

awid

WHERE IS THE MONEY FOR FEMINIST ORGANIZING?

Data Snapshots and A Call to Action



CREDITS

The Association for Women’s Rights in Development (AWID) is a global, feminist, membership, movement-support organization. We support feminist, women’s rights, and gender justice movements to thrive, to be a driving force in challenging systems of oppression, and to co-create feminist realities.

www.awid.org

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KEY FIGURES

48% of women's rights and feminist organizations from the Global South seeking funding from Global Fund for Women report their most recent fiscal year budget was less than **\$30,000 USD** a year.

99% of development aid and foundation grants still do not directly reach women's rights and feminist organizations. In particular, those groups working at intersecting forms of marginalization (LGBTIQ, indigenous, young feminists, and sex workers) are funded even less.

Despite new funding commitments made, women's rights organizations (WROs) receive only **0.13%** of the total Official Development Assistance (ODA) and **0.4%** of all gender-related aid.

Only **0.42%** of foundation grants are allocated towards women's rights.

BRIEF SUMMARY

With objectives to drive ambitious resources directly to feminist organizing globally, and particularly in the Global South, this brief:

- 
- + Analyzes a snapshot of the budgets of feminist and grassroots women's rights organizations in the Global South;
 - + Assesses the funding flows to answer the question: "Where is the money for feminist organizing?" in the development and philanthropic sectors; and
 - + Offers practical guidance on ways to concretely direct funding to reach grassroots feminist organizing in the Global South.

INTRODUCTION: FUNDING FOR AND AGAINST FEMINIST MOVEMENTS

“Human rights are women’s rights, and women’s rights are human rights!” The phrase emerged as the most famous rallying cry from the UN Fourth World Congress on Women in 1995. At the event, feminist, and women’s rights activists produced the most significant global agenda yet for women’s rights: The Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action.¹ Following decades of feminist organizing, gender equality and women’s human rights were firmly placed on the international agenda.

Several governmental and intergovernmental actors have since declared gender equality a policy priority. Some states have adopted a “feminist foreign policy,” pledging to increase support for gender equality, and women and girls.² Between 2017 and 2019, governments and international institutions announced more than \$1 billion USD in new funding to support gender equality globally.³ Most recently, in 2021, the Generation Equality Forum’s call to action included doubling the annual rate of funding from all sectors to feminist and women-led organizations, funds, groups, activists, and movements by 2026.⁴

“Human rights are women’s rights, and women’s rights are human rights!”

- UN Fourth World Congress on Women in 1995

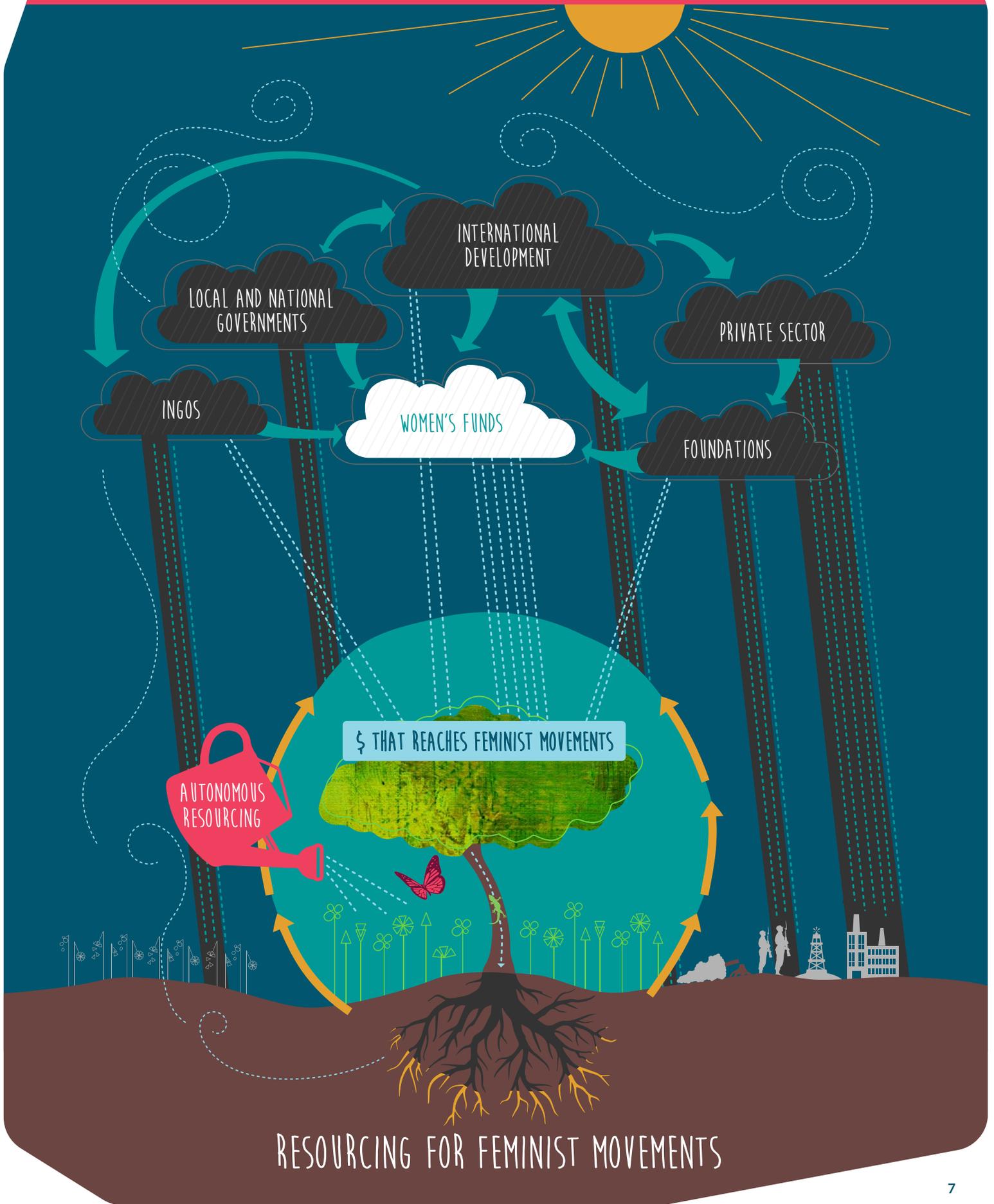
1 The World Conference on Women. 1995. Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action. https://www.un.org/en/events/pastevents/pdfs/Beijing_Declaration_and_Platform_for_Action.pdf

