

High-Level Political Forum (HLPF) 2025 Women's Major Group Position Paper

"Advancing sustainable, inclusive, science- and evidence-based solutions for the 2030 Agenda and its SDGs for leaving no one behind"

The Women's Major Group (WMG) was created in 1992 at the Earth Summit to represent the voices of women and girls, in all their diversity, within the United Nations (UN) Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC) and UN processes dedicated to sustainable development. Today, it is a global network representing over 1,500 feminist civil society organisations worldwide, advocating collectively for gender equality and sustainable futures. This position paper was **developed through extensive consultation with our members, and reflects key priorities and perspectives on the implementation of the sustainable development goals (SDGs) and the achievement of Agenda 2030.**

As we mark the 10th anniversary of the 2030 agenda, we find that this is not the moment for celebration, but rather, an urgent call to action: Agenda 2030 must be treated as an urgent priority, and governments should adopt national, gender-responsive SDG action plans and designate accountable institutions to collect, analyse, and report, at a minimum, gender-, race-, age-, and disability-disaggregated data. Where official efforts fall short, shadow reports and grassroots monitoring remain essential tools for accountability.

Yet stronger national efforts is not enough. Achieving the SDGs also hinges on a robust and fully funded UN and multilateral system capable of promoting a feminist vision for sustainable development towards the 2030 deadline and beyond. This is especially urgent as multilateralism faces intensified scrutiny and declining legitimacy, deepening geopolitical fragmentation, and chronic underfunding that is forcing significant cuts and reforms across the UN system. But multilateralism must not be reformed into irrelevance, it must be reimagined to deliver justice. We urge reforms to defend the global commons, not legitimise nationalist exceptionalism. They must also prioritise co-governance over closed decision-making, and institutionalise substantive inclusion over tokenistic representation.

Our demands must carry beyond HLPF 2025—guiding COP30, the World Social Summit, and the UN General Assembly's 2030 review—and build on the milestones that came before, including the Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action and the Financing for Development agenda to keep feminist priorities coherent across all processes.



A NOTE ON TERMINOLOGY: STRUCTURALLY MARGINALISED PEOPLES/GROUPS

Throughout this paper, we refer to "women, girls, and other structurally marginalised peoples/groups." While we do not specify this full grouping in every instance for the sake of brevity, we affirm that our definition of marginalised communities is inclusive of, but not limited to, the following: women, young women, girls, adolescents, and gender-diverse people, in all their diversity, from marginalised, vulnerable and historically criminalised communities, especially communities discriminated by caste, class, race, income, sexual orientation, gender identity or expression, ethnicity, or social status such as Dalits, Bahujans, Adivasi and Indigenous Peoples, De-notified and Nomadic Tribes, religious minorities, LGBTQIA+ persons, persons with disabilities, widows, older women, women and girls living with HIV and other illnesses, women and girls who use drugs, transgender people, sex workers, domestic workers, workers in the informal sector, survivors of trafficking in persons, women who are in closed institutions including prisons, women and girls from migrant, immigrant, refugee, forcibly displaced, and internally displaced communities, among others.

INTRODUCTION

Anti-gender and anti-rights movements are on the rise, but feminists are fighting back 2025 marks a dangerous turning point for women's and girls' rights; economic, social, and environmental justice; and the future of multilateralism. Five years from the 2030 deadline to meet the SDGs, we are not just off track: governments, corporations, and fundamentalist forces are, together, actively undermining and abandoning their commitments.

Across the world, we are witnessing a coordinated and escalating assault on gender equality, collective human rights, democracy, and rule of law, all while the so-called "liberal rules-based international order" collapses under the weight of its own contradictions. The <u>United States</u>, <u>Argentina</u>, and <u>El Salvador</u> have formally rejected and denounced the 2030 Agenda and rolled back previous commitments to climate and gender equality. The unprovoked full-scale Russian invasion of Ukraine and the Israeli genocide of Palestinians continue with impunity, with Israel backed by substantial <u>U.S.</u> and <u>European</u> military and financial support, including through the lucrative sale of arms.

Military spending is on the <u>rise</u> for the tenth consecutive year, diverting resources away from **life-sustaining public services, international commitments, and civil society**. This is deepening the erosion of civic space, especially as militarisation has accelerated (online and offline) state criminalisation, surveillance, and use of force against civil society and activists on the frontlines of

resistance, even from governments that once positioned themselves as champions of human rights and gender equality. At the same time, we are seeing the advance of religious fundamentalisms and the weakening of the secular nature of states, fuelling reactionary narratives that undermine bodily autonomy, restrict freedoms, and entrench gendered and racial hierarchies.

While rich countries and groups (including the U.S., the EU, UK, the Netherlands, Belgium, France, Switzerland, and Germany) slash aid, the Global South is being crushed by an escalating debt crisis, punitive austerity measures, and the deepening impacts of the climate emergency. The world has now transgressed six of nine planetary boundaries, meaning we risk reaching irreversible tipping points that generate large-scale environmental damage—a reality that is already felt across much of the Global South, especially in Small Island Developing States (SIDS) and least-developed countries (LDCs). Survival, let alone sustainability, equity, and inclusivity, are not possible in this ecocidal reality.

This anti-rights and anti-multilateralism backlash is not new. While many have <u>described</u> this moment of overlapping environmental, geopolitical, and economic upheavals as a "polycrisis," this crisis has long been a constant for the most marginalised and it is the logical extension of centuries of colonial and imperial domination, patriarchal control, and racist capitalist exploitation.

"The polycrisis is [in this context] the extension to non-Black women what Black women have lived from the very beginning." <u>Pumla Dineo Gqola</u>, South African feminist

Feminists have long named the interlocking and longstanding systems of oppression that are driving these crises, including:

- A global capitalist economic system that values unsustainable growth, privatisation, extraction, exploitation, and accumulation of wealth over care and community and public goods (now manifesting in new forms of capital accumulation through the rise of the technological oligarchy);
- A racist, fundamentalist, colonial, and patriarchal order that strips women, Afro-descendents, and Indigenous Peoples of land, sovereignty, and power, denying them meaningful participation in governance and economic systems;
- Militarism as both foreign and domestic policy, used to silence, surveil, criminalise, and suppress resistance against the above systems;
- Technocratic governance that excludes lived experience, Indigenous knowledge, and feminist epistemologies; and
- Legal and policy frameworks that refuse to recognise and, in some cases, actively undermine collective rights to land, water, and territory.



ON PALESTINE: HOLDING SPACE, DEMANDING JUSTICE

We bear witness to the ongoing genocide against Palestinians, and hold space for our sisters in Palestine enduring Israel's relentless onslaught and the continuation of 75 years of occupation and apartheid. Israel's systematic shredding of international norms, enabled by support from complicit governments, particularly in the Global North, continues to erode the very foundation of multilateralism and human rights. We denounce the escalating global repression and attacks on civil and political rights, including education, and freedom of expression aimed at silencing global critiques of Israeli occupation and violence. Further deepening this crisis is the unholy alliance between technology corporations, surveillance industries, and the military-industrial complex, which perpetuates cycles of violence and profits from repression and warfare, undermining the integrity of the international human rights system. Our feminist solidarity demands that we cut against erasure and demand accountability, justice, and an end to complicity in Palestine and in Congo, Sudan, Yemen, Kashmir, Haiti, and anywhere where there is a struggle for liberation and justice.

The time is ripe for bold change, not a band-aid on a broken status quo

While political leaders remain mired in denial, corporate influence, and a failure of responsibility, feminists are advancing bold and systemic alternatives.

We reject the notion that "there is no alternative." Our intersectional, decolonial vision demands the indivisibility of human rights, accountability for violations, resistance to corporate capture, and a just climate transition that centres communities and redistributes power and resources. We will not cede ground; Agenda 2030 must be fulfilled through structural change rooted in care, solidarity, and equality.

This paper draws on decades of feminist organising, resistance, and imagination. In a year of deep political regression and open rejection of global cooperation, it sets out the world we are working tirelessly to build.

WHY WE REVIEW ALL SDGS

Besides spotlighting three of the SDGs under review in 2025–SDGs 3 (health), 5 (gender equality), and 8 (decent work)—our submission reviews all 17 SDGs through an intersectional feminist lens, reaffirming that all SDGs are crucial to achieving economic, social, and environmental justice, given the overlapping nature of their targets and indicators.

SPOTLIGHT ON SDGs 3, 5, AND 8 ADVANCING CARE-BASED ECONOMIES FOR GENDER EQUALITY



The intersection between SDGs 3 (health), 5 (gender equality), and 8 (decent work) is clear: **gender equality cannot be achieved without universal access to comprehensive, appropriate, quality, and timely health services, nor without the recognition and realisation of decent work for all**. The right to development and the right to the highest standards of physical and mental health, including sexual and reproductive health and rights (SRHR), are intrinsically linked.

The WMG continues affirming that a rights-based, intersectional approach is needed to urgently expand universal public services, guarantee labour protections, and centre care in economic planning. Progress on these goals is foundational to achieving the entire 2030 Agenda.



SDG 5: GENDER EQUALITY

To achieve substantive gender equality as <u>articulated</u> in the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW), we must work towards equality in outcomes, not just opportunities. We reaffirm that this must also encompass equality in dignity, identity, and personhood, all of which are critical to achieve SDG 5 and, in turn, all other SDGs.

"Backsliding on women's rights is a threat to sustainable development and impedes progress across all of the SDGs. Ending violence and discrimination against women is a precondition to the achievement of all of the SDGs and it is also key to ensuring stability, security, and prosperity of countries."

