

FEMINIST FOREIGN POLICY IN THE U.S.:

A SCORECARD ON THE BIDEN-HARRIS ADMINISTRATION'S FIRST YEAR



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ABOUT THE AUTHORIZING COALITION

The Coalition for a Feminist Foreign Policy in the United States is a collective effort to develop a vision for the highest standard of U.S. foreign policy that promotes overarching goals of gender equality, human rights, bodily autonomy, peace and environmental integrity, while prioritizing the articulation of concrete policy recommendations.

Learn more about the Coalition [here](#).

SUGGESTED CITATION

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SUMMARY

President Joe Biden and Vice President Kamala Harris have committed to “pursue an aggressive and comprehensive plan to further women’s economic and physical security and ensure that women can fully exercise their civil rights.”¹

Over the past 12 months, the [Coalition for a Feminist Foreign Policy in the United States](#) has appreciated the administration’s efforts to advance our core goals of gender equality, human rights, bodily autonomy, environmental integrity and peace—even if they have fallen short of a comprehensive feminist foreign policy.

During this time, the Biden-Harris administration has taken initial steps and implemented half (50 percent) of the recommendations made by the Coalition. It is a start. We understand that if we want fundamental changes to U.S. foreign policy institutions and processes, it will take time. **This scorecard focuses on the progress made towards a feminist foreign policy.**

Up to now, many policies have been articulated but have not yet been fully developed or implemented. However, outside of gender-focused programs and policies it is hard to find a moment when the Biden-Harris administration has demonstrated that the goal of gender equality was a primary consideration in a foreign policy decision. This suggests a lack of political will throughout the administration to drive systematic change and ensure that all foreign policy includes gender equality as a priority.

Changing systems requires the right structures and personnel. While some key appointments have been made, an increase in gender parity, and some structures created, the administration has not provided sufficient leadership, personnel or resources, outside of a limited scope of gender-focused offices, to make the essential changes

needed to implement a full-fledged feminist foreign policy or be a global leader on gender equality. To achieve this, the Biden-Harris administration needs to ensure that those in leadership across all foreign policy entities and the White House are clearly signaling that gender equality is a top priority of the administration. This should not be an issue left solely to gender offices and staff. **Agency leaders, at the direction of the White House, need to support and push for changes in patriarchal power structures, increased funding, and accountability mechanisms.**



To become a global leader on gender equality and implement a feminist foreign policy, the Biden-Harris administration needs to increase high-level political will focused on gender equality, concentrate more attention to integrating gender into issues of U.S. foreign policy and significantly increase funding. Foreign policy should also prioritize peace and environmental integrity, as well as enshrine, promote and protect the human rights of all.

INTRODUCTION

The Biden-Harris administration took office in January 2021, at a time of unprecedented challenges for the United States government and the people it serves.

Ron Klain, the White House Chief of Staff, stated in a [transition memo](#)² that we face four overlapping and compounding crises: the COVID-19 crisis, the resulting economic crisis, the climate crisis, and a racial equity crisis.³ He then went on to outline actions that would take place early in the administration to address these four crises, prevent other urgent and irreversible harms and restore America's place in the world.

At the same time, the Biden-Harris administration faced significant challenges in the wake of a number of withdrawals from women's rights, human rights and other global commitments by the U.S. government. In 2017, President Trump reinstated and expanded the [Global Gag Rule](#), restricting \$8.8 billion in U.S. foreign aid funding for international health programs that provide or even mention abortion, and defunded the

United Nations Population Fund (UNFPA).⁴ Later that year, he announced, through a series of tweets, that [transgender individuals](#) would no longer be allowed to serve in the U.S. military.⁵ President Trump withdrew the United States from the [Paris climate agreement](#).⁶ In 2019, the Trump-Pence administration lobbied to remove "[sexual and reproductive health](#)" from a high-level United Nations agreement on universal health coverage.⁷ President Trump also withdrew from the [Open Skies](#) arms control treaty with Russia.⁸ In late 2020, he issued an [executive order](#) banning federal entities and contractors from providing employees with training related to race and gender because President Trump believed they are "divisive concepts," "harmful ideologies" and "anti-American."⁹ These are only a few examples.

Within months and through a series of executive orders, the Biden-Harris administration reversed many of the policies set in place by its predecessor. The White House released numerous public statements and directly engaged with other countries and multilateral organizations to reengage with gender equality initiatives. A March 8th executive order established the [White House Gender Policy Council](#) to advance gender equity and equality in both domestic and foreign policy development and implementation.¹⁰ In October, the administration issued the first-ever [National Strategy on Gender Equity and Equality](#).¹¹

Despite these gains, however, many gender equality and women's rights advocates argue that the Biden-Harris administration missed a unique opportunity in the last year to demonstrate swift and assertive



leadership in tackling systemic inequality in order to strengthen the domestic recovery and renew U.S. global leadership.

The full embrace of a feminist foreign policy would be a considerable departure from the status quo, and the White House has clearly been reluctant to commit, though the administration has certainly articulated and committed to “reasserting U.S. leadership on gender equity and equality on the world stage.”¹² Feminist foreign policies have

been adopted by many U.S. allies and partners, including Sweden, France, Spain, Germany, Canada, Luxemburg, Mexico, and Libya. The Coalition for a Feminist Foreign Policy in the United States (the Coalition), continues to believe a feminist foreign policy should be adopted and implemented in the United States in order to be considered a global leader on gender as the Biden-Harris administration campaigned on and have declared in public comments over the past year.¹³



A feminist foreign policy should be adopted and implemented in the United States in order to be considered **a global leader on gender** as the Biden-Harris administration campaigned on and have declared in public comments over the past year.

In 2019, a group of U.S. foreign policy experts and advocates came together to sketch out what a U.S. feminist foreign policy could look like. This discussion benefited from a research review of other countries’ feminist foreign policies, as well as insights gathered through a series of global consultations with more than 100 feminist activists from over 40 countries as to what a global template or gold standard for feminist foreign policy should entail. Through months of extensive consultation, the group gathered new insights on topics that had been omitted or underdeveloped at the time of drafting: humanitarian assistance, immigration policy, nuclear policy and points of intersection between feminist agendas at home and abroad. The resulting paper, [Toward a Feminist Foreign Policy](#)

[in the United States](#), launched in May 2020, includes a proposed definition, key principles and policy recommendations, including a framework of what a feminist foreign policy should look like within the U.S. government context.¹⁴ Over 80 organizations have since endorsed the ideas laid out in the paper and joined together to create the Coalition for a Feminist Foreign Policy in the United States. Since the 2020 election, additional policy papers, [A Memo to the Next Administration](#)¹⁵ and a [100-Day Scorecard](#)¹⁶ have been released.

Here, we highlight the positive steps taken towards a feminist foreign policy, while acknowledging the long road ahead.

DEFINING FEMINIST FOREIGN POLICY

The Coalition for a Feminist Foreign Policy in the United States defines feminist foreign policy as “the policy of a state that defines its interactions with other states, as well as movements and other non-state actors, in a manner that prioritizes peace, gender equality and environmental integrity; enshrines, promotes, and protects the human rights of all; seeks to disrupt colonial, racist, patriarchal and male-dominated power structures; and allocates significant resources, including research, to achieve that vision.”¹⁷

Feminist foreign policy would result in institutional change (policies, leadership and structures, funding and accountability mechanisms) across all foreign policy levers of influence (defense, diplomacy, foreign assistance, trade and immigration), anchored by the exercise of those values at home and co-created with feminist activists, groups and movements, at home and abroad.

