Feminist Accountability

Unveiling the Impact of Generation Equality for Feminist Movements

NOTHING ABOUT US WITHOUT US
Introduction

In 2021, the Generation Equality Forum (GEF) launched a five-year journey to create irreversible progress toward gender equality, reporting US$40 billion in financial commitments from governments, the private sector, international financial institutions, philanthropy, youth-led organizations, and civil society. These funds are critically needed as, historically, only 1.9 percent of all funding for gender equality makes it to women and girls. Access to funding is worse for people with additional marginalized identities: For example, the amount of funding distributed to Black feminist social movements is less than half of 1 percent of overall foundation giving.¹

These numbers must change, and fast, if any meaningful progress is to be made toward gender, racial, and social justice.

In response to the GEF, our group of 25 feminist organizations and a 6-member Steering Committee built the Feminist Accountability Framework to center grassroots groups and historically marginalized communities in the Global South—especially Black, Indigenous, and People of Color (BIPOC); people with disabilities; youth, adolescents, and girls; and trans and gender non-conforming people—to identify and track commitment needs and gaps. Built on intersectional feminist principles, our accountability mechanism, launched in March 2023, is led by some of the communities most affected by gender inequity and best poised to provide solutions and drive change. The FAF aims to hold GEF stakeholders accountable and ensure that the commitments translate into meaningful and measurable progress.

During the initial co-design process of the Framework, we found two primary obstacles² to accountability in the GEF system: a lack of data transparency and accessibility, and a significant divide between GEF current commitments and the needs and priorities of feminist organizations and actors. To gather more information, our partners selected eight pilot countries to assess whether commitments address urgent and relevant issues; where there are gaps between needs and commitments; and whether we need additional forms of data to see the GEF’s impact.

The GEF raised the world’s hopes. The sheer scale of commitments, coupled with our ambitious accountability standards meant to center grassroots movements, has the potential to rewrite the playbook on what it means to truly involve all stakeholders in a global movement for gender equality. As GEF approaches its midpoint in September 2023 to assess commitments’ progress on a global scale, we offer this report to share regional insights sourced from over 700 feminist organizations on the impact of GEF commitments.

² Feminist Accountability Framework: https://www.globalfundforwomen.org/feminist-accountability-generation-equality-forum
Findings

This brief presents country findings and feedback from feminist organizations about the impact of GEF funding and GEF’s ongoing challenges with data transparency and accountability.

Our feminist partners and constituents are finding similar challenges and echoing similar needs across the three regions where we supported consultations:

1. Core, flexible, and long-term funding is needed for grassroots groups to achieve the GEF agenda and commitments.
2. Commitments must be translated into national and local languages and priorities to reach actors at the grassroots.
3. Funding needs to be prioritized for smaller, local, and grassroots action for gender equality, led by movements and advocates at the community level.
4. The GEF and our own coalitions need to do more to broaden our networks and reach more stakeholders.
5. Local groups need clear information from global and national commitment makers to track their progress.
6. Commitment makers at all levels must do more to communicate and engage with communities and grassroots movements in making decisions about how to distribute funds.
7. The GEF must do more to ensure that its own commitment tracking and reporting systems are clear and accessible for those working on the ground.
8. The GEF and international governance system must do more to hold themselves and global and national commitment makers accountable for reporting on their progress.
9. Action Coalitions and other GEF structures need to engage in open dialogues and report back to commitment makers and all stakeholders in the same manner that civil society is expected to report as commitment makers.

In addition, participants reflected long-standing frustrations with barriers to their participation in the GEF and follow-up processes, including over-reliance on information and communication technologies, online access, and the fact that the information is only provided in English.

This is a learning journey for all of us, with the opportunity to expand and adjust as we receive feedback from different constituents and continue on our own accountability journey.
Process and Participants

In this initial phase of the FAF, starting in March 2023 and concluding in March 2024, our primary objectives are to make the GEF data more accessible for our partners and constituents and identify and monitor relevant indicators that are important for feminist organizations and actors. As our first step, we reviewed global GEF data to provide national and regional summaries and details for our partners. We then mobilized over 700 feminist organizations and activists through 19 in-person and virtual consultations in eight pilot countries: Brazil, Guatemala, Kenya, Burkina Faso, Cambodia, India, Nepal, and Fiji. Utilizing a multi-method approach that included a series of in-person and online meetings referred to as consultations, as well as an online survey, we shared our data and obtained crucial feedback from community members regarding the GEF and its commitments.

The eight pilot countries were selected to represent the three regions based on:

- Political opportunities [changes in government, progressive social progress]
- Access to partners via FAF member groups
- Geographic representation
- A mix of overall values and numbers of commitments

All partners also gathered information on the impact of GEF commitments at the national level. This included whether commitments align with the needs and priorities of feminist organizations, identifying which indicators of impact are most significant, and exploring opportunities for advocacy with commitment makers.

WHO WAS ENGAGED?

**Consultations:** Partners engaged with over 700 activists and organizations through 19 virtual and 9 in-person consultations spread across Cambodia, India, Nepal, Burkina Faso, Kenya, Brazil, and Guatemala. These dialogue-based consultations aimed to determine the extent to which GEF is aligned with the country-level needs of feminist movements. During this pilot phase, data collection through surveys and consultations in Fiji is still underway, and its final findings will be released in the next Feminist Accountability report.