Freya Seath, The Accelerator for Gender-Based Violence Protection

Global data snapshot: Gender equality today

There are many areas where we see promising progress on gender equality, including:¹

- **Political participation**: Nearly 1 in 2 countries (48%) have shown "fast progress" on improving the proportion of women represented in Parliament between 2019 and 2022;
- **Gender-disaggregated data**: Over 60% of countries have made "fast progress" since 2019 towards more disaggregated statistics, including on gender;
- **Discriminatory laws**: Between 2019 and 2022, 29 countries were noted as making "fast progress" in adopting legal reforms that decriminalise, recognise, or provide protections related to "sexual orientation and same-sex conduct."

But, at the same time:²

- **Poverty**: At the current pace, it will take another 137 years to eliminate extreme poverty among women;
- Food insecurity: 47.8 million more women than men face food insecurity;
- **Consent-based rape laws**: Over half (54%) of all countries still lack legal definitions of rape that are based on the absence of freely given consent;
- Intimate partner violence: One in eight women and girls aged 15 to 49 experienced physical and/or sexual violence at the hands of an intimate partner in the past year;
- Water collection: Each day, women and girls collectively spend 250 million hours fetching water—more than three times the amount of time spent by men and boys;
- **Trafficking for sexual exploitation**: In 2020, women made up 64% of all identified victims of trafficking for sexual exploitation, while girls accounted for an additional 27%;
- **Climate change and poverty**: By 2050, climate change could force up to 158 million more women and girls into extreme poverty;
- **Conflict-related sexual violence**: Since 2022, there has been a 50% increase in conflict-related sexual violence cases, with women and girls comprising 95% of the victims.

In many cases, women, girls, and other groups facing structural marginalisation are facing heightened risks of violence and discrimination. In Sudan and other conflict zones, sexual violence and rape are systematically used as weapons of war against women and girls. The erosion of rights is also evident in legislative regressions such as child marriage laws in Iraq; gendered education bans in Afghanistan; recent anti-homosexuality/LGBTQIA+ laws in Uganda, Mali, and Ghana; and overlooked high femicide rates across Africa. Globally, nearly 23 million adolescent girls still lack access to contraception. UNICEF's 2024 report estimates over 230 million women and girls have undergone FGM—30 million more compared to data from 2016.

¹This data was taken from the Equal Measures 2030's review of the 2024 SDG Gender Index and the UN SDG Gender Snapshot Report 2024.

² This data was taken from the <u>UN SDG Gender Snapshot Report 2024</u>.



Despite a general <u>decline</u> in child, early, and forced marriages and informal unions, these practices persist as both a cause and consequence of gender inequality, <u>intersecting</u> with poverty, gender-based violence, educational attainment, and adolescent pregnancy. **Around 640 million women and girls globally were <u>married</u> before the age of 18. Child marriage <u>remains</u> especially widespread in South Asia (45% of all cases), followed by Sub-Saharan Africa (20%) and East Asia and the Pacific (15%)**. Latin America is the only region where child marriage rates have not <u>declined</u> over the past 25 years. The region also <u>has</u> the second-highest adolescent fertility rate in the world (after Sub-Saharan Africa); one adolescent girl has a child every 20 seconds.



CIVIL SOCIETY SPOTLIGHT: FEMINIST ACCOUNTABILITY MAP

The <u>Feminist Accountability Map</u>, developed by the <u>Asia Pacific Forum on Women, Law and</u> <u>Development</u>, aims to "highlight issues, gaps in accountability, and women's voices in the pursuit of women's human rights and Development Justice. It combines country-specific reports and external resources to highlight government failures or achievements in meeting human rights commitments and expose barriers in meeting the same."

Structural and climate-related forms of gender-based violence

Violence against women and girls takes many forms—both online and offline. **Beyond physical and sexual violence, structural and economic forms of harm persist, including denial of land rights, labour protections, and access to public services**. Financial dependence on male partners or other household breadwinners, dowry practices, and expectations around unpaid domestic work further entrench gendered power imbalances.

The climate crisis adds another layer of violence, disproportionately affecting women, girls, and gender-diverse people by compounding existing inequalities. **Climate impacts intensify risks associated with traditional gender roles, such as collecting water and firewood—tasks that become more dangerous as resources grow scarce, increasing the threat of injury and sexual violence.** At the same time, women and girls face mounting care responsibilities and limited access to resources, land, and tenure rights, making them more vulnerable to climate-related harm and exclusion.

These trends are especially acute for Afro-descendant and Indigenous women and girls, who face the compounded impacts of racism, sexism, environmental degradation, and economic exclusion. Combating environmental racism, ensuring bodily autonomy, and addressing digital



inequality—including the racialised impacts of new and emerging technologies and AI—are all critical to realising a just and inclusive Agenda 2030. The <u>International Decade for People of</u> <u>African Descent</u> must serve as a foundation for strengthening the rights, visibility, and leadership of Afro-descendant communities, particularly in urban peripheries and climate-vulnerable territories.

Shrinking civic space and underfunded feminist movements

Decision-making spaces remain male-dominated at all levels. Women, girls, and other structurally marginalised peoples continue to face systemic and structural barriers to making meaningful policy influence. Feminist organisations and rights-defenders (including SRHR and other rights that are critical to collective well-being) face political attacks, criminalisation, and surveillance, even as they remain indispensable to advancing community-led, rights-based, and inclusive justice.

Long-term, flexible funding is critical to <u>enable</u> women's rights organisations to lead prevention, support, and movement-building efforts—yet they remain chronically underfunded. According to the OECD, **less than 1% of official development assistance earmarked for gender equality supports women's rights organisations**. The <u>reinstatement</u> of the Mexico City Policy (which restricts U.S. federal funding to non-governmental organisations that offer abortion-related services) and broader <u>cuts</u> to official development assistance have disrupted critical health and protection services.

As a result of the recent and drastic reductions in global foreign aid, a 2025 UN Women survey has <u>shown</u> that **90% of women-led and women's rights organisations reported financial strain, with nearly half expecting to shut down within six months if current conditions persist**. Staff layoffs and suspended programming are widespread, particularly affecting critical services such as gender-based violence response, health care, and livelihoods support, threatening the rights, safety, and survival of the most marginalised.

CIVIL SOCIETY SPOTLIGHT:

THE IMPORTANCE OF LONG-TERM, FLEXIBLE FUNDING TO MOBILISE COMMUNITIES FOR CONTEXT-SPECIFIC GBV PREVENTION IN UNDERFUNDED REGIONS

In Southeast Haiti, Beyond Borders <u>leads</u> community-driven efforts to prevent violence against women and girls by addressing unequal power relations. Through its *Rethinking Power* programme, it strengthens local feminist organising and equips other grassroots groups with tools and support to carry out effective prevention work.

By collaborating with local disability rights organisations, Beyond Borders adapted the <u>SASA!</u> evidence-based community mobilisation approach to create *Power to Girls* and *Safe and Capable*. Between 2017 and 2021, an independent evaluation <u>found</u> that, as a result of these

programmes, there was a 50% reduction in physical and sexual intimate partner violence, with a nearly 40% drop among girls aged 15-23.

This success was made possible through flexible, long-term funding, which allowed the team to meaningfully engage and build trust with the women and girls in the communities where they worked. Yet, many small women's rights organisations in Haiti continue to be excluded from funding due to language barriers and complex application systems.

Feminist demands to achieve SDG 5

Governance and representation

- Challenge tokenistic models of participation and demand intergenerational, feminist, and decolonial leadership structures that center and resource grassroots organisations and intentionally redistribute power, especially where direct funding is needed to ensure the safety, security, and well-being of individuals engaged in resisting anti-gender and anti-rights backlashes.
- Facilitate meaningful and sustained political participation of women and girls throughout policymaking and budgeting, including in shaping the architecture of financing and budgeting.
- Ensure parity representation of women in all their diversity across local, national, and multilateral governance bodies, including in economic, social, and environmental institutions.
- Establish transparent accountability mechanisms that allow civil society to monitor and strengthen SDG implementation and seek redress. This includes stronger partnerships between civil society and all levels of governments.

Funding

- **Reform funding systems** to prioritise long-term investment in feminist movement-building over militarisation, extractive development models, donor-driven priorities, and projectised approaches.
- Guarantee core, long-term, direct, accessible, and flexible funding for grassroots women's rights organisations, especially those led by women and girls at the intersection of multiple marginalisations.

Legal and judicial justice

• Adopt and enforce rights-based laws, and eliminate discriminatory laws to eradicate discriminatory and harmful practices such as dowry, child, early and forced marriage, FGM, and impunity for domestic violence, marital rape, and intimate partner violence. This should include robust legal protections and accountability systems and Constitutional reviews to encompass human dignity for all citizens, enshrining human rights and fundamental freedoms into the legal system.



- End all forms of sexual and gender-based violence through bold investment in prevention, protection, justice, and survivor-centred services.
- Ensure comprehensive laws and global protection standards to address technology-facilitated gender-based violence and for the meaningful leadership and influence of women, girls, and other structurally marginalised groups in policy formulation processes, towards enhanced mechanisms to prosecute when violence occurs.
- **Protect and expand civic space**, ensuring safety, dignity, and political voice for feminist, environmental, and SRHR defenders globally, online and offline, and swiftly act in response to reprisals and threats against them, <u>particularly</u> in Latin America.
- **Strengthen access to justice** that supports equal social, cultural, economic, and political participation of women through their peoples' institutions.
- Implement and uphold the rights enshrined in the Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities (CRPD) by aligning national laws and policies with its standards and creating transparent accountability mechanisms to monitor compliance.
- **Reject patriarchal mediation in cases of domestic violence** and prioritise survivor-centred, rights-based, and justice-based responses.

