



Briefing note

Women's organisations and feminist mobilisation

Supporting the foundational drivers of gender equality

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Summary and key recommendations

Feminist and women's organisations are critical actors for enabling transformative change towards gender equality and justice. Evidence that gender equality cannot be achieved without them is clear. They are, however, chronically underfunded and face significant financial and non-financial barriers in their work.

Efforts to support these organisations can draw on an expanding evidence base on how they contribute to change. Women's mobilisation is driving changes to legislation to address male violence against women, supporting policies to enhance women's economic status, and exposing the harsh and sometimes dangerous discriminatory practices women face in work, politics and day-to-day life. This activism can also contribute to personal autonomy and changing gender roles and relations.

There is an emerging consensus among those pursuing transformative change around the world of the need to address funding models to: (1) create more long-term, flexible and accessible donor modalities for women's groups; (2) provide more core funding to nurture the ability of feminist organisations to operate independently of donor constraints; and (3) provide support in financial and non-financial ways to elevate their effectiveness, amplify global voices and connect groups driving change.

Despite growing recognition across the donor landscape of these principles, much of this work still requires fundamental rethinking and transformation. More work is needed to enhance the proliferation and potential for new funding models to take root, and to ensure they are fit for purpose. Finding ways to support varied forms of mobilisation through multi-stakeholder engagement and partnerships based on trust, care and dialogue can foster more transformative change.

Glossary

Social norms: the implicit and informal rules that most people accept and follow. They are influenced by our beliefs, economic circumstances and sometimes by the rewards and sanctions we might expect for either adhering to or disobeying them. Norms are embedded in formal and informal institutions (for example, in health and school systems, in governments, in the rule of law as well as in family and community practices and cultures) and are produced and reproduced through our social interactions.

Gender norms: a subset of social norms. Gender norms describe how we are expected to behave as a result of the way we or others identify our gender. In most contexts, gender norms are framed in binary terms (female and male), and often reflect and reinforce unequal gender relations.

Social movements: an organised set of constituents pursuing a common agenda of change through collective action. They will have a mobilised constituency base, members collectivised in formal or informal organisations, some continuity over time, a clear agenda, a variety of strategies and actions, and clear internal and external targets.

Women's movements: a type of social movement mostly comprising and led by women, and where women participate on the basis of their gender (that is, their identity and interests as 'women'). Some movements have clear leaders and/or are led or supported by formal organisations – non-governmental organisations (NGOs) and civil society organisations (CSOs), for example. Others are more informal and non-hierarchical. Women's movements may have feminist or gender equality aims, or may have non-feminist or even 'anti-feminist' interests and goals.

Feminist movements: social movements seeking to improve the situation of women by resisting gender inequality and injustice, while at the same time challenging gendered expectations or roles and demanding an end to sexist oppression. Feminist movements tend to work collectively with women and for women, but they may also work with feminist men.

Women's funds: women's funds are autonomous and independent public foundations, run by women, to exclusively support women's organisations or women's rights initiatives. Much of their grant-making aims to address social and economic inequalities and their root causes.

Sources: hooks (1984), Molyneux (1998, 2000), Mama Cash (2007), Batliwala (2012), Horn (2013), Weldon and Htun (2013), ODI/ALIGN (2021)

1. Introduction

Women have come together to bring about seismic shifts in the daily lives of people around the globe. Without the tireless work of women demanding their rights – and without activists standing up and organising against multiple forms of oppression (often at great personal cost), it is easy to imagine a very different, less equal, world.

Women’s autonomous mobilisation dates back millennia and crosses all geographies and continents. Although frequently written out of historical narratives, women have led and collectively contributed to all sorts of organising-around various forms of social justice, not least gender inequality. From ancient Greece (Rampton, 2008) through the Middle Ages (Federici, 2004), to modern times, such as in today’s Nigeria (Nwakanma, 2022), women’s movements have led the charge for change. Organisations like the first Female Anti-Slavery Society founded by Black women in 1833 in Philadelphia (Davis, 1981) or movements like the May Fourth Feminist movement in China in the 1910-20s (Li, 2000) show how women’s mobilisation around women’s justice issues has been a consistent force behind currents of historical, social and political change.