Feminist foreign policy redefines “security” to include the ability to live life free from violence, persecution, climate impacts and economic exploitation. The COVID-19 pandemic, historic heat and drought and military conflicts have provided opportunities for the administration to embrace a broader definition of security and reframe this concept. While “health and economic security” are parts of the administration’s work to ensure equal opportunity for all people, regardless of gender, gender equality is not included in the administration’s [interim national security strategic guidance](#) document issued in March 2021.¹⁸

Feminist foreign policy fundamentally alters the way a nation conducts itself, prioritizing the importance

of diplomatic solutions, cooperating with allies and international institutions. High-level gatherings, ongoing negotiations and budget proposals have provided opportunities for the administration to demonstrate new priorities. While diplomacy and foreign assistance are included as strategies to advance gender equality and the U.S. government has re-engaged globally, there has not been a visible effort to disrupt power structures or change systems of oppression.

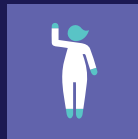
Feminist foreign policy embraces a progressive, inclusive and rights-based agenda; values the voices of people who face the greatest barriers to exercising their human rights; and works to change systems of oppression. The surge of Haitian migrants at the southern border, the need to evacuate Afghan women’s human rights activists and others at risk of persecution and the global distribution of the COVID vaccine have provided opportunities for the administration to go beyond rhetoric and take clear action. Instead, it has remained confined by the traditional framework used by past presidents of both parties.

THIS SCORECARD

This first annual scorecard follows the structure laid out in [A Feminist Foreign Policy for the United States: A Memo to the Next Administration](#), which includes four core areas for U.S. leadership on gender equality, human rights, environmental integrity and peace: Policy Articulation, Leadership and Structures, Funding, and Accountability.¹⁹



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The criteria used to document the progress made by the Biden-Harris administration are based on the goals identified in the paper, [Toward a Feminist Foreign Policy in the United States](#) and the previously noted transition memo.²⁰ These goals span five cross-cutting elements that are necessary to advance feminist foreign policy across government:

1. **High-level leadership** with a clear mandate to design and implement a feminist foreign policy;
2. **Commitment to gender parity, diversity, equity and inclusion**, both internally among leadership and staff and externally, co-created with feminists outside of government;
3. **Training and capacity-building** to ensure robust implementation;
4. **Gender analysis** underlying all aspects of foreign policy; and
5. **Adequate resourcing** to ensure all of the above.

In addition to these cross-cutting recommendations, agency- and foreign policy lever-specific recommendations included for foreign assistance, humanitarian assistance, trade, diplomacy, defense and immigration are scored. See the Scoring Criteria on **page 22** for the full scoring matrix.

The articulation, creation and implementation of a feminist foreign policy would involve a remarkable transformation of the U.S. government. To make the necessary structural and systemic change would take a considerable amount of leadership, political will and time. It is unrealistic to expect full implementation within the first year of a new administration, even more so amidst the multiple, ongoing crises. To that end, this scorecard does not provide letter grades similar to those in the 100-Day Scorecard but includes percentages of the recommendations that have been followed and details what more still needs to be done.

AN OVERALL REVIEW OF PROGRESS

This White House and those appointed by the President have taken initial steps that align with the Coalition's core principles of gender equality; diversity, intersectionality, equity, and representation; peace; diplomacy; bodily autonomy; environmental integrity; and human rights.



Thus far, the Biden-Harris administration has implemented half of the recommendations made by the Coalition. As previously noted, structural change takes time, and it is possible that in the next few years of the Biden-Harris administration, the structural change the Coalition laid out will take hold. Currently, however, the administration has not provided sufficient leadership, personnel or resources, outside of a limited scope of gender-focused offices, to make the essential changes needed to implement a feminist foreign policy.

A new White House Gender Policy Council was established and includes members from at least 30 departments, agencies and offices. However, the majority of actions that have been taken so far have been taken by the White House Gender Policy Council, and not the broader foreign policy agencies and departments.

In order to achieve a feminist foreign policy, the Biden-Harris administration would need to ensure that those in leadership across the White House and all foreign policy entities are clearly signaling that they prioritize gender equality. This should not be an issue left to gender offices and staff but articulated as a top priority of the administration, in speeches and statements, as well as in everything it does, as called for in the National Strategy on Gender Equity and Equality. This would also mean that agency leaders, at the direction of the White House, would support and push for changes in patriarchal power structures, increased funding and accountability mechanisms to ensure foreign policy prioritizes gender equality, peace and environmental integrity as well as enshrines, promotes and protects the human rights of all. High-level political will is critical in order to conduct U.S. foreign policy in a fundamentally different way.

The *National Strategy on Gender Equity and Equality* is a foundational framework.²¹ It focuses on ten strategic priorities that are essential to economic growth and development, democracy and political stability and security, as well as includes commitments to address these priorities in both domestic and foreign policy. It also acknowledges the importance of integrating gender throughout government efforts by calling for gender mainstreaming. Importantly, it adopts an intersectional approach that considers the barriers and challenges faced by those who experience intersecting and compounding forms of discrimination and bias related to gender, race, sexual orientation, ethnicity, religion, disability, age, socioeconomic status and other factors. Moreover, each federal agency is required to establish and prioritize at least three goals that will serve to advance the objectives identified in the strategy, as well as detail the plans and resources needed to achieve them in an implementation plan due in the Summer of 2022.

The shortcoming of the Gender Strategy, however, mirrors the issue with the White House Gender Policy Council in that it is siloed from the rest of the administration. Whereas foreign policy is included within the National Gender Strategy, gender analysis and the goal of gender equality are not integrated into foreign policy documents, such as the [Interim National Security Strategic Guidance](#). In a fact sheet on [Prioritizing Climate in Foreign Policy and National Security](#), gender analysis is not used to contextualize the climate risk analysis used by the Office of the Director of National Intelligence or the Department of Defense.²² [We should note, however, that gender is taken into consideration in the Department of

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Homeland Security's [Report On The Impact Of Climate Change On Migration](#) and, to some extent, in the [National Strategy for COVID-19 Response and Pandemic Preparedness](#). **It is challenging to pinpoint one instance over the last year when the Biden-Harris administration demonstrated that the goal of gender equality was a primary consideration in a foreign policy decisions, apart from those already specifically focused on gender or women's issues. This suggests a lack of broader political will to drive systems change and ensure that all foreign policy includes gender equality as a priority.**



WHAT THE ADMINISTRATION HAS ACCOMPLISHED IN THEIR FIRST YEAR

While the actions of the Biden-Harris administration have not encompassed the fundamental structural changes needed to implement a feminist foreign policy, it has taken actions to re-engage around gender issues globally and build on previous progress.

The January 28, 2021 [Presidential Memorandum](#) to advance sexual and reproductive health and rights rescinded the harmful Mexico City Policy,²³ and the President's [budget request](#) restored UNFPA funding.²⁴ Vice President Harris attended (virtually) the Commission on the Status of Women in March and UN Women's Generation Equality Forum in June. [Commitments](#) made in conjunction with the Forum included policy and resource allocations to prevent and respond to all forms of gender-based violence; strengthen women's economic security; and protect and advance sexual and reproductive health and rights.²⁵

The Department of State, the U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID), the Millennium Challenge Corporation (MCC), the U.S. International Development Finance Corporation (DFC), the Department of Defense and other relevant departments have continued to implement strategies and programs that focus on gender equality and the empowerment of women and girls. In many cases, the staff are working to update policies that address issues like gender-based violence, youth engagement and democracy promotion, as well as integrate gender into new programs or policies related to COVID and diversity, equity and inclusion. The processes to update these strategies, for the most part, have included civil society consultation, which is a cornerstone of feminist foreign policy.



MISSED OPPORTUNITIES

The Biden-Harris administration has yet to provide the resources required to support a robust agenda for gender equality, let alone a feminist foreign policy. The President's 2022 Budget Request to support these issues is lower than the lowest request from the Obama-Biden administration—and about a billion dollars lower than the Obama-Biden administration's inflation-adjusted 2014 peak request for global gender equality efforts.²⁶ The White House budget does not include a line item dedicated to strengthening the impact of the White House Gender Policy Council. USAID has not made a budget request for additional staff or training to implement its gender equality and female empowerment policy. Agencies and departments that implement the women, peace and security agenda and the strategies addressing gender-based violence and adolescent girls' empowerment globally do not include specific allocations for associated initiatives in their budget.

