

# Show Me the Money

**FEMINIST STORIES ON SHIFTING POWER  
AND RESOURCES TO MOVEMENTS**



**Feminist Accountability Framework Update**

**March 2024**

# A Note on Terminology

In the spirit of accessibility, we have tried to use clear language throughout this document by minimizing jargon, technical language, and acronyms. However, some terms are unavoidable. Here is a short list of acronyms to help readers navigate some of the concepts in this brief.

- Generation Equality Forum [GEF]
- Feminist Accountability Framework [FAF]
- The Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development [OECD]
- Official Development Assistance [ODA]
- Development Assistance Committee [DAC]
- Sustainable Development Goals [SDGs]
- Civil society organizations [CSOs] / non-governmental organization [NGO]
- Women's Rights Organization [WRO]
- Women Human Rights Defender [WHRD]
- Economic Justice and Rights [EJR]
- Gender-based violence [GBV]
- Sexual and reproductive health and rights [SRHR]
- Sexual and gender based violence [SGBV]
- Black, Indigenous, and People of Color [BIPOC]
- Lesbian, gay, bisexual, trans, queer, intersex, asexual [LGBTQIA+]

Other terms of reference:

- Adolescents: persons aged 10-19 years<sup>1</sup>
- Youth: persons aged 15-25 years<sup>2</sup>

This document has been translated into French, Spanish, and Portuguese. For more background on this work, we invite you to read the [Feminist Accountability Framework](#).

**“Listen to us working at the grassroots. We need to sit down and talk with donors, and hope that donors will understand us.”**

– Researcher at a local NGO that focuses on SRHR in Cambodia

# I. Introduction

“Funding opens up an opportunity to get a seat at the table. It enables you to be seen as a legitimate movement or organization. At the same time, [lack of] funding poses a barrier to entry to spaces where you can be seen as an effective organization. Funding therefore begets funding.”

– Leader of a gender justice organization working in South Asia and Africa

Feminist activists are at the frontlines of advancing gender justice. Yet their priorities and solutions are often pushed to the sidelines of donor-driven agendas. The disconnect between funding priorities and the needs of women, girls, and gender non-conforming people advocating for their own communities are stark.

With only 1% of global funding invested in women’s rights organizations, feminist movements have made incredible gains in creating lasting change on shoestring budgets.<sup>3,4</sup> Organizations formed by Black, Indigenous, and gender-expansive leaders have historically strengthened political advocacy despite limited or no access to resources. Black women, girls, and trans people<sup>5</sup> receive less than half of 1 percent of overall global foundation giving.<sup>6,7,8</sup> Overall, most women’s rights organizations have never received unrestricted or multi-year funding.<sup>9</sup>

That’s where we come in. Through the Feminist Accountability Framework [FAF], we — a group of 30 feminist grassroots and youth groups from Africa, Asia-Pacific and Latin America — are challenging the current power imbalance in funding for gender equality. In 2021, the Generation Equality Forum [GEF] raised the stakes for funding gender justice work through its five-year commitment of “an unprecedented aggregate value of \$40 Billion USD.”<sup>10</sup> In response, we co-created the FAF to center grassroots and historically marginalized groups in the Global South to identify and track GEF commitment needs and gaps, and advocate for GEF resources to be directed in a flexible way to feminist and youth organizations.

In our initial phase, we released a quantitative report with feedback from over 700 grassroots feminist organizations about the challenges of GEF funding in terms of data transparency and accountability.<sup>11</sup> Activists from eight pilot countries of Brazil, Guatemala, Kenya, Burkina Faso, Cambodia, India, Nepal, and Fiji<sup>12</sup> made it clear that the road ahead is long for commitment makers to move GEF from promises to action for grassroots groups.<sup>13</sup>

As we approach the end of the first implementation year of the Framework, we offer this updated report with rich qualitative findings to amplify the often unheard and overlooked voices of grassroots feminist organizations in the eight pilot countries on the impact of GEF funding. Grassroots feminist activists shared their insights specifically on two of the six Action Coalitions: Gender-based violence [GBV] and Sexual and reproductive health and rights [SRHR]<sup>14</sup> — see ‘Process and Participants’ for selection rationale.

The stories featured in this report will help us address gaps in the field and inform advocacy efforts for more and better resources built from the ground up. If there is one lesson to take away from their stories, it is this: **trust grassroots feminist leaders to set priorities and lead transformative processes.**



## II. Key Findings

Launched in March 2023, FAF is led by communities most impacted by gender inequality – Black, Indigenous, and People of Color (BIPOC); caste and class oppressed; youth and adolescents; women and girls; people with disabilities; and gender non-conforming communities.