2 Center for Feminist Foreign Policy. Accessed March 2021. <https://centreforfeministforeignpolicy.org/feminist-foreign-policy>

3 Staszewska K., Dolker T., and Miller, K. 2019. Only 1% of gender equality funding is going to women’s organizations – why? The Guardian. <https://www.theguardian.com/global-development/2019/jul/02/gender-equality-support-1bn-boost-how-to-spend-it>

4 Generation Equality Forum. 2021. Generation Equality Forum Increases Momentum: Action Coalitions Preview Recommendations and Launch Bold Call for Commitments. <https://forum.generationequality.org/news/generation-equality-forum-increases-momentum-action-coalitions-preview-recommendations-and>

WHERE WE ARE NOW



RESOURCING FOR FEMINIST MOVEMENTS

Though the interest in financing gender equality and feminist collective actions has grown over the years, the backlash against gender justice in many countries and the severe under-resourcing of feminist movements persist. This is putting feminist achievements at risk. The UN warns that all of the global progress made towards gender equality over a generation can be wiped out with a deepening crisis catalyzed by the COVID-19 pandemic.⁵ Even before COVID-19, the UN Sustainable Development Goal 5 on gender equality and the empowerment of women and girls, emerged as one of the least financed SDGs.⁶

First, massive funding is being driven against the human rights of women and LGBTIQ people in the service of ultraconservative, fundamentalist, and patriarchal agendas. Between 2013 and 2017, the “anti-gender” movement received over \$3.7 billion USD in funding – more than triple the funding for LGBTIQ groups globally in those years.⁷ In the US, over \$280 million USD⁸ from the Christian right funded activities to undermine human rights in the UN, colluding with conservative states⁹ and other anti-rights actors.¹⁰ These agendas are making devastating inroads to roll back human rights, rights related to gender and sexuality, and sexual and reproductive freedom and



5 Morse M., and Anderson, G. 2020. *The Shadow Pandemic: How the COVID-19 Crisis is Exacerbating Gender Inequality*. UN Foundation. <https://unfoundation.org/blog/post/shadow-pandemic-how-covid19-crisis-exacerbating-gender-inequality>

6 OECD. 2020. *Aid Focused on Gender Equality and Women's Empowerment*. <https://www.oecd.org/development/gender-development/Aid-Focused-on-Gender-Equality-and-Women-s-Empowerment-2020.pdf>

7 Global Philanthropy Project. 2020. *Meet the Moment: A Call for Progressive Philanthropic Response to the Anti-Gender Movement*. <https://globalphilanthropyproject.org/2020/11/12/meet-the-moment/>

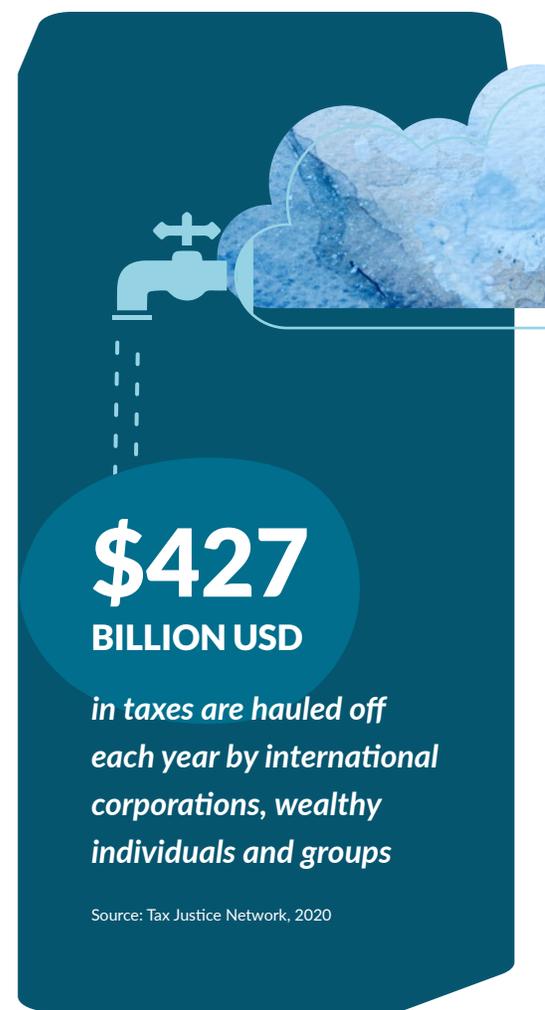
8 Provost, C, and Archer, N. 2020. *Revealed: \$280m 'dark money' spent by US Christian right groups globally*. Open Democracy. <https://www.opendemocracy.net/en/5050/trump-us-christian-spending-global-revealed>

9 ISHR. 2020. *GA75 | Civil Society Assess Outcomes of Third Committee Session*. <https://www.ishr.ch/news/ga75-civil-society-assess-outcomes-third-committee-session>

10 The Observatory On The Universality Of Rights. 2017. *How do we fight anti-rights fundamentalism at the United Nations?* Open Democracy. <https://www.opendemocracy.net/en/5050/fundamentalism-united-nations>

bodily autonomy.¹¹ At national, regional and international levels, these extensive financial resources fuel efforts to push anti-feminist and anti-LGBTIQ legislation.¹² Now with the COVID-19 pandemic, anti-rights actors are pushing further against rights and justice to erode the fragile progress that women, girls, and LGBTIQ movements have worked hard to achieve.¹³

Second, wealth consolidation in the hands of the few and an unprecedented economic crisis, are pushing many more people into poverty¹⁴, with a disproportionate impact on the lives of women and girls¹⁵, and LGBTIQ groups.¹⁶ On a global scale, the plundering of capital and wealth from some of the poorest countries in the Global South extracts resources that are desperately needed to fund life-saving public services and sustain people-centered and environment-centered economies. For example, using tax evasion, corruption, and illicit transfers of goods, foreign companies (and countries) regularly move African resources¹⁷ and private wealth off African soil.¹⁸ Over \$427 billion USD in taxes are hauled off each year by international corporations, wealthy individuals, and groups.¹⁹



11 Shameem, N. 2017. Rights at Risk: Observatory on the Universality of Rights Trends Report 2017. <https://www.awid.org/publications/rights-risk-observatory-universality-rights-trends-report-2017>; and AWID's forthcoming Rights at Risk report. <https://ngocsw65forum.us2.pathable.com/meetings/virtual/FLyLZDkffD34ecJf2>