**Survey:** A total of 678 individuals participated in a multilingual and online survey conducted across seven of the eight pilot countries, answering a set of 50 questions. Among these respondents, 304 were from the Asia-Pacific region, 117 from Africa, and 257 from Latin America. Survey respondents were spread across the priorities reflected by the GEF Action Coalitions, with many focused on gender-based violence [GBV], sexual and reproductive health and rights [SRHR], feminist leadership building, and education and skill development.

A Note on Terminology

In the spirit of accessibility, we have tried to use clear language throughout this document and minimize jargon, technical language, and acronyms. However, some terms are unavoidable. Here is a short list of acronyms to help readers navigate some of the concepts in this brief.

- Black, Indigenous, and People of Color [BIPOC]
- Civil society organization (CSO) / non-governmental organization (NGO)
- Feminist Accountability Framework [FAF]
- Gender-based violence [GBV]
- Generation Equality Forum [GEF]
- Lesbian, gay, bisexual, trans, queer, intersex, asexual [LGBTQIA+]
- Sexual and reproductive health and rights [SRHR]
- Sustainable Development Goals [SDGs]

This document has been translated into French, Spanish, and Portuguese. For more background on this work, we invite you to read the Feminist Accountability Framework.
To ensure inclusion, all consultations were conducted in the languages the attendees felt most comfortable in, and the survey was available in English, Spanish, Portuguese, French, Nepali, Hindi, and Khmer. The Feminist Accountability partners are located in the pilot countries and have well-established networks there. Their deep understanding of the local context bolstered the authenticity of the gathered data.

WHAT WAS IN THE SURVEY?

The goal of the Feminist Accountability survey is to assess whether the resources committed by GEF are reaching feminist movements on the ground.

We pursued three strategic undertakings to kickstart our analysis process: 1) analysed data from GEF; 2) compared and contextualized that data with other, non-GEF individual and multi-funder commitments on gender equality; and 3) synthesized and mapped our findings as well as related research from our peers and allies.

Using the official GEF raw Commitments Dashboard data, we were unable to replicate descriptives provided, such as the reported US$40 billion in total commitments. Instead, we discovered duplicate commitments across Action Coalitions, varying degrees of information / missing information across commitments, and differing applications of the commitment coding frameworks. It was not possible on the country or Action Coalition level to assess precisely which commitments were going where, what money and resources were specifically committed, whether the total amount listed represented money that was previously pledged or new pledges, or whether that money was actually moving (being distributed).

This problem was worsened by the large number of commitments that were listed as “global,” even in the updated dataset released in September 2022.

All of these information gaps present a major hurdle for those seeking to hold commitment makers accountable. Just as importantly, they impede commitment makers’ ability to make informed decisions regarding the best use of their resources.

Our survey presented a breakdown of our data analysis on commitments made toward the pilot countries, categorized by a) the amount of funding allocated to each Action Coalition; b) the number of commitments made by different groups of commitment makers for each Action Coalition. With a focus on data transparency and accessibility, we included the 562 commitments reported by 446 commitment makers for eight pilot countries. Additionally, a total of 583 commitments in the official GEF global dataset are listed with the implementation country as “global,” meaning that these commitments are not attributed to any individual country and were not counted in our analysis.

WHO ANSWERED THE SURVEY?

Across three different regions, our respondents mostly came from civil society, including civil society organizations [CSOs], non-governmental organizations [NGOs], community-based organizations, and networks or coalitions. Respondents are predominantly working with women, youth, and adolescent girls, while many are also working with historically marginalized groups:

- In Asia-Pacific, we heard from advocates working with LGBTQIA+ [8.1 percent] and marginalized caste groups [5.9 percent].
- In Africa, our partners are working with LGBTQIA+ [9.5 percent] groups, sex workers [8.2 percent], people with disabilities [6.5 percent], and internally displaced peoples [5.4 percent].
- In Latin America, we heard from feminists working with Black women and girls [11.6 percent], LGBTQIA+ [11.4 percent], racial and ethnic minorities [11.2 percent], and Indigenous peoples [6.6 percent].

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3 Feminist Accountability Framework: https://www.globalfundforwomen.org/feminist-accountability-generation-equality-forum/
4 Our August 2022 analysis focused on government and philanthropic commitment makers who made commitments that included a financial value. We selected this subset for having the highest financial value of all commitment maker types. Due to duplications, we analyzed 195 commitments in total. While this was with an earlier version of the data, updates in September 2022 found similar trends. We use related research to describe these.
5 WeProsper’s specific investigation of Economic Justice and Rights Action Coalitions commitments found 42 percent were listed as global: https://www.icrw.org/wp-content/uploads/2022/12/WeProsper-Brief-Analyzing-Global-GEF-Commitments-and-Progress-towards-Economic-Justice-and-Rights.pdf
6 Global Fund for Women’s calculations from the Generation Equality Forum Dashboard: https://dashboard.commitments.generationequality.org
**Feminist Accountability Survey Data**