In African feminist history, female leaders are considered legendary. Yaa Asantewaa is celebrated for leading the Ashanti rebellion against British colonial rule, in 1900 in what is now considered present-day Ghana (McCaskie, 2007). Since the early 1910s, International Women’s Day has been organised all over the world to commemorate women leading change – beyond the formal political spaces that tend to be hostile to women’s leadership, and especially on issues such as political representation and labour rights. More recent 21st century movements like #MeToo, #BringBackOurGirls and #NiUnaMenos (which organise around issues such as a life free from violence) help to alter modern legal, social and interpersonal trajectories through their movements pushing for change.

Despite the critical roles women’s movements play in progressing issues at the core of the sustainable development goals and global funders’ agendas, these groups are chronically under-supported. Worldwide, grassroots women’s organisations receive a very small share of the total funding directed to gender equality – reportedly less than 1% of Official Development Assistance (AWID, 2021).

This ODI briefing note discusses the many ways in which women’s movements contribute to social transformation, outlining the barriers and challenges they face, as well as the support needed to sustain long-term impact.

2. Background: a brief overview of mobilisation and norm change

International Women's Day, first celebrated in March 1911, sprung from women's mobilisation around demands for labour rights and dignity at work, the right to vote and to hold public office, and to access vocational training in the US and Europe (Vogelstein, 2017). Much of what is now viewed as 'normal' in terms of women's rights is the result of decades of persistent activism around the world (Box 1). Studies indicate that women's movements have been the most important factor in influencing gender equality policy and legal change – more important than the presence of female legislators, supportive political parties and even national wealth (Htun and Weldon, 2012).

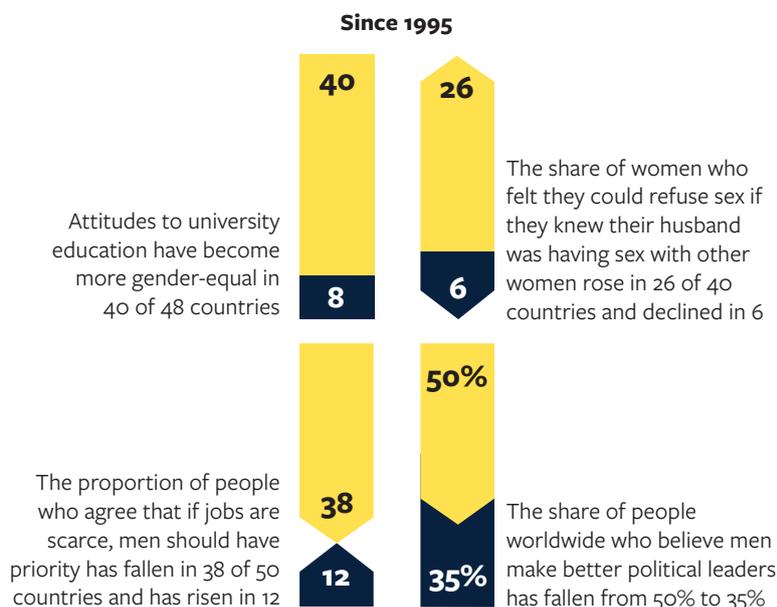
Box 1: The historical impact of women's organising in three major sectors

Women's right to vote: women's organising was a primary factor in achieving women's rights to vote and to hold public office. Between 1893 and 1960, with an explosion of movements calling for women's suffrage around the world, more than 129 countries and territories introduced women's suffrage. In some contexts, struggles persisted into the early 21st century, such as Saudi Arabia's political reforms of 2008. Thanks to determined organising and activism, equal voting rights for women is now very much the norm (George et al., 2020a).

Gender equality in the economy: more egalitarian laws covering issues such as workplace rights, inheritance, property and financial access have proliferated globally, and have been associated with decades of feminist mobilisation (Weldon et al., 2020).

