Gender Equality, a continuation of investments in securing gender parity, U.N. reforms and preparation for the major anniversaries of 2020. On one hand, this shift has led to a feeling for many—both inside and outside of the U.N. system—that some momentum was lost this year. On the other hand, it has also created the expectation for a big push on gender equality next year.

The Secretary-General’s public messaging about gender equality remains strong and is an area where we see some of the most substantive progress this year, a year in which he delivered nearly triple the number of speeches on gender that were given last year. Notably, all of these remarks were given at gender-related events, such as International Day of the Girl and International Day for the Elimination of Violence against Women.

This indicates the SG is speaking more consistently and substantively on gender equality, albeit mostly to audiences gathered specifically for that purpose rather than elevating a focus on gender at events geared toward other topics.

The SG’s speeches that focused entirely on gender often centered on issues of sexual violence in conflict, the global rollback of women’s rights and the achievement of gender parity within peacekeeping troops, U.N. police and other military institutions. While these speeches detailed the victimization of women, especially during periods of conflict, the SG also emphasized that women needed to be fully involved in any enduring solution—both during peace negotiations and as women in uniform.

The importance of women’s agency and active leadership was a consistent theme throughout these speeches—a welcome indication that the SG has heard prior years’ critiques that his speeches were overly focused on victimization without emphasizing women’s power and agency in equal measure. Similarly, the SG significantly increased his references to women’s rights versus women’s “empowerment” this year. In his speeches not entirely dedicated to gender issues, the SG made 16 references to women’s rights and nine to women’s empowerment, which represents an inverse of the use of these terms in years past. We commend the Secretary-General and his team for this important shift and are encouraged by the message this sends to the world and directly to U.N. personnel.

“While global movements and increased awareness are contributing to greater acknowledgement of the need for gender equality, this is happening simultaneously with a reinvigorated pushback on women’s rights. This takes multiple forms—including increased violence against women, human rights defenders and women running for political office, to online targeting and harassment of women who speak out.”

– Secretary-General António Guterres, International Women’s Day, March 8, 2019

In the 85 speeches that were not explicitly about gender, there were 132 references to gender issues—51 substantive references and 81 non-substantive references. 43 speeches included at least one substantive reference to gender issues, and 57 had only non-substantive references.

There was also an increase in speeches and messaging this year regarding the women, peace and security agenda, a positive development that should continue at pace ahead of next year’s 20th anniversary of UNSCR 1325. Women in uniform, sexual and gender-based violence in war and the importance of women in peace negotiations were all prominent themes in Guterres’ speeches about or referencing gender. The SG made direct references to the Syrian Women’s Advisory Board and the Yemeni Women’s Technical Advisory Group in his remarks at the Istanbul Mediation Conference in October. However, it should be noted that while women were involved in those U.N.-led advisory groups, there were few to no women participating in the peace negotiations themselves, and, most importantly, no gender provisions in the outcome documents or agreements in
Last year, our analysis included the Secretary-General’s use of social media for the first time, as it emerged as an important—and more autonomous—platform for communicating his agenda. Repeating this analysis for 2019 reveals that the SG tweeted about issues related to gender only 56 times this year, accounting for 10.6 percent of his 540 tweet total. This is a considerable decrease from last year’s total of 17 percent. Guterres spoke most often about gender-based violence—a topic referenced by 23.2 percent of his tweets (13 tweets) that were related to gender. Most of those tweets were in reference to sexual violence, where he lamented its use as a tactic of war. He also spoke on political violence, physical violence and violent extremism.

Gender parity was also a major theme of the SG’s tweets, mentioned in 11 (19.6 percent) of his tweets on issues related to gender. Echoing the language in his speeches, he often used the U.N. system as an example of what could be achieved and emphasized the need to achieve gender parity in peacekeeping missions and in formal political leadership. His language on women’s rights was also strong. Nine tweets (16 percent of tweets on gender) mentioned protecting the rights of women and “pushing back against the pushback” against those rights. He also denounced sexual violence as a weapon of war and in one tweet mentioned “preventing and ending sexual exploitation and abuse by U.N. personnel” as a top priority. This tweet was part of an organized effort that was carried out during the convening of the General Assembly by members of the Secretary-General’s Circle of Leadership on the prevention of and response to sexual exploitation and abuse in U.N. operations. According to senior staff, the tweet was retweeted over 10,000 times.¹

As with last year, only one tweet included the word “feminist” (we also reviewed for “feminism”). Similar to last year, it was a short tweet, in which the SG noted “I am a proud feminist” and included a link to a video of his remarks at the opening of the 63rd Session of the Commission on the Status of Women (CSW), where he echoed that statement.

A key theme that emerged this year in key informant interviews, both with U.N. staff and civil society, was a focus on gender equality and women’s rights. Interviews with the Secretary-General’s leadership and policy agenda, specifically in preparation for the 25th anniversary of the Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action. For instance, Guterres asked the Executive Director of UN Women to brief the Senior Management Group on their anniversary plans and how the system could engage with and support them. Interviews with U.N. leadership regarding the SG’s gender equality agenda also indicated that gender was a focus this year at the Resident Coordinator retreat specifically on gender parity efforts and the Spotlight Initiative. This retreat is a key convening, designed to bring U.N. leadership into alignment with the Secretary-General’s priorities for the year.

These developments represent considerable progress for the SG in his efforts to set and implement a feminist leadership agenda, albeit admittedly “behind the scenes.” For instance, in 2019, there were 12 agenda items specifically on gender at either the Executive Committee or Deputies Committee meetings. According to senior staff, “these spanned women, peace, and security, gender parity, gender in the reforms, the High-Level Task Force on Financing, and others. These discussions culminated in 15 decisions by these bodies for implementation in the system.” These actions are notably positive, but there was very little knowledge of them. Indeed, it is also worth noting that public perception among almost all civil society respondents (in both the global survey and expert interviews) revealed the mirror opposite impression. An overwhelming majority of respondents indicated an overall perception that progress had slowed with regard to both the SG’s articulation and implementation of a feminist leadership agenda. This suggests that perception of the SG’s efforts has not kept pace with his actions. A more public transmission of his actions — be it through heightened public references to them in speeches and social media, or a sharing of senior-level meeting calendars and agendas — might improve perceptions.

The Team Responsible

This year, the core team responsible for the SG’s agenda remains largely the same. Deputy Secretary-General (DSG) Amina Mohammed continues to lead work on the Sustainable Development Goals. Under-Secretary-General and Senior Policy Advisor Ana María Menéndez remains the main point of contact for civil society, is in charge of gender parity and now also disability. Senior Gender Advisor Nahla Valji continues to shape gender policy and provide substantive expertise in the Executive Office. Each of these areas are central to the development and implementation of a feminist leadership agenda for the SG.