We are concerned that with the agencies' gender strategy implementation plans not due until July, the agencies will, as a result, fail to include in their 2023 budgets the funds necessary for the staff and activities needed to carry out their individual plans.

Beyond funding issues, the administration has not created positions and structures necessary to expand this work beyond the White House Gender Policy Council. The President has not appointed a full-time senior director for gender at the National Security Council, nor has a civil society advisory council been created. Although each agency has been instructed to create an implementation plan with three goals for the Gender Strategy, they have not been tasked with developing an agency-specific gender policy that is both internally and externally facing, from personnel decisions to programs and interventions.



ANALYSIS OF KEY THEMATIC PRIORITIES

In addition to gender equality, feminist foreign policy prioritizes key thematic priorities that are centered within U.S. foreign policy: bodily autonomy, peace and environmental integrity.

BODILY AUTONOMY

The Biden-Harris administration has taken several key actions to advance sexual and reproductive health and rights. In his second week in office, President Biden issued an [executive memorandum](#) on women's health at home and abroad, which stated that it is the policy of the U.S. government to support sexual and reproductive health and rights. The administration rescinded the Global Gag Rule, a policy which disrupts access to health care and silences advocates. It withdrew the U.S. from the [Geneva Consensus Declaration](#),²⁷ a statement aimed at advancing an anti-abortion and anti-LGBTQ agenda. Further, the administration directed the Secretary of State to restore funding for UNFPA, the United Nations agency dedicated to sexual and reproductive health.²⁸ In March, the Secretary of State announced that the State Department would resume reporting on reproductive rights in the annual Country Reports on Human Rights.²⁹ The administration has taken additional steps to support sexual and reproductive health and rights in international forums and in key negotiations at the United Nations, including the Commission on the Status of Women. The Biden-Harris administration rejected the report of the Commission on Unalienable Rights,³⁰ sending an important, public signal to

governments and communities around the world that the administration will support critical human rights frameworks and collaborate with the global community to advance sexual and reproductive health and rights, including access to abortion. It took unilateral action to provide additional [humanitarian funding for UNFPA](#),³¹ becoming the [top donor](#) to UNFPA's humanitarian programs³² and also [announced](#) the first ever U.S. contribution to the UNFPA Supplies Partnership, which is the world's largest provider of donated contraceptive commodities.³³ Within the [humanitarian assistance](#) for COVID-19 response around the world, funding was provided to address the distinct, life-threatening protection and health needs of women and girls by strengthening gender-based violence prevention and response services, as well as mental health and psychosocial support.³⁴

PEACE

This thematic priority encompasses a consistent and coherent implementation of the women, peace and security agenda to advancing disarmament and related activities more broadly. The Department of State, USAID, the Department of Defense and other relevant departments released a [joint report](#) in July regarding the implementation of the Women, Peace and Security (WPS) Act.³⁵ The White House has since nominated ambassadors to key posts, including special representatives to the [International Atomic Energy Agency](#),³⁶ Conference on Disarmament³⁷ and for nuclear nonproliferation.³⁸ While the Biden-Harris administration maintains that it supports

a world free of nuclear weapons, it has instead continued previous administrations' policies of not supporting the Treaty on the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons. Additionally, while the President made a pledge to review the role of nuclear weapons in U.S. national security and defense, the dismissal of a [key appointee](#) charged with conducting such a review raised questions about the involvement of Pentagon and congressional opponents.³⁹ The Biden-Harris administration has been engaged for months working toward a negotiated ceasefire in the Tigray region of Ethiopia and in September released [a new sanctions regime](#) that could be applied to a wide set of warring parties in the

country.⁴⁰ The WPS Act establishes that "It shall be the policy of the United States to promote the meaningful participation of women in all aspects of overseas conflict prevention, management, and resolution, and post-conflict relief and recovery efforts, reinforced through diplomatic efforts and programs..."⁴¹ However, in the most glaring foreign policy example, most analysts agree that women were not meaningfully included in the peace processes around Afghanistan, and the United States has not prioritized their engagement in ongoing discussions about Afghanistan's current situation or plans for the future.



Read the Afghanistan Case Study on [page 13](#).

ENVIRONMENTAL INTEGRITY AND JUSTICE

This priority takes into account the ways in which environmental degradation impacts safety and security, particularly for those who are most vulnerable to multiple and intersecting forms of discrimination. On President Biden's first day in office in January 2021, the administration signaled its intention to re-engage in the Paris Climate Agreement. It created the [White House Environmental Justice Interagency Council](#) to address current and historic environmental injustices.⁴² President Biden also ordered the review of more than 100 [rules and regulations](#) on air, water, public lands, endangered species and climate change that were weakened or rolled back by the previous administration.⁴³ Former Secretary of State John Kerry was named the U.S. climate envoy. The administration convened world leaders for a climate summit on Earth Day and committed to an ambitious new U.S. target for [cutting climate pollution](#) 50-52 percent below 2005 levels by

2030.⁴⁴ In October, President Biden attended and spoke at the Glasgow Climate Change Conference (COP26), as did numerous other cabinet officials and former President Obama.⁴⁵ At a recent United Nations presentation on its Global Humanitarian Overview for 2022, USAID Administrator Samantha Power outlined both how the agency will increase involvement of women-led organizations in the design and implementation of humanitarian programming and how climate change resilience and adaptation is integral to long-term resilience planning.⁴⁶ However, over this first year, the administration showed that more immediate demands [override the President's pledge](#) to make combating climate change "an essential element of U.S. foreign policy and national security."⁴⁷ The Climate strategy does not substantially include the gendered considerations for climate change. A feminist foreign policy would mean that gender is holistically and intersectionally included in all climate strategies and activities, including addressing power and structural changes.



AFGHANISTAN CASE STUDY

Note: We understand the work done by, and are grateful for, the officials inside the U.S. government who advocated for women and gender throughout the process, but a focus on gender should not depend on individuals alone.

This case study examines how a feminist foreign policy could have made a difference in the withdrawal of the U.S. government from Afghanistan in August 2021.

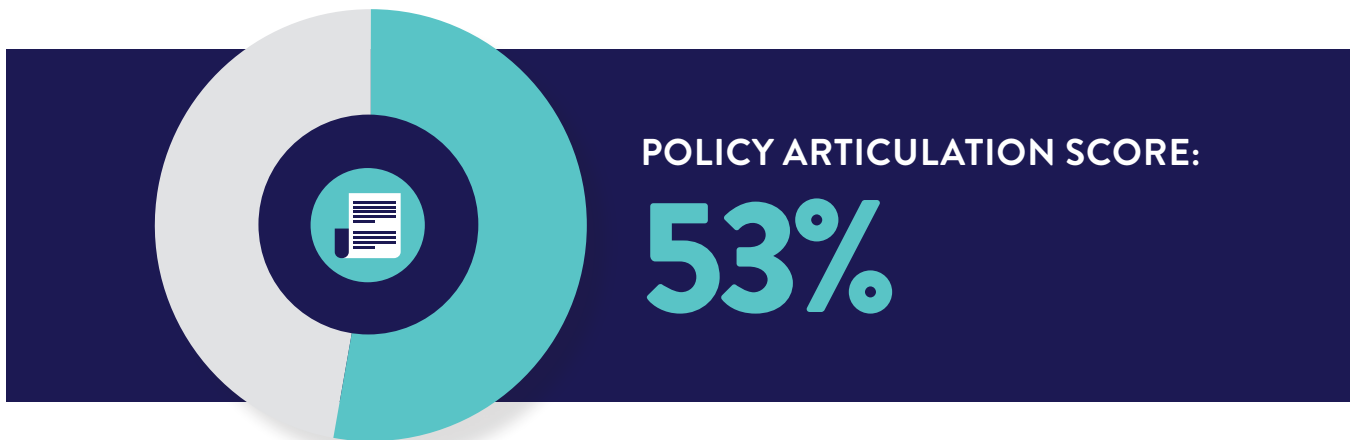
Within a true feminist foreign policy, the current decision-making systems and institutional structures would have been fundamentally altered to prioritize peace, gender equality and environmental integrity. The scope of the issue would have been expanded from ending the war to ensuring strong Afghan institutions that serve its citizens and turning the country back over to its people. The balance of power and those engaged would have been modified to include both the American and Afghan people rather than the U.S. military and the Taliban.

