



**UNIVERSITY OF MACEDONIA**

**SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCES, HUMANITIES AND ARTS**

Master's Degree in International Studies

**POSTGRADUATE DISSERTATION**

**Female leadership in International Organizations: A  
research on the promotion of women's group interests**

Charikleia Triantopoulou

Supervisor  
Dr. Kalliopi Chainoglou

Co-Supervisor  
Dr. Fotini Bellou

Thessaloniki  
November, 2019

«Δηλώνω υπευθύνως ότι όλα τα στοιχεία σε αυτήν την εργασία τα απέκτησα, τα επεξεργάσθηκα και τα παρουσιάζω σύμφωνα με τους κανόνες και τις αρχές της ακαδημαϊκής δεοντολογίας, καθώς και τους νόμους που διέπουν την έρευνα και την πνευματική ιδιοκτησία. Δηλώνω επίσης υπευθύνως ότι, όπως απαιτείται από αυτούς τους κανόνες, αναφέρομαι και παραπέμπω στις πηγές όλων των στοιχείων που χρησιμοποιώ και τα οποία δεν συνιστούν πρωτότυπη δημιουργία μου»

Χαρίκλεια Τριαντοπούλου

A handwritten signature in black ink, consisting of stylized, overlapping loops and a long horizontal stroke extending to the right.



**Author's Statement:**

I hereby expressly declare that, according to the article 8 of Law 1559/1986, this dissertation is solely the product of my personal work, does not infringe any intellectual property, personality and personal data rights of third parties, does not contain works/contributions from third parties for which the permission of the authors/beneficiaries is required, is not the product of partial or total plagiarism, and that the sources used are limited to the literature references alone and meet the rules of scientific citations.



*Dedicated to women*



## *Acknowledgments*

I would like to express my appreciation to my supervisor Dr. Kalliopi Chainoglou for her assistance in the articulation of the present research topic and Eleni Charitidou for her constructive comments.





## ***Abstract***

The establishment of UN Women and the ever-increasing promotion of women's interests by international organizations have led to the emergence of female leadership even in high executive positions. Such cases include the International Monetary Fund which appointed Christine Lagarde to the position of Managing Director, as well as UNESCO which elected a female as Director-General two consecutive times since 2009. However research based on gender leadership in international organizations remains inadequate with regard to female leadership and the promotion of women's group interests. This particular matter is yet to be examined in depth, in order to study whether and how women in high executive positions foster women's empowerment, opportunities and best interests or despite the presence of female leaders in international organizations these issues continue to be sidelined as by many male leaders. Based on the above the purpose of this paper is to shed light on the gaps in gender leadership of international organizations and specifically to examine the relationship between female leadership and the promotion of women's group interests by international organizations through particular case studies.



## LIST OF ACRONYMS

CSE Comprehensive Sexuality Education

FDI Foreign Direct Investment

FOSS Free and Open Source Software

GAMAG Global Alliance On Media And Gender

GEAP Gender Equality Action Plan

GSIM Gender Sensitive Indicators for Media

ICT Information and Communication Technology

IICBA International Institute for Capacity Building in Africa

IMF International Monetary Fund

IOS Internal Oversight Service

LIFE Literacy Initiative for Empowerment

MDG-F Millennium Development Goals Achievement Fund

MDGs Millennium Development Goals

MENA the Middle East and North Africa

ODG/GE Division of Gender Equality in the Office of the Director-General

OER Open Education Resources

OWSD Organization for Women in Science for the Developing World

SAPs Structural Adjustment Programmes

SDGs Sustainable Development Goals

SIDS Small Island Developing States

SISTER System of Information on Strategies, Tasks and Evaluation of Results

SRGBV School-Related Gender-Based Violence

STEM Science, Technology, Engineering, and Mathematics

STI Science, Technology and Innovation

TVET Technical and Vocational Education and Training

UN United Nations

UNESCO United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization

UNGEI United Nations Girls' Education Initiative



## Table of Contents

1. Leading international organizations .....	2
1.1 The concept of leadership .....	2
1.2 Leading qualities within international organizations .....	3
2. Female leaders and the role of gender in global governance .....	5
2.1 Barriers for female leaders .....	6
2.2 Organizational opportunities .....	7
2.3 Female contribution to positive change.....	8
3. Methodology .....	9
3.1 Research hypothesis and deriving questions .....	9
3.2 Nature of the study .....	9
3.3 Data collection instruments .....	9
3.4 Procedure .....	10
3.4.1 Case Study 1: UN Women.....	10
3.4.2 Case Study 2: UNESCO.....	14
3.4.3 Case Study 3: International Monetary Fund .....	19
4. Findings.....	23
4.1 Case study 1: UN Women .....	23
4.1.1 16 Steps Policy Agenda.....	23
4.1.2 COMMIT Initiative .....	23
4.1.3 EU and UN Women Memorandum of Understanding .....	24
4.1.4 Strategic Plan 2011-2013.....	24
4.1.5 UN Women ad series.....	26
4.1.6 Global Gender Equality Constitutional Database .....	26
4.1.7 Elsie Initiative.....	27
4.1.8 HeForShe solidarity movement .....	29
4.1.9 Generation Equality campaign .....	30
4.1.10 She Will Connect joint initiative .....	31
4.1.11 Actions and Initiatives to end violence against women .....	32
4.2 Case study 2: UNESCO .....	33
4.2.1 Medium-Term Strategy 2008-2013 .....	33
4.2.2 Priority Gender Equality Action Plan 2014-2021.....	38
4.2.3 Better Life Better Future Initiative .....	42
4.2.4 Global Guidance for addressing school-related gender-based violence.....	45
4.2.5 O3 Programme .....	45

4.2.6 Women and football #ChangeTheGame Debate .....	46
4.2.7 You Are Next Initiative.....	47
4.2.8 Girls Can Code Project .....	48
4.2.9 Edit-a-Thon #Wiki4Women .....	48
4.3 Case study 3: IMF .....	49
4.3.1 Policy Analysis.....	49
4.3.2 Drawbacks .....	53
4.4 Discussion .....	59
5. Elaboration on the research questions, limitations of the study and suggestions for future research.....	60
5.1 Revisiting the research questions.....	60
5.2 Limitations .....	61
5.3 Suggestions for further studies .....	61
Bibliography.....	63

## Introduction

Women make up more than fifty percent of the world's population but they are still faced with immense inequalities. Despite the major advancements of the 21<sup>st</sup> century, females across the globe have to endure discriminations regarding their gender and the social norms around it. In ancient times women were forbidden to attend any kind of assembly, express their views on matters debated by males, inherit, own land, and vote. Unfortunately, similar situations can be observed in certain countries nowadays. Gender continues to be defined through outmoded stereotypes about femininity and masculinity, which perpetuate the mainstream state of affairs.

The evolution of humanity in terms of social structures led to the first wave of feminism in the 19<sup>th</sup> century and that in turn made the suffrage movement possible, which resulted in the first victories for women. Nonetheless, there still exist numerous practices which violate women's rights in appalling ways, i.e. female genital mutilation, child or forced marriage, femicide including "honor" crimes, polygamy and many more. Although such practices seem to be regional limited to Africa, the Middle East, and South Asia, discriminations still persevere in the Global North as well in the fields of education, economy, labour market and healthcare.

In the present day, various intergovernmental organizations attend to soft power issues, inter alia, human rights, peace-building operations and humanitarian assistance. Against this background, the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) the first international legal instrument for gender equality, was adopted in 1979 by 189 countries while the Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action, a comprehensive agenda for women's empowerment, was adopted by the United Nations (UN henceforth) in 1995.

Regardless of these significant milestones, international organizations have merely replicated the same strategies, which did not, in any way, incorporate the gender dimension and therefore did not contribute to gender equality and women's empowerment. Furthermore, the high ranking positions of the United Nations system have been male-dominated since the first female leaders only started to emerge in the early 2010s.

Nevertheless, the association of female leadership and the promotion of women's agenda in international institutions is yet to be examined. To the best of the present researcher's knowledge, there have been no other studies pertaining to the issue to be scrutinized. Therefore, due to the paucity of research, the current paper aims to form the cornerstone of research on female leaders in international organizations with regard to the advancement of women's interests as well as to contribute to the relevant research on opportunities presented to and barriers faced by female leaders.

The present thesis consists of five chapters.



Chapter 1 contains a brief theoretical framework regarding the concept and nature of leadership and particular leading qualities, which are considered essential in international organizations.

Chapter 2 emphasizes the role of gender in global politics and refers to the specific barriers that women encounter when accessing senior-level positions as well as the prospective opportunities that are likely to be presented due to organizational factors. It concludes with the contribution of feminine qualities to constructive change.

Chapter 3 examines the methodological approach opted for. The primary research hypothesis and the subsequent leading questions are articulated. After the detailed presentation and justification of the data collection instruments and the procedure followed, three case studies of particular interest, due to the context and personalities involved, are analyzed in depth.

Chapter 4 presents the findings obtained by the research tools in an attempt to provide answers to the questions which guided the study.

Finally, chapter 5 elaborates on the research questions, proposes further investigation and exhibits the limitations of the study.

## 1. Leading international organizations

In order to make the case for female leadership and the promotion of women's interests, a theoretical framework must be established about leadership and leaders' competencies in the context of global politics and purposely international organizations.

### 1.1 The concept of leadership

The notion of leadership has multiple definitions and pertains to a large number of fields, namely, management, business administration, psychology, education, domestic or international politics, and sociology. In broad terms, leadership signifies the abilities, skills and traits of an individual that are indispensable for administering groups of people, organizations, or entire nations. For the aims of this research, however, solely political leadership will be explored.

Overall, political leadership refers to the ability of an individual to muster up a considerable number of devotees, to comply with her/his interpretation of and remedies for mutual problems (Masciulli, Molchanov, and Knight 2009, 4). However, leadership is not a static, one-way procedure, where masses follow the agenda of the superior, but rather a dynamic, interactive process of a continuous flow of information, which can alter the status of both the leader and the followers.

Furthermore, political leadership is related but not limited to power. Ikenberry (1996) contends that "leadership is really an elegant word for power" (p. 388) but in recent years this view has been supplanted by Nye's reasoning that although power is involved in leadership, the opposite is not always the case, that is "not all power relationships are instances of leadership" (Nye 2010, 305).

Helms (2014) describes political leadership as a meta-subject of political science, which in the global context involves a great level of interdependence between leaders and followers. Blondel (1987) refers to the dichotomy between the “positional” and “behavioural” leaders, whereby he disambiguates the difference between official leadership, with the leader holding a position and real leadership, with the leader not necessarily holding an office being, however, more than able to change the course of affairs (p. 15). Therefore, intranational contexts diverge from international ones in terms of formal authority.

In this regard, international political leadership acquires a complex signification, wherein the boundaries of dominance are vague, due to the ambiguous connotations of behavioural leadership. Although this may be the case, senior holders of executive positions can more often than not play a vital role in the shaping of international politics (Helms 2014, 263).

Though there have been plentiful definitions of the effective leader and his<sup>1</sup> valuable traits since the dawn of mankind, such as Plato's Philosopher King, Niccolo Machiavelli's Prince and Thomas Carlyle's Great Man, political leadership has become an eminent concept in the 21<sup>st</sup> century. According to Masciulli, Molchanov and Knight's (2009, 6) delineation, leadership rests on the ability to authoritatively influence, while as stated by Peele (2005) it is defined by the leader's personal expository judgement, moral values, means towards her/his ends, and subsequently the context whereat the leader-follower interaction develops.

The latter implies that the institutional and/or national and cultural context is instrumental in political leadership (Nye 2008). Moreover, as Masciulli et al. (2006) observed, the effects of globalization further emphasize the relevance of global leadership, including international organizations. Consequently, reference to the leadership competencies within the limits of international organizations is deemed necessary.

## 1.2 Leading qualities within international organizations

International organizations are intergovernmental or transnational entities, which are established by a treaty or a similar legal agreement and are regulated by international law. Although their scope can be bilateral, sub-regional, regional or global, this study will be strictly confined to the latter.

Such global entities include NATO, the UN and its specialized agencies, OSCE, INTERPOL, WHO and many more. The majority was established to enhance international cooperation and determine a set of regulations that would help manage past and prevent future global challenges. In particular, international organizations that refer to global politics, with the UN being the most notable one, have as their primary objective to maintain peace and security across the globe as well as authorize the use of force in the face of an imminent threat (Diehl 2005).

---

<sup>1</sup> Ancient, medieval and late modern essays allude strictly to male leaders.

Bearing in mind the multifaceted environment of international organizations along with the inevitable political rivalries among member states it is evident that leading positions can be demanding. Additionally, as Barnett and Finnemore (1999) argue, international organizations tend to follow the leadership style of rational-legal authority, a predominantly bureaucratic approach to leadership based on legal rationality and legitimacy, and an impersonal bond to the “duty of office” (p. 708). They consider that this adherence results in the channeling of power from member states to the bureaucratic structures per se at the expense of their primordial mission (p. 699-700).

By the same token, there is a major ongoing debate regarding international organizations’ efficacy and legitimacy, especially in terms of interventionism, and their value in international relations theory, but this will not be included in the current research due to its broad scope of literature.

Due to the aforementioned traits of international organizations, directors are often faced with adversities in assembling the required number of countries to promote the organizational agenda and the necessary funds for its operationalization. The lack of internal cohesion is another significant issue. These impediments along with the inadequacy of positional leaders which stems from the latent directorship of behavioural leaders bring about deadlock situations.

In the context of international organizations behavioural leaders, usually coming from powerful states, pursue their own hidden agendas and vested interests by means of pressure in critical issues of global concern such as, armed conflicts, humanitarian crises, and legal sanctions. This process is referred to as informal governance and according to Stone (2013) it is defined as “the systematic influence of unwritten rules, shared expectations or norms within international organizations that substantially modify or substitute for formal treaty provisions” (p. 123).

Considering the additional challenge of informal manipulations and tactful management, which is a requirement in the context of soft power, the official leaders of international organizations have to manage a considerable amount of issues during their term of office. To this end, they need to possess some specific personal and interpersonal skills. The leadership traits most frequently mentioned in the corresponding literature are effective negotiation, communication, management and political bargaining skills, both cognitive and emotional intelligence, and a clear vision (Masciulli, Molchanov, and Knight 2009; Helms 2014).

Moreover, international leaders need to feature certain specified qualities that refer to the complexities of international governance. For example, a leader of an international institution should be impartial and knowledgeable about foreign cultures and capable of interacting in a context of constant divergence of civilizations (Herd, Alagaraja, and Cumberland 2016). All these traits form a vital intercultural set of skills which can be of great value to the leader when pursuing the organizational

objectives. Finally, Kim and McLean (2015) underline the importance of interpersonal traits in mobilizing followers and building partnerships and alliances (p. 246).

Having clarified the nature of political leadership with a particular focus on the global context, the diverse environment of international organizations and the resultant need for competent and adaptive leaders, who have the ability to realize the consequences of informal governance and regional alliances, the importance and relevance of the female gender in international leadership will ensue.

## 2. Female leaders and the role of gender in global governance

Women continue to be universally underrepresented in both senior government and senior management positions, albeit all the advances in women's empowerment and gender equality. According to UN Women data, in 2016 a mere 22.8% of all national parliamentarians were women, while this number slightly increased to 24.3% in 2019. In addition, the World Economic Forum (2017) warned that with that pace it would take another 99 years to close the gender gap in politics.

It is worth mentioning that the countries with the highest percentage of women (61.3%) in their parliaments pertain to the Global South and constitute not only emerging economies but also some of the least developed countries like Senegal and Rwanda, the latter of which is first on the list, whereas some of the so-called advanced societies reach nearly 30% (Inter-Parliamentary Union 2019). In the US Senate women comprise 25% of the Senators (Pew Research Center 2019). The percentage is slightly higher in the House of Commons in the UK (32%) (Uberoi et al. 2019), while about a third of Members of the European Parliament are females according to its website.

These figures display the persevering gender disparities in the field of national politics. The situation is even more complicated in the scope of international politics and the executive positions of international organizations. UN specialized agencies have had just 4 women leaders (Haack 2017), 14 UN agencies have been directed exclusively by men (Haack 2014a) and only 5 out of 21 directors have been females in the OECD (UNESCO 2018d).

Additionally, as identified by Sjoberg (2009) studies about female leadership display a twofold limitation regarding the traditional delineation of both femininity and leadership. These originate in stereotypical interpretations of women's traits as well as the exclusive masculine nature of the definition of leadership and the gender of the first wave of scholars who outlined its qualities (p. 151). But these stereotypes continue to the present day as the figures of women leaders demonstrate.

Drawing from the media coverage of significant leaders like Hilary Clinton and Condoleezza Rice, Sjoberg (2009) concludes that leadership is indeed gender-specific, which leads to the rampant exposure of personal information that ultimately overshadows the female's political abilities and accomplishments. Thus, women leaders are more susceptible to criticism and their choices are usually considered as "improper" from this particular perspective.

With the purpose of discerning the causes of such great inequalities and taking into account that studies on leadership in international organizations often neglect the question of gender (Haack 2014a, 217), the barriers faced by women in accessing executive positions will be scrutinized further bellow.

### 2.1 Barriers for female leaders

Women are confronted with various obstacles when accessing upper levels of leadership both in national and international politics. Certain of them derive from societal constructions about femininity and masculinity, and unequal power dynamics, whilst others develop within the context of organizational constraints. Barriers can be defined as vertical, which prevent females to climb up to high-ranking positions and horizontal, whereby women's accessibility in certain, usually male-dominated, "hard" areas is blocked (Haack 2014a).

To begin with, glass ceilings which are, according to Wirth (2001), "the invisible artificial barriers created by attitudinal and organizational prejudices, which block women from executive positions" (p. 1) constitute the most common factor of female exclusion in leadership.

Glass ceilings are produced by obsolete stereotypes regarding male and female traits as well as cultural and religious norms. Social classifications of gender concerning manhood and womanhood remain strong to this day (Sjoberg 2009; Keohane et al. 2010) and dominate careerism. For instance, males tend to be perceived as breadwinners, which in turn creates more opportunities for them than their female counterparts. Scarce legislation concerning maternity leave and child-care services also create glass ceilings, because, in their absence, women are often faced with temporal and occupational limitations. What is more, a woman is required to "exceed performance expectations" in order to climb the career ladder, whereas men experience a more regular career advancement (Goethals et al. 2004, 77–81).

As stated by Haack (2014a; 2014b) although the first woman broke the glass ceiling in 1987, barely 21 females were appointed in high-level posts within the UN thereon, which demonstrates the slow progress in securing women's participation in global governance.

Furthermore, regardless of the breaking of the glass ceilings, there are instances in which they appear to be "flexible" enough to be reestablished. For example, Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon designated several females in leadership posts during his first term of office but that number decreased during his second term. This practice resembles national politics, wherein women have the greatest probability of being nominated during elections as a token method of gender equality (Davis 1997). Hence, while breaking the glass ceilings constitutes the first step to eradicate them, the maintenance of female representation is essential to this end too.

Horizontal barriers refer to glass walls, which Haack (2014b) describes as the "process of channeling women into specific portfolios that are considered gender-appropriate" (p. 16). As a result, females in international organizations find themselves in what is

perceived to be feminine and soft portfolios relating to issues of poverty, children, women and human rights. Glass walls as stated by Murray and Norris (2010) have created the gendering of portfolios, in other words, the association of specific institutions and issues with either male or female management.

With reference to the UN, glass walls are influenced by the designation procedure. For instance, in UN funds and programmes the leader is appointed directly from the Secretary-General without voting, whereas in UN specialized agencies the leader is elected by member states via elections (Haack 2014b). Therefore, where elections participate in the process of appointment, factors as state interests, regional affiliations and political pressures can further prevent women from certain positions.

It is worth noting that besides the organizational barriers women also face behavioural ones, such as sexism and sexual harassment. Although these attitudes do not represent the majority of workplace culture, they continue to be an obstacle for women not only in leadership but in minor positions too.

Nonetheless, there are some organizational opportunities that enable women to assume high-level posts, which will now be analyzed.

## 2.2 Organizational opportunities

Female leaders are likely to be appointed either when given conditions are fulfilled or in times of both external and internal crises. The latter constitutes the greatest factor for female access in leadership positions.

The context of organizational crisis can originate from external or internal forces. In the first case, external circumstances act as destabilizing factors and create the need for a more efficient leader, capable of managing the aftereffects of the crisis. A typical example of external crisis was the sexual scandal of Dominic Strauss-Kahn, which did not appertain to the IMF per se but its ramifications had an adverse impact on the institution's public image. An internal crisis arises from a situation inside the organization or even more frequently from the particular structures and norms of the organization. The issue of politicization, which occurs within the UN, is an example of internal crisis that recently led to the election of the first female Director-General of UNESCO.

Therefore, females are able to acquire a top executive position more easily in times of organizational crisis. This phenomenon is known as the glass cliff, whereby women are seen as more suitable leaders than their male counterparts by offering a counter-image to male corruption (Haack 2014a; 2017), while male leaders avoid pursuing positions which entail greater risk of failure and criticism (Ryan and Haslam 2007).

To specify the precise nature of glass cliffs one must again observe the existing norms regarding females and males. Males are often seen as figures of authority, strength and violence, whereas women are perceived as caregivers and nurturers, bringing honesty and innocence to politics. Thus, women in the context of crisis constitute the alternative solution. As Haack (2014) states, however, the theory of glass cliffs “does

not suggest that crises guarantee a woman's election, nor does it imply that crises won't lead to a change in political leadership from one male leader to another" (220).

Duerst-Lahti (1997) found that organizations, after the first female nomination in the executive position, become regendered, namely, women are perceived as more acceptable and suitable for the position in question. The regendering of an institution can, thus, create a window of opportunity for subsequent generations of female leaders.

Finally, Haack (2014a) compared conditions that enable female participation in leading positions in both national politics and international organizations and found that women have a greater likelihood of acquiring leading positions in the presence of certain organizational circumstances such as the institutionalization of quotas, presence of crises and political kinship in terms of political networking.

The role of female leadership will be described further below.

### 2.3 Female contribution to positive change

For the aims of this chapter, the existence of distinct feminine and masculine traits will be endorsed, by no means owing to the current researcher's conviction but rather due to its great significance to the display of differences between female and male leadership. Indeed feminism has criticized such distinctions for considering male characteristics of greater value to effective leadership while they underestimate female qualities (Alexander and Andersen 1993; Sjoberg 2009). This matter, however, will not be analyzed in this study.

Women, according to Rey (2005) are inclined to be more caring, democratic, empathetic and better listeners, due to social expectations regarding their role as mothers, caregivers and nurturers. These traits form the counterbalance to male authoritative behaviours and compensate for unsuitable male leaders in the context of organizational crisis, as indicated above. In addition, Barraza Vargas (2019) pointed out that women in international organizations tend to pay more attention to and further promote social policies in comparison to their male counterparts and contends that gender affects policy agenda (p. 545).