A welcome addition to the team this year is the new Executive Director of UNAIDS, Winnie Byanyima, an acclaimed feminist with noted expertise in gender and development issues and deep roots in civil society. Leaders like Byanyima will be necessary if a feminist agenda is to be successfully implemented in the United Nations in general, but she is also a particularly solid choice for UNAIDS, which was wracked by a sexual harassment scandal surrounding the departure of her predecessor late last year. In addition to her broader experience in gender issues and strong reputation among civil society, Byanyima brings specific expertise in dealing with #MeToo and #AidToo issues. She led Oxfam International through a similar scandal, handling the process with a high level of transparency that included both the appointment of an independent commission to investigate and the resignation of key leaders who had been at the helm during the course of the events in question.¹ The appointment of Byanyima to her role at UNAIDS is an endorsement of her leadership and approach to #AidToo. Hopefully, she will be able to oversee an independent, effective and accountable review of personnel and practices throughout the agency and make necessary adjustments.

Another key addition to the SG’s cabinet this year is Assistant Secretary-General (ASG) for Strategic Coordination, Volker Turk, who has taken on the role of civil society liaison on a wide range of issues.
His extensive experience working for the protection of refugee, stateless and LGBTQI populations, as well as his gender equality work within the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), is welcome in this role. However, gender does not appear to be an official part of his mandate. If gender is to be a priority for the SG’s senior management team, the role of civil society liaison will be of utmost importance, particularly in this pivotal anniversary year.

Lastly, a departure of note is Jan Beagle, who served as chair of the Chief Executives Board Task Force on Addressing Sexual Harassment within the Organizations of the UN system. She has been replaced in this role by Kelly Clements, who is the Deputy High Commissioner for Refugees. Before joining UNHCR in 2015, Clements served as Deputy Assistant Secretary of State in the Bureau of Population, Refugees, and Migration (PRM) where she was responsible for humanitarian issues in Asia and the Middle East and global policy and budget. This role is central to the execution of the SG’s agenda on ending sexual harassment, exploitation and abuse in the U.N. system and will be closely watched.

Opportunities for Feminist Critique and Civil Society Input
Past report cards have praised the Secretary-General’s institution of an unprecedented, annual women’s rights Town Hall with civil society each CSW since taking office, including the one held this year. According to both the global survey and key informant interviews, civil society largely believes opportunities like these should be built upon and expanded by increasing time for civil society’s questions and answers (Q&A), as well as the hosting of more frequent Town Halls, now that the precedent has been firmly set in place. With the combination of attacks on women’s rights and dramatically shrinking civil society space, the Town Hall is one of the only opportunities for global women’s groups and feminist civil society to engage directly with the SG. In addition to increased time for Q&A, advocates are calling for similar engagement during Guterres’ travels to the field and during convenings organized by regional U.N. bodies. The SG does meet with women’s groups occasionally when traveling, but survey respondents pushed for these opportunities to be systematized and regularly scheduled in advance to give groups a chance to organize and prepare interventions. Ultimately, advocates want to take full advantage of opportunities to highlight their concerns at the highest levels of global leadership.

Regarding the role of Under-Secretary-General and Senior Policy Advisor Ana Maria Menéndez, past report cards had suggested that her meetings with civil society should become a more consistent and formalized mechanism for ongoing input by feminist and civil society groups. While to date that has not happened, senior leadership has pointed to the new role of Assistant Secretary-General for Strategic Coordination, Volker Turk. Turk began meeting with civil society regularly in 2019 and convened a working group to examine the issue of shrinking civil society space. This is a welcome development. However, respondents expressed concern that his role, as aforementioned, does not have a gender mandate or focus. A related question this presents is how this new role will affect how missions and Resident Coordinators engage with grassroots groups at the national and regional levels.

We must also note the ongoing concern that at the major convenings of the year — the CSW and the High-level Political Forum (HLPF) in particular — civil society has continued to report a reduction in opportunities to attend events, contribute to outcome documents or even access headquarters at all due to travel restrictions put in place by the United States government. Several key informants from civil society felt their ability to engage delegates and member states and inform the debate surrounding language in outcome documents has also continued to decline. Respondents further expressed concern regarding vitriolic negotiations and unprecedented harassment, bullying and intimidation techniques used against CSW leadership this year by anti-rights groups, worrying that this might result in a “chilling effect” for feminist civil society going forward. Further detail on civil society’s experiences 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 third year, demand from civil society for deeper engagement and more substantive opportunities still greatly outstrip supply.
There are three areas in which we evaluate progress in this section: the articulation and implementation of a “feminist” agenda, per our definition above; the clear articulation and ongoing function 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 yet again expressed a strong vision for gender equality and—increasingly and encouragingly—for women’s rights. He has increased his attendance and remarks at gender-related events. He has sustained or accelerated progress on his priority areas of gender parity. However, he remains at risk of equating parity with equality, equity and even feminism, while these concepts are critically distinct. Additionally, we encourage Guterres to use his social media and public speaking platform to continue highlighting the importance of ending sexual harassment within the U.N. system, and to speak about gender and women’s rights at events and convenings on issues that are not specifically gender-focused.

We welcome the increased focus on the vital importance women, peace and security agenda, especially given the current instability and rampant conflict in the world and the upcoming anniversary of UNSCR 1325, but we encourage the SG to focus on ensuring stronger peace and security outcomes for women, especially in Syria and Yemen.

Additionally, we are reviewing both the articulation and implementation of a feminist agenda, and we continue to hear from key informants that it is implementation that lags behind. This, in combination with the focus on internally facing processes, has left an impression of lost momentum for a feminist leadership agenda. However, knowing there was a greater focus on internal processes this year has also created greater expectations for more action to be taken in 2020 next year during the major anniversaries that will be celebrated. More on this will be explored in subsequent sections.

We continue to express our greatest concern regarding the final component, the extent to which civil society actors are able to inform that agenda. Civil society, across the board, has expressed dismay at the dramatically shrinking civil society space around the world, coupled with a similar loss of access to key U.N. processes like CSW and HLPF. This is taking place against a backdrop of increasing access and influencing power for the private sector and corporate entities, also worrying given their—at best—spotty records on human and women’s rights. While the Secretary-General is not directly responsible for these shrinking opportunities, he can and should continue to use his platform to bring attention to them and call for accountability in order to support civil society through these challenges. He could also create alternative opportunities by holding convenings outside of New York, responding to regional demand, as appropriate.

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 groups, such as older women, youth, women of color, LGBTQIA+ (lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, queer, intersex, asexual, pansexual) 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.

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

**2019 Grade: C**

(2018: C)

**Progress to date:** Similar to last year, the SG demonstrated a consistent approach to public communication regarding the SDGs. In 2019, Guterres spoke often and broadly about the 2030 Agenda and regularly discussed gender equality as underpinning all goals. He also focused specifically on peace and conflict as a theme, citing the advancement of women’s participation and gender equality as key to peace.