Women, girls, and historically marginalized people across the eight pilot countries are united in their experiences of navigating the current funding ecosystem despite their unique local political and social contexts. They are seizing the window of opportunity created by GEF to influence how these commitments are allocated directly to their communities.

The grassroots movement leaders and actors interviewed in this report invite donors and commitment-makers to a call to action: **center feminist ideas, solutions, and dreams in funding models to deliver game-changing results for gender justice.** Resources must match the fluid and evolving nature of transformative feminist organizing and movement-building to create a more just world for all.

**“We need funding mechanisms that are not only inclusive but also adaptable to the diverse realities of feminist groups in Brazil. The one-size-fits-all approach is ineffective.”**

– Feminist actor, Brazil

**Key findings from the stories, outlined below in more detail, include the following:**

### **Trust fuels movements**

More and better resources to the grassroots level requires increased donor trust through unrestricted, long-term funding; capacity-building support; and enhanced visibility of grassroots organizations.

### **Intersectional funding gaps**

There is a need for more intersectional and inclusive funding strategies that prioritize historically marginalized communities and loosen funding restrictions for emerging movement actors like unregistered groups and young feminist movements;

### **Local context matters**

Feminist organizers often shift strategies on the ground in response to challenging political climates and regressive social norms, particularly as it relates to their safety and self-care;

### **Power in numbers**

Alliances and collaboration between donors and movement partners help break silos in funding, foster opportunities for shared learning, and build collective power in accessing resources for greater impact.

# III. Process and Participants

**“It is important to hold funders, governments and private corporations to account because unless everyone is involved in creating a more gender equal world, the responsibility will again fall on NGOs and CSOs. Until that shift happens, we cannot make progress. We must incorporate it into curricula. We must include everyone.”**

– Feminist leader in India

We’re taking a data-driven approach rooted in feminist storytelling to support feminist actors in identifying gaps between the reported \$40 billion of commitments and the actual realities of needs on the ground. We are focused on uncovering stories about funding for GBV and SRHR because: a) they’re two of the most historically underfunded Action Coalitions based on surveys with our grassroots

actors in the eight pilot countries; b) SRHR has the largest financial commitments in five of the pilot countries;<sup>15</sup> and c) funding data for the two issues exist in The Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD)<sup>16</sup> database. We are comparing these findings against the lived experiences of feminist organizations and actors to identify gaps in GEF’s implementation and funding progress.

## WHAT QUESTIONS DID WE ASK?

The Feminist Accountability partners live and/or work in the pilot countries. Their deep understanding of the local contexts and well-established networks ensured we captured authentic data on the nuanced and unquantifiable ways in which feminist activism and leadership works in the areas of GBV and SRHR. In all eight pilot countries, we explored four key questions related to the overall funding ecosystem, including GEF resources:

- **How is money moving to the grassroots level?** – evaluating where and how money is going to grassroots organizations, such as looking at the effectiveness and challenges of current funding mechanisms.
- **Who is left behind?** – understanding how historically marginalized-led groups get left out of funding decisions and the subsequent impacts on the communities they serve.
- **How do feminist movements navigate challenging political climates?** – exploring how the impacts of political instability, social norms, threats, and violence against feminist movements affect funding and organizational goals.
- **How do feminist organizations access more resources?** – assessing the processes and mechanisms by which feminist organizations receive funding, such as looking at which specific funders support their work and analyzing commonalities or differences in their approach.

## WHO ARE THE STORYTELLERS?

- Across three different regions, the storytellers came from civil society organizations (CSOs), non-governmental organizations (NGOs), community-based organizations, networks and coalitions, philanthropy, directly impacted communities of GBV and SRHR, and GEF commitment-makers
- Respondents are predominantly working with women, youth, adolescents and girls, sex workers, people with disabilities, LGBTQIA+ groups, people from rural areas and informal settlements, women farmers, religious groups, Dalit communities, and Black, Quilombola and Indigenous communities
- In total, 61 interviews were conducted across India, Nepal, Cambodia, and Fiji, 18 interviews in Burkina Faso and Kenya, and 35 in Brazil and Guatemala.



## SAFETY AND POWER DYNAMICS

Given the challenging environments and sensitive topics our grassroots partners and interviewees work on, we prioritized their safety during the interview process by adhering to strict protocols of confidentiality and anonymity. Interviewees were informed about the research process and signed forms providing consent to release their anonymous stories. We omitted direct names, organizations, and titles of the storytellers by referring to them as “feminist leaders,” “activists,” “organizers,” and other masked identifiers in this report. Only authorized individuals have access to their stories due to the sensitive nature of the interviews and the complex political contexts within the countries of focus.

