

Association for Women's Rights in Development

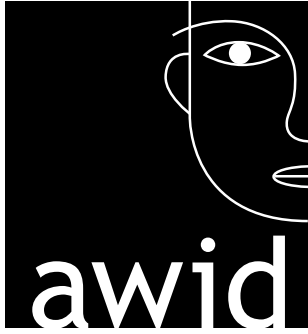


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**The Second *Funder* Report:
Financial Sustainability for
Women's Movements Worldwide**

**By Joanna Kerr
June 2007**

Association for Women's Rights in Development



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The survey questionnaire was designed by the aforementioned team with the significant professional guidance of Martin Redfern. With 1200 worldwide responses, he spent countless hours conducting statistical analysis of the data, and producing the final results and charts. We thank him for his patient and thorough work. Fernanda Hopenhaym of AWID was integrally involved in the research, producing the sample size for the questionnaire, cleaning the data, coding the open-ended questions and providing some of the final data for the last draft of this report.

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The Money and Movements international meeting, organized by AWID and Semillas in Querétaro, México, last November, provided important inputs and ideas for the production of this report. We would like to thank all the donors that funded the meeting, namely the African Women's Development Fund, Marna Broida, the Dutch Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Global Fund for Women, HIVOS, Levi Strauss Foundation, Mama Cash, Open Society Institute, Oxfam America, Oxfam Novib, Raising Change LLC/Kathy LeMay, UNIFEM and Carol Winograd.

Finally, this report is dedicated to the hundreds of women's rights advocates who participated in the numerous workshops, AWID conferences and online survey in relation to this initiative, whose ideas and aspirations form the basis of this report. It is also dedicated to the many more who we hope will be able to use this document to bring about bold changes in their work and their movement towards the advancement of women's rights.

Joanna Kerr, June 2007

Joanna Kerr is the former Executive Director of AWID. She is currently acting as an advisor and strategist to a number of women's rights organizations and foundations.

Acronyms

ABC approach: Abstinence, Be faithful, use Condom
AECI: Agencia Española de Cooperación Internacional
(Spanish Agency for International Cooperation)
ALOP: Asociación Latinoamericana de Organizaciones de Promoción
AUSAID: Australian Government's Overseas Aid Program
CEDAW: Convention on the Elimination of All Forms
of Discrimination against Women
CEE: Central and Eastern Europe
CEO: Chief Executive Officer
CIDA: Canadian International Development Agency
CIS: Community of Independent States
CSOs: Civil Society Organizations
CSW: UN Commission on the Status of Women
DAC: Development Assistance Committee of the OECD
DANIDA: Danish Development Agency
DFID: Department for International Development, United Kingdom
EC: European Commission
EU: European Union
EURODAD: European Network on Debt and Development
GCAP: Global Call to Action Against Poverty
GFW: Global Fund for Women
INGO: International Non-Governmental Organization
LAC: Latin American and the Caribbean
MCC: Millennium Challenge Corporation
MDGs: Millennium Development Goals
MENA: Middle East and North of Africa
NGO: Non-Governmental Organization
NORAD: Norwegian Agency for Development Cooperation
NZAID: New Zealand's International Aid & Development Agency
ODA: Official Development Aid
PEPFAR: President's Emergency Plan for AIDS Relief, United States
PRSPs: Poverty Reduction Strategy Papers
OECD: Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development
SIDA: Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency
SWAps: Sector-wide Approaches
UN: United Nations
UNDP: United Nations Development Programme
UNFPA: United Nations Population Fund
UNIFEM: United Nations Development Fund for Women
UNRISD: United Nations Research Institute for Social Development
USAID: United States Agency for International Development
VAW: Violence Against Women
WHO: World Health Organization

Chapter 1

Introduction and Summary

Capital as such is not evil; it is its wrong use that is evil. Capital in some form or other will always be needed. - Gandhi

Divisions and ruptures are created in our movement as we compete for “scarce” resources

Let's tackle the “f word”... that taboo unspoken subject that keeps many a non-profit organization leader awake at night. Yes, fundraising. The challenges of seeking funds and mobilizing resources for women's rights work is the subject of this report. For us, though, this is not about how to write a good proposal. Instead, we recognize money and financial flows as inherently political issues and therefore influencing them is critical to any strategy for women's rights. In other words, where the money goes (or doesn't go) enshrines certain values. So by building the financial sustainability of our movements we shift value systems towards human rights and gender equality, and thereby advance and sustain our struggles for social justice.

Harnessing financial resources, however, is not difficult just because the funding seems inaccessible, but also because the issue is itself a challenge to our becoming a stronger, more vibrant movement of women's rights advocates worldwide. As Lydia Alpízar Durán says,

It is clear that although access to resources has been important for progress in achieving our agenda, it has also generated practices and processes that have weakened our capacity for collective action to effect social change. Divisions and ruptures are created in our movement as we compete for “scarce” resources. Our conflicting relationship with money, which is influenced by our own personal relationship with it, affects the manner in which we relate to money in our work, in our organizations and in the spaces for coordination, spaces for movements. Furthermore, our perception of scarcity undermines our creativity and increases competition and fragmentation, finally resulting in a significant weakening of the collective strength needed to bring about the major social change that we are proposing ¹

This report looks therefore at fundamental questions in relation to resource mobilization and movement-building: *How are women's organizations and movements growing worldwide? Why do we need*

¹ Opening plenary speech of the Money and Movements Meeting, Querétaro, Mexico, November 2006

strong women's movements and organizations? How can we re-invest in building stronger movements? Where is the money for women's rights? How should we mobilize new resources to build stronger feminist movements in order to advance women's rights worldwide?

On the following pages we tackle these questions by presenting and analyzing primary research data based on a survey of almost one thousand women's organizations worldwide. The findings and trend analysis in this report are also a product of literature reviews, interviews and discussions with donors, as well as insights and recommendations from three hundred women's rights leaders and funding allies from 94 countries who met at the end of 2006 in Querétaro, Mexico at the AWID and Semilla's *Money and Movements* meeting.

Last year, AWID, in collaboration with Just Associates, published its first *Funder* report: *Where is the money for women's rights? Assessing resources and the role of donors in the promotion of women's rights and the support of women's organizations*². The report was the first of its kind, setting out an analysis of funding trends and how they were affecting women's organizations around the world. The report was widely used and stimulated a broader demand for even more specific information and strategies to "find the money" for women's rights work. In fact, as part of AWID's survey last year we learned that the first report was considered very useful by 72 % of the respondents, with women's organizations asking specifically for more information about donors for women's rights work, useful fundraising guidelines, and further and deeper analysis on funding and regional trends that impact women's organizing. This report responds to their requests.

The report itself is just one product in a multi-year action research strategic initiative of AWID that sets out to:

- achieve a significant increase in access to and amount of funding available to support women's rights work, particularly of that of women's organizations all around the world; and,
- improve the effectiveness of women's organizations to raise more funds and utilize them to build stronger movements and progress gender equality globally.

To realize these goals, AWID is researching, writing and publishing the annual *Funder* reports, disseminating them in English, French, Spanish, and when possible Arabic, as well as having our experts' insights featured in relevant magazines, journals, fact sheets and at meetings with the donor community. AWID is also actively facilitating meetings of women's rights activists, often with representatives of the donor

² This report was written by Cindy Clark, Ellen Sprenger and Lisa VeneKlasen with Lydia Alpizar Durán and Joanna Kerr. It is available in English, French and Spanish at http://www.awid.org/go.php?pg=where_is_money

We have now witnessed shifts in donor practice as part of a collective re-think of gender mainstreaming gone awry and agreement by many donors that too little funding exists

community, to share the latest information on the current situation of funding for women's rights within different regions or issues, develop strategies on how best to increase the access of funding for the most marginalized groups, and debate how best the women's movements can build a stronger base and use resources more strategically³.

In fact, this action-research initiative established in 2005 has already had an impact. It has contributed to the leveraging of more explicit funding for women's rights organizations from the Dutch Government, HIVOS, Oxfam Canada, Oxfam Novib and possibly the Canadian government (based on what we have been told from representatives of these agencies). We have now witnessed shifts in donor practice as part of a collective re-think of gender mainstreaming gone awry and agreement by many donors that too little funding exists. Thus, in many ways, we feel more positive than even just a year ago that more essential funding could become available for women's rights organizations and movements worldwide. That said, the funding world is highly political and complex, so cautious optimism, hard work and vigilance must be maintained.

What is in this report

This report is divided into three chapters; first focusing on women's organizations and movements around the world; then funding sectors, and finally strategies for financial sustainability.

Chapter 2:

How are women's organizations and movements growing worldwide? Why should we care?

After underlining the value and importance of women's rights organizations and movements, this chapter provides the key findings of the detailed 2006 survey of organizations working for the rights of women around the world. This data, from almost a thousand respondents, provides a rare view into the funding and organizational challenges of women's organizations globally. The chapter analyzes the following important findings among others:

- Most women's organizations are small: fully two-thirds of this survey sample have annual budgets of less than USD 50,000.

- In 2005, 729 women's rights organizations worldwide had the collective income of only USD 79 million.

- More than half of the survey respondents are receiving less funding since 2000. This explains why 67% of the survey respondents expressed that they find it more difficult to raise funds than five years ago (only 16% find it easier) with over half of the organizations having to use more staff and resources for fundraising efforts.

- Much of the “growth” we see in organizational funding is at a very small scale: organizations growing their budgets by a measly ten or twenty thousand dollars annually pushing them above the USD 10,000 annual budget category.

- On average, organizations say they would need twice their budget to do all they wanted to do in 2006. Funders and organizations are often stuck in a vicious cycle where small women’s groups are seen as not having the absorption capacity to grow and hence funding isn’t increased, yet with increased funding organizational capacities would expand.

- The majority of organizations have been getting their biggest funding since 1995 from bilateral/multilateral agencies, large private foundations, international NGOs, individuals and local governments. That said, in 2005 we found that the most common sources of funding (though not necessarily the largest) were women’s funds, bilateral/multilateral assistance, membership fees and income generation activities.

- In financial terms, the most important overall donors globally for the survey respondents in 1995, 2000 and 2005 were individual donors, the Dutch Government, the Ford Foundation, and Oxfam International member agencies.

- Organizations in the Middle East and North Africa, Latin America and the Caribbean and Eastern Europe/CEE were likely to have more difficulty in raising funds in the past five years; groups in Africa, Asia and the Pacific and North America and Western Europe have been more likely to improve their funding situation than the other regions.

The chapter goes on to explore each geographical region in more detail: who are the most likely funders? What kind of challenges does the women’s movement face and what are the regional priorities that require resources?

The most important overall donors globally for survey respondents were individual donors, the Dutch Government, the Ford Foundation, and Oxfam International member agencies

Chapter 3:

Where is the money for women's rights?

...And how can we tap it?

This chapter analyzes some of the major changes within the structures, policies, strategies and grantmaking approaches of six funding sectors through two lenses: the **challenges** for women's organizations in tapping these funds as well as many of the new **opportunities** that exist in terms of emerging resources for women's rights and women's organizing.

Bilateral and Multilateral Development Agencies: This sector gets the most attention in this report for two reasons. Firstly it is important as a large funding source. Secondly development assistance from these agencies, or "ODA", is currently under significant reform as a result of the "aid effectiveness agenda" (prioritizing government to government funding, the influence of the Millennium Development Goals, a re-examination of gender mainstreaming, increased focus on terrorism and security, as well as other effects of Bush administration conditionalities). By exploring all these trends, we see a sector under considerable transformation. This in turn creates new challenges for NGOs, especially women's organizations which are part of a growing chorus of civil society organizations calling for democratic ownership of aid processes and priorities. The report also describes the numerous new opportunities for women's organizations to engage with the development assistance agenda where many insiders are also seeking ways to support women's movements themselves. From Norway to Ireland to Spain to the UK, new monies are also becoming available with explicit focus on gender equality, and these are funds that could potentially support the critical work of women's organizations worldwide.

From Norway to Ireland to Spain to the UK, new monies are also becoming available with explicit focus on gender equality

International NGOs: The chapter explores the inherent tensions between large mixed development organizations and women's rights groups given the multiple identities of INGOs as local service providers, campaigners, humanitarian aid agencies, grant-makers, or policy researchers. Many INGOs have rolled back on their commitments to gender equality, and others want to work with women's groups seemingly to strengthen INGO global campaigns. Some of these large development non-profit agencies are also directly competing for funding with women's rights organizations. INGOs have powerful fundraising mechanisms that can soak up individual donations and government funding both in the Global North and South. Nonetheless, there are an increasing number of INGOs who have prioritized provision of core funding to women's organizations and see gender equality, women's human rights and movement-building as key goals in and of themselves.

Women's Funds: The more than twenty public funds lead by women to explicitly support women's organizations in the Global South are part of an exciting growing movement of social justice philanthropy. They are, according to our data, an essential source of resources for women's movements throughout the world. This chapter explores some of their growing pains, but illustrates their innovation, rapid growth, ability to reach some of the most marginalized groups and fundamental role in building the capacity and financial sustainability of women's rights organizations in the Global South.

Large Private Foundations: This section explores why many of these large funding entities have been reducing their funding for women's rights. From internal and external pressures to show certain results with bigger grants to bigger entities, to a growing conservatism amongst foundation leadership, to a greater focus on technical solutions for global problems (especially by the big players like the Gates Foundation), strategies for building collective power and addressing gender discrimination get left behind. Greater attention will have to be given to these important financial entities by women's rights advocates to regain their commitment and understanding to the centrality of women's rights organizing.

Individual Giving and Small Private Foundations: These have received considerable public attention in this past year with the many headlines of Warren Buffet's 31 billion dollar gift to Bill Gates' work, Oprah's new school in South Africa or Angelina and Madonna "saving" the children of Africa. Cynicism aside, individual donors of all economic status are on the rise in all parts of the world and offer essential means to build financial resources for community development and women's organizing. Building a base of wealthy or small multiple individual donors, however, is no easy task, especially in parts of the world where cultures of philanthropy are still nascent.

The last section of this chapter explores why **corporate philanthropy** remains the most elusive and the most controversial funding source to most women's rights organizations. Corporate donors often seek "charitable causes" to improve their image and stockholder value. The chapter explores how women's organizations can pursue corporate donations while remaining true to their values and agenda. For many, obtaining in-kind contributions from local and national businesses such as computers, financial and legal expertise, meeting venues, or free media space has provided invaluable support to smaller organizations and could be tapped more effectively.

In-kind contributions from local and national businesses such as computers, financial and legal expertise, meeting venues, or free media space has provided invaluable support to smaller organizations

Chapter 4:

How should we mobilize new resources for building stronger feminist movements and advancing women's rights worldwide?

The final chapter related to strategies for women's organizing is divided into two parts. In the first, we examine the principles and approaches to building resources and a stronger base for women's movements. By enhancing our capacity to engage with donors as a political strategy, we not only expand the funding for our agendas but also our capacity as political actors and change agents. Four interrelated strategies are further explored – building collective power, engagement with donor allies, building and supporting feminist leaders, and creating autonomous funding – that represent a consolidation of some of the thinking of what is most relevant and urgent towards strengthening our work and its impact. The final part of the chapter offers specific and tested guidelines for building resources for the movement. Unlike more traditional fundraising tools, these guidelines are geared towards the financial sustainability of our organizations and movements and what it means in practice to strengthen our collective women's rights work while also generating sustainable resources.

Chapter 2

How are women's organizations and movements growing worldwide? Why should we care?

In 2005, World Vision International, the world's largest Christian international development organization, and one with no mandate to support emergency contraception and abortion, had an income of almost USD 2 billion. In that same year, 729 of the leading women's rights organizations worldwide had a collective income of a paltry USD 76 million, not even 4 percent of World Vision's budget.

Patriarchal attitudes reinforce women and children as victims of global problems, individuals that need "saving" or protecting

Can we imagine a day when strong, feminist and well-resourced women's rights organizations are transforming communities and driving political, social and economic change? Certainly many of us can, yet the world around us does not see women's rights work as central to development, the environment, conflict resolution or ending HIV and AIDS, but simply as just one other consideration. Patriarchal attitudes and systems continue to reinforce both women and children as victims of global problems, individuals that need "saving" or protecting. "Gender" is just an abstract concept to be integrated into existing systems with no fundamental shifts in power relations, approaches or resources. Yet women's rights organizations play an indispensable role in their communities, nations, and regions as the agents of change. Women's movements have arguably been leading the most successful social revolution the world has ever seen. Gender inequality, on the other hand, is still the most pervasive, systemic and universal form of discrimination on the planet. There is much work to be done. And so, this report argues, women's movements need to be funded.

Why are women's organizations and movements so important?

We are not advocating for enhanced support for women's organizing simply to continue a historical tradition. We are advocating for it because we see it as essential to promoting gender equality and women's empowerment – which were agreed to in the Millennium Development Goals – as well as promoting and protecting women's rights. Without women's organizing, we run the risk of sliding back on implementation of existing commitments to women's rights and gender equality,

as well as losing sight of emerging issues and challenges. Ending violence against women, Security Council Resolution 1325, achieving 30% of women's representation in parliaments, and many other commitments would never have come to pass without the advocacy of a strong women's movement.

(Joanne Sandler, Deputy Director, UNIFEM, speech at the Commission for the Status of Women, March 2006)

The fact that we have to substantiate the answer to this question is a sign of our times. Many funders, bilateral or multilateral agencies have questioned us at AWID as to why women's movements and organizations need support. Why - if UN missions are now stronger on gender analysis or large international NGOs like Care International and Amnesty International can now focus their massive resources toward the empowerment of women and women's rights? These questions uncover a critical difference in perceptions as to how change happens. From a historical perspective it is obvious that those massive development and human rights organizations that have added women's programs to their array of work cannot adequately advance the rights of women. The push and leadership for change continues to come from independent, diverse, and strategic women's rights movements and organizations (the same has been shown by the civil rights movements, environmental movements, and other major social movements of our times). Activist and researcher Srilatha Batliwala, in a pithy overview at AWID's *Money and Movements* meeting in Querétaro, reminded us all of the major achievements of women's movements in the past decades, when women's movements have:

- Raised the visibility and voice of women around the world (by putting new issues on the agenda, breaking the culture of silence around rape and violence);
- Unearthed the nature of gender discrimination (through detailed research as well as scholarly analysis and bringing forth new concepts and gender specific data);
- Increased formal equality (by changing laws, creating laws, demanding affirmative action, increasing the representation of women in public and private sector);
- Created and engendered international normative structures (Beijing Platform of Action, other UN conferences, Security Council Resolution 1325, rape as a war crime, CEDAW);
- Constructed new institutional arrangements and mechanisms to advance equality (through gender budgets, police stations for women, women's commissions or machineries);

- Built organizations, networks, movements (vast number of organizations, networks like DAWN, new partnerships, diverse movements of sex workers, slum dwellers, indigenous women, maquiladora workers, farm women); and,
- Mobilized and empowered women in communities through broad-based constituency building¹.

***Women's movements have been,
and will always be leaders
in ensuring rights for women***

In addition to all of these achievements, it could be argued that the women's movement and women's organizations around the world have achieved these successes with very few resources, within a constantly changing political and economic terrain with increasing backlash. For many women's rights advocates the imperative to simply hold the line on advances already made undermine opportunities to work proactively on emerging issues, take stock of achievements, or build resources for the future. It is clear that this work cannot be done by mixed organizations alone. Women's movements have been, and will always be leaders in ensuring rights for women. The question remains, how will we ensure that they are adequately financed?

The current funding picture for women's organizations worldwide

In July and August 2006 AWID carried out a detailed survey of organizations working for the rights of women around the world. Over 1400 individuals accessed the survey (in either French, Spanish or English)². Compared to the survey undertaken in 2005, this data provides a more detailed, richer and unprecedented view into the complex funding realities and organizational challenges of women's organizations throughout the world. This section highlights the key findings of the survey and analyzes it in terms of important implications for the financial sustainability of women's rights organizations and movements, both overall and by region.

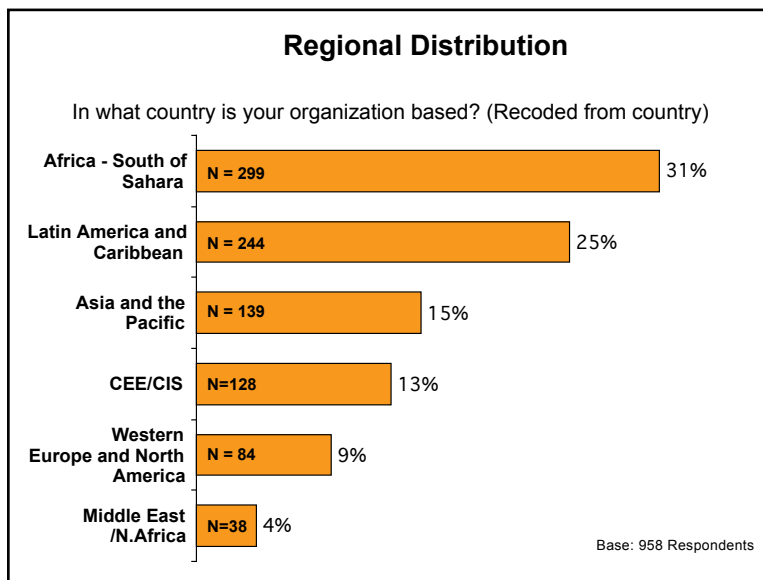
Profile of the women's organizations in the survey

First, as Chart 1 shows, the respondents came from all around the world, with the majority based in Africa South of Sahara and the smallest sample located in the Middle East and North Africa.

¹ Srilatha Batliwala "Measuring our Success", presented at the AWID Money & Movements Meeting, November 2006, powerpoint presentation can be found at http://www.awid.org/go.php?pg=mm_resources

² Of these 1400 precisely 958 responses were included in the final dataset after duplicates, ineligible responders and partially completed surveys were removed. As in 2005, AWID worked with Redfern Research who helped design the survey, analyzed the data and prepared all the graphs. Any questions about the methodology may be sent to: martin@martinredfern.com.

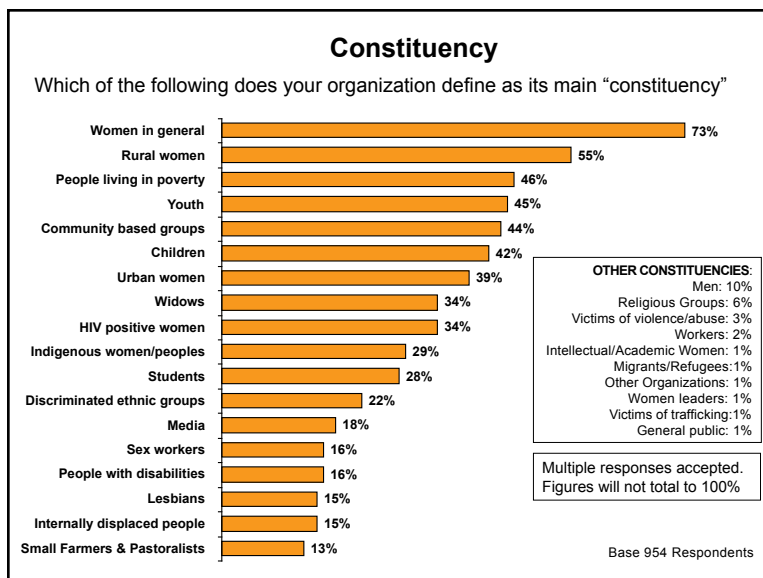
Chart 1



The sample in this survey has other key attributes:

- The organizations are relatively young, with half of them founded in the 1990s and 39% founded after the year 2000. Many organizations burgeoned before and after the Beijing Conference alongside a general growth in the non-profit sector.
- The majority – 80% in fact – of these women’s organizations worldwide self identify as feminist organizations.
- Participants service a wide range of constituencies but most commonly women and children, especially rural women, people living in poverty and youth, as per Chart 2.

Chart 2

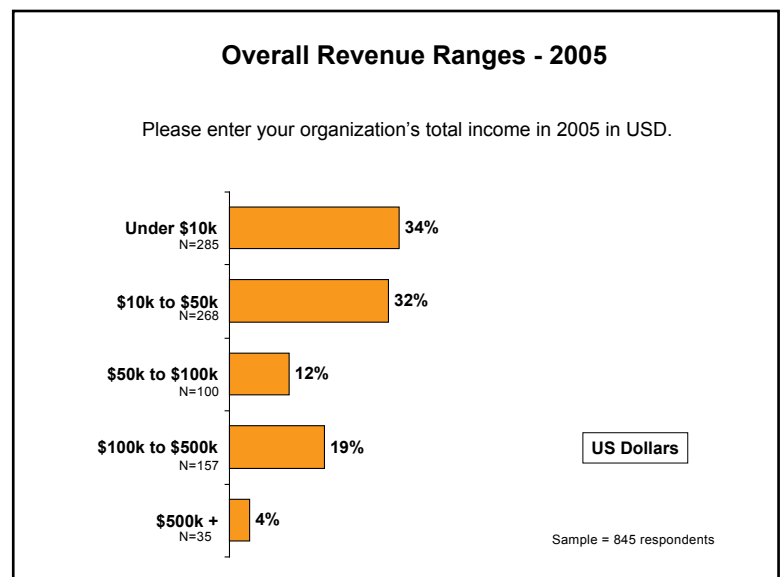


- Participants work with multiple issues with the most common or typical program areas to be: violence against women (80% worked on VAW alongside other issues), mainstreaming gender perspectives, education, economic and social rights, HIV and AIDS, reproductive rights, sexual rights, youth and children's rights and political participation.
- Most commonly participant organizations work nationally (69%) and/or locally (49%). Sixteen percent are working regionally and fourteen percent at the international level.

Income and funding analysis

The data showed some surprising results, including the fact that the budgets of the majority of organizations are extraordinarily small. As per Chart 3 fully two-thirds of this survey sample have annual budgets less than USD 50,000.

Chart 3



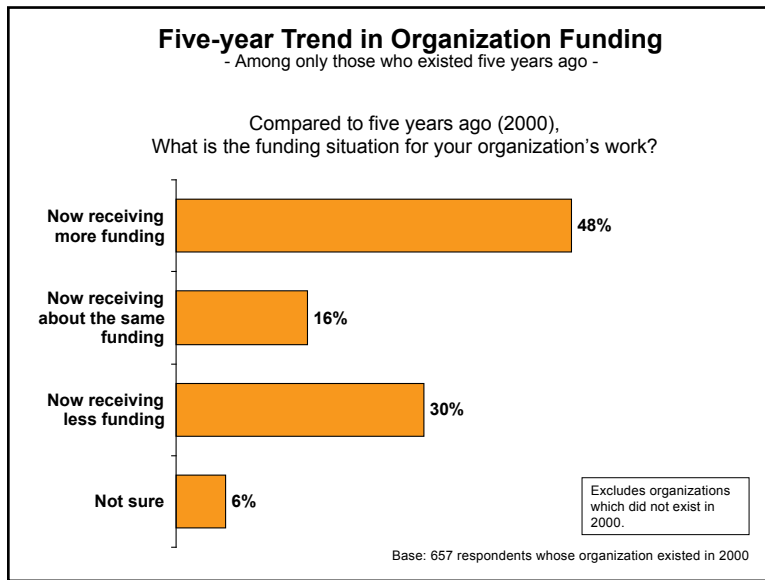
The region with the most small-income organizations is Latin America and the Caribbean and the region with better endowed women's organizations is North America and Western Europe

The region with the most small-income organizations is Latin America and the Caribbean and the region with better endowed women's organizations is North America and Western Europe.

Of all these diverse organizations in the AWID survey, 46% report increasing incomes since 2000 (Chart 4). Almost one-third are receiving less funding and 16% receive the same. In addition to inflation, the purchasing power of the US dollar declined by 9% between 2000 and 2004 alone. This means that those organizations who are receiving the same funding have actually less purchasing power with these funds. In other words, more than half of the survey respondents are receiving less funding since 2000. This explains too why 67 percent of the survey respondents expressed they find it more difficult to raise funds than five

years ago (only 16% find it easier) with over half of the organizations having to use more staff and resources for fundraising efforts.

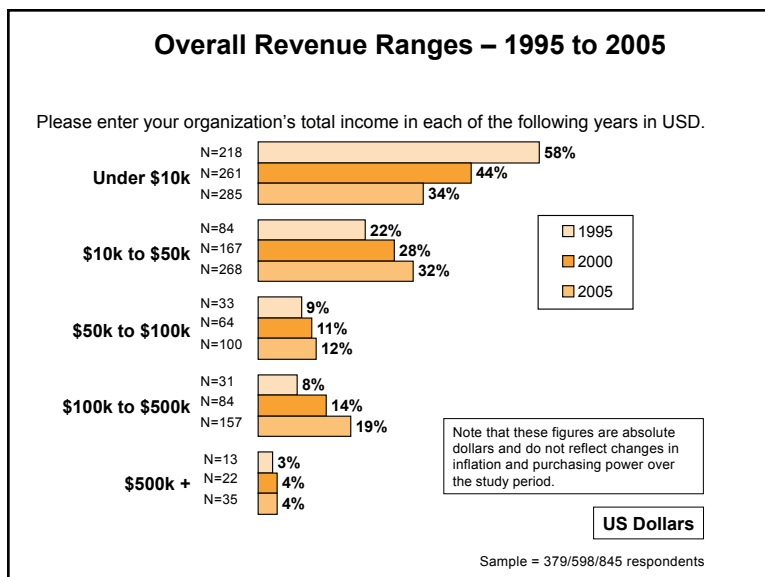
Chart 4



Furthermore, by examining overall revenue ranges by organization size from 1995 to 2005 (Chart 5) there is a decrease of organizations with less than USD 10,000 over time. That means much of the “growth” we see in organizational funding is at a very small scale: organizations growing their budgets by a measly ten or twenty thousand dollars annually pushing them above the USD 10,000 annual budget category.

Much of the “growth” we see in organizational funding is at a very small scale: organizations growing their budgets by a measly ten or twenty thousand dollars annually

Chart 5



Comparing budget sizes by region in 2000 and 2005 (see charts 6 and 7) it is evident that Africa has organizations growing in budget size, as well as some in Asia and the Pacific, and the Middle East and North Africa. There is very little growth in terms of organizations moving into the USD 500,000 category – a size where they could be having more significant impact with bigger programs and more human resources.

Chart 6

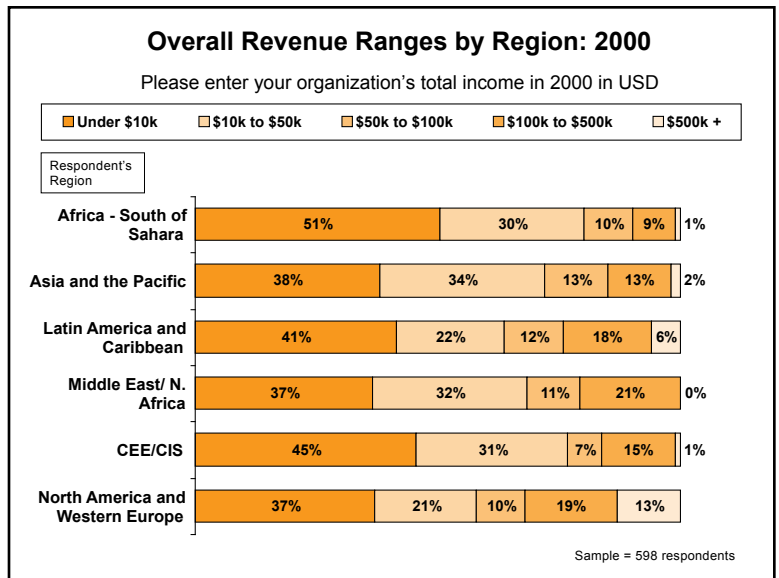
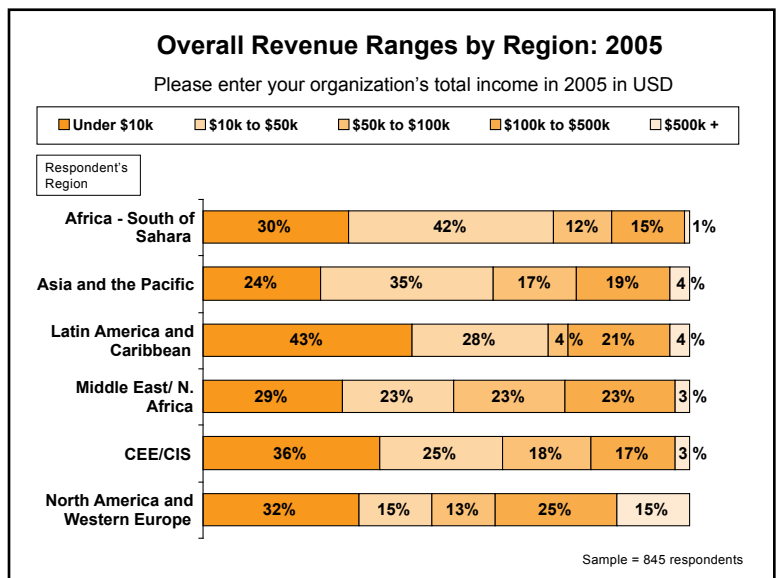


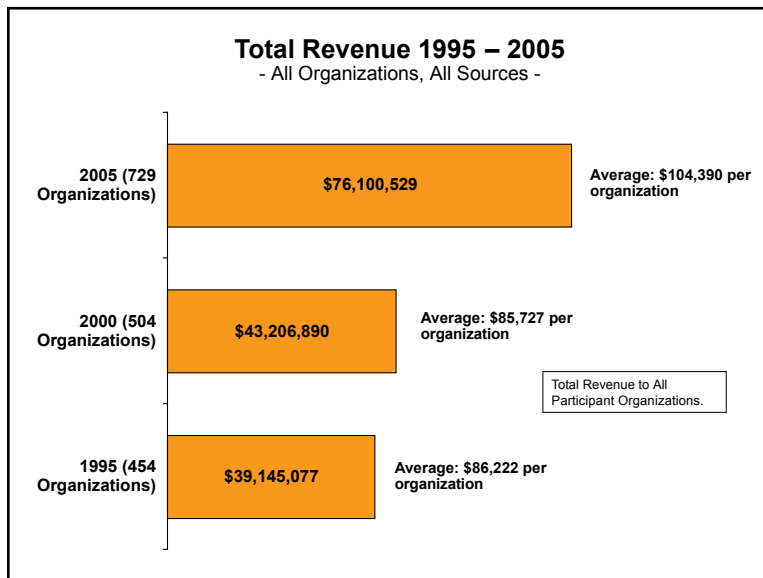
Chart 7



And while these figures show overall relatively small budgets, our survey found also that 82% of the organizations in 2005 had **no** investments (such as real estate, land or endowments). Only 4% had investments in

excess of USD 50,000, suggesting the precariousness of their financial sustainability. To put it all in perspective Chart 8 starkly shows just **how few funds exist for women's organizations overall**³.