12 Namubiru, L and Soita, K. 2020. *US Christian right pours more than \$50m into Africa*. Open Democracy. <https://www.opendemocracy.net/en/5050/africa-us-christian-right-50m>

13 Provost, C. 2020. *Some governments are using coronavirus to restrict women's rights*. Al Jazeera. <https://www.aljazeera.com/opinions/2020/4/14/some-governments-are-using-coronavirus-to-restrict-womens-rights>

14 The World Bank. 2020. *COVID-19 to Add as Many as 150 Million Extreme Poor by 2021*. <https://www.worldbank.org/en/news/press-release/2020/10/07/covid-19-to-add-as-many-as-150-million-extreme-poor-by-2021>

15 VOICE. 2021. *We Must Do Better*. <https://voiceamplified.org/report-summary/>

16 OutRight International. 2021. *Responding to a Crisis: Insights from OutRight's COVID-19 Global LGBTIQ Emergency Fund*. https://outrightinternational.org/sites/default/files/7x9.75_BriefingPaperRevised_2.pdf

17 African Women's Development and Communication Network (FEMNET). 2017. *What are the Gender Dimensions of IFFs? Strengthening African Women's Engagement and Contribution*. <https://femnet.org/wp-content/uploads/2017/07/FEMNET-Gender-and-IFFs-Summary-Report.pdf>

18 Fischer, A. 2020. *Hemorrhaging Zambia: Prequel to the Current Debt Crisis*. *Developing Economics*. <https://developingeconomics.org/2020/11/24/haemorrhaging-zambia-prequel-to-the-current-debt-crisis/>

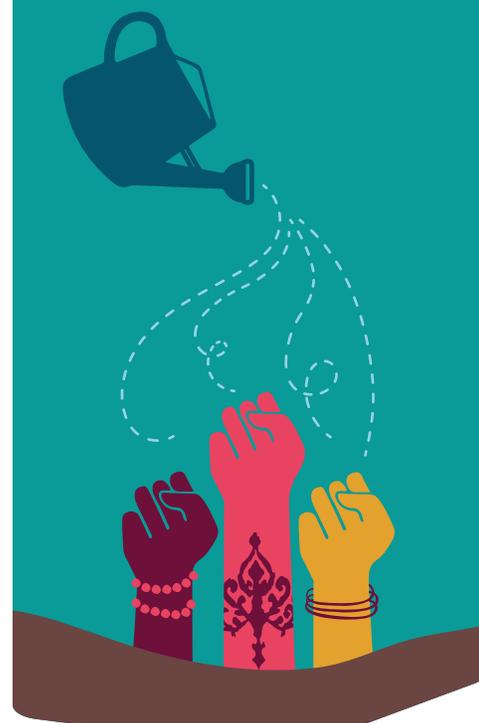
19 Mansour M., B. 2020. *\$427bn lost to tax havens every year: landmark study reveals countries' losses and worst offenders*. Tax Justice Network. <https://www.taxjustice.net/2020/11/20/427bn-lost-to-tax-havens-every-year-landmark-study-reveals-countries-losses-and-worst-offenders>

Higher income countries are responsible for over 98 percent of tax losses around the globe, which cost countries over \$419 billion USD in lost tax every year.²⁰ Imagine if these resources were actually available and used to fund gender equality and the many broken social protection systems which women and girls heavily rely on?

During the COVID-19 global crisis, feminist activists and movements have again been among the most powerful voices and forces in demanding fairer policies and a more equitable recovery from the pandemic. Feminist activists and movements are not only central for a just recovery, they drive all transformative social change.²¹

So, funders and funding institutions that aim to contribute to positive and sustainable change in our societies must center feminist and LGBTIQ movements in their policy and mechanisms. Not simply as “beneficiaries,” but as the proven experts, drivers, and leaders of social change. From an intersectional perspective, funding mechanisms must be able to reach and respond to the diversity of feminist and gender justice movements, particularly movements led by young feminists, Black feminists, indigenous women, women with disabilities, migrant, and refugee women, informalized workers, sex workers, women who use drugs, and others. The very people who – despite significant risk and repression – are reimagining and building a better, more equal, and more just world.

Imagine if these resources were actually available and used to fund gender equality and the many broken social protection systems which women and girls heavily rely on?



²⁰ Ibid.

²¹ Htun, M. and Weldon, S.L. (2012). *The Civic Origins of Progressive Policy Change: Combating Violence Against Women in Global Perspective, 1975-2005*. *American Political Science Review*. Vol. 106, No. 3.

Research and analysis since Beijing have reinforced the fact that one of the most significant ways to ensure sustainable change and advance gender equality is to support and to boldly resource feminist movements.²² A longitudinal study done over four decades, for instance, presented a global comparative analysis of policies on violence against women in 70 countries. The findings showed that the autonomous mobilization of feminists is the critical factor accounting for policy change on violence against women domestically and transnationally – not political parties, women in government, or even factors like national wealth.²³

The analysis presented in this brief shows that at this time of so many grave challenges, feminist movements – especially in the Global South – continue to operate on shoestring budgets. Yet, feminist movements are holding the line against the rise of authoritarianism around the globe²⁴, mobilizing massive social movements in seriously declining civic spaces²⁵ and advancing a shared vision and agenda for a more just and equal world.²⁶

Funders and actors with power must respond to the urgency of the moment and the challenges it presents with solidarity and bold actions. Resources supporting these movements should be as rich, significant, and transformative as feminist organizing itself.

The findings showed that the autonomous mobilization of feminists is the critical factor accounting for policy change on violence against women domestically and transnationally – not political parties, women in government, or even factors like national wealth.

20 Ibid.

21 Htun, M. and Weldon, S.L. (2012). *The Civic Origins of Progressive Policy Change: Combating*

Violence Against Women in Global Perspective, 1975-2005. American Political Science Review. Vol. 106, No. 3.