We worked to dilute inherent power dynamics in the interview process by providing interviewers with non-threatening and empathetic questioning techniques. Interviewees were also assured of the project’s primary objective to collect unbiased and authentic data. Interviewees disclosed candid responses once they understood the interviews were not meant to critique individual or organizational performance.

The interviews were conducted in the language that each interviewee felt most comfortable with such as English, Spanish, Portuguese, French, Nepali, Hindi, Swahili, and Khmer. These interviews were then translated into the languages used for creating this report. The translation aimed to remain as faithful as possible to the original stories by respecting the words, meanings, context, and cultural aspects of the oral narratives.

# IV. Feminist Stories for Data and Accountability

## Trust Fuels Movements – How is money moving to the grassroots level?

**Donors' top-down approach contributes to uneven power dynamics that treat feminist organizations as beneficiaries rather than experts and equal partners.**

Inflexible and inaccessible funding models driven by donor agendas without input from feminist movement actors impedes impactful grassroots-level change on critical gender justice issues.

Activists and feminists working at the grassroots level continue to call for urgent and honest reform of a top-down approach. They're advocating for a more transparent and collaborative funding model that actively responds to the communities' priorities and is committed to removing systemic and structural barriers.

**“We are not given funding to experiment. There should be some scope for failure. For us to fail, work out a solution and keep going. This should also be funded.”**

– Feminist actor working on SRHR in India

**“There is a trend to conform to the donor's agenda but some organizations have advocated for broader, context-specific support for women's issues. Building trust and political dialogue with donors is an ongoing process.”**

– Advocacy facilitator for an organization working on GBV in Guatemala

**“Project-based funding ends yet the problem that the project sought to address remains. Most of the problems in our societies require 20 - 30 years visioning for transformation”**

— Leader at a women's rights organization in Kenya

**“Do the goals of the funders and donors align with our organizations? We want to focus on the bottom-line of the beneficiaries. Are they able to get what we have provided? We also get asked how we are using our funds, like ‘why do we buy this’... expenditure also has a limit so sometimes we have to pay out of our own pockets when going on a work trip (sic).”**

– Coordinator of a non-registered grassroots women's group in Cambodia

**“We know that dependence on funding alone will not work out for us. We need a self-sustaining approach. We must be able to sometimes say no to certain kinds of funding and have some power in the negotiation.”**

– Co-Lead at a feminist NGO working on SRHR in India



**Grassroots feminist organizations and movements – particularly led by historically marginalized communities – face significant challenges in accessing funding for GBV and SRHR programs.** Organizations who were successful in getting funds already had capacity and expertise in writing proposals and navigating processes.

“We set up a club for young girls with disabilities to raise awareness about SRHR. Since it was about SRHR, we did educational talks on reproductive health over a period of 2 or 3 months. We were supposed to hold other talks that would allow us to immerse ourselves in the realities that existed, but we didn’t have the funds to continue the activity.”

– Feminist actor at a youth organization focused on West African countries

“Women-led organizations at the local level grapple with challenges in accessing funds. The primary obstacle is a lack of awareness about all the donors supporting the issue.”

– Member of an organization that supports survivors of GBV in Nepal

“The impact we have is that in Guatemala, many indigenous and young women are increasingly incorporating sexual and reproductive rights. However, when it comes to our specific emphasis on abortion decriminalization and the right to decide, there have been very few funding opportunities.”

– Member of an SRHR organization in Guatemala

“The funding we get is not tied to gender-based violence [since] we’re not [an] organization whose focus is on women’s issues and GBV. So, a lot of the time, we’re unable to access the funds that enable us to do deeper work in the communities [experiencing GBV] where we’ve built trust. Donors often go straight to those that they know. There’s no attempt to bring in others who are working in this space.”

– Leader of a peacebuilding organization in Fiji





**Unregistered groups, new organizations, and organizations with small budgets especially struggle with rigorous due diligence and reporting requirements due to their limited capacity and expertise.** Traditional funding structures that prioritize registered and well-established organizations impose barriers for these emerging movement actors – especially young feminists – to grow their budgets and organizing power.

“We are required to have several years of experience in carrying out projects and programs in the field in question. As a result, new feminist associations do not have the same opportunities in the process of acquiring funding.”

– Lead of an EJR focused organization in Burkina Faso

“The registration process is antithetical to the way networks and collectives function. If certain networks and collectives choose to “formalize” themselves, the work also gets heavily impacted. It is a conscious choice that everyone continues to make with how we will resource the work that is needed to achieve Generation Equality.”

– Advisor to feminist organizations in India

“As we are small organizations with little infrastructure, those who don’t have funding end up exhausting themselves as activists. Violence and sexual reproductive rights are two areas that really need funding to run projects because you have to do workshops, produce materials, have a space ...otherwise you don’t get positive results.”