Male violence against women: activism has led to transformations in legal frameworks to address sexual violence – for example with the outlawing of street harassment and child marriage and the abolition of 'marry your rapist' laws. Reforms have been achieved through the work of grassroots groups such as the Karama movement, a network of activists and civil society groups in the Arab region.

These mobilisations have had significant impacts. Since the period from the 1995 Fourth World Conference on Women to today, we see the transformations in global attitudes represented in Figure 1.

Figure 1 How have norms changed? A historical perspective

Source: Harper et al. (2020)

This activism is not without risks and challenges, but it has helped inspire and drive substantial social transformations enabling breakthroughs where inequalities were otherwise deeply embedded and difficult to address. These historic achievements are the foundation for continued activism and thriving movements today (Box 2).

Box 2: The contemporary landscape of women's organising

Building on decades of historical momentum, women's organisations are today tackling both long-standing and emerging gender justice issues, including:

- Sexual and reproductive health and rights:** this area of activism includes demands for reproductive rights and LGBTQI+ care, and has been gaining attention in recent years, intensifying in the wake of the Supreme Court overturning of *Roe v Wade* in the United States in 2022. In Central and South America, the #MareaVerde (Green Tide) movement has gained momentum, bringing about the gradual decriminalisation of abortion in places like Argentina in 2019, and Mexico in 2021, and Colombia in 2022.
- Issues of education and representation:** driven by the brave work of activists like Malala Yousafzai and of global movements that break down barriers in areas such as science and technology via #BreakStereotypes and #ILookLikeAnEngineer.
- A women's right to a life free from violence:** which remains high on the agenda thanks to international campaigns including #MeToo, and #NiUnaMenos, and *El machismo mata* (Sexism kills) in Chile among others.

- **Intersectional women’s movements advocating for climate and racial justice:**

for example, *El Movimiento de Mujeres Indígenas por el Buen Vivir* (Movement of Indigenous Women for the Good Life) and *Futuros Indígenas* (Indigenous Futures) in Mexico are examples of how groups work collectively to defend their land and protect the environment through gender and racial justice lenses.

2.1 How do norms change?

Organising and collective action are central to the process of shifting entrenched **gender** and **social norms** (understood as the implicit and informal rules, codes of conduct, attitudes and behaviours that most people follow in a given society – see Figure 2). These norms are embedded in informal and formal institutions, reproduced through social interactions and shape how people are perceived, enabled or constrained in their daily lives (see the Glossary for further definitions).

Figure 2 Examples of gender norms



Patriarchal attitudes and behaviours are often gender-discriminatory and are so normalised they can be difficult to perceive, let alone change. They shape outcomes: girls are kept out of school to perform household duties; early marriage and sexual violence persists; women are paid less than men; and women are not permitted to own property, inherit land or open a bank account. Norms are often understood as ‘the way things have always been’, ‘too complex’ to address, or too far outside the scope of mainstream work to improve well-being (such as through social protection schemes).

However, focusing on well-being outcomes alone can ignore the underlying beliefs and attitudes that sustain and maintain gender inequality and injustice. Philanthropic and international actors are increasingly recognising this in their work and the evidence is clear that efforts to address the material consequences of inequality often do not bring the hoped-for gains without addressing the root causes (e.g. gender norms). For example, improved health services only attract women to clinics if discriminatory, patronising and sometimes moralistic attitudes among health providers change; and quotas for female politicians will only lead to inclusive governance if attitudes towards the ability of women to lead change (Harper et al., 2020).

Norms do change. Women’s mobilisation has been central to changes in areas once viewed as ‘normal’ and difficult to change – for example, shifting norms around education, violence, work and leadership. As the socio-ecological model in Figure 3 shows, women’s organisations and feminist movements can often provide a critical link across individual, interpersonal, community, sub-national to national and international spaces, enabling changes to take root and to last.