Chart 8



It has become more difficult in the last five years to raise funds for women's rights and gender equality

In terms of efforts to secure the funds through resource mobilization, the data confirmed what AWID has been hearing anecdotally:

- Two-thirds of respondents (67%) say it has become more difficult in the last five years to raise funds in general for issues/activities related to women's rights and gender equality. Only 16% say it is has become easier.
- A slight majority (51%) say they have increased their fundraising efforts since 2000, while only 15% say they are fundraising less.
- The majority of fundraising efforts are undertaken by Executive Directors (34%) and Board members (19%). Volunteers do 12% of this work. Far less fundraising is done by other paid staff or outside companies.

We were further surprised to discover that when the survey was completed in August 2006, only 13% of organizations had secured all the funding they needed for that year. In fact, 61% had raised only half or less of their budget for the year, suggesting how vulnerable organizations are in terms of meeting their budget goals on an annual basis. Most organizations are depending on small project-based funding because that is largely what is available, and rarely on time when groups really need it.

³ It should also be noted when referring to these funding charts that a small amount of funding to women's organizations could be counted twice because some NGOs received it and regranted it. This applies to the category of NGOs with a grantmaking function, which provided 2 percent of the funding in 2005, and which could potentially lower the overall funding to women's groups in the survey in 2005 by 2 percent (data with regard to women's funds which received and regranted was analyzed accordingly to ensure there was no double counting).

Despite these challenges, organizational aspirations remain strong. Charts 9 and 10 show that organizations on average need to double their budgets to do all they would like to do. If they could grow they would strengthen existing programs, pay and expand the staff, expand their reach to more constituencies or communities, take on new issues like HIV and AIDS and more. This data contradicts an often-stated criticism within the donor community that there is insufficient absorption capacity amongst women's organizations to grow. In fact, most want and need to grow, and yet many are stuck in a rut by lack of funding opportunities. Many remain small so that they can control the quality of the work, not raise expectations of the staff, or spend funds on infrastructure improvements at the expense of the program work when funding is unsure. Unfortunately, many funders then see the organizations as "small and vulnerable" without the staff, program reach, or systems that would capacitate them to grow larger.

Indeed, when organizations assessed their own potential for growth and "success", most survey respondents give themselves high marks for clarity of mission, networking, leadership, decision-making, internal coherence, and self-evaluation. They are less positive about their planning performance, staff development, and communications. They are generally negative about financial issues including their financial stability, their fundraising ability, and the diversity of their income sources. What organizations identify as their needs, therefore, would, if attended to, naturally lead to more funding. This "chicken and egg" dynamic keeps reproducing itself, whereby donors don't see that groups have absorption capacity so continue to provide small grants that can't allow for organizational strengthening. It is therefore an issue that both donor communities and women's organizations themselves need to examine explicitly so as to break the cycle that keeps these organizations so small and underfunded.

Chart 9

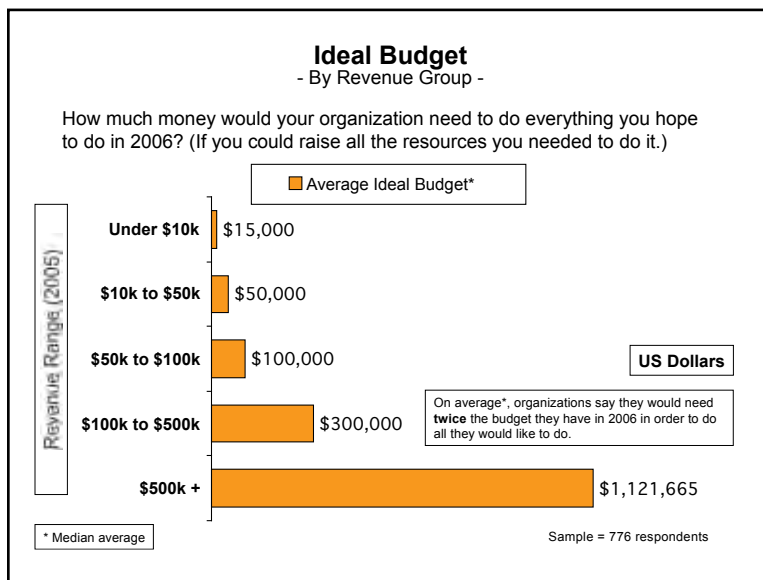
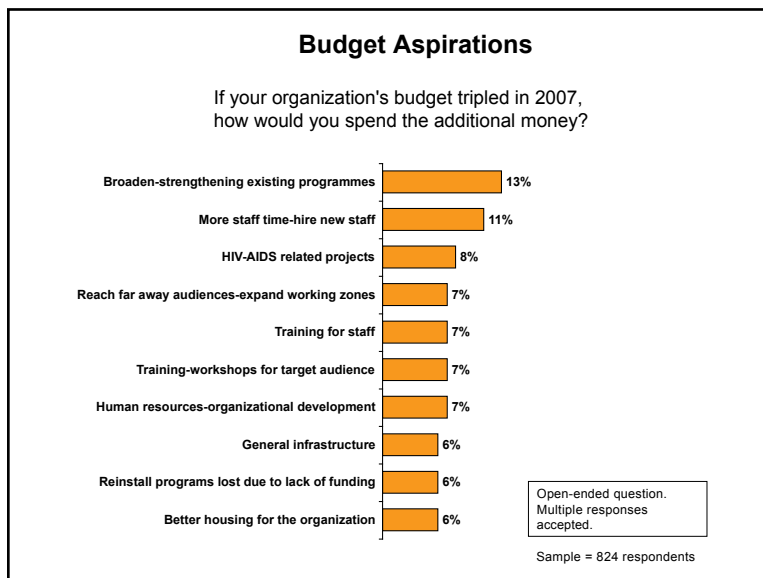
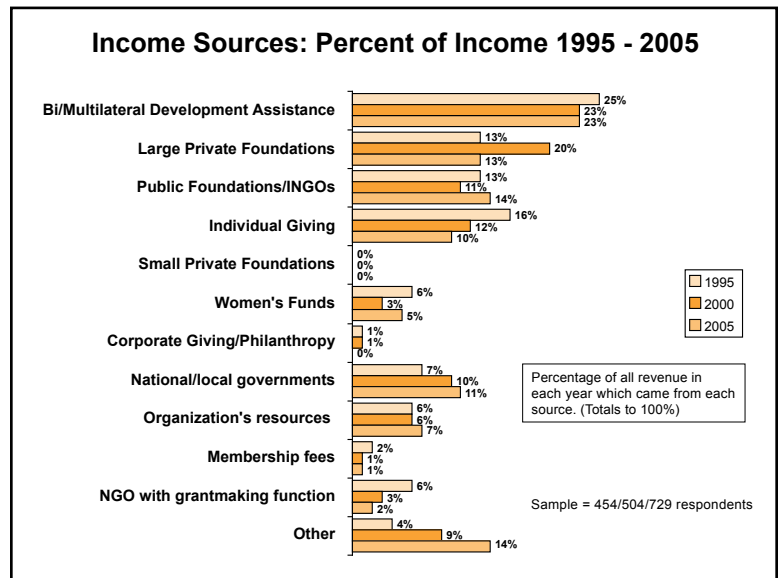


Chart 10



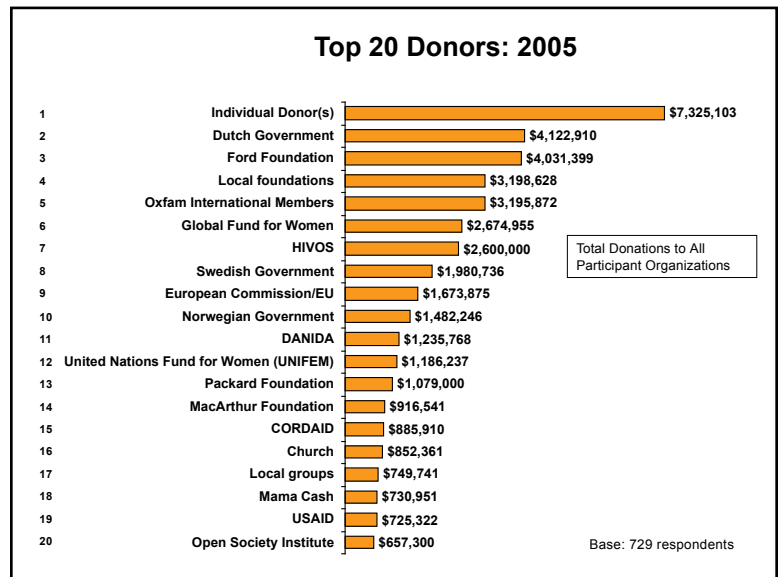
But where is the money coming from? As Chart 11 illustrates, the majority of organizations have been getting their biggest funding since 1995 from bilateral/multilateral agencies, large private foundations, international NGOs, individuals and local governments. That said, in 2005, we found that the most common sources of funding (though not necessarily the largest) were women's funds, bilateral/multilateral assistance, membership fees and income generation activities. In other words, these latter sources provide resources for the most number of organizations though they didn't constitute the largest monetary values. The primary change in the frequency of income sources since 1995 is an overall increase in the number of organizations receiving money from women's funds.

Chart 11



In financial terms, the most important overall donors globally for the survey respondents in 1995, 2000 and 2005 were individual donors, the Dutch Government, the Ford Foundation, and the Oxfam International members. See Chart 12 for the top 20 donors in 2005.

Chart 12



By making some comparisons by region and organizational size we find the following:

- Organizations in the Middle East and North Africa, Latin America and the Caribbean and Central and Eastern Europe/CIS are inclined to have had more difficulty in raising funds in the past five years (See Chart 13)
- Organizations in Africa South of Sahara, Asia and the Pacific and North America and Europe have been more likely to improve their funding situation than the other regions (Chart 14)
- At least one-third of organizations in all regions have had to substantially increase their fundraising efforts, and even more so amongst organizations in Africa, Asia and the Pacific and Central and Eastern Europe/CIS (see Chart 15)
- Furthermore, the majority of organizations with budgets over USD 50,000 have had to increase their fundraising efforts (Chart 16).

Those organizations that increase their fundraising efforts also have more successful results

In light of these findings, organizations with bigger budgets need to invest more to raise their income (but can also afford to do so). Those organizations that increase their fundraising efforts also have more successful results – such as in Africa and Asia where fewer organizations find it difficult to raise funds. The fact that at least one quarter of all organizations in our sample have decreased their investment in fundraising – regardless of region or budget size – is likely out of necessity. This speaks to the downward cycle or rut in which so many organizations find themselves when they just cannot afford the time or resources to seek out new funding sources and hence are forced to scale back.

Chart 13

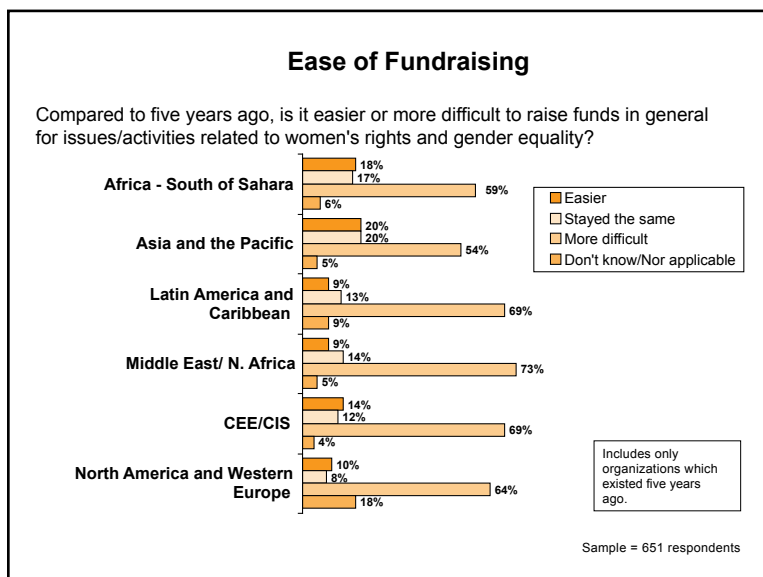


Chart 14

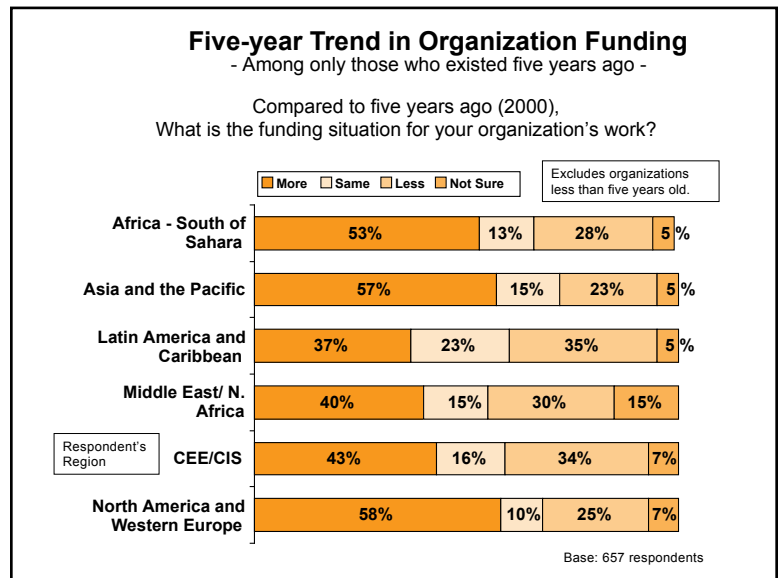


Chart 15

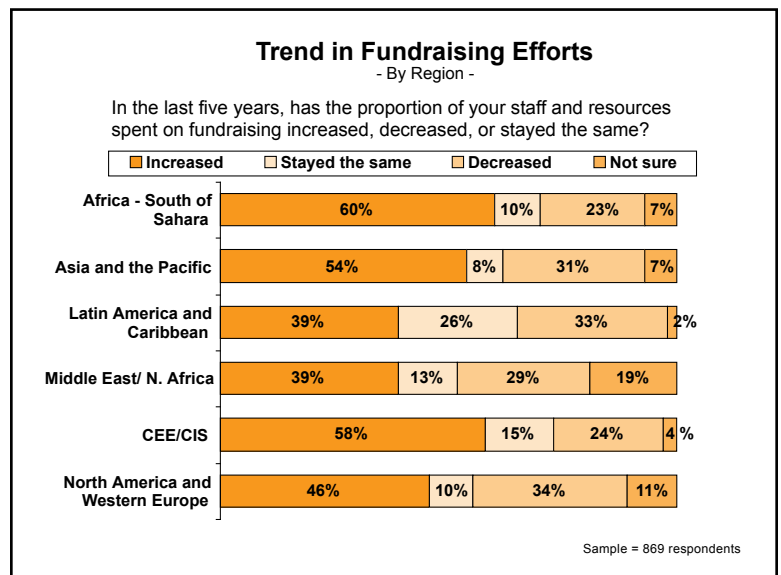
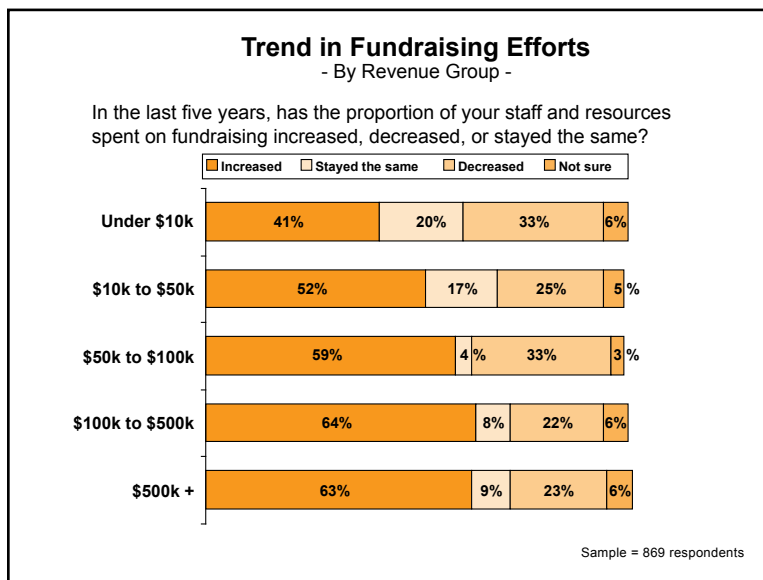


Chart 16



These findings above provide a global perspective of the situation of women's organizations. The following section provides more regionally specific information as well as data on organizations working at the regional or international level.

Regional analysis: Africa South of Sahara

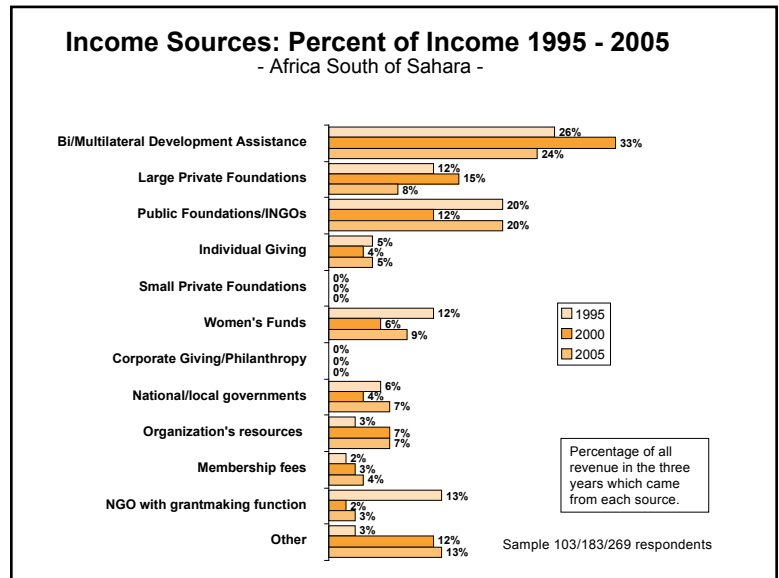
The largest sample in our survey is based in sub-Saharan Africa, and in 2005 30% had budgets under USD 10,000, 42% of the organizations had budgets between USD 10,000 and USD 50,000, 18% had budgets between USD 50,000 and 500,000, and only 1% had budgets bigger than USD half a million.

The sample (299 organizations in all) works mostly with children, rural women, indigenous women, women with disabilities, farmers, HIV positive women, and focus on issues related to violence against women, poverty, education, health and economic rights, children's rights, conflict and HIV and AIDS.

In group discussions at the meeting in Querétaro, African women's rights activists analyzed the particular challenges for funding in the region. They highlighted the impact of the aid effectiveness agenda (see Chapter 3) and how funding is increasingly being channeled via government agencies for distribution to NGOs. They see how governments have increased control by giving funding for service-provision activities, not advocacy or policy

changes. Chart 17 illustrates how development aid has been of significant importance to women's groups in Africa, yet since 2000 has dropped in terms of percentage of income. International NGOs, local governments and women's funds have become important funding sources and have partly filled the gap.

Chart 17



This is made further evident by the list of the top twenty donors of our sample - with INGOs and women's funds playing a larger role (Charts 18 and 19).

Chart 18

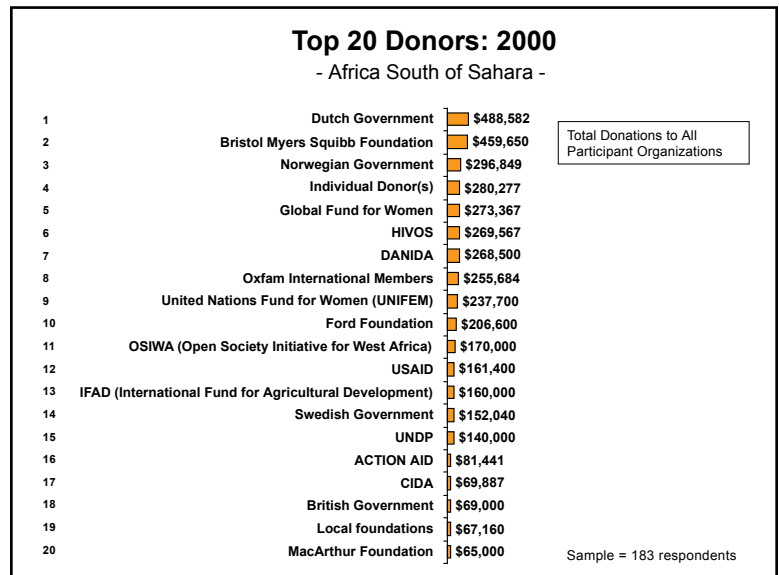
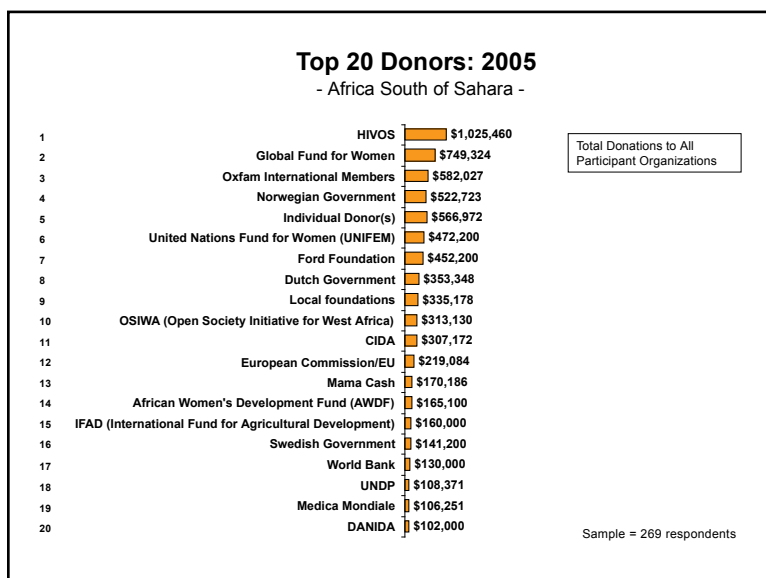


Chart 19



Regional analysis: Asia and the Pacific

In the sample of women's organizations from Asia and the Pacific (139 organizations) one quarter have budgets under USD 10,000, over a third have budgets between USD 10,000 and USD 50,000, another third have budgets between USD 50,000 and USD 500,000 and only 4% are above USD 500,000.

The majority work with urban and rural women, community based groups and youth – on a plethora of issues, especially violence against women, community development, livelihoods, gender mainstreaming, health, education, migration, and human rights. There is more focus on natural resources and the environment than in other regions.

In regional discussion groups at the *Money and Movements* meeting, several funding trends were highlighted for this region. For instance, because of the rush of donations after the Indian Ocean tsunami other priorities were ignored. Many groups found that if they wanted to access funding, they had to have a tsunami project. In Sri Lanka, many groups are working out of women's homes because of the difficulty in getting institutional funding. Another issue, in India for example, relates to government suspicion of NGOs, which means NGOs need to keep a low profile, and be especially careful when accepting funds from international sources. There are cases where bilateral funding was actually stopped by the national government.

In the sample of women's organizations from Asia and the Pacific (139 organizations) one quarter have budgets under USD 10,000

Because of the rush of donations after the Indian Ocean tsunami other priorities were ignored

With regards to international NGOs, many groups are finding that grassroots solutions are getting “cut off by the policies of international NGOs” – they don’t fit into their priorities or campaigns. Many funders also divide up the country financially and programmatically, so that for example, groups working across different states often face difficulties because funding allotted for one cannot be used for another. It also devolves in some cases to donors fighting over certain jurisdictions.

The majority of funding for organizations from this region in the AWID sample comes from bilateral aid, large private foundations (less funding available since 2000) and international NGOs (Chart 20). Six percent of funding comes from income generation/fees for services and 5% from women’s funds. The top twenty donors in Asia and the Pacific for our sample in 2000 and 2005 are shown in Charts 21 and 22.

Chart 20

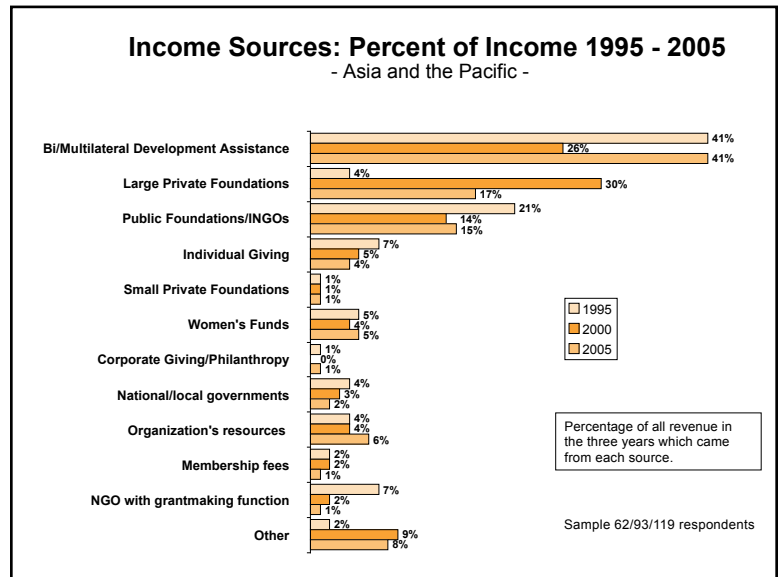


Chart 21

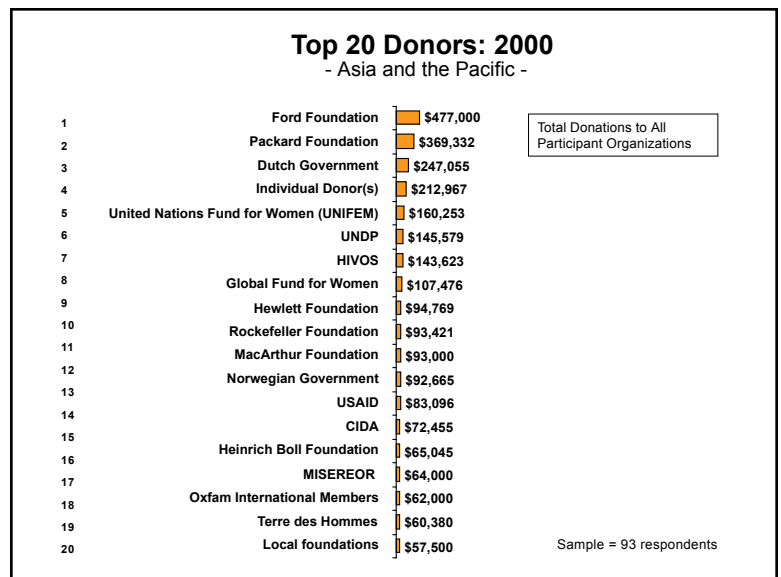
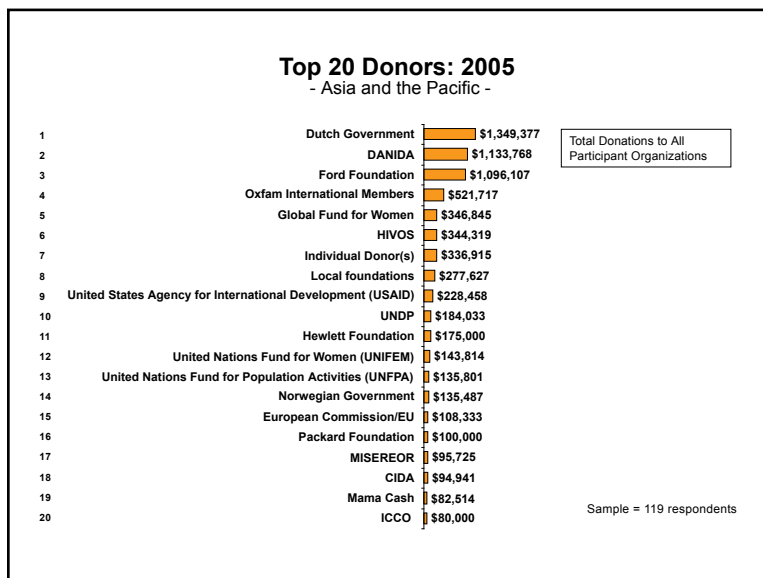


Chart 22



Regional analysis: Latin America and the Caribbean

Twenty five percent of the overall survey sample is based in Latin America and the Caribbean (244 organizations). Most organizations have small budgets – with 43 % having budgets less that USD 10,000, 28% between USD 10,000 and 50,000, 25% between USD 50,000 and 500,000, and 4% of the organizations with the largest annual incomes over USD half million.

Groups are working on the breadth of key issues in the movement globally with more concentration on reproductive rights, sexual rights, political participation, labour rights and Christian political backlash, than in other regions.

Women’s rights activists from LAC in discussions described an extremely difficult funding environment in the region. Across the various sub-regions, donors have very different priorities and interests and some groups are concerned that donor-driven activities undermine or distract from the political agenda of regional women’s movements.

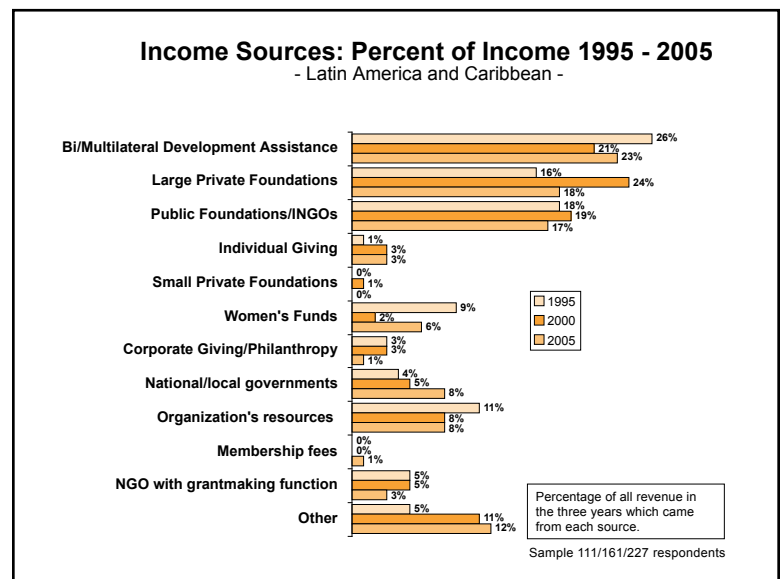
Different groups have varying amounts of access to information about funding and donor agencies as well as technical skills to present and manage proposals, which impacts their ability to mobilize resources. There is a sense that the funds are concentrated in relatively few organizations

Women's funds grow in importance as large private foundations pull out

that tend to have different profiles from most of the women's grassroots organizations in the region. Groups getting funds are perceived as being: urban-based; legally registered; with English-speaking capacity; well-established with a long history; international organizations; youth groups; networks and collectives; subsidiaries of organizations in the Global North; those with a strong communications team; those with specialized personnel for fundraising; and those with more advanced evaluation systems.

Women's funds continue to grow in importance as large private foundations pull out. Funding sector trends over the past ten years are shown in Chart 23.

Chart 23



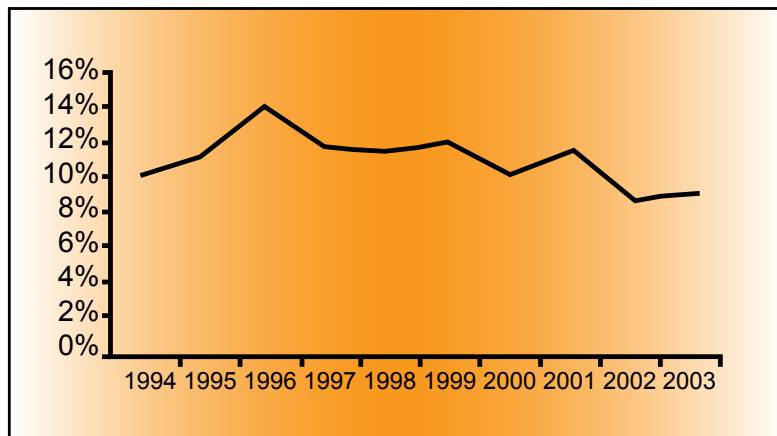
Groups are facing a changing funding environment too, as funders pull out of the region. According to philanthropy journal *Alliance* "Latin America faces a dearth of charitable giving as international foundations turn their attention elsewhere... Giving among the region's own corporations is well below that seen in the developed world. In Mexico corporations don't even donate 1% of pre-tax income, compared to almost 3% in the US"⁴

Overseas development assistance has also been shrinking in this region. According to research by ALOP, ODA for Latin America and the Caribbean reached one of its lowest levels (9%) in 2003 (as percentage of the total ODA allocated to developing countries). This shift was because of new priorities given by donor countries to Eastern Europe, Iraq and countries with high poverty indexes such as those in Sub-Saharan Africa. In this

⁴ Alliance Magazine, Volume 11, Number 4, December 2006, pg 14

regard, traditional aid modalities of Northern countries with the region have been replaced by bilateral relationships associated with middle-income countries around trade and investment. As per the graph below⁵, in 2000- 2001, ODA levels increased because of big influx of government ODA funds from the US (a 47% increase) due mainly to the larger amount of aid given to Colombia, followed by Bolivia and Peru, countries that are targets of the US anti-drugs policy⁶.

ODA for Latin America as a percentage of ODA to developing countries 1993-2004



SOURCE: DAC/OECD

Finally, the full list of top twenty donors in the LAC region for the sample organizations in the AWID survey for both 2000 and 2005 is shown below in Charts 24 and 25. Of note is the increased funding from churches in 2005 – something to consider cautiously depending on how supportive these faith-based institutions are of gender equality and women’s rights.