– Afro-Brazilian activist working on women’s health in Brazil

“We actually didn’t receive any funding because we did not know that such funds were provided to youth groups in Fiji. If we were educated on this through workshops, we could help decrease gender-based violence. My group is very small and only the ones that are registered through the government receive such funds.”

– Young leader working with rural communities in Fiji

“I think marginalized and vulnerable groups should have different criteria because these groups are small and struggle with donors’ requirements. When these groups ask for funding, the funders and donors already marginalize them because they are not able to provide what donors want. Donors do not consider them.”

– Feminist actor in Cambodia

“Most of the funding models on ending GBV are designed to fail from the beginning. There are too many barriers like rigid application systems and ridiculous requirements that hinder feminists and women rights organizations working at the grassroots levels from accessing funding”

— Young feminist activist in Kenya

## Intersectional funding gaps – who is left behind?

Findings reveal significant funding gaps that overlook the needs of communities living at the intersection of multiple forms of discrimination and oppression.<sup>17</sup>

“Black women have been engaged in philanthropy since they gathered to buy the freedom of their companions. Structural racism impacts the arrival of resources to Black organizations who are seen as having no history in philanthropy. Money tends to flow towards white women and their feminist institutions, but funding needs to reach Black women to continue Black philanthropy. White organizations receive substantial funding to carry out projects with Black individuals, sometimes in a way that doesn’t align with the reality of these organizations.”

– Organizer working for Black and other marginalized women in Brazil

“The challenge remains in the very concept of intersectionality. There isn’t enough data out there to support that funding is actually reaching the groups at the margins. It is important to make sure that you build relationships with organizations and movements that are representative of a particular constituency.”

– Indian feminist leader focused on India, Bangladesh and the Africa region



**Across the pilot countries, feminist actors all pointed out that funding overlooked the specific needs of LGBTQIA+ communities and sex workers in programs aimed at addressing SRHR.**

“As a trans woman, I think, we get diluted in resources even when international organizations are addressing intersectionality. We face resistances up to the point of how we are called, mentioned, or made visible. [...] Although there are economic resources in recent years to work on sexual and reproductive rights, the LGBTQIA+ populations need to build strength.”

– Trans rights advocate in Guatemala

“We are a small organization that started [a few years ago], so getting funds to implement projects or events is difficult. At the same time, we work closely with sex workers and we are pro-abortion. If the government, donor or organization isn't aligned with our values and what we want, then we really hesitate since it does not fit with our values.”

– Gender justice activist at a local NGO in Cambodia

“Organizations working to protect and advance the rights of sex workers require funding that is not only flexible but also responsive to the realities”

- Sex worker activist in Kenya

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**Feminist actors also recognized the need to invest in the next generation of feminist leadership to build sustainable and resilient movements.** As it relates to the success of GEF funding, seasoned feminist groups encouraged funders to unlock the incredible potential of young feminists who are making great gains through creative, innovative, and bold strategies unique to their generation.

“Since we are a youth organization, the major challenge remains the question of skills. Many of us are not equipped to write projects so it's just a few members who do it. Funding is also very competitive.”

– Youth leader addressing GBV and SRHR issues in Burkina Faso

“The big problem in the feminist movement in Nepal, such as GEF, is the gap between elder feminists and younger feminists in [building] intergenerational partnership. The elder feminists in Nepal have made many contributions and we appreciate it but they do not share their learnings. We can work more on intergenerational engagement.”

– GEF commitment-maker in Nepal

“As both a grantee and a funder, what makes funding successful is meaningful youth engagement. We cannot talk about Generation Equality, unless we are meaningfully engaging young people. We cannot move the needle for young people not just until they have a seat at the table but also when the table has been made for them. Maybe it shouldn't be a table at all, maybe we should be sitting on the floor”.

–Leader of an international organization working with youth on GBV and SRHR in India

“Why do we still have some funders micro-managing, downplaying the ability and ‘power overing’ young-women led movements? How will we achieve the ambitious goals and aspirations of the Generation Equality Forum if we are not centering young women in the design, execution, monitoring, evaluation and reporting processes?”

— Feminist leader working in an informal settlement in Kenya

“It’s about engaging those that have fallen through the gaps. [...] It’s training a new generation of young women to continue to do that work with a wider scope that is grounded in [the] local context and driven by the needs of our communities.”

— Leader of a peacebuilding organization in Fiji

## Local context matters – How do feminist movements navigate challenging political climates?

**Shrinking spaces for civil society activism, conservative political environments, opposition to feminist agendas, and threats to activists significantly influence how feminist organizations allocate and use funding for GBV and SRHR programs.** Women human rights defenders in the pilot countries reported persistent hostilities linked to conservative political climates that put their lives in direct danger. These challenges extend beyond internal dynamics and are also compounded by external political climates, wherein governments withhold funding and target feminist organizations advocating for certain issues.