Had a feminist foreign policy been implemented at the beginning of the Biden-Harris administration, the Trump-Pence administration's agreement with the Taliban would have been paused and new talks commenced that would have included the Afghan government and civil society organizations, including those led by and representing women. Moreover, intelligence collected in the country regarding the status of the government and military would have been expanded to include the perspective of more Afghans, including those who would be most impacted by a U.S. government withdrawal, Afghan government collapse and a Taliban takeover. Finally, a more diverse set of decision-makers, including those focused on development and humanitarian affairs, would have been included in discussions about a U.S. withdrawal and the impact on the people of Afghanistan. These three actions, taken together, would have redefined what "security" meant in this case, who was at risk and what the needs of the Afghan people would be.

If, in the end, the decision to withdraw from Afghanistan in August remained, under a feminist foreign policy, the administration would have publicly articulated its decision to facilitate transparency, accountability and learning. At the very least, sex-disaggregated data collection and a gender analysis would have been used to inform decisions about the immigration, withdrawal and evacuation processes.

One specific example: the [The Special Immigrant Visa \(SIV\) program](#). SIV is available to persons who worked with the U.S. Armed Forces or under Chief of Mission authority as a translator or interpreter in Iraq or Afghanistan.⁴⁸ Some reports indicate that [women were less likely to have worked for the U.S. government](#) or military as translators, as fewer Afghan women speak English fluently (a prerequisite for working with the US government) and families were often hesitant to have women family members work for a foreign government.⁴⁹ Had there been sex-disaggregated data collection, it would have helped the U.S. government identify if there was a gender gap in who was and was not eligible for a SIV, and who needed to be added because of risk.

Beyond eligibility, a gender analysis of the data would have identified whether eligible men and women were applying for the SIV in different numbers and why. Gender gaps may exist with regard to access to the Internet and information about the program, English-only forms, required documents, ability to obtain Afghan government services for passports, etc. [NOTE: Afghanistan has the [widest gender gap](#) with respect to identification.⁵⁰] A U.S. feminist foreign policy would have included personnel and structures in place to quickly adjust the SIV eligibility and paperwork to accommodate the different gender needs to ensure that Afghans were not left behind because of their gender.



With regard to policy, the Biden-Harris administration has implemented just over half (53%) of the recommendations promoted by the Coalition to implement a feminist foreign policy.

The administration has communicated through executive orders, statements and speeches that it is the policy of the United States to “establish and pursue a comprehensive approach to ensure that the Federal Government is working to advance equal rights and opportunities, regardless of gender or gender identity, in advancing domestic and foreign policy.”⁵¹ The White House Gender Policy Council was established, and the *National Strategy on Gender Equity and Equality* was released. However, policy articulation has not, so far, led to policy development and implementation that changes the underlying structures and systems of the entities that implement U.S. foreign policy (we expect some of the implementation will follow the agency implementation plans that are being developed through June). Gender equality issues have not been evenly addressed. The Coalition is looking for examples of how the administration’s approach to gender equity and equality has impacted any foreign policy decisions.

Feminist foreign policy centers the experience, expertise and well-being of women and girls, who face unique and specific barriers to their full human rights because of their gender identity. Accordingly, in order to implement a full-fledged feminist foreign policy, mechanisms and processes

that consistently take those views into account must be developed and integrated in implementation plans. Unfortunately, even with the creation of the new Gender Policy Council and Gender Strategy, the administration has not addressed the balance of power within U.S. government foreign policy decision-making nor meaningfully and transparently engaged with civil society, including those from countries, communities and sectors most impacted by U.S. foreign policy. There is no evidence that the U.S. government has clearly defined women’s rights and gender equality-related terminology, including sexual and reproductive health and rights or articulated redlines about what is acceptable in multilateral negotiations. Similarly, redlines have not been developed or deployed in negotiations surrounding gender more broadly, climate and other multilateral agreements.

Feminist foreign policy also calls for the codification of processes where there are inconsistencies between diplomacy and the overarching goals of gender equality, peace, human rights, bodily autonomy and environmental integrity. This includes disengagement from countries that perpetuate human rights abuses, even when otherwise serving national interests. Moreover, there has not been a requirement for foreign policy departments to create their own gender policies that cover operations in Washington or in Missions around the world. While members of the White House Gender Policy Council are working with agencies to write implementation plans for the new Gender Strategy, there is no requirement that they include a commitment to management, skill development or new hiring to execute the plans.

Each agency identifies its own priorities. There has been no specific mandate for gender analysis to be standard practice in defense, development or diplomatic program design or implementation.

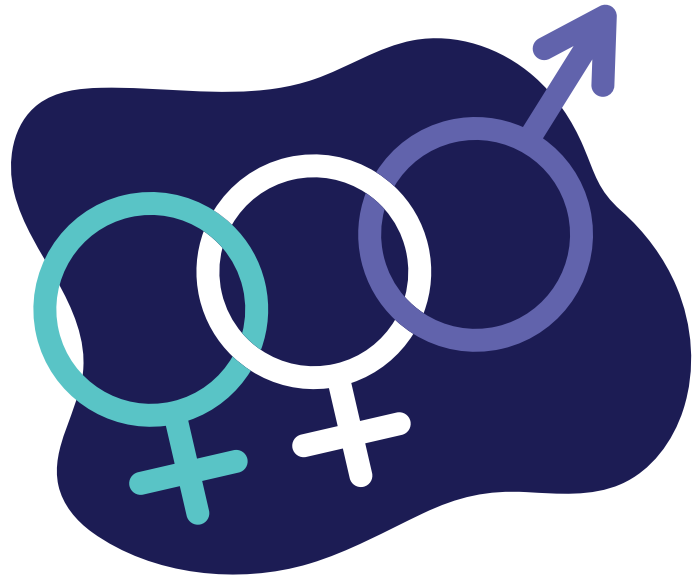
Within USAID, which has the most experience in advancing gender equality through its work, most of the Coalition's policy recommendations have been taken. These include the aforementioned repeal of the expanded Mexico City Policy, as well as the prioritization of local ownership of foreign assistance. Humanitarian assistance recommendations were covered thoroughly in the new Gender Strategy, which included the requirement for programming to be gender-sensitive and the universal application of safeguarding minimum standards. However, the USAID Senior Coordinator for Gender Equality and Women's Empowerment is tripled-hatted and no longer in the Administrator's office. USAID also has well-documented challenges in implementing its gender policy,⁵² and to date, there have not been clear signs that gender advisors within USAID will obtain additional support sufficient to ensure full implementation of gender policy. Many of the implementation challenges sit outside of the functional and geographic bureaus, for example in procurement and contracting implementation. U.S. foreign assistance goes beyond this one agency and has not been similarly addressed in others.

Moving forward, the Coalition will want to see steps being taken to address these implementation challenges.

Regarding diplomacy and the State Department, the Biden-Harris administration has taken steps to engage and support multilateral institutions, elevate gender equality in bilateral and multilateral meetings and restore assessments of global reproductive rights and information on maternal mortality to the annual Human Rights Country Reports.

On the other hand, the U.S. government has not made a commitment to hold itself to the same standards of those reports.