5 Graph presented by ALOP in the report quoted below, pg 13

6 ALOP (2006) *Mito y realidad de la ayuda externa. América Latina al 2006. Una evaluación independiente de la cooperación internacional*, Editado por el Grupo de Trabajo de Cooperación Internacional de la Asociación Latinoamericana de Organizaciones de Promoción (ALOP), taken from: <http://www.alop.or.cr/trabajo/publicaciones/MitoYrealidad2006.pdf>

Chart 24

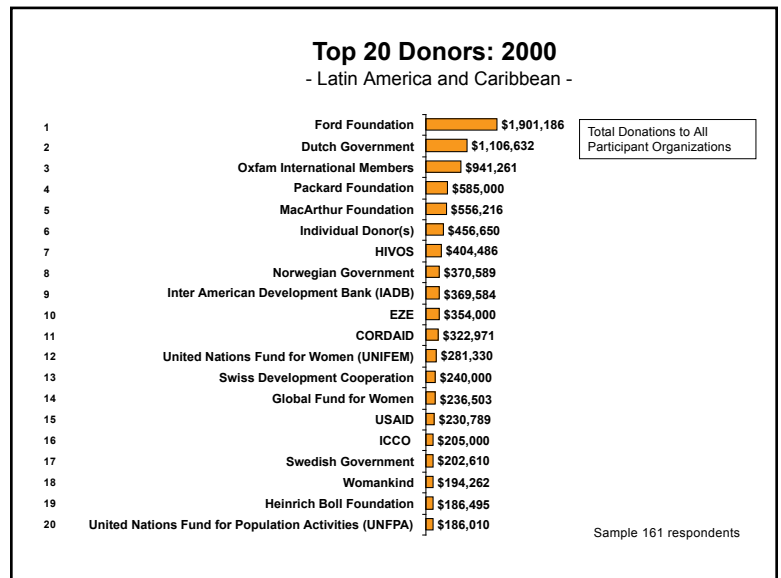
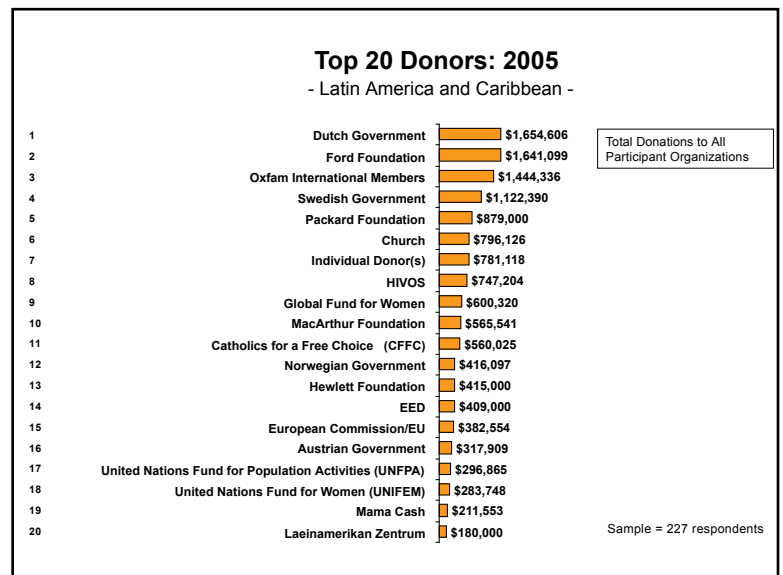


Chart 25



Regional analysis: Middle East and North Africa (MENA)

Only a small sample of organizations from the MENA region participated in the survey (largely due to language barriers as it was not made available in Arabic – an important consideration for the next survey). These 38 organizations were almost equally divided amongst all the income level groups, with just 3% in the largest income category. The majority of the groups worked with women in general, youth, and the media, on a full range of issues, particularly development, impact of Islamic extremism, information and communication technologies, education, human rights, migration, organizational development, political participation, and violence against women.

At the *Money and Movements* meeting in November 2006, activists from the region had intense discussions about funding trends and their impact on women's rights organizations in the region. A crucial aspect of the overarching context is the US occupation and agenda and resistance to it, as well as resistance to political-religious movements. They further noted that:

- Women's organizations in MENA operate under difficult limitations, including: restrictive government regulations that often leave organizations very vulnerable to shifts in political will or governments that block funding from the European Union or from countries not aligned with the government. In fact, some countries deny civil society organizations the right to receive any foreign funding at all, which leaves them only the possibility of raising funding domestically or forces them to find very creative ways and partnerships to get cash through their borders for their work.
- The dominance of a culture of *zakat*, meaning charity to the poor, is an obstacle for raising funds for systemic change that reflects a feminist agenda.
- Organizations in the MENA region have to ensure that in taking money from certain sources, especially political parties, they are not appearing to align themselves with controversial interests.
- The USA Patriot Act has made giving to this region appear much riskier (e.g. US foundations have to guarantee that they are not supporting "terrorist activities" and is discouraging US-based private foundations (see Chapter 3) from supporting MENA-based organizations).
- Individual philanthropists are still interested in MENA and some provide strong support. Nonetheless, the involvement of more funders willing to support women's rights work is urgently needed in the region.

A crucial aspect is the US occupation and agenda and resistance to it, as well as resistance to political-religious movements

Chart 26

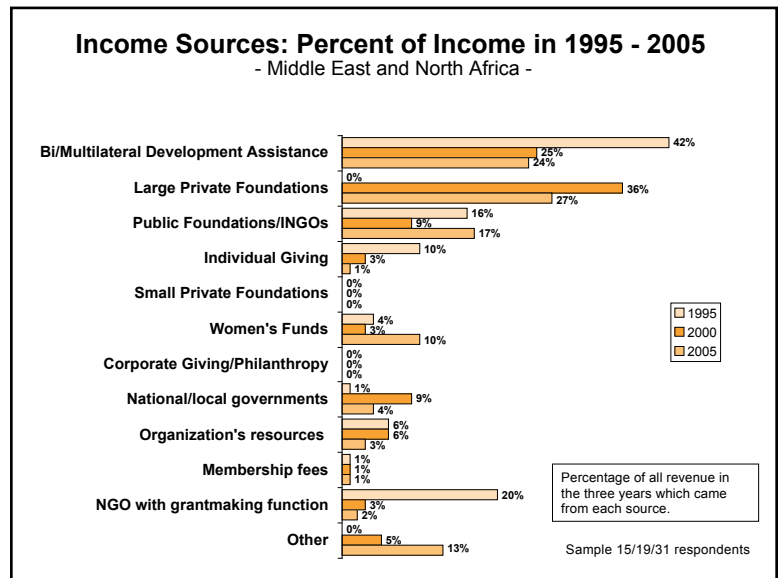


Chart 26 shows the fluctuating nature of funding in the region, with bilateral assistance and foundation funds dropping considerably and with women’s funds, INGOs and other sources filling the gap. Charts 27 and 28 list the sources of funding for the AWID sample in 2000 and 2005. Note that the numbers are comparatively small because of the sample size.

Chart 27

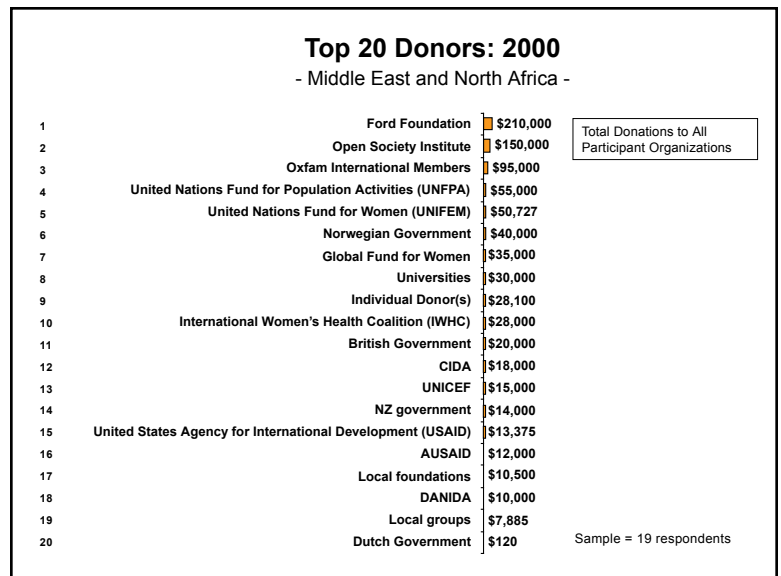
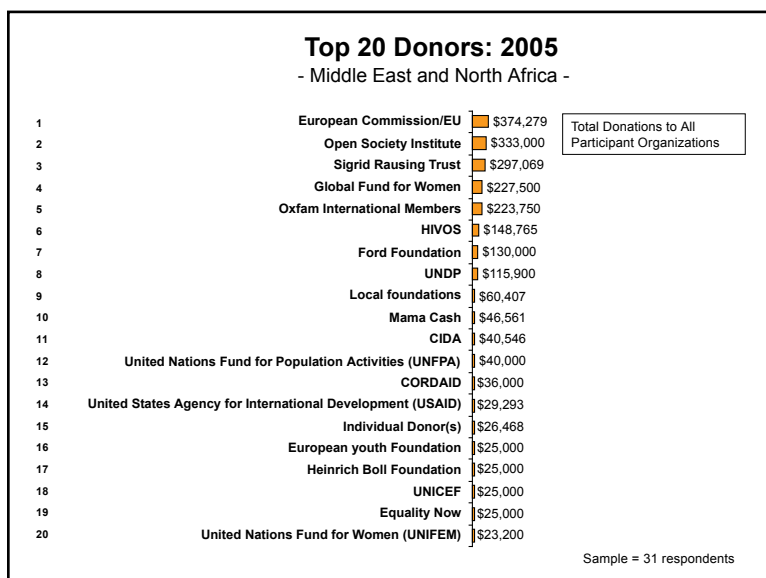


Chart 28



Regional analysis: Central and Eastern Europe and Community of Independent States (CEE/CIS)

Of the 128 organizations from this region in the AWID sample, 36% have budgets under USD 10,000, 25% have budgets from USD 10,000 to 50,000, 35% have budgets between USD 50,000 and 500,000 and 3% have budgets over USD half a million.

The groups work with diverse constituencies but predominantly with women in general, the internally displaced, ethnic minorities, people with disabilities, children and the elderly. Issue priorities for these groups include human trafficking, gender mainstreaming, disabilities, education, religious conservatism, labour rights and youth rights.

At the *Money and Movements* meeting women from the region discussed several of the funding trends that have had impact on their work, such as:

- Anti-trafficking strategies and programs targeting women in the labour market tend to get funded in the region. It is harder to find financial support for women’s advocacy and organizing, women’s human rights, sex workers’ rights and migration projects, as well as institutional and long-term support.
- The European Community has lots of resources but only funds large projects because it is easier for them to administer fewer big grants. Proposals to the EC are extremely onerous and therefore cut out most women’s rights groups.

Anti-trafficking strategies and programs targeting women in the labour market tend to get funded. It is harder to find financial support for women’s advocacy and organizing, women’s human rights, sex workers’ rights and migration projects, as well as institutional and long-term support

- Most donor funding is short-term and project-based. A growing trend toward co-funding or matching funds, where a donor will only provide funding if the organization can match it, makes it next to impossible for organizations that do not have their own funds.

Charts 29, 30 and 31 illustrate the changing funding landscape in this region and shows, for example, that the private foundations used to play an important role, with local groups or foundations now filling in the resource gap. The charts also show the impact of Soros' (Open Society Institute) retreat from the region; where it used to be a primary supporter for women's organizations and movements, it now works globally and has fewer funds for this region.

Chart 29

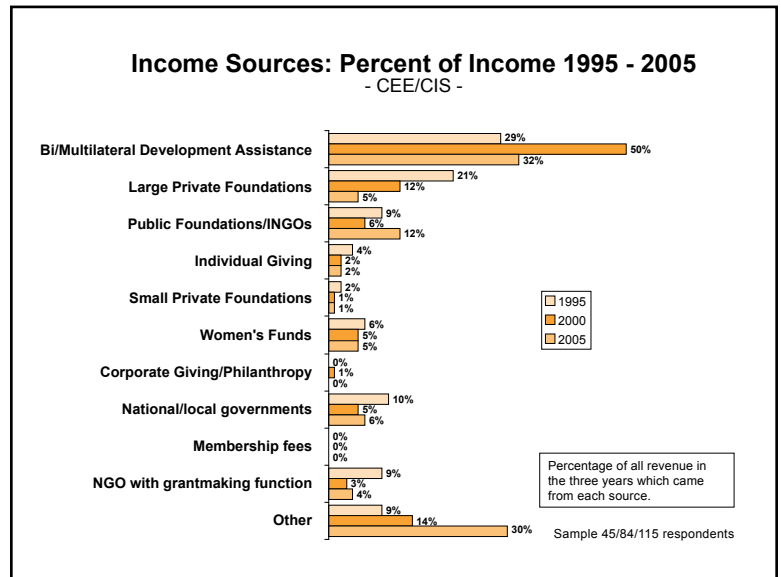


Chart 30

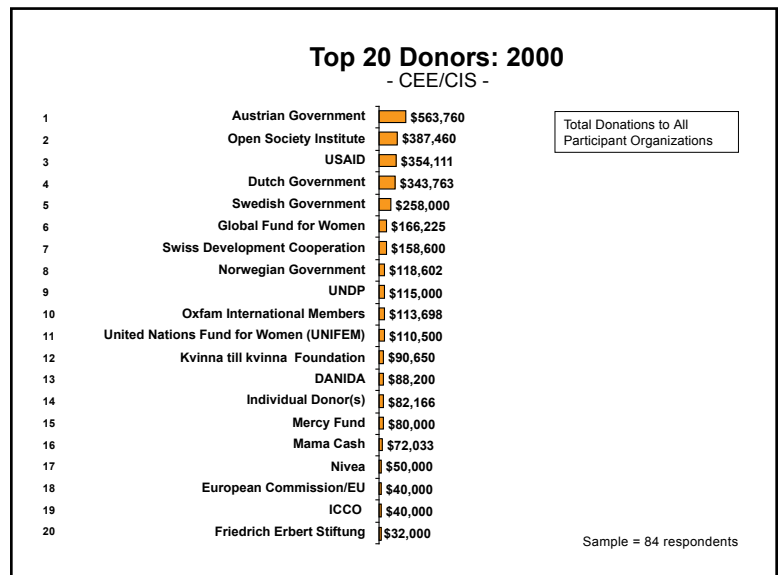
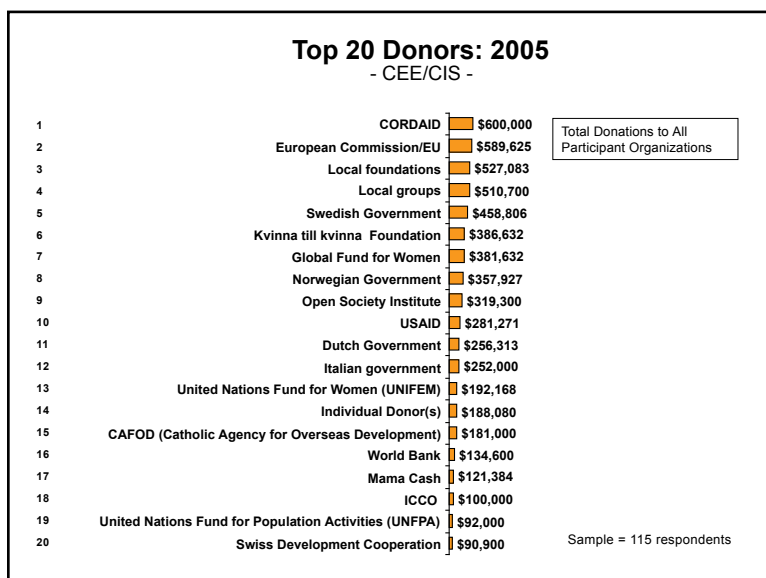


Chart 31



Regional analysis: North America and Western Europe

This small group of organizations (84 in total and 9% of the sample) have proportionally the largest organizations by budget size (15% have budgets over USD 500,000). Nonetheless, 32% have budgets below USD 10,000, 15% are between USD 10,000 and 50,000, 13% are between USD 50,000 and 100,000 and 25% have budgets ranging from USD 100,000 to USD 500,000.

Compared to the other regions there is a stronger focus on constituencies of indigenous women, ethnic minorities, religious groups and lesbians. Issues that had greater priority included economic and social rights, migration, trade and globalization, and science and technology.

In a discussion group at the *Money and Movements* meeting, women's rights advocates highlighted the following issues:

- Within the women's movement, the lack of resources has contributed to competition and severed relationships. Some long-standing women's organizations are closing due to resource problems. Despite the fact that Global South is present in the Global North, many communities live in poverty without access to services or for that matter development assistance. Domestic government budgets for gender equality concerns have dried up in Western Europe and Canada as governments have become more conservative and public opinion drives policies that suggest gender equality work has been largely achieved.

Compared to the other regions there is a stronger focus on constituencies of indigenous women, ethnic minorities, religious groups and lesbians. Issues that had greater priority included economic and social rights, migration, trade and globalization, and science and technology

Women's movements in Western Europe are undergoing a major transformation

- Women's movements in Western Europe are undergoing a major transformation as they reconcile both the reintegration of Europe (with the accession of new countries into the EU), as well as immigration issues that have created huge divisions between white middle class women and new immigrants (around such controversial issues as wearing headscarves).
- In the US and Canada, funders have promoted specialization and professionalization which has inhibited a more comprehensive or broader vision of social change. Furthermore, there is some "chill effect" among funders—where a conservative political climate has dissuaded several from funding feminist proposals and organizations. At the same time, there is also some self-censorship in the movement—because of the idea that funders will not fund radical proposals, these kinds of proposals are not put forward.
- In the US, among government sources and private foundations/institutions there is increased surveillance and tracking of money, less support for advocacy work and a shift toward services; less support for general operating expenses, and more program or project-specific funding; more funding toward security-related agendas; a shift of funding from national to international organizations and alliances. This creates competition at the international level. On the positive side, public foundations sometimes offer more general support funds. Among individual donors, there is more donor organizing going on with large numbers of young people with wealth as well as more grassroots fundraising supporting community change.

Chart 32 illustrates the shifting funding terrain for organizations in this region and Charts 33 and 34 show the top twenty donors in 2000 and 2005. Clearly, individual funding is more accessible in the Global North because of stronger cultures of philanthropy (especially in the US) and in many cases a more favourable tax environment⁷.

⁷ In chart 32 it might appear that combined revenue from individual donations is decreasing (from 44% in 1995 to 30% in 2005); this can be attributed to the fact that the 1995 sample was much smaller than the 2005 sample, and therefore less accurate. Also, the survey shows that in 1995 - 2000 and in 2005 around 30% of survey respondents received support from individuals, which indicates that individuals represent a significant source of funding for women's rights organizations.

Chart 32

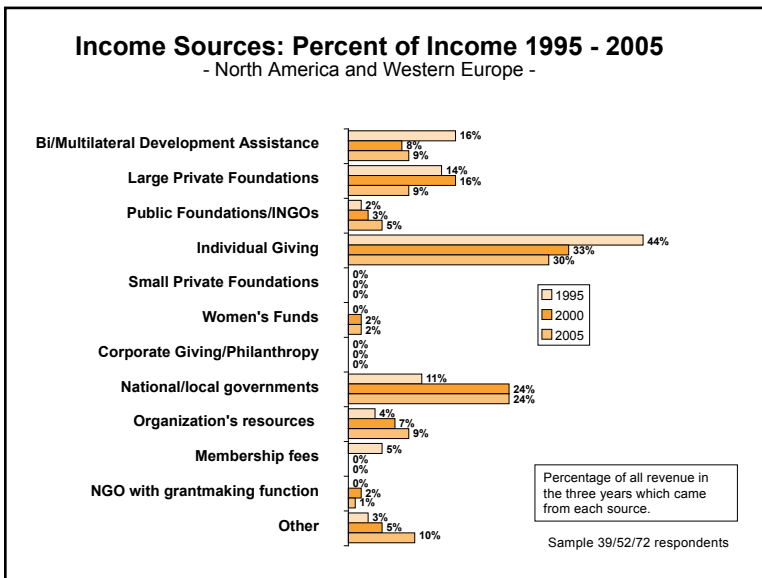
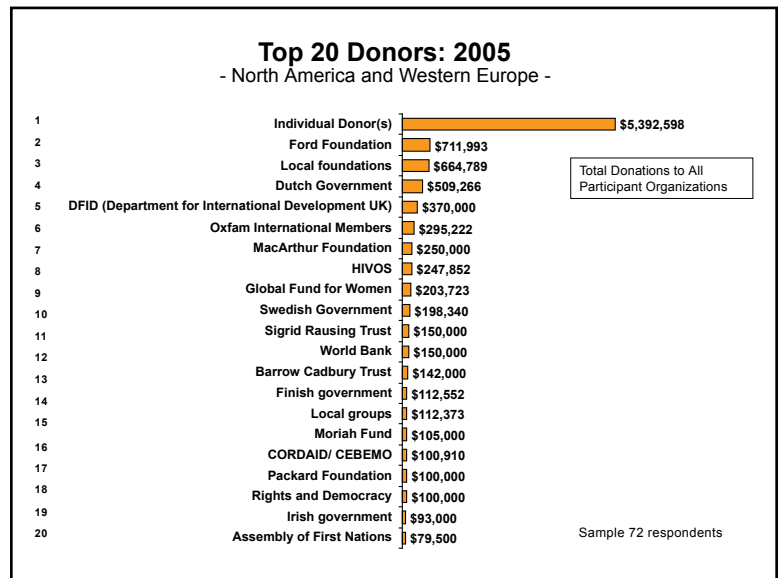


Chart 33



Chart 34



Analysis of organizations working at the regional and international level

Finally, the AWID survey also wanted to capture some insights as to what was happening to regional and international women's rights organizations.

Many of the challenges for women's rights organizations that work at the regional and international level were discussed in Querétaro at the *Money and Movements* meeting:

- The majority of donors want to see quantifiable results and this is much more difficult to demonstrate for global work. Nonetheless, transnational organizations need to get better at claiming their successes and demonstrate to donors why they should value, recognize and support the work. Overall, it is critical that these organizations develop methods of measuring outcomes and impact in line with shared assumptions of how change happens. They need to ensure that these international organizations do not take credit for results when the work is part of contributing to a greater whole.
- There has been a tendency for some organizations working globally to separate the "global" from the "local" or national and this has implications for how constituencies are defined and engaged. Global and local work needs to be much more firmly conceptualized and implemented in an interconnected manner.

- Organizations working at this level have largely failed to tap individuals and private sector sources of funding which, though difficult, are significant potential sources (see Chapter 3).
- There seems to be an assumption amongst donors that there is a huge apparatus for global women's rights advocacy with big, well-funded organizations, when in reality the opposite is true.

This last point is clearly demonstrated in the survey data which shows that:

- Women's rights organizations which work regionally and internationally have small average annual budgets: USD 132,116 and USD 196,636 respectively for 2005 (see Table 1);

There seems to be an assumption amongst donors that there is a huge apparatus for global women's rights advocacy with big, well-funded organizations, when in reality the opposite is true

Table 1: Average Total Income ⁸				
	Org's Active Regionally		Org's Active Internationally	
	N	Mean	N	Mean
1995	70	\$115,571	67	\$187,917
2000	126	\$108,780	111	\$192,722
2005	171	\$132,116	152	\$192,636

- Organizational income over ten years has barely increased, however taking into account currency devaluations and inflation income has actually decreased;

- When looking at the median income of both regional and international women's rights organizations (Table 2) the numbers represent even smaller budget sizes where, for example, organizations working at the international level have a median income in 2005 of USD 25,500 (amongst 152 organizations);

Table 2: Median Income				
	Org's Active Regionally		Org's Active Internationally	
	N	Median	N	Median
1995	70	\$22,500	67	\$20,000
2000	126	\$33,517	111	\$30,000
2005	171	\$40,000	152	\$25,500

⁸ Includes membership fees, earned income, product sales, investment income and national/local governments. N refers to the total number of organizations reporting income that year.

• These organizations have to source their funding from many places. The average grant size for international organizations has lowered from USD 41,150 in 1995 to USD 29,759 in 2005 – in other words they are getting smaller grants from more funders and therefore having to expend more resources on fundraising and administration (Table 3);

Despite its long-time importance to women’s rights organizations, the Ford Foundation has also stopped much of its long term core funding

Table 3: Mean Grant Size				
	Org’s Active Regionally		Org’s Active Internationally	
	N	Mean	N	Mean
1995	77	\$26,443	68	\$41,540
2000	92	\$34,108	75	\$41,529
2005	127	\$28,189	98	\$29,759

• Finally, these organizations get the majority of their funding from private foundations and international NGOs (such as Ford Foundation and Oxfam) – not through governments (see a list of the top twenty funding sources in charts 35 -38). Despite its long-time importance to women’s rights organizations, the Ford Foundation has also stopped much of its long term core funding. In the near future many organizations will need to look for new sources of this important funding.

Chart 35

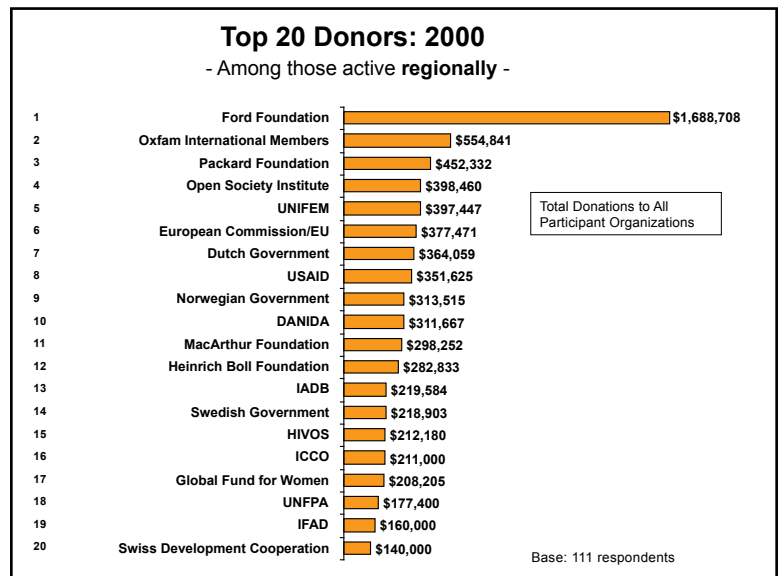


Chart 36

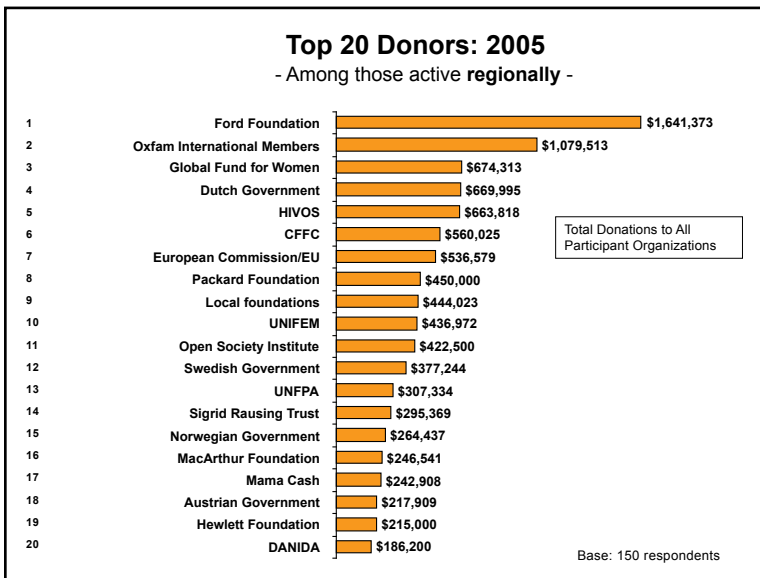


Chart 37

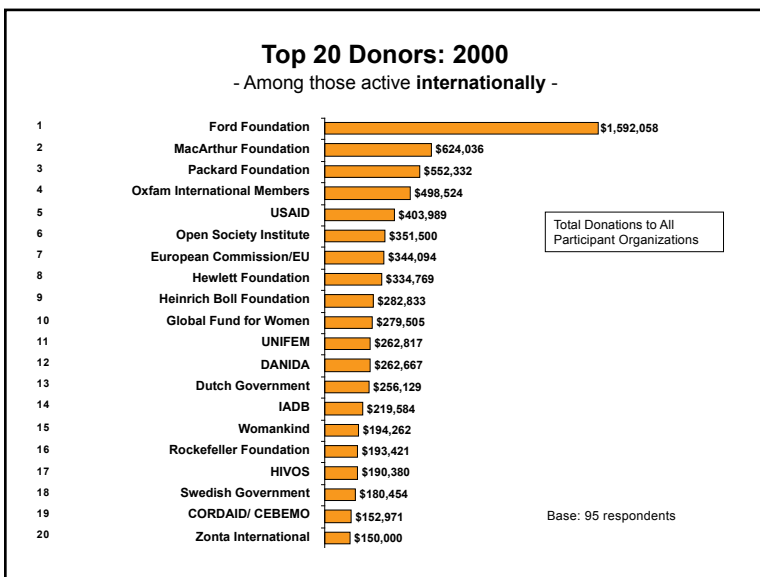
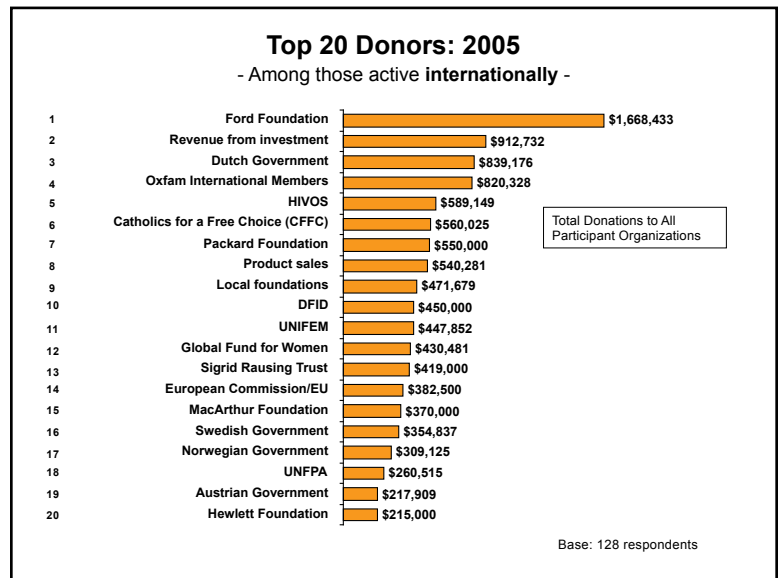


Chart 38



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This chapter has outlined funding sources, challenges and trends for women's rights organizations and movements in all parts of the world. In the following chapter, we examine the dynamics within each funding sector in order to explain why funding is growing for women's rights in some sectors and is waning in others. The next chapter provides specific examples of particular limitations as well as new funding opportunities for women's rights organizations and movements around the world.

Chapter 3

Where is the money for women's rights... and how can we tap it?

Introduction

Where is the money for the critical work of women's rights and women's movements? Is funding to advance gender equality disappearing or is more funding becoming accessible? In order to more effectively answer this question, AWID has been tracking six different funding sectors since 2005, namely:

- Bilateral and multilateral development agencies;
- International NGOs;
- Women's funds;
- Large private foundations;
- Individual giving and small private foundations; and
- Corporate philanthropy.

Each of these sectors has different dynamics and institutions and has experienced diverging trends. In the following pages, we analyze and highlight some of the major changes within their structures, policies, strategies and grant-making approaches as they relate to women's rights. Within each sector, this chapter examines the **challenges** for women's organizations in tapping these funds as well as many of the new **opportunities** that exist in terms of emerging resources for women's rights and women's organizing worldwide.

Bilateral and Multilateral Development Agencies

Bilateral and multilateral development agencies deliver development programs as well as grants, and transfer public monies channelled through "Official Development Assistance" (ODA). These funding agencies include, for example, the Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA), the Dutch Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Inter-American Development Bank and others with familiar acronyms such as DFID, SIDA, NORAD, DANIDA, and UNIFEM.

ODA is a significant source of funds for gender equality

ODA is a significant source of funds for gender equality: ODA was the most frequently mentioned by a total of 35% of AWID survey respondents as a source of revenue in 2005 (down slightly from 2000); moreover, bilateral and multilateral funding accounts for 23% of combined revenue in 2005 for AWID respondents. This has remained constant since 2000.

The largest bilateral and multilateral funders supporting women's rights organizations worldwide in 2005, according to our survey, includes the Dutch government (as the most generous), followed by the Swedish government, the European Commission, the Norwegian government, the Danish government, UNIFEM and USAID. These organizations all appear in AWID's list of the top twenty funders.