Interestingly, while the SG often referenced gender as relevant to other SDGs, he only referred to Goal 5, on gender equality, in his speeches that were entirely focused on gender. Even then, Goal 5 was mentioned only twice – once in conjunction with Goal 16 as the impetus for including women in peace processes and another time as a means to address power imbalances between men and women and achieve lasting peace. Public references were also made about the Spotlight Initiative to eliminate gender-based violence, which is a mechanism that offers the opportunity for coordination on goals across the system. This initiative will be explored further in the subsequent section on financing.

A significant majority of survey respondents indicated that they either agree or strongly agree that the SG expressed full support for SDG 5 (70.74 percent), and for gender mainstreaming throughout all SDGs (60.97 percent). This is generally in keeping with last year’s data. Guterres’ Deputy Secretary-General Amina Mohammed, who is principally responsible for SDG implementation, has also been consistent in recognizing the importance of gender equality in the successful implementation of the other goals – explaining that without gender equality, none of the other goals will be achieved. In previous years, she has referred to Goal 5 as the “docking station” for all other goals. The DSG also had an increased focus on women, peace and security this year and visited Afghanistan, where she spoke publicly in July about the importance of women’s participation in the ongoing peace process. In November, she completed a five-country tour of the Horn of Africa, where she again stressed the importance of women’s participation in peace processes and security forces and urged political leadership to place gender equality at the heart of policy reforms.

Also in keeping with last year, the High-Level Political Forum (HLPF) for Sustainable Development once again emerged as a forum in need of the SG’s strong support. Anticipation was high last year regarding the review of HLPF modalities that member states conducted this year during the General Assembly. However, observers reported that this conversation was rushed, superficial and lacked any positive outcomes or momentum toward change, only adding to the overall disillusionment with the convening. This adds to those criticisms that the HLPF lacks substance and is more a performative exercise than one guaranteeing accountability and strong implementation of goals.

Survey respondents also have expressed, this year and in years past, that while they do have a window of opportunity to influence the Voluntary National Reviews (VNRs), it is far too narrow to be able to have any meaningful impact. While the SG is not independently able to revise the modalities for HLPF, it is a recurring issue that civil society perennially flags as requiring the SG’s leadership – through strong
statements acknowledging the problem and calling for Member States to take up civil society’s demands for accountability. This sentiment was reflected in the civil society survey data, where dissatisfaction with the HLPF increased across all indicators. 46.67 percent of respondents reported being dissatisfied or very dissatisfied with consultation between governments and civil society on SDG implementation and reporting. 53.34 percent were dissatisfied or very dissatisfied with opportunities for civil society to offer input into the HLPF outcome document, the Ministerial Declaration. Notably, 36.67 percent were dissatisfied or very dissatisfied with the Secretary-General’s efforts to increase opportunities for civil society participation in the HLPF.

On a positive note, feedback about the HLPF – consistent with last year’s observations – found that the Voluntary National Review (VNR) labs are growing in popularity and effectiveness. Reports have come from participants and facilitators alike, both from civil society and from within the U.N. System, that the labs are a highly worthwhile and welcome exercise. One key informant suggested that they not only encourage Member States to come to the table with an honest assessment of implementation progress on Goal 5 and gender mainstreaming, but they also greatly increase engagement with civil society overall – giving organizations and advocates meaningful opportunities to apply their technical expertise to address gaps and failures to meet targets.

Finally, two areas of growing concern emerged in this year’s analysis. First, the increasing attacks on sexual and reproductive health rights threaten to undermine both Goal 5 and gender mainstreaming throughout all goals. With some member states trying – and often succeeding—to strike sexual and reproductive health and rights (SRHR) language from agreements, resolutions and reports, special attention must be paid to the implementation of all elements of gender equality in those countries’ SDG commitments. This contributes to a climate of hostility towards women’s reproductive health and rights, undermining access to critical services and rolling back previous standards and achievements in women’s human rights. Second, these attacks come as global funding for reproductive rights and health is declining. It is important to note that shrinking civil society space threatens to choke off funding to grassroots women’s groups who are leading the charge on local and regional implementation and goals.

**FIGURE 1**
Survey respondents’ satisfaction with consultation between governments and civil society on SDG implementation and reporting at 2019 HLPF

**FIGURE 2**
Survey respondents’ satisfaction with opportunities for civil society to offer input into the HLPF outcome document, the Ministerial Declaration

**FIGURE 3**
Survey respondents’ satisfaction with the SG’s efforts to increase opportunities for civil society participation in the 2019 HLPF

**WHAT’S LEFT TO BE DONE:**

While SDG implementation is primarily a process driven by Member States, it is important that the SG uses every element of his leadership platform to push for gender mainstreaming throughout the SDGs; for the full implementation of Goal 5, including its more controversial components, such as sexual and reproductive health and rights; and for full civil society participation, particularly for feminist and women’s rights organizations.

Although Guterres and his Deputy Secretary-General (DSG) have consistently articulated support for SDG 5 and gender mainstreaming throughout the 2030 Agenda, there is more to be done in this area. Greater efforts must be made to connect with, support and amplify the local and regional grassroots movements that are driving implementation of the goals, particularly around gender and women’s rights.

The SG and DSG should also strongly encourage member states to participate in VNR labs in order to increase capacity on reporting on Goal 5 and gender mainstreaming. As an already existing mechanism, this could easily be expanded and systematized for the benefit of Member States and civil society alike, ultimately leading to stronger outcomes for all.

Lastly, given the difficulties civil society organizations have reported in accessing and influencing the HLPF convening, the SG and DSG both should publicly recognize these challenges and call for a greater opening of the space. Similar to CSW, efforts should be made to create another Town Hall-style forum, where civil society and grassroots organizations can formally voice their concerns, questions and recommendations regarding implementation of the global goals. Opportunities should also be made in the field for organizations to engage specifically in the VNR process – perhaps a task for the new ASG of Strategic Coordination Volker Turk.
He stated “Funding for gender-responsive... initiatives that would... in relation to peacebuilding and... past, he did not call for greater financing... equality in any of his speeches. When financing was mentioned, it was... funding was comprised entirely of new funding or... as opposed to their individual mandate, and they are encouraged to implement as partners and to even “co-locate” or share office space. This is an innovative departure from the traditional model, where programs are awarded based on... effort to Spotlight staff, the initiative is also implementing partners.” According to Spotlight staff, “Regarding the committed EUR 500 million, EU had initially committed funds to violence against women and girls programmes predating Spotlight. These include EUR 25 million for the Safe and Fair programme in the ASEAN region and EUR 20 million for the joint programme on child marriage and FGM in Africa. In addition, EU had committed EUR 32 million for civil society grants, which were directly managed by the EU in 2018. With the birth of Spotlight, it was decided that these funds would be interlaced with a global programme to end gender-based violence, hence adopted into the realm of Spotlight in light of efficiency and streamlining efforts. Important to note that these EUR 77 million remained in the regions as committed, but were simply moved under the umbrella of Spotlight to ensure coherence and alignment with EU’s strategic goals.”