The State Department in its contracts has not mandated gender analysis nor transparent



reporting on projects and programs gender equality metrics and how they prioritize gender equality. Guidance has not been issued to embassies regarding prioritizing the status of women and girls as a metric for evaluating the growth of any country. Furthermore, security assistance has not been vetted for its effects on women or other historically-excluded groups. Internally, the Department has not mandated gender, sexual and reproductive health and rights, anti-racism and implicit bias training in both early-career and ongoing professional development opportunities. The Department should update its human resources policies to ensure that personnel policies, including family leave, childcare, deployment options and policies, promotion tracks, provisions for trailing spouses and more, build towards a more equitable and just workforce.

The Department of Defense has made strides in addressing gender equality through its operations. President Biden lifted the transgender service member ban. An independent review commission on sexual assault in the military was formed and issued a report that outlined concrete actions for improving the way the military handles sexual assault and creates justice mechanisms for gender-based violence survivors. The Department has also reported increased training on the women, peace and security agenda. However, we have not seen other operational changes, such as comprehensive coverage of and access to sexual and reproductive

health and rights for people serving in the military or retooled internal policies to ensure provision of childcare and spousal support. Policy-wise, the National Security Strategy does not appear to take into account people's experiences of systemic discrimination.

The trade sector has been largely gender-uninformed to date. Although there have been commitments made by the U.S. Trade Representative to tackle a long list of challenges that include racial and gender trade inequities in U.S. trade issues, there has not been a specific commitment to incorporate human rights and gender equality into trade agreements or a new mechanism to link gender equality with environmental and labor issues in those agreements. However, there has been progress, even if the steps taken have not fully resulted in the necessary policy changes. For example, at the Summit for Democracy in December, the U.S. Trade Representative, Ambassador Tai, [stated](#) that her office is developing policies that deliver inclusive economic growth and prosperity to all communities, including woman-owned businesses and female entrepreneurs. That inclusivity has been central to her approach to implementing U.S. trade agreements.⁵³ Additionally, it was announced that the U.S. [intended to join](#) the Joint Declaration on the Advancement of Gender Equality and Women's Economic Empowerment Within Trade for the 12th WTO (World Trade Organization) Ministerial Conference.⁵⁴ Trade is briefly mentioned in the *National Strategy on Gender Equity and Equality*, which marks its important inclusion as a key lever for gender equality. Historically, however, trade has largely been viewed as gender-neutral and has, therefore, been gender-uninformed. There are many opportunities for growth and inclusion of gender in this sector.

The Biden-Harris administration committed not only to undoing the previous administration's regressive policies but also improving the U.S. immigration system, which has long endured systemic issues that prevent immigrants from exercising their rights and being treated with dignity. In June, the Secretary of the Department of Homeland Security Alejandro Mayorkas formally terminated the "Migrant Protection Protocols" (MPP) policy known as "Remain in Mexico." In August, the Supreme Court refused to stay a U.S. District Court decision, which vacated the June termination memo and ordered the Biden-Harris administration to reimplement MPP. It restarted on December 6. Title 42, a CDC policy that blocks individuals at the U.S. southern border from exercising their right to seek asylum in the United States and expels them to Mexico and other countries, has been extended. The administration has also walked away from settlement negotiations in the class action lawsuits filed on behalf of families who were separated under the Trump-Pence administration's Zero Tolerance policy, which has deeply negative impacts on women and girls. There has been no publicly-available gender analysis on immigration policies, gender-sensitive approaches to release and custody decisions, or publicly-available sex-disaggregated data on immigration policy implementation, which makes it hard to identify gender gaps that exist. The *National Strategy on Gender Equity and Equality* states the goals of eliminating long-standing disparities in the immigration system and collecting sex-disaggregated data. However, this is not possible without the required analysis to determine what actions are needed to rescind policies that penalize women solely due to their gender.

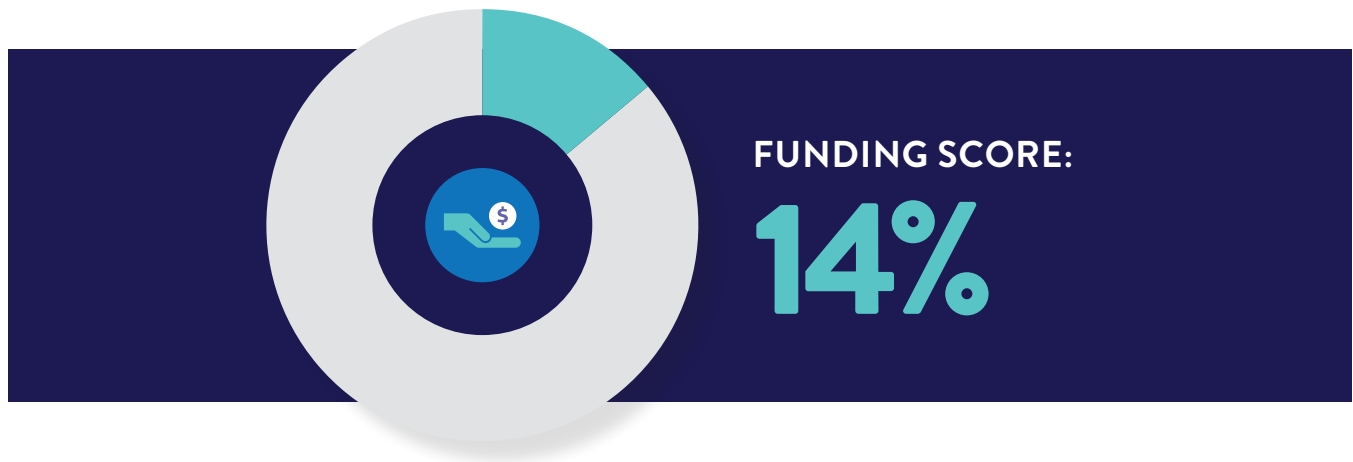


The Biden-Harris administration has implemented almost 60 percent (58%) of the recommendations in this area to move towards a feminist foreign policy. Unfortunately, those that are missing are the ones that would make the most impact by shifting the balance of power within foreign policy decision-making.

The structure of the White House Gender Policy Council mirrors most of the Coalition's recommendations for a Feminist Policy Council. It has an explicit mandate to develop and submit to the President a government-wide strategy for advancing gender equity and equality in the United States and around the world. The Biden-Harris administration has also nominated a cabinet that reflects gender parity, diversity and inclusive representation; however, gender representation varies among agencies with a notable lack of gender parity at the National Security Council.⁵⁵ Importantly, American leadership, with regard to gender equality, has been represented by high-level delegations sent to key global convenings in this first year. The Coalition is looking for an elevation of the Gender Policy Council staff within the White House, high-ranking gender advisors within all foreign policy entities and robust and frequent articulation of a commitment to these issues by administration leadership, including members of the Cabinet. Moreover, the engagement of civil society organizations in the U.S. and around the world must be prioritized. (See **page 20** for insights on the administration).

The White House Gender Policy Council has been given a mandate but not the necessary tools and resources to implement it, such as a Cabinet-level position for the Director of the Gender Policy Council. A list of those that represent the Council member departments has not been made public and, therefore, it is unknown if those representatives are high-level or have gender expertise. The all-important civil society advisory council for the White House Gender Policy Council has not been formed, held its first meeting or been consulted with regard to the Gender Strategy. Most importantly, the White House Gender Policy Council and the Gender Strategy are not focused on the necessary structural change across all foreign policy levers.

There has been a focus on gender and diversity in U.S. government foreign policy hiring. There is a new Ambassador-level Chief Diversity and Inclusion Officer at the State Department, reporting directly to the Secretary and directing other efforts within each bureau. Secretary of State Blinken gave a speech in October about his plan "to modernize the purpose and institution of American diplomacy." On USAID Administrator Samantha Power's first day in office, she issued a Diversity, Equity, and Inclusion (DEI) strategy that commits USAID to improving and enhancing diversity throughout the Agency, enhancing inclusion and equity for everyone in the workplace and strengthening accountability for promoting and sustaining a diverse workforce and an inclusive Agency culture.