Despite the significance of ODA funding to gender equality, it is clear that it is still a very tiny proportion of overall ODA once these significant points have been considered:

- Total ODA funding in 2005 by DAC members reached a record high of USD 106.8 billion, an increase of 32% from the previous year (the United States was the largest donor in 2005 followed by Japan, the United Kingdom, Germany and France)¹;
- This large one-year increase is attributed to the large amount of humanitarian assistance that went to the tsunami-affected communities, the sizable "non-military assistance" provided to Afghanistan and Iraq, and debt relief particularly for Nigeria and Iraq²;
- With regard to other sectors, bilateral funding (government to government) committed to education was less than USD 6 billion, USD 3.6 billion for health and yet almost USD 5 billion was made available for "transport and storage"³; and,
- Of the US government's USD 27.6 billion for ODA, almost one-third was spent on Iraq and Afghanistan for reconstruction and other programs including anti-narcotics in Afghanistan.⁴

When asking the question "where is the money?" these points above help us locate where some of the funds from OECD-based tax-payers have gone. But even these figures need further exploration. For instance, despite the fact that there were massive global campaigns around debt forgiveness (including the Global Call to Action Against Poverty alongside much political fanfare and promises made at the G-8 summit in Gleneagles), debt relief packages equal a mere 1% increase in aid⁵. If the debt relief package to Nigeria is factored out, development assistance to sub-Saharan Africa actually fell by 1.2% in real terms in 2005.⁶

Despite the fact that there were massive global campaigns around debt forgiveness (including the Global Call to Action Against Poverty alongside much political fanfare and promises made at the G-8 summit in Gleneagles), debt relief packages equal a mere 1% increase in aid

1 OECD, 2007, *Final ODA Data for 2005*, <http://www.oecd.org/dataoecd/52/18/37790990.pdf>

2 OECD, 2007, *Ibid.*

3 OECD, Statistics *Official Bilateral Commitments by sector* <http://stats.oecd.org/wbos/default.aspx?DatasetCode=TABLE5>

4 OECD, 2007, *Final ODA Data for 2005*

5 *The FP Index: Ranking the Rich*, September/October 2006 http://www.foreignpolicy.com/story/cms.php?story_id=3547

6 *Ibid.*

How much goes to gender equality? As last year's AWID report illustrated, only a small portion of ODA is tracked with a "gender equality marker"⁷ to indicate how much of disbursed aid has gender equality objectives. In other words, it is hard to hold to account governments on how much they actually contribute to gender equality. In terms of the 1999 to 2003 average, only 0.1% of this funding goes explicitly to "women in development", and USD 3.6 billion was being spent on aid programs with gender equality as a significant or principal objective. With regards to the 2004-2005 figures, new data from the OECD indicates that ODA funding that has been tracked with gender equality as a significant or principal objective accounts for a total of USD 7.5 billion. The reasons for this increase have to do not only with an exchange rate effect (so that the numbers are not increasing in real terms) but also due to the fact that a larger number of donors are both assessing and reporting more of their aid using the gender marker.⁸

The majority of ODA funding goes directly from donor government to developing country government

Resource Flows to NGOs

Furthermore, the majority of ODA funding goes directly from donor government to developing country government. As the table shows below, of the 106.8 billion USD spent in 2005, a small percentage went to non-governmental organizations: 1.8 billion went to domestic OECD-based NGOs (mostly in the Global North) for overseas development assistance, several of which channel funds to organizations in the Global South. Only USD 595 million went directly to NGOs internationally (that is, in other OECD countries or in the Global South).⁹

Table 1

Donor	Support to Domestic OECD-based NGOs (in millions of USD)					Support to International NGOs (in millions of USD)						
	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005
Australia	0.3	0.71	0.33	0.89	..	4.16	..	0.09	4.29	0.29	3.39	7.16
Austria	1.73	1.81	0.95	0.14	0.16	0.35	0.46	0.47	0.81	1.11	1.32	1.22
Belgium	85.52	5.14	3.21	7.34	23.06	19.9	0.91	8.26	7.31	5.05	6.62	0.11
Canada	168.61	168.39	165.32	0.66	1.34	31.4	34.01	31.67	36.22	12.89	17.57	21.21
Denmark	3.32	9.25	5.77	12.36	11.21	55.59	..	..	..	..	..	..
Finland	3.9	4.27	4.94	6	6.8	7.08	1.1	1.81	1.64	1.81	1.84	1.38
France	28.94	27.21	29.48	28.17	35.45	39.6	..	..	..	5.85	14.87	7.7
Germany	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Greece	..	..	..	..	..	..	3.06	4.47	7.17	1.22	9.8	13.57
Ireland	..	..	..	..	0.11	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Italy	13.4	27.6	48.4	74.1	95.11	129.82	20.65	10.37	14.14	29.61	43.38	49.87
Japan	27.89	84.03	43.25	34.14	45.25	52.74	7.38	6.01	..	5.65	..	16.65
Luxembourg	212.41	178.89	143.1	187.68	248.42	128.76	74.8	93.33	93.75	142.44	135.17	154.07
Netherlands	2.1	0.84	1.72	26.06	28.31	33.1	0.36	..	..	..	0.55	4.9
New Zealand	338	309.75	430.65	601.54	657.73	674.13	..	24.61	10.94	34.63	7.4	3.9
Norway	4.17	4.89	6.78	11.07	12.47	13.93	0.61	0.98	1.21	1.53	2.39	4.4
Portugal	..	..	..	..	..	..	6.88	7.36	7.7	17.13	16.91	18.55
Spain	1.37	1.69	2.37	0.65	3.58	5.73	0.12	0.34	0.39	0.23	0.25	0.26
Sweden	1.62	5.99	4.56	6.9	6.95	7.31	0.59	1.85	..	1.94	1.54	0.83
Switzerland	105.79	85.17	89.89	105.03	137.1	134.27	1.31	1.4	1.75	1.73	2.4	3.35
United Kingdom	32.15	32.39	39.25	46.73	50.07	47.51	39.83	40.31	44.19	51.23	63.05	57.67
	168.61	189.33	226.19	268.34	428.82	394.26	50.89	37.55	77.51	60.19	263.84	228.3

OECD Statistics, 2007

7 For the last decade, many development agencies have used a methodology for tracking how much of the aid flow is related to gender equality by applying what is known as the "gender marker". Of the social sectors, around half is marked with gender equality indicators. Bureaucrats in the donor agencies send in their aid-related data (how much was spent on what) and mark which projects or disbursements had gender as a significant or a principle objective.

8 Statistics and analysis provided by the OECD statistics bureau.

9 These figures exclude United States government funding

The European Commission's support to NGOs in 2005 was 9% (USD 877 million) of total external aid, of which 50% went to humanitarian aid and relief operations. This shows that the European Community sees NGOs primarily as actors intervening in situations of emergency, crisis and natural disaster. There is no information on the Commission's budget allocation to women's rights NGOs.¹⁰

Available data indicate that direct ODA support for NGOs is growing in real terms. Though some governments are reducing their NGO funding (namely Belgium, Switzerland and the United Kingdom) many more governments (in particular The Netherlands) are giving to their domestic NGOs that operate internationally, and thus decreasing the funding to local NGOs or civil society actors based outside the donor country. From these donors therefore, there is less direct access for NGOs in the Global South than before, which constitutes a significant shift.

In the 1980s and 1990s ODA to NGOs increased substantially as investment in this sector was seen as a positive across the political spectrum. For more right wing governments (influenced by Reagan and Thatcher) support to NGOs was part of an overall agenda to roll back the state, privatize and decentralize service-delivery. For other more centrist or left-leaning governments, funding NGOs was part of the overall participatory development trend and furthered democratization processes that required a strong civil society.¹¹ More recently the climate has changed as DAC members now stress the need to work with recipient governments directly (see the discussion on aid effectiveness below). While there is evidence that some ODA (both bilateral and multilateral) to NGOs based in the Global South is increasingly being distributed through developing country offices (e.g. many European donor countries and the EC, though mostly in smaller amounts) the large INGOs continue to receive the majority of ODA funding to NGOs. These organizations are not necessarily increasing their funding to women's rights organizations.

This North-South funding dialectic within the NGO community is becoming more complicated. As the section on INGOs illustrates (pg 69) INGOs based in the Global North are increasingly faced with questions of legitimacy, effectiveness and accountability. More and more, local NGOs are seeing INGOs as stifling the growth of civil society in developing countries, competing for resources (both human and financial) and political space. INGOs are still largely holding the purse strings exacerbating power imbalances between NGOs in the North and South.¹²

¹⁰ Concord, 2006, *The Truth behind the Figures: what the Official Figures tell Us about European Community Aid and NGOs*, Confederation of European Relief and Development NGOs, May 2006. (<http://www.concordeurope.org/download.cfm?media=pdfUK&id=1460>)

¹¹ Agg, Catherine, 2006, *Trends in Government Support for Non-Governmental Organizations: Is the "Golden Age" of the NGO Behind Us?*, by UNRISD, June 2006

¹² Ibid.

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As our survey found, women's organizations have experienced a much more difficult time since 1995 and 2000 in getting ODA funding support for women's rights work. So what in particular has been happening? The following pages analyze some of the internal and external dynamics involved in promoting a gender equality agenda that supports women's organizing as part of development assistance.

Challenges within the agencies

a) The mainstreaming agenda

In the past ten years there has been a notable decrease in the quality and quantity of funding for women's rights organizations around the world. In particular, bilateral agencies like CIDA, the Dutch government, SIDA and NORAD, which traditionally invested in women's organizations, have been reducing their funds to NGOs. This decrease has been due in large part to a focus on gender mainstreaming strategies that prioritized integrating a cross-cutting gender analysis into mainstream policies and programs. While this has been partly successful, many OECD donors acknowledge that in practice, mainstreaming has often led to policy evaporation: where a good policy goes nowhere without strong program or funding. This in turn has resulted in diminished returns for women on the ground.

Bilateral agencies like CIDA, the Dutch government, SIDA and NORAD, who traditionally invested in women's organizations, have been reducing their funds to NGOs

In other words, gender mainstreaming, as a concept and an approach, has been largely misconstrued and wrongly applied. In 1995, when gender mainstreaming was written into the Beijing Platform for Action and then taken up by public institutions worldwide it was meant as a two-track strategy: to integrate gender equality across all policies and programs, as well as focus on women's empowerment specifically. However, the latter got deprioritized and mainstreaming got depoliticized. It is now seen simply as a technical instrument that anyone with a tool or two can apply somewhere within the planning or implementation process (such as consulting or hiring a few women) and then say "we've done gender".

By ignoring key lessons from institutional change experience, purely technical approaches to mainstreaming have often led to a shrinking commitment to gender equality. This shrinkage can clearly be measured in terms of inadequate staff, policy shifts, insufficient levels of resources or systems for tracking the money, lack of attention to power dynamics, and diminishing or inconsistent mechanisms of accountability. According to an important recent OECD-DAC study, "almost all DAC Members have gender equality policies and many have strengthened them since 1999. But almost none of them have the staff, budgets and management practices needed to implement these policies. Lip service looms large, practice remains weak."¹³

¹³ Mason, Karen, 2006, *The Approach of DAC Members to Gender Equality in Development Co-operation: Changes since 1999*, produced for the OECD-DAC GenderNet.

Goetz and Sandler argue that bureaucracies really only respond to crisis and urgency. Unlike issues of the environment, women's rights issues have sadly failed to produce a "life-threatening, economy-paralyzing crisis" in the minds of the public or public institutions. As such, callous indifference allows inadequate mainstreaming strategies to chip away at even the most fragile of gender commitments. As insiders of the UN they warn:

"...we have underestimated the technical expertise required to build gender equality – it is not acquired at the stroke of the pen that transforms an already over-worked bureaucrat into a gender focal point. We have underestimated the indifference and sheer hostility that has resulted in resistance at all levels. But most of all, we have underestimated or misunderstood bureaucratic logics that work to absorb and disarm mild threats. By contenting ourselves with the possibility of playing a catalytic role, pioneering pilot projects that would move others into replication and scaling up, we have been duped; this is not how bureaucracies change. We have been assimilated when we were aiming for infiltration and influence."¹⁴

Their voices join a chorus of other gender equality advocates who want to make up for the lost time spent pushing words and ideas instead of actions. For many, it is time to "build on the achievements of gender-mainstreaming but move on and say what we mean: this is a struggle for women's rights and it is a struggle that must be conducted from power-houses that represent the collectivity of women's movements."¹⁵

b) Measuring and defining success

In a similar vein, when asking women's rights leaders for their main complaint about the donor community, reference is usually made to how the work for gender equality is valued, measured or evaluated. "Logframes and three-year project completion timelines are inimical to women's empowerment strategies" is the sentiment often expressed. In the last fifteen years, bilateral and multilateral institutions have become known for their cumbersome and seemingly irrelevant approaches to measuring impact and results that they impose on women's rights organizations around the world. Linear and often apolitical models of social change or development still permeate these institutions in the forms of discourses or evaluation tools. The push for "indicators" often means technical approaches are applied to complex social and political problems. Yet inevitable external forces of change (such as political movements, natural disasters or financial crises) are much more unpredictable and chaotic than centralized, linear forms of planning and measurement suggest.

"Logframes and three-year project completion timelines are inimical to women's empowerment strategies"

¹⁴ Anne Marie Goetz and Joanne Sandler, 2007, "Should we SWAp Gender" in Cornwall, Harrison and Whitehead, *Feminisms and Development: Contradictions, Contestations and Challenges*, Zed Books, pg 167

¹⁵ Ibid, pg 172

Meanwhile, “success” is very often defined as measurable results even when we know that “not everything that counts can be counted”. This is particularly true if we want to build stronger movements. What this will look like in terms of “projects” and “outcome indicators” would be more easily expressed as opportunities seized, threats averted, relationships build and behaviours changed. For many donors’ bureaucrats, these progress markers are considered subjective and unverifiable. On the other hand, if we count the numbers of women parliamentarians or women reporting cases of violence are we closer to affirming what will bring about substantive equality in the lives of poor women?

Furthermore, for so many women’s rights advocates, the “success” that they have been able to report to their donors in many cases has simply been their ability to hold the line of a policy, program or budget line in the face of conservative backlash. Given the dynamics of power and change, when nothing moves “backwards” this too can constitute progress. But institutional arrangements in many bureaucracies have no effective way of recognizing the multiple dimensions of change, and more precisely, policy revisions or quantitative shifts are not the sole or even the best indicator of change at times. Women’s rights leader and feminist academic Srilatha Batliwala suggests we need to go back to why we measure change:

***It is time to examine
the myths and realities of social
change measurement
and to question why we measure***

*“Change measurement can be a powerful tool for strengthening our effectiveness when it prioritizes learning, confronts the growing complexity of change forces, and reconstructs our theories of change and development. It is time to examine the myths and realities of social change measurement and to question why we measure. Only then can we begin to make measurement a meaningful process”.*¹⁶

**More Challenges:
the External Changing Environment**

**a) Aid effectiveness:
the new development assistance framework**

The current new aid modalities, including budget support and sector-wide approaches (SWAs) aim to reduce the costs of aid disbursement and to channel development assistance directly to recipient governments, which is intended to deliver clear results. They are designed to align development assistance to nationally determined development priorities and to pool diverse aid sources into direct support for national budgets

¹⁶ Batliwala, Srilatha, “Measuring Social Change: Assumptions, Myths and Realities”, in *Alliance*, Volume 11, No 1, March 2006.

and plans. This shift in focus is encapsulated in the 2005 Paris Declaration of Aid Effectiveness agreed upon by OECD-DAC donor countries and their developing country partners.

The Paris Declaration outlines five principles to be monitored in terms of how aid should be delivered, namely:

- Ownership: Developing countries will exercise effective leadership over their development policies, strategies, and to coordinate development actions;
- Alignment: Donor countries will base their overall support on receiving countries' national development strategies, institutions, and procedures;
- Harmonization: Donor countries will work so that their actions are more harmonized, transparent, and collectively effective;
- Managing for Results: All countries will manage resources and improve decision-making for results; and,
- Mutual Accountability: Donor and developing countries pledge that they will be mutually accountable for development results.¹⁷

The Paris Declaration, which spells out the “aid effectiveness agenda”, is now the latest in a long line of international development frameworks largely emerging from the 2000 UN Monterrey Meeting on Financing for Development. It aims to create coherence between aid, trade and market-oriented policies yet does little to focus aid more directly on the “needs of the poor, ending harmful economic policy conditions currently attached to aid and ensuring democratic governance of international financial institutions.”¹⁸

Gender equality and human rights are only mentioned once (paragraph 42) within the environmental sustainability section as other crosscutting themes that should be considered. In fact, the Paris Declaration does not specify the content of development priorities, with the exception of a commitment to carry out environmental impact assessments. Most donor governments see the Paris Declaration purely as a neutral technical document outlining the principles and mechanisms to make aid effective, thereby excluding substantive issues. One government representative at a Working Party on Aid Effectiveness meeting in March 2007 stated that “gender, environment and human rights are taken as a given,” and therefore, not explicitly included. While in the best case, governments should perceive and ensure gender equality as one of the true measurements of aid effectiveness, at the very least they ought to recognize that no policy instrument is neutral. Implementation will always be affected by prevailing gender discrimination, human rights violations, and environmental degradation.

¹⁷ <http://www.aidharmonization.org/ah-overview/secondary-pages/editable?key=205>

¹⁸ See: Reality of Aid: http://www.realityofaid.org/rchecknews.php?table=rc_jan07&id=3

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The Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) are part and parcel of the new aid modalities as they establish a set of goals in relation to the content of development spending; development assistance is supposed to contribute to realizing the MDGs. Critics of the MDGs have argued that the milestone UN conferences of the 1990s and their summary documents – from Rio to Beijing and beyond – have been conveniently forgotten by governments and tied up in the simplistic package of the eight Millennium Development Goals. While the MDGs signal a step backward from the earlier commitments to women's rights, some of the so-called developing countries have already achieved some of the goals outlined.

Although the third MDG advances gender equality in the broader sense, the specific indicator for governments is about closing the gender gap in education, whereby the many other crucial elements of the struggle for gender equality are omitted. In fact, female education was the first MDG target to be missed in 2005, which generated no sense of alarm or need to rethink strategies. In any of the 13 MDG country reports reviewed in 2003, gender equality was by no means reflected as a cross-cutting issue and continues to be viewed very narrowly.¹⁹ While the MDGs have helped to raise the profile of gender equality as a key element of development, it is the area receiving the least attention, even by admission of UN officials themselves. Just as discouraging, however, is the fact that targeted donor funding in low-income countries falls far short of rhetoric with less than one-fifth of aid going for MDG purposes²⁰.

Many donor agencies themselves admit that the new modalities have made it more difficult to advance gender equality because they are rarely designed to ensure appropriate monitoring and evaluation of gender equality outcomes, nor implemented with explicit strategies to reducing gender inequalities.²¹ In fact, there is also a staffing and structural problem, because the existing number of decentralized gender advisors cannot actually meet the need for gender expertise at the country level²².

According to the Reality of Aid report:

“...national development strategies, including PRSPs, rarely mainstream gender benchmarks. Alignment with national strategies will mean that donor budget support and sector programs will not adequately address gender equality priorities.

¹⁹ On a more positive note, and as a result of successful lobbying by women's rights activists inside and outside the UN system, a new target was introduced and endorsed by the General Assembly in 2006, namely to achieve universal access to reproductive health by 2015. This target is supposed to be included in the monitoring of the MDGs although the US has merely taken note of the recommendation and has not necessarily endorsed it.

²⁰ *Reality of Aid*, 2006, pg 232, data is a computation based on OECD-DAC data.

²¹ UNIFEM, *Promoting Gender Equality in New Aid Modalities and Partnerships*, March 2006

²² Mason, Karen, 2006, *ibid.*

*Equally, the difficulties inherent in harmonizing diverse donor practices for program-based approaches will likely result in gender policy evaporation...”*²³

In addition, implementation has favoured sectoral approaches (e.g. health, education or financial reforms and strategies) over cross-cutting strategies such as the promotion of gender equality.²⁴ Since sector-wide approaches have had greater implementation success, this has led some key strategists to ask, only half jokingly, should we SWAp gender?²⁵

Notably, according to an OECD report, “practices reported to be effective by some agencies include partnering with in-country civil society organizations in order to strengthen demand for gender equality actions within partner countries”²⁶. This practice is, however, less common amongst the bilateral agencies that have come later to the gender equality agenda and constitute the emerging funders (these agencies would have put a gender policy in place after 1995).

Nonetheless, women’s rights leaders in recipient countries recognize the multitude of inherent flaws related to implementing the Paris Declaration principles for civil society. For example, according to L. Muthoni Wanyeki:

*“Gender budgeting and transparency initiatives that have originated within civil society, even if they have drawn in support of different ministerial or sector government arms, continue to be weak...Freedom of information and improved capacities for budget monitoring have been among the demands that have not necessarily come through when donors discuss improved and transparent budgetary processes related to PRSPs. In short, with respect to “local ownership,” there are real problems from the donor side in terms of envisaging what this is intended to mean beyond the PRSP process. Within the PRSP process itself, there are real problems for civil society and government in terms of follow through and implementation.”*²⁷

Overall, there is a yawning gap between the perceived importance of a strong and independent civil society in aid effectiveness (the Paris Declaration speaks of importance of civil society holding governments

Overall, there is a yawning gap between the perceived importance of a strong and independent civil society in aid effectiveness and the official direct financial support civil society actually receives from bilateral and multilateral donors

²³ Reality of Aid, 2007, “Reality Check? The Paris Declaration: Towards Enhanced Aid Effectiveness?” *Reality of Aid*, Philippines, January 2007, pg 18

²⁴ DAC Network on Gender Equality, *Paris Declaration Commitments and Implications for Gender Equality and Women’s Empowerment*, DCD/DAC/GEN (2006)1

²⁵ Goetz and Sandler (2007).

²⁶ Mason, Karen, 2006. *ibid.*

²⁷ Wanyeki, Muthoni, “Implementing the Paris Declaration: A Southern Civil Society Experience An Address by L. Muthoni Wanyeki, FEMNET, Kenya, A Workshop Sponsored by the Canadian Council for International Cooperation, Ottawa, May 25th, 2006”, Published in *Reality Check? The Paris Declaration: Towards Enhanced Aid Effectiveness?* Reality of Aid, Philippines, January 2007 pg 22

accountable) and the official direct financial support civil society actually receives from bilateral and multilateral donors.

Several funding trends in relation to the new aid modalities are important to underline:

- Many local NGOs have reduced access to ODA funds (because of the Paris Declaration's focus on government budget support, including funding for NGOs) especially those which are independent and critical of their own government's positions, and which cannot get funds from their governments. This in turn undermines their capacity to play a significant role in ensuring government accountability;
- Funds going from aid recipient governments to NGOs often take the form of subcontracting, seeing NGOs as the implementation arm of their government, supporting service provision more than processes which could contribute to government accountability in the implementation of national development priorities;
- Most middle-income countries are ineligible for ODA funding yet women's groups there still have major uphill battles fighting women's human rights violations in areas of reproductive rights, employment opportunities and violence against women, to name a few;
- The World Bank and other multilateral institutions seem to be the "winners" in the new aid modality context, soaking up vast amounts of funds from the bilaterals for their gender equality work. The World Bank's new strategy, *Gender equality as smart economics: Meeting the MDGs* will cost 24.5 million of ODA dollars towards "making markets work for women (at the policy level) and empowering women to compete in markets (at the agency level)". This four-year budget will largely be used for more gender-specific statistics and research, engendering World Bank financial instruments, communicating and disseminating research findings and country-specific programming.²⁸ For many gender equality advocates these are not considered the most urgent priorities, especially when there is already a plethora of research reports produced by the World Bank itself on gender and poverty, the findings of which have rarely been acted upon.

b) The United States Government's influence on funding for women's rights

Another external factor creating challenges for women's rights funding relates to the role of the Bush administration. Because the United States is the largest ODA contributor in absolute numbers, its influence

²⁸ <http://siteresources.worldbank.org/INTGENDER/Resources/GAPNov2.pdf>

on women's rights through development assistance warrants some further analysis. The US's influence is felt particularly in relation to 1) an escalating international security agenda; and 2) the US Government's infamous and ideologically motivated conditionalities around aid funding.

1) Since the attacks of September 11th, 2001, security agendas, driven by the United States, have overwhelmed the foreign policies of many donor governments. As already mentioned, a very large portion of the increase of ODA in 2005 was for so-called military reconstruction projects in Iraq and Afghanistan that are currently counted in foreign aid budgets. That said, ODA costs are minute in proportion to military spending given the fact that the US government alone is now spending nearly USD 10 billion a month in Iraq and Afghanistan. According to the *Reality of Aid report*, the US spends 76 times more on the war in Iraq than its total ODA for health, 196 times compared to education and 480 times what it allocates to water and sanitation worldwide.²⁹

The impact of the security agenda on foreign development assistance has made poverty eradication a lower priority: foreign policy related to the donors "war on terror" is where the funds are flowing. And so while this should in theory mean funds for women's rights organizations in Afghanistan and Iraq, especially given the doctrines of the US alongside several western governments to fight against Islamic extremists for "democracy and women's emancipation," this has not been the case. Women's organizations in Iraq and Afghanistan have had to struggle for resources that most often get absorbed by INGOs or multilateral agencies.³⁰

2) These past few years have also witnessed a considerable amount of controversy and debate in relation to the Bush administration-imposed anti-abortion, anti-prostitution, and pro-abstinence funding restrictions that have directly negatively impacted money flows for women's rights and women worldwide. Indeed, many women's organizations will not on principle take any money from the US Government because of the nature of conditions, or cannot because the conditionalities make it impossible to access the funding without having to change the focus of their work. Following are examples of the US government's impact on funding:

- In 2003, George W. Bush established PEPFAR, the President's Emergency Plan for AIDS Relief, in order to provide USD 15 billion over five years to 15 of the neediest AIDS-affected countries. Twenty percent of the fund is earmarked for prevention programs, a third of which must be spent on "ABC" programs (that advises individuals to be abstinent until marriage, be faithful to a sex partner, and failing those approaches, use a

²⁹ *The Reality of Aid 2006 report. Reality of Aid 2006 Facts and Figures.*

³⁰ Personal interviews with two women's rights leaders in Afghanistan and Iraq in 2006.

ODA costs are minute in proportion to military spending given the fact that the US government alone is now spending nearly USD 10 billion a month in Iraq and Afghanistan

A more recent US funding conditionality is its requirement that any groups receiving USAID funding have to officially oppose prostitution and sex trafficking.

condom). These approaches ignore how little negotiating power women have in their sexual relationships in many countries, as evidenced by the fact that the largest increase in new infection rates in Africa are among women in steady partnerships and marriages. Research from the Institutes of Medicine is showing that a one-size-fits-all kind of approach is not helping countries to tackle their specific epidemics.³¹ Countries are dealing to a varying degree with intravenous drug users or HIV and AIDS in the homosexual population and need targeted approaches that often fall outside the ABC approach. According to a recent report by the International Gay and Lesbian Human Rights Commission (IGHLRC), donor funding is actually having a negative impact on same-sex practicing Africans.³² Furthermore, the prevailing approach gives no recognition of an individual's sexual autonomy, where people can make free decisions about their sexuality, in an enabling environment that provides them with all the necessary information and resources. In addition, women's groups who recognize that violence against women within and outside of marriage is a major factor in the spread of the virus and a major problem for women who are HIV positive are demanding that funding approaches HIV and AIDS from a women's human rights perspective.³³

- Earlier in 2007, after its new female Director General committed to making maternal and reproductive health issues a top priority, the World Health Organization had to start readjusting its programs because of US government interference. Currently the WHO is looking to find ways to adequately address unsafe abortion and how to work around pro-abstinence funding of the US (since the Bush Administration has been in power it has imposed the "Global Gag Rule" which limits funding to family planning NGOs that include abortion or abortion counselling in even a small fraction of their activities). Of the entire USD 2.8 billion 2004-2005 WHO Budget just 15 million was allocated for women's health. Another USD 39 million was allocated to making pregnancy safer. With continuing cuts to women's reproductive health and rights, local NGOs have lost crucial money, technical assistance and access to contraceptive supplies.³⁴

- A more recent US funding conditionality is its requirement that any groups receiving USAID funding have to officially oppose prostitution and sex trafficking. This policy has had a profound impact on the sex worker health and rights organizations³⁵ that have been on the forefront

31 United Press International, *Analysis: Report blasts AIDS funding rules*, by Olga Pierce, March 30 2007. http://www.upi.com/HealthBusiness/analysis_report_blasts_aids_funding_rules/20070330-053441-5425r/

32 Johnson, C.A., 2007, "Off the map: how HIV/AIDS programming is failing same-sex practising people in Africa", International Gay and Lesbian Human Rights Commission.

33 On March 2007 the "Women Wont Wait" campaign was launched critiquing funding policies of PEPFAR and other major HIV/AIDS funding sources. See <http://www.womenwontwait.org>

34 Tuesday, February 13, *Women's Enews*, "U.S. Clout Raises Worries for World Health Agency" by Bojana Stoparic

35 Open Society Institute Public Health Program (2006), *Sex Worker Health and Rights: Where is the Funding?*, Sexual Health and Rights Project, June 2006

of the most successful prevention strategies in recent years. USAID field officers have been given official notices to avoid working with any organizations that recognize sex work: “organizations advocating prostitution as an employment choice or which advocate or support the legalization of prostitution are not appropriate partners for USAID anti-trafficking grants and contracts, or sub-grants and sub-contractors”³⁶ In 2005 the US government spent a considerable sum (USD 95 million) on anti-trafficking projects around the world with the highest number of projects in India, Russia, Brazil, Thailand, and Mexico. According to the US Government, the most prevalent type of transnational trafficking is for sexual exploitation and therefore 95% of its funding is allocated to “prevention and services for victims.”³⁷ However, these figures are highly contentious as many economic migrants are conflated with trafficked women, making it very hard to get at the real numbers. To its credit, the Brazil government this past year responded to these policy impositions by rejecting further USAID funding.

Opportunities for Engagement and Funding for Women’s Rights Organizations with Bilateral and Multilateral Donors

Despite the numerous challenges in terms of mobilizing public funds for women’s rights organizations and movements, an increasing number of new opportunities are emerging. In fact, 2007 and 2008 offer important strategic openings to galvanize new funding. This potential is due in large part to the fact that so many bilateral agencies are recognizing the need to rethink the mainstreaming agenda given its pitiful achievements to date, as well as the fact that there are several feminist champions inside powerful bureaucracies at this moment. These advocates are committed to increasing the strength of independent women’s movements as a central driver to both real aid effectiveness and toward more sustainable global governance. As such, there are efforts being made to both influence the policy frameworks as well as create new money for women’s NGOs.

2007 and 2008 offer important strategic openings to galvanize new funding

a) Policy rethink amongst ODA’s gender equality community:

Amongst the collective “rethink” within the ODA community on mainstreaming and its pitfalls, several important bilateral donors – from NZAID to SIDA – have recently reviewed their own agency’s approach to gender equality and women’s empowerment and have developed new strategies. Some details of these organizational shifts can be seen in the following

36 Melissa Ditmore, “New U.S. Funding Policies on Trafficking Affect Sex Work and HIV-Prevention Efforts World Wide” *SIECUS report, Volume 33, Number 2*, Spring 2005, as quoted in Open Society Institute Public Health Program (2006).

37 See <http://www.state.gov/g/tip/rls/fs/2006/65042.htm>

examples of UK's Department for International Development (DFID), The Dutch Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Norwegian Government, the Spanish Government and the Australian Aid Agency (AusAid):

United Kingdom Department for International Development: In 2006, DFID commissioned an independent evaluation³⁸ demonstrating that while DFID had been a leader in the promotion of gender equality, the new aid mechanisms were making it more difficult to advance its gender equality goals. DFID had made significant advances in the areas of gender, health and education but their overall aid program had inconsistent results. In February 2007 therefore, DFID launched its ambitious Gender Equality Action Plan intended to make faster progress towards gender equality. The plan is comprehensive and has the potential for considerable impact given, for instance, its focus on, among other things:

- Incentives for staff work on gender equality sustained by strong and consistent leadership;
- A clear vision on gender equality supported by consistent policy and practice;
- Multilateral agencies increasingly improving their practice on gender equality;
- Civil society supported to promote their voice and their accountability within the area of gender equality;
- Increased quality of specialist skills on gender equality within DFID;
- Quality external resources on gender equality and women's empowerment; and,
- Stronger national and international capacities on gender equality and women's empowerment.³⁹

The Dutch Ministry of Foreign Affairs (DMFA): As women's organizations' largest funder, it is useful to examine the history and current stance of the Dutch government. In the early 90s the Dutch Ministry of Foreign Affairs had a fund for women's organizations in the Global South and for its own gender and development initiatives (such as DMFA-hosted conferences on violence against women). The fund and program was based in the Ministry and controlled by their staff. At its peak, there were 19 gender equality specialists in The Hague with an annual budget of Euros 20 million. In 1995, with the introduction of gender mainstreaming, increased attention was put on integration approaches. Concurrently, organizational restructuring processes determined that funds would be best placed at the Embassy level to support, among other things, national women's organizations. As a result of mainstreaming and decentralization therefore, the fund shrank considerably and gender equality specialists were reduced to three or four individuals. In 2002, DMFA's fund was

38 Payne and Neville, 2006, *Aid Instruments, Social Exclusion and Gender: Background Paper for DFID's Internal Guidance on Aid Instruments*, DFID, London.

39 See <http://www.dfid.gov.uk/pubs/files/gender-equality-plan-2007.pdf>

completely dismantled with only a small fund (under Euros 5 million) for international NGOs working on sexual and reproductive rights remaining inside the Ministry.⁴⁰ In 2004, the DMFA then stopped its contribution to UNIFEM but gave instead to UNDP to improve its gender mainstreaming practice.

At time of writing, while the Dutch Government does not have a new gender policy or guidelines, they have conducted an assessment of gender mainstreaming in action to seek better ways of achieving gender equality results. On March 8, 2007 the Dutch Minister of Foreign Affairs called for women's rights to be higher on the development agenda, urging both his colleagues in the European Union, and UN agencies, to do the same.⁴¹ Internally, DMFA gender advocates are also looking at innovative ways to increase funding for women's rights civil society.⁴²

The Norwegian Government: In 2005 an external evaluation was carried out of Norway's efforts towards promoting gender equality. This showed that its previous strategies had had a very weak impact largely due to effects from policy evaporation.⁴³ The Government took this feedback seriously and launched a bold action plan in 2007 that will revitalize a two-track strategy of mainstreaming and women's empowerment. Furthermore, Norway, the only country with an Ambassador for Women's Rights and Gender Equality, is using its high-level influence to push for visibility and active discourse on gender equality in order to create demand and enhance the status of gender equality issues.⁴⁴ Norway is able to do this within the UN system, the World Bank and even amongst the Norwegian corporate sector. This has been clear in their Government's leadership role in supporting the recommendation of the UN Coherence Panel to create a strong UN women's agency. As spelled out below, Norway has also created a new budget line explicitly for gender equality and women's empowerment.

The Spanish Agency for Development Cooperation (AECI) has significantly increased the amount of funding available for ODA. The Agency is lead by a feminist and is committed to gender equality. With a small staff it has tended to give larger grants (that require less administration) such as one of Euros 700 million to UNDP that will be going mostly to UN country teams, and a recent Euros 2.5 million grant to UNIFEM to work on gender integration in the aid effectiveness agenda.

Norway, the only country with an Ambassador for Women's Rights and Gender Equality, is using its high-level influence to push for visibility and active discourse on gender equality

40 Tjoelker, Evertsen, Sprenger and Stoppelenburg (2006), *Gendergelijkheid verankeren in toekomstig beleid: Een onderzoek naar ervaringen, inzichten en uitdagingen binnen het Ministerie van Buitenlandse Zaken*

41 <http://www.arha.org.au/index/Dutch%20aid%20women's%20rights.pdf>

42 Tjoelker, Evertsen, Sprenger and Stoppelenburg (2006)

43 Norad (2005), *Evaluation of the "Strategy for Women and Gender Equality in Development" 1997-2005*

44 OECD DAC Network on Gender Equality, *Summary record of the fourth meeting of the DAC network on gender equality, 5-7 July 2006* (DCD/DAC/GEN/M(2006)1/PROV) <http://www.oecd.org/dataoecd/38/5/37417168.pdf>

Australia's AusAid has just released its new gender equality policy with particular focus on operational principles to implement the policy, capacity of staff and accountability mechanisms. The new policy emerged from a 2006 review and ensures gender both as an overarching principle of the whole aid program and now as a mandatory priority of all of AusAid's work.