22 Mama Cash. 2020. Feminist Activism Works: A review of select literature on the impact of feminist activism in achieving

women's rights. https://www.mamacash.org/media/publications/feminist_activism_works_mama_cash.pdf

23 Htun, N. and Weldon, S.L. 2012.

24 Schiffrin, N., and Quran, L. *How authoritarianism has spread since the coronavirus pandemic began*. PBS News Hour. [https://](https://www.pbs.org/newshour/show/how-authoritarianism-has-spread-since-the-coronavirus-pandemic-began)

www.pbs.org/newshour/show/how-authoritarianism-has-spread-since-the-coronavirus-pandemic-began

25 Civicus. 2020. Civic Space on a Downward Spiral. <https://findings2020.monitor.civicus.org/downward-spiral.htm>

26 Feminist Response to COVID-19. 2020. <https://www.feministcovidresponse.com/stories/>

THE FINANCIAL STATE OF FEMINIST ORGANIZING

Our research analyzed the budgets of feminist organizations using the database of the Global Fund for Women (GFW), one of the leading global feminist funds. **Of the 3,739 feminist and women's rights organizations from the Global South that submitted a profile with the GFW between 2015 and 2019, almost half (48%) reported their most recent fiscal year budget as less than \$30,000 USD.** Only six percent of the groups have recent FY budgets over \$300,000 USD, and a mere two percent exceeds \$1 million USD.²⁷

These findings reflect moderate yet insufficient improvement since AWID's 2013 report, which found that the median budget of women's rights organizations was only \$20,000 USD while 50 percent of WROs had never received core funding, 50 percent had never received multi-year funding, and 98 percent did not have all of their funding raised for the following year.²⁸

A closer look at the GFW data reveals stark regional differences, donors' distinct priorities, and the varying contexts in which organizations resource their work.

²⁷ This analysis is based on budget information from 3,739 organizational profiles submitted with Global Fund for Women (GFW) between 2015 and 2019. One of the world's leading funders for feminist movements, GFW accepts organizational profiles with background information from around the world as a preliminary step of its grant application process. While not an unbiased data source (self-selected groups that may apply for funding), several factors make it an invaluable window into women's rights or feminist groups based in the Global South today:

- Global reach: Profiles come from 144 countries and all regions.
- Openness: Submission can come in many languages and with no thematic restrictions.
- Breadth: Over 3,700 organizations have submitted profiles.
- Recency: Profiles are kept current and duplicates removed.
- Vetting: Most importantly, all profiles have been validated as a women's rights or feminist organization by GFW staff. For instance, organizations must "be a group of women, girls, or trans people working together." Groups must meet GFW's [basic criteria](#). All data was anonymized and provided without any information that could identify organizations.

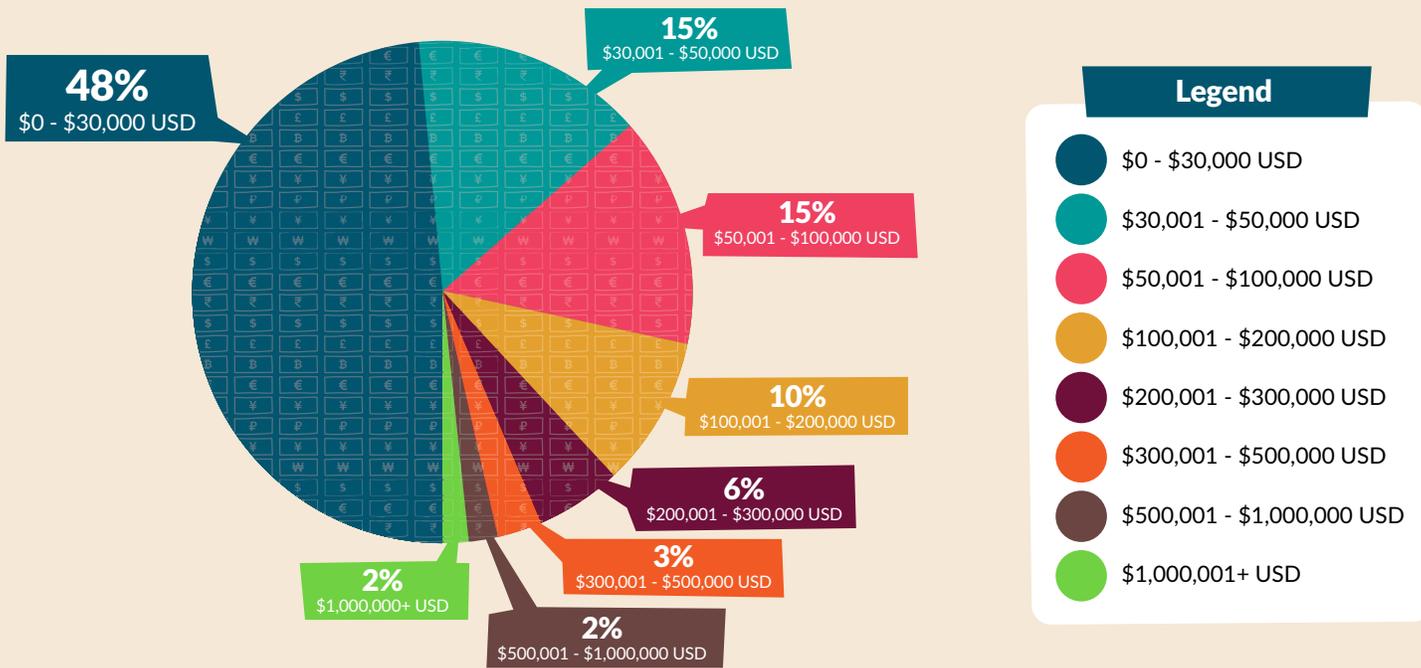
²⁸ Arutyunova, A., and Clark, C. 2013. Watering the Leaves, Starving the Roots. <https://www.awid.org/publications/watering-leaves-starving-roots>



Budgets for a sample of feminist and women's rights organizations in the Global South

BUDGET SIZES OF FEMINIST ORGANIZATIONS IN THE GLOBAL SOUTH

BUDGET TOTAL (COMBINED)

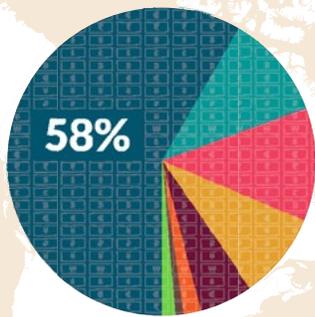


Legend

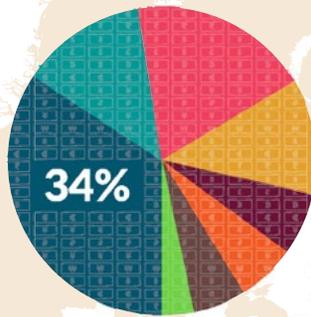
- \$0 - \$30,000 USD
- \$30,001 - \$50,000 USD
- \$50,001 - \$100,000 USD
- \$100,001 - \$200,000 USD
- \$200,001 - \$300,000 USD
- \$300,001 - \$500,000 USD
- \$500,001 - \$1,000,000 USD
- \$1,000,001+ USD