“With the resources received for institutional strengthening, our group was able to increase its capacity to have political influence on issues related to GBV and SRHR, such as the attempt to create a bill to prevent sexual violence against girls in the Midwest region of Brazil. However, due to threats, the project was not pursued further.”

— Activist working with an anti-racist organization in Brazil

“We do see a rise in more support for feminism...but still a lot of negative [backlash] as well. The political situation in Cambodia is tricky...we must be very careful in how we frame feminist work because it can be misconstrued as politically charged thus making it dangerous for us. We also must be careful since gender norms and societal norms are still an issue, such as traditional beliefs in rural areas.”

— Leader of a women’s rights organization in Cambodia

“Currently, due to political instability, decreasing economic growth, and a changing social context, there are many challenges that a feminist-led organization like us is facing in terms of getting funds and recognition. We have a strategy to collaborate more with local governments of all districts so that we can intervene more at the community level, dig out our issues from the grassroots level, and develop local advocates for raising voices against gender-based violence.”

— Dalit feminist activist speaking up against caste-based discrimination and violence in Nepal

**Funding therefore plays a crucial role in supporting feminist actors in responding to setbacks on hard-won gains and ensuring the safety and security of activists.** This includes driving strategies focused on digital outreach, community engagement, and advocacy. Feminists are constantly navigating political and bureaucratic hurdles and conservative ideologies that impede funding opportunities. Donors need to provide flexible support that centers care and protection for activists and human rights defenders who experience burn-out and trauma in crisis moments where their safety is at risk. The sustainability and success of movements depends on feminists having support to develop self-care and holistic protection strategies.

“There were several times we organized internal workshops on self-care because we had a moment of illness. We were left to build these two bridges to work on this issue of psychological violence internally [within our staff] and then also to work on other forms of external violence [facing our communities]. We put it in our planning but we couldn’t develop it because we couldn’t get support for any project.”

– Member of an organization working on race and gender in Brazil

“We have seen a change in the political sphere but we must be careful and think about the safety of staff as well as women human rights defenders in different fields such as in land, SRHR, and labor. We have to shift our funds to focus on the groups that need our support depending on the context and situation of the country in terms of politics.”

– Leader of a youth-led women’s rights organization in Cambodia

“The political context in Guatemala has affected many organizations this year in losing budget. Foundations advocating for women’s rights were affected by limited psychological and legal services. The political situation has created challenges in supporting women.”

– Member of a feminist research organization in Guatemala



## Power in Numbers – How do feminists access more resources?

### **Alliances are powerful in accessing funds — particularly for grassroots organizations in remote or challenging areas.**

Participation in networks is crucial for linking organizations with donors interested in collaborative efforts. This includes partnerships between larger and smaller organizations, newer and more experienced organizations, diverse generations, themes, and expertise, as well as collaborations between legally constituted networks and informal collectives. For example, building strong feminist networks often enable organizations to access flexible funding regardless of their registration status. It also strengthens advocacy to build donor trust that results in funding that is more aligned with organizations' needs.

**“The organization’s ability to engage with a variety of stakeholders and build fruitful collaborations has played a pivotal role in sustaining its funding streams. It underscores the importance of establishing and maintaining positive relationships with a broad spectrum of donors to ensure financial support for the organization’s impactful initiatives.”**

– Leader of a GBV focused organization in Nepal

**“In our experience, especially in the last consortium, it required including Indigenous women, trans women, young women, and midwives. An alliance was formed despite not having the same specific demands. The initial years involved getting to know each other and addressing issues like stigma towards trans or Indigenous women through internal training sessions within the consortium. Over time, an alliance based on diversity was created, where organizations support, accompany, and complement each other.”**

– Academic researcher and coordinator in Guatemala

**“We always go into a consortium with other organizations that work in the field of SRHR or feminism. We try to work in synergy of action with others that espouse the same ideas and that may have skills that we don’t have in-house.”**

– Leader working with a youth association in Burkina Faso

**Interviewees have also highlighted that it is imperative to remain cognizant of power dynamics even within consortiums and alliances.** In Kenya, feminist actors highlighted a growing trend of funders requiring consortium participation without adequately funding the process of co-creating a consortium-led model.