Influencing the aid effectiveness agenda

Gender equality advocates within some governments and multilateral agencies are also working consciously to influence the aid effectiveness agenda to ensure its relevance to women's rights. This approach includes efforts to make the true measurement of aid effectiveness the eradication of discrimination, poverty, environmental sustainability and human rights for all. While the Paris Declaration has already been negotiated and agreed, gender equality goals can be pursued by influencing how the Declaration is interpreted, implemented, monitored and evaluated.⁴⁵ UNIFEM and the OECD-DAC gender equality network have been working on the key principles of the Declaration (ownership, alignment, harmonization, mutual accountability and management for results) by promoting:⁴⁶

- adequate financing for programs that respond to women's needs;
- accountability systems for governments and donors to track and enhance their contributions to gender equality;
- gender sensitive progress assessments, performance monitoring and indicators for aid effectiveness (such as MDGs targets or CEDAW reporting) and,
- support of civil society's independent accountability function.

Another key reinterpretation of the Paris Declaration principles being pushed by several civil society organizations (including AWID, EURODAD, Reality of Aid, Social Watch and others) is democratic ownership. If the concept of ownership is only understood as government or state ownership in the definition of National Development Plans, then the contributions, concerns and demands of vast sectors of the population will not be included or even heard. Of course, this includes those of women's organizations and movements. As stated in a briefing paper presented in a dialogue between the DAC Working Party on Aid Effectiveness and CSOs last March:

⁴⁵ DAC Network on Gender Equality, *Paris Declaration Commitments and Implications for Gender Equality and Women's Empowerment*, DCD/DAC/GEN (2006)1, pg 4

⁴⁶ See: *Promoting Gender Equality in New Aid Modalities and Partnerships*, UNIFEM discussion paper, March 2006.

“Ownership should be construed as accountable, democratic ownership that ensures participatory decision making and participatory accountable governance mechanisms, especially involving poor and marginalized citizens who are involved in the development process. Alignment to country programs is extremely important but should be premised on genuine ownership. Harmonization of donor practices is also important, but can only work when all forms of policy conditionalities are removed, and genuine democratic ownership, respect for gender equality and mutual accountability is achieved.”⁴⁷

Furthermore, the understanding and implementation of the principle of mutual accountability, civil society groups have argued, has to include existing human rights mechanisms, including CEDAW, so that it builds and reinforces accountability systems at different levels, with clear reporting mechanisms.

Fortunately, among bilateral donors there are some promising and important calls for increased support to civil society. A recent study of 27 donors identified that a key element for the promotion of gender equality in the new aid environment is the support to independent women’s organizations and movements. The fact that new aid modalities have resulted in a decrease in funding available to civil society and women’s organizations needs to be compensated for by other approaches that guarantee the continuation of women’s organizing.⁴⁸

In the newly released OECD 2006 Development Cooperation Report, the DAC Chair advocates for more financial support to civil society in order to carry out its “challenge function”. Investment in non-state entities, like women’s rights organizations, is necessary because it “makes a huge contribution to improving the quality of policy and legislation, as long as vested interests are exposed to challenge effectively. A bigger investment by donors in promoting such non-state institutions is well justified, and cannot be provided by traditional government-to-government channels, which tend to be the default option for many donors.”⁴⁹

According to UNIFEM, “There is no substitute for independent access for civil society to external funding if it is to sustain and develop its oversight or watchdog function on the state... If women’s political voice is not strong at the domestic level, regional and international mechanisms must invest in the capacity and political clout of domestic gender equality groups, and in the interim, promote accountability.”⁵⁰

47 Briefing Paper: *Deepening the Aid Effectiveness Agenda*, CSO Consultation with the DAC Working Party on Aid Effectiveness, Paris, March 7, 2007

48 Mason, Karen, *The Approach of DAC members to Gender Equality in Development Co-operation: Changes Since 1999*, (draft) May 2006, OECD DAC Network on Gender Equality

49 OECD, 2007, “Overview by DAC Chair”, *2006 Development Co-operation Report*, Vol. 8, No. 1, pg 35

50 UNIFEM, 2006, *Promoting Gender Equality in New Aid Modalities and Partnerships*, March 26, pg 11

A recent study of 27 donors identified that a key element for the promotion of gender equality in the new aid environment is the support to independent women’s organizations and movements.

The Commission on the Status of Women in 2008 will include the issue of financing for women's rights and gender equality and thus create another strategic opportunity

In other words, while some observers have argued that the Paris Declaration has created a framework for building good governance to enable private investment, increased focus and attention is needed to ensure that the state becomes an agent of redistribution and equity. A strong and independent civil society is an essential part of good governance, which is why new aid modalities, based on principles of democratic ownership and accountability, need to include considerable support to civil society organizations and women's rights organizations among them.

The next High-Level Forum on Aid Effectiveness will be held in Ghana in September 2008, when governments will assess progress made. This meeting represents an opportunity to highlight the importance of women's rights and gender equality for the aid effectiveness agenda, including the support of independent women's rights organizations. Similarly, the Commission on the Status of Women in 2008 will include the issue of financing for women's rights and gender equality and thus create another strategic opportunity for governments and NGOs to push for sustained funding for gender equality and women's organizations worldwide. Also, 2008 will be the five-year review of the Financing for Development Conference, with a special meeting to be held in Doha. These spaces offer opportunities to lobby governments to make the necessary connections between all these processes and to recommit to financial support to civil society as part of already agreed upon international frameworks.⁵¹

Last but not least, in terms of policy and institutional reform, the efforts towards creating a more powerful agency for women at the UN also create some interesting tensions in terms of funding for women's rights. On the one hand, should a new agency get created that consolidates several of the existing bodies of the UN gender equality architecture (like UNIFEM, the Division for the Advancement for Women and the Office of the Special Advisor for Gender Issues), its budget would largely depend on voluntary contributions from governments. Monies would come from those that are likely already committed to gender equality which might mean lesser funds for civil society. If we were to look at UNIFEM's small but important Trust Fund on Violence Against Women as any indication, we'd see just how cheap governments have been. On the other hand, this new agency would be intended to act as a leading force in terms of ensuring that UN country-level operations are explicitly advancing an agenda of women's empowerment and gender equality. This agency could be supporting women's movements in new and exciting ways at the country and regional level.

⁵¹ Governments made these commitments in the conferences of the 90s and they are enshrined in the Beijing Platform for Action, the Cairo Programme of Action on Population and Development, the Copenhagen Programme of Work on Social Development, the Rio Agenda 21 and the Vienna Human Rights Conference Programme of Action, along with the MDGs and the Millennium Declaration.

Either way, the reform process will be very important to watch. At time of writing, there has been some indication that the process at country level, already being implemented by UNDP through eight country pilot projects, whereby UN agencies are meant to “deliver as one” in-country, has been closely linked to the aid effectiveness agenda. There are significant concerns by some gender equality advocates about this UN reform process consolidating all plans, budgets and actions of every UN agency on the ground into one. As UNIFEM has only 14 sub-regional offices around the world, covering a small number of UN member states, and as gender equality experts at the country level are usually isolated, underfunded and with limited political status within the inter-agency country teams, women’s rights and gender equality priorities might be left on the back-burner, risking the loss of ground on already existing achievements.

b) Some specific bilateral funding opportunities for women’s rights NGOs

Since AWID produced its first report last year, *Where is the money for women’s rights?*, we have been tracking new sources and potential opportunities for women’s rights organizations and movements to pursue. Since last year, we are more positive that greater funding is available. That said, these opportunities need to be looked at and considered with some degree of caution. Every donor or special fund has its eligibility criteria in terms of issue and regional focus, where particular conditionalities might apply and budget lines are changeable.

Overall, however, ODA is on the rise. It was USD 79 billion in 2004, USD 106 billion in 2005 and could reach USD 130 billion by 2010 based on government commitments to date. That said, according to the OECD’s 2006 Development Co-operation Report “Donors will have to increase funding for aid programmes faster than any other public expenditure in order to fulfill their commitments...Aid funding, recently rising by 5% per year, would have to rise by 11% every year from 2008 to 2010.”⁵² Already the OECD projects that ODA supports has funding falling in 2006 and 2007 from 2005 levels as debt relief declines, and post-Tsunami reconstruction efforts dwindle. There are fresh ideas emerging from this donor community on how to keep the levels rising, where we see for example, France, followed by Norway, imposing a new tax on commercial airfares as one way of generating foreign aid funds. Other trends to be carefully considered include the following:

⁵² See DAC News, March 2007, <http://www.oecd.org/dataoecd/42/28/38183835.htm>

Countries that are increasingly committed to gender equality include the UK, Norway, Ireland, Spain, Sweden, New Zealand, Australia and Italy.

- Many governments have greatly increased their development cooperation from 2004 to 2005 namely Austria (127% increase) Belgium (31%), Spain (19%), Sweden (24%), New Zealand (18%), Canada (31%).⁵³

- As the table on pg 49 illustrates, ODA support to international (i.e. non-domestic) NGOs is continuing to rise: DFID is the largest donor, followed by Japan, Switzerland, Ireland, then Canada (Canadian embassies and consulates for example have several “gender funds” that provide much needed resources to national women’s organizations in developing countries).

- The Norwegian Ministry of Foreign Affairs announced a new women’s rights budget line on March 8, 2007 with four thematic priorities: political participation, economic participation, sexual and reproductive rights and violence against women. The budget for 2007 is USD 33 million. While they have not reserved a specific amount for NGOs or INGOs, they are not excluded from the scope, particularly if they will be delivering “catalytic and innovative activities.”⁵⁴

- Irish Aid’s ODA budget has been growing considerably in the past years. It has a Civil Society Fund for which it invites proposals from both Irish and non-Irish NGOs. In 2005 it disbursed USD 180 million to NGOs by supporting multi-year proposals, including core funding for organizations, typically Euros 200,000 to 300,000 per year and larger grants for Irish NGOs. While this fund is not women’s rights specific, cross-cutting issues including gender are important to Irish Aid who has recently adopted a progressive gender equality policy. NGOs working internationally on human rights and poverty eradication in relation to the MDGs agenda as well as to capacity building are eligible.

- Other countries that are increasingly committed to gender equality and support for women’s movements include Spain, Sweden, New Zealand, Australia, and Italy.

- The UN Democracy Fund was created in 2006 to support democratization throughout the world. When, in September 2006, the Secretary-General approved the first batch of projects, 47 out of 125 supported initiatives had a strong focus on gender equality and women’s rights – most of which went to non-governmental women’s organizations. It now has USD 65 million in grant-making capacity with a new call for proposals to be announced in 2007.⁵⁵

53 OECD, 2007, *Final ODA Data for 2005*

54 Personal correspondence with Anne Havnor, Norwegian Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

55 <http://www.un.org/democracyfund/>

- The Safe Abortion Action Fund was initiated by the UK Government in February 2006 to “enable the implementation of programmes and initiatives to increase access to comprehensive safe abortion services, within a comprehensive package of reproductive health services, with particular regard for the needs of marginalized and vulnerable women”. Administered by the International Planned Parenthood Federation on behalf of civil society groups and NGOs around the world, the first call for proposals elicited hundreds of proposals totalling a request of USD 41million. The original USD 5.6 million that the UK government pledged to the Safe Abortion Action Fund has been enlarged by other governments, namely Denmark, Norway, Sweden and Switzerland, bringing the Fund’s total resources to USD 14.87 million over two years.⁵⁶

- In addition, Britain gave almost USD 13.7 billion to fight poverty in developing countries in 2006 and according to the government, is on course to achieve the United Nations target of donating 0.7% of national income to aid by the year 2013.⁵⁷ In 2007 DFID intends to launch and announce a big initiative on gender and governance that is likely to make funds available for more women’s rights organizations.

In 2007 DFID intends to launch and announce a big initiative on gender and governance

Finally, the trends described below should be viewed with more caution, but still offer the possibility of shifting resources and policies in support of women worldwide:

- New players – not known yet for their gender equality work – such as Korea, Turkey, and Slovak Republic are also increasing their aid programmes to support countries in the region, and additionally, in the case of the Slovak Republic, giving to sub-Saharan Africa. China is also making a huge impact with its aid to Africa and has pledged to double its aid to USD 5 billion in loans and credits to the continent over the next three years. Some observers, however, are nervous that China’s trade and investment agenda in the resource-rich continent will come at a price, with human rights taking a back seat.⁵⁸ Saudi Arabia and the Islamic Development Bank are also new players to monitor in terms of their funds for development and poverty eradication.

- Similarly, the Millennium Challenge Corporation, set up by the US Government to reduce “global poverty through the promotion of sustainable economic growth,” has just passed a gender policy. This new directive influences USD 2.3 billion worth of current projects in several developing countries, so that gender-responsive approaches will be mandatory for any new countries that work with the MCC in the future.⁵⁹ Indeed, this could seriously influence significant aid flows. However, the MCC is not built upon a rights-based approach. Countries will be required

56 <http://www.ippf.org/en/What-we-do/Safe+Abortion+Action+Fund.htm>

57 *Guardian Unlimited*, Monday April 2, 2007, “Some countries are cutting back but UK giving more” by Larry Elliott

58 <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/asia-pacific/6115870.stm>

59 http://www.womensedge.org/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=325&Itemid=46

to “state how their proposed projects would correct gender inequalities that impede economic growth and poverty reduction,”⁶⁰ and thereby further instrumentalize women as engines of economic development.

- The European Commission’s renewed commitment to sexual and reproductive rights in 2004, a response to the US conservative position (the Global Gag Rule and denial of funds to UNFPA) was maintained in 2005 and is repeated in its new policy framework (2007-2010). While this strong progressive voice remains very important, implementation is still weak (in part because of the influence of conservative EU members such as Poland) and procedures for accessing EC funding are complex, highly bureaucratic and slow.

International Non-governmental Organizations (INGOs)

International NGOs are large scale non-profit development and human rights organizations that generally operate from multiple offices throughout the world. They are funded by a combination of contributions from individuals, governments, or other foundations. They constitute a vital set of actors in development policy and program implementation around the world – especially given the fact that some of the largest NGOs have incomes “several times larger than several bilateral donors, are active in more countries and are certainly as influential in their ability to command public and political attention”.⁶¹

INGOs are mentioned by 25% of AWID survey respondents as a source of revenue

With regards to support to women’s rights, INGOs play a significant role. INGOs are mentioned by 25% of AWID survey respondents as a source of revenue (up from 20% in 2000). Furthermore, INGOs account for 14% of the combined revenue of the survey sample (up from 12% in 2000). According to responses to our survey, the following INGOs (among others) have provided funding for women’s rights organizations in the past five years:

- HIVOS
- Cordaid
- ICCO (Interchurch Organization for Development Cooperation)
- Heinrich Boll Foundation
- Oxfam International Members (including Oxfam-Novib, Oxfam Canada, Oxfam UK. etc)
- Action Aid International
- Terre des Hommes
- Kvinna til Kvinna

60 <http://usinfo.state.gov> press release March 2007

61 DFID, 2000 White Paper on Globalization, quoted in Agg, Catharine, *Trends in Government Support for Non-Governmental Organizations: Is the “Golden Age” of the NGO Behind us?*, UNRISD, Civil Society and Social Movements Programme Paper, Number 23, June 2006.

- Medica Mondiale
- Misereor International
- Catholic Agency for Overseas Development
- Rights and Democracy

INGO funding challenges

The history, structure and politics of many international NGOs make many of them complex allies of women's organizations. Inside these mixed organizations, profoundly masculine cultures dominate. Many are emerging from a history of charity, humanitarian relief and self-help development perspectives, seeing the problems of poverty and inequality through the lens of economic factors and slow to recognize the validity of gender analysis. As such, it is an ongoing struggle to bring women's rights into the centre of their work.

Because of their major role in development policy and practice around the world, INGOs have come under heavy scrutiny as well as some criticism. According to a recent UNRISD paper:

"INGOs occupy a unique, and arguably problematic, position within civil society. Not necessarily locally based, INGOs often export elements from a different culture, including aims, staff and working practices. INGOS have multiple identities and loyalties; they represent an element of global civil society, but they are answerable to both public and private donors usually based in a single northern European country; and they work hard to reserve autonomy and adhere to international human rights standards. Each of these – often conflicting – elements, separate INGOs from civil society in their own country and the countries in which they work."⁶²

Multiple identities

Through questionnaires and workshops, AWID has heard considerable input from women's groups in regard to the challenges of working with INGOs. Each of their different and often competing roles – as local service providers, campaigners, humanitarian aid providers, grant-makers, or policy researchers – impact on women's movements around the world. Overall, women's groups argue that it is the mix, or the multiple identities, that make them often such complicated "partners".

Certainly with regards to their role in service provision, even INGOs themselves are questioning their role in taking ever larger shares of

⁶² Agg, Catharine, *Trends in Government Support for Non-Governmental Organizations: Is the "Golden Age" of the NGO Behind us?*, UNRISD, Civil Society and Social Movements Programme Paper, Number 23, June 2006, page 2.

The history, structure and politics of many international NGOs make many of them complex allies of women's organizations. Inside these mixed organizations, profoundly masculine cultures dominate

Increased aid to INGOs by government donors limits their ability to turn around and hold those same governments accountable to their human rights commitments

government and individual donor funds in order to finance welfare provision. While small-scale development efforts by INGOs and other civil society actors continue to be a source of innovation to be replicated, many are concerned that their service provision is unintentionally facilitating a privatization agenda or governments' retreat from this important role in providing essential social and public services for its citizens and their communities. At the same time, given the shrinkage of government in the last decade, many communities around the world would have no education, health or clean water without INGOs. Many donor agencies, however, see INGOs as key intermediaries – aside from governments and local NGOs – in delivering aid on their behalf. While the aid effectiveness agenda emphasizes government support, many governments are actually increasing their support to their domestic (Northern-headquartered) NGOs (refer back to table 1 on page 49 for the data). Another element of this contradictory scenario is that increased aid to INGOs by government donors limits their ability to turn around and hold those same governments accountable to their human rights commitments.

INGOs' role as campaigning organizations has also been criticized by women's rights organizations. Many of the big INGOs are heavily driven by the combination of their global campaigning and their fundraising departments which affect how and with whom they work. From the Global Call to Action Against Poverty (GCAP) to We Can Stop Violence Against Women, these campaigns have left many women's groups feeling used or co-opted. Grants made by INGOs to women's groups often come with pressure to join the global campaigns, yet women's rights organizations have very little decision making role in campaigning agenda and how they are operationalized. GCAP, for example, has worked to bring in women's groups, but has not really integrated a gender analysis in its calls to address poverty. The focus is simplified around more aid and fair trade, but does not explicitly highlight ending discrimination, let alone ever addressing reproductive rights.

The funding sources (or backdonors) for INGOs makes them subject to shifting tides of politics and public opinion. One representative of a UK-based INGO describes the challenges staff face as the institution "focuses more on public relations than development." A recent review of their giving, done by a management consultancy firm, recommended them to focus by funding a fewer number of grants for larger amounts of money. Our respondent is concerned that the results will mean "we fund the larger organizations doing very traditional work".⁶³

63 Interview with UK based INGO representative as part of this research.

Accountability to gender equality

While their multiple roles and the conflicting interests these seem to generate can limit support for women's rights, many INGOs have also been backsliding on their gender equality commitments in their core community development work. One INGO staff describing her organization in recent years with relation to gender equality said "[we] fell asleep". She attributes this to the organization having advanced to a point where it felt too threatening for the majority of its stakeholders and actually pulled back. INGOs themselves, at a meeting co-convened by AWID and HIVOS in November 2006, explain other reasons for the retreat from gender equality and women's rights⁶⁴:

- As within donor governments, the gender mainstreaming agenda took over and it had the effect of decreasing staff, program priorities and budgets to women's rights or women's empowerment-specific work, and as a result gender work tended to evaporate;
- Gender fatigue set in: with so many other competing issues the organization and their own leaders and funders (governments, individuals, faith-based groups) got tired and lost focus;
- In addition to the de-politicization of gender equality through the emphasis on gender mainstreaming (sometimes as "gender-away-streaming"), development aid on the whole has become more technocratic. As ministries outsource development work to INGOs, gender equality and challenging power relations becomes harder to 'log frame'; and,
- Some INGOs emphasize the complexity of gender mainstreaming (the many tools and instruments), others the lack of political will of the mainstream development project officers (ie the will to use their available tools).

Related to this, many INGO staff argue that there are insufficient measures to hold staff and partners accountable to advancing gender equality and in particular, difficulty in tracking the financial resources for women's rights organizations and movements. One member of an INGO shared her experience of how a country director tried to define the spending at the country level on women's rights: "We count half of our program expenditure as 'women's rights' because half the population is women". She had to explain that that justification didn't work!

Action Aid International offers an example of how difficult the accountability question is. In addition to being one of its core themes, women's rights is

There are insufficient measures to hold staff and partners accountable to advancing gender equality

⁶⁴ HIVOS (2006) *Women's Rights – Unfinished Business: What should International NGOs be doing?* International Conference Report, November 2006. Found at www.hivos.nl

also an issue that the organization expects to be included (mainstreamed) in every other theme. When it comes to tracking expenditure, a stand-alone theme makes that task relatively simple. Themes receive a limited “central allocation” of core funding and then are expected to fundraise independently to implement their programs. The central allocation is determined through a process of negotiation in which AAI’s international directors review thematic strategies and requests and submit a recommendation to the Board of Trustees for approval. Funding levels for the themes are determined by a mix of factors, and budget history carries great weight.

However, beyond the “women’s rights theme” it is difficult to track how women’s rights spending happens in the other themes. In addition, AAI is structured as a federation such that many of its country offices are independent organizations and the bulk of AAI’s resources are in the hands of the country offices. Each country office sets its own agenda which may include a combination of the thematic priorities of AAI, but may address other local priorities as well. At the country level, it becomes exceedingly difficult to categorize and track money for women’s rights, therefore. Programs initiated by a women’s rights program officer can be accounted for as women’s rights, but what about a program on violence against girls in schools, initiated by an education officer? Furthermore, AAI does not (yet) have systems in place to track the kind of organization receiving financial support, so it is impossible to say how many women’s organizations receive AAI funding.⁶⁵

Many INGOs are establishing and expanding their offices in the South and actually fundraising from those Southern country offices

Competing for resources

INGO “partnerships” with local and national organizations in the Global South are increasingly thorny, particularly because in many cases they are fuelling competition between unequal players. Many INGOs are establishing and expanding their offices in the South and actually fundraising from those Southern country offices. For numerous local NGOs (based in the Global South), women’s groups included, INGOs are thus seen as a major threat. Indeed, in 2005 INGOs received at least three times more ODA than groups based in the Global South.⁶⁶ Some governments open up competition for funding to include all NGOs, but the requirements themselves are so onerous that only large-scale INGOs with extensive administrative systems can handle the demands. Local NGOs in the South are unable to compete.⁶⁷

Furthermore, with their country offices in the Global South, INGOs are criticized for four other major tendencies:

⁶⁵ Interviews with Koy Thompson and Joan Sawe, Action Aid International.

⁶⁶ OECD DAC Statistics for 2005 from the Development Cooperation Report 2006

⁶⁷ Agg, Catherine, 2006, Ibid.

- absorbing local capacity by offering better wages and benefits and thus as such often recruiting and cherry-picking the best women's rights leaders out of local women's organizations;
- repackaging and claiming credit for women's rights innovations and program efforts that are the product of long-time struggles of under-resourced women's groups which are then sidelined;
- funding their own ideas and campaigns rather than the work happening on the ground -- especially in terms of what would best build strong and effective local and national women's organizations; and,
- increasingly positioning themselves as leaders on women's rights issues, they also attract funding from private sources, raising further concern about competition over resources; given the relative scale of INGOs, they can overshadow key women's rights actors in the eyes of donors and public opinion. This has had a negative impact on the political work done by women's organizations, as they are no longer seen as the valid interlocutors for these issues, with governments and funders preferring to work with INGOs.

Given the relative scale of INGOs, they can overshadow key women's rights actors in the eyes of donors and public opinion.

INGOs outsourcing to local NGOs

Many INGOs receive a significant portion of their income from the national governments in the countries where they are headquartered. They often serve as the "intermediaries" for bilateral donor agencies to channel funding to local NGOs in recipient countries. INGOs are also under increased scrutiny, asked to show the "value-added" of their work beyond money spent and accompaniment provided. This places the INGOs in a difficult position and has created significant tensions, as they are technically responsible for implementing the primary donor agenda while they also try to establish relationships with local "partner" organizations.⁶⁸

A staff person of a prominent INGO comments, "Before, there were 'focus areas' and we looked for counterparts who worked in those areas. Now we have our own programs and we are looking for groups to run those programs, achieve our results. Although the programs are not developed in a vacuum, they're not based on the priorities of our counterparts."⁶⁹

A representative of USAID's Office of Transition Initiatives (OTI), which aims to help "local partners advance peace and democracy in priority countries in crisis", admits OTI aims to get US aid money to local

⁶⁸ Panel on *Financing Civil Society at the Local Level: Are the Results Cost Effective and Sustainable*, World Bank, InterAction, World Learning and USAID, March 2006.

⁶⁹ Interview with INGO representative as part of this research.

organizations through large contractors, including INGOs as well as for-profit consulting firms referred to as “Beltway Bandits” because of their proximity to US government sources (the Beltway is the circular motorway surrounding Washington DC). However OTI has “no mandate for building organizational capacity, they’re not focused on financing local groups [so the burden]... is on the INGO to choose whether and how to use the funding to really reach local organizations in a way that is viable over the long haul.”⁷⁰

These relationships continue to be problematic as long as Northern-based INGOs are the primary vehicle through which funding (in particular ODA) reaches southern-based organizations. According to UNRISD research:

“Donor stipulations for ‘partnerships’ between Northern and Southern NGOs, in which INGOS, because they control the funds, exercise a significant amount of power over their Southern partners, are building lasting hierarchies that seem to be unquestioned by both donors and INGOS. Despite often genuine aims to transfer skills to the South, resulting in endless well-meant “capacity building” programmes, the lack of transparency and trust between partners are undermining attempts to build constructive partnerships. Unless this is addressed, it is something that risks current development paradigms promoting civil society in the South – which could be notionally positive – being suspected of implementing a Northern agenda by stealth.”⁷¹

Opportunities for INGO support

Despite these criticisms of and challenges for the INGO community, their money to women’s rights is not insignificant. Furthermore, inside many of these INGOs are feminists who are pushing for institutional changes and ways to better support women’s movements worldwide. In the last year, several INGOs have strengthened their commitment to women’s rights, and more importantly several of these major INGOs are committed to providing multi-year core funding – like HIVOS or Oxfam-Novib.

According to the head of HIVOS, Manuela Monteiro based in The Hague:

“We all know about gender fatigue. Because gender inequality is very deep entrenched in people’s minds, values, attitudes and behaviour, we require expertise and passion, but also time and perseverance. As donors we keep pushing for innovation to be responsive to the changing global context. We do have to keep in mind however that

⁷⁰ Ibid.

⁷¹ Agg, Catherine, 2006, UNRISD, pg 25.

*it is very innovative to stick to your principles and continue with the hard work of gender justice instead of keeping on chasing after new fashions.*⁷²

And as for INGO support to NGOs in the Global South, Oxfam-Novib's Executive Director, Sylvia Borren, makes this important recommendation:

“Core funding is, for me, the litmus test of the trust we have in certain social leaders and their organizations. Of course we need to share critically our views on values, competencies and results, on opportunities and risks. We have to talk about transparency and accountability, about reporting and financial audits. But having had all these discussions, and having established common purpose, we could let the social leader/organization/artist get on with his or her work. We could give them enough multi-year finance, enough money for overhead, to build a responsible organization with sufficient investment in staff, systems and innovations...Only then are we intelligent funders, who recognize our own role as important facilitators of social change and development – without pretending to be the social transformers ourselves”⁷³.

Thus we find new opportunities with the following organisations:

- HIVOS' core theme “gender, women & development” is one of seven themes. In 2005 it spent USD 10.1 million for women's organizations. HIVOS provides grants especially to organizations in mid-income range, often having the hardest time finding resources to grow and sustain themselves. More importantly, HIVOS has committed to 30% of its overall giving to reach women's organizations by 2010.
- Oxfams collectively allocated just under 10% of total budget to work specifically related to women's rights and minority rights in 2005. Oxfam-Novib's grants budget will grow from 10% to 15% in terms of support to women's rights and minority rights by 2010. And in 2006, Oxfam Canada, with a 12 million dollar budget, committed to making women's rights its core theme.
- At Action Aid, women's rights is one of seven core themes. In 2005 they spent USD 8.2 million on grants to organizations working on women's rights. They remain committed to this theme.
- Rights and Democracy in Canada has seven “programmes and activities”, one of which is “women's rights”. Total spending for that program in 2006 was USD 2,147,518.

⁷² HIVOS, 2006, *Women's Rights – Unfinished Business: What should International NGOs be doing?* International Conference Report, November 2006. Page 12. Found at www.hivos.nl

⁷³ Borren, Sylvia, “Big on opinions and tight on core funding?” in *Alliance*, Volume 11, Number 4, December 2006.

We could let the social leader/ organization/artist get on with his or her work. We could give them enough multi-year finance, enough money for overhead, to build a responsible organization with sufficient investment in staff, systems and innovations...Only then are we intelligent funders

INGO should make a range of different grant sizes available so that both smaller and larger groups have the opportunity to access INGO money and as such scale up their work and their movements.

- Care International launched its “I am powerful” campaign in 2006 which puts a special focus on working with women throughout CARE’s community-based programs in seventy countries. According to Anne Lynam Goddard, CARE’s Chief of Staff: “We can and must step up to support women’s efforts to become empowered and to make a difference in the world.”⁷⁴

- Comic Relief has started to directly fund local organizations, not just through UK-based intermediaries. For now, the focus is on African grant-making organizations as a means of reaching smaller groups on the ground in Africa; as they say “a certain sort of organization” (medium-sized groups, not the most established NGOs) that Comic Relief would not otherwise have the capacity with which to connect. This approach has included a major grant to the African Women’s Development Fund.⁷⁵

- With regards to humanitarian relief, a major aspect of INGO activities which attracts a huge part of the public funding for development, practices and approaches is being reviewed. A handbook on emergency responses (produced back in 1993) that aid workers all use did not include gender perspectives, but a new manual will include gender-specific recommendations. The challenge is whether this new manual will be used given the context of a macho culture (e. g. the prevalence of “relief cowboys” who fly from emergency to emergency). Nonetheless, the manual provides an improved framework from which women’s groups can push for gender-responsive changes during emergencies and humanitarian crises.

Finally, representatives of INGOs and women’s rights organizations are considering new ways of ensuring INGOs support and enhancing the work of women’s rights groups and movements, not undermining them. At the HIVOS meeting of dozens of INGO representatives organized with AWID, several key recommendations were made:⁷⁶

- INGOs should identify and support organizations and movements that can push the agenda. They should make a range of different grant sizes available so that both smaller and larger groups have the opportunity to access INGO money and as such scale up their work and their movements;

- Europe-based INGOs should join forces to lobby for inclusion of women’s rights in the development budget lines at country level and in the European Commission. At present advocacy is too focused on policy issues and disregards budgets;

⁷⁴ See http://www.care.org/newsroom/articles/2006/03/20060301_iap_launch.asp

⁷⁵ *Alliance magazine*, March 2007

⁷⁶ HIVOS, *Women’s Rights – Unfinished Business: What should International NGOs be doing?*, International Conference Report, November 2006. Found at www.hivos.nl

- With regard to global campaigning, INGOs should take a backseat and instead offer their support to women's rights organizations. A more humble and supportive attitude towards Southern partners is needed (including, for example, not putting their own logo on all local actions to increase INGO visibility);
- INGOs can and should support national political campaigns of women's rights organizations when requested to do so;
- INGOs should connect to the women's movement in the North as well, to form alliances in lobbying Northern governments, to educate and organize solidarity;
- INGOs should create opportunities for more freedom for partners to develop their own programs; and finally and most importantly,
- INGOs should work together to provide more core funding for women's rights organizations at each level (national, regional and international).

The women's funds

Throughout the world there is an exciting and growing movement of autonomous and independent public foundations run by women who exclusively support women's organizations or women's rights initiatives. The Global Fund for Women (GFW), based in San Francisco, and Mama Cash in Amsterdam are two leading and well-established women's funds who make grants worldwide. In 2005 Mama Cash provided over USD 4 million to women's rights organizing internationally.⁷⁷ In fiscal year 2005-2006, the Global Fund for Women increased its overall grantmaking by 5% to USD 7.76 million.⁷⁸

There are, however, many more funds in approximately twenty countries, with new ones being established every year.⁷⁹ In fact, in addition to the list below there are new women's funds in the making in the Middle East, the Magreb and Argentina:

African Women's Development Fund - Ghana
 Alquimia Collective Fund - Chile
 Angela Borba Fund for Women - Brazil
 Astraea Lesbian Foundation for Justice - USA
 Bulgarian Women's Fund - Bulgaria
 Central American Women's Fund - Nicaragua

⁷⁷ <http://www.mamacash.nl/site/en/who/facts/index.php>

⁷⁸ <http://www.globalfundforwomen.org/cms/content/blogcategory/33/76/>

⁷⁹ There are hundreds of women's funds within the US that fund locally and are not described here, although the Women's Funding Network, a membership organization of US and international women's funds, is a catalytic force in the development of women's funds worldwide.

Throughout the world there is an exciting and growing movement of autonomous and independent public foundations run by women who exclusively support women's organizations or women's rights initiatives

Filia Women's Foundation - Germany
HER Fund - Hong Kong
Mongolian Women's Fund - Mongolia
Nirnaya Women's Fund - India
Pitseng Trust - South Africa
Reconstruction Women's Fund - Serbia
Semillas Women's Fund- Mexico
Slovak-Czech Women's Fund - Slovak and Czech Republics
Tewa for Women's Empowerment- Nepal
Ukrainian Women's Fund - Ukraine
Urgent Action Fund for Africa - Kenya
Urgent Action Fund for Women's Human Rights - USA
Women's Fund of Georgia - Georgia
Women's Hope Education Action Trust - South Africa

In total, the women's funds (outside of the US, or granting outside of the US) gave USD 15 million to women's organizations all around the world in 2005. In that year, they also collectively earned USD 26.5 million in revenue (down slightly from 2004 due to the Global Fund for Women's large campaign the year before) and held close to USD 27 million in long-term assets.⁸⁰ These figures are impressive given the fact that 12 of these funds were only established in the last five years, (three of them in 2004-2005 in the CEE region).