Figure 3 Multiple levels of action for gender equality: the sociological model



3. Mobilisation at the cutting edge of norm change: some key current issues

3.1 Many forms of violence

Some progress has been achieved against physical violence, particularly in the proliferation of legal protections. Now work is needed to enforce, maintain and expand these protections to address emotional and psychological violence, including violence experienced online and facilitated by technology, and to confront violence in particular spaces such as public transport, politics and other work-related spaces (Jiménez Thomas Rodriguez/ALIGN, 2022 forthcoming). The Covid-19 pandemic and global pushbacks against civic space have thrown a spotlight on these issues, shaped experiences globally, and indicated the urgency of addressing such forms and places of violence.

Specific workplaces also need targeted action. For example, among women working in the horticulture sector in Tanzania, up to 89% had witnessed sexual harassment (ILO, 2020). In Ecuador's flower-production industry, over 55% of surveyed workers said they experienced some form of sexual harassment – an estimate that rises to 70% for younger workers aged 20 to 24. In India and Bangladesh, approximately 60% of garment factory workers surveyed reported having experienced 'some type of harassment at work, verbal abuse or physical abuse' (George et al., 2020b).

Online spaces can be empowering and help amplify voices and movements, but they can also enable violence and promote anti-feminist backlash (Washington and Marcus, 2022). For example, in a 2016 study of 55 female parliamentarians around the world, 23 had experienced 'extremely humiliating or sexually charged images' of themselves being spread through social media during their parliamentary term (IPU, 2016).

3.2 Economic empowerment: broad understandings for deeper change

The impact of women's movements on economic empowerment is significant. Studies have found that equality laws governing inheritance, property and financial access have been driven by feminist movements, which in turn change norms and deepen democracy (Weldon et al., 2020). However, inequality in access to economic assets – including land and fair pay – persists. Female labour market participation has barely shifted in 20 years, with actual declines recently evident in India and China (Klasen, 2019; ILO, 2020). In economies where employment is expanding, rising education levels and falling fertility should lead to more, not less, formal employment of women.

Positive changes have been small in the face of weighty forces maintaining the status quo. Women's work is further compounded by unsafe working conditions and the threat of violence, as described above. Women's movements can enable wider understandings of the multitude of forces slowing

down advances in economic empowerment, particularly in issues such as legal rights, property ownership (including housing and land rights), and women's access to financial services (including without a male guarantor).

For economic equality, both policy and societal change are necessary. Women cannot become economically empowered without political voice, education, physical integrity or freedom from violence.

4. How do women's organisations contribute to changing social and gender norms?

4.1 Organising forms

Women's organisations and movements come in many different forms. Some are loose, leaderless collectives while others are more formalised movements (León-Himmelstine et al., 2022). Many women's organisations classified as civil society organisations (CSOs) or non-governmental organisations (NGOs) support or lead movements, although not all movements involve formal partnership with, or leadership by, formalised organisations. In principle, women's movements are social movements largely comprising and led by women, often (though not always) pursuing feminist aims (for fuller definitions, see Glossary).

Some movements push back against pressure to 'professionalise' or participate in what they call the 'NGO-isation' of their work,¹ which can effectively force grassroots organisations into more formalised, government-sanctioned structures. The strategies that these movements employ are diverse, ranging from lobbying governments and allying with state actors, occupying the street, running workshops and using art for activism. Some incorporate an explicit norm change mandate (such as the #MeToo movement, which has aimed to change public attitudes and perceptions of what social interactions are acceptable) while others may focus on more on specific policy change (such as the #Women2Drive campaign in Saudi Arabia).

4.1 Organising impacts

Legal and social changes regarding violence are often highly interconnected and mutually reinforcing processes, transforming what is viewed as normal or acceptable, although poor enforcement of existing laws is an ongoing challenge. The existence of autonomous women's movements is a key factor connected to the likelihood of the enactment of laws to address domestic and gender-based violence (Htun and Weldon, 2012). Once passed, laws often contribute to the transformation of gender norms in society.