**Respondents by type of organization (in %)**

- **Asia-Pacific**
  - Academic Institution: 16.4%
  - Civil Society Network or Coalition: 5.59%
  - CSO/NGO: 36.84%
  - Community Based Organization: 12.83%
  - Local Government: 0.66%
  - National Government: 0.99%
  - Media Organization: 1.32%
  - Philanthropy/Funder: 1.64%
  - Private Sector: 0.66%
  - Research Organization: 0.33%
  - UN Agency: 0.66%
  - Other: 1.64%
  - No Response: 35.2%

- **Africa**
  - Academic Institution: 5.98%
  - Civil Society Network or Coalition: 32.48%
  - CSO/NGO: 35.9%
  - Community Based Organization: 16.24%
  - Local Government: 0.85%
  - National Government: 0.85%
  - Media Organization: 0.85%
  - Philanthropy/Funder: 0.85%
  - Private Sector: 0.85%
  - Research Organization: 0.85%
  - UN Agency: 5.98%
  - Other: 16.24%
  - No Response: 16.24%

- **Latin America**
  - Academic Institution: 0.78%
  - Civil Society Network or Coalition: 8.56%
  - CSO/NGO: 37.35%
  - Community Based Organization: 11.67%
  - Local Government: 0.39%
  - National Government: 0.78%
  - Media Organization: 0.39%
  - Philanthropy/Funder: 9.34%
  - Private Sector: 26.46%
  - Research Organization: 0.39%
  - UN Agency: 0.39%
  - Other: 0.39%
  - No Response: 0.39%

Note: Respondents were allowed to select none or more than one option. Hence, percentages may sum up to more or less than 100%.

**Feminist Accountability Survey Data**

**Respondents by communities they work with or for (in %)**

- **Asia-Pacific**
  - Adolescent Boys: 6.15%
  - Adolescent Girls: 12.98%
  - Agricultural Workers: 2.62%
  - Black Women and Girls: 1.48%
  - Elderly: 1.71%
  - Indigenous Groups/Tribes: 4.44%
  - Internally Displaced People: 0.46%
  - LGBTIQIA+: 8.09%
  - Marginalized Caste Groups: 5.92%
  - Migrant Workers: 2.05%
  - People with Disabilities: 4.67%
  - Racial or Ethnic Minorities: 2.73%
  - Refugee: 0.57%
  - Sex Workers: 1.71%
  - Small Entrepreneurs: 1.48%
  - Women: 21.30%
  - Youth: 18.68%
  - Other: 2.96%

- **Africa**
  - Adolescent Boys: 4.76%
  - Adolescent Girls: 15.99%
  - Agricultural Workers: 0.34%
  - Black Women and Girls: 5.92%
  - Elderly: 0.68%
  - Indigenous Groups/Tribes: 0.34%
  - Internally Displaced People: 0.68%
  - LGBTIQIA+: 5.44%
  - Marginalized Caste Groups: 1.02%
  - Migrant Workers: 1.02%
  - People with Disabilities: 6.46%
  - Racial or Ethnic Minorities: 1.02%
  - Refugee: 9.52%
  - Sex Workers: 1.17%
  - Small Entrepreneurs: 1.17%
  - Women: 8.16%
  - Youth: 6.46%
  - Other: 2.08%

- **Latin America**
  - Adolescent Boys: 1.17%
  - Adolescent Girls: 8.83%
  - Agricultural Workers: 1.43%
  - Black Women and Girls: 11.56%
  - Elderly: 2.08%
  - Indigenous Groups/Tribes: 0.94%
  - Internally Displaced People: 6.62%
  - LGBTIQIA+: 1.43%
  - Marginalized Caste Groups: 0.52%
  - Migrant Workers: 0.78%
  - People with Disabilities: 11.43%
  - Racial or Ethnic Minorities: 0.52%
  - Refugee: 0.78%
  - Sex Workers: 0.52%
  - Small Entrepreneurs: 11.17%
  - Women: 22.11%
  - Youth: 14.81%
  - Other: 3.25%

Note: Respondents were allowed to select none or more than one option. Hence, percentages may sum up to more or less than 100%.
Overall, 15.1 percent of the respondents participated in GEF. Among those who had access to GEF, 8.5 percent participated in regional or national level events or meetings, 3.06 percent participated in global events or meetings, 2.72 percent led Action Coalitions, and 2.38 percent made GEF commitments. Among those who did not participate in GEF, the majority of respondents (32.60 percent) indicated that they were unaware of how to participate or did not understand the process. 