Furthermore, these organizations literally sustain hundreds of women's organizations worldwide. In fact, the AWID survey found that women's funds were mentioned by 46% of AWID survey respondents as a source of revenue (up from 28% in 2000). Because of their generally small grant size (between USD 4,000 and USD 15,000) they account for only 5% of combined revenue (up from 3% in 2000). That said, for the women's organizations with annual budgets under USD 50,000 (which form the majority) they can often be a main source of income.

The AWID survey found that women's funds were mentioned by 46% of AWID survey respondents as a source of revenue

In terms of their grant-making, many of the funds give to organizations which work on issues or with marginalized groups that have difficulty accessing resources such as indigenous women, peasants, poor women, lesbians, young women, and women with disabilities. They mostly provide core/institutional support and several of them provide travel grants for women's organizations to attend strategic conferences – something many funders do not do. Furthermore, a growing number are integrating capacity-building into their grant-making to allow groups to enhance their abilities, especially around fundraising and evaluation. And while their focus is on small women's organizations, some (especially GFW) also give grants to larger organizations if unique opportunities for making a

⁸⁰ Data compiled by Ellen Sprenger through communications with the women's funds.

difference present themselves. While every year they are overwhelmed with proposals, they continue to rely on volunteer advisors and referees who are involved in women's initiatives to assist in assessing which groups and programs are most deserving, strategic and eligible within the funding criteria.

Positive trends amongst the women's funds

Growth and innovation

Given the importance of the Women's Funds in sustaining the critical work of feminist groups and women's movements throughout the world, the fact that they are growing in numbers and in grant-making bodes well. In fact, women's funds in the Global South and East have tripled their revenue in the last five years (2000-2005). Those funds based in the Global South and East raised USD 18 million in the last five years, and if the growth curve continues, are projected to raise USD 43.5 million in the next five years.⁸¹ They also provide mutual support for growth and innovation, with the larger women's funds (GFW and Mama Cash) financially supporting new and emerging women's funds in their start-up phase.

But where do they get their income to provide grants? If we look, for example, at the African Women's Development Fund (AWDF), one of the largest and fastest growing women's funds, revenue is raised from almost thirty different institutional donors including governments, INGOs, foundations, such as:

- Action Aid International
- American Jewish World Service (AJWS)
- Carnegie Corporation of New York
- Comic Relief (UK)
- CORDAID
- Global Board of Methodist Ministries
- New Field Foundation
- Open Society Institute for West Africa
- The Ford Foundation
- The French, Swiss and Dutch Embassy in Ghana
- The John D. and Catherine T. Macarthur Foundation
- The Mertz Gilmore Foundation (US)
- The Nelson Mandela Foundation (South Africa)
- The Sigrid Rausing Foundation (UK)
- The United Nations Development Fund for Women (UNIFEM)
- Tides Foundation (US)
- United Artists for Africa, USA.⁸²

⁸¹ Ibid.

⁸² <http://www.awdf.org/pages/?pid=4&sid=48>

What is also unique about the women's funds is, unlike the majority of women's organizations, they are more able to effectively raise their funds from individuals

An exciting fundraising model currently being expanded in the United States is called "supermarket philanthropy"

Many of the larger donors see organizations such as AWDF as critical intermediaries who are able to get small amounts of monies to remote and marginalized communities where large funders cannot. In this re-granting therefore, women's funds contribute to the democratization of access to funding to women's organizations in all regions.

Similarly, the Central American Women's Fund has an innovative approach to supporting young women's organizing in the region. When deciding which grants to fund, all grantees are brought together to participate and decide who will get funded, creating a different paradigm of how grant-making is done.

Many of the funds are also explicitly committed to building women's organizations capacities. AWDF and the Central American Women's Fund for example, all have funding criteria explicitly dedicated to strengthening women's organizations capacities in relation to communication strategies, financial skills, strategic planning, governance and much more. Semillas, the Mexican women's fund, for example, has a substantial initiative working with Mexican women's NGOs on building their fundraising capacity. Furthermore, the Global Fund for Women has a special "Now and Never Fund" which specifically funds relevant initiatives that are strategic, under-funded and support movement building concretely.

What is also unique about the women's funds is that, unlike the majority of women's organizations, they are more able to effectively raise their funds from individuals. In 2005, 34% of the revenue for women's funds came from individuals (up from 25% in 2004). While indeed the Global Fund for Women and Mama Cash (based in the Global North but grant-making globally) are the most successful at fundraising from individuals, all the funds have expertise and success in this area. In 2005 AWDF, Alquimia, Nirnaya, Semillas and Central American Women's Fund brought in a considerable amount of their revenue through individuals. Some of these individuals are wealthy philanthropists but many of the contributions to the women's funds come in the form of small donations from hundreds of individuals locally and from their region using a variety of innovative methods.

Mobilizing resources for women's rights work is in fact a specialization of the women's funds, with new strategies emerging every year. An exciting fundraising model currently being expanded in the United States is called "supermarket philanthropy". How it works is that leading brands will market a certain percentage of their product under the "women's brand" in an attempt to expand market share. The brand label will alert shoppers that royalties from each purchase will go to support women's funds. The goal is to make an entire line of "women's brand" household

and grocery products available in supermarkets. As companies obtain a larger share of the market, women's funds will gain in visibility and receive a growing stream of income for their work combating poverty and promoting social justice. If successful, this model could raise millions of dollars annually. The women's brand is an initiative of the Women's Funding Network (in collaboration with the Good Deed Foundation), a membership organization of women's funds globally, and focuses on socially responsible corporations only.⁸³

Growing pains?

As part of this ongoing action research program, important discussions have also taken place amongst women's funds and women's rights organizations about potential challenges and concerns as these funds grow in scale and significance. Some of the issues that need ongoing attention include competition, accountability, and contribution to movement building:

Competition: Women's funds and women's rights organizations often apply for funding from the same sources. Sub-granting organizations to smaller groups are often seen to be more attractive than program focused organizations raising money for complex and long-term advocacy, social justice and movement building work (that said, a growing percentage of the combined revenue of women's funds is from individuals-previously untapped resources).

Accountability: As combined revenue grows, there is an increasing demand for accountability and insight into funding decisions. Not all of the funds have a clear feminist or women's rights approach, nor are they all clear about their theories of change and means of addressing complex long-term structural change in the context of globalization, militarization and growing religious fundamentalisms. Is it enough just to support women and girls, for example, or should the women's funds be taking on the harder task of funding the less mainstream political work needed to transform structural causes of violence, discrimination and patriarchy in general?

Movement-building: With hundreds of grants going out to small women's organizations worldwide there is also a need for increased attention on funding for movement-building. This means, for instance, ensuring that grantmaking is inclusive of capacity building, linking local groups and issues to regional and global work, and supporting overall strategy development of women's movements locally and regionally. Also, with

⁸³ http://ga4.org/fund_forward/notice-description.tcl?newsletter_id=7688455

66% of women's rights organizations with budgets under USD 50,000, women's funds could be bridging the gap between this large group of very small organizations and a much smaller group (23%) with budgets over USD 100,000. They could do this by providing, for example, step up grants to a select group of strategic players with growth potential.

Financial sustainability

Strategically however, the women's funds see the necessity of ensuring financial sustainability of themselves but also women's organizations. Innovative, professional and dedicated women's rights leaders are behind the women's funds. In the words of Bisi Adeleye-Fayemi, AWDF's co-founder and Executive Director, "we will strengthen women's leadership capacities, we will aid in the process of developing knowledge and in building viable women's groups."⁸⁴ To ensure financial sustainability for themselves they:

Women's funds see the necessity of ensuring financial sustainability of themselves but also women's organizations. Innovative, professional and dedicated women's rights leaders are behind the women's funds

- make high level of investments in fundraising, including staff training, databases, financial systems, strategy development, visibility, branding, and communication tools;
- explicitly work to diversify their funding base with an array of revenue sources in order to ensure independence from specific sources of funding; and,
- invest in long-term assets (such as property) that increase in value.

For women's groups, the Women's Funds see the strategic importance of mobilizing an increasing amount of funds from individual donors, as well as from private companies which are ostensibly out of reach for many women's groups. By accessing these new sources of funding for women's rights for grantmaking they become, as some have said, part of the "fundraising arm" of the movement. Furthermore, women's funds themselves have particular programs for their grantees to enhance their financial sustainability. In addition, many Women's Funds are working closely with AWID throughout this action-research initiative. They are bringing together funders and women's rights organizations to deepen the analysis of funding trends and opportunities, as well as developing stronger alliances between funders and women's rights work with the aim of leveraging growing levels of support.

As has been mentioned, many funders see the role of the women's funds in re-granting resources to many small organizations, a function that many

⁸⁴ http://www.awdf.org/index_en.php

big donors cannot provide because of the administrative burden and lack of expertise on women's local realities. In the coming years, therefore, there is potential for the women's funds to absorb larger amounts of ODA funding, in particular to help support the riskier work of women's rights in socially conservative contexts— work that is less likely to get funded by more mainstream donors.

Large private foundations

Of all the funding sectors that AWID has been monitoring, the large private foundations create perhaps the fewest opportunities for women's rights organizations and movements worldwide. Gender equality and women's rights are not high on their agendas and their funding mechanisms and approaches are shifting in ways that inhibit the majority of women's rights organizations to access or benefit from their funding.

Foundations that featured in AWID's survey (from any of the regional or international top twenty lists in the past five years) include the following:

- The Ford Foundation
- MacArthur Foundation
- Gates Foundation
- Open Society Institute
- Packard Foundation
- Hewlett Foundation
- Rockefeller Foundation
- Barrow Cadbury Trust

In 2005 these foundations and other large foundations were mentioned by 13% of AWID survey respondents as a source of revenue (down from 19% in 2000). Furthermore, the combined revenue from large foundations dropped from 20% in 2000 to only 13% in 2005. The table below is further indication of women's rights organizations receiving less from the large foundations:⁸⁵

The large private foundations create perhaps the fewest opportunities for women's rights organizations and movements worldwide

⁸⁵ Based on The Foundation Center data and Open Society Network Annual Reports

	Total giving in 2004	Grants awarded for women and girls	Shifts in their overall giving (compared to 2003)	But in relation to grants for women and girls...
The Gates Foundation (2004 data)	\$1,255,762,783	\$117,114,026 (9.5%)	Total giving increased by 6.2%	Decrease in giving by 64%
Ford Foundation (2004 data)	\$ 522,872,210	\$63,230,722 (12%)	Total giving increased by 21.1%	Decrease in giving by 12%
Open Society Network (2004 data)	\$ 408,095,000	\$5,252,000 (1.2%)	Total giving decreased 4%	Decrease in giving by 12%

Furthermore, according to the Funders Network on Population, Reproductive Health and Rights, funding in this area declined in 2004 to its lowest level since 1999 – to USD 329.5 million, less than half of what it was in 2000-2001.⁸⁶ Stock market crashes and shifting priorities account for some of the change, as well as a growing conservatism within the larger funders resulting in their focusing more on population, and less on reproductive rights. And while more than half of the funding in this area shows the US with more grants made for international work in 2004, the actual average grant size has decreased.⁸⁷

The Ford Foundation has been a steady ally of women's rights organizations worldwide and has remained in the top twenty donors since 1995 (according to the AWID survey). Women's rights is an important cross-cutting issue and many of its program officers have come from the women's movements to support critical work. That said, the Foundation's resources, like other foundations, have appeared to be shrinking in the area of women's rights. In particular, many women's rights organizations that have never received funding from Ford before are currently having great difficulty getting in the door, and those who used to benefit from multi-year core funding are increasingly getting smaller program-based grants.

What is behind the decline

Going international, but using US-based intermediaries

The Foundation Center and the Council on Foundations recently reported that giving by US foundations for international purposes reached a record USD 3.8 billion in 2005. This increase represented a nearly 12% (inflation-adjusted) increase over 2002. The study, based on a sample of 1172 larger US foundations, shows that spending on health is 49% of this funding, largely because of Gates Foundation programs. Eighteen percent of the funding went to global programs, 19% to sub-Saharan

⁸⁶ Funders Network on Population, Reproductive Health and Rights (2006) Funding analysis 2004: Highlights from the Grants Database, June 2006

⁸⁷ Ibid

Africa, 18% to Asia Pacific, 11% to Latin America and the Caribbean, with the rest going to Europe.⁸⁸

While these impressive figures might let us believe that women's rights organizations in the Global South and East will benefit from increased transfers overseas, the report also indicates that less money is going directly to groups overseas. Instead, funding is flowing through US organizations working internationally (mostly INGOs). This trend is due to the fact that foundations are under the microscope by the US government, which is scrutinizing whether philanthropic dollars are ending up in terrorist activities. Because of these new strict Anti-Terrorist Financing Guidelines, foundations are exercising greater caution.⁸⁹ In response, organizations like Grantmakers without Borders, the American Civil Liberties Union and Alliance for Justice are working to influence the current administration to address this counterproductive regulatory framework that is diminishing funds going abroad at a time when they are so badly needed.⁹⁰ Such political challenges in the US also reflect the lack of vibrancy within and the struggles of the US women's movement, which is fragmented and facing serious legal challenges to reproductive rights.

Less money is going directly to groups overseas. Instead, funding is flowing through US organizations working internationally (mostly INGOs). This trend is due to the fact that foundations are under the microscope by the US government, which is scrutinizing whether philanthropic dollars are ending up in terrorist activities

Institutional cultures

Foundations, like other donors, are not exempt from deeper systems of discrimination and patriarchy. A new study and book by Mary Ellen Capek and Molly Mead⁹¹ makes the compelling argument for both increasing diversity in foundations and funding for women and girls in order for foundations to be truly effective. Women and Philanthropy – an association of grant-makers who are dedicated to achieving equity for women and girls – have been working for years to get more women into leadership positions in philanthropic institutions to some success, but that has not translated into more money for women. They see the environment and values in big foundations not conducive to gender justice. Because women have moved beyond the most obvious instances of discrimination in many contexts, they are no longer considered much of a priority. Thinking about what issues are related to gender inequality hasn't evolved.⁹² As a result women's rights take a back seat.

88 Alliance, 2006, "International giving by US foundations reaches record 3.8 billion", *Alliance*, Volume 11, Number 4 December 2006

89 *ibid.*

90 *Alliance Magazine*, Updates, December 2006

91 Capek and Mead, 2006, *Effective Philanthropy: Organizational Success through Deep Diversity and Gender Equality*. MIT Press.

92 Interview with Women and Philanthropy staff.

It has got to be big

These foundations themselves describe the difficulties of supporting women's groups: they are just too small. The foundations are interested in "scaling up", which translates into funding fewer larger groups with larger grants. The list in the following box shows just how large these foundations are, and for them, getting out million dollar grants is just more efficient and will likely show a "greater impact".

Largest foundations in the world (total assets as of end of 2005)⁹³

1. Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation: USD 29.1 billion (prior to Buffett gift)
2. The Wellcome Trust: USD 22.5. billion
3. Ford Foundation: USD 11.6 billion
4. Robert Wood Johnson Foundation: USD 9.1 billion
5. Lilly Endowment: USD 8.3 billion
6. W.K. Kellogg Foundation: USD 7.3 billion
7. William and Flora Hewlett Foundation: USD 7.1 billion
8. Robert Bosch Foundation: USD 6 billion
9. David and Lucile Packard Foundation: USD 5.8 billion
10. Andrew W. Mellon Foundation: USD 5.5. billion
11. John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur Foundation: USD 5.4 billion
12. Gordon and Betty Moore Foundation: USD 5.2 billion

The Gates Foundation dwarfs other large private foundations by far. Last year, in a move that made world headlines, businessman Warren Buffett gave a gift of USD 31 billion to the Gates Foundation (increasing its assets to USD 62 billion). The Gates Foundation annual spending will be around USD 3 billion per year, only slightly less than Canada spent on all its foreign assistance in 2005. The staff is expected to double from three hundred to six hundred within two years. The Foundation, led by three people, Bill and Melissa Gates and Bill Gates Sr, focus on health issues, education, agriculture and micro-lending.

This creation of the mega foundation, or as Time Magazine coined it "Billanthropy" is having all sorts of impact worldwide in terms of driving the AIDS agenda, redefining education in the US and transforming the philanthropic community. The Gates Foundation has become so large it has, for some, "taken over" the HIV and AIDS portfolio. Funders like MacArthur are telling grantees who work on HIV and AIDS that they won't support this work because the Gates Foundation does⁹⁴. The US Government shifted its 2007 budget proposal, removing a program to develop small schools, specifically citing private funding available from Gates and other foundations as the reason.

⁹³ US Foundation Centre Data.

⁹⁴ Personal communication with executive director of international HIV/AIDS advocacy organization.

Given the size of these powerful players, it is unclear what kind of influence they will have on social change processes. As one philanthropy analyst asks:

“What is the proper role of private wealth in filling social needs and setting social agendas in a democratic society?...The unprecedented concentration of philanthropic wealth that will be controlled by three people and directed towards their particular understanding of public purposes deserves to be the subject of ongoing scrutiny, discussion and critiques by all those who will be affected by their decisions – which is to say, by all of us.”⁹⁵

Of note, however, is the Gates Foundation’s bending to public pressure. After a series of in-depth investigation reports by the LA Times on the Foundation’s investments, Gates is reassessing investment policies to determine whether its holdings are socially responsible. The fact that Gates makes this move after the public criticism that the Foundation reaps huge revenues every year from investments that contravene its philanthropic goals (such as companies that contribute to the problems of health housing, environmental sustainability and social welfare) could have other foundations doing the same.⁹⁶

Governance models

Nonetheless, the above insights into organizational culture and increasing foundation influence uncover larger questions about foundation governance. Some have characterized the typical foundation as “autocratic, ineffective and wilful, elitist, cloistered, arrogant, and pampered.”⁹⁷ This is a culture that will take a long time to change and certainly does not create an environment to support long-term political, controversial, and often messy, women’s movement building efforts.

Some have characterized the typical foundation as “autocratic, ineffective and wilful, elitist, cloistered, arrogant, and pampered”

Finding the technical fix and measurable results

Similarly, large foundations have a persistent preoccupation with being able to measure impact. This drives a donor-led model of change that cuts many grantees out if they can’t define or illustrate change fast enough. Foundations of late have tended to “chop and change”. Analysts and women’s organizations alike note that “there is too much emphasis on funding individual programmes and too little on the sustainability of

⁹⁵ Sievers, Bruce, 2006, “Questions reporters should have asked about the Buffett donation”, in *Alliance*, Volume 11, Number 3, September 2006

⁹⁶ *Los Angeles Times*, January 11, 2007, “Gates Foundation to reassess investments”, by Charles Piller

⁹⁷ *The Economist*, February 25th 2006, A survey of wealth and philanthropy

There are far more challenges than opportunities for women's rights activists and organizations when it comes to large foundations

the non-profit organization running the programme. Overheads are seen as a bad thing, and grants tend to be short term."⁹⁸

Finally, there is an overwhelming tendency to use technical approaches to solve political problems...new seeds, new medicines, new financial services. Gates is heavily invested in getting microbicides (compounds that can be applied internally to prevent sexually transmitted infections and HIV) to market as the means to stifle the growth of the AIDS pandemic. Others see gender inequality and addressing poverty as the first priority. Similarly, the Gates Foundation's first effort to tackle poverty and development beyond global health and education focuses on development of more robust disease- and drought-resistant seeds for primary African foodstuff, enhanced distribution networks for seed and fertilizer, and university-level training for African crop scientists. Gates and Rockefeller "have joined forces in an 'Alliance for a green revolution in Africa' by providing USD 150 million to fund technical solutions such as of new crop varieties and improved farming techniques."⁹⁹

To sum up, there are far more challenges than opportunities for women's rights activists and organizations when it comes to large foundations. The trend for foundation-giving in the near future is not expected to be very positive given "record oil prices, ongoing deterioration in the war in Iraq and the continuing explosion of the U.S. national debt."¹⁰⁰ That said, women's rights organizations should not give up on them – but reconsider their own strategies that would attract large grants from this sector, strategies that are offered up in Chapter 4.

Individual giving and small private foundations

There is considerable potential for women's rights organizations and movements to build resources from individuals. Individual giving comes in the form of large gifts from wealthy individuals, or through many small donations received through mail-in requests, pledges, website online donations, forms of membership fees or fundraiser events. More and more individuals are giving to social justice and human rights work locally and globally and thereby increasing opportunities for women's movements to harness individual philanthropy.

According to the AWID survey, in 2005 individual giving was mentioned by 28% of AWID survey respondents as a source of revenue (up from 26% in 2000). Individual giving accounted for 10% of combined revenue (similar

98 Ibid.

99 The Chronicle of Philanthropy, September 13, 2006 <http://philanthropy.com/free/update/2006/09/2006091301.htm>

100 Foundation Center, *Foundation Growth and Giving Estimates*, 2006 Update

to 2000). Individual giving on a global scale represents billions of dollars and growing, as some of these examples and trends demonstrate:

- According to the Hudson Institute's 2006 Index of Global Philanthropy, global philanthropy and private giving from the US amounts to at least USD 71 billion per year – over 3.5 times more than US government official development assistance.¹⁰¹

- International development NGOs in the United States mobilize 71% of their revenue from private donations. In other words, of their almost USD 16 billion in revenue in 2003, over two-thirds was generated from individual giving.¹⁰²

- Twenty-one Americans gave at least USD 100 million to charitable causes in 2006, breaking a new record in philanthropic giving.¹⁰³

- In the coming years and decades literally trillions of dollars will be transferred between generations, as the aging population in Europe and North America leaves estates behind. This wealth transfer also means that more women than ever before will inherit.

- Helen LaKelly Hunt (philanthropist, academic and founder of The Sister Fund) co-chairs an initiative called Women Moving Millions: Women's Fund's Making History, an enterprise to raise gifts of USD 1 million and more for women and girls, with already dozens of members.¹⁰⁴

- Warren Buffet's decision in 2006 to donate of USD 31 billion to the Gates Foundation is the largest single transaction to charity in history. To compare, in current dollars, his USD 31 billion gift is double the total lifetime philanthropic contributions of Andrew Carnegie and John D. Rockefeller combined. Warren Buffett's gift to the Gates Foundation is in sharp contrast to a huge shift in charitable funding in recent years with donors demanding growing levels of control over their contributions by starting small family foundations or establishing donor advised funds. Still, Buffett's gift might have an impact on donors' attitudes to giving, with more donors supporting existing organizations rather than starting new ones.

An initiative called Women Moving Millions: Women's Fund's Making History, is an enterprise to raise gifts of USD 1 million and more for women and girls

101 Centre for Nonprofits and Philanthropy (2006)

102 The Center on Nonprofits and Philanthropy (2006), Non Profits in Focus, Urban Institute Policy Brief "The International Charitable Nonprofit Subsector, Scope Size and Revenue" by Janelle A. Kerlin and Supaporn Thanasombat, No. 2. September 2006.

103 The Chronicle of Philanthropy's annual ranking of the sixty most generous Americans, www.Philanthropy.com

104 See Women's Funding Network (www.wfnet.org)

- In India, the newly rich, such as the CEOs behind companies like Infosys, Wipro and Dr Reddy, are joining other major philanthropists such as the Tata, Birla and Bajaj families. Similarly, in Latin America and Asia, a new generation of wealthy people is increasingly inclined to consider giving.¹⁰⁵

- Mohamed Ibrahim, a billionaire born in Sudan who made his wealth in the telecommunications industry, just established an annual USD 5 million prize for African leaders who demonstrate good governance.¹⁰⁶

- Diaspora philanthropy is being increasingly analyzed as a growing contribution, with remittances from women especially important to community development in Global South countries (see box).

- As the table below shows, individual donations are not just prevalent in rich countries. In fact, other emerging economies such as Mexico and Brazil show increasing levels of individual giving.

	Top 15 countries in terms of individual giving ¹⁰⁷	Giving (% of GDP) ¹⁰⁸
1	United States	1.85 %
2	Israel	1.34%
3	Canada	1.17%
4	Argentina	1.09%
5	Spain (religious groups not included)	0.87%
6	Ireland	0.85%
7	United Kingdom	0.84%
8	Uganda	0.65%
9	Hungary	0.63%
10	Tanzania	0.61%
11	Kenya	0.57%
12	Portugal	0.53%
13	Australia	0.51%
14	The Netherlands	0.49%
15	South Africa	0.47%

Challenges associated with individual giving

Where most of the money goes

The vast majority of individual donations are given to charities or take the form of donations to religious worship groups. In the US a whopping 62% of total donations are to religious causes

The vast majority of individual donations are given to charities or takes the form of donations to religious worship groups. In the US a whopping 62% of total donations are to religious causes.¹⁰⁹ Certainly, a portion of this is to progressive faith-based work, like that of the Unitarian Universalist Service Committee, the American Friends Service Committee and United Methodist Women, but some of it is supporting anti-feminist agendas. Similarly, many of the financial flows are directed at service delivery with only a very small percentage of these donations to groups addressing

¹⁰⁵ *The Economist: Survey of wealth and philanthropy*, February 2006, pg 4

¹⁰⁶ Estanislao Oziewicz, 2007 "Laying seeds for good governance in Africa", *The Globe and Mail*, Monday January 8, 2007.

¹⁰⁷ Johns Hopkins Comparative Nonprofit Sector Project. This overview covers cash and other property gifts and excludes government development assistance and other forms of government subsidies. See <http://www.jhu.edu/~cnp/>

¹⁰⁸ Gross Domestic Product represents the total value of goods and services produced by a nation. Percentage includes donations to religious worship groups.

¹⁰⁹ Indiana University's Centre on Philanthropy Panel Study, as quoted in *The Economist: A survey of wealth and philanthropy*, February 25th, 2006, pg 5

structural causes of human rights violations and social injustices.

A favourable legal and regulatory (tax) environment remains a key requirement for the growth of private philanthropy. A growing number of foundations and philanthropic centers in countries are working to shape philanthropy, both in terms of direction of funding beyond religious purposes, and transforming the legal and regulatory environment.

Big money from a wealthy individual can be a life-changer for an organization, but much of the new money available is coming in the form of social entrepreneurship investment. According to one analyst, “the new rich have often made their money very fast, and get intoxicated with their own brilliance into thinking they can quickly achieve results in the non-profit sector. They forget that their success may have been due to luck and that the non-profit sector may be far more complex than where they have come from.”¹¹⁰ In other words, big donors might be looking for their magic bullet, and when it comes to social and political transformation and women’s human rights, if the magic bullet existed, we would have already used it.

Then there are the celebrities. From Angelina Jolie, to Madonna, Gwyneth Paltrow to Oprah Winfrey, these women and their causes are making “giving back” more high profile and fashionable. For some critics this “charitainment” is a crass sign of our times as famous people, with their naïve and often colonial approach, are role-modeling the wrong way to do good. In the case of celebrities, giving is often part of a burst of media exposure. While we may expect (and hope) that for these celebrities philanthropy is a genuine undertaking, it is also part of a carefully constructed media strategy and public image, turning the celebrity philanthropist into an instant hero. The challenge with celebrity involvement is therefore to keep the spotlight on the true heroes and their courageous struggles, and use star power for leveraging money and visibility for building organizations and movements that address structural causes of poverty and injustice rather than only addressing the symptoms.

How the wealthy give

Huge concentrations of wealth have given rise to private philanthropy. Private philanthropy can take the form of individual donations directly to a specific cause or organization, or through facilitated mechanisms such as the family foundation or philanthropic advisor:

¹¹⁰ Mario Morina of Venture Philanthropy Partners, quoted in *The Economist: A survey of wealth and philanthropy*, February 25th, 2006, pg 3.

***The celebrities.
From Angelina Jolie, to Madonna,
Gwyneth Paltrow to Oprah Winfrey,
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- Family foundations have historically been a preferred mechanism, starting during the industrial revolution when a handful of individuals acquired enormous amounts of wealth. Many of those early family foundations still exist and now take the form of endowed foundations, operated by professional staff independent from the founding family. But many have only been around for less than a decade: in 2004 new family foundations in the US had assets of more than USD 63.87 billion and grant allocations of more than USD 4.17 billion.¹¹¹

- In other cases a family or individual may use the services of a philanthropic organization or advisor. The industry of philanthropic advisers and services is growing rapidly and might dramatically change the funding landscape in the years to come. Donors rely on their advisors to tell them where they should give and therefore become important brokers between groups who need the funds and the wealthy who have money to give.

The real difficulty associated with these two mechanisms is access. How can a women's rights organization in Kenya, for example, get access to wealthy donors in the US or Europe if they won't accept proposals, only use advisors or keep themselves anonymous? Undoubtedly, this money is much more easily accessible for groups based in the Global North than those based in the Global South and East (for whom it is much harder to gain visibility and make connections). This raises questions of responsibility for groups in Global North to make these connections, and democratize access of groups to wealthy individuals.

Small donations from multiple donors

Many human rights groups (such as Amnesty International) and environmental groups (such as Greenpeace) bring in millions of dollars through membership fees from members of whom the majority are women. Membership fees still represent a very small percentage of the total revenue of women's organizations, but have the possibility to grow through creative efforts.

The other means of accessing individual donations is through multiple small donations, a key strategy of the women's funds. But as all the women's funds would attest (as organizations raising 30% of their funds from individuals), successfully raising money from large numbers of individuals requires investments in staff capacity, systems, new communications strategies, well-designed websites and other materials, and networking and visibility in spaces previously not used.

¹¹¹ *The leading 500 New Foundations Funding Women and Girls*, second edition, 2006

Furthermore, INGOs are much better positioned to tap this money – again directly competing for the resources that women’s rights organizations are after (CARE International, one of the largest development NGOs in the world, is currently specifically going after women donors in the US. with great success). For NGOs that are focused on specific campaigns or programs, this requires a redesign of organizational capacity areas. Nonetheless, some strategies do exist, and they are explored further in Chapter 4.

To summarize, individual giving has its obstacles. Individual donors of wealth can be challenging to contact and cultivate, meanwhile individual fundraising campaigns are big investments of time and money. Oftentimes it is harder to convince individuals to support movement building or the long-term agenda of women’s rights because they are more likely to be interested in addressing an emergency, or someone’s direct personal needs. And due to the fact that there is more wealth in the North and a deeper culture of philanthropy, these resources are more accessible to groups based in Global North.

Nonetheless, there are increasing opportunities in the South. Wealthy individuals throughout the Global South and East are getting more into philanthropy. Even small donations from individuals or membership fees can help contribute to greater sustainability and independence. They also help to leverage funding from institutional donors. With more and more money overall in the hands of women (with more women to inherit great wealth than ever before in the Global North) there is strong likelihood that women’s rights groups in the Global South will benefit, especially as those in the Global North are sending more funds overseas.

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The potential of diaspora giving

Women constitute half of the estimated 190 million international migrants worldwide and are responsible for the largest amount of remittances. The UNFPA’s State of the World Population Report 2006 reported that women sent home at least USD 232 billion in 2005. These funds are for many countries, like Sri Lanka, Philippines or Bangladesh, the main sources of economic development.¹¹² Similarly, through many small, local initiatives, Mexican migrant communities in the US have organized themselves into “home-town associations” to raise money for their communities in Mexico. An increasing amount of attention is being paid to diasporic communities, seeking more ways of contributing to long-term social change.¹¹³

112 According to the UNFPA report, Bangladeshi women working in Middle Eastern countries sent home 72% of total remittances in their country, of which 52% were earmarked for families’ daily needs, health care and education.

113 Barbara Merz and Lincoln Chen (2005), “Diaspora giving and equitable development in Mexico” in *Alliance Magazine*, Volume 10, Number 4, December 2005

In fact, Mama Cash published a major report “She Gives Back: Migrant women’s philanthropic practices from the diaspora” that found educated refugee women are found to be very active in diasporic philanthropy.¹¹⁴

That said, however, the majority of women migrants are financially and emotionally stretched. They should not be seen as responsible for supporting women’s rights agendas “back home”, but as important contributors who deserve recognition and support.

“Corporate giving has long had a reputation as the sleaziest corner of philanthropy”

Corporate philanthropy

Corporate philanthropy is the final funding sector that this report examines. Amongst women’s organizations it remains the most controversial source of funds. Even The Economist notes that “corporate giving has long had a reputation as the sleaziest corner of philanthropy.”¹¹⁵ In fact, corporate philanthropy was mentioned by only 2% of AWID survey respondents as a source of revenue (up from 1% in 2000), and funding from business or corporations accounts for less than 1% of combined revenue of respondents.

Many women’s organizations are suspicious of corporate funding and wary of reconciling corporate interests alongside women’s rights. In some cases, businesses are involved in exploitative labour practices or environmentally unsound production and seek partnerships with NGOs in an effort to clean up their reputation. Similarly, a growing number of corporations look to increase their market share by associating themselves with “good” causes – recognizing the value this holds for consumers – and they can see that “doing good” has a positive impact on the bottom line. Most programs of corporate giving are still add-ons and not linked to broader corporate social accountability. In many circumstances, “corporate foundations in practice are often treated as a sort of slush fund into which the chief executive can dip to help a pet cause, enhance his status in the community or even cement a business relationship with a donation to a cause close to a business partner’s heart.”¹¹⁶ At the same time it is also evident that the concept of social accountability is leading a growing number of corporations (and customers) to see that “doing good” needs to be built in to daily operations and

114 Mama Cash, 2006, *She Gives Back: Migrant women’s philanthropic practices from the diaspora, Research Report.*

115 The Economist, February 25th, 2006, A survey of wealth and philanthropy, pg 7

116 *ibid.*

activities. The dilemma however is that the largest corporate foundations – from Wal-Mart and Pfizer to Shell and Exxon – have tainted reputations for their employment, community and environmental practices and yet several of them want to give to women’s causes.

This year the ExxonMobil Foundation announced USD 5 million in new grants to educate women and girls in Africa, bringing the total commitment for this initiative to USD 11.5 million since its inauguration in 2005. Funds will help to “reduce barriers that prevent girls from attending school and provide women with training to start or improve businesses and nonprofit organizations”.