**“After the consortium partners invest their time, energies, knowledge and resources in the co-creation phase, only one or two of the applicants get to sign an agreement with the donor. This is extractive and exploitative.”**

– Feminist actor in Kenya

# V. Thematic Snapshot: Gender-Based Violence

**“We’ve seen funding on GBV decreasing in the last 10 years especially for women-led organizations.”**

– Leader of a feminist organization working with women and children in Cambodia

**The ability to live free from violence is a basic human right.** GBV manifests in various forms and contexts, such as sexual harassment, domestic violence, trafficking, rape as a weapon of war, femicide, and harmful practices such as child marriage, female genital mutilation, and dowry. The issue of violence is not felt equally by everyone. GBV disproportionately impacts those who are further marginalized by race, class, caste, ethnicity, religion, and other intersecting identities.

**Grassroots groups moving the needle on GBV issues tackle the root issues of GBV such as dismantling patriarchal systems and societal norms, changing attitudes, and enforcing legal protections.** They also empower survivors of GBV through skills-based training on financial independence. Feminist movements—particularly those led by survivors of violence—continue to be under-resourced in tackling violence rooted in historical and structural inequalities.

**“We do a lot of prevention and service work, including training, capacity building, awareness building, and campaigns which are all long-term projects. Our aim is to both build awareness within the larger community and to ensure that survivors know that we’re available. But such work is intangible. We do not see the impact immediately. It takes a lifetime and that may not be enough. We are not in a position to bargain with our funders because there is a lot of pressure to show big numbers. We cannot have a picture-perfect example of change every time.”**

– Leader of a feminist organization working against GBV in India.



“We had an experience in a community where the women were afraid to speak because the men would assault them. We took the women out of the community and stayed four days in a hotel. We brought a psychologist there and we heard the real testimonies of this aggression [against the women]. Psychotherapists can work with women on self-independence.”

– Activist with a Black women’s collective in Brazil

“GEF funding has allowed us to conduct awareness campaigns on gender-based violence, reaching both urban and rural areas. We’ve seen a positive change in attitudes and behaviors, leading to a decrease in violence against women.”

– Feminist leader working on GBV and SRHR in Burkina Faso

“Before I had no source of income and was dependent on my husband for everything. But now, I am financially strong and support my own needs. I also support my family and the education of my children.”

– Nepali survivor of GBV

“Our GEF-funded projects have focused on supporting women in income-generating activities, such as shea butter processing and poultry farming. This has empowered women economically and improved their livelihoods. To reach remote communities, we explore innovative methods such as mobile outreach units and community-based events to extend our impact.”

– Leader of a women’s economic empowerment association in Burkina Faso

“Funding for ending GBV has been focused mostly on rapid response and rescue of survivors. It is important to also focus funding on prevention measures, policy implementation, and awareness-building initiatives for grassroots communities”

- Leader of a grassroots organization in Kenya





# VI. Thematic Snapshot: Bodily Autonomy and Sexual and Reproductive Health and Rights (SRHR)

“We’ve felt that there has been a 30-year regression in SRHR over the last three periods. Resistance to international standards, such as the Montevideo Consensus<sup>18</sup>, complicates conditions for accessing funding.”

– Feminist philanthropist in Guatemala

**We all have the right to control and make decisions over our bodies and sexualities.** Sexual and reproductive health and rights [SRHR] is an essential building block of gender justice—as evidenced by feminist movements shifting global trends towards liberalizing abortion laws.<sup>19</sup>

“There are issues arising from regressive policies, laws, and conservative norms to guarantee the rights of LGBTQIA+ populations. Initiatives like Law 5272, addressing the protection of life and family, being passed into law is concerning.<sup>20</sup> They continue pathologizing trans identities which impacts the sexual and reproductive rights of LGBTQIA+ populations. One crucial aspect is the lack of solid data to document and systematize everything related to health, which is essential for generating indicators and advancing in-depth research on each issue.”

– Member of a feminist organization in Guatemala

Feminist groups are actively challenging the politicization of our bodies. **Key strategies include addressing cultural stigma and discrimination on the basis of sexuality and gender identity, and challenging the criminalization of sexual health and rights work.** This includes taking an intersectional lens that addresses the needs of those often unrecognized by society, such as sex workers and LGBTQIA+ communities. Grassroots organizations also integrate SRHR into broader themes of preventing violence amidst funding constraints often influenced by anti-rights groups and government resistance to international SRHR standards.

“We provide services regarding SRHR, SGBV, and GBV. We create different protocols for hospitals to be equipped with skills to effectively work in [these] cases. We are trying to advocate for inclusive policies towards people with disabilities such as public services or more easily accessible and safe initiatives.”

– Resource Mobilizer at an NGO in Cambodia

“What led us to do this work was a campaign to donate sanitary pads in schools which started when we found a girl in a school who had an infection because she didn’t have a cloth to use [for her period]. Later, we learned of more cases and we saw that we had to do more intense work about it. [...] We reached over 600 adolescents and young people, and we went through 21 municipalities in our state. [...] Funding is important because it enabled us to go to the municipalities and talk to young people.”