The Coalition called for dedicated foreign assistance funding to promote gender equality, the use of gender analysis in U.S. international programs, and long-term investment in women’s rights organizations and feminist movements in its white paper, Transition Memo and in a subsequent one-pager, [All Foreign Policy Spending Should Take Gender Into Account](#).⁵⁶

To date, the administration has fallen far short of any such funding commitments and has implemented just two of eleven recommendations (14%) regarding funding.

This includes credit given for speeches making commitments that have yet to be realized in budget requests.⁵⁷

Ensuring there is funding for a feminist foreign policy is a critical component for ensuring that any of the policy and structure changes can successfully be implemented.

As previously stated, the President’s 2022 Budget Request, when it comes to gender, is lower than the lowest request from the Obama-Biden administration. The proposed budget does not integrate gender throughout all of foreign policy funding; nor does it direct at least 20 percent of foreign assistance funding towards efforts focused specifically on gender equality.⁵⁸ The U.S. currently dedicates under five percent of its aid to gender equality. In a November speech, USAID Administrator Power pledged that at least a quarter of all USAID funds would go directly to local partners within the course of the next four years. However, there was no specific commitment to increased investment in women’s rights organizations and feminist movements.⁵⁹ There is no mention of increased core support and multi-year funding for these groups, which is vital for their survival.

The White House Gender Policy Council and the Gender Strategy are not robustly resourced. Operationally, there were no Agency-level line items dedicated to implementing the Gender Strategy or agency action plans.



Our review finds that the Biden-Harris administration has performed well with regard to accountability, based on what is feasible to date, receiving full marks (100%).

At this time, three of the six criteria were not included in the scoring because those recommendations are to be completed at a later date. So, it is possible in future iterations this score could decrease, even with perfect implementation of the criteria currently receiving a score. The Coalition called for government agencies to be transparent and held accountable for progress in implementing a feminist foreign policy. [Executive Order 14020](#) outlines a process to create a government-wide strategy to advance gender

equity and equality that responds to a number of Coalition recommendations.⁶⁰ It incorporated specific, time-bound objectives, including the creation of the strategy, an annual report on the implementation of the strategy, the designation of agency representatives to the Gender Policy Council and semi-annual agency reporting on strategy implementation. To date, the White House and the Gender Policy Council have mostly held themselves accountable with the release of the Gender Strategy and the appointment of agency representatives to the Council, although those names have not been made public. The Gender Strategy also calls for agency-specific plans to implement the Strategy to be released in June 2022. Time will tell whether those agency-specific plans are costed out, involve the creation of internal gender policies and are transparent about how projects and programs prioritize gender equality.



SNAPSHOT OF GLOBAL CIVIL SOCIETY'S VIEWS ON THE ADMINISTRATION

In December 2021, a short survey was sent out through the U.S. Coalition for a Feminist Foreign Policy membership list. The goal of the survey was to hear from those impacted by U.S. foreign policy as the scorecard was drafted. There were 24 responses.

When asked if the Biden-Harris administration foreign policy has focused on the goals of gender equality and women's rights, 37.5 percent said "yes," 37.5 percent said "no" and 25 percent said "I don't know."



When asked if the Biden-Harris administration's foreign policy focused on gender equality and women's rights more than the Trump-Pence administration, 67 percent said "yes." When asked if the Biden-Harris administration's foreign policy focused on gender equality and women's rights more than the Obama-Biden administration, 30 percent said "yes."

BIDEN-HARRIS VS. TRUMP-PENCE



BIDEN-HARRIS VS. OBAMA-BIDEN



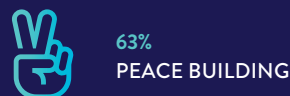
When asked if the Biden-Harris administration's foreign policy has improved the lives of women and girls where the respondents live and work, just 25 percent said "yes."



When asked what letter grade they would give the Biden-Harris administration's foreign policy, the respondents said:

A	12.5%
B	25%
C	42%
D	8%
F	12.5%

When asked what the respondents would like the Biden-Harris administration to focus on within its foreign policy and national security framework, the number one response, unsurprisingly, was women's rights and gender equality (71%). Peace building (63%) was the second highest response, and human rights (50%) was third.



CONCLUSION

The Coalition for a Feminist Foreign Policy values the many actions taken by the Biden-Harris administration in its first year to advance the core goals of gender equality, human rights, bodily autonomy, environmental integrity and peace.

These commitments are signposts that this administration takes these issues seriously and is working to advance America's approach to advancing gender equity at home and abroad. However, **the administration has not provided sufficient leadership, personnel or resources, outside of a limited scope of gender-focused offices, to make the essential changes needed to implement a feminist foreign policy, or to become a global leader on gender equality.**

Looking ahead, to support key components of a feminist foreign policy, the Coalition recommends that the administration:

- **Concentrate more attention on integrating gender into issues of U.S. foreign policy,** including defense, development, diplomacy, immigration and trade. While the Gender Strategy includes these issues, the strategy is in a silo, and other policies and strategies focused on climate change, economic opportunity, global health and security, etc. are largely gender-uninformed;
- **Confer more power and resources to the White House Gender Policy Council and elevate these**

issues within the portfolios of foreign policy leadership, including the Secretary of State, the Secretary of Defense, the USAID Administrator, the Director of National Intelligence, etc; and

- **Provide funding for the activities needed to implement the Gender Strategy and agency implementation plans.**



NOTES ON SCORING

The scores for the 100-Day Scorecard (an overall score of an A- with two “Incompletes”) were based on recommendations made in *A Feminist Foreign Policy for the United States: A Memo to the Next Administration* and the white paper, *Toward a Feminist Foreign Policy in the United States*. This first annual scorecard on Feminist Foreign Policy does not have similar letter grades. The Coalition thought it would be unfair to give a letter score to the Biden-Harris administration on recommendations that would be difficult to enact in one year. If we want fundamental changes to the foreign policy institutions and processes, we understand that it will take time. Instead, we chose to focus this paper on the progress made towards a feminist foreign policy and leave ourselves open to a return to letter grades in future years.

OVERALL SCORE: 50% (43.5/87)

 **POLICY ARTICULATION: 53%** (31.5/60)

 **LEADERSHIP AND STRUCTURES: 58%** (7.5/13)

 **FUNDING: 14%** (1.5/11)

 **ACCOUNTABILITY: 100%** (3/3)

The letter grading scale follows a U.S. style grading system in which 93-100% is an A, 90-92% is an A-, 87-89% is a B+, 83-86% is a B, 80-82% is a B-, 77-79% is a C+, 73-76% is a C, 70-72% is a C-, and so on with an F being anything below 60%.

[See the scoring criteria below:](#)



POLICY ARTICULATION

DESCRIPTION	SCORE	POSSIBLE SCORE
CROSS CUTTING		
Executive Order on U.S. Feminist Foreign Policy	1.0	1.0
Include immigration policy as a relevant lever of foreign policy	1.0	1.0
Advance U.S. ratification of the Convention to End All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) and other human rights conventions	1.0	1.0

DESCRIPTION	SCORE	POSSIBLE SCORE
Outline mainstreaming throughout current structures	1.0	1.0
Emphasis on core feminist principles of gender equality; diversity, intersectionality, equity, and representation; peace; diplomacy; bodily autonomy; environmental integrity; and human rights	1.0	1.0
Reverse harmful Executive Order on Combating Race and Sex Stereotyping	1.0	1.0
Develop U.S. Strategy for a Feminist Foreign Policy	1.0	1.0
Each agency articulates a series of commitments to implement a unified vision for Feminist Foreign Policy	1.0	1.0
Consult and co-create with civil society, including diverse representation of women leaders, feminist organizations and movements outside of government, as well as Indigenous Peoples and representative institutions, including and especially those from low- and middle-income countries, on the development and implementation of the Strategy	1.0	1.0
Mandate gender analysis to be standard practice in program implementation throughout the government, tailored to each agency	0.5	1.0
Declare the intention to execute a U.S. feminist foreign policy (called the U.S. Strategy for a Feminist Foreign Policy)	0.0	1.0
Adopt or expand gender policies in the White House and each agency responsible for implementing Feminist Foreign Policy. Gender policies should be both internally and externally facing, from personnel decisions to agency program interventions	0.0	1.0
Conduct an analysis of environmental impacts and emissions resulting from U.S. foreign policy activities; include that analysis in the U.S. national climate action plans, in line with the Paris Agreement; and report the impact thereof across other Multilateral Environmental Agreements	0.0	1.0
When U.S. foreign policy decisions contravene the principles of feminist foreign policy, including in cases of national security, the rationale must be publicly articulated to facilitate transparency, accountability and learning	0.0	1.0
DEFENSE		
Lift the transgender service member ban	1.0	1.0
Craft a National Security Strategy (NSS) that take into account women's and other people's experiences of systemic discrimination, including due to gender	1.0	1.0