Another concern that emerged from civil society was the extent to which Spotlight funds are reaching grassroots and women’s organizations as intended. According to officials close to the initiative, “it is a huge preoccupation of the Secretariat to ensure that significant funding reaches civil society organisations.” They also report finalizing a Grassroots Action Plan that will be launched soon on “how to better reach local and grassroots organisations as implementing partners.” According to Spotlight staff, the initiative is also helping to set a new precedent in terms of coordination, being open to all agencies to apply and participate. Different agencies are selected based on capacity and strength of their proposal as opposed to their individual mandate, and they are encouraged to implement as partners and to even “co-locate” or share office space. This is an innovative departure from the traditional model, where programs are awarded based on agency mandate and implementation is led by that agency alone. At country level, Resident Coordinators (RC) serve as the primary points of contact for Spotlight, meaning they must learn to lead on issues of violence against women and girls, which staff see as a positive mainstreaming of gender-based violence prevention and response within the RC system beyond UN Women, as well as a useful impetus for coordinating among the four core agencies.

A main focus of the Campaign since the SG’s first year has been the High-Level Task Force for Financing for Gender Equality, which was announced in 2017. The announcement of such a Task Force was lauded and fostered hope for an eventual increase in funding for gender at the United Nations. However, little progress seemingly has been made. Most of last year’s critique of the slow and opaque process around the creation, scope and composition of the Task Force, and how civil society could engage with it, remained the same in 2019. In fact, the only publicly available information regarding the Task Force is a speech by UN Women Executive Director Phumzile Mlambo-Ngcuka at a UN Women Executive Board meeting on September 10, 2018, where she stated:

“To ensure that gender equality is at the heart of UN Reform discussions, UN Women is also co-chairing, with the Executive Office of the Secretary-General, a High-Level Task Force on Financing for Gender Equality.

“The Task-Force is looking at how much the UN is spending on gender equality, how we can increase spending and how we can better track meaningful budgetary allocations and expenditure, while making the case for better investments in UN Women.

“I look forward to seeing the results of these efforts by March 2019, and we hope to share the results with the Commission on the Status of Women.”

In 2019, there seemed to be even less public information available about financing and the Task Force, including whether the goals stated by Executive Director Mlambo-Ngcuka were met.
members of civil society that we spoke with this year expressed that they had given up hope in 2019 and assumed that the entire Task Force experiment had failed. One key informant stated, “I guess it’s dead. I’ve decided just to focus on the Fifth Committee.” However, interviews with U.N. staff indicate that the Task Force had been active internally. By mid-December 2019, the Task Force had completed an assessment and submitted a report with findings and recommendations to the Executive Committee. Informants stated that a mapping of the gender architecture had been completed, along with a review of budgeting systems across agencies. Sources involved in the process expressed a deep appreciation for this review and stated that it revealed a number of issues, including that budgeting systems throughout the U.N. are incompatible with each other, outdated, unnecessarily complex and generally not “user-friendly.” They also expressed hope that the Task Force recommendations, if implemented, would increase efficiency in allocating, pooling and spending funds on gender equality. Days before data collection was completed for this report, the findings of the Task Force were discussed by the SG-chaired Executive Committee, and it was requested the HLTF continue its work into next year to focus on implementation of the recommendations. Hopefully more information will be forthcoming in 2020. However, there are still no plans to make the report public, which gives little reassurance to those who have voiced concerns about double-counting and diversion of funds for gender equality. While further investigation with regard to the Spotlight Initiative’s funding described above provides one level of visibility into the current situation for U.N. financing for gender equality, this is only one piece of a larger financial puzzle that remains nearly as opaque as it did at the time of our initial Campaign agenda’s publication in the fall of 2016. In the context of austerity measures and cuts to overall funding that have been made this year, the work of the Task Force is all the more urgent and necessary. And yet, unless this report is released, it will remain impossible to confirm whether these concerns are founded. Another Campaign recommendation has been that the SG serve as “fundraiser-in-chief” for UN Women specifically. Interviews with U.N. leadership indicate that this is impossible in a year where budget cuts are taking place across the board and that it is not and should not be a part of the SG’s mandate to fundraise for particular agencies, UN Women or otherwise. However, there is historical precedent of past SGs advocating for full funding for UN Women (former Secretary-General Ban Ki Moon consistently indicated this was a priority when the agency was founded) even during times of cuts to core funding. While the SG has taken valuable steps to elevate UN Women’s leadership in other processes that will be described elsewhere in the report, we again find his leadership on the funding question to be lacking, especially given what UN Women is tasked with planning the 25th anniversary of the Beijing Platform for Action. This will be a major anniversary that will be marked by two global forums that will take place outside the intergovernmental process – meaning no financial support will be automatically allocated to support it.

WHAT’S LEFT TO BE DONE:

We are gratified to learn that the High-Level Task Force on Financing for Gender Equality has been constituted and has conducted and presented a report with recommendations that have been endorsed by the SG. We urge the publication of these findings and recommendations, as well as the data that is being collected by the Task Force to foster learning and allow it to be analyzed and tracked by those inside and outside of the United Nations. The UN Gender Parity Dashboard is a good example that could be replicated for the U.N.’s gender financing data, including SWAP data (see page 23).

We are further pleased to have obtained a greater level of detail on the state of affairs for the Spotlight Initiative’s financing and coordination mechanisms. We encourage the inclusion of Spotlight’s funding breakdown in this report as well as the publication of the forthcoming Grassroots Action Plan with targets for direct funding of grassroots and women’s rights organizations. We encourage the refinement of that language to reflect a mandate for direct funding rather than “encouragement” of the same.

We also call on the SG’s office to use the opportunity of a completed report by the Task Force to issue a call to new donors, particularly those member states with progressive governments and the private sector. However, guidelines around how the private sector, particularly corporate entities, should engage with U.N. development programs should be developed.
SECTION 4A: Parity
2019 Grade: A (2018: A)

Progress to date: Of all his efforts under the broad umbrella of gender equality over the course of the first three years of his term, the Secretary-General has become best known for his efforts to achieve gender parity within the United Nations. This effort was previewed from his earliest moments in office, made official and guided by the System-Wide Strategy on Gender Parity that lays out a plan to meet his ultimate goal of system-wide parity by 2028, with clear benchmarks along the way.15

Progress in 2019 has kept pace with previous years. Last year, parity was met in the Senior Management Group, an important milestone for the Strategy. Three years in, the Secretary-General shows no signs of decreasing his commitment in this area, and the Strategy is on or ahead of schedule. For more information on the U.N.’s progress toward gender parity, see the UN Secretariat Gender Parity Dashboard on page 23.