Piscopo, Krook and Franceschet (2012) discovered that in the presence of female politicians, the concept of politics as a male-dominated realm becomes outworn because people experience an improvement in the quality of governance. Thus, women's representation in politics, whether national or international, acts as a catalyst for gender-neutrality. Females can also contribute to alternative perspectives through the introduction of new approaches to global issues. For example, the issue of guns is approached by males as the right to bear arms whereas women could convert it to gun control (Huddy and Terkildsen 1993).

As reflected above females possess the ability to transform existing norms regarding a variety of social and political matters. For that reason, their presence in political leadership positions is essential, in order to bring about positive change.

After the establishment of the analytical framework of this research, the methodological approach and tools shall follow.

### 3. Methodology

What shall now be presented is the research methodology.

#### 3.1 Research hypothesis and deriving questions

The leading hypothesis the current research aims to verify is:

- ❖ Female leadership in international organizations foster women's interests.

To that end, answers to the following questions will be sought:

- Does engagement in women's empowerment advocacy prior to designation determine the quantity and quality of policies that female leaders will implement while in office?
- Have female leaders enhanced awareness-raising of female-related social taboo issues during their tenure?
- Have they undertaken gender-related specified initiatives during their tenure?

#### 3.2 Nature of the study

A qualitative approach was selected as the appropriate method for the aims of this study. Although a combination of qualitative and quantitative approaches is effective in the context of the current research, the qualitative paradigm was opted for due to various criteria. First and foremost, the scarcity of available quantitative resources such as sex-disaggregated data or data regarding the correlation between female leadership and the promotion of women's interests precludes the application of the statistical method. Additionally, the qualitative analysis is more suitable for social sciences, considering their theoretical framework, descriptive nature and inductive process. Finally, the limitations of quantitative approaches, namely the restrictive concept of numbers, percentages and numerical figures, prevent the rigorous exhibition of the findings.

#### 3.3 Data collection instruments

The principal tool used for the collection of data was document analysis, which was, however, supplemented by relevant literature review. The literature investigated concerns the issues of feminism, the new wave of women empowerment, international organizations, female leaders and gender-related barriers regarding executive positions along with subjects indirectly related to the aforementioned issues. The bulk of the collected information was accessed through the web with online journals being the primary source. As far as documentation is concerned, valuable data emanated from international organizations. The aforementioned documents consist of resolutions, strategic plans and initiative's Terms of Reference and their respective reports.



### 3.4 Procedure

The research commenced with the exploration of both active and past female leaders of international organizations and their biographical information. After the selection of the tools mentioned above and a meticulous study three particular international organizations emerged with respect to appointed female leaders available for case study formation. Both documentation and literature are interrelated, though certain differences may apply to each respected case. All three case studies refer to the United Nations family, however, the organizations examined constitute independent entities, each in its own way. A detailed analysis of the case studies will ensue.

#### 3.4.1 Case Study 1: UN Women

In this case, the researcher initiated the study from the organization's website, where its conception, mandate and governance are presented, although not thoroughly. For that reason, information about the establishment of UN Women was also requested for in available literature and UN's official documents. Biographical details for the female leaders investigated were found throughout the web and partly through literature review. Finally, for the analysis of policies, strategies and initiatives official publications and documents were primarily utilized and were complemented by the programmes' websites, whenever available.

Policies were examined individually with regard to their contribution to women's rights, interests and opportunities and their defects, there be any. In this way, the case encompasses a thorough evaluation of the leaders' efforts to advance gender equality and women's role.

UN Women works at numerous levels, including national, regional and global as well as in several fields such as the coordination of the UN system in gender equality, training programmes, engagement with civil society and governments, and research and data collection. Howbeit, these subjects won't be investigated here on account of their broad-spectrum and space limitations.

Due to UN Women being utterly focused on the promotion of women and gender equality this case will be approached solely at the level of certain initiatives. Moreover, this study will not examine in depth the three Strategic Plans as a result of these documents' lack of precision and the consequent extensive area of concentration. Instead, only the first Strategic Plan will be examined as the first effort of systematized delineation of the entity's mission and vision. Therefore, particular attention shall be paid on specific initiatives and programmes designed in detail with explicit targets and objectives.

It should be emphasized that the selection of UN Women as a case study was made due to its broad spectrum of programs and initiatives and its strictly female direction. Indeed there was a large number of independent international organizations rather than affiliated ones such as the example of UN entities. However, this choice was made with diligence and it was based on the grounds of open access in reports and official documents.

The following chapter will pertain to the specific nature of the organization.

#### *3.4.1.1 The Organization*

UN Women is the United Nations Entity for Gender Equality and the Empowerment of Women, which was established by a unanimous vote of the UN General Assembly in July 2010 and became operational in January 2011 (“About UN Women” n.d.). Its mandate, governance and general principles and functions were delineated by the 64/289 resolution, adopted by the 64<sup>th</sup> session of the General Assembly. The foundation of UN Women occurred in the context of the broader UN reform that Secretary-General Kofi Annan undertook during his term of office and reflected the need for a more effectual and precise structure for women.

Although the UN reform plan dated back to the late 1990s, there was absolutely no reference to women or gender-related institutions up until 2006, when Secretary-General following the lobbying of the international women’s movement, incorporated gender equality in the agenda of the “High Level Panel on System-Wide Coherence” (UN Women Training Centre 2016). Once again this fact didn’t come without drawbacks. Only three out of fifteen members were women, which led to concerns regarding the UN system responsiveness to gender equality and women’s rights<sup>2</sup>.

In document A/61/583 of the General Assembly, the Panel recommends the creation of a new agency through the unification of the four distinct and severely underfunded entities focused on women and gender equality, in order to avoid duplication and fragmentation (p. 5). These entities include:

- The Division for the Advancement of Women (DAW)
- The Office of the Special Adviser on Gender Issues and Advancement of Women (OSAGI)
- The United Nations Development Fund for Women (UNIFEM)
- The International Research and Training Institute for the Advancement of Women (INSTRAW)<sup>3</sup>

The priority areas of operation are the following:

- ❖ Increasing Women’s Leadership and Participation
- ❖ Enhancing Women’s Economic Empowerment

---

<sup>2</sup> See the paper “Gender Equality Architecture and UN Reforms” for submission to the UN Secretary-General’s High Level Panel on System-wide Coherence by the Center for Women’s Global Leadership (CWGL) and the Women’s Environment and Development Organization (WEDO), available at: <https://www.globalpolicy.org/social-and-economic-policy/social-and-economic-policy-at-the-un/un-high-level-panel-on-systemwide-coherence/32347-gender-equality-architecture-and-un-reforms.html> (accessed September 24, 2019)

<sup>3</sup> INSTRAW was left out from the Panel’s recommendations in 2006 due to the need of UN agency in the Caribbean and Central American region at the time. See Charlesworth and Chinkin 2013 and UN Women Training Centre 2016.

- ❖ Ending Violence against Women and Girls
- ❖ Engaging Women in Peace and Security Responses
- ❖ Making Plans and Budgets Gender-Responsive<sup>4</sup>.

The entity also contributes to the 2030 agenda of the SDGs and HIV/AIDS, while one of its primarily expressed purposes would be to strengthen the focus and coordinate work on gender equality throughout the entire UN system (United Nations Secretary-General 2010).

The agency was resolved to be governed by an Executive-Director with the rank of Under-Secretary-General, perceived by some (Charlesworth and Chinkin 2013) as the top-level position ever devoted to women's equality in the UN (p.16). The Director would act as an advisor of the Secretary-General on women's issues (UN General Assembly 2010; United Nations Secretary-General 2006).

The presentation of UN Women's Executive-Directors will follow.

#### *3.4.1.2 Research Subjects*

Because of the institution's short lifespan, only two female leaders will be analyzed regarding their work on the promotion and resolution of women's issues, former President of Chile Michelle Bachelet who served as the first Executive-Director and Phumzile Mlambo-Ngcuka the South-African politician currently serving as the head of the organization. In addition, since UN Women is exclusively directed by women in the higher ranks of governance (Directorate), reference to the selection of the two Executive-Directors will be confined to their main qualities as female leaders.

Michelle Bachelet has been breaking glass ceilings throughout her career, while she was also the first President of Chile to be reelected since 1932. During her time in office, she championed gender equality and women's rights in various areas of concern, including labour, childcare, pension, education and principally contraception, in spite of vigorous opposition from the governing coalition (Parks 2018; Stevenson 2012).

Not only has she managed to pass a bill that legalized abortion in some considerable cases, i.e. mother risk, rape result and fetus unviability, but also made emergency contraception available for free in state hospitals for every woman and girl, including even teenagers 14 years of age without parental consent (Peña, Aguayo, and Orellana 2012).

Following her second term, she established a new Ministry for Women and Gender Inequality and supported women's participation in politics through legislation that required 40% female presence in the candidates that run for elected office (International Gender Champions 2017). Considering Chile's conservative past in

---

<sup>4</sup> Although the headlines change over time the main subjects remain unaltered.

terms of women's issues and particularly reproductive rights these policies alone show Bachelet's dedication to women's empowerment.

Between her presidencies and due to constitutional limitations regarding the right to run for a second consecutive term she was appointed as the first Executive-Director of UN Women by Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon in 2010. With a small preliminary budget and only two major donor countries pledging substantial amounts, namely Spain and Norway, the institution began its operation.

Her selection can be attributed to her long-standing advocacy on women's empowerment and her achievements on the matter throughout her presidency. Her determination and strong commitment make her one of the most accomplished female leaders of the world today and even though Bachelet's term lasted only about two years because of her second term as President of Chile, she contributed a great deal to the first steps of the institutions by providing strong and purposeful leadership.

Following Bachelet's resignation in 2013 Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon appointed as new Executive-Director Phumzile Mlambo-Ngcuka from South Africa. Mlambo-Ngcuka, a politician and the first female who made it to the position of Deputy President in her country has served as Deputy Minister of Trade and Industry, Minister of Minerals and Energy and briefly as Minister of Arts, Culture, Science and Technology.

She has been involved in civil society to advance human rights in South Africa with a particular focus on women and girls (South African History Online 2011), while she has been actively opposed to apartheid and took measures against poverty during her term of office with special attention to females (UN Women n.d.).

Before her political career she served as the first president of the Natal Organization for Women (NOW), a regional organization concerning women's issues founded in late 1983 in South Africa and has worked with the World Young Women's Christian Association (YWCA) for several years. Although there is inadequate information regarding Mlambo-Ngcuka's work on gender equality prior to her nomination as UN Women's Executive-Director, it will become evident that her engagement with UN Women has resulted in a great number of successes for women's promotion.

As the UN Women's Executive-Director Mlambo-Ngcuka has undertaken countless initiatives to promote women's rights and brought into the spotlight matters of great significance for females such as the persistence of gender-based violence throughout the world. She was reappointed as UN Women's head for a second term of four years by Secretary-General António Guterres in 2017 (United Nations Secretary-General (Web Page) 2017).

The presentation of strategies, policies and initiatives to be evaluated will ensue.

#### *3.4.1.3 Policies*

The earliest initiatives and strategies analyzed in this study concern Bachelet's short term of office will be the following:

- 16 Steps Policy Agenda
- COMMIT Initiative
- EU and UN Women Memorandum of Understanding
- Strategic Plan 2011-2013

Correspondingly, the initiatives reviewed regarding Mlambo-Ngcuka's directorship are:

- ❖ UN Women ad series
- ❖ Global Gender Equality Constitutional Database
- ❖ Elsie Initiative
- ❖ HeForShe solidarity movement
- ❖ Generation Equality campaign
- ❖ She Will Connect joint initiative
- ❖ Actions and Initiatives to end violence against women

#### 3.4.2 Case Study 2: UNESCO

This case draws upon information principally from UNESCO's official website and its subpages whereas literature review is limited to the history of the organization and documentation involves merely the conference paper for its establishment. Conversely, the literature review constitutes the fundamental source of information regarding the election of both leaders to be considered, an aspect that was absent from the previous case study. However, UNESCO had been directed by male leaders up until 2009, when the first female Director-General was elected. With this in mind, a thorough elaboration of the organization's re-gendering is deemed necessary. Biographical facts were once again extracted through the internet and literature review. The programmes, plans and initiatives draw upon official documentation and both organizational and independent reports.

UNESCO has deployed two wide range Action Plans regarding exclusively gender equality, which will be analyzed because they signify the organization's recent active involvement in the struggle for gender equality. Furthermore, some remarkable initiatives taken by the Directors will be presented and evaluated for their relevance, effectiveness and results, albeit not as many as in the case of UN Women, because of the extensive analysis of the strategic schemes. Apart from this, numerous initiatives and programmes will be presented as part of the two Action Plans' achievements.

UNESCO's presentation shall follow.

##### 3.4.2.1 The Organization

United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization is an international establishment that endeavors to promote peace through transnational cooperation

and other means of soft power. It was officially founded in 1945 after the catastrophic effects of the World War II, with the intention to proliferate education, science and culture in order to “advance the welfare of the peoples of the world” (“ECO/CONF./29” 1945). Initially, the constitution of UNESCO was authorized by 37 countries and an interim commission was formed until the 4<sup>th</sup> November 1946, when the constitution came actually into force with the acceptance and signature of twenty Governments of the United Nations.

The organization’s first initiatives included the rebuilding of schools, libraries and museums that had been shattered in Europe during the war but later incorporated the promotion of human rights, social justice, educational and scientific cooperation and cultural tolerance. All of these goals were principally decided because of the consequences of the war but the conclusive adoption of the foundation of UNESCO was taken after the dropping of the first atom bombs in Hiroshima and Nagasaki, in August 1945. This event resulted in the integration of science in the organization’s sphere of influence (Valderrama Martínez 1995 p. 43).

Therefore, UNESCO was established to promote collaboration and mutual support amongst nations by disseminating knowledge and understanding of different cultures, customs, religions and backgrounds. In this way, it would discourage aggression and organized violence that would possibly lead to another war.

The principal organs of UNESCO are three: the General Conference, the Executive Board and the Secretariat. Each of them has explicit functions and obligations according to Article IV of the organization’s constitution.

The General Conference is in charge of determining the policies and the programme of the organization, approve its budget, advise both its members and the United Nations and elect the members of the Executive Board. It meets every two years with its member states as well as associated states, intergovernmental and non-governmental organizations. Each member state has one vote regardless of its financial support.

The Executive Board is the organ responsible for the overall management of the organization acting under the authority of the General Conference and consists of fifty-eight members, which are responsible to put into effect the programmes of the General Conference and give recommendations about these programmes and their respective budgets. The Board receives its functions either from the constitution and the General Conference or from other agreements with other international organizations, the United Nations and specialized UN agencies (“ECO/CONF./29” 1945; UNESCO n.d.; n.d.).

The Secretariat comprises of the Director-General, who is appointed every four years, and the staff appointed by her/him. The Director-General or a deputy can participate in the meetings of the General Conference, the Executive Board or other groups of UNESCO but without the right to vote according to the constitution.

UNESCO's policies are implemented into five programme areas: education, natural sciences, social and human sciences, culture, and communication and information.

Today UNESCO consists of 193 member states 11 associate members, has a leading role in international cooperation and the protection of cultural heritage. The organization focuses on the abolition of hate and intolerance by providing access to quality education but also supports the overall agenda of the UN. Some of its important strategic operations include the preservation of 1073 sites in the World Heritage list, the contribution in the dissemination of history through plentiful publications and currently two global priorities, Africa and gender equality. Finally, UNESCO is working towards the Sustainable Development Goals, which form seventeen universal objectives towards a sustainable future outlined in the 2030 Agenda adopted by the UN member states in 2015.

The profile of the leaders and their election to this position will now be presented.

#### *3.4.2.2 Research Subjects*

Irina Bokova, the daughter of Georgi Bokov a former leading member of the Bulgarian Communist Party, served as the tenth Director-General of UNESCO from 2009 to 2017. Long before her candidacy for UNESCO Director-General, Irina Bokova was actively involved in international politics as a member of Bulgaria's Ministry of Foreign Affairs and as a founding member of the European Policy Forum<sup>5</sup>, a non-governmental organization which promoted European identity and dialogue. She has participated in the drafting of the country's new Constitution and served as an Ambassador to Monaco, France and UNESCO.

Furthermore, she has been a vigorous supporter of women's advancement as a member of Bulgarian Delegations in the United Nations conferences on women's equality in Copenhagen, Nairobi and Beijing. According to the agency, Bokova has engaged actively in the international efforts for the improvement and furtherance of quality education for all, cultural dialogue, scientific cooperation, gender equality and has led the organization as a global advocate for freedom of expression and safety of journalists. She is an eminent political figure with distinctions from numerous countries and she is Doctor Honoris causa of several universities around the world (UNESCO website 2016).

As UNESCO's Director-General, she has prioritized gender equality and believes that it is "an accelerator of political, economic and social transformations" (UNESCO 2012). To this end, she has been actively involved in the introduction of various initiatives and partnerships, which have contributed to the adoption of national plans that tackle gender inequality and promote female inclusion primarily in education. Bokova has also been a part of the cause by participating in many panels, conferences and discussions regarding the status of women and girls around the world.

---

<sup>5</sup>Not to be confused with the European Policy Forum (EPF) in the United Kingdom.

Her election coincided with the introduction of women candidates and occurred in the context of internal organizational crisis, a context familiar to UNESCO and the UN because of the multilateral agenda they pursue. Multilateralism often sparks controversies and political grievances across member states, primarily due to unresolved political issues and vested interests. UNESCO –having a primarily soft and multicultural background- has emerged as the central arena of political dispute. Indeed, the very attributes of multilateralism, for example, international cooperation, mutual understanding and tolerance towards ‘otherness’ form the exact motives of ideological, cultural and, in the long run, political conflicts (Haack 2017; Meskell 2015).

Farouk Hosny Minister of Culture in Egypt for 24 consecutive years and the first Arab to contest for this position, had the strongest candidature because of the institution’s tendency to comply with regional desiderata (Parker 2009). Despite that, he lost support after his fanatical remarks in the Egyptian parliament in 2008 regarding the burning of Israeli books in Egyptian libraries. This announcement, although justified by Hosny himself as an exaggeration, was highly inappropriate for someone who wishes to run a multicultural international organization that promotes peace and tolerance. Consequently, frontrunner Hosny faced resilient opposition that eventually led to his defeat.

However, Hosny's racist comments would not have been able on their own to result in the election of Irina Bokova, but alongside with strategic voting from the European countries, established the right circumstances for her victory. Some of the candidates followed this strategy to support their fellow Europeans in the run, while others acted in their own way as a catalyst to Bokova’s success (Parker 2009; Haack 2017). Russia's stance was a turning point for the outcome, considering its pronouncement about giving \$20 million to the organization, if Yakovenko won the election, a move received by many as vote-buying (Haack 2017).

Irina Bokova found herself in the midst of an organizational crisis that emerged because of and inside the election per se. The male candidates that were likely to succeed, demonstrated behaviors and qualities, which could act as potential factors of instability (Haack 2017). The state of affairs surrounding the election along with the tactical support of member states and the withdrawal of potential opponents affected the process of the election in a way that promoted female contestants, largely because of the predilection of women in times of predicament and their association with better management.

It is worth noting that Irina Bokova declared for UN Secretary-General in 2016. Bokova and Helen Clark from New Zealand were the only female candidates that made it to the last round, although initially seven out of thirteen candidates were women. However, António Guterres prevailed with 13 encourage votes and 0 discourage votes, which led to a spate of feminist criticism<sup>6</sup>. The UN Security Council has never

---

<sup>6</sup> See BBC's article “Why wasn't a woman elected as UN Secretary-General?” available at: <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-37574307>



appointed a female Secretary-General and though political interests and backdoor deals played a significant role, in the case of Secretary-General the glass ceiling continues to persist too.

Audrey Azoulay a former cabinet minister of France, is a graduate of Ecole Nationale d'Administration, who has been involved in the field of culture for several years and managed to contribute to its furtherance. After a long period of work in the audiovisual industry, she joined the French Government at first as an advisor on culture to President François Hollande and subsequently as Minister of Culture, whereon she accomplished a 5.5% increase of the Ministry's budget (Anderson 2016).

She is an advocate of cultural heritage protection and she has taken active steps towards this goal, by presenting Draft Resolution 2347 about the protection of cultural heritage in armed conflict and participating in the 7907th Security Council meeting, where the resolution was adopted (UN Meetings Coverage and Press Releases 2017). Additionally, she has undertaken numerous projects and programmes regarding culture throughout her short ministerial career (United Nations n.d.).

There is no available information concerning Azoulay's engagement in activities promoting gender equality or women's rights.

Audrey Azoulay was appointed as the eleventh Director-General in 2017 and her succession in the position signaled the regendering of UNESCO. Moreover, her election occurred in the context of both external and internal organizational crisis. Internally UNESCO suffered from the effects of the Palestinian membership since 2011, which along with intense criticism for anti-Israel bias based upon the naming of ancient Jewish sites as Palestinian heritage (Greshko 2017).

The Qatar diplomatic crisis of 2017 and the ensuing boycotting of the country played a key role in the election as an external factor of crisis, which led to the politicization of the procedure and the promotion of Azoulay versus the Qatari candidate Hamad bin Abdulaziz al-Kawari (Sansom 2017). Once again anti-Semitic remarks of the former Minister of Culture al-Kawari further encourage the election of the French candidate. The election of Azoulay was quite similar to Bokova's in 2009 in terms of organizational crisis stemming from both politicization and regional affiliations.

As Director-General Azoulay has pledged to promote education with an emphasis on girls and introduced various initiatives for digital technologies and natural sciences. She has promoted gender equality and women's inclusion in many areas that are seen as men only such as football while she modernized the agency and utilized social media more.

The next chapter will display the policies analyzed in this case.

#### *3.4.2.3 Policies*

The policies of Irina Bokova that will be examined are the following:

- Medium-Term Strategy 2008-2013

- Priority Gender Equality Action Plan 2014-2021
- Better Life Better Future
- Global Guidance for addressing school-related gender-based violence

The initiatives undertaken by Audrey Azoulay that will be analyzed are:

- ❖ O3 Programme
- ❖ Women and football #ChangeTheGame Debate
- ❖ You Are Next Initiative
- ❖ Girls Can Code Project
- ❖ Edit a Thon #Wiki4women

### 3.4.3 Case Study 3: International Monetary Fund

The last case study of the present research obtains information about the institution examined from its website and other web resources. Literature review will be utilized mainly for the presentation of the leader and her election as Managing Director. For the purposes of presenting and evaluating the organization's policy on gender equality documentation will be the principal tool, whereas literature review will be employed to address the drawbacks revealed during the investigation.