**Feminist Accountability Survey Data**

**Respondents grouped by region (in %)**

**Did you participate in the Generation Equality Forum (GEF)?**

- **All Regions**: 15.12% Yes, 84.88% No
- **Asia-Pacific**: 11.37% Yes, 88.63% No
- **Africa**: 41.11% Yes, 58.89% No
- **Latin America**: 8.76% Yes, 91.24% No

**Why were you or your organization not able to participate in the Generation Equality Forum (GEF)?**

**All Regions**
- I or my organization did not have the resources: 14.80%
- I or my organization did not have the time: 3.74%
- I or my organization did not understand how to participate in GEF: 7.30%
- It was not accessible to me or my organization: 20.10%
- Other: 21.50%
- No response: 0%

**Asia-Pacific**
- I or my organization did not have the resources: 12.16%
- I or my organization did not have the time: 6.67%
- I or my organization did not understand how to participate in GEF: 32.94%
- It was not accessible to me or my organization: 18.43%
- Other: 17.65%
- No response: 0%

**Africa**
- I or my organization did not have the resources: 16.67%
- I or my organization did not have the time: 5.56%
- I or my organization did not understand how to participate in GEF: 24.44%
- It was not accessible to me or my organization: 6.67%
- Other: 46.67%
- No response: 0%

**Latin America**
- I or my organization did not have the resources: 17.05%
- I or my organization did not have the time: 1.84%
- I or my organization did not understand how to participate in GEF: 35.48%
- It was not accessible to me or my organization: 27.65%
- Other: 15.67%
- No response: 0%
The Feminist Accountability Convening has been a very instrumental space in regards to connecting with other organizations that are working at the grassroots level to understand the experiences and realities in the various countries and regions. There is also a feeling of togetherness. We are not working in silos, but collaborating to ensure that we achieve gender equality and a sustainable planet.

— Joanita Babirye, Girls for Climate Action
Results: Asia-Pacific

Regional Context

In the Asia-Pacific region, our partners selected Cambodia, India, Fiji, and Nepal as pilot countries. Fiji had the fewest commitments among Asia-Pacific countries, followed by Cambodia. India had the most commitments made, with Nepal ranking seventh highest. In each of the four countries, only half or fewer of the commitments have confirmed funding allocated to them, while the remaining commitments do not specify a monetary allocation or the extent of financial resources available for their implementation. Specifically, Fiji and Cambodia had a 50 percent rate, India stood at 47 percent, and Nepal at 34 percent.

Number of Commitments by Pilot Countries in Asia-Pacific

Fiji
- 6 commitments made by 6 commitment makers
- $0.1 million USD
- 2.84%

Cambodia
- 18 commitments made by 15 commitment makers
- $24.8 million USD
- 8.53%

Nepal
- 50 commitments made by 31 commitment makers
- $56.9 million USD
- 23.70%

India
- 137 commitments made by 118 commitment makers
- $304.1 million USD
- 64.93%

Notes
1. This includes all commitments where the countries mentioned above, specifically, are listed as implementation countries.
2. This includes the financial allocation for all commitments in which the countries above, specifically, are listed as GEF implementation countries. In cases where a commitment has multiple implementation countries, one of which is among those mentioned, the total value has been divided among the implementation countries. This covers both financial and non-financial commitment types.
ARE THE COMMITMENTS ACTIONABLE AND IN SYNC WITH LIVED REALITIES?

Survey data from the Asia-Pacific region indicated a prevailing ambivalence about the alignment between the number and value of the commitments made and the actual needs based on lived realities. Respondents were asked to rate their responses on a scale of 1 to 10, where 1 indicated complete disagreement and 10 represented total agreement. The results showed that the average responses were around 5 or in close proximity to 5 on the 1 to 10 scale, reflecting a general sentiment of moderate agreement that the number and value of commitments matched the priorities of their work and the needs of their country.

Across the pilot countries in the region, Bodily Autonomy and SRHR received the largest share of funds committed. Feminist organizations also expressed a desire to see more investment into Feminist Movements and Leadership, Feminist Action for Climate Justice, and Technology and Innovation for Gender Equality. Overall, feminist organizations expressed concerns that there is not enough funding across the board for GEF commitments, and that very little of that funding is likely to make its way to grassroots movements or organizations, especially those outside of major population centers. Participants wanted to see an increase in overall financial support, political will, and implementation, not a reduction in existing commitments to move resources to other areas.

Consultation participants had strong criticism for the structure of the commitments and existing accountability structures: Overall consensus remains that the commitment structure and tracking mechanism is dense, inaccessible, and opaque to grassroots feminists and others seeking accountability. The language of the commitments is reliant on global jargon which makes it difficult to interpret clear actions, and the financial commitments are poorly tracked and often repetitive, making it hard to see what funding will be made available to pursue GEF priorities. Many of the commitments are reiterations of existing policies, programs, or funding, leaving little opportunity for grassroots actors looking to engage with the process to access additional resources or support. Finally, no distinction is made between commitments from large-scale global civil society and funders and smaller youth, local, and feminist networks.

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7 During this pilot phase, data collection through surveys and consultations in Fiji is still underway, and its final findings will be released in the next Feminist Accountability report.
It wasn’t really possible to gauge the true amount of funding or its distribution because the GEF reporting mechanism does not truly account for such details. There needs to be more nuance added to reporting on funding because the current mechanism compares both large funding organizations and grassroots civil society organizations. In addition, some funding commitments are internal, meaning that organizations have committed to work rather than distributing funds.

—YP Foundation, Feminist Accountability partner, about commitments toward India

Even for advocates working within organizations and actors that made commitments, the process was described as lacking transparency. Participants reported that many advocates are not be aware of the commitments made at a higher level in their own organizations or networks, much less see any real changes in their programs, funding, or resources as a result. Those who saw a change in their funding highlighted a perception of enhanced funding in areas like SRHR, climate justice, and LGBTQIA+ rights, though they attributed the changes to forces outside the GEF, such national mechanisms with tracking budget dedicated to these agendas.