BUDGET BY REGION

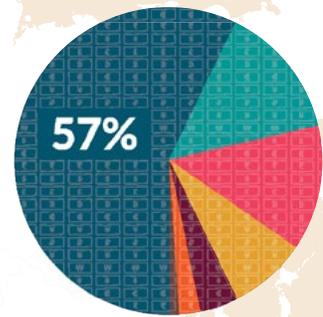
Latin America and the Caribbean



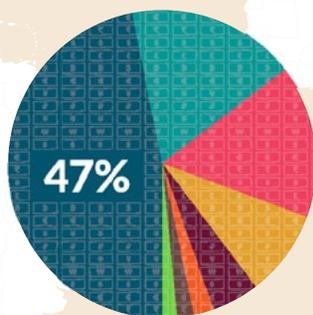
Middle East and North Africa



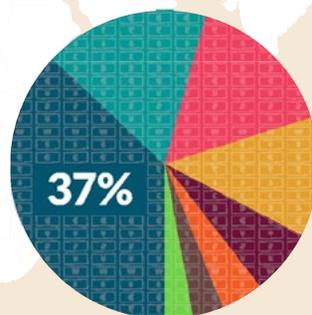
Eastern Europe and Central Asia



Sub-Saharan Africa



Asia Pacific



This analysis is based on budget information from 3,739 organizational profiles submitted with Global Fund for Women between 2015 and 2019.

For instance, while 58 percent of feminist organizations submitting profile for GFW's funding in Latin America and the Caribbean – and 57 percent in Eastern Europe and Central Asia – had budgets of \$30,000 USD, this proportion goes down to 47 percent in Sub-Saharan Africa. Feminists from Asia Pacific and the Middle East and North Africa had 37 percent and 34 percent respectively.

The state of resourcing for rights groups focusing on LGBTIQ, women who use drugs, undocumented migrants and refugee women, young feminists, and sex workers are in even more dire state. According to Astraea Lesbian Foundation for Justice, the median budget for LGBTQ groups in 2017 was only \$11,713 USD.²⁹ More than half (55.8%) of trans groups had annual budgets of less than \$10,000 USD.³⁰ The budget information for groups and organizations of women who use drugs, undocumented migrants and refugee women, and young feminists are often unavailable for analysis as many are unregistered and informal, making it even more challenging to access institutional funding.³¹ Young feminists, for instance, consider the lack of financial resources by far their most widely shared challenge. Over 91 percent of the respondents in a survey conducted by FRIDA and AWID in 2016 rank lack of financial resources as their top challenge.³² In the case of sex workers' organizing, 75 percent of sex workers' rights organizations surveyed had budgets of less than €100 000 per year, 53 percent had organizational budgets of less than €50 000 per year, and 35 percent had less than €10 000.³³



A sample of budgets of sex workers' rights organizing

29 Mama Cash. 2019. Report: Resourcing Feminist Activism. <https://www.mamacash.org/en/report-resourcing-feminist-activism>

30 Scamell, D. 2019. <https://www.astraeafoundation.org/apply/intersex-human-rights-fund>

31 FRIDA, and AWID. 2016. Brave, Creative, Resilient: The Global State of Young Feminist Organizing. https://www.awid.org/sites/default/files/atoms/files/frida-awid_field-report_final_web_issue.pdf

32 Ibid.

33 Mama Cash, Red Umbrella Fund, and Open Society Foundation. 2014. Funding for Sex Workers Rights. https://www.redumbrellafund.org/wp-content/uploads/2017/10/Report_funding-sex-worker-rights_FINAL_WEB.pdf

*Despite the advances made on gender equality and women's rights since the Beijing Platform, it is clear that the funding ecosystem for intersectional feminist organizing, and for feminist movements in general, is still bleak. **Newly committed resources are not reaching feminist movements at the breadth and depth necessary, especially in the Global South.***³⁴

These findings constitute a clear call to all actors within the feminist funding ecosystem to mobilize so that resources finally reach feminist movements and activists during this critical period.

³⁴ Staszewka, K., Dolker, T., and Miller, K. 2019. *Only 1% of gender equality funding is going to women's organizations - why?* The Guardian. <https://www.theguardian.com/global-development/2019/jul/02/gender-equality-support-1bn-boost-how-to-spend-it>

WHERE IS THE MONEY FOR FEMINIST ORGANIZING?

Foundation Grants 2017

Official Development Assistance (ODA) 2018

Total Foundation Assets
\$1.5 Trillion

Total Official Development Assistance (ODA)
\$153 Billion

Total Foundation Grants
\$99 Billion

ODA to Gender Equality as Principle Objective
\$4.6 Billion
(4% of total ODA)

Total Human Rights Grants
\$1.14 Billion

ODA to Women's Rights Organizations & Institutions
\$459 Million
(0.3% of total ODA)

Total Women's Rights Grants
\$422.3 Million
(0.42% of total foundation grants)

ODA only for Women's Rights Organizations
\$198 Million
(0.13% of total ODA)

Despite donors' commitments to resource gender equality, over 99 percent of Official Development Assistance (ODA) and foundation grants do not directly reach women's rights, gender justice, and feminist movements. In philanthropy, only \$1.14 billion USD of the massive \$1.5 trillion USD in foundation assets³⁵ and \$99 billion USD in total foundation grants in 2017 are human rights grants.³⁶ And of this number, our findings indicate that women's rights grants are a mere \$422.3 million USD, equivalent to 0.42 percent of the total foundation grants in 2017.³⁷ Out of 6,830 total women's rights grants, the average grant size was \$61,844 USD.³⁸ This shows that the rhetoric for supporting women and girls is not matched by actual policy shifts and funding flows within international development and philanthropy.

Significantly, less than one percent of all gender-focused aid is going directly to women's rights organizations and institutions. Between 2017-2018, women's rights organizations received only 0.13 percent out of the total ODA; and only 0.4 percent of all gender-focused aid.³⁹ In four years, the ODA commitment for women's rights organizations has increased by only \$6 million USD, from \$192 million USD in 2013-2014 to \$198 million USD in 2017-2018.