The major action the SG took this year was the issuance of a memo expressing his intent to make full use of an existing human resources rule (ST/AI/1999/9). Consequently, if a male candidate is hired in an office or department that has not yet achieved gender parity, and where an equally competent female candidate was identified, an explanation must be sent to the Executive Office of the Secretary-General justifying the decision.22 Another accomplishment from 2019 was the issuance of the Enabling Environment Guidelines for the U.N. system,23 which enumerates practices around workplace flexibility, family-friendly policies and standards of conduct that are necessary to achieve parity throughout the system.

However, while the issuance of the Enabling Environment Guidelines is positive and necessary, we understand from communication with multiple key informants that two separate versions of the document were being targeted toward the entire U.N. system, and a far more robust (177 pages as opposed to 29) set of guidelines existing for UN Women.24 This created confusion and adds to the systemic problem of unharmonized standards across agencies. Lastly, the more robust guidance goes into detail about power dynamics, culture change and more foundational concepts that underpin gender equality, not just surface-level policies. Not targeting these guidelines to the entire U.N. system is a missed opportunity and runs contrary to the SG’s own rhetoric about the importance of addressing unequal power dynamics.

In his speeches, the SG spoke about women’s leadership and gender parity far more than any other topic. He spoke at length on including women as key decision makers on all issues, especially on climate change, economic empowerment and peace and security. He often referenced the achievement of gender parity among the Senior Management Group and Resident Coordinators as an example of the importance of including women’s voices at the highest levels. He did acknowledge the pushback against these efforts but promised to continue moving forward.

Those interviewed and surveyed among feminist civil society continue to observe the SG’s momentum and focus on gender parity. As one key informant stated regarding the parity efforts, “The equality train has left the station. There may be headaches, but there is no going back.” However, as in previous years, civil society observers expressed concern that gender parity among staff and officials in the U.N. is being conflated with gender equality more broadly, which is problematic. Multiple interviewees, both inside and outside the U.N., have expressed that equal numbers do not necessarily mean women have more power, which is at the heart of true equality. One key informant stated, “parity is inherently a mathematical exercise and doesn’t take into account the whole picture of power dynamics.” In fact, three interviewees expressed that given the increasing global backlash – and in an environment ever-more hostile to women’s rights – recognizing and addressing the backlash within the U.N. itself and its consequences is vital, particularly for women in leadership and those working in areas that have historically been dominated by men. These include conflict-affected countries and other fragile environments. One interviewee even reported anecdotal evidence of a spike in complaints against women in leadership, citing abuse of power. The suddenness and density of such an increase of complaints is worrying. Additionally, launching a parity strategy in a context with shrinking job opportunities for everyone essentially guarantees backlash and pits women against men in a culture where they have been on the losing side of internal power dynamics.

The internal U.N. backlash and public controversy featured as a key theme in last year’s analysis of progress implementing the Gender Parity Strategy only deepened this year, when staff unions objected to the proposed amendments of current staff regulations 4.2 and 4.3 and staff rules 9.6 and 13.1, invoking Article 101 of the UN Charter (i.e. suggesting that this contravenes the requirement that staff be hired based on competence and integrity). One key informant stated, “Given the fact that this pushback was easily predictable
and clearly forewarned by staff union leadership, it is unfortunate that this was not directly addressed by the Secretary-General himself when parity is one of his most important personal priorities.” According to sources close to the process, the proposed amendments have been submitted to the General Assembly for consideration.

However, backlash from within the United Nations is stalling or reversing progress and illustrates the urgent need to address the patriarchal culture prevalent throughout the United Nations in order for these efforts to be successful, especially during a time of shrinking budgets, greater subcontracting and binding austerity measures. While there have been inclusive dialogues on the importance of gender parity in some agencies, a system-wide initiative to challenge patriarchal mindsets and practices is needed. Generating culture change is difficult and slow but must be prioritized. Additionally, a plan is necessary to engage with staff unions and their representatives, to develop more active female participation in and leadership of staff unions, to diffuse tension and to socialize the strategy and build support for – rather than opposition to – gender equality within union membership.

WHAT’S LEFT TO BE DONE:

Progress has continued in year three in this area, with the Secretary-General on track or ahead of schedule in meeting many of the benchmarks he has set for himself— the most direct and measurable progress of any of the Campaign recommendation areas.

SECTION 4B: Rights Protections

2019 Grade: C

(2018: B)

Progress to date: In 2018, response to issues of sexual harassment, abuse and exploitation was a main theme of the Secretary-General’s agenda and leadership. Against a backdrop of the global #MeToo and #Aidtoo movements and associated allegations that came to light throughout the system in the wake of this moment, a number of actions were taken by the SG and his team to begin to address harassment, a new area of work for the United Nations, and to deepen and strengthen the level of effort taken with regard to exploitation and abuse (where efforts had begun in 2002 compared to 2017 for sexual harassment, but were lacking in the level of rigor needed to respond to the crisis at hand). These efforts received mixed reviews but overall resulted in high marks, recognizing the SG’s response to what was widely regarded as a long overdue response to a rampant issue. In 2019, key informant interviews and civil society surveys reveal a perception of decreased momentum on this issue, especially in regards to internal and external communication. Interviews with staff close to the SG’s initiatives paint an almost diametrically opposite picture of ongoing internal reforms and measured progress, which are on pace with last year.

A brief summary of 2018 activities to provide some context for those reported in 2019: The SG’s primary engagement on this issue in 2018 centered around the work of the Task Force on Sexual Harassment, which was established by the Chief Executives Board for Coordination (CEB) in December 2017 and rolled out over the course of the following year. The Task Force is a system-wide coordination mechanism, supported by the CEB, which has focused on policy development, reporting, hotlines and outreach and screening tools, culminating in the development of the new Model Policy on Sexual Harassment. 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. A team of investigators, all women, was also set up in the Office of Internal Oversight Services. A screening database called “Clear Check,” which was initiated in 2018, prohibits any staff with allegations of sexual harassment, abuse or exploitation from being rehired in any part of the U.N.

2019 actions were not as numerous but included key accomplishments: The Secretary-General issued a bulletin (ST/SG/2019/B) addressing discrimination, harassment – including sexual harassment – and abuse of authority, which, according to CEB staff, effectively supports and gives visibility to the Model Policy. Also in 2019, according to CEB staff, “the Task Force developed a set of fourteen criteria to identify: (i) the best way for U.N. organizations to receive reports of concern or allegations of misconduct, (ii) the best way to provide support to reporters and (iii) the best way to address these concerns and report back on them to stakeholders and parties concerned.” This stream of work resulted in the development of a Model Code of Conduct for U.N. Events, a necessary step forward that was recognized in a number of interviews that indicated events are a prime venue for harassment and assault. Regarding the team of Office of Internal Oversight Services (OIOS) investigators, they are still active and added three more investigators to their number in 2019, bringing the total to nine.