At the community level, the Indian feminist movement We Speak Out, composed of diasporic Bohra women who oppose the practice of female genital cutting in the Dawoodi Bohra community, has used a combination of public interest litigation and community action strategies to contribute to

1 The term 'NGO-ization' has been defined as 'attempts at increased institutionalization and professionalization tailored towards funders' priorities' (Sayan and Duygulu, 2022: 420). Others observe that CSOs can end up working towards their own NGO-ization since the ability to access donor funding requires a particular form of institutionalisation and professionalisation, and thematic focus (Jad, 2004).

reducing the practice in 2018. In another example, the Indian Young Lawyers Association helped address the refusal of women's entry to Sabarimala temple in Kerala due to menstrual taboos. These actions have helped address specific contextual rights abuses while also contributing to community conversations and dialogues.

At the level of service delivery, movements and organisations have been critical in sharing information about health services and supporting norm change to address health service discrimination. In Argentina, feminist activists have been offering information on safe practices for women's health. UK Feminista, which works with schools to change attitudes around sexual violence, and the Forum for African Women Educationalists have undertaken comparable initiatives in education.

Regional collectives such as the feminist *encuentros* (meetings) that began in South America in the mid-1980s and the Collectif 95 Maghreb-Egalité, which brings together women's groups from Algeria, Morocco and Tunisia, have also supported norm change and gender equality outcomes in their communities.

Many women's and feminist organisations have promoted changes in gender roles simply by virtue of organising collectively. Through individual involvement, women have increased their self-confidence, taken leadership roles and challenged gendered expectations (Kurzman, 2008; Kaufman and Williams, 2010).

4.2 Organising ecosystems

Women's organisations and movements face enabling and constraining factors in the environments in which they operate. Some research has found that dedicated women's political ministries partnering with feminist groups have sometimes been critical to enabling change (for example, leading to the development of women-only transport in Mexico City) (Dunckel Graglia, 2016). The wider effectiveness of these ministries can depend on a range of factors including their level within government, clarity of mission and mandate, meaningful links with CSOs access to adequate resources, and others (McBride and Mazur, 2011). National and international courts, such as the Inter-American Court of Human Rights, can also play a crucial role, as can lawyers, politicians and elites partnering with or supporting feminist movements and organisations (Bustamante Arango and Vásquez Henao, 2011; Jones and Manjoo, 2018; and others).

Other enabling and constraining factors include:

- **Access to resources.** Access to resources, both financial and organisational, makes collective mobilisation less costly for individuals, increasing the likelihood of successfully challenging discriminatory practices and the patriarchal status quo.

- **Intergenerational learning and a long-term perspective.** Supporting small and big actions towards long-term goals is important, given that deep-seated patriarchal practices and beliefs can be slow to change.
- **Intersectional alliances.** Alliances between different women's and feminist movements and the presence of 'bridge leaders' who connect different feminist and non-feminist groups can be critical for transferring knowledge and skills in new spaces.
- **Democratic context.** The existence of democratic regimes and democratic transition can sometimes enable the amplification of feminist demands. The ability of women's movements to operate cannot be considered in isolation from their civic contexts.
- **International political environment.** Some movements have been aided by international instruments such as the Convention on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women and by campaigns, like the #HeForShe Campaign (calling for men's support on gender equality) and the 16 Days of Activism (to address gender-based violence).
- **Autonomy.** When movements are autonomous from political actors, this allows members to set their own agendas and framings as well as avoid being co-opted and instrumentalised by governments or other powerful actors. The risks of this can be mitigated in one way through multi-stakeholder initiatives that root claims and efforts for change across different anchoring points in society, and can involve governments, international organisations, philanthropy and business.

4.3 Organising challenges

While women's participation in social movements can be empowering and transformational, it can also be time-consuming, emotionally and physically demanding, and risky. Participation can lead to a 'triple workload' for women, and their activities may alienate them from their communities and families and render them more exposed to violence. The burdens, challenges and physical risks that many women face in driving change cannot be overstated.