Policy-making

- Ensure that foreign, economic, and climate policies are interdisciplinary, gender-responsive, rights-based, and coherent across domestic and international levels, so that they enhance the leadership of women, girls, and other structurally marginalised groups; strengthen community resources; and recognise Indigenous women as stewards of land and ecosystems.
- Adopt and implement inclusive, rights-based, intersectional, and democratic governance and public policy frameworks that address overlapping oppressions and enable structurally marginalised groups to meaningfully co-shape policy across all levels.
- Advance disaggregated data collection to reflect the realities of structurally marginalised groups, who must be enabled to take the lead in evidence-based policymaking and participation in data collection, analysis, and reporting processes that are inclusive and culturally-sensitive. As part of this effort, Member States must facilitate data exchange between countries and regions and strengthen national statistical institutions.



SDG 3: GOOD HEALTH AND WELL-BEING

Achieving the highest attainable standard of physical and mental health and well-being depends, *inter alia*, on access to quality services. However, these remain profoundly unequal, eroded by

austerity, armed conflict, environmental degradation, and militarised governance, threatening progress on nearly all SDGs and targets.

Sexual and reproductive health and rights (SRHR) are fundamental to gender equality and sustainable development, as affirmed by the Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action and Agenda 2030. While global efforts have improved access to contraception, maternal health, and HIV services, progress has been uneven, and key issues remain neglected—especially adolescent sexuality, abortion, gender-based violence, and the rights of LGBTQIA+ people. Evidence from the Guttmacher Institute shows a strong positive link between unintended pregnancy and gender inequality, particularly in relation to disparities in women's and girls' educational attainment. Further evidence also illustrates that access to contraceptive use and safe abortion, taken together, are essential to preventing unintended births and strengthening reproductive agency and rights, so that women and girls can make informed choices about childbearing that shape their autonomy, education, livelihoods, and overall well-being.

Mental health remains critically neglected in health systems, despite its central role in well-being and its links to gender inequality, poverty, and violence. Women and girls—especially those affected by conflict, displacement, disproportionate care loads, and abuse—face heightened mental health risks, yet services remain inaccessible, underfunded, and stigmatised. In the Americas, depression is twice as common in women as in men. In Latin America and the Caribbean, nearly 80% of those with mental health conditions receive no treatment, while only 2% of health budgets are allocated to mental health—most of which is still directed to outdated institutional care in psychiatric hospitals.

A holistic view of health must also recognise the key role of the social determinants of health, which the World Health Organization (WHO) <u>defines</u> as "the conditions in which people are born, grow, live, work and age, and people's access to power, money and resources." **Health outcomes worsen as socioeconomic status declines, with limited access to housing, education, social protection, and employment significantly increasing the risk of illness and death**. For example, in Latin America and the Caribbean, maternal mortality is over seven times higher among women in the lowest income quintile <u>compared</u> to those in the highest. <u>According</u> to the WHO, these factors often have a greater impact on health than genetics or access to medical care.

Yet, decades of neoliberal policies have left public health systems fragile, overburdened, and under-resourced, and therefore unable to advance comprehensive access to services for health and well-being. In the aftermath of the COVID-19 pandemic, these vulnerabilities have only deepened, with unequal access to vaccines, cuts to global health assistance, climate-induced health threats, and ecological collapse driving further inequities, including increased gender-based violence and the spread of zoonotic diseases. The politicisation of sex, gender, and reproduction—facilitated by the rise of digital surveillance—is also obstructing progress on SDG 3.

Anti-rights actors are increasingly using institutional spaces to undermine the right to health and roll back hard-won gains on SRHR. Many actors have done so by attacking the science underpinning health policy, such as in the U.S., where the HPV vaccine has been <u>criticised</u> by senior political officials.

Almost 24 years after African Union governments adopted the <u>Abuja Declaration</u>, committing to allocate at least 15% of government budgets to health, only two countries on the continent (South Africa and Cabo Verde) <u>met</u> this target in 2021. As a result, women and girls (who are disproportionately low-income) must carry out unpaid care work and pay exorbitant out-of-pocket costs for life-saving services, forcing them to cut back on basic necessities. This is similar to trends in Latin America and the Caribbean, where out-of-pocket payments <u>accounted</u> for 32.4% of health spending in 2019, far above the OECD average (20%).

Cuts in healthcare spending have disproportionate negative impacts on women and girls, who are overrepresented in the global health workforce and underrepresented in leadership and decision-making positions. ActionAid research in six countries (Nigeria, Ghana, Liberia, Malawi, Ethiopia, and Kenya) has found that 20-30% cuts to public health budgets have had devastating impacts: 87% of healthcare workers surveyed report severe shortages of equipment, with even worse conditions in remote clinics and maternal health services. Nearly all surveyed health workers (97%) reported inadequate pay, with 42% experiencing earnings declines of up to 30%, linked to ongoing budget cuts.

The climate crisis is also worsening health inequalities for women and girls—especially among marginalised groups—reducing their ability to adapt to climate change while increasing their vulnerability to climate-related risks such as heatwaves, droughts, and disease. Climate disasters also damage health systems, disrupting access to essential SRHR services. Emerging evidence has linked the strengthening of SRHR to climate action; for instance, since SRHR enables girls to stay in school and supports women's participation in the workforce and decision-making, it leads to improved sustainability in the use of natural resources.

The health crisis is especially dire in conflict-affected settings. Since October 2023, Israeli military assaults on Gaza have triggered a catastrophic humanitarian, diplomatic, and health crisis, killing over 53,000 Palestinians (more than half of them women and children), injuring nearly 122,000 more, and displacing three-quarters of the population. With over 80% of health facilities damaged or destroyed, nearly 177,000 women face life-threatening risks due to disrupted care, widespread disease, hunger, lack of clean water, and untreated chronic conditions. The UN Commission of Inquiry on the Occupied Palestinian Territory has found that Israel has increasingly employed sexual, reproductive, and other forms of gender-based violence against Palestinians, including through the systematic destruction of sexual and reproductive healthcare facilities. Together, these actions reflect Israel's genocidal intent to deny Palestinians their right to

reproductive justice—the right to "maintain personal bodily autonomy, have children, not have children, and parent children in safe and sustainable communities."

CIVIL SOCIETY SPOTLIGHT: EVIDENCE-DRIVEN AND YOUTH-LED PARTNERSHIPS TO ADVANCE SRHR

The <u>Guttmacher Institute</u>, a research and policy organisation committed to advancing SRHR, partnered with youth-led, youth-focused organisations <u>International Youth Alliance on Family Planning (IYAFP)</u> and <u>VivaFutura</u> to develop and pilot a youth-friendly safe abortion advocacy toolkit to equip young advocates with the knowledge and skills for evidence-driven advocacy in diverse contexts.

Adolescents and young people face unique barriers in accessing comprehensive SRHR information and services, including stigma, misinformation, and restrictive laws. Using adolescent-specific research evidence from Guttmacher and other sources, the partners piloted a user-friendly, web-based toolkit in different countries, demonstrating how evidence on the need for essential SRHR services, and the impact of and costs associated with providing them, can be translated into practical resources that amplify youth voices and advance their rights.

This partnership demonstrates the value of equipping young advocates with accessible, evidence-based resources tailored to the unique challenges they face, ensuring that research can empower individuals to advocate for their rights and the rights of others.

Feminist demands to achieve SDG 3

Universal health coverage and public investment

- Mobilise (financial, human, and infrastructural) resources to realise universal health coverage (UHC) and build sustainable health systems and infrastructure while addressing donor dependency and conditionality, including through debt relief and progressive international financial architecture reforms, and reversing the trend of health care privatisation.
- Ensure universal access to affordable, quality public health and long-term care services—across the life course and inclusive of physical and mental health—that are accessible, acceptable, available, and free at the point of use. This is essential to reduce and redistribute women's unpaid care work and requires increased public investment in care infrastructure, integration into primary health systems, and decent work conditions for predominantly women care workers.
- Prioritise comprehensive care for non-communicable and rare diseases, infant health, HIV/AIDS, and maternal and parental health through accessible prevention, diagnosis, and treatment services that are stigma-free, inclusive, and include access to mental health support.

Sexual and reproductive health and rights

- Recognise SRHR as integral to UHC and intrinsically linked to the right to development, and adopt an incremental, rights-based approach to providing unimpeded access to the full spectrum of SRHR services.
- **Uphold reproductive justice** by ensuring all individuals can exercise bodily autonomy and make informed reproductive choices free from coercion, discrimination, or state control. This includes access to safe and legal abortion, protection against forced sterilisation, and an end to obstetric violence, especially against structurally marginalised groups.
- **Protect SRHR defenders, communities, and networks** and ensure CSOs and grassroots movements (including community health workers) are supported with training and decent work and are enabled to lead in providing inclusive, evidence-based SRHR information and services, at all levels of policy making and decision-making.
- **Guarantee universal access to menstrual health and hygiene**, including free menstrual products and comprehensive menstrual education.
- Implement inclusive comprehensive sexuality education for all throughout the life course, from a rights-based, disability-friendly, and pleasure-centred lens, prioritising bodily autonomy, right to informed consent and choices, self-determination, and confidentiality.
- **Promote rights-based, evidence-informed, and accurate information about SRHR** (access), especially for LGBTQIA+ persons and young people.
- Elevate neglected populations in SRHR policymaking and service delivery.