This case diversifies significantly from the two preceding in the policy evaluation framework. Whilst in both the case of UN Women and UNESCO the analysis pertained to specific plans, programmes and initiatives, the current case will be examined as a whole. To clarify, the IMF has not undertaken distinct gender-related policies but has rather incorporated gender within the scope of its domain. This was achieved through the integration of gender-sensitive counseling in lending countries, the publication of new research regarding the positive outcomes that women's empowerment has for the economy and advocacy for women's rights and equality.

Consequently, the policy analysis will concern the promotion of gender equality and women's interests throughout the activities of the Fund and not based on individual gender-responsive programmes. Against this background, the current case will be more descriptive, since the policy constitutes a unified portrayal of the entire IMF operation, from the election of its first female Director. Finally, the Fund's case will be larger, because of the extended elaboration on economic terms and procedures.

#### 3.4.3.1 The Organization

The IMF, also known as the Fund, is a financial institution established in 1944 at a UN conference, namely the Bretton Woods, by 44 member states all of which appertained to the Allies of World War II. The aim was to agree on and establish a new economic system in order to prevent another great depression or even worse another world war. Notwithstanding, the primary goal of the Bretton Woods conference was the establishment of the United States as the arising superpower. After the creation of monetary and trade policies, the 44 countries designated the IMF as the supervisor of

these policies and essentially the organization accountable for crisis management in the domain of finance, along with the World Bank (IMF n.d.).

Today the Fund counts 189 member states and its key objectives include economic cooperation, facilitation of trade, sustainable growth and even the reduction of global poverty. Its primal purpose though is the establishment and preservation of economic and monetary stability. According to IMF's website "it does so in three ways: keeping track of the global economy and the economies of member countries; lending to countries with balance of payments difficulties; and giving practical help to members" (IMF n.d.).

Besides its many functions and missions, the most important and popular one is its ability to assist nations in either external or internal financial difficulties. Along with the World Bank, IMF constitutes the world's primary shaper of the norms of the global economy, especially in the post-crisis era, or as the institution itself declares "the IMF has evolved along with the global economy [...] allowing the organization to retain a central role within the international financial architecture".

This demonstrates the ever-increasing expansion of the Fund's field of operation, from the global economy to social and even environmental issues. In this manner, the IMF managed to stay relevant in an era, when international financial institutions are confronted with a hail of criticism, particularly from critics of the neoliberal financial and political model. However, the influence and power that the organization possesses are indeed fundamental tools in addressing and tackling matters of inequality, poverty and global warming.

To clarify how the IMF assists countries dealing with financial difficulties its processes must be described. When a country is faced with financial instability resulting either from external or internal factors, it deals with balance of payments problems, which cause the country to be unable to pay its international bills. This, in turn, creates a wide range of international financial problems that lead to economic instability, the number one reason for the IMF's foundation. At this point, the country in question has the option to turn to the IMF for assistance. The Fund will bail the country out via a lending agreement while ensuring the prevention of a subsequent crisis. The last part of this process is called crisis resolution and has emerged as a prominent action by the IMF following the global financial crisis.

The agreement between in debt countries and the Fund usually includes a series of prerequisites, namely certain requirements that have to be met for a country to be qualified for IMF loans. Ultimately, the IMF and the government of the applicant country have to agree on the conditions of lending which usually in the words of Detraz and Peksen (2016) pertain to taxes, interest rates, currency devaluations, cuts in public spending and subsidies and privatizations. This process is called conditionality and forms the fundamental modus operandi of the institution concerning its lending procedure. To ensure the application of the conditions agreed upon, the Fund "shall

exercise firm surveillance” on specific policies according to its Articles of Agreement (2016).

Once the country has complied with the terms of the organization, the lending process will initiate, granting the country the capacity to cope with its financial deficiencies. The role of the IMF thereafter is to closely monitor the country’s financial climate, attract other actors for financing the country by acting as a symbol of credibility and stability and prevent financial contagion.

As a member of the UN family, IMF has also pledged to aid the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) including Goal 5, which refers to gender equality. In the aftermath of the international financial crisis of 2008, the institution began to actively endorse women's interests as part of the larger goals of economic growth and development.

#### *3.4.3.2 Research Subjects*

Christine Lagarde is the only female Managing Director of the Fund and her profile shall be presented in this chapter.

Lagarde a lawyer by profession, politician and economist at last, has been many times the first woman in a male-dominated position. She took her first steps at the international law firm Baker & McKenzie in Paris, where by 1995 she had become the first female on the executive committee. Subsequently, she became the chairwoman of the executive committee in 1999 and reelected to this position in 2002. Two years later she became chairwoman of the global strategic committee.

She joined the French government in 2005 as Minister of trade, then served briefly as Minister of agriculture before she was designated Minister of finance and economy in 2007, again as the first woman to hold this prestigious political position. Eventually, she was elected as the Managing Director of the Fund and managed not only to overhaul financial standards, but also to be reelected in 2016 facing no opposition.

Although her reputation as a strong gender equality advocate is great, there is insufficient information about Lagarde’s engagement in women's empowerment. Merely low-level advocacy of women's rights has been recorded concerning largely on the economic scope of women’s empowerment. Apart from this type of awareness-raising, however, there is no particular evidence regarding an active involvement in the promotion of women's interests before her designation.

The appointment of Christine Lagarde as the Managing Director of the Fund occurred amid a sexual scandal involving the former Managing Director Dominique Strauss-Kahn and a large scale monetary crisis focused on European countries. As a consequence, the institution had to endure both internal and external crisis and experienced organizational instability, a situation which facilitated the election of the first female Managing Director of the IMF (Haack 2017). The circumstances demonstrated once again that females acquire a “hard” and masculine executive position in times of organizational crisis more easily than in its absence.

Taking into consideration her personal qualities as a successful, ascetic, fitness fanatic and capable financial minister of a powerful European country, Lagarde was contrasting both the immorality of her forerunner and the physical appearance of her competitor Agustin Carstens. She constituted the alternative profile of poor public images of male leaders and was the only candidate who would secure the domination of Europe in the financial industry during the ongoing crisis.

It must be noted that her depiction by the media was unforeseen. Whereas according to Murray (as cited in Haack 2017) the appearance of female political figures is usually large and subverts their political objectives, the case of Lagarde was the exact opposite. Her illustration by the media amplified her nomination by supporting her political, intellectual and diplomatic skills and most importantly by not emphasizing her looks, marital status and private life, a standard media portrayal of women in politics.

As the IMF's Managing Director Lagarde affirmed the need for further female contribution to the economy and addressed the persisting legal constraints that women face, i.e. discriminatory tax systems and unavailable funding for maternity and paternity leave (IMF 2015a), outdated laws regarding the right to inherit and own property. Most notably, she integrated the promotion of women's interests in IMF papers and blogs, often with her own contribution and turned the spotlight on the benefits of gender equality to the labour market, financial and monetary stability (Lagarde 2015; Lagarde and Ostry 2018).

#### *3.4.3.3 Policies*

As previously reported there are no isolated policies that promote gender equality or women's rights within the scope of IMF. Quite the reverse, all of the institution's operations from research to conditionality agreements and regular consultations encompass gender equality as an overall objective.

Analytical work, policy analysis, data collection and research form the primary tools through which the Fund's involvement in gender equality and women's promotion occur, while capacity development and technical support on gender-related issues follow (IMFBlog 2017). The only practical measure taken exclusively by the IMF appears to be gender budgeting, although it has collaborated with several international institutions and civil society organizations (Christiansen et al. 2018). Nonetheless, the promotion of women's interests will be explored through the presentation of the entire modus operandi of the Fund.

After the detailed analysis of the three case studies, the findings of this research will be presented.

## 4. Findings

### 4.1 Case study 1: UN Women

#### 4.1.1 16 Steps Policy Agenda

On the International Day for the Elimination of Violence against Women in 2011 Executive-Director Bachelet outlined a policy agenda for this aim. The agenda contains 16 proposed steps to be taken in order to urge governments and other stakeholders to take action against gender-related violence. The policy focuses on prevention, protection and provision of services and is part of the 16 Days of Activism against Gender-Based Violence initiative, which occurs every year from November 25<sup>th</sup> until December 10<sup>th</sup> in a global scale and is endorsed by a large number of activists.

According to the corporate evaluation on “The contribution of UN Women to prevent violence against women and expand access to services” (2013) the 16 Steps Policy Agenda was a proactive measure towards the elimination of gender-based violence that provided member states with practical guidance on violence against women (p. 18). In addition, the webpage of the policy agenda refers extensively to the successes regarding each step distinctly, showing the progress made on prevention, protection and provision of services (UN Women 2011a).

Bachelet not only outlined the agenda but also addressed the lack of political will and investment that undermine women’s rights. A significant element of the 16 steps is the inclusion of men and boys as mobilizers of gender-equality, something that seems to be typically elided from gender-related policies, plans, strategies or initiatives. What is more, a policy agenda to end violence targeting women may appear as self-evident but a meticulous observation on international agendas and gender equality may reveal that, in fact, there is no consensus on the actions required for tackling the problem. As a result, Bachelet’s 16 steps policy agenda forms one of the initial efforts to design an all-encompassing plan for gender-based violence. Finally, the agenda managed to significantly raise awareness of violence against women and restore the issue’s relevance.

#### 4.1.2 COMMIT Initiative

Under the 16 steps policy agenda COMMIT initiative was launched one year later, with the purpose to ask governments to make strong national commitments about ending violence against women. The Executive-Director emphasized the need for determined leadership and vigorous measures to eradicate gender-based violence and expressed her hope for new laws, provision of safe houses and hotlines, free health and legal aid to survivors, educational programmes on human rights, and increased numbers of women in politics among other things (*Michelle Bachelet: International Day to End Violence against Women 2012*).

By the end of 2013 64 countries including the European Union, had joined the COMMIT initiative with commitments to pass new laws, create campaigns to raise awareness, increase educational programmes, provide both preventive and supportive services and deliver more accessible justice (UN Women 2013). The

initiative has its own webpage that reports extensively and in detail all commitments made by governments<sup>7</sup>.

#### 4.1.3 EU and UN Women Memorandum of Understanding

In 2012 the European Union and UN Women signed a Memorandum of Understanding to enforce a partnership between the two organizations, developed to advance their cooperation on gender equality and women's empowerment. The agreement secured the collective use of data, information, expertise and analysis and was focused on female representation in economics, justice and politics globally. Bachelet attended the ratification of the Memorandum and stressed the importance of women's participation for sustainable development, peace and democracy ("New Partnership between the EU and UN Women to Enhance Gender Equality Worldwide" n.d.). The Memorandum is cited in the UN Women's annual reports as part of the entity's network of partners (UN Women 2012). The earliest programmes under the EU-UN Women partnership included the advancement of female participation in peace-building and post-conflict operations in Kosovo, Liberia and Timor-Leste (UN Women 2013; European Commission 2012).

#### 4.1.4 Strategic Plan 2011-2013

The first Strategic Plan of UN Women was presented in the annual session of the Executive Board in 2011 and displayed the vision and the priorities of the entity. It was comprised of three frameworks, a development results framework, a management results framework and an integrated resources framework. The development results framework refers to the entity's priorities and sets up the expected outcomes along with targets and indicators. The management results framework alludes to the organizational measures needed to support UN Women's work and finally the integrated resources framework deals with the budget allocation of the Plan. For the purposes of this research, solely the development results framework will be utilized.

There are five thematic priorities in the Plan, identical to the priority areas of operations already described, and one managerial, the coordination of sufficient UN and intergovernmental support. The Plan also presents a set of driving principles that support UN Women in the implementation of its Plan.

For the most part the Strategic Plan 2011-2013 seems non-specific in regard to the five priorities and their respective objectives. For example, referring to the increase of women's access to economic opportunities the document is limited to proposals for more efficient legislations (UN Women 2011c, 16). There are not enough specified programmes that will be launched or at the minimum planned and as for the constitutional reform and the new legislations, these entail cooperation and approval from member states.

Howbeit, concerning partners, collaborations and cooperation with other UN bodies, international or civil organizations, the Plan describes with high precision its

---

<sup>7</sup> Available at: <https://www.unwomen.org/en/what-we-do/ending-violence-against-women/take-action/commit/government-commitments>

coordination with all other entities. Indeed, the first Plan reveals the entity's commitment to achieve its goals by producing a detailed-oriented planning and incorporating coordination results and budget allocation.

According to its second annual report (2012), UN Women had a strong presence in the most challenging issues that women faced that period, most notably in the outbreak of the Arab Spring and the pervasive financial distress. UN Women specifically supported women in politics in Tunisia during the country's transition to democracy back in 2011 and achieved consensus for gender parity in candidates for Constituent Assembly elections through advocacy (UN Women 2011b, 11). Moreover, the entity promoted women's vote in the parliamentary election of Egypt in 2011-2012 and managed to raise women's electoral participation from 40% to 46% through television announcements and radio jingles during the elections (UN Women 2012, 9). These achievements can be considered as major steps for Arab States, where women's rights are most vulnerable.

The examined annual reports cite several programmes for economic inclusion and empowerment, mostly in developing countries such as Grenada, Rwanda, Tajikistan and Zimbabwe. A significant success was the informal cross-border trade programmes, which targeted females in 15 countries and advocate their labour right to be included in national plans while also communicating their concerns in global trade panels (UN Women 2011b).

Violence against women seems to be the center of attention in the institution's policy agenda. An early and productive step was the launch of the online platform "Virtual Knowledge Centre to End Violence against Women and Girls"<sup>8</sup>, where stakeholders can be informed and guided to create appropriate policies and training programmes (UN Women 2011b, 11). The Safe Cities initiative in collaboration with UN HABITAT, UNICEF and numerous civic groups has been employed in many cities that sexual harassment is widespread and helped to reduce it (UN Women 2012; Weston 2013).

Nonetheless, the three annual reports tend to cite more programmes regarding advocacy than programmes that actually contribute to the reduction of gender-based violence. It is the belief of the researcher that though advocacy could play its part in the discussion for violence against women, it is not sufficient as a measure to help eradicate it.

The institution engaged actively in the development of a UN inter-agency framework for the implementation of the Security Council resolution 1325 for women's involvement in peace and security and helped women express their views on the matters of peace and security, through the organizing of open days (UN Women 2011b). Furthermore, UN Women played an important role in countries experiencing conflict, for example Mali and countries in political shift like Libya, Syria or Yemen (UN Women 2013, 14). The entity worked together with the UN Peacebuilding Support

---

<sup>8</sup> Available at: <https://www.endvawnow.org>



Office to create the 7-Point Action Plan that was included in Secretary-General's agenda for peace-building operations and can contribute to the implementation of resolution 1325 (UN Women 2012; Jenkins 2013).

Regarding the making of plans and budget gender-responsive the reports show positive results with the organization assisting 65 countries by the end of 2013 (UN Women 2013) and the launch of the significant joint programme with UN Statistical Division, which facilitated the mainstreaming of gender statistics in national statistical systems (Bachelet 2012).

Nevertheless, the evaluation of the 2011-2013 Strategic Plan can be defined as partially inadequate, due to the lack of baseline data, which resulted to the annual reports of the Executive-Director presenting progress against targets instead of baselines (MOPAN 2015). Overall the Plan can be seen as effective taking into consideration that it was the first strategy of the entity and its initial designing of its agenda.

#### 4.1.5 UN Women ad series

The ad series was a digital campaign named "The Autocomplete Truth" that was developed as a creative idea for the entity by Memac Ogilvy & Mather Dubai. It emphasized the persisting manifestation of every-day sexism. Both images and videos were created and distributed both in billboards and throughout the web. The campaign featured, through short duration YouTube videos, the most popular auto-completed google results when typing the phrase "women should" (dated 9 March, 2013).

The results presented were fraught with sexist stereotypical remarks regarding negative societal expectations for females. These series made a clear statement about sexism and specifically gender discriminations that exist in today's digital era. Using its own hashtag -#womenshould- the campaign initiated a global online conversation about gender inequality and prejudiced attitudes towards women.

As stated by numerous media (CNN, MSNBC, BBC, The Guardian, Elle, etc.) and according to internet views the success of the campaign was immense with plentiful mass media coverage. Furthermore, the campaign had a total of 1.2 billion impressions<sup>9</sup>, 24 million twitter mentions and 600 mentions in the media while it was declared as the "Most Shared Ad of 2013" by the Adweek (Memac Ogilvy 2013). Given these points, the ad series had a completely constructive impact, for they called attention to gender inequality in an age that a conversation about it may be perceived as irrelevant or unnecessary, because of the misconception that women experience equality as the world progresses at a fast pace (International Women's Day 2018).

#### 4.1.6 Global Gender Equality Constitutional Database

In 2013 and supported by the Swedish International Development Agency (SIDA), UN Women launched a distinctive database that comprises constitutional provisions

---

<sup>9</sup> The act of rendering on a user's screen.

related to women's rights from 194 countries including both UN member states and observers. The provisions are available in English and their language of origin, with a total of 75 languages. The constitutions can be searched by country, keywords and 24 categories.

The webpage offers the ability to perform quantitative research through an interactive dashboard, which enables a professional and thorough investigation. It also provides a systematic and comprehensive codebook for the Constitutional Database that presents 24 categories with their respective criteria as well as their respective CEDAW articles, recommendation from the CEDAW Committee and 2030 Sustainable Agenda targets (UN Women Leadership and Governance Section 2016).

Its benefits include the examination of legal provisions through a gender lens that allows stakeholders to identify the protection, guarantee or instead the denial of women's rights (Chakrabarti and Grobeisen 2013). Moreover, the database forms the first effort to map and compare constitutional data from a variety of regions. Interested parties, such as advocates for gender equality, independent human rights bodies, judicial bodies, activists, academics, policy makers and other potential users have an aggregate repository, where they can be consulted.

According to the opinions expressed in a symposium by UN Women and OHCHR in 2016 concerning the usage of the database by students and professors from the University of Chicago Law School, University of Pennsylvania Law School, Columbia University's School of International and Public Affairs and the University of Milan, the Global Gender Equality Constitutional Database constitutes an operant tool for policy making, evaluation and interpretation of constitutional laws (UN Women 2016).

#### 4.1.7 Elsie Initiative

The Elsie Initiative Fund for uniformed women in Peace operations (Elsie Initiative) was announced in 2017 by the Government of Canada as a measure to increase female participation in UN peacekeeping operations. It took its name from Canadian Elsie MacGill, the first woman to receive an aeronautical engineering degree in the world and a women's rights activist. The project was officially launched in March 2019 by UN Women in collaboration with the Government of Canada, the office of the UN Secretary-General, the UN Department of Peace Operations, and the UN Development Programme's Multi-Partner Trust Fund Office. It received an initial \$15 million from the state of Canada as Netherlands, United Kingdom and Finland followed with the contributions of €3 million, £1 million and €1 million respectively.

At the event of the announcement Mlambo-Ngcuka along with UN Special Representative on Sexual Violence in Conflict Pramila Patten accentuated the need for more women in peacekeeping operations, in order to ensure that conflict-related sexual violence will be addressed and counteracted. The two executives welcomed Canada's initiative and brought the attention to the ramifications that low female participation has in the UN's effectiveness.

The Elsie Initiative objectives are the following:

- ❖ Support the development of a systematic approach to deploy more women in peace operations.
- ❖ Design tailored technical assistance support for countries that contribute peacekeepers to ensure the right conditions are in place for the deployment of women.
- ❖ Provide assistance to designated UN missions to improve their ability to support and benefit from women's increased participation in peace operations. Canada will provide \$6 million toward this goal.
- ❖ Launch a global fund to support the deployment of women peacekeepers. Canada will provide \$15 million to establish this fund.
- ❖ Monitor and evaluate so the Elsie Initiative can be adjusted as needed and help build a solid base of evidence for the development of a more comprehensive approach that could be fully integrated within the UN peacekeeping system (Government of Canada 2017).

No annual report refers to the Elsie Initiative, therefore its relevance will be evaluated by drawing on resources outside UN Women too, such as the Geneva Centre for Security Sector Governance (DCAF) and the Multi-partner Trust Fund Office Gateway of UN Development Group (UNDP). Its efficacy will not be assessed due to its recent date of launch.

As of 2019 only 5% of UN peacekeeping operations' personnel are women. This means that males comprise about 95% and despite the calls made to the Secretary-General by the Security Council resolution 2242 in 2015 to introduce a strategy that would double the number of females in UN police and military troops (UN Security Council 2015), progress remains slow with the number increased from 3.9% to 5.4% (UN Women 2019c; Ghittoni, Lehouck, and Watson 2018).

In this context, the present study considers the Elsie Initiative one of the most relevant in terms of women's interests as it can contribute to multiple areas of interest including participation in the armed forces, eradication of gender-based violence related to conflict and post-conflict situations, incorporation of female perspectives in male dominated areas, creation of new professional opportunities for women and increase of female participation in leadership positions.

Nevertheless, DCAF published a baseline study concerning the initiative (2018) that describes in great detail the barriers that women face in joining the peacekeeping operations and conclude that deployed initiatives have had minor effects on this regard (p. 47). What is more, the study addresses the significance of country contextualization, since each country presents with different barriers for women (Ghittoni, Lehouck, and Watson 2018). While the publication highlights the adversities faced by Elsie Initiative it also provides a systematic set of recommendations necessary for tangible results.

The programming as of today is still in its early stages with the development and submission of proposals to the Fund Secretariat to take place in January 2020 and the final approval and disbursement to initiate in late February 2020 (Watson 2019). Consequently, evaluations and results will be available in the future. However, it is the author's belief that Elsie Initiative is a promising project that targets sectors, which are likely to be underrepresented in gender equality and women's empowerment action plans.

#### 4.1.8 HeForShe solidarity movement

HeForShe is a solidarity campaign designed to encourage males to participate in the battle for gender equality. It was launched in 2014 by UN Women in an event at UN headquarters that hosted UN Women Goodwill Ambassador and actress Emma Watson, the face and spokesperson of the campaign. Her speech was broadly featured in social media and helped reach the initial goal of 100.000 mobilized men in just three days. Prominent men supporting the cause include among others former US President Barack Obama, former Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon, and current Secretary-General António Guterres.

The movement's website consists of the pledge men can take to support women in achieving gender equality, a map which indicates the number of pledges taken worldwide and keeps track of the progress made, and the impact page where high-profile men, universities, and corporations are featured. Additionally, there are annual impact reports which present with a variety of implemented policies and actions by corporate units, UN, civil society and individuals to accelerate gender equality based on a "how to" approach.

The core idea behind the project is to activate males to join the movement of gender equality and, above all, to promote men's and boys' involvement (UN Women 2014), in contrast to the concept of misandry, which is occasionally related to women's rights' violation or gender inequality, especially when the latter is perceived as an explicitly female concern.