Advocates and movements on the ground in the region agreed that much more information, transparency, accountability, and resources are needed to truly see progress on GEF commitments and priorities. In particular, they highlighted that efforts by UN Women and other agencies to provide national and sub-national level support to disseminate and build coalitions around GEF priorities and commitments were insufficient, alongside the lack of accessible and disaggregated national and sub-national data.

Feminists on the ground highlight that the GEF remains a global agenda in the Asia-Pacific region, happening at a global level amongst funders and large-scale organizations, with limited commitment or accountability from governments at national or subnational levels. In all three countries, national governments either made no specific commitments or small-scale commitments that were dwarfed by those made by external governments and funders to be implemented in their countries. Advocates expressed disappointment at the failure of their governments to reaffirm their commitments to gender equality at a global scale and the increased pressure on local organizations to pick up the slack for advancing action on the ground. Additionally, commitments are perceived as based on donor government and international priorities, not on the priorities of local organizations.

Feminist movements need more resources to fill the gaps in information, data, and accountability and bridge the barriers that keep historically excluded and marginalized groups from meaningful engagement. Finally, they highlighted the need to use the GEF and associated processes, including this FAF process, to invest in and build stronger, more effective, cross-generational feminist and progressive movements at the grassroots level.
Results: Africa

Regional Context

In Africa, partners conducted consultations in Kenya and Burkina Faso, selected for the scale of commitments received: Kenya received the most among African countries, while Burkina Faso has the 11th most commitments in Africa and 4th most in West Africa. Combined, the two countries represent US$1.5 billion in commitments; however, in both countries, fewer than half of commitments included funding (Kenya: 49 percent; Burkina Faso: 43 percent).

Kenya and Burkina Faso find themselves in vastly different political circumstances: The Kenyan government made 15 commitments, including two with a total financial commitment of US$51 million, and was commended by consultation participants for their progressive leadership and political will in implementing these commitments. Nevertheless, challenges have emerged due to political transitions, impeding both the fulfilment of commitments and the government’s accountability. Burkina Faso has been subjected to terrorist attacks, resulting in large-scale internal displacement and presenting significant obstacles to ongoing work to eliminate GBV and promote gender equality.

Notes
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ARE THE COMMITMENTS ACTIONABLE AND IN SYNC WITH LIVED REALITIES?

Survey respondents in Africa expressed more confidence in the alignment of commitments with their work and the needs of their country than in the availability of sufficient funding.

In addition, only 40 percent of respondents reported a noticeable difference in available funding for their initiatives, whereas 60 percent saw no change since 2021. The 40 percent observed increases in announced funding for areas like SRHR and feminist leadership, but also that mechanisms for accessing or tracking new funds are often too complex for grassroots actors. Grassroots groups shared stringent criteria as barriers to fund access, noting a tilt toward funding larger consortiums over community organizations.

Others expressed concerns about the rise in GBV, dwindling resources, and persistent underfunding in domains such as technology, innovation, and climate justice. Some respondents were concerned about shifts in funding toward humanitarian actions at the expense of community development. While the government seems to embrace civil society initiatives, funding priority changes have burdened grassroots feminists with more unpaid work. Lastly, historically marginalized groups, including transgender women, people with disabilities, key populations, and youth-led LGBTQIA+ movements, feel largely overlooked in funding decisions, arguing for more flexible eligibility criteria.

In Kenya, a significant barrier is the high number of frameworks and protocols without an accountability system to track their progress. Consultation participants also expressed concern about the rise of right-wing and anti-rights agendas that receive extensive funding, creating a concerning disparity in comparison to the GEF and other gender equality initiatives.

Through a series of consultations, feminists in the region expressed a desire for national, accessible data collection and tracking systems, spearheaded by civil society, and for increased investment in the ability of community-based and grassroots advocates to engage with the GEF process. In particular, advocates requested that the UN Women platform as well as the data on commitments be made available in languages other than English, such as Kiswahili, and that additional international mobilization be applied to overcome donor reluctance to provide information about the realization of their financial commitments.

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8 The complexity mentioned in this report encompasses several challenges, including the requirement for technology and internet access to monitor and track distribution of funds.
Burkina Faso and GEF Resourcing for Gender-Based Violence (GBV)

While the largest share of committed funding and the highest number of commitments in Burkina Faso went to the Action Coalition on Bodily Autonomy and SRHR, those made to the GBV Action Coalition had the highest percentage of commitments with funding at 60 percent. Consultation participants agree that considering the security situation in Burkina Faso, which has led to devastating consequences, such as the closure of health centers, increased sexual violence, and high-risk unintended pregnancies without access to healthcare, the focus on these two Action Coalitions is both justified and sufficient to encompass the disparities and inequalities that women and men experience in Burkina Faso.

State and private actors affirm that they have mobilized significant financial resources from the same donors who publicly made financial commitments at the GEF, as well as other sources, to carry out activities closely aligned with the GEF commitments by 2025. These activities include capacity building for actors on GBV, support for the care of GBV survivors, assistance in developing the GBV action plan, implementation of the national family planning action plan, development of the sexual and reproductive health project for adolescents and youth in Burkina Faso, the establishment of GBV clusters and integrated centers for GBV prevention, etc. All of these contribute to the implementation of commitments made at the GEF.