– Activist with a Black women’s collective in Brazil

# VII. Accountability Beyond Tracking Commitments

Generation Equality exists within an ecosystem of development aid and philanthropy that is influenced by social norms, politics, and culture. **This is why feminist accountability cannot exist exclusively to monitor and track commitments on gender justice. It is equally important for feminist actors to challenge the injustices of a global economic system that creates the need for this process in the first place.** Feminist accountability must question the legal and political frameworks in which these commitments are implemented for long-term

sustainability. Through this approach, feminist movements will be better equipped to navigate the challenging social, political, cultural, and legal environments that affect their organizing strategies to advance gender justice.

The following examples show how Generation Equality stakeholders and their commitments exist within a larger social, political, and economic reality that directly impacts funding for women, girls, and gender non-conforming people:

## CASE STUDY: GUATEMALA

### Lack of Political Will from Governments Impede Progress on GEF Commitments

**Commitment made:** The Government of Guatemala made a “Policy” commitment focused on the Ratification and Implementation of ILO Convention 189 on domestic workers.<sup>21</sup> The commitment aimed to protect domestic workers, such as ensuring compliance with labor laws. This commitment was made under the two Action Coalitions of “Feminist Movements and Leadership” and “Economic Justice and Rights.”

**Larger Picture:** To date, the Government of Guatemala has still not approved ILO Convention 189. Guatemala is one of three countries worldwide (along with Honduras and El Salvador) who have not approved it. There is a disconnect between GEF commitments at the international level—which aim to strengthen women’s leadership and economic rights—and the political realities on the ground.

**Funding for Civil Society:** Instead of heeding the call from GEF to mobilize more resources to gender justice, Guatemala instead implemented a new law that limits access to funding. The so-called “NGO Law,” which was reformed via Decree 4-2020, is a reform aimed at imposing new executive controls on the day-to-day financial and administrative activities of non-governmental organizations in the country.<sup>22</sup> The law has led to dwindling resources for feminist organizations and has impacted their ability to implement projects—with some forced to shut down their operations. This reality was shared both in the consultation workshops held in person in July 2023 and during the focus groups held virtually in December 2023.

## CASE STUDY: BURKINA FASO

### Support to Feminist Movements Falls Short in Larger Geopolitical Context

France suspended development aid resources to Burkina Faso given its support of the military coup in Niger in 2023. As a result of this sanction, Burkina Faso lost an estimated 13 million euros in development aid for social infrastructure projects. After civil society mobilized through joint advocacy efforts, France agreed to continue its support of feminist organizations through an initiative called Support Funds for Feminist Organisations (“Fonds de soutien aux organisations féministes”).

However, funding for feminist movements does not exist in a vacuum. The estimated 500,000 Euros received by Burkina Faso as part of this specific initiative pales in comparison to the actual needs for development aid projects in the country and the Sahel region in general. In particular, Burkina Faso needs larger investments in social infrastructure, such as access to public health services and education for women and girls.

## VIII. Recommendations

**“Feminist organizations overall have a very small percentage of the funding pie. We must question who is funding feminist organizations and how feminist funders are raising funds.”**

– Leader of a grassroots feminist organization working with marginalized religious, caste, and tribal communities in India

Top-down funding does not work. Grassroots feminist voices from the Global South affirm that funding models need to change – and fast. The stories we’ve shared in this report uncover rich layers of meaning behind the report with quantitative data we previously shared on how to make the GEF more accountable, inclusive, and transparent.<sup>23</sup> Key recommendations across the regions included:

**Provide no-strings-attached funding through flexible, core, and long-term financial support directly to the grassroots level.**

It takes more than a grant cycle to create lasting social change. **Flexible grants help organizations decide how to use the funds—from keeping their offices running to protecting themselves against threats.** Long-term support enables feminist organizations to focus on long-term goals such as conducting research, collecting data for evidence-based strategies on priority issues for the feminist movement, and innovating new solutions.