Resisting anti-rights and anti-science narratives in health and SRHR

- **Oppose the politicisation of sex, gender, and reproduction** and ensure that bodily autonomy, reproductive choice, and comprehensive sexuality education are non-negotiable components of sustainable development and the right to development.
- Counter the growing attack on science and the spread of pseudoscience—such as anti-vaccine rhetoric and unproven menstrual health claims—by promoting evidence-based health policies and ensuring public health information is accurate, accessible, and grounded in human rights.

Inclusive and accountable health systems and equity

- Support international accountability mechanisms to investigate and prosecute war crimes, crimes against humanity, and acts of genocide—including the systematic use of sexual and reproductive violence—which threaten health and well-being. This includes recognising the denial of reproductive healthcare, the destruction of medical infrastructure, and the targeting of bodily autonomy as forms of reproductive violence under international law.
- Gather more data on the health and well-being of women and girls with disabilities including with regards to SRHR, their disability, and non-communicable diseases to better



understand their experiences. This must include investment in gender-responsive health research, including financing for intersectional studies that address health disparities.

• **Recognise and respect Indigenous health knowledge and leadership**, and protect the environmental systems that underpin holistic Indigenous health practices.



SDG 8: DECENT WORK

SDG 8 cannot be meaningfully achieved without dismantling the neoliberal, growth-obsessed economic model that enacts structural violence on women and girls. As we elaborate under the economic pillar below, these models exploit labour while rewarding capital, devalue essential but unpaid care work, and privilege extractive industries over people's well-being. Economies are built on the backs of women—expected to work, produce, care, and consume more, with little support or protection. Persistent barriers such as the gender pay gap, labour market segregation, devaluation of women's skills, lack of access to finance, and exclusion from decision-making continue to undermine their economic rights and livelihoods.

Women are disproportionately concentrated in informal, low-paid, and unprotected work, often without access to maternity leave, healthcare, pensions, or unemployment benefits and, as a result, at greater risk of unsafe conditions including the risk of sexual harassment. Of the proportion of women in non-agricultural jobs, over 80% of women in South Asia, 74% in sub-Saharan Africa, and 54% in Latin America and the Caribbean <u>are</u> informally employed, including as street vendors, domestic workers, and industrial outworkers. Rural, Indigenous, and Afro-descendant women are especially reliant on informal and subsistence livelihoods, yet their contributions as farmers, caregivers, and environmental stewards remain invisible in GDP-centred systems.

Migrant women workers face some of the most acute forms of exploitation, particularly in sectors such as domestic work, agriculture, and caregiving—areas where informal and precarious employment is widespread. Migrant workers in high-income countries <u>earn</u>, on average, 13% less than nationals, with the wage gap widening to 21% for women migrants. These workers are frequently excluded from labour laws, forced to accept low wages and unsafe conditions, and subjected to harassment, abuse, and the constant threat of deportation. The growing anti-migrant backlash—led most visibly by the U.S.—has fuelled increasingly punitive migration regimes across wealthy nations, stripping migrants of rights and access to decent work while legitimising xenophobic and racist policies and increasing surveillance and militarisation.



The care economy—critical to the survival and well-being of communities—is both feminised and racialised. Much of this labour is invisible in national accounts because it does not generate measurable economic output, despite being the foundation of all other sectors. The unequal distribution of care work (both paid and unpaid) has significant impacts on women's lives, particularly on their economic autonomy. Women perform over three-quarters (76.2%) of all unpaid care work globally, translating to 606 million working-age women (21.7%) engaging in full-time unpaid care work, compared to just 41 million working-age men (1.5%) doing the same. In Latin America, women contribute between 6.3 and 29.5 more hours of unpaid care work per week compared to men.

Motherhood remains a major axis of gendered inequality that is often overlooked in mainstream discussions of rights and labour. Women who are mothers face systemic discrimination in the workforce, including hiring bias, career stagnation, and wage and pension penalties—collectively known as the "motherhood penalty." These disparities are compounded by time poverty, work-life imbalance, mental health challenges, high unpaid care work loads, and heightened financial dependency, particularly where affordable childcare and paid parental leave are lacking.

Feminist demands to achieve SDG 8

Labour rights and decent work

- Guarantee decent work by closing the gender wage gap, enforcing labour rights for all (particularly migrant and informal workers), and addressing exploitative and precarious employment. This includes ensuring all workers—regardless of gender, migration status, or employment sector—are covered by national labour protections, have access to safe working conditions, receive fair/living wages, and are protected from harassment, discrimination, and deportation.
- Enforce all labour rights and fundamental freedoms, in line with and with full respect for all International Labour Organization (ILO) standards and conventions, including to ensure women's rights to work and equal pay for work of equal value; uphold the right to organise and bargain collectively and the right to freedom of association; work in partnership and with full respect for trade unions, including to reverse anti-union laws that disproportionately silence women and marginalised workers; and eliminate all forms of sexual and gender-based violence, discrimination, and harassment in the workplace (ILO Convention 190).
- Ensure the private sector is held accountable for respecting labour rights in their supply chains, including the elimination of modern slavery and forced labour, with full respect for the UN Guiding Principles on Business and Human Rights.

Social protection and gender-responsive fiscal policy

• Ensure universal, gender-responsive social protection systems that include paid parental leave, unemployment insurance, pensions, health coverage, and support for informal and



care workers. Systems must be designed to close coverage gaps, remove eligibility barriers, and reflect women's diverse employment trajectories.

- Recognise unpaid care work as essential economic infrastructure and redistribute it through investment in public care systems and social protection. This includes expanding access to quality, affordable, and universal childcare, eldercare, and healthcare; supporting paid leave policies; and implementing the <u>5Rs framework</u> to revalue care work across all economic policies.³
- Invest in gender-responsive financial literacy and fair credit access for women's economic empowerment. Governments should fund inclusive financial literacy programmes for women and girls—especially those from marginalised communities—while regulating private lenders to end exploitative practices. At the same time, expand public and private credit portfolios for women-led micro, small, and medium enterprises, and promote community-driven financial cooperatives and feminist economic models that create decent work, autonomy, and intergenerational wealth.
- Institutionalise gender-responsive budgeting and taxation across all levels, ensuring that fiscal policies address gender inequalities through transparent, accountable, and participatory processes. This involves building institutional capacity, empowering local actors, and integrating gender analysis into budget and tax planning, implementation, and expenditure monitoring. Robust accountability mechanisms and disaggregated data are essential to track outcomes.

Intersectional economic justice and inclusion

- **Protect the rights of migrant women workers** by ratifying and implementing relevant international labour, migration and human rights instruments, removing discriminatory exclusions in labour laws, and strengthening mechanisms for reporting abuse and seeking redress. Immigration policies must be reformed to prioritise rights and decent work over criminalisation and deterrence.
- Advance racial and regional justice by addressing the economic exclusion of Afro-descendant and Indigenous women, especially in Latin America, the Caribbean, and Africa. This means strengthening land rights, expanding access to public services, recognising Afro-descendant and Indigenous women's roles in sustaining livelihoods and ecosystems, and ensuring targeted investments that address historic and ongoing marginalisation.
- Guarantee inclusive and quality education and training, decent work, and economic justice and rights for people living with disabilities by investing in accessible infrastructure, assistive technologies, inclusive curricula, and equitable labour policies that address intersectional barriers based on gender, age, race, and other factors.

³ The <u>5Rs framework</u> refers to the need to **recognise**, **reduce**, and **redistribute** (between women and men, and between families and the state) unpaid care work and **reward** and **represent** care workers.

ECONOMIC JUSTICE SDGS 1, 10, 12, 17



The prevailing neoliberal economic model—rooted in patriarchy, white supremacy, colonialism, and the pursuit of limitless growth—has been a key driver of growing precarity, inequality, and ecological devastation. Hallmarks of neoliberal policy include prioritising GDP growth at all costs (despite the ecological impossibility of infinite expansion on a finite planet); privatising public services like healthcare, water, and education (including through public-private partnerships); deregulating industries; weakening labour protections; reducing corporate and wealth taxes; and framing collective needs as secondary to individual ambition.

Neoliberalism relies on gendered inequalities to profit from global value chains, trade regimes, and digital monopolies. For instance, multinational corporations exploit gendered inequalities in wages and bargaining power, using women's labour as a cost-cutting strategy to maximise competitiveness and profit and entrenching the structural conditions that keep women in low-paid, precarious, and undervalued forms of work.

Yet, **corporations are increasingly welcomed into multilateral policymaking** through so-called "multi-stakeholder" processes (including last year's <u>UN Summit of the Future</u>), granting them undue legitimacy in shaping international rules and responses to global crises, even as they actively work to preserve an exploitative economic model.