2019 is the first year in which all of those internal mechanisms have been set up, and therefore a year in which one might hope to have observed impact. However, interviews with those close to the process present a mixed picture. While staff find the Model Policy potential useful, particularly in its explanatory notes that cover issues such as problematic and gendered power dynamics (an issue our initial agenda called out as in need of attention), informants expressed concerns that it remains merely a guide instead of being formally adopted by individual agencies. Further, according to key informants, a sub-working group of the Task Force made only one attempt at gathering information on implementation of the Model Policy this year and found that there was “little urgency an no consistency in its application.” Additionally, informants reported knowing very little about the actions of the Task Force, in general. One key interviewee who is very close to the process stated of the Task Force, “There is no discussion. There are no meetings. There is no reporting. It’s a pity.”

Regarding the new Code of Conduct for U.N. Events, a key informant close to the process indicated that there has been very little knowledge or dissemination of the Code of Conduct. Concerning the team of OIOS investigators, past Campaign critiques that they are neither independent from the U.N. system nor technical experts in sexual harassment still apply in 2019. According to informants, there is also still insufficient capacity to keep up with the number of cases, which could compromise
impact. Finally, when it comes to system-wide internal communication regarding sexual harassment, interviews and survey results revealed a perception of decreased momentum and focus that this topic enjoyed in 2018. Respondents and informants internal to the U.N. last year expressed a feeling that while messaging on sexual harassment was “everywhere,” this year, the opposite has been true. Speech analysis of the SG reveals a roughly consistent level of reference to sexual harassment with last year. In one speech, the SG mentioned sexual harassment in the workplace within the U.N., and that was followed by an acknowledgement of the achievement of gender parity within the Senior Management Group and among Resident Coordinators, after which he highlighted the need to create a conducive working environment for all women. On International Women’s Day, the SG spoke of sexual harassment as an issue of power and emphasized his commitment to addressing it in the U.N. through the team of women investigators in the OIDS. The SG also noted where progress had been made on sexual harassment externally, congratulating the International Labour Organization (ILO) on adopting a convention on violence and harassment in the world of work and acknowledging the efforts of several countries to introduce new penalties for sexual harassment at the workplace. In addition, the SG welcomed the achievements of efforts of several countries to introduce new penalties for sexual harassment at the workplace. In addition, the SG welcomed the achievements of the World Economic Forum on the Middle East and North Africa.

Regarding sexual exploitation and abuse (SEA) of civilians by U.N. staff in the field, an issue to which the U.N. has been responding for far longer, the Secretary-General stayed generally consistent in his annual speech plans of how they will prevent and respond to SEA, (ii) at the end of each year, heads of all UN entities also “certify” that all SEA allegations have been reported to the SG and that all personnel have been trained; (iii) the 5th Annual survey of all personnel in more than 28 UN entities in over 28 high risk duty stations was conducted to see how staff perceptions align with Senior Leadership and those results are then disaggregated by UN entity and shared with the highest official so they can improve.”

**Improvement in behavior is certainly one goal, but accountability for abuse is another.** According to staff, “All we can do as an Organization is fire people and we have done that.” While the Campaign has consistently sought external, independent investigations and to ensure accountability for criminal actions, news that staff and officials have been fired is welcome, as is the fact that 29 U.N. entities are now participating in the Clear Check program. Hopefully, the number of participating entities will continue to grow next year.

Analysis of the SG’s 2019 speeches reveals a consistency in public references to sexual exploitation and abuse. In his annual speech, the SG stressed the importance of taking a survivor-centered approach and prioritizing accountability. He focused most on the topic during his remarks at the High-level meeting on Peacekeeping Performance, where he mentioned “doing everything possible to improve accountability and end sexual exploitation and abuse by U.N. peacekeepers through strong prevention and response measures” and highlighted the 103 member states that had signed the Voluntary Compact to Eliminate Sexual Exploitation and Abuse. In that speech, he also affirmed the commitment of the 87 Members of the Circle of Leadership to ending impunity and supporting efforts to combat sexual exploitation and abuse across the United Nations system. In other speeches, he mentioned steps taken to ensure zero tolerance of sexual exploitation and abuse by United Nations staff and peacekeepers becomes a reality. He also stressed the importance of working to end sexual exploitation and abuse, which he linked to increasing female participation in peacekeeping activities. In his remarks to the Security Council High-Level Debate on Conflict-Related Sexual Violence, the SG noted that United Nations peacekeepers now receive consistent training to prevent and respond to sexual violence in conflict. He also stated that the U.N. has strengthened its ability to investigate crimes of gender-based and sexual violence, now deploying dedicated investigators to United Nations Commissions of Inquiry and to national and international courts, as necessary.

However, a leaked report on an investigation into allegations of violence and exploitation in the Central African Republic (CAR) made headlines in late 2019 this year by finding that the response to these allegations was sub-standard. The initial story – sent to the Campaign by a key informant who was also interviewed – exposed the report details and what the article claims was the system’s failure to operate in a manner which met basic investigative standards. According to the article, this included addressing inappropriate questions to survivors, failing to ensure their safety and mishandling DNA samples. Officials asked to comment on this situation for this report countered that the story had not been fact-checked and was “spun... to accentuate the negative,” contending that due to the “austere and difficult environment,” no investigation of the CAR cases had been conducted. Under the leadership of Secretary-General António Guterres, we’ve made great progress in addressing this issue, but we need to do more. Clearly the message has been received from the top that prevention of and accountability for abuse is a priority. However, to date, the extent of the problem continues to surpass the pace of lasting solutions.
While ongoing internal reforms to address sexual harassment in the U.N. continued in 2019, they did so at a slower pace than 2018 and with mixed reviews as to their efficacy.

This year’s data collection process unearthed diametrically opposing accounts of how these mechanisms are working and being communicated, pointing to deep issues with system-wide coordination.

Guterres’ expressed commitment to a “zero-tolerance policy” has been at the forefront of his rhetorical and policy focus since day one of his tenure as Secretary-General and will undoubtedly be an issue upon which his legacy on gender equality will be examined, particularly as his term is taking place in the height and wake of the global #MeToo and #AidToo movements. As such, and ahead of a major anniversary year for the U.N. and women’s rights in 2020, it will be critical that the United Nations as an institution and the SG as its highest authority continue, if not accelerate, efforts in this regard – giving teeth to existing initiatives, prioritizing the protection and treatment of survivors and ending the ineffective and inappropriate policy of self-policing when it comes to these crimes.