One example of the complexity and risks involved is from a thriving women's movement in Kuwait that successfully advocated for a new law on domestic violence in 2020 but has been unable, despite years of advocacy and attention, to 'Abolish 153', a penal code that provides lesser sentences to male perpetrators in cases of so-called 'honour killing'. Another instance is how Saudi Arabia granted women the right to drive in 2018 alongside the arbitrary jailing and mistreatment of many of the country's female #Women2Drive activists. Promoting learning from women's experiences and preferences in relation to these risks and burdens could improve understanding of the best ways to support them. Challenges also exist in engaging men and boys in feminist struggles. Men can play a significant role in promoting feminist agendas, but questions remain over their role and the risks of men co-opting or tokenising the work of women (see discussion in Jiménez Thomas Rodríguez et al., 2021).

There are also challenges in how to enable inclusive action that navigates divisions among different social justice actors. This work requires appreciation for how many forms of identity and experience intersect with gender to create unique outcomes, and how women's organisations and movements

can organise in ways that acknowledge, include or address these multiple actors and experiences.² Women's experiences are not monolithic. An appreciation of the diversity of women's views and experiences is important to ensure inclusive and effective action. Lessons can be drawn from the *Buen Vivir* indigenous eco-women's movement in Argentina, and from the One in Nine campaign against sexual violence in South Africa, where efforts to include diverse perspectives in the movement have strengthened their reach and impact (León-Himmelstine et al., 2022; Dlakavu, 2016).

2 Women have described the necessity of intersectional action, for example in ODI's consultations on women's mobilisation as discussed in Leon Himmelstine et al. (2022)

5. Supporting women's organising: insights and recommendations

Studies have begun to capture some important principles for collaboration with and financing for women's organisations. In general, they converge on the need for a diversity of funders to engage on women's organising, including through multi-stakeholder and partnership engagement, and for these funds to be flexible and long term, providing core funds and non-financial support.

Women's organisers and feminist leaders consulted through ODI convenings (ODI Global Dialogue, 2022) have asserted that 'how funding operates is as important as what is funded'. For example, Françoise Moudouthe, CEO of the African Women's Development Fund, said starkly, 'You can't innovate with shackles on your hands'. Hakima Abbas, co-CEO of the Association for Women's Rights in Development, stated, 'If you don't give movements the money, then they'll never have the absorptive capacity to hold that money.' Other organisers have stressed the need for funds to be 'substantial enough to carry out the real cost of activism, for as long as it takes', and to address practical, technological and language biases that can exist in accessing funding.

Box 3: Recommendations for funding and supporting women's movements

Taking these challenges and experiences into account, alongside three key studies of funders' roles in supporting women at the grassroots level (see Appendix 1 for their fuller findings), the following recommendations have emerged from ODI consultations with women's and feminist groups.

Show solidarity and think long-term: acknowledge that social change takes time and build alliances across different groups and funders to maximise impact.

Go beyond finance: engage in non-financial support through networking and collaboration.

Be participatory: enhance participatory processes and accountability to enable greater feedback and input from women's groups on their needs and experiences.

Change the formula: enable longer-term, more flexible and core funds to support administrative costs, rather than project-based funding; break formulaic approaches and pre-determined objectives.

Influence and partner: support greater connections with women's and feminist funds and work to influence other donors.

Support intersecting efforts: support different forms of women's mobilisation, including women's participation in broader social and environmental movements, to bring about mutually supportive gains for gender equality.

5.1 Supporting the drivers of change: moving forward

In the context of today's economic and political crises, the rise of anti-feminist movements and critical climate and environmental emergencies, work to support social movements must integrate learning on the roles played by women's movements while ensuring solutions recognise and adapt to the wider ecosystems where change takes place. The evidence is clear that support for women's mobilisation cannot be 'put to the side.' These are actors who are proven to be central to enacting and sustaining changes to improve the lives of women worldwide. Small, project-based support and issue-focused programming and advocacy work require a complementary appreciation of, and, where possible, support for, women's organisations and movements driving and rooting change around the world.