The richest countries and individuals benefit the most from this arrangement. **Despite comprising a minority of the world's population, the Global North controls 69% of global wealth and is home to 68% of all billionaires**, who collectively hold 77% of global billionaire wealth. In 2024, billionaire wealth surged by \$2 trillion, growing three times faster than the previous year, with nearly four new billionaires emerging every week. **Crucially, the majority of this wealth is not earned through innovation or their own labour: 60% stems from inheritance, monopoly power, or cronyism.** Many fortunes acquired through colonial violence, particularly in Europe, have been passed down to subsequent generations. The billionaire class, far from being self-made, is one of the biggest beneficiaries of historical theft, racism, abuse and ongoing exploitation of women, girls,



and structurally marginalised peoples, all while aggressively lobbying against the taxation and regulation that is needed to curb their wealth and power.⁴

Almost nowhere are profits and wealth more reliant on exploitation and financialisation than in the ballooning tech sector. Of the ten richest people in the world, seven are men who own Big Tech companies. Their model of capital accumulation is based on profiteering from the military-industrial complex and digital surveillance (twhich most severely targets racialised migrants, refugees, and undocumented people); the exploitation of labour, land, data, and resources, oftentimes by weakening hard-won worker protections and pushing people into precarious labour; and seeking to expand their presence in public spheres and functions without taxation or accountability. Feminists recognise that bridging the "gender digital divide" should not merely be about folding women into digital capitalism, but about challenging the corporate power of Big Tech companies whose pursuits, including the ability to target, track, and surveil citizens, are harming women, girls, and other structurally marginalised groups.

The global economic order is upheld by institutions like the International Monetary Fund (IMF), the World Bank, and the World Trade Organization (WTO)—created and still dominated by former colonial powers—that entrench power imbalances and economic dependency. The IMF operates on a "one dollar, one vote" model, granting outsized decision-making power to wealthier nations, while WTO negotiations rely on "consensus" mechanisms that allow powerful states to dominate and sideline dissent. These international financial institutions impose austerity, promote regressive tax policies that disproportionately impact women and girls, and demand unsustainable debt repayments from Global South countries to their Northern creditors and to the IMF itself, leaving little fiscal space for investment in public goods critical to gender justice, including education, health, housing, care, or climate resilience. Since 1970, Southern governments have paid over \$3.3 trillion in interest to Northern creditors.

Global North governments have disproportionately benefited from and played a central role in advancing aggressive trade liberalisation, enforced by the WTO. By <u>requiring</u> Global South countries to remove subsidies and tariffs, Northern governments are able to safeguard their own economies through technological dominance and non-tariff protections.

A key area of corporate influence in trade is the investor-state dispute settlement (ISDS) system, which allows corporations to claim massive financial compensation if they believe their profits or investments are at risk as a result of government action, undermining governments' ability to regulate in the public interest. **ISDS is increasingly <u>used</u> by mining and fossil fuel interests, who have been <u>awarded</u> \$7.8 billion and \$84 billion in public money respectively via successful use of**

⁴ All statistics in this paragraph are from the following: Oxfam (2025). "<u>Takers not makers: The unjustsdg</u> <u>8poverty and unearned wealth of colonialism</u>."

the ISDS mechanism. In one case, the World Bank's International Center for Settlement of Investment Disputes (ICSID) <u>ruled</u> that Pakistan owed Tethyan Copper \$5.8 billion for denying approval of a mine (27 times the value of Tethyan's initial \$220 million investment), in alleged violation of the Australia-Pakistan Bilateral Investment Treaty.

In the context of this financial drain from the South to the North, it is clear that international aid is not enough; critical services should not have to rely on volatile and conditional external flows, but should be achieved through debt, tax, and trade justice, among others. **In 2023 alone, Global North countries extracted \$921 billion from the Global South through financial flows, a sum nearly four times larger than their aid contributions**. Major donors have drastically reduced aid flows: the U.S. Trump Administration's <u>dismantling</u> of USAID (assisted by billionaire Elon Musk) has left behind a \$60 billion funding gap. Other countries <u>committing</u> to reduce aid include the Netherlands (who is cutting EUR 2.4 billion in aid from 2027 to prioritise "Dutch interests," despite the Dutch Parliament's repeated calls to support aid for women, girls, and LGBTQIA+ communities), the UK (planning to decrease international development spending by 40% to support a 10% increase in defence spending), Switzerland (reducing its foreign aid budget by CHF 110 million in 2025), Belgium (similarly slashing its foreign budget by a quarter over five years), and France (cutting public development aid by nearly 40% in 2025).

Feminist demands to Member States for economic justice

Feminist and decolonial economic transformation

- **Transform economic systems** to enable a just, feminist, and decolonial transition. Global and national economies must shift away from extractive, growth-driven models and instead support feminist alternatives rooted in care, reciprocity, and ecological stewardship—including informal, Indigenous, and community-led economies that are rooted in a rights-based approach. This includes moving beyond GDP as the primary measure of development, confronting unsustainable patterns of consumption and production, and ending the commodification of nature.
- Empower feminist and youth-led economic initiatives that centre justice, rights, redistribution, and sustainability, and resist aid dependency and corporate capture, including through long-term, flexible, and accessible grant-based financing for grassroots movements.

Global economic governance

• Reform the governance, structure, and practices of international financial institutions and multilateral development banks to mainstream human rights, gender, environmental obligations and the SDGs in decision-making; increase the availability of concessional funding, such as Special Drawing Rights (SDRs) allocations and innovative financing instruments, while avoiding de-risking measures against public interests; and democratise



decision-making and governance by guaranteeing equal voice and fair participation of the Global South and representative civil society.

Tax and debt justice

- Establish a just, progressive, and equitable global tax system, including by abolishing tax havens, ending illicit financial flows and "race to the bottom" tax incentives, implementing a global wealth tax and stringent taxation of assets and inheritances, reforming tax systems to be progressive and gender-responsive, reducing dependence on regressive taxation (sales and consumption taxes), and enshrining a fair global tax system that ensures the ultra-rich and multinational corporations pay their fair share, via the United Nations Convention on International Tax Cooperation.
- Advance debt justice by cancellation and restructuring of sovereign debt and redirecting public resources toward climate action and gender-just public services, so that governments are no longer forced to prioritise debt repayments over investments in health, care, education, gender, and climate resilience.
- Establish a multilateral mechanism under UN leadership for the cancellation and restructuring of sovereign debt, grounded in assessments that account for climate obligations, gender equality, and human rights impacts and aligned with calls for climate reparations, recognising the historical responsibility of wealthy countries for carbon emissions, loss and damage, and their unmet climate finance commitments.
- **Stop imposing austerity through conditional lending** and instead provide grant-based financing that strengthens domestic social protection systems and expands access to public goods and essential services.

Corporate accountability

- Curb corporate influence over global governance and public goods. Multinational corporations should be held accountable through binding human rights and environmental standards, including advancing a legally binding treaty on corporate accountability and strengthening the UN Guiding Principles on Business and Human Rights. All economic agreements and private investments must be subject to mandatory human rights, environmental, and gender impact assessments.
- Ensure public deliberation, transparency, accountability, and enforcement in the development and use of technology and digital public infrastructure to build a human rights-based, gender-responsive digital ecosystem that eliminates market concentration in the digital economy and addresses power imbalances between countries, platforms, and users. This requires guarantees for data privacy and robust safeguards (especially for women, children, and adolescents) while mitigating the systemic risks of AI application, promoting democratic AI governance, and prohibiting AI applications that pose potential harm to human rights.



Trade and South-South cooperation

- Ensure that international trade agreements recognise and operationalise special and differential treatment provisions for developing countries.
- **Overhaul trade and investment mechanisms designed to favour investors**, including the ISDS system, and replace them with systems that prioritise transparency, accountability, and the public interest over the profit-driven claims of foreign investors.
- **Support regional economic integration** initiatives like the African Continental Free Trade Area (AfCFTA) to challenge economic dependency, reduce transaction costs, increase regional trade and investment, and foster South-South cooperation.
- Make or strengthen new alignments that are rooted in South-South cooperation, such as the Non-Aligned Movement.

SOCIAL JUSTICE SDGS 4, 11, 16



Armed occupations and warfare in countries including the Democratic Republic of Congo, Palestine, Sudan, Ethiopia, and beyond have deepened displacement, gender-based violence, and intergenerational trauma, while undermining democratic institutions and international law. Imposed peace processes and elite bargains often replicate these injustices. Within these contexts, gender-based violence, gendered inequalities, and sexual exploitation and abuse are widespread.

Recognising that women and girls face unique needs and experiences under conflict, peacebuilding and transitional justice policies should increasingly seek to incorporate a gender-responsive approach. However, many existing approaches ignore the entrenched social norms and structural drivers behind gendered experiences of conflict, including violent and militarised masculinities, or, the "socially constructed gender norm which <u>connects</u> the idea of 'maleness' to military service and combat, and naturalises the use of violence and oppression to resolve conflicts." A feminist approach rejects this militarist logic, redefining security as human security, centred on well-being, justice, and care.



Several core UN documents, including Article 26 of the UN Charter, the 1992 Rio Declaration, Agenda 21, the Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action, and the recent Pact for the Future raise concerns on the impact of increased military expenditure on human rights, the environment, and women's rights, among other areas. Yet, **governments continue to prioritise militarisation**, **with global military spending reaching \$2.7 trillion in 2024—driven by the steepest annual rise in spending since the Cold War and representing the tenth consecutive year of rising expenditures.**

Military operations <u>contribute</u> significantly to the ecological crisis (in turn a major threat to peace and security) due to the impacts of fuel use, ecosystem disruption, land degradation, the release of toxic pollutants, the disruption to energy and waste systems, and the resource-intensive nature of training, infrastructure, and equipment production. Explosive remnants of war render land unsafe to farm or live on, affecting food security and safe housing and limiting access to education, while delaying return and reconstruction processes. **Military emissions are** <u>estimated</u> **to make up around 5.5% of annual greenhouse gas emissions**, though underreporting of military-related emissions obscures the true extent of their impact. In 2019, the U.S. military was reported to emit more greenhouse gases than many countries, ranking as the world's 47th largest emitter if it were a nation.