DESCRIPTION	SCORE	POSSIBLE SCORE
Develop and implement effective protocols to prevent or encourage reporting of military sexual assault or other gender-based violence, comprehensive services to survivors and robust accountability mechanisms to hold perpetrators to justice and combat impunity	1.0	1.0
Design and deliver meaningful and consistently implemented justice mechanisms for those within the military system, but also for those outside of the system but against whom acts of gender-based violence are committed by military personnel	1.0	1.0
Provide increased training on the women, peace and security agenda and its integration into military colleges and training	1.0	1.0
Fully implement U.S. commitments to the women, peace and security agenda. In order to ensure that the U.S. government upholds these commitments, Congress should not release funds to agencies who are not implementing their obligations	0.5	1.0
Re-engaging with the global goal of nuclear disarmament, through policies that promote arms control, strengthen the international non-proliferation regime and reaffirm U.S. commitment both not to test nuclear weapons and to draw down its own arsenal.	0.5	1.0
Ensure equal opportunity to meet performance standards for female and LGBTQIA+ servicemembers	0.0	1.0
Retool internal policies to ensure provision of childcare and spousal support that does not assume a male service member and female "trailing" spouse, and a total redesign of promotion and retention policies to be predicated on the successful implementation of gender equitable work and increased and diverse recruitment and promotion	0.0	1.0
Ensure comprehensive coverage of and access to sexual and reproductive health services, including contraception and abortion, for people serving in the military	0.0	1.0
Condition the use of contractors on their ability to demonstrate positive outcomes for women and people who experience multiple and intersecting forms of discrimination both within their firms and in communities where they are deployed Not possible in one year	0.0	0.0
DIPLOMACY		
Adopt a zero-tolerance policy on gender-based violence and workplace harassment, immediately eliminating policies that allow abusers to move from one post to another once accused without facing consequences related to their employment and/or promotion	1.0	1.0
Use diplomatic pressure to insist women and gender-diverse people are part of peace and reconciliation processes	1.0	1.0

DESCRIPTION	SCORE	POSSIBLE SCORE
Mandate training on gender, sexual and reproductive health and rights (SRHR), anti-racism and implicit bias in both early-career and ongoing professional development	1.0	1.0
Elevate the issue of gender equality in bilateral and multilateral meetings, requiring embassy and mission staff to understand the women's rights landscape in-country and prioritize issues most in need of attention	1.0	1.0
Diplomatic tools like the State Department's annual Country Reports on Human Rights Practices should include robust evidence on all aspects of women's human rights, including sexual and reproductive health and rights (SRHR) and gender-based violence	1.0	1.0
Engage and support multilateral institutions, including the Human Rights Council, treaty-bodies and regional human rights mechanisms	1.0	1.0
Update departmental human resources policies to ensure that personnel policies, including family leave, childcare, deployment options and policies, promotion tracks, provisions for trailing spouses and more, build towards a more equitable and just workforce	0.5	1.0
U.S. must hold itself to the same standards to which it holds other state actors, reporting on human rights practices and abuses as part of the annual country Human Rights Reports	0.0	1.0
Implement mandatory gender analyses in order to receive State Department funding and include transparent reporting and accountability measures against those metrics, this includes ex ante estimates and ex post reports	0.0	1.0
All security assistance should be vetted for its effects on women and historically marginalized communities to determine its long-term costs as well as benefits	0.0	1.0
U.S. sanctions regimes must actively aim to leave the health and dignity of civilian populations intact and be subject to evaluation and alteration when humanitarian consequences are found	0.0	1.0
The diplomatic corps should develop and maintain consistent redlines that can be deployed in negotiations surrounding climate and other multilateral agreements	0.0	1.0
Define women's rights and gender equality-related terminology, including sexual and reproductive health and rights (SRHR), and clearly articulate redlines and what is acceptable in multilateral negotiations	0.0	1.0
The U.S. must also codify processes where there are inconsistencies between diplomacy and the overarching goals of a feminist foreign policy. This includes engagement with countries that perpetuate human rights abuses and drawing redlines around where engagement is helpful to those whose rights are abused and where, even if it serves national interests, the U.S. cannot engage with such States	0.0	1.0

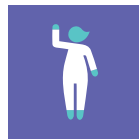
DESCRIPTION	SCORE	POSSIBLE SCORE
State Department agreements with contractors should be conditioned on their ability to demonstrate positive outcomes for women and historically marginalized communities both within their firms and in communities where they are deployed <i>Not possible in one year</i>	0.0	0.0
FOREIGN ASSISTANCE		
Prioritize co-creation and local ownership of foreign assistance, with local constituencies informing development programs from their inception through evaluation, including participatory approaches such as community scorecards	1.0	1.0
Repeal the expanded Mexico City Policy	1.0	1.0
Align project targets to ensure achievement of the gender-related Sustainable Development Goals	0.5	1.0
HUMANITARIAN ASSISTANCE		
Implement best-practices and tools to center women, girls and people of all gender identities in humanitarian responses	1.0	1.0
Ensure requirements and standards for gender analysis and gender-sensitive programming are upheld, even in emergency contexts	1.0	1.0
Demand universal application of safeguarding minimum standards among all humanitarian actors	0.5	1.0
Condition the use of contractors on their ability to demonstrate positive outcomes for women and people who experience multiple and intersecting forms of discrimination both within their firms and in communities where they work <i>Not possible in one year</i>	0.0	0.0
IMMIGRATION		
End family separation and commit to expeditiously reuniting families	1.0	1.0
Rescind the Migration Protection Protocols, which harm families and subject women and transgender people to violence	0.5	1.0
Create formal mechanisms to collect sex-disaggregated data through all agencies involved in immigration policy implementation including the State Department, Department of Homeland Security (DHS), Department of Health and Human Services, and the Department of Labor	0.5	1.0

DESCRIPTION	SCORE	POSSIBLE SCORE
Rescind all policies that penalize women based on their gender, including: asylum policy changes; State Department rules on visa applications (particularly focused on their reproductive status); various rules that restrict the ability of the spouses of employment-based visa holders to work in the U.S.; and obstacles to accessing immigration relief and protections for survivors of crimes, domestic violence, and human trafficking	0.0	1.0
Expand child-friendly practices and procedures at all points of the immigration process. End the detention of children, and adopt alternative methods of accountability for families and others who do not pose a risk to national security	0.0	1.0
Ensure that U.S. policy protects the rights of women migrant workers recruited abroad to work in the U.S. granting full and equal participation in the temporary labor migration programs, as well as adequate protections and other support services to facilitate reporting all forms of gender-based violence	0.0	1.0
Ensure asylum seekers are granted humanitarian parole whenever possible, especially when they are LGBTQIA+ or have acute medical needs	0.0	1.0
Establish a Blue-Ribbon Commission to analyze the impact of immigration policies on women, children, and transgender people, and to develop recommendations on a feminist immigration policy	0.0	1.0
Adopt gender-sensitive approaches to all release and custody decisions with a particular focus on transgender people	0.0	1.0
Ensure that the U.S. asylum system recognizes Indigenous identity and provides appropriate cultural and linguistic services	0.0	1.0