One year after the inauguration of HeForShe, IMPACT 10x10x10 was introduced to draw more attention to the cause and employ decision makers, corporations and universities as agents of change. IMPACT Champions make gender equality an institutional priority and their successes are presented and celebrated every year in UN General Assembly's meeting (UN Women USA n.d.).

As stated in the last annual reports of UN Women (2018; 2019) the initiative has met several successes in the national and local levels ranging from the annulation of 3.500 child marriages in Malawi to award winning Georgian campaign for neutral language, while it reached 1.7 billion individual commitments by early 2019.

The overall impact of the campaign can be considered as highly creative and effective, for it embraces men as equally affected by and involved in the gender equality agenda, thus generating a productive environment for change. It is noteworthy that most of the gender equality agendas do not in any way include male individuals except as a

part of the problem. The issues that arise from this approach are broad and have led to the equalization of feminism with man-hating (Young 2016). A new approach that encompasses men and boys will be of greater value, in order to intercommunicate inequalities and discover solutions.

In spite of its achievements, HeForShe has received its share of criticism. Some (InsideMan 2014; McCarthy 2014) find the name of the campaign problematical as it seems to replicate the very same stereotypes that it wishes to eliminate. In particular, it portrays male dominance over victimized females by the arrangement of He before She, as well as the display of male necessity represented by the use of For. Consequently, it does not take into consideration the non-binary stance too.

Moreover, as McCarthy (2014) observed, the issues addressed by the campaign do not take into account general gender equality matters, but instead are focused on first world problems and privileged women's issues. What is more questionable though, is the actual inclusion of men and boys, when HeForShe does not refer to any forms of gender inequalities faced by males. Lastly, Roxane Gay (as cited in Segran 2015) argues that gender inequality is so ethically contemptible that there should be no need for invitation or mobilization to support equality in the first place, a case that, indeed, renders gender equality optional.

#### 4.1.9 Generation Equality campaign

The Generation Equality campaign was initiated in 2019 with the purpose of uniting young activists and their Beijing Platform for Action counterparts, creating a multigenerational approach to the Platform's demands yet to be satisfied. Principal goals of the campaign are the following:

- ❖ Equal pay
- ❖ Equal sharing of unpaid care and domestic work
- ❖ End of sexual harassment and all forms of violence against women and girls
- ❖ Appropriate health care services
- ❖ Equal participation in political life and decision-making in all areas of life (UN Women 2019a).

The campaign marks the 25<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the Beijing Platform for Action scheduled to take place in 2020 by the 64<sup>th</sup> session of the Commission on the Status of Women and comprises monthly action packs that feature creative ideas for action as well as inspirational stories. The main idea is to undertake small actions that can have impact such as learning and sharing knowledge, and drawing attention on equality via social media. Its webpage also displays infographics and individual experiences that contribute in women's empowerment and gender equality along with a document proposing small actions for each respective objective.

All things considered, the campaign is a positive scheme for young activists because it utilizes tools more amiable and usable by younger generations. In this way, adolescent

and young individuals can be engaged in the promotion of gender equality. Finally, it calls upon both girls and boys to be involved in a way similar to the HeForShe initiative. Due to the campaign's recent kickoff there are no available evaluations yet.

#### 4.1.10 She Will Connect joint initiative

Intel Corporation joined forces with UN Women in 2014 in order to advance African women economically and socially via a digital literacy programme called She Will Connect. The target was to connect 5 million young females to the Internet and provide them with digital knowledge in the region of sub-Saharan Africa in a three-year period. UN Women's Executive-Director addressed the need for equality in ICT access and its relevance to problems such as economic disparities and poverty welcoming the initiative.

The programme was launched in response to Women and the Web report (2012) results, which stated that females are 43% less likely to be online than males in sub-Saharan Africa (p. 23). Accordingly, the initiative deployed strategies in Kenya, Nigeria and South Africa in partnership with UN Women, other institutions, and local NGOs, as part of Intel's CSR strategy under three components:

- ❖ Digital Literacy Skills
- ❖ Peer Network and Gender Relevant Content
- ❖ Income Generation Opportunity

Nearly three years after its launch the programme reached over 1.3 million females in Africa of whom 200 thousand received face-to-face training (Intel Corporation 2017). Many women managed to upgrade their businesses or find employment and be more involved in political decisions (Intel Corporation 2017). However, the goal of 5 million women was not met in three years and the number of beneficiaries was extremely small as compared to the original aim. The attainment of the 5 million women goal was celebrated in late 2018 by Intel at a gala in South Africa (ACWICT 2018).

Initiatives in collaboration with the private sector, such as the aforementioned one, can be pivotal in the dissemination of operant policies, while increasing the proliferation of ideas that are crucial for galvanizing more people in the struggle for gender equality. In this regard, private sector can be utilized as a tool of both financial and social support for international organizations, because of its existing impact on societies which can be exploited for gender equality and women's rights advocacy. Intel's programme is of great significance, especially if the receiving countries and their particular socio-economic status are taken into consideration.

A crucial issue that should be considered and examined in the context of the initiative is women's and girls' online security including cyber bullying, plus the recently expanding arena of cyber-violence against women through the social media. As the UN Broadband Commission for Digital Development Working Group on broadband and Gender (as cited in Inter-Parliamentary Union 2016) pointed out, three quarters of female internet users have been subjected to cyber-violence of some form globally

(p. 6). These matters should be incorporated in gender-related ICT actions, in order to ensure the proper internet use and the prevention of digital violence.

#### 4.1.11 Actions and Initiatives to end violence against women

UN Women has been working endlessly to eliminate all forms of violence directed to women and girls. For this purpose, the entity has inaugurated a large number of initiatives ranging from advocacy to strategic actions aimed at both preventing violence and supporting victims.

The Spotlight Initiative, launched in partnership with the European Union in 2017, constitutes the largest investment made to fight gender-based violence according to Mlambo-Ngcuka, launched with an initial commitment of €500 million from the EU (“Spotlight Initiative: To Eliminate Violence against Women and Girls. Terms of Reference” 2017). The chief objective is the eradication of all violence against women and girls by 2030. As displayed on its website<sup>10</sup> the initiative contains six main pillars of action:

- ❖ Laws and policies
- ❖ Institutions
- ❖ Prevention
- ❖ Services
- ❖ Data
- ❖ Women’s movements

It’s the first systematized action for interventions that cover a broad range of issues either directly or secondarily related to gender-based violence and encompasses SDG 5 Gender Equality and SDG 16 Peace Justice and Strong Institutions, promoting hence the UN’s 2030 agenda. What’s more remarkable is the focus on Asia, Africa, Latin America, the Pacific, and the Caribbean regions (Martin Ruiz De Gordejuela, Adeboye, and Wunder 2019), to wit the emphasis on the countries in greater need and the exclusion of the first world problems from the agenda.

The project has published already two annual reports (2018; 2019) according to which numerous programmes have been deployed to address and tackle the problem of violence against women with special focus on the issues of femicide, trafficking, sexual and labour exploitation and most importantly domestic violence and harmful practices. In addition the initiative contributes to the collection of reliable data (Spotlight Initiative 2019).

The number of plans and programmes is large enough to render the initiative’s examination impossible in the context of this study, while most of them are still in progress, making their complete evaluation difficult. Nonetheless, Spotlight Initiative

---

<sup>10</sup> <https://spotlightinitiative.org/>

is the first of its kind in terms of range and funding and is expected to achieve concrete results in the elimination of gender-based violence.

Safe Cities Global Initiative is another creative project to prevent violence against females, inform them about risk factors that can be identified in various places, and create a safer environment for them in several cities where sexual harassment prevails. By 2017 it has been located in 27 countries from both developing and developed countries (UN Women 2017), and in early 2019 it published a compendium of the best practices that presents successful actions towards the elimination of public insecurity and sexual harassment.

Under this initiative UN Women partnered with Microsoft and created a Global Mapping Project, which explores the capabilities of mobile access in the prevention, record and response to public sexual harassment (UN Women et al. 2013).

Last but not least, every year in the context of International Day for the Elimination of Violence against Women the organization addresses a different and distinctive subject pertaining to gender-based violence through advocacy and the utilization of social media. Under the 16 Days of Activism in 2018 the theme “Orange the World: #HearMeToo” inspired by global movements, gave the chance to violence survivors to share their stories and experiences as well as to women’s rights advocates and activists to be featured and express their views. Isolated actions took place in several countries including Moldova, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Uganda and Jordan under UN Women (UN Women 2018b).

In 2019 the theme will involve Generation Equality and will be called “Orange the World: Generation Equality Stands against Rape!”. The theme should be considered as highly relevant since the discourse about rape culture and the persistent mindsets that persevere in this concept become increasingly present. Moreover, this year’s theme will engage in a public conversation to raise awareness about consent and rape as a weapon of war (United Nations Trust Fund to End Violence against Women 2019), in order to increase public understanding on the need for the provision of better and more accessible services to the victims.

Themes of previous years were also significant but the older they were they tend to feature more generalized subjects, for example 2017 theme was “Leave No One Behind: End Violence against Women and Girls” while 2014 theme was “Orange YOUR Neighbourhood”.

## 4.2 Case study 2: UNESCO

### 4.2.1 Medium-Term Strategy 2008-2013

Gender equality became UNESCO’s global priority in 2007 and came into force in 2008 within the Medium-Term Strategy 2008-2013 under former Director-General Koichiro Matsuura (UNESCO 2018c). Consequently, Bokova’s term of office commenced by the execution of the gender policies incorporated in the aforementioned Strategy.



The 34 C/4 document constitutes the first attempt of UNESCO to effectively address the issue of gender inequality and integrate it into the organization's agenda as a global priority along with Africa. According to the 34 C/4 document (2008), these two priorities had adopted a human-rights approach while gender inequality was to be resolved through women's empowerment and gender mainstreaming, a scheme that incorporates the gender perspective in policy-making. Furthermore, internal actions towards gender equality were presented by supporting equal opportunities and increasing the number of women in the Secretariat, with the intention to achieve parity by 2015. Although this was an ambitious document in terms of the numerous initiatives and programmes referred to therein (UNESCO 2008), only a part of these is mentioned in the reports and results published after its implementation (UNESCO 2013c; 2015a; Forss, Torggler, and Sediakina-Rivière, 2013; Global Education Monitoring Report Team 2015; 2014; UNESCO 2013b).

Women's promotion was recognized as a means towards sustainable development and gender equality, and for the first time, it was included in the policy-making process, with regard to the Millennium Development Goals. However, it should be noted that, unlike the SDGs, their precursors were by no means as wide-ranging and inclusive about gender issues. In fact, the MDG no. 3 entitled "Promote gender equality and empower women" had only one target, the achievement of gender parity in primary and secondary education whereas SDG no. 5 entitled "Achieve gender equality and empower all women and girls" encompasses six targets along with respective indicators. Nonetheless, the inclusion of gender equality as a priority issue was undoubtedly the first step towards resolute action for women's promotion.

The Medium-Term Strategy 2008-2013 is divided into three biennial agendas each incorporating the programme and budgeting of the actions that were to be taken. Gender equality was integrated in each of the five major programmes.

UNESCO managed to incorporate gender mainstreaming in all its areas of interest, despite its financial difficulties (UNESCO 2013c; 2015a), and achieved numerous goals in this direction. Firstly, gender equality was established as a fundamental objective of the organization, one which continues to date. Additionally, every action or programme started to be seen through a gender lens, hence leading to the prevalence of gender initiatives which were absent in previous documents. Compulsory training on gender mainstreaming has been provided to all programme sectors at Headquarters (UNESCO 2013c), while numerous partnerships also emerged in order to assist UNESCO in the attainment of gender equality.

However, while gender is highly prevalent in the document, the term's use could be described as generic and non-specific due to the fact that particular initiatives or plans constitute the minority of policies (Forss, Torggler, and Sediakina-Rivière, 2013). Furthermore, gender equality, though a global priority, formulates only about 10% of the 34 C/4 document with solely one page and one box dedicated to it. Another concern relates to the budget allocation among the major programmes with communication and information spending 28.9% of the priority budget, while culture

only 6.5%. Finally, the existing problem of limited resources constitutes a major obstacle (Forss, Torggler, and Sediakina-Rivière, 2013; UNESCO 2015a).

To begin with, under the education programme, gender parity was achieved in more countries than before as the number increased from 36 to 62 since 2000 (Global Education Monitoring Report Team 2015). However, less than half of the countries accomplished the stated goal of gender parity in primary and secondary education by 2015, of which none was from the region of sub-Saharan Africa (Global Education Monitoring Report Team 2015). In the primary level, disparity was 40% in 2014 with girls representing 80% of the cases (Global Education Monitoring Report Team 2014). Nonetheless, in secondary education enrollment increased by 27% on a global scale with girls representing 52% of this figure (Global Education Monitoring Report Team 2015), a fact that shows medium-level progress. Attention must be paid to the reverse disparities in tertiary education affecting young males, an issue yet to be covered in organizational strategic planning in relation to gender equality.

What is more, literacy rates increased, be it in a low scale, with women accounting for 2/3 of illiterate adults, a trend that persevered since 2000 (Global Education Monitoring Report Team 2015). For example, South and West Asia as well as sub-Saharan Africa's half female population can neither write nor read (Global Education Monitoring Report Team 2015) while, although LIFE initiative had been implemented for six years in 2012, 42 countries were "identified as being at risk of not achieving the 2015 goal of a 50% increase in youth and adult literacy rates" (Forss, Torggler, and Sediakina-Rivière, 2013, 21). However, a large number of literacy programmes were undertaken in low-income countries from Africa and South Asia, whereas in Afghanistan the Programme for Enhancement of Literacy benefitted 129,522 females (UNESCO 2015a).

Training seminars and programmes were also launched in several African countries under the IICBA, while TVET programmes were carried out by Tanzania and some Arab Gulf states (UNESCO 2015a). Education programmes on sexuality and HIV were conducted in Viet Nam and Tanzania with both students and teachers as beneficiaries (UNESCO 2015a), and 21 member states in total received gender-sensitive education on the matter (UNESCO 2013c). Nevertheless, EFA reports (2014; 2015) suggest that, in spite of progress in terms of knowledge about HIV/AIDS in sub-Saharan Africa, other factors, most notably lack of human and women's rights, have detrimental effects on girls' sexual and reproductive education.

Secondly, in the programme of natural sciences, the two reports from the Director-General on the achievements on gender equality and women's empowerment (2013; 2015) display promising evidence with several programmes and initiatives promoting girls and women in science.

The UNESCO-IHE Institute for Water Education has been involved in addressing the link between gender inequality and water and has, therefore, built capacity-development programmes, enrolled a large number of females in its short M.Sc. and

Ph.D. programmes whilst incorporating the gender dimension in its publications (UNESCO 2013c). The institute had a leading role in the first attempts of gender policy formulation in sciences through the linking of SDG 5 gender equality and SDG 6 water and sanitation, which provided the opportunity for women, to gain knowledge in controlling and preserving water resources.

Moreover, the promotion of female scientists was accomplished through the UNESCO-L'Oréal For Women in Science programme, which rewarded distinguished female researchers and scientists with a large number of fellowships and awards and actively supported women in Africa by providing regional programmes and fellowships in science and engineering (UNESCO 2013c). It also provided intellectual prizes for outstanding scientists through other partnership programmes particularly in low-income countries (UNESCO 2015a). Women scientists thus acquired more opportunities and were enabled to act as role models for younger girls.

Furthermore, the publication of UNESCO's Local and Indigenous Knowledge Systems (LINKS) programme regarding the knowledge and practice of traditional medicine led to the establishment of the regional net of Supporting Traditional Medicinal Knowledge in the Indian Ocean SIDS in which women traditional healers make up for 55% (UNESCO 2013c). The organization achieved its aim to underline the role of women in preserving indigenous knowledge.

Thirdly, the most significant initiative under the umbrella of human sciences was the Management of Social Transformation (MOST) Programme, a research programme introduced in 1994 to promote policy improvement and act as a link between research, policy, and practice. MOST Intergovernmental Council underlined two main priorities in 2011: social inclusion and social transformation. As women are the most affected by poverty, migration, social inequalities and social exclusion, a fact that emphasizes the need for gender-based policy-making and research, MOST programme run several activities to enhance female inclusiveness in public policy-making and secure the presence of gender-based research (UNESCO 2013b). To this end, the "Programme for the assessment of the level of inclusiveness of public policies" was designed to evaluate inclusiveness at the levels of constitution, legislation, policy content and formulation, and institutional mechanisms (UNESCO 2013b).

Another social science-related issue, namely climate change and its effects, was identified as another gender-related area of interest and three projects were undertaken in the Caribbean, the Sahel and the Pacific.

The problem of racism and discrimination was also tackled in several cities around the world through the "Ten-Point Plan of Action", while migration was managed with joint programmes and UNESCO's support to emphasize women's integration and respect for their cultural diversity (UNESCO 2013b). Female migrants were targeted by gender-specific programmes particularly in India (UNESCO 2013c).

Plentiful publications were also used to provide information and raise awareness on gender-based inequalities and violence whereas the necessity of gender-related data and research was highlighted in regional workshops about policy dialogue in Indonesia, Kenya, Malaysia, Panama, and Thailand (UNESCO 2015a). However, data analysis, publications and infographics can be considered non-interventional approaches that offer neither effective nor prompt results.

Last but not least, female inclusion in sports and physical education was promoted by the International Conference of Ministers and Senior Officials Responsible for Physical Education (MINEPS V) in 2013 and was encompassed in the Declaration of Berlin (UNESCO 2013b; MINEPS and UNESCO 2013).

As far as culture is concerned, according to the Internal Oversight Service (IOS) (2013), several gender-specific programmes were implemented between 2012 and 2013. Such programmes were adopted within the MDG-F Culture in Development initiative in partnership with other UN agencies, which incorporated the inclusion of gender equality in national policy-making in Ecuador, Nicaragua and Morocco as well as female cultural entrepreneurship in China (UNESCO 2013b; 2013c; 2015a). Special programmes that targeted specific activities through gender and culture were implemented in Azerbaijan and Cuba, and capacity-building activities were enhanced in Mali with the construction of a dyeing factory in Bamako (UNESCO 2013c).

Museums also played a significant role in gender mainstreaming and gender-related programmes. On the one hand, quite a number of projects related to museums were initiated in Norway, Viet Nam, Japan and some African countries (UNESCO 2013b; Forss, Torggler, and Sediakina-Rivière, 2013). Nevertheless, IOS reported (2013) that the results regarding gender mainstreaming were negative towards this end. Positive results were found in capacity-building and the World Heritage Convention's gender balance (UNESCO 2015a). Despite the absence of appropriate funding, the culture sector did succeed in some of its endeavors, though their relevance may be questioned due to anticipated results and policy inconsistency (Forss, Torggler, and Sediakina-Rivière, 2013).

Regarding the communication and information programme, the most important component is perhaps the creation of the Gender Sensitive Indicators for Media (GSIM), which included the addressing of female issues in the media, appropriate policies to deal with them, and capacity-building activities for professionals (Forss, Torggler, and Sediakina-Rivière, 2013). The UN Plan of Action on the Safety of Journalists and the Issue of Impunity in South Sudan, Iraq, Pakistan, and Nepal was a groundbreaking tool for tackling violence against female journalists while Gender in Free and Open Source Software (FOSS) enhanced women's representation in the technology sector (UNESCO 2013c).

Open Access (OA) was employed as a tool to foster female access to information and knowledge along with Open Education Resources (OER) and FOSS while "Women

Make the News” initiative was launched to promote gender equality in the media and helped women to be heard (UNESCO 2013b).

Although UNESCO is the only specialized agency mandated to be involved in communication information and gender, capacity-building activities often have not reached their gender-related objectives (Forss, Torggler, and Sediakina-Rivière, 2013) and that is something that the organization should take into account when evaluating its policies. Besides in the Director-General’s report (2013a) the mensuration of “advocacy work” is identified as the major challenge in the sector of communication and information.

#### 4.2.2 Priority Gender Equality Action Plan 2014-2021

The second Gender Equality Action Plan was designed by the 37<sup>th</sup> General Conference in 2014 and can be regarded as the subsequent policy and a companion document of Medium-Term Strategy 2014-2021. The 37 C/4 document shows clearly that the agency capitalized on the lessons learned from the previous action plan through the enhancement of consistency with other UN agencies’, objectives, and a better definition of its actions (UNESCO 2014a). Moreover, interdisciplinary actions taken by the 34 C/4 and 36 C/5 documents were replaced to be more flexible and specific in programme implementation (UNESCO 2014a, 12).

Therefore GEAP II can be characterized as more coherent and explicit towards its goals, through the 37 C/4 document (2014a), which comprises even more objectives and “a peace-, sustainable development and human rights-based approach”(p. 17) in contrast with the solely human rights-based approach of the 34 C/4 document. In addition, GEAP II is in full alignment with the Operational Strategy on Priority Africa after the recommendations of IOS (2013).

More specifically, GEAP II reduced the number of expected results so both the implementation and monitoring could be achievable. It was designed in full alignment with the programme and budget document 37 C/5, provided a comprehensible definition of gender equality so all members of the staff could comprehend their sector’s approach towards gender equality and finally introduced the gender marker system for the tracking of resources allocated to gender equality (UNESCO 2013a, 10). Again the focus was placed on the least developed countries, SIDS, youth, and countries in transition (UNESCO 2014a, 16).

Furthermore, gender equality was again targeted through gender mainstreaming and gender-specific programming (UNESCO 2013a) but this time both approaches were explicitly outlined. In GEAP II the methodology of gender mainstreaming was taught by the Division for Gender Equality in the Office of the Director-General (ODG/GE) as part of its capacity-building programme while the aims of gender-specific programmes were better clarified (UNESCO 2013a, 15). Training by the ODG/GE was available for the staff to help them integrate gender concerns to their sector, while the mapping of existing expertise on gender equality was programmed and the development of a gender equality knowledge base was mentioned (UNESCO 2013a, 18–19).

Intersectoral partnerships were once again part of UNESCO's policy both with other UN bodies and private partners.

Finally, the lack of an objective regarding gender-based violence, the preservation of stereotypical representations of both females and males as well as the dearth of female leadership in the organization's positions of responsibility were identified as major drawbacks of the previous gender equality agenda and thus were embraced as the plan's focus areas for coordination (UNESCO 2013a, 23).

In respect to training, two reports (2013c; 2015a) state it as a policy that experiences gradual improvement in terms of numbers and areas of concentration. In particular, 11 training sessions on gender equality in Headquarters and 2 in countries' offices happened between 2016 and 2017 with the attendance of 156 women from the organization and 50 from the field (UNESCO Director-General 2015, 3). "Gender equality clinics" were launched by the ODG/GE as a state-of-the-art training method, in order to provide customized training on gender equality mainstreaming to staff members (UNESCO 2015a; UNESCO Director-General 2015).