The Secretary-General should double down on vocal and direct actions to 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 include survivor consultation in a systematic and 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.

The Model Policy on Sexual Harassment should be reviewed and evaluated regularly, with consistent data collection taking place to measure effectiveness. All agencies across the system should adopt the policy and fully institutionalize it. System-wide efforts should also be made to bring greater awareness and adherence to the Code of Conduct on U.N. Events, along with 100 percent system-wide participation in the Clear Check program.

Lastly, it is essential to note that the issues of harassment “internal” to the United Nations and abuse and exploitation “external” to the U.N. being treated as parallel and distinct is a false binary. These issues reflect 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 and hierarchical culture of the U.N. be acknowledged and impunity addressed.

WHAT'S LEFT TO BE DONE:

FIVE ENABLE A FEMINIST TRANSFORMATION FOR CSW AND UN WOMEN

2019 Overall Grade: C+

Progress to date: The SG’s grade went up slightly this year in this area, largely due to support for UN Women rather than progress at a particularly fraught CSW. The 63rd Commission on the Status of Women (CSW) in 2019 was dominated by troubling acts committed by extremist anti-rights groups, including harassment of the CSW chair regarding the U.N.’s support for sexual and reproductive rights. Negotiations were contentious, and the environment was dominated by a mix of fear and hostility. Unsurprisingly, survey respondents also reported a growing lack of access for civil society and system-wide participation.

While the Secretary-General did not mention CSW or UN Women very often throughout the year or in his remarks.
not specifically about gender at all, it is important to note his speech at CSW was once again strong and largely well-received. He recognized the growing and inflamed misogyny around the world and uttered a line that has often been repeated since:

“We have a fight on our hands. And it is a fight we must win – together. So, let us say it loud and clear: We will not give ground. We will not turn back. We will push back against the pushback.”

The speech kicked off the event with a positive tone and was galvanizing and inspiring to advocates. However, it was from there that the proceedings devolved and divided, reflecting what is taking place around the world and projecting it inside the U.N. compound.

Survey participants reported the need to “reimagine the CSW,” especially in light of the geopolitical context of increased misogyny and shrinking civil society space. As one key informant stated, “expecting advocates to come from around the world to New York and not have the ability to influence the Agreed Conclusions no longer makes sense. Civil society is left to agitate on the margins and perhaps hold a side event or two. The energy and noise are not where they need to be.”

Indeed, we have learned from informants both in civil society and in the U.N. that messaging from the SG around UN Women, as an agency, ahead of the Beijing anniversary, is positive and elevating. Guterres has also asked UN Women’s Executive Director to brief the Senior Management Group on the process so as such, it is time to deepen and expand that engagement in line with civil society’s desire for more access through longer and/or more frequent sessions. Especially given travel restrictions and fewer visas provided by the United States, events similar to the Town Hall should also be held more regularly throughout the year and outside of New York in regional hubs and during country visits.

Looking ahead to major women’s rights anniversaries at the U.N. in 2020, the SG should treat the year as an opportunity to make an unprecedented stand for gender equality and women’s human rights, including robust support for the U.N.’s women’s rights institutions — CSW and UN Women. In light of global crackdowns on women’s rights defenders and reversals of women’s human rights standards, the SG must take a strong and visible leadership role during the Beijing +25 process and signature Generation Equality Forum events, using his visibility and the power of the microphone to the fullest extent possible. Starting immediately, the SG should call for a “champions only” space and decry “lowest common denominator” approaches, as he did for climate change ahead of the Conference of the Parties (COP), and invest strong efforts going forward into ensuring a robust and tangible outcome of the anniversary gatherings. Working with heads of state, who will be launching commitments at the various Forum events, the SG should push to ensure there are clear action steps and mechanisms for accountability for new and existing commitments to women’s human rights among member states, as well as instructing U.N. agencies and entities both to make new and honor existing commitments in kind.

As one informant stated powerfully regarding the Beijing +25 Forum:

“It is deeply woeful we can’t trust 193 countries to show up in one place and one time to agree that women are people. Therefore, the Secretary-General needs to make that very argument next year, forcefully, and every chance he gets. Some years he can use his political capital on other things. In 2020, it has to be used on this thing.”

It is important to also note that while UN Women is now on the Executive Committee and being consulted at the highest level of decision making, even that can receive backlash. According to key informant interviews, UN Women staff have reported feeling exposed for standing up for women’s rights, sometimes fearing reprisal by their own colleagues. Beyond UN Women, key informants have reported that gender-focused staff in all branches are often marginalized, and there are few guarantees that their gender expertise will be taken on board in a systematic and accountable way.
SIX PROMOTE THE FREEDOM OF INFORMATION IN THE U.N. SYSTEM

2019 Grade: C-
(2018: C)

Progress to date: The Feminist UN Campaign considers the freedom of information a feminist issue, as it is at the heart of accountability. This is important not only to gender equality and women’s rights, but to all intersections of rights and principles espoused by the United Nations. Unfortunately, this is an area that has been historically difficult for the U.N., given its size, complexity, decentralized locations throughout the world and now outdated data collection systems that are not well-utilized, harmonized across agencies or compatible with each other. Even the creation of the System-Wide Action Plan on Gender Equality and the Empowerment of Women (or SWAP database), a huge step forward in information collection, has not had the impact that it could have because it is not often accessed or used.

2019 has not shown demonstrable improvements in this area. In fact, under austerity measures and budget cuts, there are further reasons for concern if tools like translation services and telecasting of meetings have been reduced. In years past, we looked at whether more internal processes have been made public, if information was easily accessible and readily shared and if individuals within the U.N. are easy to contact and engage with from the outside. While we do have reasons to be hopeful, given the newly written report by the High-Level Task Force on Financing for Gender Equality, the decision to keep its report private is a point against transparency and an inhibitor to accountability of its recommendations.

Additionally, an issue has emerged in 2019 in informant interviews with U.N. staff regarding organizational culture. We heard from respondents that there is pressure, as one key informant stated, to “put a happy face on it,” if agencies disagree or issues that are unflattering to the U.N. become public.

WHAT’S LEFT TO BE DONE:

The Secretary-General must take efforts to make internal processes, reports and data, including SWAP, more public, starting immediately with the High-Level Task Force on Financing for Gender Equality’s report.

The UN Gender Parity Dashboard is a good example that could be replicated for this effort.

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

In 2019, the Secretary-General continued to emphasize his commitment to gender equality through increased public communications (speeches, tweets) as well as in direct, albeit less visible, internal actions within the U.N. System.