Documentation of the gendered impacts of the Covid-19 pandemic indicate a growing urgency in the calls for support to women's organisations. However, one UK study by the Women's Resource Centre and the Rosa Fund found that nearly half of women's organisations surveyed during the pandemic fear for their very survival (Women's Resource Centre et al., 2020).

There has also been a documented rise in so-called anti-feminist or anti-gender movements around the world. These movements have sought to entrench and 're-traditionalise' norms and institutions based on ideas of gender difference. A study of US-based organisations found that between 2008 and 2017, \$6.2 billion had been invested in movements that contained anti-gender equality sentiments, and that at least a further \$1 billion had been invested globally (which is likely larger due to reporting limitations) (Global Philanthropy Project, 2020). Between 2013 and 2017, LGBTQI+xQ movements worldwide received \$1.2 billion, while anti-gender equality movements received \$3.7 billion (ibid). Investments in feminist mobilisation face a tide of counter-funding, and just as financial resources can unlock potential for women's organising to progress gender equality and justice, so too do funds sow and reinforce patriarchal gender norms.

This is why the call for informed and collaborative action through building supportive partnerships is so pressing (Tant and Jiménez Thomas Rodriguez, 2022). Economic recession and changes in global budgets and priorities could risk sidelining gender equality work, which already receives relatively small investment.

Even though work in this space requires long timeframes (10 years or more), there is growing evidence and recognition of the leading contribution of women's mobilisation not only to gender equality outcomes but also to enhancing wider social justice, human rights and democratic agendas (Chenoweth and Marks, 2022). This is reason enough for significant funds to flow in their direction.

Covid-19 has highlighted the urgency of addressing issues such as male violence against women, unpaid care work, and the threats brought on by online technology. The pandemic offers the opportunity to focus conversations on the roles played by women's organisations and movements (Njeri and Daigle, 2022), recognising their centrality in addressing many of today's challenges and enhancing societies' resilience to future shocks.

While the challenges are immense, there is great momentum to build on growing evidence and consensus around how global philanthropy can support those who 'make the invisible visible' and thereby change discriminatory and patriarchal gender norms. Building evidence on the critical role of feminist and women's mobilisation is important. Integrating their perspectives and identifying shared views on forward-looking agendas can help inform changes big and small to funding modalities. Together, these approaches can help support greater collaboration to achieve the shared goals of women's organisations and movements and the partners who support them.

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Appendix: Key recommendations for three studies on funding women's movements

| Mama Cash (2020) | AWID et al. (2019) | Jackson and Ahluwalia / Comic Relief (2018) |
|--|---|--|
| <p>Enhance internal capacity to manage small and medium-sized grants, which can be more resource-demanding.</p> <p>Enhance internal knowledge. Address lack of experience and/or knowledge and connections among staff about feminist organising.</p> <p>Rethink funding thresholds. While only larger organisations are seen as able to absorb the volume of funds that donors are under pressure to spend, excluding smaller organizations is not helpful. Allocating them only small pots of funding plays into myths about feminist groups' capacity.</p> <p>Enable more long-term funding cycles and avoid constant shifts in funders' priorities.</p> <p>Break formulaic approaches to due diligence and risk management.</p> <p>Overly bureaucratic processes can lead to working around perceived rather than real risks.</p> | <p>Break down silos to support more cross-movement work.</p> <p>Distinguish and track direct funding to feminist movements (versus general 'gender' funding).</p> <p>Align investments, grant-making and policies with the needs of women's movements.</p> <p>Become an advocate for and accountable to feminist movements.</p> <p>Support long-term transformative social change to 'move public money back into the hands of the public'.</p> | <p>Invest time in building relationships and understanding power dynamics and local contexts.</p> <p>Learn from participatory grant making.</p> <p>Offer longer-term, core and multi-year and flexible funding and think outside of the short-term project box.</p> <p>Take risks to invest in smaller and less well-known constituents.</p> <p>Support network building and share learning.</p> <p>Actively engage in a funding ecosystem to support women's funds and organisations and influence other donors.</p> |