GEAP II was once again an ambitious policy, its implementation reports, however, did not denote results regarding all the initiatives it encompassed.

To begin with, concerning education, literacy programmes were undertaken in several countries including Afghanistan, Bangladesh, Cambodia, Chad, Mauritania, Mozambique, Nepal, South Sudan, Timor-Leste and Togo (UNESCO 2015a, 3). With regard to the promotion of gender equality in access, content and outcomes UNESCO generated publications that address gender barriers regarding access to top management positions, while in Viet Nam and Tanzania the issues of HIV and gender-based violence were approached via research, trainings and creative initiatives (UNESCO 2015a, 3–4). Violence continued to form a major feature in organized events with the purpose of raising awareness of its effects on girls' prevention from accessing education (UNESCO 2016).

Additionally, in the 39 C/INF.12 (2015) the mainstreaming of gender in education was enhanced by initiatives in both formal and informal sectors, which were mentioned in detail for the first time in a report by the Director-General (2015a). Examples of success were found in Guatemala, Jordan, Nepal, South Sudan and Tanzania with many girls and women accessing education and literacy programmes. The organization supported 80 countries to create gender equity in educational environments and thorough sexual education (UNESCO Director-General 2015, 4).

With regard to natural sciences, the promotion of women scientists as role models continued through the L'Oréal UNESCO "For Women in Science" programme, which expanded its national and regional programmes providing fellowships to 217 and 24 individuals respectively (UNESCO 2015a, 4). The awards of the programme named 15 laureates and 45 rising talents in science in the years between 2015 and 2017 (UNESCO Director-General 2015, 5). Along with OWSD and the Elsevier Foundation

Awards for Early-Career Women Scientists in the Developing World 370 women were benefitted in their pursuit of a science career (UNESCO 2016, 126).

Capacity-building was also achieved through programmes, particularly in the least developed countries. The Nairobi office assisted 576 females in the field of STEM in Kenya, while Mexico created capacity-building programmes for female apiculturists (UNESCO 2015a, 4). The TeachHer master class in Ethiopia provided teachers with training “on the importance of meeting girls' needs for education in science, technology, engineering, arts and design, and math (STEAM)” (UNESCO Director-General 2015, 5).

On the contrary, the participation of women as scientists and knowledge holders in the resolution of global environmental issues was not achieved especially in terms of indigenous knowledge. No reports display evidence of such accomplishments except for document 38 C/INF.14 (2015a) which referred to the participation of 4 older women in acquiring expertise as qualified solar engineers (p. 4). The only action towards the goal mentioned above was the organization’s participation in the French Senate's round table «Women and the Fight against Climate Change”.

As to the aim of data collection, UNESCO launched in 2015 the STEM and Gender Advancement SAGA project. Sweden provided funding for the first three years of operation of the project, with the primary objective being the supply of tools to policy-makers, in order to implement and monitor gender equality in Science, Technology and Innovation (STI) via collecting sex-disaggregated data for policies (UNESCO 2015a; UNESCO Director-General 2015; “STEM and Gender Advancement (SAGA)” 2017). Furthermore, surveys were conducted in several African countries through which STI policies that promote gender equality were collected (UNESCO Director-General 2015).

Concerning social and human sciences, the relevant programme is the least mentioned in all the documents. Only the 38 C/INF.14 report (2015a) cites several activities towards gender equality under the programme at hand. Policy dialogues took place in Indonesia, Kenya, Malaysia, Panama, and Thailand concerning the policy approaches on social inclusion, data gaps and opportunities (UNESCO 2015a), while recommendations to end violence against the most disadvantaged women and men were successfully included in the Chinese Family violence draft law (UNESCO 2016). Additionally, community radios targeting particularly female migrants were set up in India while gender language was incorporated in the revised International Charter of Physical Education and Sport which reaffirmed the right of females to participate in physical education and sports (UNESCO 2015a).

This paper supports the claim that human sciences have yet to achieve significant results as the reports perused are referring for the most part to recommendations, advice and analysis instead of concrete outcomes towards gender inclusion in policy-making. However, this situation stems partially from the necessary involvement and reliance on national policy-makers and stakeholders.

Referring to the field of culture, several objectives, especially in capacity-building, were achieved. Evidence from the reports of the Director-General shows a significant increase of the states providing periodic reports with gender-specific data under the guidance of the 2003 and 2005 Conventions on culture and heritage (UNESCO 2015a; UNESCO Director-General 2015). In addition, female inclusion in capacity-building activities was enhanced with women's participation reaching 50% in the entrepreneurial workshops of World Heritage Sites and 42% in the programme for intangible cultural heritage, while, in 2014 alone, 141 young people, of which 57.4% females, benefited from youth forums (UNESCO 2015a, 6–7).

Perhaps the most considerable achievement of Major Programme IV was the publication of the first report on “Gender equality, Heritage and Creativity” in 2014. This publication, available in Chinese, English, French, and Spanish, promoted women in culture and addressed key issues of gender equality in culture and heritage while making recommendations about these matters (UNESCO 2015a; 2016). Moreover, this report made groundbreaking analysis on the role that women play in intangible cultural heritage and how this role is the result of “social relationships that women establish and the power system of the society in which they live” (UNESCO 2014c, 50). The significance of this analysis lies in the identification for the first time that practices exclusively assumed by women can possibly imply both their empowerment and disempowerment. The latter could be due to their relegation in other spheres of social life, like decision-making, politics, etc. What is more, particular cultural practices may be harmful towards women such as genital mutilation, a fact that must be taken into account when examining women in culture and heritage.

Finally, with reference to communication and information, the promotion of women in and through media was the focal aim with numerous gender-specific programmes. The GAMAG network launched regional chapters in Asia-Pacific, Latin America and the Caribbean and Europe, thus expanding its work in the field (UNESCO 2015a, 7). An online programme on Media and Information Literacy (MIL) provided training for over 1000 females on how to utilize media and information competencies to advocate for gender equality (UNESCO 2015a). Initiatives concerning radio were introduced in many developing countries, promoting women empowerment through training of 590 professional females (UNESCO Director-General 2015, 8).

What is more, according to 39 C/INF.12 report (2015) the Gender Sensitive Indicators for Media (GSIM) were applied in 67 countries in contrast with 40 mentioned in the previous report, showing the dissemination of effective gender-specific programming and the increase of advocacy for gender equality in the media. The matter of safety of women journalists, however, was not reported except in the 39 C/3 annex I document (2016), which stated that the issue was addressed at the celebration on World Press Freedom Day in 2015 (p. 127). Finally, a gender lens was applied in programmes pertaining to access, creation, sharing and preservation of information and knowledge (UNESCO Director-General 2015, 8) thus contributing to the empowerment of and equal opportunities for women.



Overall, the Gender Equality Action Plan managed to attain a great amount of the objectives stated in its supplementary documents while becoming a more detailed, specific and organized document than its preceding strategy.

#### 4.2.3 Better Life Better Future Initiative

The UNESCO Global Partnership for Girls' and Women's Education "Better Life, Better Future" was launched by UNESCO in 2011. According to its web portal, the programme has the four following objectives:

- ❖ Increase learning opportunities for adolescent girls and women
- ❖ Expand and improve the quality of education of girls and women at the secondary level and in the area of literacy
- ❖ Scale-up geographical coverage and replicate good practices
- ❖ Engage a wider and more diverse network of partners.

The initiative has two key areas of attention: secondary education and literacy, upon which it aims to decrease the number of girls withdrawing from school upon completing elementary education and increase the number of literacy programmes (UNESCO 2011). The first cycle of literacy programmes was focused on ostracized girls and women in Africa and Asia (UNESCO 2011). Child marriage, teen pregnancy, and gender-based violence are cited as the principal causes for dropping out of school while the subject of literacy was approached in terms of impact (UNESCO 2011). According to the organization (2014c; 2015c), a number of important partners have joined the initiative since its launching including governmental, organizational and private agents. These incorporate inter alia the following:

- ❖ Governments of China, France, Italy, Japan, Pakistan, and the USA
- ❖ UN Women
- ❖ World Bank
- ❖ Nokia
- ❖ Procter & Gamble

With the intention of fulfilling its responsibilities, the Partnership implemented a series of projects around the globe, with funding from its partners. Due to limited space, this paper will examine only a portion of these projects.

First of all, UNESCO joined forces with UN Women and UNFPA to launch the UNESCO/UNFPA/UN Women Joint Programme on Empowering Adolescent Girls and Young Women through Education, a multi-sectoral approach targeting adolescent girls between 10 and 19 years of age and young women between 20 and 24 in countries where women face major challenges in education (UNESCO 2017c). Mali, Nepal and Tanzania were the first countries to be profited with 558.000 direct beneficiaries and 918.000 indirect beneficiaries, funded by the Republic of Korea through the Korea

International Cooperation Agency (KOICA) (UNESCO 2017c). The main areas of focus were:

- ❖ Quality education
- ❖ Health and well-being
- ❖ Enabling environments
- ❖ Building the evidence base (UNESCO 2019a).

In Mali, 2.500 students were benefitted from sanitation facilities and water access while 1.500 dropout females finished vocational trainings in Nepal and 13.000 girls and boys were aided with gender-responsive curriculum, entrepreneurship, digital and life skills training (UNESCO 2019a). A call for a mid-term evaluation of the programme was posted by UNESCO in September 2019 on the UN Global Marketplace site<sup>11</sup> and European Evaluation Society site<sup>12</sup>.

Furthermore, the UNESCO Malala Fund for Girls' Right to Education was introduced in 2012, funded by the Republic of Pakistan the home country of Malala Yousafzai, the female teenage activist for girls' education who survived an assassination attempt from Taliban the same year (UNESCO 2017b). The main objectives of the Fund were to:

- ❖ Expand access to education for girls and women
- ❖ Improve the quality and relevance of education
- ❖ Strengthen policy and capacity to ensure safe learning environments (UNESCO 2017d).

The Fund can be considered as the most fruitful because of the number of projects implemented under its mandate. The web page of the UNESCO Malala Fund refers to eleven projects targeting African and Asian countries some of which are indeed innovative like the "Educational and Social Development of Garment Factory Workers" programme in Cambodia. This programme is currently building literacy skills for women garment workers and thus enables them to realize their fundamental rights and consequently contributes to their empowerment (UNESCO Institute for Lifelong Learning 2018).

The "Girls' Right to Education Programme in Pakistan" is another example of success in girls' educational programmes. The project was initiated in 2014 with the purpose of improving school facilities, the quality of primary education, and providing capacity-building to teachers and community members (UNESCO Office Islamabad 2018). Additional projects have been implemented in Egypt, Guatemala, Mauritania, Mozambique, Nepal, Nigeria, Tanzania, and Viet Nam and have helped a considerable

---

<sup>11</sup> <https://www.ungm.org/Public/Notice/96596>, accessed on 23/10/19.

<sup>12</sup> <http://europeanevaluation.org/>

number of girls with an emphasis on rural and remote areas and regions affected by conflicts and disasters.

According to IOS (2017), the funding for the Malala Fund was \$11.5 million, a figure that shows the commitment behind the project both from the government of Pakistan and from the private sector. Drawbacks were present in some specific countries for example in Viet Nam, where minorities, though identified in the respective document as the main gender equality beneficiaries, were not explicitly targeted (IOS Evaluation Office 2017a, 22).

The report evaluated only one project as gender-transformative while the majority were gender-sensitive and some gender-responsive (IOS Evaluation Office 2017a, 23). Although these results show adverse effects on gender equality, this could be due to the gender equality marker's inconsistency (IOS Evaluation Office 2017a, 23).

Another programme under the "Better Life Better Future" umbrella is the "UNESCO-HNA Partnership for Girls' and Women's Education" which was launched in 2015 with the signing of an initial agreement of \$5 million from HNA Group and Hainan Foundation in 2014 as stated by UNESCO (2014). The partnership had a five-year plan and targeted seven countries in Africa and Asia. As one of the three components of "Better Life, Better Future" the aims of the partnership were:

- ❖ The improvement of access with a specific focus on girls that are difficult to reach
- ❖ The improvement of relevance and quality of every level of education
- ❖ The establishment of a safe environment and the eradication of school-related gender-based violence (UNESCO Education Sector 2017, 2).

Two projects were implemented, the first in Ghana and Ethiopia and the second in Cambodia, Myanmar, Nepal, Sri Lanka, and Uzbekistan. In Ghana, more than 1550 girls were encouraged to follow STEM careers through the interaction with female role models, while in Ethiopia 5.000 teachers received training on gender lens and 7.000 girls were motivated to promote gender equality according to UNESCO ("Building Teachers' Capacity to Promote Gender Equality in Education" n.d.). The second project led to the gender assessment in teacher education systems in five countries which in turn produced tailored findings and recommendations for each one in order to address and deal with gender inequality issues ("Building Teachers' Capacity to Promote Gender Equality in Education" n.d.).

IOS (2017) based on the SISTER marker evaluated the first project as gender-responsive whereas the second as gender-sensitive. Again the flaws of the marker could influence the results and render them precarious (IOS Evaluation Office 2017a, 23). Nevertheless, the "Better Life, Better Future" initiative can be considered as a big step towards girl's empowerment in education because it addressed the principal causes of the inequalities that women face in education and approached education as

an explicit contributor to gender equality and women's promotion capable of changing the policy framework (IOS Evaluation Office 2017b).

#### 4.2.4 Global Guidance for addressing school-related gender-based violence

The Global Guidance for addressing school-related gender-based violence (SRGBV) is a publication, released by UNESCO in partnership with UN Women, which provides consulting on both the prevention and respond to such situations. The document targets primarily ministries of education but can be also utilized by relevant stakeholders such as teachers, policy-makers, practitioners, and civil society (Unesco and UN Women 2016). Its priority is to raise awareness on the issue and highlight its implications on young girls and their educational progression. Finally, it was designed in order to incorporate SRGBV to national action plans and policies and direct governments' attention to the severity of the matter.

The Guidance covers a wide range of recommendations on the issue at hand while it presents case studies and real-life implementation of practices. It specifically encompasses six thematic chapters with regard to practical actions towards SRGBV, which are:

- Leadership: Laws, policies and educational reform
- Environment: Ensuring schools are safe and supportive
- Prevention: Curriculum, teaching and training
- Responses: In and around school
- Partnership: Collaborating with and engaging key stakeholders
- Evidence: Monitoring and evaluation of SRGBV (Unesco and UN Women 2016)

Although there is no sufficient evidence regarding its utilization apart from its initial employment in training workshops in Zambia and China (UNESCO Executive Board 2016), the Guidance constitutes a significant effort of identifying SRGBV as a major female barrier to education and the need to integrate it in regular policy-making. Indeed SRGBV is rarely mentioned in governmental and ministerial agendas in spite of UNGEI's contention that "data indicate that children and teachers experience a high degree of physical, sexual, and emotional abuse within the school environment" (2018). For that reason, the current guidance is considered essential for girls' empowerment in education and more specifically daily school life. However, strong commitments from member states are required to realize the eradication of SRGBV and therefore international organizations need to act in concert with national governments, in order to produce concrete results.

#### 4.2.5 O3 Programme

"Our Rights, our Lives, our Future", also known as the O3 programme, is an initiative specialized in the region of sub-Saharan Africa regarding comprehensive sexuality education (CSE) that targets young and adolescent individuals. The programme was launched in 2018, supported by Sweden and Ireland, in collaboration with other UN

bodies and national governments with the aim to reach 30 million young people from 31 countries (UNESCO Office in Dakar 2019). Its main objectives pertain mainly to reproductive health and include the reduction of:

- ❖ New HIV infections
- ❖ Early and unintended pregnancies
- ❖ Gender-based violence
- ❖ Child marriage (UNESCO 2018b; Shawa 2018)

These goals will be achieved through CSE which can result in responsible decisions concerning sexual health, consent and contraception. By the same token, their attainment can ensure greater female participation at all educational levels because they can break significant barriers in girls' access to education such as adolescent pregnancy, sexually transmitted infections and child marriage, issues that continue to be present. Additionally, these aims will contribute to SDG 3, 4, 5 and 16 which pertain to good health and well-being, quality education, gender equality and peace, justice and strong institutions respectively. In this way, the O3 programme contributes significantly to the 2030 Agenda.

According to UNESCO's office in Nigeria (2019), the programme was incorporated in the national prevention response to HIV and has reached, since its launch, 400 policymakers in the country. Similarly, the programme has improved access to CSE for two million young people (UNESCO 2019c, 11; 2019b).

In spite of the scarce reporting on the programme, O3 is considered as highly relevant and specific due to the targeting of the sub-Saharan region, where these matters persevere and create impediments to young girls' education and overall life.

#### 4.2.6 Women and football #ChangeTheGame Debate

In the light of the FIFA Women's World Cup in the summer of 2019, UNESCO hosted a debate on women and football that featured eminent female football players such as Nadia Nadim and Candice Prévost as well as professionals in the sports industry. The world-renowned athletes referred to sports as a means of advancing gender equality and diversity.

Due to the recent feminization of football and the subsequent need to call attention to disparities and discrimination in the field of sports an ongoing public debate on women and football has emerged (Mintert and Pfister 2015; Pope 2017). Accordingly, UNESCO led the way towards inclusive sports and physical education, including male-dominated sports such as football and basketball with "Football for Schools Partnership" among UNESCO, UN World Food Programme, and FIFA, signed in 2019 in Davos (FIFA 2019).

The Women and football #ChangeTheGame Debate addressed several obstacles faced by female athletes and gave the opportunity to women in football and sports industry to emphasize on the persisting issues of sexism and the glass ceiling. The report "When

football rhymes with women” (available in French), which concerns the changing of the existing norms in football, was also presented in the event.

As Ruzic (2019) pointed out, gender inequality is related but not limited to “discrimination, sexism, limited resources, under-representation in the leadership of sports organizations, lack of recognition of professional status, the glass ceiling, and substantial pay gaps”. Moreover, the field of sports is usually neglected in regard to gender equality, due to the prevalence of gender-related stereotypes. Therefore, the scarcity of work relating to sports and women renders such events critically important because they shed light to the least addressed problems and initiate a public debate on media and social media, which in turn can create opportunities for women and girls to break the barriers present in the field of sports.

Nevertheless, the feminization of football and other male-dominated sports should be approached with skepticism because it might perceive females merely as a meta-subject of an emerging market of profit.

#### 4.2.7 You Are Next Initiative

“You Are Next: Empowering Creative Women” UNESCO-Sabrina Ho initiative was launched in February 2018 with an initial contribution of \$1.5 million from Sabrina Ho and the aim of narrowing the gender gap in the sector of culture (UNESCO 2018a). Female’s work remains marginalized due to the underrepresentation of women in the field of digital culture and their low digital literacy (UNESCO 2017a). In this context, “You Are Next” initiative was created to assist females, under the age of 40 from developing countries, to support their projects by providing them access to funding, equipment and production opportunities. Furthermore, it supports national strategies that address gender equality in the cultural sector (UNESCO n.d.).

The initiative is part of the International Fund for Cultural Diversity and according to its call for applications supports projects that:

- ❖ Develop and/or implement strategies that invest in women as entrepreneurs working in the digital creative industries;
- ❖ Create networks and opportunities to innovate and collaborate for women under 40 working in the digital creative industries;
- ❖ Organize female-led creative mentorship programmes for women under 40 in partnership with digital creative hubs, incubators and clusters;
- ❖ Give visibility to the work and innovations of women entrepreneurs under 40 working in the digital creative industries;
- ❖ Strengthen the digital skills of women under 40 working in the creative industries;
- ❖ Collect and analyze sex-disaggregated data with a view to better understand the underlying causes of gender inequality in the digital creative industries

with a view to inform policy-making (UNESCO Diversity of Cultural Expressions 2018).

Four new projects have been awarded under the programme in Mexico, Palestine, Senegal, and Tajikistan and are currently featured on its website. Each project addresses the main obstacles faced by women in the respective country and summarizes the expected outcomes of the project's agenda.

The initiative might be one of small-scale but its impact is of great significance because it advances women's empowerment in regions that females face large disparities and are less likely to acquire support, either state-based or from the private sector. In this way, female artists from the Global South have the opportunity to be funded and supported in their artwork and encourage fellow females to further their efforts in creative industries.

#### 4.2.8 Girls Can Code Project

Under UNESCO's Information for All programme "Girls Can Code" was launched in early 2018 in Ghana to empower women and girls through ICT. The project aims at empowering girls as critical thinkers and innovative developers of technologies via training programmes and capacity-building. Its target is 300 girls aged 11-14 years old and 20 teachers from ten high-schools. The main objectives of the project include the following:

- Develop the interest of young girls in the field of ICT
- Increase the desire of young girls to pick up career in the field of ICT
- Equip young girls with skills to develop applications to solve their day to day challenges
- Develop mobile applications with capacity to solve local challenges
- Develop Entrepreneurial skills in young girls (Girls Can Code 2018).

In the project's website, there are several testimonials from young beneficiaries of the training programmes but, as yet, there are no reports on the project's effectiveness and results. Nevertheless, it is evident that it can have a great impact on Ghana's society and youth in terms of both development and gender equality and women's empowerment.

#### 4.2.9 Edit-a-Thon #Wiki4Women

"Edit a Thon" is a campaign launched in 2018, in collaboration with Sweden, in the context of International Women's Day. On the occasion of celebrating Women's Day, Director-General addressed the wide gender gap in biographies featured in the free online encyclopedia Wikipedia and stressed the need to narrow it. For this purpose, "Edit-a-thon" was introduced as a measure supported by volunteers.

The main objective of the campaign was to raise awareness of the matter of invisible digital gender inequality and "symbolic violence" and according to the report of the

Director-General (2019), the campaign increased the number of female biographies that relate to the organization's mandate.

In 2019 the campaign's second edition was named #Wiki4Women to invite individuals to edit, enrich, create, or translate female Wikipedia profiles. The campaign features its own Wikimedia page, where relevant information can be drawn along with several options of engagement.

The representation of women on the internet remains low despite their contribution to science, technology, and arts. For that reason, the intervention is deemed necessary in order to promote the cause via social media. The involvement of social media in UNESCO's campaigns proves its internal modernization and enhance its relevance by allowing the reach of a wide-range audience (UNESCO Director-General 2019).

### 4.3 Case study 3: IMF

#### 4.3.1 Policy Analysis

The IMF has been actively involved in the advancement of gender equality since the appointment of Christine Lagarde. Her designation as Executive-Director signified the redirection of the analytical work towards gender equality and women's inclusion in the workplace. Accordingly, the central findings that proceed from this work and their subsequent implications for women's promotion will be scrutinized.