According to the corporation’s CEO in their press release: “We launched the Educating Women and Girls Initiative because an extensive body of research demonstrated that expanding education and resources for women and girls is one of the most effective ways to promote health and development”.

ExxonMobil has made billions in profits in Africa and yet has come under international criticism for its environmental practices, human rights record in Nigeria and underhanded campaign to deny scientific research findings in relation to climate change.¹¹⁷

Seizing the opportunities within corporate philanthropy and the business sector

In this globalizing world, if we ask ourselves “where is the money?” the answer quite simply is that it is concentrated in corporations. This is leading an ever-increasing group of women’s rights activists to ask, how can we engage with corporations and business without selling our souls? How do we get funding and maintain our legitimacy?¹¹⁸ To answer these questions, it is important to acknowledge first that corporations, like women’s groups, are not homogeneous and when we talk about money coming from the private sector, nationally or locally-owned enterprises are potential sources of financial resources and in-kind contributions.

There are many different sources of funding from the private sector with different approaches, agendas, levels of compliance and leadership in the area of social accountability and implications for women’s rights organizing. It is a matter of determining what kind of relationship in which we are willing to engage, without being used or hurting the legitimacy of the work. And more importantly, engagement with the private sector creates opportunities for pushing for more ethical behavior and respect for labour and environmental standards.

In this globalizing world, if we ask ourselves “where is the money?” the answer quite simply is that it is concentrated in corporations

¹¹⁷ See www.corpwatch.org

¹¹⁸ Questions from the floor, Money and Movements Meeting, Querétaro, Mexico, November 2006.

Around the world women's groups are supported by local businesses and companies that provide in-kind donations from paper, photocopiers, computers, pro bono legal services, or Coca Cola at their workshops.

In-kind contributions: Many women's organizations find the easiest relationship is through accessing in-kind contributions. Around the world women's groups are supported by local businesses and companies that provide in-kind donations from paper, photocopiers, computers, pro bono legal services, or Coca Cola at their workshops. Businesses or stores are often willing to keep collection boxes next to cash registers to collect change for local NGOs. An IT company might donate software, computers, or someone to design a website or database program. Restaurants or hotels will provide meals or meeting spaces for NGO meetings and events. National companies too might have small grants to sponsor local events to ensure their product gets visibility amongst a female audience. These contributions can have a large value, for example in the form of airtime in national television networks.

Grants: In the meantime, larger grants in cash are also coming from a growing number of global corporations. This trend is a result of rising awareness of corporate responsibility alongside enlightened companies that see this in the interest of both their shareholders and their employees who want their own sense of "doing good" and pursuing a triple bottom-line. And when they give, they are more often doing so as part of their overall core corporate strategy.

Clearly, some of these corporations would be untenable for many women's groups – such as Nestle, with its infamous infant formula scandal that now invests a lot in what it calls "milk-production systems" to support a reliable supply in countries of the Global South.¹¹⁹ Others might provoke a more mixed response, such as the Playboy Foundation, associated with the barely-clad girly magazine empire, which actually supports organizations working for abortion rights in the United States. Nonetheless, there are a number of corporate donors that provide considerable levels of support to women's issues worldwide, for example:

Levi Strauss Foundation: Levi's supports many women's rights organizations, with a goal to have the most significant impact to alleviate poverty among women and youth in three areas: building assets, preventing the spread of HIV and AIDS and workers' rights. On the latter, for example, foundation staff recognize that Levi's will only make changes in women's worker rights if it can support the labour movement, a movement that is fragile and fragmented. According to Foundation staff Jill Southard, Levi's sees labour rights groups playing a key role alongside corporations to ensure that rights are protected, especially when it is sub-contractors that are determining labour conditions.¹²⁰ Needless to say, it is not straightforward for most labour groups to take corporate money if they are to be recognized as supportive of internationally established workers' rights.

119 The Economist February 25th, 2006 Survey on wealth and philanthropy

120 Money and Movements session on Corporate Philanthropy

The Nike Foundation: This is a relatively new corporate grant-maker that has been criticized for years in relation to workers' rights in its factories in developing countries. It is, however, willing to engage in dialogue around this criticism and controversy. The Nike Foundation made nearly USD 5 million in grants in 2005 in its first year of operations. With a particular focus on adolescent girls, this Foundation wants to fund initiatives for sustainable long-term change.¹²¹

Avon Foundation: This cosmetic company raised and awarded USD 500 million worldwide in 2006, giving extensively to women's issues including domestic violence and breast cancer (though primarily in the United States).

Cisco Systems: In 2005 Cisco gave USD 65 million in cash and in-kind donations mainly focused on women and girls in relations to science, technology and particularly computers. Cisco's vested interest is to ensure that there will not be a shortage of skilled workers in the coming decades, as some predict.¹²²

The Toyota Foundation: This Japan-based foundation gives funding to individuals, not organizations, for research projects, conferences or public seminars, publications, or other modalities, with grant sizes up to USD 150,000. To date it has funded a considerable amount of gender-specific research, particularly in Asia.¹²³

Alcoa Foundation: This aluminium giant, through its Foundation, has awarded over USD 26 million in grants around the world in 215 communities. It has a particular focus on the environment, health education, people with disabilities and violence against women.

JP Morgan Chase: This financial institution, with a whopping USD 1.4 trillion in assets, gives money in the 51 countries that it works in around a range of issues including affordable housing, quality jobs and business opportunities (though many of its investments would not pass an ethical screen).

With more corporations and businesses coming into philanthropic endeavours it is more important than ever for women's rights organizations to determine clear criteria as to which kinds of businesses are better or worse with which to work. Many groups will adopt basic ethical guidelines that ensure that they do not take funds from businesses that produce tobacco or weapons, use child labour, exploit workers or

121 Alisha Fernandez (2006), *Funding Equality: How Corporations are Giving Women and Girls a Chance to Succeed* at <http://www.onphilanthropy.com/site/News2?page=NewsArticle&id=6583&JServSessionIdr003=v3ts9rd7p1.app8b>

122 Alisha Fernandez, *ibid.*

123 www.toyotafound.or.jp/etop.htm

The Calvert Women's Principles have been adopted by Dell and Starbucks and with greater visibility and pressure from the women's movement could be extremely useful in pursuing more substantive corporate accountability in relation to gender equality

pollute the environment. A much more stringent set of principles are those established by Calvert that go into great detail around how companies must ensure gender equality, including in their marketing and practices of their suppliers.¹²⁴ The Calvert Women's Principles have been adopted by Dell and Starbucks and with greater visibility and pressure from the women's movement could be extremely useful in pursuing more substantive corporate accountability in relation to gender equality. In the meantime, there are some NGOs, like the Maquila Solidarity Network, that are working on developing a grading system on corporate funders that would be useful to labour groups and women's rights NGOs. A project of the Women's Environment and Development Organization (WEDO) is tracking corporate malfeasance against women and publishing company names and abuses online at www.misfortune500.org.

Co-branding: A more recent phenomenon is also finding social justice advocates and organizations working with corporations to launch products whose sales generate income for specific causes **and** help corporations gain market share. Examples are "Women's Brand Philanthropy" for women's funds globally (described earlier under the women's funds section) and (PRODUCT)^{RED} for HIV and AIDS funding.

Across North America and Europe in 2006 (PRODUCT)^{RED} received a huge amount of publicity. This brainchild of Bono and his group DATA (with magnanimous promotion by Oprah Winfrey), was a vehicle to engage the private sector and the public in the fight against AIDS in Africa. According to its founders, "it aims to raise awareness and money for The Global Fund to Fight AIDS, Tuberculosis and Malaria by teaming up with the world's most iconic brands to produce (PRODUCT)^{RED} branded products. A percentage of each (PRODUCT)^{RED} product sold is given to The Global Fund. The money helps women and children affected by HIV/AIDS in Africa. Private sector partners include: American Express, Converse, Gap, Giorgio Armani and Motorola".¹²⁵ While indeed the "RED" campaign has generated awareness amongst some trendy people and resources, the fact remains that consumers can feel virtuous from simply purchasing a red Motorola phone or exorbitant red Armani sunglasses without ever having to contemplate the causes of global poverty or gender discrimination that underlies the spread of HIV/AIDS and the impact of over consumption on the environment. With its tagline "What better way to become a good-looking Samaritan?!" campaign RED further reduces solving global inequity through a simplistic

124 Find the Calvert Women's Principles at <http://www.calvert.com/womensPrinciples.html>

125 Quoted from the <http://www.joinred.com/> The Global Fund to Fight AIDS, Tuberculosis and Malaria was established in 2002, with the support of the world's leaders and UN Secretary General Kofi Annan, to dramatically increase resources to fight three of the world's most devastating diseases and to direct those resources to areas of greatest need by supporting locally-driven strategies. By late 2006, the Global Fund had committed USD 5.2 billion to more than 363 programs in 131 countries.

consumerist and charity-oriented model, one that fits nicely into a neo-liberalist approach. Unfortunately, this makes it all the more difficult to persuade citizens, consumers and donors to invest in the less flashy, more complex and slower process of systemic change demanded to achieve gender equality.

Social entrepreneurship: A fourth means of corporate philanthropy is carried out by businesses that integrate social change, ethics and sustainability concerns directly into their business model. There are countless examples such as Divine, the first ever fair trade chocolate bar aimed at the UK mass market. It uses a new business model whereby the co-operative of women cocoa farmers in Ghana owns shares in the company making the chocolate bars. Anita Roddick's Body Shop has pumped millions into violence against women work while at the same time has sought to create all its products through environmental, cruelty-free, and often fairly-traded means. Mohammed Yunus' Grameen Bank provided over USD 4 billion in micro-finance to three million mostly Bangladeshi women since it began. Because of the extremely high repayment rates, the Bank became totally self-financing as of ten years ago. According to Yunus, "The Bank's profit is just exploding. We have more profit than we can handle. One of our worries right now is 'What are we going to do with our surplus money?' This is a pleasant problem. We are getting involved in a lot of things to see whether people can channel that profit into more productive activity."¹²⁷

While any of these models – from social enterprises and donations to co-branding initiatives – may indeed bring new financial, technical and human resources into investing in women, the question remains for us all as to how much we can ensure that these efforts promote women's rights and can contribute to strengthening women's movements. Generally, most corporations or social-business enterprises will take a much more mainstream or conservative approach to the advancement of women, as our examples, from Exxon to Grameen, demonstrate. Similarly, while one arm of a corporation, like Nike, might be doing good through their support for adolescent girls, the other arms of the business are coming under fire from human rights groups for their labour practices. Regardless, funding opportunities do exist for women's rights organizations through corporations and private business, but overall collaboration is, quite simply, a complicated business.

Divine, the first ever fair trade chocolate bar aimed at the UK mass market uses a new business model whereby the co-operative of women cocoa farmers in Ghana owns shares in the company making the chocolate bars

¹²⁶ www.divinechocolate.com/about/story.aspx

¹²⁷ Ashoka, *Business-Social Ventures: Reaching for Major Impact* www.changemakers.net/journal/03november/index.cfm

Chapter 4: How should we mobilize new resources for building stronger feminist movements and advancing women's rights worldwide?

We believe that we must situate the issue of building the collective power of our feminist and progressive women's movements as a central focus of our agendas. Does this mean that if our organization is doing good work and is getting sufficient resources to do so, this in itself is enough to change society? No, it is not enough. We need to change our perspective and understand that our capacity to bring about major social changes is influenced by our capacity for connecting our strategies, for sharing our dreams, for forging alliances and thus going beyond the survival of our organizations by thinking and acting collectively. This also means that we have to re-think our relationship with money and funding, both amongst ourselves as well as with other key actors including the funding agencies themselves.

*Lydia Alpízar Durán, AWID
Money and Movements Meeting,
November, 2006.*

***Our capacity to engage with donors
is political, not only as it relates
to our resources, but in relation to
our capacity as political actors and
change agents***

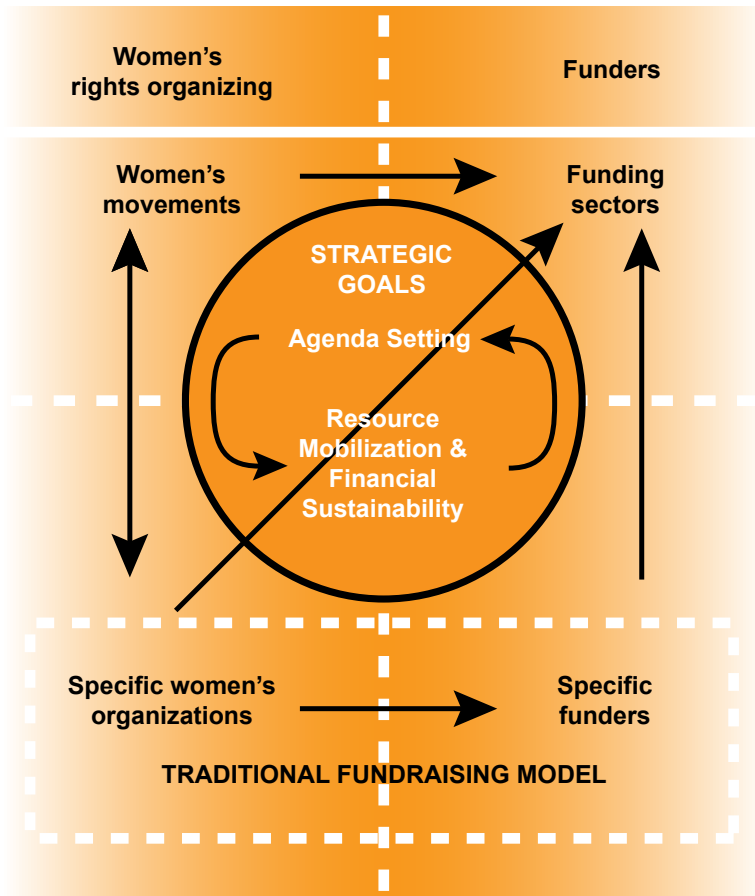
This final chapter looks at strategies, proposals and tools for mobilizing and using new resources to build stronger feminist movements and organizations.

As this report argues, our capacity to engage with donors is political, not only as it relates to our resources, but in relation to our capacity as political actors and change agents. In other words, how we talk to donors is a political exercise as we claim entitlements and legitimacy on the one hand and influence donor agendas on the other.

This does not mean that we create a cadre of organizations that just become better fundraisers. In fact, mobilizing resources for stronger women's rights movements and organizations implies a significant shift from traditional approaches. Financial sustainability requires us to mobilize more resources for the long-term agenda of promoting, protecting and

guaranteeing women's rights, for our own work and the movement. To do so effectively and astutely, we need to both better understand the nature of resource flows as well as find creative ways to influence budgets and to where the money is being channelled. By doing so, we build our political agency, we expand resources for women's rights agendas, and we shift de facto public policy by increasing the visibility and legitimacy of both women's rights issues and the role of women's movements as important agents of change.

This conceptual shift from fundraising to agenda setting and movement building is expressed schematically in the diagram below¹. It suggests that by moving away from one organization dealing with one funder at a time to movements of groups and organizations working with and influencing funding sectors, funding policies, or funding mechanisms we are more likely to shift more resources into women's rights work and influence agendas by demonstrating women's agency and collective power.



¹ This diagram was developed by Lydia Alpízar Durán and Ellen Sprenger.

We call for new approaches that challenge the disconnects that funders and NGOs have reinforced

This new paradigm also implies more specific strategies on how to shift women's rights organizing for financial sustainability. In this chapter therefore we call for new approaches that challenge the disconnects that funders and NGOs have reinforced, that build collective power and recuperate politics into our organizing, that enable greater autonomy for the movement and enhance feminist transformative leadership.

1. Prioritizing the building of collective power

In recent years, the power of neoliberalism and fundamentalisms, coupled with the depoliticization of advocacy by some powerful NGOs eager for quick technical answers and concerned with branding, has led us back to the questions of organization, consciousness, and the issue of movement-building.²

Just Associates, 2006

A revitalized ethos of solidarity is urgent; one that bridges divisions of class, as well as other differences such as: rural and urban, educated and grassroots activism, English-speaking and other language speakers, young activist and those from other generations. It must also be inclusive of indigenous women, women with disabilities, sex workers and members of other groups whose voices should be amplified

First and foremost women's rights movements need to be strengthened in order to effectively take on patriarchy in all its forms as it relates to poverty, HIV and AIDS, religious and conservative political agendas, and increasing conflict and environmental degradation. A group of NGOs does not a movement make – and when NGOs are competing for financial resources our foundations for collective action further crumble. In South East Asia, for example, some see that women's movements have been largely professionalized and are often perceived as exclusive. This especially plays out in relation to the gap between grassroots activists and others in the movement (e.g. those on the ground versus those in the "limelight", or those who speak English). In Africa, as in most places, activists note how differences in language, culture, religion, politics, and economics impact on our abilities to organize, strategize, and implement our agendas.

Thus, a revitalized ethos of solidarity is urgent; one that bridges divisions of class, as well as other differences such as: rural and urban, educated and grassroots activism, English-speaking and other language speakers, young activist and those from other generations. It must also be inclusive of indigenous women, women with disabilities, sex workers and members of other groups whose voices should be amplified.

² Just Associates, 2006, *Making Change Happen: Power, Concepts for Revisiting Power for Justice, Equality and Peace*, Series number 3. This document is recommended reading for any activist or researcher concerned about transforming power.

As such, women's rights activists are demanding the creation of more platforms for coalition-building:

- Opportunities for women to come together need to be created, organized and funded, with processes designed explicitly to overcome divisions and build bridges between feminist movements in the region and with other social actors and movements.
- Women's movements in each region need the opportunity to do collective reflection and analysis of their changing contexts, building a shared vision to be achieved as feminists and women's rights activists.
- These spaces for planning and reflection should be used to clarify ideology and values (to include "non-negotiables" for example, of women's bodily integrity, indivisibility of rights, diversity as strength, women's agency, etc) as well as for coordinating activities, networking and developing mechanisms for widening the base of the movement and the field of work related to women's rights.
- Planning and strategizing should also focus on resources – how to tap them and how to invest them – underlining that any identification of priorities for funding to strengthen women's movements would have to be generated through a genuinely democratic process in the region, especially since some groups and issues have dominated access to resources in the past.³

Collective organizing and planning needs to also incorporate greater sharing of resources; rising above competition. United we stand, divided we fall, and therefore creative approaches need to be applied to how groups share assets, especially to support the functioning of smaller community organizations, such as legal and financial specialists, fundraisers, office space, funding for meetings, information on donors, communication technologies and more.

2. Engagement with donor allies

Donors not only need to be influenced in order to increase their spending on women's rights organizations and movement building, but the internal champions within donor agencies need to be supported. Donors and women's organizations alike need to challenge the disconnects that both sides have reinforced in order to better understand each other's theories of change, approaches to women's rights and gender equality, political ideologies and most effective ways of collaborating. Specifically:

³ Many of these recommendations emerged from the Money and Movements meeting in Querétaro, November 2006. More details on the regional-specific proposals can be found on the AWID website at http://www.awid.org/go.php?pg=mm_resources

- Women's rights organizations should come together to explicitly look at the issue of resources for the movement in their sub-region, especially the least resourced groups, as well as their issue area. They should map who is doing what, who are the funders, and who are the potential funders. Meetings with and for donor allies should happen regularly, with proactive strategic agendas on the table, instead of allowing the donors to define the agenda on behalf of the movements. Women's rights advocates should also seek ways to support internal champions so that they can better influence their funding institution.

- Women's groups should come together to develop, apply and learn from alternative evaluation systems with indicators designed by and for women's movements, according to our realities and strategic needs and that measure change in more realistic terms. Funders and women's rights advocates are equally keen to know how to measure impact and learn what works; the key is for women's movements themselves to be driving evaluation processes and not having them imposed.

Women's groups should provide recommendations to donors on how to make their funding more democratic, accessible to small and community-based organizations and strategic

Women's rights activists should seek new terms of engagement with donors. Beyond pushing them to rethink their approach and prioritization of women's rights, women's groups should work collectively (giving themselves more clout) to discourage funders from imposing agendas, aggressively pursuing and headhunting women NGO leaders with often negative effects on the organizations they leave behind, stealing or taking credit for ideas coming from the movement, or representing women as victims or passive recipients of aid. Women's groups should provide recommendations to donors on how to make their funding more democratic and, accessible to small and community-based organizations and strategic. With renewed commitments to strengthening movements, donors can invest more in alliance building, networking, linking and learning as well as supporting endowments for national women's organizations to build a strong institutional base for the movement.

I found it very interesting to see how funders and activists function together – this is very subtle, but what I mean is that the meeting was a great opportunity to express the ways of seeing the world, the priorities, the criteria, of one and other – and, of course, I could observe that the dividing line is not donors versus activists, but that in both sectors there are people who have affinity (and others that don't) because they share a vision about the world.

– Alejandra Sardá, MULABI, Argentina

3. Create more autonomous funding for sustaining our movements

We need to be much louder and more vocal in claiming our rights and our right to ask for more money for women's rights and movements.

– Jivka Marinova,
*Gender Education, Research and Technologies
(GERT), Bulgaria*

As their organizations have become more professional, many women's rights activists have found themselves, more accountable to funders than to their constituencies. Funding has fragmented movements and made women's rights work more vulnerable as a result of the volatility of funding shifts (as Chapter 2 and 3 have illustrated). As a result, many women's rights activists are looking at different models and possibilities to create more autonomous funding, especially to support those activities that most donors will not fund, but are fundamental to sustained impact. These include political mobilization or rapid solidarity actions.

Some specific suggestions include:

- Building a women's trust in Africa that holds property, stocks, and a revolving loan fund for start-up for women's businesses;
- Investing in scaling-up women's funds as an alternative resource for supporting and sustaining ongoing work (see also Chapter 3, section on Women's Funds);
- Creating a South Asian women's fund, grounded in a mandate that is developed through an innovative participatory process (through tribunals and fora) that would convene poor, marginalized women to enable them to voice their priorities on how available resources should be used;
- The following bold proposal made by women from across Eastern and Western Europe :

"We want to create a European feminist fund to build movement and clarify the concept of feminism. We want to build common ground and agendas throughout the European region. The Fund would invest in: a pension fund for feminists; a retirement home with a vineyard in Tuscany; a center for training and capacity building in Croatia; and a retreat for activists recovering from burnout in Greece.

Many women's rights activists are looking at different models and possibilities to create more autonomous funding, especially to support those activities that most donors will not fund

*Why? Because this means the sustainability of the movement. By securing funds and supporting feminist leaders at every point in their lives we're sustaining feminist activism. The Fund can sustain itself, because feminist organizations from around Europe will also be giving to the fund. There will be training centers for young activists, grant giving to take the spirit of feminism further and implement actions for social and cultural change in this region. Once a year, we will measure, evaluate and report what has and hasn't been achieved."*⁴

4. Leadership development and support

Supporting women's rights leaders and developing leadership requires both succession planning and support for young activists, but as the proposal from Europe suggests, there is a major need to create spaces where older feminists can retire, be assured of a pension fund to give them financial security and to ensure they can continue actively contributing to women's rights struggles.

In fact, sustaining women's rights movements is about multi-generational leadership development and engagement. As such, women's rights activists from around the world have prioritized this critical work in different ways:

- Establishing leadership training centres that would build the capacity of younger feminist generations and facilitate intergenerational dialogues between feminists;
- Re-capturing and re-articulating the vision and political agenda that is rooted in social justice, with explicit core values and principles;
- Mapping the landscape by identifying the skills, actors, resources, common issues, and the leaders for future development. As several have remarked, "Right now we don't effectively know what we are all doing on which issue and how we could build our leadership";
- Focus on strengthening grassroots and community organizations to ground, broaden and strengthen feminist work. That also implies bypassing the "gate-keepers"—those who get most of the resources and access to influence and don't share them.

Supporting transformative women's rights leadership presents different challenges by region, but overall, what is needed are more opportunities and resources to be able to become significantly more proactive and

⁴ AWID Money and Movements meeting, Facilitators notes: http://www.awid.org/go.php?pg=mm_summaries

connected to other major social movements. This in turn will enable the movement to come out of the margins and be viewed as centrally relevant to the solutions of the major challenges this planet faces currently. As one activist put it, “the fact that we know that feminist approaches to poverty and violence, if applied, would make all the difference in the world, doesn’t matter: we need proactive leadership with vision, collective power as well as humour to take on the global agenda from our villages to the UN to the corporate board rooms.”

Finally, in this last section we provide more specific recommendations for building resources for the movement. This last section offers straightforward guidelines on how to build a resource mobilization strategy and do fundraising more effectively. Unlike other fundraising tools, these guidelines are geared towards financial sustainability of our organizations and movements and what it means in practice to strengthen our collective women’s rights work.

Guidelines on how to develop a feminist resource mobilization strategy

In this final section we present some guidelines, tools and ideas on how best to build a feminist resource mobilization strategy. In our view, this would address financial sustainability for our organizations and our movements, where resource mobilization processes are political acts built upon feminist values.

While recognizing that every organization is at a different stage of growth, with varying capacities and budgets, all organizations can have such a strategy – no matter how small or young. We consider seven processes or activities as part of planning and implementing a resource mobilization strategy, described in greater detail below. These are:

1. Analyzing the landscape for resource mobilization: where’s the money?
2. Planning for revenue growth and income diversification
3. Building long-term assets and reserves
4. Leveraging resources for and with allies
5. Engaging and communicating with donors
6. Evaluating your impact
7. Investing in organizational capacities

We need proactive leadership with vision, collective power as well as humour to take on the global agenda from our villages to the UN to the corporate board rooms

1. Finding the money: understanding the landscape

First, consider that there are many different sources of revenue (as described in the last chapter), from different funding sectors to individual donations, even membership fees and income generating activities for your organization. To find out relevant funding sources:

- Ask your peers where their income comes from, who their contacts are, how they have had success. In the same way, share that information with others;
- Ask your existing donors of other funding sources that you should be pursuing;
- Consult existing data on funding landscapes, such as AWID's research;
- Do internet searches: look at funders listed on websites of like-minded organizations, women's funds, or internet searches of foundations, trusts, bilateral agencies and see if their funding criteria fit with your work;
- Identify people with funding connections and resource mobilization expertise that you can consult or, if necessary, hire to assist in the development of your strategy;
- Before you set out to find funding be clear on whom you *won't* take money from and why. For example, some funding sources might have spending conditionalities that would undermine your activities or not share your values.

If we continue to work from a mentality of scarcity, we will continue to compete, and therefore the movement will become even more fragmented. Instead, we all need to shift into a mentality of abundance by acknowledging that there are vast amounts of money available.

Remember to be creative when looking at different sources, even if they say they don't have a women's rights focus. If a funder, local business or individual is interested in community health, human rights, HIV and AIDS prevention, peace-building, civil society development, good governance, economic justice or livelihoods and so on, be sure to demonstrate how women's rights work is central to all these thematic areas.

2. Planning for revenue growth and income diversification

If we continue to work from a mentality of scarcity, we will continue to compete, and therefore the movement will become even more fragmented. Instead, we all need to shift into a mentality of abundance by acknowledging that there are vast amounts of money available. The key however to harnessing those funds is to demonstrate that your work can make a significant difference and that without women's rights there can be no

social justice, no human rights, no economic development.

This also means that we cannot be fearful of seeking and asking for larger amounts. The more we ask for the more we get: we all need to think big and long term.

Once you've shifted your thinking about what's possible, think boldly about your plans for the organization and the movement:

- Does your organization have an ambitious strategic plan? How does it relate to other actors in the movement, or in other movements?
- Be clear about how you see change happening, your planned outcomes and ways in which you intend to have an impact.

Then, consider and plan for growth projections for the next three years based on opportunities and organizational goals, (for example, in your plan your organizational revenue and expense budgets grows by 20% per year).

In planning for growth, another key is to **diversify**. Seek the optimum balance of different sources of revenue to ensure your independence while taking into consideration the administrative burden of different reporting and spending requirements and income stream management. Autonomy from donor-driven agendas and conditionality is possible if income is received from several different channels.

The more we ask for the more we get: we all need to think big and long term.

3. Building long-term assets and reserves in the short term

Long-term sustainability of our organizations and our movements require us to consider building assets that provide security over the long run. Long-term assets include real estate, land, investments or endowments. Clearly, as this research shows, 82% of the organizations in the AWID sample had no such investments in 2005, given how small most organizations are. While it is therefore unimaginable for many groups, it is something to strive for in the long run as part of a sustainability plan.

But many ask, how is it even possible to build up a reserve? Short-term sustainability is strengthened by saving unrestricted income for a reserve fund that comes in as revenue from membership fees, individual donations, or from sales or consultancies. Some funders will even allow a portion of funding to go into a reserve, but that should be verified carefully. Ideally an organization keeps three months of basic operational expenses in a reserve to take care of funding dips or major organizational changes

that would affect resource mobilization.

In addition, organizations with healthy financial flows, by applying good cash flow management, may consider investing the cash reserve to earn higher interest while keeping the money relatively accessible. And if you are amongst the few organizations able to buy investments, do apply ethical guidelines and check compliance with corporate social responsibility standards.

4. Leveraging resources for and with our allies

This fourth step requires us to think and act beyond the financial sustainability of our own organization to concern ourselves with the sustainability of the movement.

How we talk about resource mobilization to each other and share key information and strategies is central to how we strengthen women's movements. More often, we need to consider ways of working together, flowing funds to our allies, and other ways that democratize access to funding:

- consider building into our budgets program components that will support movement-building dialogues or planning meetings, means of sustaining partnerships, or communications infrastructure for alliance building;
- find ways of opening doors for organizations with less or no access to funding opportunities by making introductions to funding representatives, helping with proposals or sharing funding information freely.

5. How to engage and communicate with donors

As this report has argued, fundraising and engagement with donors is a political process that requires women's organizations to demand public monies that have been promised by many of our governments, as well as to use this engagement to influence donor agendas. Successful fundraising results from a relationship when both donors and grantees need and receive something from each other. As part of any engagement with donors therefore, ask yourself, without compromising your mission, how is it that your goals can complement the goals of the donor?

Pages 114 and 115 below provide tried and tested ideas about how to approach funders, be they representatives of a foundation, bilateral agency, international NGO or wealthy individual. Consider ways in which to meet face to face donor agency representatives in order to establish relationships built on shared commitments to women's rights. While for

Find ways of opening doors for organizations with less or no access to funding opportunities by making introductions to funding representatives, helping with proposals or sharing funding information freely.

many, travelling outside their community or their country is too expensive or visas too difficult to attain, or the access to foreign donors is very limited, always keep in mind opportunities to meet with donors alongside other trips to conferences or events. You could do this by, for example, adding on a day to go to the office of a potential funder when passing through your capital city, or a European capital city to visit staff at “headquarters”.

In thinking about financial sustainability, remember: most of us need multi-year core funding to support our entire program and institutional costs. *Ask for that first, before asking for restricted project funding – that funding does exist!*

6. Evaluating your impact

As has been stated through this report, there are tensions between the donor community and activists on how best to “measure success” and the impact of our work. Funding agencies are under considerable pressure to show that their monies are going to good use but often get caught up in extremely linear, technical or overly scientific approaches for measuring change. That said, many women’s rights organizations have not given sufficient attention to learning from our practice, and especially on how we collectively could achieve more for women’s rights. Consider therefore:

- Developing your *own* means to measure your impact; remember transforming power is extremely complex: don’t simplify these processes into simple linear cause and effect models;
- Learning from the best by talking to peers, studying different approaches and concepts (different methodologies like Outcome Mapping or Making the Case⁵ are relevant to social change work);
- Building moments of reflection, monitoring and evaluation into regular organizational practices; and,
- Being sensitive to “attribution” versus “contribution”: We can only have an impact or make change happen as a movement and therefore we have to be careful about attributing success to our organization alone; we should see it instead as a contribution within a broader movement.

⁵ Outcome Mapping was developed by the International Development Research Centre. See http://www.idrc.ca/en/ev-26586-201-1-DO_TOPIC.html and Making the Case has been developed by the Women’s Funding Network.

All aspects of a good resource mobilization strategy require investments in terms of time and money for other organizational capacities

7. Investing in organizational capacities

Consider investment in your organization as a key responsibility to its longevity and an integral part of movement building. As has been suggested, focus given to strategic planning, evaluation processes, peer learning and alliance building will all have pay-offs in relation to organizational sustainability. Furthermore, all aspects of a good resource mobilization strategy require investments in terms of time and money for other organizational capacities including:

- **Staff development:** Staff members other than Executive Director should also be involved in resource mobilization, particularly to ensure succession so that if the ED leaves there are other capable staff with fundraising skills and knowledge of the funding environment. Staff development in this area can mean providing opportunities for staff to learn on the job, having more opportunities to engage with the donor community or attending skills-building workshops on proposal writing, etc.
- **Information technology:** Good financial management software, databases, and means of communication are all extremely useful in the growth and strength of an organization's financial sustainability.
- **Financial expertise:** Building budgets, overseeing finances, book-keeping, reporting to donors, managing cash flow, investing cash reserves and so on – these all need individuals with adequate or appropriate financial expertise.
- **Governance/board development:** Legal registration is one major step in becoming eligible for receiving grants from funding agencies. Governance structures or boards should also ensure that organizational leadership and resources exist to support resource mobilization, including individuals on the board itself who might be able to 'open doors'.
- **Communication strategies and materials:** Visibility and clarity of purpose are key ingredients to successful fundraising. The more who know about your good work, and the different ways you are having an impact, the more who will want to form alliances, and the more resources you will attract.

Fundraising tips

When approaching or engaging donors for funding (bilateral agencies and embassies, INGOS, foundations, or wealthy individuals), you will find these fundraising ideas useful:

Making first contact by email to a funder:

- It is best if you know the person by name and can address them personally.
- If you have met or seen them before remind them, and refer to that occasion.
- If you have never met them it is best if you could introduce yourself through a mutual contact (e.g. “Jane Smith recommended that I contact you.”)
- Keep the email short (and use short sentences) only to solicit interest and to share information of your work (do *not* send full proposals at this stage, as it might just go unread and you’ve wasted all that effort).
- Try, if possible, to set up a time to meet.
- In case of no response, send a polite reminder. If there is still no response, ask a mutual contact to drop a note.
- If you can only connect through email, once you’ve got a response find out the best way to share your proposal. Could you have a phone conversation? Would they be interested in receiving a short proposal? If so, are there any guidelines you should know about from the funder?