However, a quick analysis of the provided data reveals uncertainty about the actual purpose of these resources as the periods often precede the GEF commitments, made in 2021. Donors seem to have not created a specific financing mechanism for the implementation of GEF commitments in their budgets for funding programs and projects, despite having financed several projects/programs that substantially contributed to the implementation of commitments made at the GEF. The absence of a clear budget line dedicated to the implementation of GEF commitments makes it nearly impossible to ascertain with certainty whether donors who made commitments at the GEF have actually allocated resources to fulfill their financial promises.

In Burkina Faso, no respondent reported receiving specific financial resources dedicated to the implementation of GEF commitments. However, some civil society organizations received technical assistance from UN Women at times to participate in international seminars in Paris as part of the Forum activities.

Many commitment-makers and donors exhibit reluctance to share information about funding allocated to the implementation of their GEF commitments. Some of them are no longer able to state with certainty what has become of their funding promises. Have donors faced financial difficulties, or were their commitments merely for show?

— Initiative Pananetugri pour le bien être de la jeune fille (IPBF), Feminist Accountability partner, about commitments toward Burkina Faso
Results: Latin America

Regional Context

In Latin America, partners selected Brazil and Guatemala as pilot countries, highlighting the presence and strength of the feminist movements and their history of action, especially the political organization of Black and Indigenous groups. In the region, Brazil received the fifth largest number of commitments at 47, while Guatemala received the second lowest, 34 commitments. In Brazil, nearly two-thirds (62 percent) of commitments included funding, while in Guatemala slightly more than half of commitments included funding (53 percent).

Consultation participants in both Brazil and Guatemala describe contexts marked by a lack of political will, and even political resistance, to the GEF and its goals of gender equality and the advancement of women and girls. In Brazil, the country’s participation in GEF was further impacted by a ruling political party hostile to international human rights mechanisms and agendas, especially for women, Black and Indigenous groups, and LGBTGIA+ communities, leading to no GEF commitments made by the federal government. In Guatemala, participants from the consultations pointed to a breakdown in communication between UN Women and local women's organizations leading to a lack of participation in the GEF process. Overall, fewer than 10 percent of participants in this consultation process across both countries were engaged with the GEF.

Notes
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In cases where a commitment has multiple implementation countries, one of which is among those mentioned, the total value has been divided among the implementation countries. This covers both financial and non-financial commitment types.
ARE THE COMMITMENTS ACTIONABLE AND IN SYNC WITH LIVED REALITIES?

While respondents in Latin America were generally more skeptical than their colleagues in the other regions about whether the commitments were aligned with their priorities and sufficiently funded, overall, the survey responses displayed ambivalence: On a scale of 1 to 10, the average response was around 5.

"My organization and I didn’t know that the GEF existed. We weren’t invited and didn’t know about the existence of this Forum. I didn’t know about any GEF elaboration moment."

—Quotes from Consultation Participants in Brazil and Guatemala

Feminist Accountability Survey Data

Mean of n = 257 responses from Latin America (Scale: 1-10)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Scale</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The number and value of commitments made to the priority areas match the needs of my country</td>
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<tr>
<td>The number and value of commitments made to the priority areas match the priorities of my work</td>
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<tr>
<td>The amount of funding available for the priority areas meets the needs of my country</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
In general, the activists consulted in Brazil and Guatemala reported that while they find the commitments relevant because they align with the efforts of feminist movements in their respective countries, the majority still express significant concerns about the GEF process used to determine the areas of funding and prioritization themes. They particularly highlight an insufficient level of consultation with grassroots organizations during the GEF process. Feminists in both countries also highlighted the lack of full consideration of intersectional realities, in particular those of BIPOC women, and the lack of any commitments to address racism.

In Guatemala, feminist organizations highlight that the country’s government has made only one specific commitment, and made it without coordinating with civil society. Furthermore, the government is anticipated to be a significant recipient of international cooperation funding, but there is a glaring absence of access to information and accountability mechanisms for feminist and women’s organizations regarding the allocation and utilization of these funds. Civil society organizations are the backbone of the feminist agenda in Guatemala, yet they have received the least engagement and funding from the GEF.

In Brazil, feminist organizations criticized the non-prioritization of commitments to Feminist Movements and Leadership, Body Autonomy and SRHR, and GBV. Out of a total of 47 commitments made for the country, only 5 are marked for SRHR and another 5 for GBV. Participations also underscore the necessity of prioritizing action at the intersections of diverse feminist groups: For example, feminists called for prioritizing the use of SRHR commitments to address the elevated maternal mortality rates among Black women in Brazil.
Additionally, along with our partners in Asia-Pacific, feminists in Latin America stated that commitments are largely seen as responding to the specific priorities of global actors and not co-created with feminist civil society knowledgeable about the needs of women in Brazil and Guatemala. Those consulted in the region highlighted that 72 percent of the commitment generators are global, so there is little specific information about funding allocated to fulfill the commitments in Brazil or Guatemala.