In Latin America and the Caribbean, militarisation and policing intersects with widespread insecurity and organised crime, exacerbating violence against women and eroding civic life, especially in urban peripheries, rural areas, and Indigenous territories. State actors play an active role in perpetrating violence: between 2012 and 2022, nearly half (45%) of attacks on women human rights defenders across Mesoamerica were committed by state actors, including police (22.9%), government officials (17.2%), and military forces (4.9%). In El Salvador and Honduras, a prolonged State of Exception has been in place since March and December 2022 respectively, enabling grave human rights violations, state repression, and the suspension of constitutional rights and freedoms under the guise of national security. In Mexico, the creation of the National Guard in 2019 and dramatic increase in military spending to fund this institution has deepened insecurity and impunity, while public services such as education remain underfunded.

Against this backdrop, **Afro-descendant and Indigenous women and human rights defenders face high rates of femicide, sexual violence, and criminalisation from both state and non-state actors (including paramilitary groups and criminal networks) for defending their land and rights. In Honduras, for instance, OFRANEH (the Black Fraternal Organisation of Honduras) faces escalating criminalisation and threats for its efforts to defend the land and territorial rights of the Garifuna Afro-Indigenous Peoples, including their opposition to the sale of ancestral Garifuna lands by the government to private developers, agribusiness interests, tourist developments, and drug traffickers.**



This militarisation of development extends into education, migration, and civic life. **Teachers**, **students**, **and feminist educators face censorship**, **harassment**, **and violence for defending bodily autonomy, comprehensive sexuality education**, **feminist knowledge**, **and justice**, while their education and training systems are simultaneously being hollowed out by austerity and privatisation. In the United States and elsewhere, the criminalisation, deportation, and repression of students and academic institutions <u>opposing</u> Israeli apartheid and the genocide in Gaza signals a broader crackdown on civil and political rights, freedom of expression, and human rights advocacy.

Migration, too, is increasingly criminalised. The feminisation of forced displacement has exposed the compounded vulnerabilities faced by migrant women and LGBTQIA+ individuals, including sexual exploitation and abuse, gender-based violence, forced labour, and trafficking. These dynamics reflect a dominant model of ethnonationalism tied to pro-natalism, militarism, and the tech and surveillance military-industrial complex. Instead of upholding the right to asylum and dignity, many governments (including powerful Global North states that have contributed to the causes of forced displacement) are escalating their repression through militarised and externalised borders, surveillance technologies, and xenophobic policies.

Feminist demands to Member States for social justice

Feminist peace, security, and post-conflict recovery

- Shift from militarised to feminist, care-centred security frameworks. This includes investing in non-militarised, non-violent, women-, girl-, and youth-led conflict prevention, disarmament, crisis response, peacebuilding, and post-conflict reconstruction grounded in justice, reparation, psychosocial healing, and intersectional feminist principles.
- **Provide flexible, long-term, and core funding for women peacebuilders** and women-led and locally-based organisations and networks, as short-term support <u>makes</u> it difficult for peacebuilders to adapt to changing needs on the ground and sustain their impact.
- Reduce military spending and reallocate military budgets toward life-sustaining public goods. Budgets must recognise public goods and services as foundations of real security and social cohesion and prioritise education, health, housing, food, water, and public infrastructure over militarisation and weapons production.
- Transform fiscal policy in post-conflict settings to advance peace and recovery, ending the privatisation and financialisation of peacebuilding. Recovery processes must abandon austerity-based economic prescriptions and instead centre investments in universal public services and social infrastructure. Peace and reconstruction must be funded and governed as public goods. Member States should regulate private capital in peace financing, reject market-driven recovery models, and ensure that resources are allocated transparently through participatory decision-making processes that centre affected communities and civil society.
- Advance justice, reparation, and accountability for communities impacted by conflict and occupation. This must include reforming justice systems to ensure access for



marginalised groups, support Indigenous and community-based legal frameworks, strengthen rule of law, foster accountable institutions (including an independent judiciary), ensure transparent decision-making processes, and design and implement effective accountability mechanisms.

Protecting civic space and the right to organise

- **Protect the rights to protest, organise, and participate in public life**, including by upholding the rights to freedom of assembly and association, so that women, girls, and other structurally marginalised groups are free to advocate and organise without fear of repression.
- Uphold academic freedom and protect educators, students, and feminist curricula from repression, harassment, and political interference—particularly those defending bodily autonomy, comprehensive sexuality education, freedom from occupation, feminist knowledge, and human rights. This includes resisting the privatisation of education, reversing austerity-driven cuts, and ending the criminalisation or deportation of those advocating for justice in academic spaces, especially in contexts where opposition to state violence is met with surveillance and retaliation.

Investment in public goods and services

- Invest in safe, inclusive, and resilient school infrastructure to ensure that all learners can access education in environments free from violence, discrimination, and harm, including on the way to and from school. This requires addressing structural barriers such as poverty, disability, ethnicity, citizenship status, and conflict, while also ensuring access to adequate water, sanitation, and hygiene (WASH) facilities.
- Invest in inclusive, lifelong access to learning for girls and women by expanding access to STEM education, gender-responsive vocational education and training (VET), and community-based adult learning.
- Invest in accessible public infrastructure and transportation services that recognise different mobility needs and accommodate the needs of diverse groups, including by ensuring that urban planning and public services are universally designed and fully usable by persons with disabilities. Accessible, safe, and affordable transport play a crucial role in enabling access to opportunities in education, economic development, and political participation.

Migration and reintegration

• **Recognise migration as a human right and ensure access to services**. Migrants, refugees, and returnees must be guaranteed SRHR, education, housing, and justice, with attention to intersectional needs and protection from gender-based violence, sexual exploitation,



forced labour, trafficking, and statelessness, regardless of their legal status, especially through the implementation of effective legal frameworks and prevention measures.

• Ensure dignified and safe reintegration of returnees. Member States should scale up gender-responsive reintegration programmes to guarantee safe, voluntary and informed return (UNHCR Protocols 2018), access to services, job opportunities, and social protections, especially for women, children, and LGBTQIA+ individuals. Protect returnees from all forms of harassment, discrimination, and forcible displacement and deportation.

STRENGTHENING AND RECOMMITTING TO MULTILATERALISM

- Merge UN policy processes to align social, economic, and climate governance under a rights-based, gender-just, and intersectional framework. There is also an urgent need to restore the United Nations' leadership in shaping global decision-making on debt, tax, and trade policy, as well as on emerging challenges like digitalisation and internet governance.
- Ensure the universal, timely, and full payment by all Member States to the UN's regular budget and strengthen accountability measures for the delay or incomplete payment of dues, recognising that the core budget of the UN is essential for the organisation to deliver on its mandate and three pillars.
- Recommit to multilateral values through meaningful reform. Member States must confront the erosion of trust in multilateralism by upholding foundational norms and undertaking genuine reform of institutions that entrench the status quo. A renewed commitment to equity, accountability, and democratic participation is essential to restore legitimacy and ensure the system serves people and planet. Any reforms to the system must not undermine, compromise, or regress on the work of the UN at the global, regional, national, and local levels, to deliver on its mandate as well as the 2030 Agenda, especially in the fields of human rights, peace and security, and development, all of which are interlinked.
- **Promote the peaceful resolution of conflict in compliance with international law**, including through support for the UN Secretary General's <u>New Agenda for Peace</u>, elevating the work of the Peacebuilding Commission, and implementing the Women, Peace, and Security Agenda, conflict prevention, accountability for SGBV, and addressing root causes of violence.
- Ensure that (multilateral) efforts to end conflict and build peace, including transitional justice processes, are inclusive, transparent, and accountable to those most affected, especially the most structurally marginalised groups and communities in fragile or conflict-affected settings. Meaningful participation of most-affected people and



communities, including the full and equal participation of women, must be prioritised to ensure durable, rights-based outcomes for peace and security.

- Accelerate inclusive, meaningful, and transparent reform of the UN Security Council to confront deep-rooted power imbalances that undermine its legitimacy and effectiveness. This includes abolishing the veto—which reinforces geopolitical inequality and repeatedly blocks urgent action on conflict, occupation, and atrocity crimes—and expanding permanent membership for underrepresented regions including Africa, the Middle East, Asia and the Pacific, Latin America and the Caribbean, and the SIDS, which have long been excluded from equitable participation despite bearing the brunt of Security Council decisions.
- Meaningfully include civil society, especially women-led and feminist organisations, peacebuilders, and advocates from conflict-affected regions, in all stages of Security Council reform, including their active engagement in the Intergovernmental Negotiations (IGN). A reformed Council must be accountable to the people it claims to serve, including through stronger relationships with the General Assembly and Economic and Social Council and their subsidiary bodies, not just the powerful few who currently dominate its proceedings.

ENVIRONMENTAL JUSTICE SDGS 2, 6, 7, 13, 14, 15



We are living through an age of accelerating ecological collapse, driven by political inaction, corporate capture, and a global economic system that prioritises extraction over life. Climate commitments remain dangerously inadequate, with the world now preparing to live beyond the 1.5°C threshold, having already transgressed six of nine safe planetary boundaries. Meanwhile, communities in the Global South are least responsible for the crisis but are already enduring the worst impacts, from rising sea levels and droughts to biodiversity loss and displacement. These crises manifest differently across regions, demanding context-specific responses to challenges such as desertification in arid zones, flooding in delta areas, and deforestation in tropical forests.