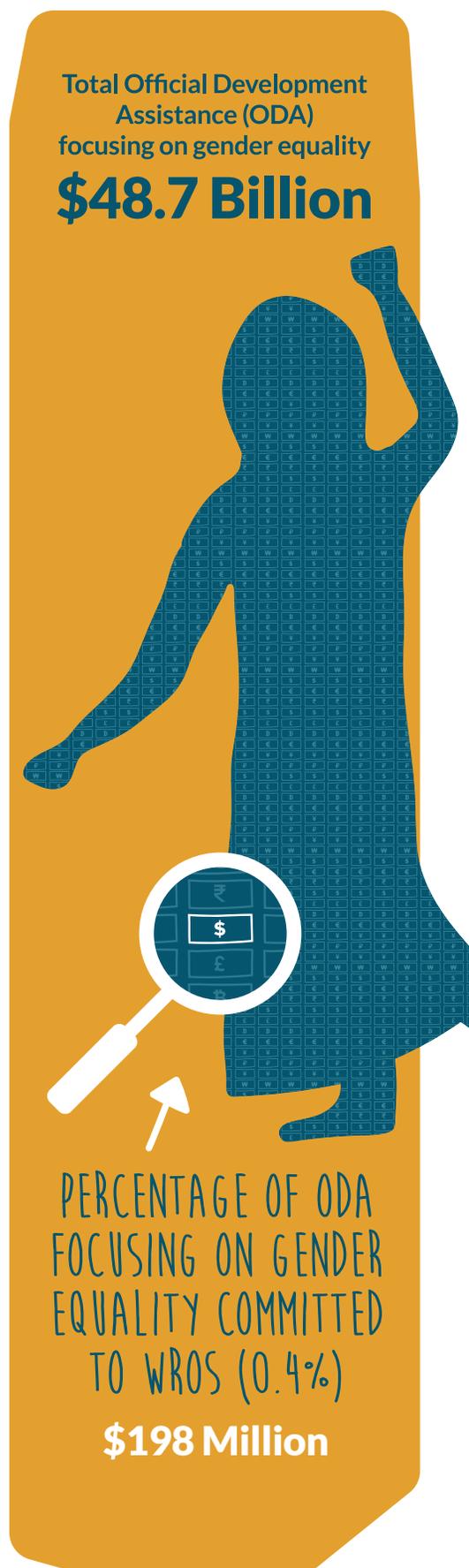
35 Harvard Kennedy School. 2018. Global Philanthropy Report: Perspectives on the Global Foundation Sector. https://cpl.hks.harvard.edu/files/cpl/files/global_philanthropy_report_final_april_2018.pdf

36 AWID's analysis of the grants data from 2017 at Candid. 2019.

37 Ibid.

38 Ibid.

39 OECD. 2020. Aid Focused on Gender Equality and Women's Empowerment. <https://www.oecd.org/development/gender-development/Aid-Focussed-on-Gender-Equality-and-Women-s-Empowerment-2020.pdf>. While there is a more updated OECD report analyzing data from 2018-19, our analysis uses the 2017-2018 data to match the year of our analysis of the philanthropic data from Candid. The difference from the previous year was that the total bilateral aid for gender equality as a principal objective increased slightly to five percent. <https://www.oecd.org/development/gender-development/Development-finance-for-gender-equality-2021.pdf>



AID FOR WOMEN'S RIGHTS ORGANIZATIONS (WROS) MISSES THE MARK

Official Development Assistance (ODA)

\$153 Billion

PERCENTAGE OF ODA COMMITTED TO WROS (0.13%)

\$198 Million



Overall, the ODA for gender equality as a “primary objective” has not changed very much, staying stagnant at four percent of all gender-focused aid for nearly 10 years through 2018, and five percent in 2019.⁴⁰

Further, funding to “women’s institutions and organizations”, which include governmental and non-governmental organizations, has stayed almost the same over the past two years, at 0.3 percent of the total allocation of the ODA to gender institutions, from \$430 million USD to \$459 million USD.⁴¹

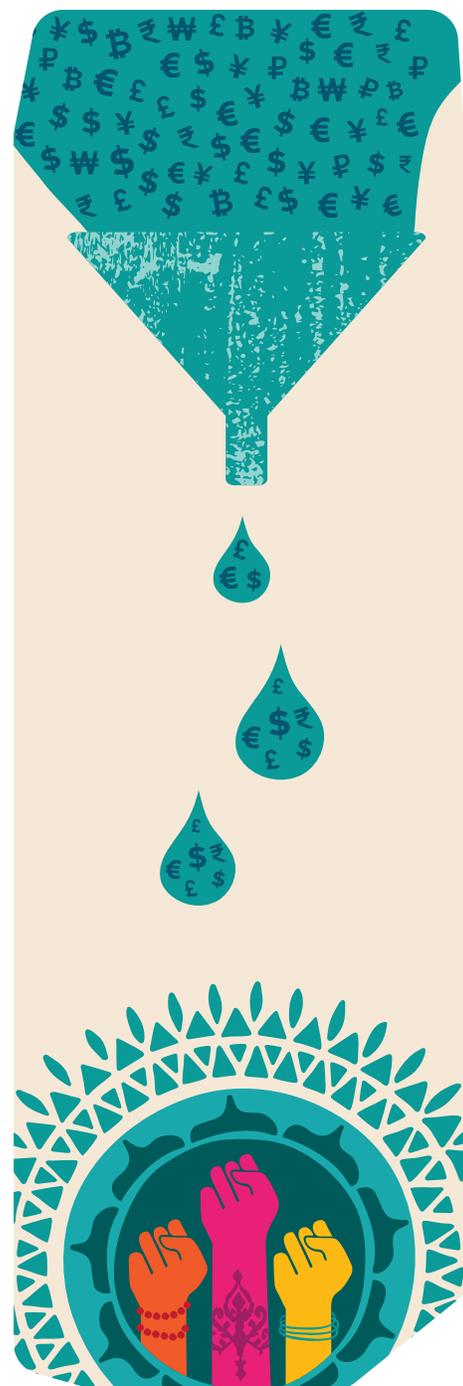
⁴⁰ Primary or (principal) objective means that gender equality is the dedicated and primary objective. The objective is fundamental to its design and expected results. The project/programme would not have been undertaken without this objective. Ibid.

⁴¹ Ibid.

This means that less than one percent (0.94%) of gender-related aid is allocated to women’s rights organizations and institutions.

Global LGBTIQ funding from donor governments was less than 0.04 percent of total international development efforts and assistance.⁴² That is only 0.31 percent of the overall global foundation funding.⁴³ Specifically, a review of data from 255 trans rights organizations across the world showed that \$19 million USD were awarded through 803 grants.⁴⁴ The bulk of this was awarded within the United States. Outside the US, only 72 trans rights organizations across all other regions of the world received a combined total of a scant \$7 million USD.⁴⁵ Groups organizing at multiple intersecting oppressions receive even less funding. Less than one percent of all human rights grants, for instance, reach sex workers groups.⁴⁶ These funding flows have a detrimental impact on the current state of resourcing severely undermining feminist, gender justice, and human rights agendas.