A significant 64.5 percent of respondents reported no change in funding availability since 2021. Those who observed a difference attributed it to increased funding for issues like GBV and SRHR. Respondents reported shifts in funding sources with heightened private sector involvement, but still insufficient to meet feminist organizations’ needs. In contrast, the majority felt stagnant funding was due to several factors:

- a glaring neglect of racial and gender issues, especially for Black and Indigenous women, with persistent regional disparities in funding;
- COVID-19 diverting funds to immediate needs at gender equality efforts’ expense;
- a shrinking civic space and de-prioritization of women’s issues;
- intricate funding access mechanisms disadvantaging smaller, unregistered groups;
- a pervasive lack of funding awareness among community-based groups; and
- mounting challenges for CSOs to secure adequate funding for core support.

In the case of Black and Quilombola feminists in Brazil, for example, it was pointed out that, in general, the majority of the financing destined for gender equality actions ends up being directed to white women’s organizations, which concentrate their actions in the South and Southeast regions of the country, or even act in the Northeast, but with control of resources and information, without sharing leadership and power with their Black companions.

Consensus in the region was that the lack of information available, particularly on the amount and implementation of commitments, language barriers, access to the internet in Quilombola and Indigenous communities, and the lack of investment in integrated spaces for accountability and communication is impeding the ability of advocates to ensure progress. In addition to the lack of information, most of the groups that participated in the consultations indicated that they do not know how to access resources from the GEF, or that these resources do not reach their organizations.

Guatemalan advocates pointed out the lack of a permanent and transparent mechanism for dialogue and monitoring, and advocates in both countries highlighted the absence of government commitment and implementation. Feminist groups signalled the need to establish a dialogue agenda between the United Nations working group for the Sustainable Development Goals (SDG) agenda, UN Women and the organizations that make up the GEF, and other civil society representatives, to point out the integration possibilities between GEF commitments and the SDGs. Those consulted from Guatemala additionally highlighted the need to have an alignment of the commitments not only with the SDGs but also with the K’atun Nuestra Guatemala 2032 plan to make it more local and adequate to the context of each population and region of the country.
Our Way Forward

During the consensus-building process in July 2023, our partners identified a path forward for the FAF. They emphasized:

- The need to develop communication strategies in partnership with civil society groups, to spread the word in advance about spaces for political participation.
- The need to generate investment in simple, direct, and transparent processes aimed at strengthening citizen participation, promoting training and information, and seeking sustainable solutions in a collective way.
- The need to develop a collective and data-led advocacy strategy to advocate for action and funding on GEF commitments that match the lived realities of their communities.

Additional Data Collection

The GEF developed indicator metrics to monitor progress toward the Action Coalition targets after consulting with key stakeholders in 2021. These indicator metrics are a means to measure and assess progress or performance of each Action Coalition against expected targets around gender equality. While these efforts reflect a commitment to accountability, feedback from our feminist partners has surfaced areas of concern on whether the current GEF indicators truly mirror the needs and gaps relevant to feminist movements. For instance, in the Action Coalition on GBV, the indicators focus solely on violence against women and girls, neglecting non-binary individuals, transgender people, and other diversity in gender identities and expressions. Disconnections like these necessitate the development of an alternative indicator framework to ensure a more inclusive and nuanced understanding of GEF’s impact on feminist movements.

Building on the pilot country findings, the Feminist Accountability Framework will release an alternative indicator framework during the Commission on the Status of Women (CSW) in March 2024. Our goal in developing this framework is to move beyond numerical targets, positioning the voices, needs, and priorities of diverse communities at the forefront. In our consultation process, we are focusing on three key areas: assessing whether the GEF indicators accurately represent the various needs, experiences, and goals of feminist movements; evaluating how well these indicators correspond with the principles of feminist movements, especially the complexity and interconnectedness of inequalities; and determining how we might build on the GEF indicators to provide a comprehensive understanding of their impact on feminist movements.

The current phase of the FAF is about pushing beyond data for data’s sake, and instead focusing on “data for change.” Currently, we are developing a list of indicators for each Action Coalition, drawing from consultations with grassroots groups across three regions. To set our baseline, we will gather data from publicly available databases for agreed-upon indicators and collect stories to capture voices from the ground. This baseline data collection will be used to test the feasibility of GEF’s impact in the pilot countries. Moving forward, we will also seek out other sources of data, particularly disaggregated data based on race and gender where available, and integrate storytelling and national citizen data to amplify the voices, viewpoints, and analyses of our country partners. These sources play a pivotal role in measuring GEF’s progress and impact in a way that reflects the needs of feminist movements. All our findings and analyses will be publicly released in March 2024 as part of the first year of implementing the pilot mechanism of our Feminist Accountability Framework.
Collective Advocacy Strategy

Feminist Accountability Survey Data

Which groups would you advocate with to ensure that actions and funding on GEF match with the country requirements?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Asia-Pacific</th>
<th>Africa</th>
<th>Latin America</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Academia</td>
<td>3.23%</td>
<td>1.76%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Civil Society Groups</td>
<td>17.25%</td>
<td>19.17%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>International Financial Institutions</td>
<td>4.49%</td>
<td>8.33%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Local Government</td>
<td>17.53%</td>
<td>10%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>National Government</td>
<td>17.95%</td>
<td>15.83%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Media</td>
<td>5.47%</td>
<td>5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Multilateral Organizations</td>
<td>4.35%</td>
<td>4.58%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Philanthropies and Donors</td>
<td>9.82%</td>
<td>12.08%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Private Sector</td>
<td>5.19%</td>
<td>2.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UN Agencies</td>
<td>14.59%</td>
<td>20.42%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No Response</td>
<td>0.14%</td>
<td>0.42%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: Respondents were allowed to select none or more than one option. Hence, percentages may sum up to more or less than 100%.