The Fund has been engaged in observing member countries, analyzing data when available, and measuring important indicators related to women, in order to provide assistance to the elimination of gender inequality, considering that research and analytical work are of great importance in ascertaining the issue's magnitude, structure and causes.

To begin with, the initial findings of the IMF's analytical work revealed that greater female inclusion has many economic gains. Studies in this regard (Jain-Chandra et al. 2018; Lagarde and Ostry 2018; Ostry et al. 2018; Revenga and Shetty 2012) have shown that when women participate in the workforce productivity increases because females bring different skills, ideas and attitudes in the labour force. This, in turn, leads to the balance of contrary opinions and methods indicating that males and females are complementary in production (Ostry et al. 2018). Consequently, female labour force participation is considered as the major objective and the most featured issue pertaining to women, for the institution.

Ostry et al. (2018) observed, that "progress in reducing gender gaps has been slower in initially more gender-equal countries. No advanced economy or middle-income country has reduced the gender gap [...] below 7 percentage points." (p. 8). These findings introduce a discourse about female participation in the workforce, its possible constraints and solutions.

Stotsky et al. (2016) discovered that female labour force participation in the regions of the Middle East and Central Asia is the lowest globally. Women, particularly in the



MENA region<sup>13</sup>, are faced with various obstacles when accessing the workforce. Constraints include large wage gaps, discriminating tax systems, unaffordable childcare, lack of funding, and cultural-societal legal obstacles such as the required permission of the husband or another male relative to enter the workforce. All of the above appear to have negative effects on these countries' economies. As Mitra (cited in IMF 2013) found, MENA countries could have had a profit of 1\$ trillion in cumulative output "equivalent to doubling average real GDP growth during the past decade" (p. 29) if they increased female labour force participation.

Africa appears to be equally affected by low female labour force participation with women being mostly concentrated in the informal sector and agriculture (Stotsky et al. 2016). Such findings contribute to the resolution of gender inequality by addressing the problem appropriately, instead of reproducing the predominant vague discourses about the low-income countries. In addition, they can help classify women's issues and their proposed solutions according to region, income and other meaningful divisions.

The main cause of low female labour force participation is evidently legal restrictions. In 104 countries there are laws excluding females from particular jobs, 59 countries have no laws against sexual harassment at the workplace (Ostry et al. 2018), and in 18 countries husbands are legally permitted to prevent their wives from working, as stated by the World Bank (cited in IMF Staff 2018).

Furthermore, women face restrictions regarding entrepreneurship such as "shorter maturity of loans and higher interest rates than men" as Dabla-Norris and Kochhar (2019, 10) underlined. The emerging technological sector in developing countries could be further utilized since by ensuring women's access to the internet, more entrepreneurial opportunities are created for them. Today there are 250 million fewer women online than men according to the IMF (2019) which is, undeniably, a troubling fact in terms of accessibility to digital technology.

Jain-Chandra et al. (2018), analyzing data from 100 countries between 1980 and 2004, pointed out that improvements in infrastructure, better legislation, lower adolescent fertility along with small marriage age gap correlate with higher female labour force participation (p. 5), while, on the other hand, evidence suggests that corruption poses a risk factor on female labour force participation (Jain-Chandra et al. 2018). Other findings indicate the increase of childcare funding as a possible solution to low female labour force participation by slightly increasing government expenditure on preprimary education (IMF 2019b, 22).

An additional tool that enhances labour force participation for women is a new flexible work agreement which can allow females to better manage their time between workplace and home. Moreover, public-funded parental leaves could be utilized to provide safety and consequently balance the motherhood penalty and the fatherhood

---

<sup>13</sup> The term MENAP includes Afghanistan and Pakistan).

bonus whereby mothers are perceived as unsuitable employees but fathers, on the contrary, are more likely to be hired and even raise their salary (Hodges and Budig 2010). Tax reform is able to end discrimination against women while the replacing of family with individual taxation can boost economy given the fact that the female labour supply is more responsive to taxes than the male one (Fabrizio, Kolovich, and Newiak 2018).

Gender-related disparities in wages constitute another significant factor of inequality. Women earn universally 63% less than men, whilst they tend to spend more time in unpaid labour such as childcare, elderly care and household chores (IMF 2019b). The Fund's discoveries agree, hence, with the international standard of girls' and women's disproportionate engagement in care work, which leaves them less leisure time, comparing to men, to participate in any other professional or social activity. Therefore, even when women do participate in the workforce they are more likely to be found in part-time, low paid or informal jobs, a finding which correlates with inadequate expenditures on infrastructure and childcare services (Jain-Chandra et al. 2018). Such conclusions are quite valuable because they can create a new framework of policies, in relation to the promotion of women's rights across the world, especially in low-income countries and in regions where women's rights are mostly violated.

Regarding educational disparities, policies that can narrow the gender gap in education have been identified and thus, new policies are being proposed by the IMF. The interesting and thorough data analysis of Jain-Chandra et al. (2018) discovered that in low-income and developing countries an increase in public spending on education along with better infrastructure, in particular, water supply and sanitation facilities, play a key part on narrowing the gender gap (p.5, 13). In regions where there is insufficient water supply women are accountable for carrying water to the family, a process that consumes a large amount of their time, particularly in rural areas. Thus female individuals are less likely to attend school in the face of survival issues (Bretton Woods Project 2017; Jain-Chandra et al. 2018). Such research can create new policy areas for the Fund and further its work on women's empowerment.

Political stability is yet another factor correlated with narrower gender gaps in education, by generating an environment of safety for girls (Jain-Chandra et al. 2018; Fabrizio, Kolovich, and Newiak 2018), though IMF's presence is often perceived as a destabilizing factor (Sachs 2003). Utilizing these data, the institution is capable of assisting the lending countries through expenditure allocation that can foster women's participation in education and labour market.

Apart from the analytical work, the IMF has engaged in the promotion of women's interests by providing advice to member states under its Article IV of Agreement. Once research data are displaying strong evidence, IMF staff proceeds to the production of reports that propose new policies along with reforms and adjustments on existing ones and forwards them for consideration to the Executive Board. However, these reports do not guarantee the proposed adoption of the proposed policies, but rather ensure that they will be taken into account. This process allows a constant

reevaluation of the institution's policies and operations and the formation of newly discovered areas of expertise. In this way, the Fund consistently remains a prominent shaper of international financial norms.

More specifically, in a report (2018) prior to the Meeting of G7 Ministers and Central Bank Governors in 2018, IMF staff emphasized that women's economic empowerment is a financial and social imperative, due to its enormous effects on economic development and diversification, gender equality, financial stability and the fostering of the SDGs. It consequently recommended that analysis about gender should be incorporated in the institution's policy dialogue with its member countries, in the provision of support via workshops for gender-specific policies as well as in the cooperation with other international organizations (Fabrizio, Kolovich, and Newiak 2018).

The aforementioned measures could deliver various beneficial results in lending countries considering that states in the face of economic difficulties experience difficulties in encompassing social matters as women's rights and gender equality in their policy agendas. Nevertheless, if these matters formed a part of the agreement between member countries and the Fund, they would be more likely to be on the spotlight of policy-making and implementation. Furthermore, information regarding the adoption and implementation of gender-specific policies along with knowledge on women's issues could be essential in developing countries and regions such as Africa, the Middle East and South Asia, where there is no familiarity with women's rights and interests.

However, the most significant tool for the promotion of women's interests by the institution is the operationalizing of the proposed policies, mentioned above, in country work. In other words, the cooperation with ministries and other authorities for the preparation and surveillance of the implementation of such policies. Training courses, workshops, policy recommendations and collaboration with other international organizations, for instance UN Women, and with ministries of finance can enable the production of concrete improvements on the country-level. For this reason, member states are constantly receiving guidelines on the application of gender policies.

The IMF's work on gender equality, heretofore, has been proven constructive with 60 countries displaying the positive impact of the Fund's policies on women's economic empowerment while evidence is stronger regarding female inclusion in the labour force and financial activities (Christiansen et al. 2018; Lagarde and Ostry 2018). Furthermore, the institution has provided technical assistance in Bahrain, Cambodia and Ukraine concerning gender-budgeting, a significant policy that incorporates gender in "laws, regulations, and practices that govern the budget", allocates expenditure to that end and assesses the results (Christiansen et al. 2018)

What is more, a toolkit for ministries, authorities, civil organizations, and academics with easy to use graphs about important indicators of gender inequality was

introduced in 2018 by the institution (Fabrizio, Kolovich, and Newiak 2018). Such progress constitutes a great step towards women empowerment, taking into account that in several developing countries there is no framework for gender issues, let alone the grading of macro-critical gender-related policies. Accordingly, this toolkit is a substantial system for the identification and application of gender-based strategies.

In addition, the IMF has funded a number of programmes crucial for gender equality, for example, the programme in Egypt which is investing in public nurseries, the programme in Niger which contains the precondition of creating a gender development plan, and the programme in Jordan which will adopt measures to decrease childcare expenses (Bretton Woods Project 2017).

Finally, the Fund has recently underlined the importance of other factors, such as cultural and religious standards, local context and the views of authorities on gender-specific policies. Issues relating to these factors should be taken into consideration when recommending gender policies (Fabrizio, Kolovich, and Newiak 2018; Christiansen et al. 2018).

The institution has utilized many of its resources to address the positive effects of women inclusion. It has produced a large number of publications concerning gender inequality, indicators and possible policies to reduce gender-based gaps. Additionally, it provides valuable advice on gender equality particularly to lending countries alongside guidelines on policy selection and implementation. Finally, it incorporates gender equality as part of its agenda and finances programmes for the advancement of gender equality.

#### 4.3.2 Drawbacks

Over the last few years, the IMF has had a leading strategic role as an advocate of women's empowerment in terms of economic growth and development. Though appealingly manifested, the reasoning behind the consideration of women's issues by international financial institutions and high profile businesses may be yet another way of objectifying women for the sake of economic consistency. Consequently, a closer look at the Fund's procedures is deemed necessary.

To begin with, international financial institutions, including the Fund, are predisposed to choose bailout over long term prosperity, due to the process of conditionality. Prerequisites usually include internal fiscal reforms referred to as Structural Adjustment Programmes (SAPs). These programmes are employed to secure "that the country will be able to repay the IMF" (IMF 2019a) and therefore constitute a fundamental component of the institution's policy.

Back in the late 1970s the economic model made a shift from Keynesianism to neoliberalism<sup>14</sup>. The Keynesian model, as the economist Thomas Palley (2005) notes, endorses macroeconomic theories that maintain "that the level of economic activity

---

<sup>14</sup> This paper examines neoliberalism as merely an economic system and does not refer to its political aspects.

is determined by the level of aggregate demand" (p.20). These theories believe in occasional weaknesses in capitalist economies, which, if they are strong enough, they could produce depressions such as the Great one. The Keynesian model takes into consideration factors like institutions, bargaining power, labour and trade unions, laws regarding minimum wages, workers' rights, systems of social protection, and finally, public understandings of the economy in order to explain income distribution (Palley 2005). On the other hand, neoliberalism recognizes the market as the sole factor of the income distribution while the need for social protection institutions and trade and labour unions diminishes in the neoliberal model. Therefore, open markets and the rejection of state protectionism are fundamental components of the neoliberal economy (Bretton Woods Project 2017; Ibnouf 2008; Palley 2005).

The IMF was one of the first institutions along with the World Bank to adopt this economic model and integrated it into its policies. This resulted in a neoliberal response to the Third World debt crisis through the implementation of SAPs. These programmes consist of fiscal regulation, reallocation of public expenditures, tax reform, privatization, trade liberalization, deregulation, secured property rights and the liberalization of foreign direct investments (FDI) (Williamson 1990). The implementation of such policies induces the trivialization of basic needs and rights in the face of financial crises with the aim of satisfying IMF conditionality and subsequently obtain funding. Looking back to sub-Saharan states in the 1980s can provide some strong evidence of the aforementioned argument.

SAPs had an adverse impact on sub-Saharan Africa, especially on the female population which was dependent on agriculture and were subsequently criticized by the United Nations Economic Commission for Africa (ECA) because they lacked flexibility and long term strategies (Ibnouf 2008). Furthermore, the response of the IMF to in-debt African states was identical despite significant disparities in national, economic and cultural norms.

To elaborate, SAPs operate mostly at the expense of the public sector, which results in public expenditures reallocation from subsidies and sectors like health and education to solely sectors relating to economic growth. Consequently, sectors like education and health become privatized. For example, the user fee system launched in the 1980s in sub-Saharan Africa included student fees without taking into consideration vulnerable individuals like girls and poor students (Ibnouf 2008, 32). Public spending cuts can reduce the state's capacity for caregiving and thus transfer this burden to females as primal nurturers.

Women were also negatively affected regarding food security, namely the access to sufficient and acceptable food. Bearing in mind that agriculture is the principal economic occupation of the region, it is evident that public spending cuts can adversely affect agriculture by reducing the number of subsidies to small farmers and redistribute funding to merchandized multinational agriculture companies (Ibnouf 2008). Finally, women in the sub-Saharan region suffered the effects of SAPs in terms

of maternal mortality, as discovered in a research by Pandolfelli, Shandra, and Tyagi (2014).

The international financial institutions realized that SAPs were creating rather than solving the problems of developing countries and thus developed "second-generation reforms" or "the Washington Consensus Plus" (Stiglitz 2007), a similar framework of free-market policies with the participation of social projects, namely gender equality, poverty alleviation and equity. Accordingly, the Fund emerged as a bearer of not only financial but also social change through the usage of language, which was modified to fit the contemporary discourse of the organization. More specifically, despite Lagarde's claims that the institution does not do structural adjustment programmes anymore, evidence display that the liberalization of the markets over state protectionism has been sustained (Kentikelenis, Stubbs, and King 2016).

Macroeconomic policies promoted by the IMF are usually accompanied by a series of compulsory reductions of public expenditures and austerity measures which often lead to the ineffectiveness of social services. Hence, women become more vulnerable in situations of economic crises because they tend to rely more on such services. Reducing public expenses on healthcare, for example, puts additional economic difficulties on households and females because they absorb the extra work on nurturing for the ill increasing their unpaid work and diminishing their time.

The uppermost implications of the Fund's current macroeconomic approach lie in the very sector it wishes to enhance more, female labour force participation. In spite of its analytical work, the institution does not actually take into account women's unbalanced responsibilities in the household such as childcare, elderly care and water supply. Instead, it favors the so-called "add women and stir approach" (Bretton Woods Project 2017, 14), which is based on simply adding more women to the workforce. Moreover, IMF findings (Ostry et al. 2018) support that while for middle-income countries female labour force participation was 49% in 2014, for the low-income countries it was 64%. However, these figures should not be surprising because the nature of the jobs women are employed is unidentified, rendering such findings misleading with regard to the quality of jobs and subsequently the wellbeing of women in developing nations.

FDIs constitute yet another factor of great disparities. In an effort to attract international investments the IMF requires governments to make labour laws more flexible -that is to make labour able to respond in changes in market conditions, including demand and wage rate- leading to cheap female labour (Ibnouf 2008). More often than not, the attraction of FDIs results in the "race to the bottom" for developing countries, a process whereby poor states compete with one another by offering labour, pollution rights, resources and so on for far less than their real value.

Furthermore, flexibilization policies, another component of the Fund's conditionality, which was used in European countries, notably Greece, Ireland and Spain (ITUC 2013) as a method of restarting the economy, usually erode labour rights and undermine

the involvement of unions over the liberalization of the markets. For example, they make flexible the process of recruitment and layoff for the sake of demand changes thus, leading to more job losses and more people into the informal sector (Bretton Woods Project 2017). In addition, a transfer of power from the state and labour unions to the market itself leaves no room for bargaining about rights and wages (Detraz and Peksen 2016) which, in turn, leads to the devaluation of employment, especially for women. In such situations, women are less willing to engage in the formal sector if their revenue will not suffice.

Privatization can create greater gender inequalities for women because, as Detraz and Peksen (2016) discovered, the state becomes less involved in the protection of women's economic rights since it has no authority over private companies.

IMF's austerity measures can contribute to women's disempowerment with the case of Brazil being the most notable. Brazil amended its constitution in 2016, in order to freeze federal public spending over the next two decades in an attempt to resolve a severe financial crisis. However, in spite of Lagarde's call for stronger safety nets and better access to healthcare, education and infrastructure the fiscal policies and austerity measures implemented, had displayed negative results. As Kate Donald and Nicholas Lusiani (2017) revealed, the case of Brazil demonstrates the dissociation between the IMF's analytical work on women and IMF policy advice in times of crisis. Here, the Fund country team preferred to concentrate on the "unsustainable expenditure mandates, including in the social security system" and advised the government to "remove the obligation to dedicate an increasing share of net federal revenues to spending in education and health" (IMF 2016c). These strategies led to the reduction of the budget in education and healthcare by 19 and 17 percentage points respectively while the budget for violence against women dropped by 52 percent (Bretton Woods Project 2017), therefore validating the assumption that international financial institutions' focus on women's issues occurs solely in accordance with their targets.

Finally, some researchers (Dreher and Gassebner 2012; Dreher and Walter 2010 as cited in Detraz and Peksen 2016) have found that SAPs result in currency crises thus undermining their primary objectives for economic growth and global financial stability as well as the government's authority to rule. Such circumstances create a precarious environment of political turmoil and social unrest which in turn creates more space for violence, often directed to females.

A second drawback pertains to the so-called "Girl Effect", the idea that considers young women as the means to economic development and the solution to much more complex issues, such as global poverty, through the investment in young females' education, skills and labour. However, the endorsement of this discourse by international financial institutions and companies relocates the responsibility that they bear.

IMF's recent engagement in the promotion of women and particularly, in developing countries has emerged as part of the "capability approach". This economic theory is focused on the moral significance of individual capabilities that can lead to the achievement of personal welfare. The theory was first articulated by the economist and philosopher Amartya Sen and it is associated with the policy debate on human development, while it was the source of inspiration for the UN Human Development Index (Wells 2012). In this context, international financial institutions attempt to gain influence by incorporating social programmes in their agenda, including gender equality and women's empowerment.

Some scholars (Hickel 2014; Boyd 2016; Chant 2016) argue, that the preoccupation of international organizations and colossal corporations with social inequalities has an adverse impact on gender equality and women's advancement. Asian Peoples' Movement on Debt and Development (APMDD) (cited in Bretton Woods Project 2017) took a tougher stance stating that it sees the "belated pronouncements coming from the IMF on gender equality [...] as part of efforts to prove the Fund's relevance at a time when its economic growth models have led to sharp inequalities, enduring extreme poverty, precariousness and uncertainty" (p. 16). These interpretations of IMF's gender-related policies may be radical but they add valuable insights on the institution's gender approaches.

The neoliberal discourse regarding women's empowerment is based upon the same outdated customs that purports it wishes to resolve. Feminine traits like altruism, virtue and vulnerability are regularly mentioned to promote the underutilized potential of young girls (Chant 2016; Hickel 2014). However, the discourse for women's economic advancement usually presents contradictory portrayals of females as both victims and fundamental actors of economic growth. These contradictions lead to false preconceptions about their role in society and perpetuate gender norms.

For example, if women in the emerging markets constitute the main victims of poverty and can change their financial situation through their participation in capacity-building programmes, sponsored by international and financial institutions, then, by the same token, women are incapable of achieving their own empowerment without external assistance, an antifeminist stance. In addition, such claims presuppose that all women aim for the neoliberal-western-financial kind of economic emancipation without taking into consideration dissimilar aspirations. Besides, not all women in Africa or the Middle East desire to experience feminism in the same context as western society.

What is more, the rights and opportunities of women in the Global South are not considered worthy and meaningful in and of themselves. Instead, their validity is vindicated by economic growth, corporate interest, financial consequences and macro-criticality (Cornwall and Rivas 2015; Hickel 2014; Ibnouf 2008). Consequently, economic utilitarianism constitutes the sole framework for women's empowerment.

Whilst women's equal participation in the economy, access to healthcare, legal and reproductive rights are frequently exhibited in the IMF working papers, they are



usually referred to as indicators of economic activity that must “be consistent with its mandate and area of expertise” (Fabrizio, Kolovich, and Newiak 2018, 16). Nevertheless, consistency may simply imply to stay inside the boundaries of financial matters, thus marginalizing key female issues.

Overall, the recent idea of investing in girls to achieve economic growth and reduce poverty in the emerging countries requires the abolition of traditional social norms relating to cultural, religious and familial paradigms. However, the challenging of social norms in the name of an alleged promotion of females could easily become a justification for interventions and reposition the responsibility of global poverty from economic policies to individuals. The latter relates to the ‘feminization of poverty’, the phenomenon of disproportionate representation of women in the percentage of the world's poor (Chant 2006). Accordingly, the responsibility of alleviating poverty is shifted from governments, ministries, political figures and international factors to females thus successfully excusing or alienating males and political factors from this effort (Chant 2016).

Moreover, the “Girl Effect” discourse demonstrates disguised colonial concepts about civil enlightenment and salvation and draws a distinction between the interpretation of girls in the Global North and the Global South by juxtaposing the liberated, empowered girl with the poor and oppressed victim of patriarchy (Koffman and Gill 2013). These notions are hazardous for the current political setting and, particularly, democracy and women in the developing world.

Last but not least, the notion that women’s empowerment is the answer to poverty in the Global South overlooks historical, social, political, religious, and environmental factors along with the presence of international organizations and the overall trends in the spectrum of international relations that caused this problem.

Another major drawback in the context of the IMF’s policy for gender equality is the usage of language. More often than not, the proclamations of the Fund and Lagarde herself are accompanied by financial imperatives and economic targets of greater development and growth. Therefore, women’s issues are not considered as substantial objectives per se but they are rather presented as the tools of the global economy.

The institution has explicitly noted the necessity of women’s advancement and for the past decade has produced a large number of publications relating to gender equality and women’s inclusion. Throughout this extensive analytical work, several attempts to elaborate on this necessity of female inclusion have been made by citing its macro-criticality. For instance Sahay and Cihak (2018) claim that, while financial inclusion is in itself a significant aim, it “has generally positive macroeconomic outcomes as well” (p. 5), while Christiansen et al. (2018) plainly stated that “where gender issues are not considered macro-critical<sup>15</sup>, coverage is not expected” (p. 4). As a consequence,

---

<sup>15</sup> An issue is macro-critical if it affects, or has the potential to affect, domestic or external stability (IMF 2015b)

agreements between the IMF and borrowing countries integrate gender equality issues in conditionality and policy implementing only when they are macro-critical.

Apropos the Fund's terminology use, the words "gender", "women" and "females" are referred to in an impetuous way and merely with regard to the MDGs and SDGs between 1999 and 2014 according to an inspection of publically available Article IV staff reports from the Bretton Woods Project and the ActionAid (cited in Bretton Woods Project 2017).