Climate denialism movements have converged with rising anti-gender, anti-rights, and white supremacist movements, fuelling authoritarian and fascist ideologies. Ambitious climate action, therefore, cannot be separated from the struggle for gender justice, racial justice, and the collective well-being and rights of marginalised people everywhere. This must be recognised at COP30 in 2025 (which is a key milestone for renewing the Gender Action Plan on climate) and across all three Rio Conventions—the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC), the Convention on Biological Diversity (CBD), and the United Nations Convention to Combat Desertification (UNCCD).

Although they <u>comprise</u> just 16% of the world's population, Global North countries are responsible for an overwhelming share of ecological harm—contributing 92% of excess global CO₂ emissions and 74% of material resource overshoot, much of it <u>extracted</u> from the Global South to serve consumption in the North. Instead of rectifying these harms, Global North countries exploit Southern minerals and material resources to "transition" their own economies away from fossil fuels.

Despite bearing minimal historical responsibility for climate change, Global South countries receive inadequate, inaccessible, and often loan-based climate finance. This is occurring in tandem with the rapid financialisation of nature, especially across the Global South, through speculative assets and market fixes like carbon and biodiversity credits, blue and green bonds, and debt-for-nature swaps. What little funding exists privileges technocratic, elite-driven projects that disregard the local knowledge and lived realities of grassroots and women-led initiatives, despite women (particularly Indigenous and rural women) continuing to bear disproportionate responsibility for ecological care work—collecting water, maintaining food systems, and managing biodiversity—without recognition or compensation.

Governments and corporations therefore continue to externalise environmental harms to Indigenous Peoples, rural women, and marginalised communities. **Through militarism, industrial agriculture, fossil fuel extraction, and carbon offset schemes, these actors exploit ecosystems and violate human rights, including the right to Free, Prior, and Informed Consent (FPIC)**. Environmental defenders (especially Afro-descendant and Indigenous Peoples) face criminalisation, gender-based violence, and murder with near-total impunity. Over a third (36%) of environmental defenders <u>killed</u> in 2022 were Indigenous; 7% were Afro-descendants; and over a fifth (22%) were small-scale farmers. Large-scale infrastructure projects, including dams and privatised irrigation schemes, are displacing communities and degrading ecosystems in both the North and the South, yet continue to be sold as "clean" energy.

Women are also active agents in climate action and therefore exposed to the same risks and threats, and on top of that are also responsible for ecological care work.



Industrial agriculture continues to drive deforestation, land grabs, and biodiversity loss, while undermining food security and climate resilience. Feminists have long called for a radical transformation toward food sovereignty, centred on people's rights to food, rather than productivity or profit. Women farmers, particularly smallholder, Indigenous, and rural women, play a critical role in <u>sustaining</u> local, culturally-appropriate food systems through agroecological practices and seed saving. Yet they remain sidelined in land ownership (with **women** <u>owning</u> less than 15% of agricultural land globally), access to resources, and agricultural policymaking. In agricultural wage employment, women <u>earn</u> almost 20% less than men.

Water is a similarly cross-cutting issue, central to health, climate action, and gender equality. **Yet** access, quality, and sustainability to and of water are undermined by privatisation, transboundary conflict, and the exclusion of women, people with disabilities, and other marginalised groups from water governance. Climate adaptation funding for water often ignores local knowledge, fails to uphold FPIC, and reinforces top-down control. Despite these challenges, women-led and community-based collectives around the world are providing powerful alternatives. In Latin America, for instance, "guardianas del agua" movements resist water privatisation through legal advocacy and ecological stewardship.

Oceans are also being increasingly exploited under "blue economy" models that prioritise "market opportunities" over planetary health. Deep-sea mining and ocean-based carbon dioxide removal (CDR) threaten fragile marine ecosystems, disrupt carbon sequestration, and accelerate marine biodiversity loss, often without transparent regulation. Industrial fisheries, tourism, and infrastructure projects are displacing coastal communities and undermining small-scale, subsistence economies. Women in coastal and island areas, who rely heavily on marine resources and play a key role in sustaining fisheries value chains, face disproportionate impacts while lacking tenure rights and recognition for their labour—further compounded by climatic changes like sea level rise and ocean acidification, which threaten food security and coastal livelihoods.

CIVIL SOCIETY SPOTLIGHT: COMMUNITY-BASED CLIMATE RESILIENCE AND ENVIRONMENTAL PROTECTION

Vanuatu: Women- and grassroots-led climate resilience and disaster preparedness

For the Pacific island country of Vanuatu, climate change is one of the most significant threats to sustainable development. In the aftermath of Tropical Cyclone Pam, which damaged 80% of the country's infrastructure, ActionAid Vanuatu and the Department of Women's Affairs supported Ni-Vanuatu women to <u>establish</u> the locally-led and driven women's forum, Women I TokTok Tugeta (WTTT) network. The network has brought together over 9,000 women from five islands, fostering individual and collective awareness of rights and supporting leadership on preparedness planning, early warning, response, and climate policy influencing.

Kyrgyzstan: Women-led climate solutions and economic justice

Around 70% of people living in poverty in Kyrgyzstan and 65% of the population of women and girls <u>live</u> in the country's rural areas, where climate issues are felt most extensively, especially in mountain ecosystems. As many men migrate to urban areas in search of work, women are left behind in rural areas, often turning to entrepreneurship to find an income.

In this context, the Ishker KG Women's Cooperative in Kyrgyzstan was <u>created</u> to respond to the needs of rural women farmers in a context of climate crisis. Launched in September 2021 by eight women entrepreneurs with backing from the Kyrgyzstan Association of Forest and Land Users, the cooperative provides advisory services on boosting organic production, improving access to high-quality seeds and fertilizers, generating employment for low-income families, promoting environmental sustainability, and advancing women's rights.

Feminist demands to Member States for environmental justice

Representative and inclusive governance

- **Reform environmental governance** to be inclusive, decolonial, and feminist, ensuring equitable participation from Indigenous Peoples and other local communities most affected by ecological degradation and climate injustice, to advance gender equality and women's human rights.
- Respect the sovereignty, land tenure systems, and self-determined governance structures of Indigenous Peoples and local communities, recognising that the legitimate form of governance is defined by Indigenous Peoples themselves.
- Ensure all interventions on Indigenous territories, especially in the context of global environmental governance, require negotiation with Indigenous Peoples' representative institutions, including those led by or inclusive of women in gender-responsive leadership. This should include upholding FPIC in all environmental decision-making and ending harmful practices that violate territorial and ecological integrity.
- Engage Indigenous Peoples' and local communities representative organisations and institutions as equal negotiating partners in all global environmental frameworks, including climate finance, biodiversity governance, and planetary security. This should include requiring UN agencies and financial instruments to negotiate with Indigenous economic institutions, such as those that manage non-financial, ecosystem-based systems of provisioning, production, and care.
- **Centre Indigenous and local women's and girls' leadership** in climate, biodiversity, and environmental governance at all levels, including multilateral negotiations and national climate planning, such as global task forces on planetary security.

Rights-based and inclusive climate policy

- Urgently shift to social, economic, and ecological policies and practices that halt new fossil fuel extraction and end exploitative, extractivist agriculture and fishing. This must include ending public subsidies and financial incentives for polluting industries and fossil fuel corporations.
- **Guarantee water as a human right**, with equitable access, public investment, and protection from corporate capture, pollution, and transboundary conflicts, as well as reducing vulnerabilities to sexual and gender-based violence on water collection routes.
- Address the interconnection between climate justice and SRHR, recognising both as essential for human rights, well-being, autonomy, and resilience. This interlinkage must be acknowledged and integrated into UNFCCC processes, UNEP, and other relevant multilateral bodies where gender and climate are addressed.
- Ensure disability-inclusive disaster risk reduction and emergency response, including through accessible early warning systems, evacuation planning, and representation of persons with disabilities in emergency governance structures.

Funding and access to resources

- Mandate ecological reparations for historical and ongoing environmental damage perpetrated by colonial and extractive actors.
- **Provide gender-just, grant-based climate finance** from developed to developing countries, at a minimum, in line with the COP29 decision to provide \$300 billion annually to developing countries.
- Strengthen and replenish multilateral climate funds (e.g. Green Climate Fund, Adaptation Fund, Global Environment Facility) while ensuring democratic, transparent, and gender-responsive governance. Within these funds, establish mechanisms for direct funding to grassroots women's groups, Indigenous Peoples, and local communities, with inclusive oversight to advance resilience and rights, including SRHR.
- Shift climate finance and adaptation funding away from carbon markets, offsets, and elite-driven infrastructure toward grassroots, care-based, and locally determined priorities.
- **Recognise and fund ecological care work**, often performed by women without compensation, including in water stewardship, reforestation, and climate response.
- Ensure that coastal women have proper access to technology and knowledge needed for conservation and sustainable marine and coastal governance, including monitoring, reporting, and verifying coastal activities impacting safety, health, and well-being essential to human rights.

Rejecting false solutions

• Ban high-risk ocean technologies such as deep-sea mining and marine geoengineering.



• **Reject the commodification and privatisation of nature**, including water, forests, seeds, and biodiversity, and restore the commons to community and ecological stewardship, underpinned by the principle of intergenerational equity.