As part of the consultation process, feminist organizations were asked about who they would target to advocate for action and funding on GEF commitments that match the lived realities of their communities. Across the regions, participants highlighted the need to better engage with UN agencies, national governments, and donors. These stakeholders play crucial roles in decision-making processes and resource allocation. Additionally, participants repeatedly highlighted the need to engage local, national, and global civil society to generate a movement for greater accountability.
What are Our Asks?

- Increase funding for gender and youth-focused initiatives and movements that align with other international agendas, such as the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) at the global level and regional levels.
- Disaggregated and transparent data on funding allocated directly to feminist civil society groups.
- Create synergy for feminist accountability with existing spaces of advocacy within intersecting mechanisms and within regional forums.
- Increase investment for mechanisms that engage feminist movements, youth, grassroots organizations, and CSOs, ensuring accessibility for all groups at both national and global levels.
- Collaborate with other CSOs to strengthen the collective voice for feminist accountability.
- Integrate in-country mechanisms for accountability and review processes into regional frameworks. Use regional mechanisms to advance women’s rights and challenge pushback.
- Use open data and open government platforms, such as the Open Government Partnership, to promote transparency, data accessibility, and accountability in gender-related initiatives.
- Commitment makers to engage with youth and feminist forums to ensure intergenerational solidarity and empower the next generation of advocates.

Together, feminist advocates can strengthen accountability, increase funding, and promote gender justice. Through targeted engagement with key stakeholders and collaborative efforts, we hope to effectively shift decision-making power toward those impacted by commitments.
Conclusion

Through the Feminist Accountability Framework, we strive to support transparent and participatory processes for data collection, analysis, and reporting about the needs and gaps that are relevant to feminist organizations and actors in their specific contexts. That said, this is a living document — open to comments and feedback — and an evolving mechanism. It demands revision as we discover new and better ways to move forward. And it will, by design, include more and different regions and participants going forward.

In addition to supporting the GEF to move from promises into action, the implementation of the FAF may also serve as an advocacy tool to support feminist organizations in assessing precisely which GEF commitments are going where and whether that money is actually being distributed. Moreover, the insights gathered through this process may contribute strengthen GEF’s own accountability and ongoing efforts.

Within this context, feminist funding and accountability are essential drivers of gender justice, shifting power structures, and ensuring equitable distribution of resources. While feminist funding aims to reshape power dynamics, ensuring that historically marginalized communities have access to financial resources, feminist accountability works to guarantee that those on the front have a say in the allocation of funds in a transparent and inclusive process.

Feminist Accountability Partners and Authors of the Framework:

African Women’s Development and Communication Network (FEMNET)
Articulação de Organizações de Mulheres Negras Brasileiras (AMNB)
Asia South Pacific Association for Basic and Adult Education (ASPBAE)
Iniciativa Latinoamericana por los Datos abiertos (ILDA)
ATHENA Network
Batonga Foundation
Criola
Fós Feminista
Fundación de Acción Social e Integral Mujeres de Asfalto
Gender and Development for Cambodia (GADC)
Gender Mobile Counselling Initiative
Girls for Climate Action
Global Fund for Women
Initiative Pananetugri pour le Bien-être de la Femme (IPBF)
International Youth Alliance for Family Planning (IYAFP)
Key Affected Population Health and Legal Rights Alliance (KESWA)
Nala Feminist Collective (NalaFem)
Numun Fund
Odara Instituto da Mulher Negra
Red de Salud de las Mujeres Latinoamericanas y del Caribe
Revista Afirmativa - Coletivo de Mídia Negra e Feminista
The Asian-Pacific Resource & Research Centre for Women (ARROW)
The YP Foundation
Women with Disabilities Development Foundation (WDDF)
Young Feminist Europe
**Steering Committee**

Digital Grassroots  
Equal Measures 2030  
Fòs Feminista  
Fridays for Future MAPA  
Women’s Environment & Development Organization (WEDO)  
The Asian-Pacific Resource & Research Centre for Women (ARROW)

**Facilitator and Resource Partners**

The Feminist Accountability Framework for the Generation Equality Forum is a multi-stakeholder initiative housed and facilitated by Global Fund for Women, and funded by a committed group of resource partners, which is inclusive of Children’s Investment Fund Foundation, Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation, and Open Society Foundations. Global Fund for Women facilitated a series of online and in-person spaces to build an accountability framework that reflects feminist priorities; create methodologies and tools to collect and analyze data for accountability; support capacity strengthening to implement the designed feminist accountability approach and advocacy strategies; and build comprehensive and responsive communications and advocacy plans.

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