A final obstacle for the IMF's promotion of women relates to institutional barriers experienced by the Managing-Director. The Fund is an international organization with member states that have a respective appointed Governor. The Board of Governors is the highest board in rank in the decision-making process but it has designated many of its powers to the Executive Board which engages daily in the institution's work (Buirra and Ocampo 2012). Member countries have votes based on quotas, which classify their share of power in the organization (Rakic 2019). Therefore, the Managing Director is limited by the power of other bodies of governance with which she is obliged to cooperate, in order to ensure the appropriate function of the institution, and has no direct authority herself in the policy-making process nor is she entitled to pursue her own agenda.

The governance of the institution can, hence, lead to the demotion of personal goals and aspirations. In this context, Lagarde holds the ability to encourage female inclusion in the workforce and support their best interests but she is not able to adopt or implement policies. For example, the inadequacy to bring more females to the Executive Board, where there was only one female among 24 executive directors in 2016 (IMF 2016a) is owed, partially, to the fact that executive directors are elected by member countries.

#### 4.4 Discussion

Drawing on the aforementioned findings, this research contains that overall, female leadership in international institutions correlates with the promotion of women's group interests, thus, validating the research hypothesis. All five female leaders, that were examined, displayed positive results regarding women's empowerment and the resolution of severe gender disparities through advocacy and policy implementation. However, there are some issues for further analysis.

To begin with, regarding the first case study, UN Women constitutes an organization that is exclusively focused on the promotion of women and gender equality. Consequently, the findings of UN Women cannot be over-generalized due to the institution's nature. What is more, UN Women presented the most positive results in terms of active involvement through the implementation of plentiful programmes and initiatives, and advocacy in UN member states' governments. The current researcher believes that UN Women has the ability to evolve into the principal instrument of change relating to gender equality and women's issues.

Concerning UNESCO, there are mostly favorable results, however, the issue of politicization within the organization can create drawbacks to the implementation of its strategies, while it can also degrade the member states' confidence and therefore, deemphasize the agency's credibility. Furthermore, many of the programmes and policies investigated pertain to advocacy and awareness-raising, but these approaches, although productive, are not in and of themselves adequate to tackle the issue of gender inequality or more complex matters such as gender-based violence. For this reason, a more detailed and vigorous policy agenda should be adopted in order to address the issue of gender inequality.

With regard to the IMF, the findings display solely analytical work on women's empowerment while several impediments relating to institutional governance and mandate challenge the incorporation of gender equality in the institution's policy. Against this background, and despite Lagarde's promising declarations, the Fund's case does not strongly correlate with the promotion of women's group interests but rather gender equality becomes relevant as a means to the successful implementation of the institution's policies and the maintenance of global financial stability. Nevertheless, analytical work could be of great importance for policy-makers and relevant stakeholders, while the IMF's renown is likely to contribute to the dissemination of knowledge regarding women's inclusion and its impact on the economy.

## 5. Elaboration on the research questions, limitations of the study and suggestions for future research

The research hypothesis has been substantiated by the findings presented above which demonstrated a strong correlation between female leadership and the promotion of women's agenda in the context of international organizations. Consequently, an elaboration on the research questions is deemed necessary as well.

### 5.1 Revisiting the research questions

Apropos of the first question, there was found no interconnection between female leader's prior engagement in women's empowerment advocacy and the quality, and quantity of policies they undertook during their tenure. On the contrary, all the female leaders pursued policies relating to women's advancement and gender equality, regardless of their previous level of involvement. These findings seem to be in accordance with the present researcher's expectations.

Regarding the second question, overall positive results were produced. Most of the female leaders, investigated here, increased awareness on female-related social taboo issues like female genital mutilation, child marriage and rape. The only leader who did not make any reference to such matters was Christine Lagarde. However, her negligence can be attributed to the particular financial nature of her position.

Finally, positive results were yielded with regard to the third question. Again all the research subjects except for Christine Lagarde undertook gender-related specified

initiatives during their term of office. Lagarde's abstention derives from institutional barriers which prevent the generation of particular initiatives. In all other instances, leaders have proposed and introduced a substantial amount of gender-related initiatives that target both women and girls.

## 5.2 Limitations

Although the present study validated the research hypothesis, its limitations need to be identified.

First and foremost, the small-scale nature of the study constitutes the current dissertation's major drawback. This, however, could not be avoided due to the low female participation in executive positions within the context examined.

Another significant issue arises from the lack of updated web-based data sources regarding the UN. Could this obstacle have been overcome more light could have been shed on the issue, since both a greater number of policies could have been examined and more documents, fact-sheets, and data could have been retrieved. In addition, lack of access to certain classified documents, mostly pertaining to the IMF, further impeded an in-depth investigation.

A final concern relates to the fact that the findings of the present research could not be further supported by quantitative data as well. However, to the best of the present researcher's knowledge, numerical data regarding the issue at hand does not yet exist nor could they be easily composed in order to be of use.

## 5.3 Suggestions for further studies

This study has shown a positive correlation between female leadership and the promotion of women's interests in the context of international institutions. Nevertheless, the positive findings need to be further validated by future investigation in the field.

A first recommendation could refer to the need for mixed methods of investigative approaches, which would combine quantitative and qualitative data. Such research could provide a more holistic framework with greater breadth and depth of information.

It would also present great interest if future researchers attempted to analyze the issue under consideration within national contexts as well. In this way, a greater number of subjects could be examined, a significantly larger amount of documents could be accessed and, therefore, larger-scale research with generalizable findings could be realized. Moreover, in national politics, one encounters the essence of policy-making and thus, similar research could yield results that correlate the specificities of each country and the existent level of gender equality.

Finally, a comparative study between male and female leaders could provide explicit results on the promotion of gender equality and women's interests.



## Bibliography

- "About UN Women." n.d. UN Women. Accessed October 25, 2019.  
<https://www.unwomen.org/en/about-us/about-un-women>.
- ACWICT. 2018. "Intel® She Will Connect Celebrates 5 Million Women Reached." *African Centre for Women & Technology* (blog). October 31, 2018.  
<https://acwict.org/5-million-women-reached-in-africa-intel-she-will-connect-program-celebrates/>.
- Alexander, Deborah, and Kristi Andersen. 1993. "Gender as a Factor in the Attribution of Leadership Traits." *Political Research Quarterly* 46 (3): 527–45.  
<https://doi.org/10.1177/106591299304600305>.
- Anderson, Andrew. 2016. "French Government to Increase Cultural Spending | International Arts Manager." *International Arts Manager*, November 17, 2016. <http://www.internationalartsmanager.com/news/arts/french-government-to-increase-cultural-spending.html>.
- Bachelet, Michelle. 2012. "Michelle Bachelet Statement at 2012 First Regular Session of UN Women Executive Board." presented at the First Regular Session of UN Women Executive Board.  
<https://www.unwomen.org/news/stories/2012/1/michelle-bachelet-statement-at-2012-first-regular-session-of-un-women-executive-board>.
- Barnett, Michael N., and Martha Finnemore. 1999. "The Politics, Power, and Pathologies of International Organizations." *International Organization* 53 (4): 699–732. <https://doi.org/10.1162/002081899551048>.
- Barraza Vargas, Constanza. 2019. "Women in Command: The Impact of Female Leadership on International Organisations." *Global Society* 33 (4): 541–64.  
<https://doi.org/10.1080/13600826.2019.1642858>.
- Blondel, Jean. 1987. *Political Leadership Towards a General Analysis*. Sage Publications.
- Boyd, Ginger Ging-Dwan. 2016. "The Girl Effect: A Neoliberal Instrumentalization of Gender Equality." *Consilience: The Journal of Sustainable Development* 15 (1): 35.
- Bretton Woods Project. 2017. "The IMF and Gender Equality A Compendium of Feminist Macroeconomic Critiques." The Bretton Woods Project.
- "Building Teachers' Capacity to Promote Gender Equality in Education." n.d. UNESCO. Accessed October 23, 2019.  
<https://en.unesco.org/themes/education-and-gender-equality/hna-partnership>.
- Buira, Ariel, and José Antonio Ocampo. 2012. *Reforming the Governance of the IMF and the World Bank*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.  
<https://doi.org/10.7135/UPO9780857288189>.
- Chakrabarti, Oisika, and Sharon Grobeisen. 2013. "UN Women Launches First-Ever Database Mapping Gender Provisions in Constitutions Worldwide." UN Women. December 13, 2013.  
<https://www.unwomen.org/en/news/stories/2013/12/un-women-launches-first-ever-database-mapping-gender-provisions-in-constitutions-worldwide>.

- Chant, Sylvia. 2006. "Re-thinking the 'Feminization of Poverty' in Relation to Aggregate Gender Indices." *Journal of Human Development* 7 (2): 201–20. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14649880600768538>.
- . 2016. "Women, Girls and World Poverty: Empowerment, Equality or Essentialism?" *International Development Planning Review* 38 (1): 1–24. <https://doi.org/10.3828/idpr.2016.1>.
- Charlesworth, Hilary, and Christine Chinkin. 2013. "The Creation of UN Women." Australia: Australian National University.
- Christiansen, Lone, Anna Bordon, Mai Farid, Lisa Kolovich, Anna Ter-Martirosyan, and Monique Newiak. 2018. "How to Operationalize Gender Issues in Country Work." International Monetary Fund.
- Cornwall, Andrea, and Althea-Maria Rivas. 2015. "From 'Gender Equality and 'Women's Empowerment' to Global Justice: Reclaiming a Transformative Agenda for Gender and Development." *Third World Quarterly* 36 (2): 396–415. <https://doi.org/10.1080/01436597.2015.1013341>.
- Dabla-Norris, Era, and Kalpana Kochhar. 2019. "The Economic Benefits of Bringing More Women into the Labor Force Are Greater than Previously Thought," 6.
- Davis, Rebecca Howard. 1997. *Women and Power in Parliamentary Democracies Cabinet Appointments in Western Europe, 1968-1992*. University of Nebraska Press.
- Detraz, Nicole, and Dursun Peksen. 2016. "The Effect of IMF Programs on Women's Economic and Political Rights." *International Interactions* 42 (1): 81–105. <https://doi.org/10.1080/03050629.2015.1056343>.
- Diehl, Paul F., ed. 2005. *The Politics of Global Governance: International Organizations in an Interdependent World*. 3rd ed. Boulder, Colo: Lynne Rienner Publishers.
- Duerst-Lahti, Georgia. 1997. "Reconceiving Theories of Power: Consequences of Masculinism in the Executive Branch." In *The Other Elites : Women, Politics, and Power in the Executive Branch*. Lynne Rienner Publishers.
- "ECO/CONF./29." 1945. In . Institute of Civil Engineers, London.
- European Commission. 2012. "Press Release - New Partnership between EU and UN Women to Enhance Gender Equality Worldwide." European Commission. 2012. [https://europa.eu/rapid/press-release\\_IP-12-373\\_en.htm](https://europa.eu/rapid/press-release_IP-12-373_en.htm).
- Fabrizio, Stefania, Lisa Kolovich, and Monique Newiak. 2018. "Pursuing-Womens-Economic-Empowerment." International Monetary Fund.
- FIFA. 2019. "FIFA, UNESCO and the World Food Programme Agree Innovative Partnership." [www.fifa.com](http://www.fifa.com). January 24, 2019. <https://www.fifa.com/about-fifa/who-we-are/news/fifa-unesco-and-the-world-food-programme-agree-innovative-partnership>.
- Forss, Kim, Barbara Torggler, and Ekaterina Sediakina-Rivière,. 2013. "Review of UNESCO's Priority Gender Equality: Final Report; 2013 IOS/EVS/PI/125 REV.2." Internal Oversight Service, UNESCO.
- Ghittoni, Marta, Léa Lehouck, and Callum Watson. 2018. "Elsie Initiative for Women in Peace Operations: Baseline Study." Geneva: DCAF.
- Girls Can Code. 2018. "Girls Can Code Launch."
- Global Education Monitoring Report Team. 2014. *Teaching and Learning: Achieving Quality for All; EFA Global Monitoring Report, 2013-2014*. Paris: UNESCO.

- . 2015. "EFA Global Monitoring Report: Gender and EFA, Achievements and Challenges." Paris: UNESCO & UNGEI.
- Goethals, George R, Georgia Jones Sorenson, James MacGregor Burns, and Sage Publications. 2004. *Encyclopedia of Leadership*.
- Government of Canada. 2017. "The Elsie Initiative for Women in Peace Operations." JUSTIN TRUDEAU, PRIME MINISTER OF CANADA. November 15, 2017. <https://pm.gc.ca/en/news/backgrounders/2017/11/15/elsie-initiative-women-peace-operations>.
- Greshko, Michael. 2017. "U.S. to Withdraw From UNESCO. Here's What That Means." *National Geographic News*, October 12, 2017. <https://www.nationalgeographic.com/news/2017/10/united-states-us-withdraw-unesco-world-heritage-spd/>.
- Haack, Kirsten. 2014a. "Gaining Access to the 'World's Largest Men's Club': Women Leading UN Agencies." *Global Society* 28 (2): 217–40. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13600826.2014.887558>.
- . 2014b. "Breaking Barriers? Women's Representation and Leadership at the United Nations." *Global Governance: A Review of Multilateralism and International Organizations* 20 (1): 37–54. <https://doi.org/10.1163/19426720-02001004>.
- . 2017. "Women, Organizational Crisis, and Access to Leadership in International Organizations." *Journal of Women, Politics & Policy* 38 (2): 175–98. <https://doi.org/10.1080/1554477X.2016.1219581>.
- Helms, Ludger. 2014. "Global Political Leadership in the Twenty-First Century: Problems and Prospects." *Contemporary Politics* 20 (3): 261–77. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13569775.2014.911499>.
- Herd, Ann M., Meera Alagaraja, and Denise M. Cumberland. 2016. "Assessing Global Leadership Competencies: The Critical Role of Assessment Centre Methodology." *Human Resource Development International* 19 (1): 27–43. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13678868.2015.1072125>.
- Hickel, Jason. 2014. "The 'Girl Effect': Liberalism, Empowerment and the Contradictions of Development." *Third World Quarterly* 35 (8): 1355–73. <https://doi.org/10.1080/01436597.2014.946250>.
- Hodges, Melissa J., and Michelle J. Budig. 2010. "Who Gets the Daddy Bonus?: Organizational Hegemonic Masculinity and the Impact of Fatherhood on Earnings." *Gender & Society* 24 (6): 717–45. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0891243210386729>.
- Huddy, Leonie, and Nayda Terkildsen. 1993. "The Consequences of Gender Stereotypes for Women Candidates at Different Levels and Types of Office." *Political Research Quarterly* 46 (3): 503–25. <https://doi.org/10.1177/106591299304600304>.
- Ibnouf, Fatma Osman. 2008. "Impact of the World Bank and IMF Policies on Rural Women's Human Rights in Sub-Saharan Africa," 15.
- Ikenberry, G. John. 1996. "The Future of International Leadership." *Political Science Quarterly* 111 (3): 385–402. <https://doi.org/10.2307/2151968>.
- IMF. 2013. *Regional Economic Outlook*.
- . 2015a. "Christine Lagarde Celebrates International Women's Day - YouTube." 2015. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=txOkrMzw3o4&t=30s>.



- . 2015b. “Guidance Note for Surveillance under Article IV Consultation.” <https://www.imf.org/external/np/pp/eng/2015/031915.pdf>.
- . 2016a. “Gender Diversity in the Executive Board - Draft Report of the Executive Board to the Board of Governors.” [https://elibrary.imf.org/view/IMF007/28097-9781498345484/28097-9781498345484.xml](https://elibrary.imf.org/view/IMF007/28097-9781498345484/28097-9781498345484/28097-9781498345484.xml).
- . 2016b. “Articles of Agreement.”
- . 2016c. “IMF Country Report No. 16/348.” 16/348. <https://www.imf.org/external/pubs/ft/scr/2016/cr16348.pdf>.
- . 2019a. “IMF Conditionality.” IMF. 2019. <https://www.imf.org/en/About/Factsheets/Sheets/2016/08/02/21/28/IMF-Conditionality>.
- . 2019b. “Finance & Development,” March 2019.
- . n.d. “About the IMF.” IMF. Accessed August 21, 2019a. <https://www.imf.org/en/About>.
- . n.d. “IMF Timeline.” IMF. Accessed August 26, 2019b. <https://www.imf.org/en/About/Timeline>.
- IMFBlog. 2017. “5 Things You Need to Know About the IMF and Gender.” *IMF Blog* (blog). November 22, 2017. <https://blogs.imf.org/2017/11/22/5-things-you-need-to-know-about-the-imf-and-gender/>.
- InsideMan. 2014. “Four Reasons I Won’t Be One of the Men Signing Emma Watson’s #HeForShe Pledge.” *InsideMAN*, September 26, 2014. <http://www.inside-man.co.uk/2014/09/26/four-reasons-i-wont-be-one-of-the-men-signing-emma-watsons-heforshe-pledge/>.
- Intel Corporation. 2017. “Intel She Will Connect Executive Summary.” Intel Corporation.
- Intel Corporation, and Dalberg Global Development Advisors. 2012. “Women and the Web.” Intel Corporation.
- International Gender Champions. 2017. “Gender Trailblazer President Michelle Bachelet of Chile Named Honorary International Gender Champion.” International Gender Champions. March 30, 2017. <https://genderchampions.com/news/gender-trailblazer-president-michelle-bachelet-of-chile-named-honorary-international-gender-champion>.
- International Women’s Day. 2018. “More Awareness Needed as Misconceptions of Gender Equality Prevail.” International Women’s Day. 2018. <https://www.internationalwomensday.com/Activity/12527/More-awareness-needed-as-misconceptions-of-gender-equality-prevail>.
- Inter-Parliamentary Union. 2016. “Sexism, Harassment and Violence against Women Parliamentarians.” [https://doi.org/10.1163/2210-7975\\_HRD-1021-2016006](https://doi.org/10.1163/2210-7975_HRD-1021-2016006).
- . 2019. “Women in Parliaments: World Classification.” February 2019. <http://archive.ipu.org/wmn-e/classif.htm>.
- IOS Evaluation Office. 2017a. “IOS/EVS/PI/165 REV Evaluation of UNESCO’s Programme Interventions on Girls’ and Women’s Education.”
- . 2017b. “UNESCO Evaluation Insights. 13, Evaluation of UNESCO’s Programme Interventions on Girl’s and Women’s Education.” <https://unesdoc.unesco.org/ark:/48223/pf0000259326/PDF/259326eng.pdf.multi>.

- ITUC. 2013. "Involvement of the International Monetary Fund in Labour Market Reforms in European Countries." February 2013. <https://www.ituc-csi.org/IMG/pdf/ituc-imf-1.europe-background-paper.0213.pdf>.
- Jain-Chandra, Sonali, Kalpana Kochhar, Monique Newiak, Yang Yang, and Edda Zoli. 2018. "Gender Equality: Which Policies Have the Biggest Bang for the Buck?" *IMF Working Papers* 18 (105): 1. <https://doi.org/10.5089/9781484353257.001>.
- Jenkins, Rob. 2013. "Advancing the UN's Women, Peace and Security Agenda." Norwegian Peacebuilding Resource Centre.
- Kentikelenis, Alexander E., Thomas H. Stubbs, and Lawrence P. King. 2016. "IMF Conditionality and Development Policy Space, 1985–2014." *Review of International Political Economy* 23 (4): 543–82. <https://doi.org/10.1080/09692290.2016.1174953>.
- Keohane, Nannerl, Alison Boden, Haleh Esfandiari, Tamar Hermann, Amaney Jamal, Swen Dornig, and Wolfgang Danspeckgruber. 2010. "Women Leaders in International Relations and World Peace." <http://dataspace.princeton.edu/jspui/handle/88435/dsp01qr46r084n>.
- Kim, Junhee, and Gary N. McLean. 2015. "An Integrative Framework for Global Leadership Competency: Levels and Dimensions." *Human Resource Development International* 18 (3): 235–58. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13678868.2014.1003721>.
- Koffman, Ofra, and Rosalind Gill. 2013. "'The Revolution Will Be Led by a 12 Year Old Girl': Girl Power and the Global Biopolitics of Girlhood." *Feminist Review* 105 (1): 83–102. <https://doi.org/10.1057/fr.2013.16>.
- Lagarde, Christine. 2015. "Fair Play—Equal Laws for Equal Working Opportunity for Women." *IMF Blog* (blog). February 23, 2015. <https://blogs.imf.org/2015/02/23/fair-play-equal-laws-for-equal-working-opportunity-for-women/>.
- Lagarde, Christine, and Jonathan Ostry. 2018. "Economic Gains from Gender Inclusion: Even Greater than You Thought." *IMF Blog* (blog). November 28, 2018. <https://blogs.imf.org/2018/11/28/economic-gains-from-gender-inclusion-even-greater-than-you-thought/>.
- Martin Ruiz De Gordejuela, Carlos, Adekoyejo Adeboye, and Christina Wunder. 2019. "Press Release European Commission - Questions and Answers: EU-UN Spotlight Initiative to Eliminate Violence against Women and Girls." September 26, 2019. [https://europa.eu/rapid/press-release\\_MEMO-18-5904\\_en.htm](https://europa.eu/rapid/press-release_MEMO-18-5904_en.htm).
- Masciulli, Joseph, Tukumbi Lumumba-Kasongo, Rubin Patterson, and Masamichi Sasaki. 2006. *Globalization and Political Ethics. International Studies in Sociology and Social Anthropology, Volume 103*. BRILL.
- Masciulli, Joseph, Michail A. Molchanov, and W. Andy Knight. 2009. "Political Leadership in Context." In *The Ashgate Research Companion to Political Leadership*. Ashgate Research Companion. Ashgate Publishing Limited and Ashgate Publishing Company.
- McCarthy, Amy. 2014. "Sorry Privileged White Ladies, But Emma Watson Isn't A 'Game Changer' For Feminism." *HuffPost*, September 26, 2014. [https://www.huffpost.com/entry/emma-watson-feminism\\_b\\_5884246](https://www.huffpost.com/entry/emma-watson-feminism_b_5884246).