Much of the allocated funding for aid which is designated to reach the Global South eventually stays in the Global North. Over \$24 billion USD of development aid is estimated to find its way back to donor countries.⁴⁷ For instance, 51 percent of the aid contracts reported to the OECD were awarded to their own domestic companies; and only seven percent to suppliers



Less than one percent of all human rights grants reach sex workers groups.

42 Global Resources Report. 2018. Funders for LGBTQ Issues and Global Philanthropy Project. https://globalresourcesreport.org/wp-content/uploads/2020/05/GRR_2017-2018_Color.pdf

43 Ibid.

44 Ibid.

45 Scamell, D. 2019. Funder Briefing: The State of Trans Funding. New York: Global Philanthropy Project, American Jewish World Service, Astraea Lesbian Foundation for Justice, and GATE. <https://s3.amazonaws.com/astraea.production/app/asset/uploads/2019/09/2019-Trans-Funding-Brief.pdf>

46 Count Me In!. 2020. Funding Sex Workers' Rights. https://www.mamacash.org/media/cmi_factsheets/cmi_funding_final.pdf

47 Seery, Emma. 2020. 50 years of broken promises. UK: Oxfam International. <https://www.oxfam.org/en/research/50-years-broken-promises>

in low and middle income countries.⁴⁸ The development assistance that is committed for socioeconomic development in these countries is not only a lot less (over \$5.7 trillion USD to be exact) than promised over 50 years ago, it is systematically diverted and ineffective.⁴⁹

As the world continues to cope with the COVID-19 pandemic, it is the time to not only make bolder commitments to feminist movements, but also to fundamentally shift the power within the funding ecosystem, and finally shift the ways development aid is conceived, designed, and disbursed.



...It is time...to fundamentally shift the power within the funding ecosystem, and finally shift the ways development aid is conceived, designed, and disbursed.

⁴⁸ Ibid.

⁴⁹ Ibid.

SHIFT POWER AND FUND FEMINIST MOVEMENTS TO WIN⁵⁰

The funding ecosystem framework is intended to enable feminist movements and funders to better understand which funding sources reach whom and how. It is also designed to name where funding could and should reach movements and communities but fails to do so. This framework invites funders to locate their own institutions, resources, and impact in the broader landscape of funding for social change, and assess which critical gaps they can fill. It gives them the opportunity to make sure their resources and advocacy power are leveraged strategically and in complementarity, and see how they can make decisions to ensure that constituency-led women's rights and feminist organizations in the Global South are well resourced.

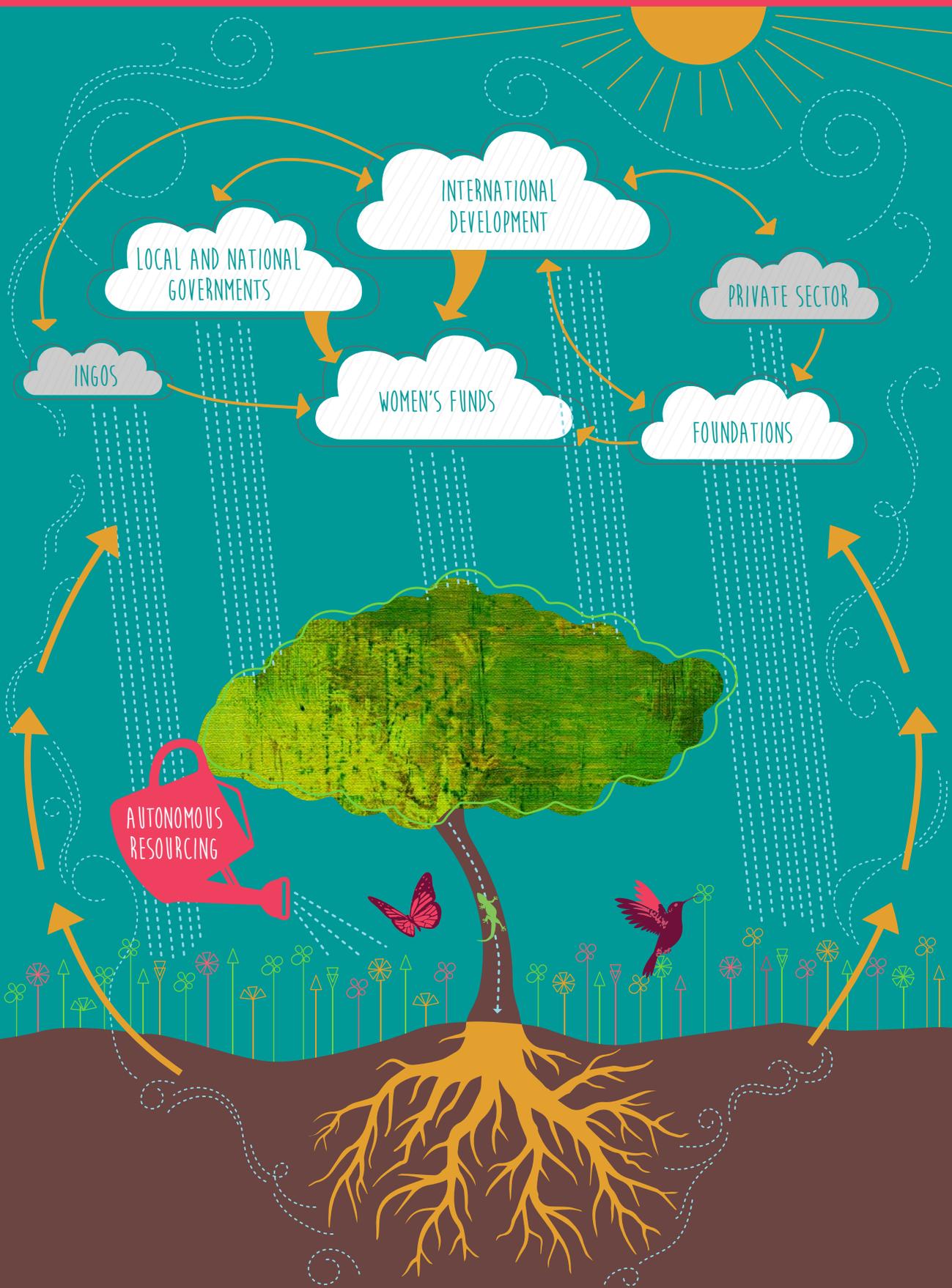
AWID. 2019. Toward a feminist funding ecosystem: A framework and practical guide. <https://www.awid.org/publications/toward-feminist-funding-ecosystem-framework-and-practical-guide>

The figures in this brief demonstrate beyond doubt that only a tiny fraction of available resources support sustained, collective action by feminist, women's rights, and gender justice organizations who are challenging inequality and injustice.