Meeting with the funder

- A face to face meeting is always better, but be prepared!
- Research the individual you will meet (do an internet search on her/him, or ask others about the person) and assume they have researched you as well.
- Prepare by getting to know the funding organization: its history, policy areas, current issues, how they frame their goals and priorities and in particular find the right fit between them and your work.
- In your meeting, first start by finding out how much time you have (so you don’t run out of time without ever having made your pitch).
- Both ask and answer questions.
- Remember, so much of donor engagement has to do with building personal relationships. Try to find intersections in values and interests and explore those more in depth.
- Be passionate! People like to be inspired, to be part of a solution. Get them excited about your vision, the change you want to achieve.

- Share your “elevator pitch” and don’t forget to “make the ask” (see below).
- Be real, share your worries, your successes and challenges.
- Never put down other organizations to make you look good, instead be prepared to talk about the complementarities, collaboration, unique contributions of other groups in the field/region, and the importance of movement building.
- If the funder is interested but there are strings attached, think through the implications of a donor condition before accepting the funds. Sometimes the most difficult conditions can be removed if you work together.
- Agree on and clarify next steps.
- If the answer is *no*, be graceful (acknowledge why the donor can’t fund you).
- Try turning *no* into a *maybe later*, either way, ask for potential other donors.

With any kind of fundraising, put yourself in the shoes of the donor. They will want to know:

- Who is writing/meeting with me?
- How much do they want? Why do they want it? What will they do with the money?
- Why should I care? What’s in it for me?
- What are they trying to transform? Why is this valuable?
- How capable are they of being able to manage the funds?
- Who in my network knows them?

Elevator Pitch⁶

An “elevator pitch” is a brief (thirty – sixty second) message that should make a clear and compelling case for funding the issue or organization being “pitched”. It should include the following elements:

- The problem my project/organization addresses is...
- The change I want to produce is... (refers to the actual program work)

⁶ From a session at *Money and Movements* meeting, November 2006, facilitated by Emilienne de Leon, Semillas; Debbi Harris, Women’s Funding Network; and Diana van Maasdijk, Mama Cash.

- The most important difference in the world my project/work will make is... (refers to the greater social change)

Crafting a good elevator pitch requires strong synthesis skills. It also means understanding the core and uniqueness of one's work, and being able to clearly communicate how that work is making an impact:

- It's important to be passionate, and share specific examples.
- Speak in the present tense, not future: "we are doing", and not "we will do".
- Speak slowly but speak with force: use "we will end" instead of "we will help".
- Make sure to give context of the problem and have a few different examples so that you can pick and choose according to the donor's priorities.
- Practice until you can say it in your sleep.

The Ask

People give when they are asked: if no one asks, they won't give. The idea of asking for money can generate fear or discomfort. And yet the number one response why people don't give is that they simply aren't asked to give. Ask for all that you need.

Ways of sustaining relationships and retaining the funder

- Thank the donor within days after meeting (or receiving a grant).
- Create and keep good donor profiles and files.
- Stick to promises and financial report deadlines! It builds trust that you can fully manage all your finances and your programs.
- Keep communications open and clear, and keep donors informed and "involved" in your work (but be clear about your autonomy).
- Whenever possible feature donors in publications, during events, etc.

So much of donor engagement has to do with building relationships — personal relationships. Try to find intersections in values and interests and explore those more in depth

An "elevator pitch" is a brief (thirty – sixty second) message that should make a clear and compelling case for funding the issue or organization being "pitched"

Annex 1

Glossary¹

Accountability. Forms and structures of relationships² and responsibilities between people who work together in organizations/movements and between the organization/movement as a whole and others; “liable to be called to account” in legal, moral, human terms³; to hold ourselves responsible to the women we work for and with, in our pursuit of equality and inclusion.⁴

Civil society. The sphere of association and conversation which falls outside the direct control of the state and other authorities. Civil society encompasses the dialogues and interactions through which political views are formed and through which groups come to understand their interest vis-à-vis those other groups and the state. Civil society includes voluntary associations, friendship networks, religious groups, independent newspapers, and the like.⁵

Endowment. Funds intended to be kept permanently and invested to provide income for continued support of an organization. They seek to create, expand or otherwise support a permanent financial asset of an organization.

Feminism. Feminism is a political discourse based in justice. Feminism is also a political theory and practice articulated by women who, after analyzing their reality, became aware of the discrimination they face and decided to get organized to eradicate it, to change society. Feminism is articulated as a political philosophy, and at the same time, as a social movement.⁶

Feminist movements. Social and political movements based on the awareness that women (as a human collective) are oppressed, exploited and dominated through patriarchy in its different historical stages. In this way, feminist movements do not only struggle for “women’s rights” but also question from a new perspective all power structures including gender (but not reduced only to this one)⁷. Feminist movements are formed by diverse currents, both in terms of organizational spaces, as well as thematic and political interests.⁸

1 This Glossary is based on that one presented in AWID’s first Fundher Report, 2006.

2 David Kelleher and Kate McLaren: *Grabbing the Tiger by the Tail*. Ottawa: Canadian Council for International Cooperation. 1996. page 4.

3 Oxford English Dictionary.

4 Disabled Women Network of Ontario (DAWN), *Feminist principle of accountability*, in *Feminist Principles*, in <http://dawn.thot.net/feminism1.htm>

5 Jeff Goodwin and James M Jasper. Eds. *The Social Movement Reader*. Maine: Blackwell Publishing. 2003. p. 221.

6 Nuria Varela; *Feminismo para Principiantes*, Ediciones B. Barcelona España, in <http://www.modemmujer.org/docs/11.242.htm>

7 Facio, Alda, *Cuando el género suena, cambios trae*, Programa Mujer, Justicia y Género-ILANUD, San José, 1999, p. 31.

8 Celiberti, Lilian and Gina Vargas, *Feministas en el Foro*, *Estudios Feministas*, Florianópolis, 11(2): 586-598, July-December/2003, p. 596.

Feminist organization. A group of people who work together to achieve a common goal, and who explicitly identify themselves as feminist embracing broader feminist agendas and linking itself with some expression of the feminist movement.

Movement building. Different activities and strategies aimed at strengthening the visibility, voice, influence and capacity of different actors who form part of a particular social movement (individuals, groups, organizations, networks, etc.). Process by which the collective power of a particular movement to advance its goals and agendas is strengthened and therefore the capacity of its different constituents to work together enhanced.⁹

Philanthropy. The origin of the word philanthropy is Greek and means “love for humankind”. Philanthropy stands for the promotion of human welfare by donating time, money or other resources for the wellbeing of others beyond one’s family and kinship networks. Diverse traditions of voluntary and charitable giving, as well as expressions of solidarity with the less fortunate, are present all over the world. While philanthropy was initially used to talk about the wealthy giving to those people with fewer resources, in the last decades the term has gained a much broader meaning, to include the giving activities of citizens in general.

Social movements. Forms of collective action that have: a political agenda; a membership or constituency base; Some degree of organization (formal or informal); collective or joint actions in pursuit of common goals at different levels; some continuity over time; activities that combine extra-institutional (marches, protests) and institutional (advocacy & lobbying) forms of action.¹⁰

Women’s organizations. A group of people who work together to achieve a common goal: improving the status or the situation of women. They might share common goals with feminist organizations, but do not necessarily identify as feminist. Women’s organizations are diverse in terms of structure, populations with which they work with and issues on which they focus on, as well as in terms of their political and ideological positions.

9 Working definition by Lydia Alpizar, AWID

10 Based on the definition by Srilatha Batliwala (WEDO & Harvard University), Lisa VeneKlasen (WEDO) & Cindy Clark (Just Associates) and June Zeitlin, in “How have we measured our success?”, presented at AWID’s Money and Movements meeting, November 2006.

Women's movements. This term refers to “all the spectrum of people who act in an individual way, and to organizations or groups who are working to ameliorate diverse aspects of the gender subordination on the basis of sex ... Some of the parts [of women's movements] might be in disagreement with each other, others could set different sets of priorities, and some of its currents, groups or individual elements might be lethargic during certain periods. Some persons self-identify themselves as feminist; others will probably never use such a word, but they all promote in their activities causes in favour of women”.¹¹

¹¹ Lycklama a Nijeholt, Virginia Vargas and Saskia Wieringa (comp), Triángulo de poder, TM Editores, Bogotá, pp.6-7.

Annex 2

Contact Information of Funders for Women's Organizations¹

**Compiled by Zazil Canto and Fernanda Hopenhaym
of AWID**

Name: Action Aid International.

Contact data:

Email: mail.jhb@actionaid.org
PostNet suite #248
Private bag X31
Saxonwold 2132
Johannesburg, South Africa
Telephone: +27 11 731 4500
Fax: +27 11 880 8082
Website: www.actionaid.org

Priorities: Policy, women and girls, education, emergencies, food rights, HIV/AIDS, governance.

Name: African Women Development Fund.

Contact data:

Email: grants@awdf.org , awdf@awdf.org
25 Yiyiwa St.
Abelenkpe,
Accra, Ghana
PMB CT89 Cantonments,
Accra, Ghana.
Telephone: +233 21 780477
Fax: +233 21 782 502
Website: www.awdf.org

Priorities: Women's human rights, political participation, peace building, health, reproductive rights, economic empowerment, HIV/AIDS.

Name: Astraea Lesbian Foundation for Justice.

Contact data:

Email: info@astraeafoundation.org
116 East 16th Street, 7th Floor
New York, NY 10003. USA
Telephone: + 1 212 529 8021
Fax: + 1 212 982 3321
Website: www.astraeafoundation.org

Priorities: Support to lesbian-led, LGTBI and progressive organizations working on women and LGTBI human rights.

¹ All the information presented here was collected from donors' websites.

Name: AusAid - The Australian Government's Overseas Aid Programme.

Contact data:

Email: ngo_liaison@ausaid.gov.au , infoausaid@ausaid.gov.au

62 Northbourne Avenue

Canberra ACT 2601

Canberra, Australia

Telephone: +61 2 6206 4000

Fax: +61 2 6206 4880

Website: www.ausaid.gov.au

Priorities: Accelerating economic growth (economic growth & trade, infrastructure, rural development, environment, water); fostering functioning and effective states (governance, human rights); investing in people (health, HIV/AIDS and pandemics, education) and promoting regional stability and cooperation. Gender equality is an overarching theme of Australia's aid program.

Name: Belgian Development Cooperation.

Contact data:

Federal Public Service Foreign Affairs, Foreign Trade and Development Cooperation Belgium - DGCD

Rue des Petits Carmes, 15

B-1000 Brussels, Belgium

Telephone: + 32 2 501 81 11

Website: www.dgos.be

Priorities: Millennium Development Goals, Gender, Migration, European awareness raising, HIV and AIDS.

Name: Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA).

Contact data:

Email: info@acdi-cida.gc.ca

200 Promenade du Portage

Gatineau, Quebec

K1A 0G4

Telephone: + 819 997 50 06

Fax: + 819 9536 088

Website: www.acdi-cida.gc.ca

Priorities:

Target resources in critical countries and regions:

- Play a leadership role in the development and reconstruction of Afghanistan;
- Sustain long-term multi-faceted support to Haiti; provide targeted support to Sudan and Lebanon;
- Deepen engagement with Latin America and the Caribbean;
- Maintain a robust and focused Canadian response in Africa; and

- Focus on high-impact sectors: Increase emphasis on both democratic governance (including anti-corruption), a priority sector in all major country programs, and the rights and equality of women.

Name: Central American Women's Fund.

Contact data:

Email: carla@fcmujeres.org
Fondo Centroamericano de Mujeres
De la Rotonda el Juéguense
4 cuadras abajo, 1 cuadra al lago.
Managua, Nicaragua.
Telephone and Fax: + 2544952
Website: www.fcmujeres.org

Priorities: Build young women's movements across borders, promote a culture of philanthropy for social change, leverage more money for young women's rights.

Name: Comic Relief.

Contact data:

Email: red@comicrelief.org.uk
5th Floor 89 Albert Embankment
SE1 7TP
London, UK
Telephone: + 020 7820 5555
Fax: + 020 7820 5500
Website: www.comicrelief.com

Priorities: Young people; older people; mental health; refugees and asylum seekers; domestic violence; disadvantaged communities.

Name: CORDAID

Contact data:

Email: cordaid@cordaid.nl
Lutherse Burgwal 10
2512 CB Den Haag, The Netherlands
Telephone: + 070 3136 300
Fax: + 070 3136 301
Website: www.cordaid.nl

Priorities: As of 2007, Cordaid will concentrate its strategic funding on four sectors: participation (minorities, slum residents, violence against women), emergency aid and reconstruction (disaster prevention and emergency aid, reconciliation and reconstruction), health and well-being (access to health care, care for vulnerable groups, HIV/AIDS), entrepreneurship (small-scale producers, micro funding).

Name: Danish Development Assistance (DANIDA).

Contact data:

E-mail: um@um.dk
Ministry of Foreign Affairs
2, Asiastisk Plads
DK-1448 Copenhagen, Denmark
Telephone: + 45 3392 0000
Fax: + 45 3254 0533
Website: www.um.dk

Priorities: Globalization, Promotion of the UN millennium goals, Economic growth, Security and development, Environment-climate change, Human rights and Democracy.

Name: Dutch Government

Contact data:

Email: dsi-my@minbuza.nl
Ministry of Foreign Affairs
Postal Address: PO Box 20061, 2500 EB
The Hague, The Netherlands
Telephone: +31 70 3486486
Fax: + 31 70 3484848
Website: www.minbuza.nl

Priorities: Poverty reduction, humanitarian aid, human and social development, human rights (this includes a section on gender and women's rights).

Name: European Commission-EuropeAid Cooperation Office.

Contact data:

Email: europeaid-info@ec.europa.eu
European Commission
EuropeAid Co-operation Office
B - 1049 Brussels, Belgium
Telephone: +32 02 299 11 11
Website: www.ec.europa.eu/europeaid

Priorities: Access to clean and safe water, rural development and food security, health: accessible quality care, education systems and access to school, prosperity: trade and the private sector, freedom, human rights, good governance, security, justice, regional cooperation.

Name: Ford Foundation.

Contact data:

Email: office-secretary@fordfound.org
The Ford Foundation
Headquarters
320 East 43 Street
New York, N.Y. 10017, USA

Telephone: + 212 573-5000
Fax: + 212 351-3677
Website: www.fordfound.org

Priorities: Economic development, community and resource development, human rights, governance and civil society, education, sexuality, religion, media, arts and culture.

Name: Global Fund for Women.

Contact data:

Email: gfw@globalfundforwomen.org
1375 Sutter Street, Suite 400
San Francisco, CA 94109, USA
Telephone: + 415 202-7640
Fax: + 415 202-8604
Website: www.globalfundforwomen.org

Priorities: Economic security, violence against women, education, health, leadership, trafficking, environment.

Name: Global Fund to Fight AIDS, Tuberculosis and Malaria.

Contact data:

Email: proposals@theglobalfund.org , info@theglobalfund.org
Geneva Secretariat
Chemin de Blandonnet 8
1214 Vernier
Geneva, Switzerland
Telephone: + 41 22 791 17 00
Fax: + 41 22 791 17 01
Website: www.theglobalfund.org

Priorities: Prevention and treatment of the three diseases; programs that reflect country ownership, with broad and consultative country-led issue identification and planning processes.

Name: HIVOS

Contact data:

Email: info@hivos.nl
Raamweg 16
P.O. Box 85565
2508 CG The Hague, The Netherlands.
Telephone: +31 70 376 5500
Fax: +31 70 362 4600
Website: www.hivos.nl

Priorities: Sustainable economic development (environment and sustainable development, economic activities and credit facilities); civil society building (human rights and AIDS, gender, women and development and arts and culture); ICT.

Name: Inter American Development Bank (IADB).

Contact data:

Email: pic@iadb.org
1300 New York Avenue, NW
Stop B-560
Washington, DC 20577, USA
Telephone: + 202 623-1000
Fax: + 202 623-3810
Website: www.iadb.org

Priorities: Sustainable economic growth and poverty reduction, promotion of social equity, social development, modernization of the state, competitiveness, regional integration, and environment.

Name: International Planned Parenthood Federation (IPPF).

Contact data:

Email: info@ippf.org
4 Newhams Row SE1 3UZ
London, UK
Telephone: +44 0 20 7939 8200
Fax: +44 0 20 7939 8300
Website: www.ippf.org

Priorities: Sexual and reproductive rights and health, adolescents/young people, HIV/AIDS, abortion.

Name: International Women's Health Coalition (IWHC).

Contact data:

Email: info@iwhc.org
333 Seventh Avenue, 6th floor
New York, NY 10001. USA
Telephone: + 212-979-8500
Fax: + 212-979-9009
Website: www.iwhc.org

Priorities: Youth health and rights, access to safe abortion, sexual rights and gender equality, HIV/AIDS and women.

Name: Irish Aid.

Contact data:

Irish Aid
Department of Foreign Affairs
Bishops Square
Redmond Hill
Dublin 2, Ireland
Telephone: + 353 1 408 2000
Fax: + 353 1 408 2880
Website: www.irishaid.gov.ie

Priorities: Millennium development goals, gender equality, HIV/AIDS, environmental sustainability and good governance.

Name: Italian Ministry of Foreign Affairs - Directorate General for Development Cooperation

Contact data:

Piazzale della Farnesina, 1 – 00194

Roma, Italy

Telephone: +390636911

Website: www.esteri.it/eng

Priorities: Initiatives on behalf of developing countries in Europe, Sub-Saharan Africa, Asia, Oceania and the Americas; emergency humanitarian interventions and food aid; studies and proposals to promote the role of women in developing countries within the framework of cooperation policy. Protection of minors and the disabled.

Name: Japan International Cooperation Agency

Contact data:

6th–13th floors, Shinjuku Maynds Tower

2-1-1 Yoyogi, Shibuya-ku, Tokyo 151-8558 Japan

Telephone: +81-3-5352-5311/5312/5313/5314

Website: www.jica.go.jp/english

Priorities: Governance, peacebuilding, gender and development, poverty reduction, environmental management, nature conservation, education, health, water resources, disaster management, social security, transportation, ICT, natural resources and energy, economic policy, private sector development, agricultural and rural development, fisheries, urban and regional development. Japanese embassies in various countries provide Grassroots Human Security Grant Aid. For details about this program, contact the embassy nearest you (http://www.mofa.go.jp/about/emb_cons/mofaserv.html)

Name: Levis-Strauss Foundation.

Contact data:

1155 Battery Street, San Francisco, CA 94133. USA

Telephone: + 415-501-6516

Fax: + 415-501-6575

Website: www.levistrauss.com/Citizenship/LeviStraussFoundation.aspx

Priorities: Alleviation of poverty among women and youth, building assets (extend critical financial services, advance public policy, protect assets), preventing the spread of HIV/AIDS, workers rights.

Name: Mac Arthur Foundation.

Contact data:

E-mail: 4answers@macfound.org

140 S. Dearborn Street, Chicago

IL 60603-5285 USA

Phone: + 312 726-8000

TDD: + 312 920-6285

Website: www.macfound.org

Priorities: Global security and sustainability: conservation and sustainable development, global migration and human mobility, human rights and international justice, international peace and security, population and reproductive health.

Name: Mama Cash.

Contact data:

Email: info@mamacash.nl
Eerste Helmersstraat 17 III
P.O. Box 15686
1001 ND AMSTERDAM
The Netherlands
T: +31 20 - 689 36 34
F: +31 20 - 683 46 47
Website: www.mamacash.nl

Priorities: Awareness of women's rights and advance positive change for women in laws, policies and practices; bodily integrity, economic justice, peace and security, agency and participation, and lastly, art, culture and media. You can also apply for a travel grant.

Name: New Zealand's International Aid and Development Agency (NZ Aid)

Contact data:

Email: enquiries@nzaid.govt.nz
195 Lambton Quay
Private Bag 18-901
Wellington, New Zealand
Telephone: +64 4 439 8200
Fax: +64 4 439 8515
Website: www.nzaid.govt.nz

Priorities: Poverty elimination, education, environment, gender equality, growth and livelihoods, health, human rights, humanitarian and emergency assistance, leadership and governance, peace building and conflict prevention, trade and development.

Name: Norwegian Government (NORAD).

Contact data:

Email: post@mfa.no
PO box 8114 Dep.
N-0032 Oslo
Norway
Telephone: 22 24 36 00
Fax: 22 24 95 80/81
Website: www.regjeringen.no

Priorities: Environment and sustainable development, women and gender equality, good governance, anti-corruption efforts, oil and energy, peacebuilding, human rights and humanitarian assistance.

Name: Open Society Institute.

Contact data:

400 West 59th Street
New York, NY 10019, U.S.A.
Telephone: 1 212 548 0600
Fax. 1 212 548 4600
Website: www.soros.org

Priorities: Children & youth, economic development, education, governance, health, human rights, law & justice, media, arts & culture, women.

Oxfam International members:

Name: Intermon Oxfam.

Contact data:

Email: info@IntermonOxfam.org
Tel 902 330 331
Website: www.intermonoxfam.org

Priorities:

- Emergencies (natural disasters and refugees) Mozambique, the Middle East, Sudan, Chad, horn of Africa, Indonesia, Guatemala, Pakistan, Dominican Republic.

- Development (preventive health and integral improvements)
Countries where they work: Angola, Benin, India, Nicaragua Ethiopia, Perú, Dominican Republic.

- Women issues: preventive health and medical assistance for women, gender violence. Gender and HIV. Women labor rights.

Name: Oxfam America.

Contact data:

Email: info@oxfamamerica.org
Oxfam America
226 Causeway St., 5th Floor
Boston, MA 02114, USA
Telephone: 617-482-1211
Website: www.oxfamamerica.org

Priorities:

- Emergencies: natural disasters and social conflicts. Darfur conflict, conflict in DRC, Pakistan earthquake, Gulf Coast hurricanes.

- Making a living: small farmers; workers' rights; saving for change

- Natural resources: oil, gas and mining; access to land; water; fisheries peace & security, equality for women, indigenous & minority rights, global trade

- Women issues: addressing gender discrimination. Oxfam America helps women:

- Campaign for legal reform in countries with laws that disadvantage women

- Acquire functional literacy skills so they can work
- Raise the income of some of the world's poorest families through community finance programs targeted at women
- Strengthen their voice in their communities, so they can become leaders and spokespeople
- Build peace in areas struggling with conflict
- Understand their human rights, so they will not accept violence as their due

Name: Oxfam Australia.

Contact data:

Email: enquire@oxfam.org.au

Address: 156 George St

Fitzroy VIC 3065, Australia

Telephone: +61 (0)3 9289 9444

Fax: +61 (0)3 9419 5318

Website: www.oxfam.org.au

Priorities:

- Emergencies: Salomon Islands, Tsunami Appeal, Jakarta floods, Timor Leste, Conflict in Sri Lanka, Mozambique floods, Sudan Crisis, Africa food crisis, typhoons in the Philippines, Earthquake Tsunami in Asia. HIV and AIDS

- Gender: tackling gender inequality; women: the powerhouse of developing countries

Name: Oxfam Canada.

Contact data:

Email: info@oxfam.ca

250 City Centre Avenue, suite 400, Ottawa Ontario K1R 6K7

Canada

Telephone: +1 613 237 52 36

Website: www.oxfam.ca

Priorities:

- Emergencies: Darfur, Sudan; Middle East Crisis; South Asia Earthquake; Tsunami, Somalia emergency.

- Themes and issues: International trade; HIV and AIDS; the right to make a living; essential public services; peace and security and

- Women's equality: In focusing on women's rights Oxfam Canada continues to work on priority issues related to rural livelihoods; labour rights; HIV and AIDS; gender based violence and the disproportionate impact on women and girls in humanitarian disasters; women's rights and participation; they support interventions that increase women's power to access and control resources, build capacity and support women's leadership and change attitudes and legislation to promote women's equality.

Name: Oxfam Germany.

Contact data:

Email: info@oxfam.de

Greifswalder Str. 33a
10405 Berlin, Germany.
Tel: + 030 4285 0621
Fax: +030 4285 0622
Website: www.oxfam.de

Priorities: Emergency and disaster relief with special emphasis in improving the potable water supply, hygiene measure and health in refugee camps; development cooperation in the promotion of basic formation, work within HIV/AIDS, promotion of small trade, agriculture and crisis prevention in conflict regions; lobby and campaign work for fair trade rules, effective weapon control and education for all children worldwide.

Name: Oxfam Great Britain.

Contact data:

Email: info@oxfam.uk
John Smith Drive
Cowley OX4 2JY
Oxford, UK
Telephone: + 44 0 1865 473727
Website: www.oxfam.org.uk

Priorities:

- Emergencies: crisis in Darfur; conflict in Somalia;
- Development: Tajikistan; climate change; trade; disaster risk reduction; debt and aid; livelihoods; health; HIV and AIDS; conflict and natural disasters; private sector; democracy and human rights; pastoralism; education
- Gender equality: debt and women; media on gender and education; gender at work; domestic violence; gender mainstreaming; gender development and advocacy; gender and ICTs for development; gender equality and sexual exploitation; primary education for girls.

Name: Oxfam Hong Kong.

Contact data:

Email: enews@oxfam.org.hk
17/F, China United Centre, 28 Marble Road,
North Point, Hong Kong.
Telephone: + 852 2520 2525 / 3120 5000
Website: www.oxfam.org.hk/english

Priorities: Rural and urban development (food and income security, labour and trade); education (basic education, development education); health (basic health, HIV and AIDS); disaster (emergency relief, disaster prevention, war and conflicts); participation (NGO development, good governance); gender and equality: women's right to own land; gender and trade; media and gender; violence against women; women's poverty.

Name: Oxfam Ireland.

Contact data:

Email: info@oxfamireland.org

Dublin Office, 9 Burgh Quay, Dublin, Ireland

Telephone: +353 01 672 7662

Fax: +353 01 672 7680

Website: www.oxfamireland.org

Priorities:

- Development: building livelihoods (focus on east, central and southern Africa, capacity building on better agricultural techniques and marketing, developing local small businesses, Fair Trade initiatives and promoting the rights of pastoralists and other marginalized groups to have access to their land). Overcoming HIV and AIDS (prevention, caring, lobbying for the rights of infected and affected people).

- Emergencies: Darfur; Kenya disease outbreak; Philippines - Typhoon Dorian; India and Indonesia: Post-Tsunami Rehabilitation; Northern Uganda; Democratic Republic of Congo.

- Gender Based Violence

Name: Oxfam Novib.

Contact data:

Postbus 30919

2500 GX Den Haag

The Netherlands

Telephone: +31 70 3421777

Fax: +31 70 3614461

Website: www.oxfamnovib.nl

Priorities: Income and trade (right to a sustainable existence food and income security); education for girls (right to basic social services); living in safety (right to life and safety conflict reduction); social and political participation (right to social and political participation); rights and security for women (right to identity). Oxfam Novib supports 850 women initiatives and organisations in about sixty different countries worldwide.

Name: Oxfam New Zealand.

Contact data:

Email: oxfam@oxfam.org.nz

P O Box 68357, Auckland 1145, New Zealand

Toll-free: 0800 400 666 or 64 9 355 6500

Website: www.oxfam.org.nz

Priorities:

- Emergencies: Crisis in Darfur; food crisis in East Africa; Indonesia earthquake; Middle East crisis; Tsunami. Oxfam staff working in the camps in Sri Lanka following the Tsunami, became aware that women survivors were experiencing harassment and violence within the camps.

- Issues: Control Arms; fair trade; HIV and AIDS; peace building and conflict prevention. (Africa, Asia and Pacific)

- Gender-based violence and basics rights: violence against women and gender inequality. Oxfam NZ works with partner organiza-

tions in Asia and the Pacific that are addressing gender inequality and the problem of violence against women.

Name: Packard Foundation.

Contact data:

Email: inquiries@packard.org
The David and Lucile Packard Foundation
300 Second Street
Los Altos, California 94022 USA
Telephone: +650 948 7658
Website: www.packard.org

Priorities: Conservation and Science, population (family planning, reproductive rights/health), children, families, and communities.

Name: Population Action International (PAI).

Contact data:

Email: pai@popact.org
1300 19th Street, NW
Suite 200
Washington, DC 20036-1624
USA
Telephone: +1 202 557-3400
Fax: +1 202 728-4177
Website: www.populationaction.org

Priorities: Population, reproductive health, gender and society, policy, economics and governance, environment, development.

Name: Rights and Democracy.

Contact data:

1001 de Maisonneuve Blvd. East
Suite 1100
Montreal, Quebec
Canada H2L 4P9
Telephone: 514 283-6073
Fax: 514 283-3792
Website: www.dd-rd.ca

Priorities: Democratic development, economic and social rights, rights of indigenous peoples, rights of women, special initiatives.

Name: Safe Abortion Action Fund (administered by the IPPF).

Contact data:

Email: info@ippf.org
4 Newhams Row SE1 3UZ
London, UK
Tel: +44 0 20 7939 8200

Fax: +44 0 20 7939 8300
Website: www.ippf.org

Priorities: Advocacy, operations research and service delivery related to abortion; assisting the poorest and most vulnerable groups; funding to NGOs.

Name: Sigrid Rausing Trust.

Contact data:

Email: info@srtrust.org
Eardley House, 4 Uxbridge Street
London, W8 7SY, UK
Telephone: +44 207 908 9870,
Fax: +44 207 908 9879
Website: www.sigrid-rausing-trust.org

Priorities: Human rights, women's rights, minority rights, environmental justice, social and economic rights.

Name: Spanish Agency for Development Cooperation (AECI).

Contact data:

Email: cap@aeci.es , SGCMYH_ongd@aeci.es
Agencia Española de Cooperación Internacional (AECI)
Subdirección General de Cooperación Multilateral y Horizontal
Unidad de ONGD
Avda. Reyes Católicos, 4
28040 Madrid, España
Telephone: +34 91 583 85 90
Fax: +34 91 583 83 10/ 11/ 13
Website: www.aeci.es

Priorities:

- Crosscutting priorities: fight against poverty, human rights, gender equity, environmental sustainability, cultural diversity
- Work sectors: Democratic governance and citizenship; basic social needs; economic capacities; environmental capacities; freedom and cultural capacities; women's autonomy; conflict prevention and peace building.

Name: Swedish Government (SIDA).

Contact data:

Email: sida@sida.se
Valhallavägen 199
105 25 Stockholm
Telephone: + 46 8 698 50 00
Fax: +46 8 20 88 64
Website: www.sida.se

Priorities: Reducing poverty through economic growth, education and health, natural resources and the environment, humanitarian aid

and contributions to peace and security, economic reforms, research, human rights and democracy

Name: Swiss Agency for Development and Cooperation (SDC)

Contact data:

Email: info@deza.admin.ch
Freiburgstrasse 130, 3003 Berne
Switzerland
Telephone: +41 31 322 34 75
Fax: +41 31 324 16 94
Website: www.sdc.admin.ch/en/home

Priorities: Health, education, water, agriculture/rural development, employment and the economy, environment, state of law and democracy, conflict prevention and transformation, migration, regional and global economic integration. Crosscutting themes: gender and governance.

Name: United Nations Democracy Fund (UNDEF).

Contact data:

Email: democracyfund@un.org
The United Nations Democracy Fund (UNDEF)
1 United Nations Plaza, Room DC1-1330
New York, NY 10017, USA
Telephone: + 917 367-5272
Fax: + 212 963-1486
Website: www.un.org/democracyfund

Priorities: UNDEF will finance projects that build and strengthen democratic institutions, promote human rights, and ensure the participation of all groups in democratic processes.

Name: United Nations Development Programme (UNDP).

Contact data:

United Nations Development Programme
One United Nations Plaza
New York, NY 10017 USA
Tel: +1 212 906-5000
Fax: +1 212 906-5364
Website: www.undp.org

Priorities: Democratic governance, poverty reduction, crisis prevention and recovery, energy and environment, HIV/AIDS, protection of human rights, empowerment of women

Name: United Nations Fund for Population Activities (UNFPA)

Contact data:

Email: donations@unfpa.org
United Nations Population Fund
220 East 42nd St.
New York, NY 10017 U.S.A.

Telephone: +1 212-297-5000
Website: www.unfpa.org

Priorities: Human rights, poverty, reproductive health, safe motherhood, HIV/AIDS, empowerment of women and young people, family planning, sustainable development.

Name: United Nations Fund for Women (UNIFEM)

Contact data:

304 East 45th Street
15th Floor
New York, NY 10017
USA
Telephone: +1 212-906-6400
Fax: +1 212-906-6705
Website: www.unifem.org

Priorities: Reducing feminized poverty, ending violence against women, reversing the spread of HIV/AIDS among women and girls, achieving gender equality in democratic governance in times of peace as well as war, the advancement of women's human rights.

Name: United States Agency for International Development (USAID).

Contact data:

Email: pinquiries@usaid.gov
Information Center
U.S. Agency for International Development
Ronald Reagan Building
Washington, D.C. 20523-1000, USA
Telephone: + 202 712-4810
Fax: + 202 216-3524
Website: www.usaid.gov

Priorities: Agriculture, democracy & governance, economic growth, environment, education, health, global partnerships, and humanitarian assistance.

Name: UK Department for International Development (DFID).

Contact data:

Email: enquiry@dfid.gov.uk
1 Palace Street, London SW1E 5HE, UK.
Telephone: + 0845 300 4100 (UK only)
Telephone: + 44 0 1355 84 3132 (from outside the UK)
Fax: +44 0 1355 84 3632
Website: www.dfid.gov.uk

Priorities: Activities and issues to meet the Millennium Development Goals. Civil society participation in decision making processes; Reduction of poverty and promotion of development; governance and transparency; conflict, humanitarian aid, disaster risk reduction.

Name: Urgent Action Fund for Africa.

Contact data:

Email: info@urgentactionfund-africa.or.ke

Life Ministry Centre, 2nd Floor

Jabavu Road, Kilimani

Nairobi, Kenya

Telephone: + 254 20 2731095

Fax: + 254 20 2731094

Website: www.urgentactionfund.org

Priorities: Peace advocacy and conflict resolution, women's participation in political transitions, access to regional mechanisms. partnerships with regional organizations.

Name: Urgent Action Fund for Women's Rights – USA.

Contact data:

Email: urgentact@urgentactionfund.org

3100 Arapahoe Ave. Suite 201

Boulder, Colorado 80303 USA

Telephone: + 303-442-2388

Fax: + 303-442-2370

Website: www.urgentactionfund.org

Priorities: Interventions in situations of armed conflict, protection of women human rights defenders, precedent-setting legal or legislative action

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