- Memac Ogilvy. 2013. "UN Women The Autocomplete Truth." 2013.  
<https://www.memacogilvy.com/work/265/>.
- Meskell, Lynn. 2015. "Gridlock: UNESCO, Global Conflict and Failed Ambitions."  
*World Archaeology* 47 (2): 225–38.  
<https://doi.org/10.1080/00438243.2015.1017598>.
- Michelle Bachelet: *International Day to End Violence against Women*. 2012.  
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=SH4tlxxc9nc&feature=youtu.be>.
- MINEPS, and UNESCO. 2013. "Declaration of Berlin SHS/2013/PI/H/8 REV."  
<https://unesdoc.unesco.org/ark:/48223/pf0000221114/PDF/221114eng.pdf.multi>.
- Mintert, Svenja-Maria, and Gertrud Pfister. 2015. "The FREE Project and the Feminization of Football: The Role of Women in the European Fan Community." *Soccer & Society* 16 (2–3): 405–21.  
<https://doi.org/10.1080/14660970.2014.961383>.
- MOPAN. 2015. "Synthesis Report: United Nations Entity for Gender Equality and the Empowerment of Women (UN-Women)."
- Murray, Rainbow, and Pippa Norris. 2010. *Cracking the Highest Glass Ceiling a Global Comparison of Women's Campaigns for Executive Office*. Santa Barbara, Calif.; Denver, Colo; Oxford: Praeger.
- "New Partnership between the EU and UN Women to Enhance Gender Equality Worldwide." n.d. UN Women. Accessed October 30, 2019.  
<https://www.unwomen.org/news/stories/2012/4/new-partnership-between-the-eu-and-un-women-to-enhance-gender-equality-worldwide>.
- Nye, Joseph Jr. 2008. *The Powers to Lead*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- . 2010. "Power and Leadership." In *Handbook of Leadership Theory and Practice: A Harvard Business School Centennial Colloquim*. Harvard Business Press.
- Ostry, Jonathan, Jorge Alvarez, Raphael Espinoza, and Chris Papageorgiou. 2018. "Economic Gains From Gender Inclusion: New Mechanisms, New Evidence." *Staff Discussion Notes* 18 (06): 1.  
<https://doi.org/10.5089/9781484337127.006>.
- Palley, Thomas. 2005. "From Keynesianism to Neoliberalism: Shifting Paradigms in Economics." In *Neoliberalism: A Critical Reader*, 268. London: Pluto Press.
- Pandolfelli, Lauren E., John Shandra, and Juhi Tyagi. 2014. "The International Monetary Fund, Structural Adjustment, and Women's Health: A Cross-National Analysis of Maternal Mortality in Sub-Saharan Africa." *The Sociological Quarterly* 55 (1): 119–42. <https://doi.org/10.1111/tsq.12046>.
- Parker, Stephen. 2009. "Buggins' Turn at UNESCO?" *Information Development* 25 (3): 163–67. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0266666909340864>.
- Parks, Katherine. 2018. "President Michelle Bachelet: A Champion for Women's Rights in Chile." *The Borgen Project* (blog). February 8, 2018.  
<https://borgenproject.org/bachelet-womens-rights-in-chile/>.
- Peele, Gillian. 2005. "Leadership and Politics: A Case for a Closer Relationship?" *Leadership* 1 (2): 187–204. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1742715005051858>.
- Peña, Alejandra Brito, Beatriz E. Cid Aguayo, and Carla Donoso Orellana. 2012. "Ruling the Womb: The Sexual and Reproductive Struggle during the Bachelet

- Administration." *Latin American Perspectives* 39 (4): 145–62.  
<https://doi.org/10.1177/0094582X12439047>.
- Pew Research Center. 2019. "The Data on Women Leaders." Pew Research Center's Social & Demographic Trends Project. 2019.  
<https://www.pewsocialtrends.org/fact-sheet/the-data-on-women-leaders/>.
- Piscopo, Jennifer M, Mona Lena Krook, and Susan Franceschet. 2012. *The Impact of Gender Quotas*. New York; Oxford: Oxford University Press.  
<https://doi.org/10.1093/acprof:oso/9780199830091.001.0001>.
- Pope, Stacey. 2017. *The Feminization of Sports Fandom: A Sociological Study*. Taylor & Francis.
- Rakic, Drazen. 2019. "The International Monetary Fund: 15th General Review of Quotas."
- Revenga, Ana, and Sudhir Shetty. 2012. "Empowering Women Is Smart Economics." *Finance & Development*, March.  
<https://www.imf.org/external/pubs/ft/fandd/2012/03/pdf/revenga.pdf>.
- Rey, Cheryl de la. 2005. "Gender, Women and Leadership." *Agenda* 19 (65): 4–11.  
<https://doi.org/10.1080/10130950.2005.9674614>.
- Ruzic, Elena. 2019. "Can We #ChangeTheGame for Gender Equality?" *International Cultural Diversity Organization* (blog). 2019. <http://www.icdo.at/can-we-changethegame-for-gender-equality/>.
- Ryan, Michelle K., and S. Alexander Haslam. 2007. "The Glass Cliff: Exploring the Dynamics Surrounding the Appointment of Women to Precarious Leadership Positions." *The Academy of Management Review* 32 (2): 549–72.  
<https://doi.org/10.2307/20159315>.
- Sachs, Jeffrey. 2003. "IMF Is a Power unto Itself." In *Globalization and the Poor: Exploitation or Equalizer?* IDEA Sourcebooks in Contemporary Controversies.
- Sahay, Ratna, and Martin Cihak. 2018. "Women in Finance: A Case for Closing Gaps." *Staff Discussion Notes* 18 (05): 1.  
<https://doi.org/10.5089/9781484375907.006>.
- Sansom, Anna. 2017. "How Qatar Crisis Played a Role in Azoulay's Election as UNESCO Chief." France 24. October 16, 2017.  
<https://www.france24.com/en/20171016-unesco-audrey-azoulay-france-qatar-egypt-arab-region-donald-trump-usa-israel>.
- Segran, Elizabeth. 2015. "The Remarkable Origins Of The U.N.'s HeForShe Campaign." *Fast Company*, May 29, 2015.  
<https://www.fastcompany.com/3046840/the-remarkable-origins-of-the-unshe-campaign>.
- Shawa, Remmy. 2018. "UNESCO Launches Our Rights Our Lives Our Future (O3) Programme in Zambia." *Young People Today* (blog). January 16, 2018.  
<https://www.youngpeopletoday.org/2018/01/16/unesco-launches-our-rights-our-lives-our-future-o3-programme-in-zambia/>.
- Sjoberg, Laura. 2009. "Feminist Approaches to the Study of Political Leadership." In *The Ashgate Research Companion to Political Leadership*. Ashgate Research Companion. Ashgate Publishing Limited and Ahgate Publishing Company.
- South African History Online. 2011. "Phumzile Mlambo-Ngcuka." February 2011.  
<https://www.sahistory.org.za/people/phumzile-mlambo-ngcuka>.
- Spotlight Initiative. 2018. "Spotlight Initiative Annual Report July 2017-March 2018."

- . 2019. “Spotlight Initiative Annual Report 2018.”  
 “Spotlight Initiative: To Eliminate Violence against Women and Girls. Terms of Reference.” 2017. <https://www.un.org/en/spotlight-initiative/assets/pdf/spotlight.tor.08.pdf>.
- “STEM and Gender Advancement (SAGA).” 2017. UNESCO. May 21, 2017. <https://en.unesco.org/saga>.
- Stevenson, Linda S. 2012. “The Bachelet Effect on Gender-Equity Policies.” *Latin American Perspectives* 39 (4): 129–44. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0094582X12441518>.
- Stiglitz, Joseph E. 2007. “THE POST WASHINGTON CONSENSUS CONSENSUS,” 33.
- Stone, Randall W. 2013. “Informal Governance in International Organizations: Introduction to the Special Issue.” *The Review of International Organizations* 8 (2): 121–36. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11558-013-9168-y>.
- Stotsky, Janet Gale, Sakina Shibuya, Lisa Kolovich, and Suhaib Kebhaj. 2016. “Trends in Gender Equality and Women’s Advancement.” *IMF Working Papers* 16 (21): 1. <https://doi.org/10.5089/9781475592955.001>.
- Uberoi, Elise, Alexander Bellis, Edward Hicks, and Steven Browning. 2019. “Women in Parliament and Government.” House of Commons Library. 01250.
- UN General Assembly. 2010. “A/RES/64/289 Resolution Adopted by the General Assembly on 2 July 2010.”
- UN Meetings Coverage and Press Releases. 2017. “Security Council Condemns Destruction, Smuggling of Cultural Heritage by Terrorist Groups, Unanimously Adopting Resolution 2347 (2017) | Meetings Coverage and Press Releases.” March 24, 2017. <https://www.un.org/press/en/2017/sc12764.doc.htm>.
- UN Security Council. 2015. “Security Council Resolution 2242 S/RES/2242 (13 October 2015).” [https://www.securitycouncilreport.org/atf/cf/%7B65BFCF9B-6D27-4E9C-8CD3-CF6E4FF96FF9%7D/s\\_res\\_2242.pdf](https://www.securitycouncilreport.org/atf/cf/%7B65BFCF9B-6D27-4E9C-8CD3-CF6E4FF96FF9%7D/s_res_2242.pdf).
- UN Women. 2011a. “16 Steps Policy Agenda.” UN Women. 2011. <https://www.unwomen.org/news/in-focus/end-violence-against-women/2011/16-steps-policy-agenda>.
- . 2011b. “UN Women Annual Report 2010-2011.” UN Women.
- . 2011c. “United Nations Entity for Gender Equality and the Empowerment of Women Strategic Plan, 2011-2013.”
- . 2012. “UN Women Annual Report 2011–2012.” UN Women.
- . 2013. “UN Women Annual Report 2012–2013.” UN Women.
- . 2014. “UN Women Annual Report 2013-2014.” UN Women.
- . 2016. “UN Women’s Constitutional Database Boosts Efforts towards Women’s Rights.” UN Women. May 6, 2016. <https://www.unwomen.org/news/stories/2016/5/un-womens-constitutional-database-boosts-efforts-towards-womens-rights>.
- . 2017. “Safe Cities and Safe Public Spaces Global Results Report.” UN Women. <https://www.unwomen.org/-/media/headquarters/attachments/sections/library/publications/2017/safe-cities-and-safe-public-spaces-global-results-report-en.pdf?la=en&vs=45>.
- . 2018a. “UN Women Annual Report 2017-2018.” UN Women.

- . 2018b. “Orange the World: #HearMeToo.” UN Women. November 26, 2018. <https://www.unwomen.org/news/stories/2018/11/news-orange-the-world-2018>.
- . 2019a. “Brief Generation Equality: Realizing Women’s Rights for an Equal Future.” UN Women. <https://www.unwomen.org/-/media/headquarters/attachments/sections/library/publications/2019/generation-equality-realizing-womens-rights-for-an-equal-future-en.pdf?la=en&vs=4330>.
- . 2019b. “UN Women Annual Report 2018-2019.” UN Women.
- . 2019c. “The Elsie Initiative Fund Launched to Increase Uniformed Women in UN Peacekeeping.” UN Women. March 29, 2019. <https://www.unwomen.org/en/news/stories/2019/3/news-the-elsie-initiative-fund-launched-to-increase-uniformed-women-in-un-peacekeeping>.
- . n.d. “Executive Director Phumzile Mlambo-Ngcuka.” UN Women. Accessed November 14, 2019. <https://www.unwomen.org/en/about-us/directorate/executive-director/ed-bio>.
- UN Women, Holly Kearl, Laura Capobianco, and Anastasia Posadskaya-Vanderbeck. 2013. “Guidance Note Mapping Access to and Use of Mobile Phones to Document, Prevent, and Respond to Sexual Violence Against Women and Girls in Urban Public Spaces.” [http://www.endvawnow.org/uploads/browser/files/new\\_guidance\\_mapping\\_on\\_mobile\\_ict.pdf](http://www.endvawnow.org/uploads/browser/files/new_guidance_mapping_on_mobile_ict.pdf).
- UN Women Leadership and Governance Section. 2016. “Global Gender Equality Constitutional Database Notes and Codebook.” UN Women.
- UN Women Training Centre. 2016. *The Legacy of INSTRAW in Promoting the Rights of Women: A Historical Record of the Institute between 1976 and 2010*. César Nicolás Penson, #102A, La Esperilla Santo Domingo, República Dominicana 10108: UN Women. [https://trainingcentre.unwomen.org/RESOURCES\\_LIBRARY/Resources\\_Centre/Instraw%20Legacy%20English%20pdf.pdf](https://trainingcentre.unwomen.org/RESOURCES_LIBRARY/Resources_Centre/Instraw%20Legacy%20English%20pdf.pdf).
- UN Women USA. n.d. “HeForShe.” UN Women USA. Accessed November 5, 2019. <https://unwomenusa.org/advocacy-3>.
- UNESCO. 2008. “34 C/4 2008-2013 Medium-Term Strategy.” United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization.
- . 2011. “ED.2011/WS/17 Better Life, Better Future: UNESCO Global Partnership for Girls’ and Women’s Education.”
- . 2012. “Irina Bokova: Women’s Empowerment Is a Breakthrough Strategy for Human Rights and Sustainable Development.” December 3, 2012. <https://en.unesco.org/news/irina-bokova-women%E2%80%99s-empowerment-breakthrough-strategy-human-rights-and-sustainable-development>.
- . 2013a. “UNESCO Priority Gender Equality Action Plan: 2014-2021.” United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization.
- . 2013b. “37TH SESSION OF THE GENERAL CONFERENCE ANNEX THE REPORT BY THE DIRECTOR-GENERAL ON UNESCO ACTIONS PROMOTING WOMEN’S EMPOWERMENT AND GENDER EQUALITY.”

- . 2013c. “37 C/INF.18 Report by the Director-General on UNESCO Actions Promoting Women’s Empowerment and Gender Equality 2013.”
- . 2014a. “37 C/4 2014-2021 Medium-Term Strategy.” United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization.
- . 2014b. “ED.2014/WS/03 Better Life, Better Future: UNESCO Global Partnership for Girls’ and Women’s Education.”  
<https://unesdoc.unesco.org/ark:/48223/pf0000226903/PDF/226903eng.pdf>. multi.
- . 2014c. *Gender Equality: Heritage and Creativity*. Paris: Unesco.
- . 2015a. “38 C/INF.14 Report of the Director-General on UNESCO Actions Promoting Women’s Empowerment and Gender Equality.”
- . 2015b. “ED-2015/WS/6 Better Life, Better Future: UNESCO Global Partnership for Girls’ and Women’s Education.”
- . 2016. “39 C/3 ANNEX I EXECUTION OF THE PROGRAMME ADOPTED BY THE GENERAL CONFERENCEPART I (A)PROGRAMME IMPLEMENTATION REPORT (PIR).”  
<https://unesdoc.unesco.org/ark:/48223/pf0000259715/PDF/259715eng.pdf>. multi.
- , ed. 2017a. *Re/Shaping Cultural Policies: Advancing Creativity for Development: 2005 Convention Global Report: 2018*. Paris: UNESCO.
- . 2017b. “UNESCO’s Soft Power Today: Fostering Women’s Empowerment and Leadership.”
- . 2017c. “Empowering Adolescent Girls and Young Women through Education.” UNESCO. September 13, 2017.  
<https://en.unesco.org/themes/education-and-gender-equality/unfpa-unwomen-programme>.
- . 2017d. “UNESCO Malala Fund for Girls’ Right to Education.” UNESCO. September 13, 2017. <https://en.unesco.org/themes/education-and-gender-equality/malala-fund>.
- . 2018a. “DCE/18/12.IGC/INF.7 « You Are Next: Empowering Creative Women », the UNESCO – Sabrina Ho Initiative.” UNESCO.  
[https://en.unesco.org/creativity/sites/creativity/files/12igc\\_inf\\_7\\_en.pdf](https://en.unesco.org/creativity/sites/creativity/files/12igc_inf_7_en.pdf).
- . 2018b. “Introducing the Our Rights, Our Lives, Our Future (O3 ) Programme 2018-2020.”  
[http://www.unesco.org/new/fileadmin/MULTIMEDIA/FIELD/Harare/pdf/Unesco\\_O3\\_Brochure.pdf](http://www.unesco.org/new/fileadmin/MULTIMEDIA/FIELD/Harare/pdf/Unesco_O3_Brochure.pdf).
- . 2018c. “Priority Gender Equality Handout.”
- . 2018d. “Gender Inequality Persists in Leadership Positions.” Unesco. March 7, 2018. [https://gem-report-2017.unesco.org/en/chapter/gender\\_monitoring\\_leadership/](https://gem-report-2017.unesco.org/en/chapter/gender_monitoring_leadership/).
- . 2019a. “ED-2019/WS/13 UNESCO, UNFPA & UN Women Joint Programme: On Empowering Adolescent Girls and Young Women through Education.”  
<https://unesdoc.unesco.org/ark:/48223/pf0000368657/PDF/368657eng.pdf>. multi.
- . 2019b. *Gender Report: Building Bridges for Gender Equality*.
- . 2019c. “Her Education, Our Future Snapshots of UNESCO’s Work.” Paris: UNESCO.

- . n.d. “Executive Board.” United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization. Accessed September 19, 2019a. <https://en.unesco.org/executiveboard/inbrief>.
- . n.d. “Governance.” United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization. Accessed September 19, 2019b. <https://en.unesco.org/about-us/governance>.
- . n.d. “You Are Next: Empowering Creative Women | Diversity of Cultural Expressions.” UNESCO. Accessed November 25, 2019c. <https://en.unesco.org/creativity/activities/you-are-next-empowering-creative-women>.
- UNESCO Abuja. 2019. “Our Rights, Our Lives, Our Future (O3).” UNESCO. June 6, 2019. <https://en.unesco.org/node/308924>.
- UNESCO Director-General. 2015. “39 C/INF.12 Report by the Director-General on UNESCO Actions Promoting Women’s Empowerment and Gender Equality.” UNESCO. <https://unesdoc.unesco.org/ark:/48223/pf0000258964/PDF/258964eng.pdf.multi>.
- . 2019. “40 C/INF.12 Report by the Director-General on UNESCO’s Actions Promoting Women’s Empowerment And Gender Equality.” UNESCO. <https://unesdoc.unesco.org/ark:/48223/pf0000370156/PDF/370156eng.pdf.multi>.
- UNESCO Diversity of Cultural Expressions. 2018. “DCE/18/12.IGC/INF.7 Twelfth Session of Intergovernmental Committee for the Protection and Promotion of the Diversity of Cultural Expression.” [https://en.unesco.org/creativity/sites/creativity/files/12igc\\_inf\\_7\\_en.pdf](https://en.unesco.org/creativity/sites/creativity/files/12igc_inf_7_en.pdf).
- UNESCO Executive Board. 2016. “200 EX/7 GLOBAL COORDINATION AND SUPPORT FOR THE IMPLEMENTATION OF SDG4-EDUCATION 2030.” UNESCO. “UNESCO, HNA Group and Hainan Foundation Sign \$5 Million Agreement to Accelerate Girls’ and Women’s Education.” 2014. UNESCO. 2014. <https://en.unesco.org/news/unesco-hna-group-and-hainan-foundation-sign-5-million-agreement-accelerate-girls%E2%80%99-and-women%E2%80%99s>.
- UNESCO Institute for Lifelong Learning. 2018. “Educational and Social Development of Garment Factory Workers, Cambodia.” UNESCO Institute for Lifelong Learning. October 15, 2018. <https://uil.unesco.org/case-study/effective-practices-database-litbase-0/educational-and-social-development-garment-0>.
- UNESCO Office in Dakar. 2019. “Sub-Saharan Countries and UNESCO Lead Largest Regional Initiative for Comprehensive Sexuality Education | United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization.” January 31, 2019. [http://www.unesco.org/new/en/media-services/single-view/news/sub\\_saharan\\_countries\\_and\\_unesco\\_lead\\_largest\\_regional\\_initi/](http://www.unesco.org/new/en/media-services/single-view/news/sub_saharan_countries_and_unesco_lead_largest_regional_initi/).
- UNESCO Office Islamabad. 2018. “Girls’ Right to Education Programme in Pakistan.” UNESCO. <https://unesdoc.unesco.org/ark:/48223/pf0000265885/PDF/265885eng.pdf.multi>.
- Unesco, and UN Women. 2016. *Global Guidance on Addressing School-Related Gender-Based Violence*. Paris.



- UNESCO website. 2016. "Irina Bokova." UNESCO. October 27, 2016.  
<https://en.unesco.org/internet-and-radicalization-youth-preventing-acting-and-living-together/irina-bokova>.
- UNGEI. 2018. "Whole School Approach to Prevent SRGBV: Minimum Standards Framework and Monitoring Framework." New York: United Nations Girls' Education Initiative. <https://www.icmec.org/wp-content/uploads/2018/09/Whole-School-Approach-to-Prevent-SRGBV-Minimum-Standards-Framework-UNGEI.pdf>.
- United Nations. n.d. "Ms. Audrey Azoulay | United Nations System Chief Executives Board for Coordination." UN System Chief Executives Board of Coordination. Accessed November 19, 2019. <https://www.unsystem.org/content/ms-audrey-azoulay>.
- United Nations Secretary-General. 2006. "A/61/583 Note by the Secretary-General [Transmitting Report of the High-Level Panel on UN System-Wide Coherence in the Areas of Development, Humanitarian Assistance and the Environment]." UN General Assembly.
- United Nations Secretary-General (Web Page). 2017. "Ms. Phumzile Mlambo-Ngcuka of South Africa - Executive Director of UN Women (Second Term)." United Nations Secretary-General. July 3, 2017.  
<https://www.un.org/sg/en/content/sg/personnel-appointments/2017-07-03/ms-phumzile-mlambo-ngcuka-south-africa-executive>.
- United Nations Trust Fund to End Violence against Women. 2019. "16 Days of Activism against Gender Based Violence 2019 - Concept Note."
- Valderrama Martínez, Fernando. 1995. *A History of UNESCO*. UNESCO Reference Books. Paris: UNESCO Pub.
- Watson, Callum. 2019. "Elsie Initiative Fund for Uniformed Women in Peace Operations - Technical Briefing and First Programming Cycle Presentations." presented at the Technical Briefing and First Programming Cycle Presentations, New York, July 9.
- Wells, Thomas R. 2012. "Sen's Capability Approach." In *Internet Encyclopedia of Philosophy*, edited by J. Feiser and B. Dowden.
- Weston, Michelle, ed. 2013. "Thematic Evaluation: The Contribution of UN Women to Prevent Violence against Women and Expand Access to Services." UN Women.
- Williamson, John. 1990. *Latin American Adjustment: How Much Has Happened?* Washington D.C.: The Institute.
- Wirth, Linda. 2001. *Breaking through the Glass Ceiling: Women in Management*. Geneva: International Labour Office.
- World Economic Forum. 2017. *The Global Gender Gap Report: 2017*. Geneva: World Economic Forum.
- Young, Cathy. 2016. "Feminists Treat Men Badly. It's Bad for Feminism." *Washington Post*, June 30, 2016.  
<https://www.washingtonpost.com/posteverything/wp/2016/06/30/feminists-treat-men-badly-its-bad-for-feminism/>.