Similar to years past, the Secretary-General scored highest on his signature efforts to achieve gender parity within the U.N., having met or exceeded the goals he set out for the system within the Gender Parity Strategy, with no signs of slowing down (although the formal opposition to the effort by staff unions has strengthened, providing a cause for considerable concern). Noteworthy progress included tripling the amount of speeches he gave on the topic of gender and greatly increasing his use of language on women’s rights. His score slightly increased in his support for UN Women, where he has deferred to the agency’s leadership on preparations for the 25th anniversary of the Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action, thus ensuring UN Women is a visible lead for the process. This pivotal anniversary year, it will be essential that Guterres continues to support UN Women. He should also demonstrate his own, strong and visible engagement in the Beijing+25 process and Generation Equality events, challenging all U.N. agencies and entities, as well as Member States, to make strong commitments to women’s human rights in this unprecedented, multi-stakeholder forum.

The Secretary-General’s score decreased slightly in the area of rights protections, where momentum slowed in addressing sexual harassment, exploitation and abuse within the U.N. While a number of key actions to address sexual harassment have been put into place in the past year, we observed deep divisions between accounts of process and impact, as well as worrying gaps in how they are being communicated, understood and taken up throughout the system. It is important that the main output of the Task Force on Sexual Harassment, the Model Policy, be regularly reviewed and assessed and that every U.N. entity be required to adopt it. The Model Code of Conduct at U.N. Events also requires more awareness and adherence throughout the system. The Clear Check screening database program to prevent perpetrators of abuse from being rehired within different U.N. entities is a laudable development and urgently needs to be adopted throughout the system in order to achieve its intended impact. Finally, we continue to express concern that the investigations and oversight process is internal to the U.N., rather than an external and independent process where crimes can be prosecuted to the full extent of the law.

In the remaining areas of the agenda, the SG’s scores were consistent with last year; so, too, are our recommendations. The successful CSW Town Hall should be used as a model at other U.N. conventions outside of New York, as well as at the High-Level Political Forum on Sustainable Development. It is also crucial that the worrying backlash against gender equality in the U.N., most specifically against parity efforts, be addressed head on through direct dialogue and education. Lastly, the SG and his team must recommit to greater transparency including making the findings and recommendations of the Task Force for Financing on Gender Equality public and increasing visibility around internal actions and gender equality-related agenda items at the Executive and Deputy Committees.

Overall, 2019 presents a picture of a year of internal preoccupations. The choice to focus on internal processes to “get our own house in order” resulted in an understandable perception by observers inside and outside of the U.N. of decreased momentum on the overall agenda, particularly in the context of severe funding shortfalls and backlash on initial efforts.

Much is at stake as we move forward into a year that will provide ample opportunity to revisit and recommit to the values at the heart of the United Nations, including multilateralism and global cooperation. As the Secretary-General begins to shape his legacy at the U.N., during a time of heightened global tension and crises, the challenges he continues to face are enormous. But having consistently demonstrated an impressive and unprecedented commitment to gender equality, expectations are high that he will continue to lead courageously toward the greatest possible impact for women, girls and gender equality around the world. 2020 is the year for the SG to shine brightest for women’s rights, challenging his team and all agencies, entities and world leaders to accelerate progress and deepen impact.

The world is watching. We cannot afford to wait.

In the remaining two years of his term, and particularly in a year of such significance for women’s rights, it is time to turn boldly and vociferously outward in the SG’s embrace and execution of a feminist agenda, demanding progress internally even as he works with external allies and partners to showcase similar commitments on the global stage.
ANNEX

METHODOLOGY

The scoring reflected in this report card 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.25

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 last year, we added a question in the interviews held with U.N. staff about efforts to address and prevent sexual harassment and kept it this year, as well. 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 capture the perceptions of civil society organizations, which work across the regions and various sub-regions of Africa, the Americas, Asia, Europe and Oceania. Respondents (n=144) were based in 44 different countries.26 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 their mission is advanced. The results of the survey capture 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.

Text of the SG’s speeches was pulled from the UN Secretary-General’s website, covering the time period from his first speech of the year on January 15th, 2019 to the end of this data collection period (December 14, 2019). In that time, the SG made a total of 192 speeches.

The speeches were downloaded into NVivo, after which references to gender were coded based on whether they were substantive or non-substantive, and the thematic area of the reference.

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. 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 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, to highlight the relevance of gender to certain issues.

Key Terms:

Women/women, girl, female, gender, sexual, mother, wife, daughter, sister, feminism, harassment, #MeToo, #Aidtoo, SDG 5, Sustainable Development Goal 5, women’s economic empowerment
Thematic areas:
child marriage, climate change, disabilities, economic empowerment, education, feminist leadership, gender parity, hate speech, humanitarian assistance, migration & refugees, peace & security, rights protections, SDGs, sexual harassment, SRHR, sustainable development, technology, terrorism & extremism, violence against women

RESULTS
99 of the SG's speeches were included in the analysis, representing 51.56 percent of all speeches in the timeframe covered by the report. Fourteen speeches were directly on gender, and thus none of their text was classified as substantive or not substantive.

The SG’s speeches focused entirely on gender often centered on issues of sexual violence, women's sexual and political rights and the achievement of gender parity among the peacekeepers, U.N. police and other military institutions. While these speeches detailed the victimization of women, especially during periods of conflict, the SG also emphasized that women needed to be fully involved in any sustainable solution – both during peace negotiations and as women in uniform. The importance of women’s active leadership was a consistent theme throughout these speeches.

In the 85 speeches that were not explicitly about gender, there were 132 references to gender issues – 51 substantive references and 81 non-substantive references. 43 speeches included at least one substantive references to gender issues, and 57 had only non-substantive references.

FIGURE 7
Survey respondents’ region(s) in which their civil society organization operates.
**SCORING**
The overall weighted average score was informed by scores on each of six dimensions and the subcomponents that we tracked under each:

**ONE**
**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)³⁸
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)

**TWO**
**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

**THREE**
**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 United Nations

**FOUR**
**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

**FIVE**
**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 commitments
C. Support more transparent and plural advisory council for UN Women

**SIX**
**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. Televise 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 KIIs, the online survey, coded speeches and analysis of reports and outcome documents. The grading scale is shown in Table 2 below.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Score</th>
<th>Description</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A+</td>
<td>97%-99%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td>93%-96%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-</td>
<td>90%-92%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B+</td>
<td>87%-89%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B</td>
<td>83%-86%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B-</td>
<td>80%-82%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C+</td>
<td>77%-79%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C</td>
<td>73%-76%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C-</td>
<td>70%-72%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D+</td>
<td>67%-69%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D</td>
<td>63%-66%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D-</td>
<td>60%-62%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F</td>
<td>0-59%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The scores were reviewed by a technical advisory group comprised of members of the Feminist UN 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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**REFERENCES & NOTES**


35. The number of total survey respondents varies per question.

36. To avoid double-courting, speeches that included both substantive and non-substantive references were counted only as substantive.