50 This title is inspired by the following article. Henderson, W. Ash-Lee. 2020. Fund Us Like You Want Us to Win. The Chronicle of Philanthropy. <https://www.philanthropy.com/article/fund-us-like-you-want-us-to-win>

WHERE WE WANT TO BE



RESOURCING FOR FEMINIST MOVEMENTS

A growing number of funders, such as the recent announcement of the first Black Feminist Fund, are responding to this call to action with commitments to funding feminist movements directly.⁵¹ While a lot more and better funding is needed, in the 26 years since Beijing, there are examples of best practices of how to fund feminist movements directly.

A new report by AWID and Mama Cash in partnership with the Count Me In! Consortium⁵², showcases concrete case studies and analysis. The report explains how donors can overcome some of the most common institutional challenges and move ambitious resources directly to feminist movements, particularly in the Global South. The report also highlights enabling practices and building blocks that can shift how money moves.

AWID and Mama Cash. 2020. Moving More Money to the Drivers of Change: How Bilateral and Multilateral Funders Can Resource Feminist Movements

<https://www.awid.org/news-and-analysis/new-report-moving-more-money-drivers-change-how-funders-can-resource-feminist>

Moving More Money to the Drivers of Change: How Bilateral and Multilateral Funders Can Resource Feminist Movements



51 Ford Foundation. 2021. Ford Foundation Supports Launch of First Global Fund Addressing Key Issues Facing Black Women. <https://www.fordfoundation.org/the-latest/news/ford-foundation-supports-launch-of-first-global-fund-addressing-key-issues-facing-black-women/>

52 AWID and Mama Cash with Count Me In! 2020. Moving More Money to the Drivers of Change: How Bilateral and Multilateral Funders Can Resource Feminist Movements. <https://www.awid.org/news-and-analysis/new-report-moving-more-money-drivers-change-how-funders-can-resource-feminist>

The mechanisms discussed in the report recommends funders:

Leverage their **political commitments** to start new funding programmes or review the ones already in place;

Make their **eligibility criteria** and funding mechanisms fit for purpose to fund organizations that have the greatest impact on women's rights;

Commit to developing **accountability mechanisms** directly to feminist movements; and

Embrace and include participatory **governance models** that include constituency-led and grassroots feminist actors.

This is an urgent call to action for all actors within the funding ecosystem to find a path forward. Based on the ample evidence provided in this brief, it is an invitation to boldly reimagine the entirety of the funding ecosystem. Donors can fund, advocate, and push levers of change to shift power and resources to the movements at the forefront of defending and advancing rights and justice.

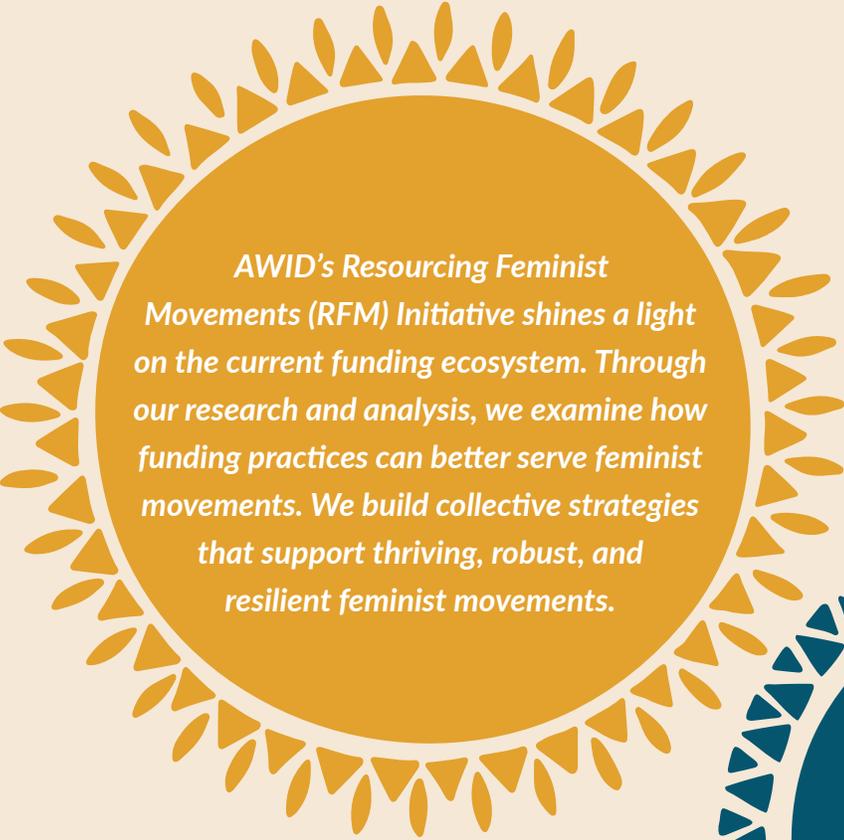


As stakeholders explore their own role in accelerating the implementation of women's rights commitments following the Generation Equality Forums and the emerging Action Coalitions, how funding moves must be a priority for change.

To successfully achieve gender equality, a bold resourcing agenda for feminist movements is truly non-negotiable.

Finally, though this brief has focused on resourcing, feminist values call on us to be holistic and consistent. Questions of money cannot and must not be detached from questions of power and democracy, and accountability for human rights violations by the state and the private sector. More and better resourcing for feminist movements goes hand in hand with progressive taxation, well-funded public services such as health and education, accountability mechanisms for rights violations, and adequate state funding for intergovernmental institutions such as the United Nations. We cannot afford to let the current historic momentum for accelerating transformative social change end in business as usual.





AWID's Resourcing Feminist Movements (RFM) Initiative shines a light on the current funding ecosystem. Through our research and analysis, we examine how funding practices can better serve feminist movements. We build collective strategies that support thriving, robust, and resilient feminist movements.



We invite you to share your experiences with resourcing feminist organising as well as feedback on how this publication serves your movements. Please contact us at www.awid.org.



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