TRADE

Re-engage in the Paris Agreement, which articulates some of these principles in the preamble	1.0	1.0
Support for and investment in the U.N. Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC) gender action plan, including aims to enhance women's participation and leadership in national delegations and on boards and bodies of the Convention, as well as enhanced gender-responsive implementation of national climate plans and policies.	1.0	1.0
Develop new mechanisms to link gender equality to environmental and labor concerns in trade agreements	0.5	1.0
Incorporate women's human rights and gender equality in bilateral and multilateral trade agreements, specifically in the binding sections	0.0	1.0

DESCRIPTION	SCORE	POSSIBLE SCORE
All trade agreements should include a gender analysis, as well as a strategy for energy democracy, emissions reduction and climate change mitigation. There should be a financial commitment that is 100 percent gender responsive	0.0	1.0
Trade agreements should follow a “polluters pay” principle, creating clear measures that prevent US industries, particularly with regard to fossil fuels, from profiting off unregulated and uninhibited exploitation of laborers and environmental degradation	0.0	1.0
Trade agreements should not enforce measures that privatize government entities or dismantle health, safety and labor protections	0.0	1.0
TOTAL SCORE: 52%	31	60



LEADERSHIP AND STRUCTURES

DESCRIPTION	SCORE	POSSIBLE SCORE
CROSS CUTTING		
Require a senior leadership role responsible for Feminist Foreign Policy coordination, resourcing, and execution	1.0	1.0
Assemble a White House Feminist Policy Council	1.0	1.0
Achieve gender parity in political appointments and diversity and intersectional representation throughout all agencies and ranks of government	1.0	1.0
Full-time, foreign policy personnel at White House Gender Policy Council	1.0	1.0
Send a high-level delegation to United Nations Commission on Status on Women	1.0	1.0
Send a high-level delegation to the June Generation Equality Forum	1.0	1.0
Send a high-level delegation to the Mexico City kickoff of the Generation Equality Forum	0.0	1.0

DESCRIPTION	SCORE	POSSIBLE SCORE
Each agency would need to appoint its own high-level position focused exclusively on integrating Feminist Foreign Policy within the agency, linked closely with policy planning processes and relevant interagency partners	0.0	1.0
Appoint a Director of the Feminist Policy Council, reporting to the President, to develop and oversee U.S. Strategy for a Feminist Foreign Policy	0.0	1.0
Launch the White House Feminist Policy Council and civil society advisory council and host the first joint meeting of both	0.0	1.0
Ensure cohesion across all levers of foreign policy by elevating an intersectional approach to gender equality throughout existing structures in the White House and executive agencies <i>Not possible in one year</i>	0.0	0.0
DEFENSE		
Create a high-level position, either reporting to the Secretary of Defense at Department of Defense (DOD) or reporting to the National Security Advisor at the National Security Council (NSC), that is charged with developing and overseeing implementation of a more feminist approach to defense as part of the U.S. feminist foreign policy	0.0	1.0
DIPLOMACY		
Commit to achieving gender balance among all U.S. diplomatic personnel, including foreign service and civil service officers, political appointees, cabinet and other high-level positions	1.0	1.0
HUMANITARIAN ASSISTANCE		
Encourage the hiring of more people across the spectrum of sexual orientation and gender identities and expressions, particularly those from communities that have historically been denied access to decision-makers and decision-making positions due to discriminatory structures	0.5	1.0
TOTAL SCORE: 58%	7.5	13



FUNDING

DESCRIPTION	SCORE	POSSIBLE SCORE
CROSS CUTTING		
Commit to robustly resourcing the U.S. Strategy for a Feminist Foreign Policy, including through direct support for local women's rights organizations in low- and middle-income countries	0.0	1.0
100 percent of U.S. international programs consider and incorporate intersectional gender analysis in their design, implementation and evaluation (i.e., be "gender mainstreamed")	0.0	1.0
No less than 20 percent of U.S. foreign assistance funding should be dedicated to promoting gender equality as a primary goal across various sectors and appropriations funding mandates	0.0	1.0
Prioritize funding — and the recipients of U.S. Government support — by using a feminist analysis that looks at who is most in need and who is best placed to deliver quality support to those people	0.0	1.0
Increase direct support for local women's rights organizations	0.0	1.0
Increase core support and multi-year funding and simplify funding mechanisms with streamlined processes, decreased paperwork burdens, complex monitoring and evaluation (M&E) and risk-aversion to ensure the best-placed humanitarian actors can access U.S. government funding	0.0	1.0
Factor in operating costs for implementing feminist foreign assistance, including building staff capacity and expertise, training and accountability mechanisms	0.0	1.0
Agency-specific, costed action plans to implement the Strategy, including necessary policy, staffing, training, budget (including additional programmatic funding needed), legislative affairs and communications needs	0.0	0.0
DIPLOMACY		
Reverse the decline in funding and staffing of the State Department, prioritizing increased budgetary support for a more diverse foreign service corps, particularly with regard to race and gender, as well as for gender advisors and specific technical staff able to design and implement the tenants of feminist foreign policy	1.0	1.0

DESCRIPTION	SCORE	POSSIBLE SCORE
FOREIGN ASSISTANCE		
Full funding for comprehensive sexual and reproductive health and rights programs	0.5	1.0
IMMIGRATION		
Apply gender lens to the allocation of funds and services in budgetary and appropriations decisions	0.0	1.0
TRADE		
Working towards the goal of mobilizing jointly \$100 billion per year by 2020, the U.S. should re-commit ambitious and fair-share contributions to the Green Climate Fund and mobilize additional public resources across climate financing instruments, ensuring gender-responsive financing	0.0	1.0
TOTAL SCORE: 14%	1.5	11



ACCOUNTABILITY

DESCRIPTION	SCORE	POSSIBLE SCORE
CROSS CUTTING		
Mandate annual, public reporting on progress regarding the implementation of the U.S. Strategy for a Feminist Foreign Policy	1.0	1.0
Agency-specific focal points or ombudspople to coordinate the implementation of the Strategy and agency action plans	1.0	1.0
Develop government-wide strategy for advancing a feminist foreign policy that includes a commitment to publicly track progress on implementation and a call for agencies to fund the implementation of such a strategy.	1.0	1.0

DESCRIPTION	SCORE	POSSIBLE SCORE
Agency-specific, costed action plans to implement the Strategy, including necessary policy, staffing, training, budget (including additional programmatic funding needed), legislative affairs and communications needs <i>Not possible in one year</i>	0.0	0.0
Agency-specific gender policies that are derived from the agency action plans and are both internally and externally facing, from personnel decisions to agency programs and interventions <i>Not possible in one year</i>	0.0	0.0
Greater transparency around how projects and programs mainstream and prioritize gender equality <i>Not possible in one year</i>	0.0	0.0
TOTAL SCORE: 100%	3	3

OVERALL PROGRESS: 50%

43.5

87

ENDNOTES

- 1 Biden Harris Administration. 2021. *The Biden Agenda for Women*. Democratic National Committee. <https://joebiden.com/womens-agenda/>; Presidential Actions. 2021. *Executive Order on Establishment of the White House Gender Policy Council*. The White House. <https://www.whitehouse.gov/briefing-room/presidential-actions/2021/03/08/executive-order-on-establishment-of-the-white-house-gender-policy-council/>.
- 2 Blue Virginia.us. 2021. *Memo from Incoming White House Chief of Staff Ron Klain to Incoming White House Senior Staff on the First Ten Days of the Administration*. Harvard Kennedy School. <https://policymemos.hks.harvard.edu/blog/memo-incoming-white-house-chief-staff-ron-klain-incoming-white-house-senior-staff>.
- 3 Memo from Incoming White House Chief of Staff Ron Klain to Incoming White House Senior Staff on the First Ten Days of the Administration: <https://policymemos.hks.harvard.edu/blog/memo-incoming-white-house-chief-staff-ron-klain-incoming-white-house-senior-staff>.
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