Land, food, and ocean sovereignty and traditional knowledge

- **Recognise and support Indigenous-led ecological economies**, often mischaracterised as informal economies or markets, that enable community access to food, water, medicine, education, and shelter outside of patriarchal, financialised control.
- Secure land rights for women farmers, especially smallholder, Indigenous, and rural women, and close gender gaps in access to productive resources, services, and decision-making for women farmers.
- Recognise and support the role of women in food and seed sovereignty, agroecology, and climate-resilient agriculture, and protect their rights against land grabbing and agribusiness expansion.
- **Build, strengthen, and protect local governance systems** by implementing SDG14.b, the Voluntary Guidelines for Securing Sustainable Small-Scale Fisheries in the Context of Food Security and Poverty Eradication (SSF Guidelines), United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Peasants and Other People Working in Rural Areas (UNDROP), and the UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (UNDRIP) as prerequisites for the just and effective implementation of ocean policy.
- Recognise the importance of small-scale fisheries and associated coastal communities in integrated management and securing food security and other benefits from coastal areas, including through full implementation of the intent of SDG target 14B and recognising fisherwomen as capable and committed guardians of marine and coastal biodiversity.
- Respect, preserve, and maintain the traditional knowledge, practices, and cultures that small-scale fishers develop in association with marine and coastal biodiversity as with seas, lakes, and rivers, while taking into account the specific productive effort, knowledge, and practices of women and girls.
- **Support feminist, community-led water governance models** that prioritise reciprocity, intergenerational knowledge, and ecological sustainability.

Feminist just energy transition

- Expand access to decentralised renewable energy systems that are community-owned, women-led, and designed to meet the needs of marginalised communities.
- Invest in women's and girls' training and employment in clean energy sectors, and support feminist just energy transitions that prioritise livelihoods, equity, and sustainability over profit.



Legal protection and accountability for environmental harm

- Ensure conservation efforts respect human rights and do not result in displacement, militarisation, or exclusion of Indigenous and local communities.
- Protect oceans, land, soil, the atmosphere (ozone, aerosols), water, and the biosphere from industrial pollution and waste, and strengthen legal accountability for ecological harm at all levels. This requires, in part, robust legally binding conventions to govern the global commons—such as the ongoing development of a global plastics treaty, which must include strong gender equality provisions, including recognition, protection, and fair compensation for women waste workers.
- **Protect environmental defenders**, particularly Indigenous women, from violence, criminalisation, repression and red-tagging, and create mechanisms for their safety and access to justice, with full respect for human rights without discrimination.

CIVIL SOCIETY IN CRISIS AND RESISTANCE: LESSONS AND STRATEGIES FOR ACTION

In preparing this position paper, the Women's Major Group asked civil society and grassroots organisations what best practices, initiatives, or lessons should be highlighted from and for civil society organisations, which we have used to create the recommendations below.

The responses reflect the urgent realities of organising under intensifying repression, financial precarity, and political hostility. These lessons, grounded in lived experience, offer a blueprint for collective action rooted in justice and care, and inform the strategies feminist activists and community leaders are using to sustain movements against injustice.

Recommendations for civil society organisations

Grassroots leadership, movement resourcing, and transformative organising

- **Resource leadership from the ground up.** Support grassroots women, youth, LGBTQIA+ activists, and Indigenous leaders through political education, mentorship, and accessible, sustained funding—not project-based, donor-driven models.
- **Promote horizontal leadership and decentralised structures**. Reduce reliance on individual spokespersons to distribute risk and cultivate shared ownership of campaigns and programmes.
- **Prioritise safety, resilience, and mental health**. Invest in digital and physical security measures, conduct risk assessments, adopt low-visibility leadership structures to protect activists and community members under threat, and foster spaces for collective support, healing, and radical listening.

Cross-movement collaboration

- Build intersectional and intergenerational solidarity-based coalitions. Strengthen alliances across movements—gender, climate, labour, racial justice, disability, and peacebuilding—to confront shared root causes like extractivism, militarisation, and authoritarianism and facilitate resource-sharing, legal support, and coordinated responses to anti-rights attacks.
- **Resist siloes and widen collaboration**. Actively seek collaboration with non-traditional allies—including labour unions, faith-based actors, and local governments—rather than staying siloed within familiar civil society circles.
- **Continue to build and invest in multi-stakeholder partnerships.** This should include collaboration and dialogue with civil society, young people, governments, the private sector, philanthropies, multilateral entities, and other stakeholders to challenge traditional power dynamics, share resources, exchange knowledge, enhance collective action, and push forward progress on feminist movements and leadership, including through the continuation of existing platforms such as Generation Equality.

Knowledge-sharing and narrative power

- Share knowledge through peer learning platforms. Facilitate spaces for civil society organisations to exchange tools, data, and strategies across regions and struggles.
- Invest in independent information ecosystems. Challenge the corporate control of media by collectively resourcing secure, community-owned platforms for information-sharing. Civil society organisations should prioritise the protection of journalists and frontline communicators, and build resilient, decentralised channels to counter disinformation, shift public narratives, and reduce reliance on profit-driven social media platforms.
- Engage in narrative work. Use art, storytelling, and cultural resistance to challenge dominant discourses and affirm the identities and demands of marginalised communities.
- Use legal action and public advocacy. Shift public opinion and push back against official anti-rights narratives and oppressive laws by mobilising legal challenges and organised media backlash to discredit anti-rights actors and their flawed evidence.

Advocacy strategies and tools

- Use flexible and adaptive advocacy strategies. Where space for overt activism is closing, use quiet diplomacy, intermediary networks, and non-confrontational framing to influence policy and protect movements.
- **Expand participatory and community-led research**. Partner with academic institutions to co-produce knowledge that reflects local realities and informs more accountable policy.
- Use technology strategically, but equitably. Ensure digital tools are accessible, relevant, and do not reinforce existing exclusions, especially for remote and resource-limited communities.



• **Document and evaluate impact**. Build evidence of grassroots effectiveness to influence donors, shift policy narratives, and strengthen long-term strategies.

CIVIL SOCIETY SPOTLIGHT: AMPLIFYING THE VOICES OF WOMEN AND GIRLS FROM THE GLOBAL SOUTH IN POLICY AND DECISION-MAKING

<u>Women of the South Speak Out</u> (WOSSO) strengthens the leadership and participation of women's rights organisations and young feminist leaders from the Global South by supporting their sustained and meaningful involvement in key regional and international advocacy levels. In Asia and the Pacific, WOSSO has built a vibrant network of 70 young women leaders from 19 countries through its regional fellowship programme.

The fellows have developed strategic advocacy plans focused on advancing gender equality in their local and national contexts. They bring expertise across a wide range of issues (including SRHR, climate justice, disability justice, peacebuilding, and more) and use tools such as digital campaigning, public mobilisation, civic space defence, and policy monitoring. At a time of intersecting crises, their lived experiences are central to building resilient feminist movements based on the leadership of women, girls, and other structurally marginalised groups.

They also contribute to critical regional and global advocacy spaces, including the Asia-Pacific Ministerial Conference on Beijing+30 Regional Review, the 69th session of the Commission on the Status of Women (CSW69), the 29th Conference of the Parties in 2024 (COP29), the Asia-Pacific Forum on Sustainable Development 2025 (APFSD), and the Asia-Pacific Forum on Sustainable Development 2026 (APFSD).

WOSSO is a consortium formed by <u>Gender Links</u>, the <u>Asian-Pacific Resource and Research Centre for</u> <u>Women</u> (ARROW), and <u>Mannion Daniels</u>. Gender Link coordinates the WOSSO Programme in Africa and Latin America and the Caribbean, Mannion Daniels coordinates WOSSO in the Middle East and North Africa region, and ARROW coordinates WOSSO in the Asia and the Pacific region.

CONCLUSION

As the WMG, one of the most beautiful and powerful things we do each year is come together, across borders and generations, to share our visions for change through this position paper: our collective roadmap toward the kind of world we dream of and are actively working to build. In addition to creating this critical advocacy tool, it is also an opportunity to celebrate our victories, reflect on our struggles, and prepare for the ongoing work ahead. Those responsible for creating and upholding these overlapping systems of oppression want us to believe we are powerless, dismissing our demands as unrealistic, utopian, and naïve. Yet we know our ideas are not only possible, but urgently necessary.



This moment also invites us to critically examine the multilateral spaces we navigate (and often contest) and the symbiotic relationships we hold with them. As the multilateral system faces one of its most profound crises of legitimacy yet, we are asked to rise to the challenge—to show what partnerships really mean. We will continue to defend multilateralism against the anti-rights actors that seek to dismantle it, while pushing boldly for meaningful systemic reforms. We will continue to uphold our shared values: that global challenges require collective solutions, that every State deserves an equal voice in decision-making, and that we need inclusive and participatory governance, grounded in the human rights frameworks that underpin the UN. The system is far from perfect, but until a viable alternative emerges, it remains the best arena we have—and one we are determined to strengthen together.

Despite the turbulent times we are facing, we ask and expect governments to honour and deliver on their commitments. Those prepared to do so will find us ready to support and work alongside them as partners, recognising that any transformative vision for the future must have international cooperation at its heart. The strength of our feminist movements and leadership lies in our ability to convene stakeholders, engage in constructive dialogue, and push forward transformative progress together.

As we enter HLPF, together, let us hold space to mourn the setbacks and acknowledge the fears that naturally come with such uncertain times. But, as we always have, we pick ourselves—and each other—up, finding strength in our shared struggle and in an unwavering hope for change. As Audre Lorde reminds us, "Revolution is not a one-time event."

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