**“To sustain [our work], it is necessary to cover the basics (rent, water, electricity, food).”**

– Leader of a grassroots feminist network in Brazil

**“The project-based funding cycle of 1 to 5 years is unsustainable and often feels like a touch-and-go or knee-jerk reaction, which does not give enough time for organizations to deeply analyze the problem, address the embedded systemic and structural issues and develop effective and sustainable solutions”**

- Young leader working at a women right’s organization in Kenya

**“We need to break the cycle of project-based funding specifically for transformational change because it will never happen. [...] Funders need to ask themselves what they can learn because they will walk into a situation with a tool and ask organizations to implement it without a thought about the people it impacts, and the context they live in.”**

- Leader of a UK-based organization working with youth on GBV and SRHR in India

## Adopt accessible funding models that recognize the different capacity levels of feminist organizations and movements.

Feminist groups expressed the need for donors to create funding systems that are more accessible to non-formalized organizations, unregistered groups, and smaller entities that are decentralized from major regional hubs. **Within the GEF ecosystem, they stated the importance of influencing private donors and philanthropies to simplify their due diligence processes to ensure the inclusion of grassroots activists who are spearheading feminist work across the Action Coalitions.**

“The process is very complex and competitive. We mobilize everyone in the association for the writing of projects. On many of them, nothing often goes through. In this case, we work with our own funds or on contributions of goodwill. Funding is difficult to access and often in English.”

– Feminist leader working with rural women in Burkina Faso

## Support women’s funds to expand local mobilization of resources to hard-to-reach communities for stronger and more sustainable feminist movements.

Women’s and feminist funds play a powerful role in the funding ecosystem by making funding more accessible to smaller and emerging local groups, providing critical training and resources, and raising money from local donors. **Feminist actors recommend donors prioritize support to women’s funds who can invest in women-led organizations building and sustaining their networks, including those led by rural women, young women, and peacebuilders.**

“As a women’s fund, our philosophy focuses on community philanthropy. The organization employs various strategies to raise funds, with a significant portion contributed voluntarily by national donors. This approach helps shield its work from the political climate of the country where fund flow can be influenced by political affiliations.”

– Feminist movement leader in Nepal

“A lot of the time, we’re unable to access the funds that enable us to do deeper work here in the communities where we’ve built trust, and where we know we can do greater in-depth work. [Governments] will go straight to those that they know. But women’s funds in Fiji have contributed to bridging the gap of traditional structures in decision making and economic empowerment.”

– Leader of a peacebuilding organization in Fiji

“Our experience partnering with feminist funders has given us hope as a young-women led organic movement. Their flexible funding model has allowed us to strengthen the capacities of our team and supported our process for developing our strategic plan and vision.”

– Young feminist leader in Kenya

## Trust feminists as experts to set their own priorities and solutions for social change.

Given the increasing attacks against women human rights defenders, shrinking spaces for civil society activism, and harmful societal norms, grassroots and feminist organizations know how best to tackle critical gender justice issues within these challenging political and social contexts. **Within the context of the GEF commitments, feminist organizations do not view the GEF platform as a space for solidarity.** This is especially evident in cases where private donors and philanthropies rarely reach out to civil society commitment-makers to support their work.

**“We take trust as the biggest factor. We want to focus on donors that have feminist understanding because the process of working with them is smooth, we can negotiate, and they’re a lot more understanding of our context and conditions.”**

– Feminist leader at an organization working with young women in Cambodia

**“Flexibility [in funds] means that we don’t waste time and can implement [as we want]. We can build and consolidate trust with communities in this way.”**

– Leader of a peacebuilding organization in Fiji

**“We have identified funders who let us bring the needs of the community and are not solely driven by their own agenda. We work with them. We are looking for funders who understand that impact and evaluation is not just about quantitative data.”**

– Leader at an organization working with SRHR in India

## Apply an intersectional lens and foster alliance-building to increase funding, reach, and power to communities.

Feminist actors called for more inclusive and intersectional approaches to funding, recognizing the unique challenges faced by historically marginalized groups within feminist movements. **Adopting an intersectional lens to funding models breaks down silos in how issues and communities are seen and can more effectively build the power of communities at the margins.** They also called to foster greater solidarity, communication, and alliance-building with donors and within movements to get more and better resources to the grassroots level. Feminist actors emphasized the general need for donor education and advocacy about feminist perspectives, approaches, and needs. For example, interviewees in Nepal called on the need to harvest knowledge from the ground up by documenting case stories and sharing best practices within networks, with potential donors, and the government to enhance the visibility of organizations.

**“There is a lack of understanding of what intersectionality really means in practice, especially in the allocation of funds. This often results in the same groups receiving support while others remain invisible.”**

– Feminist activist in Brazil

“Alliances are a starting point for finding success points. Feminist organizations have brought donors to remote communities, facilitating financing in territories where they usually do not have access.”

– Member of a feminist collective in Guatemala

“We should not reinvent the wheel but instead learn from each other and from our best practices. Funders need to link us to other funders. We have also had challenges wherein funders have wanted to control our actions. While funders should play a larger role, it is a fine line to walk.”

– Leader of a feminist organization working against GBV in India

## Invest in data and joint efforts that push for transparency to better monitor GEF commitments and other international mechanisms.

Feminist activists expressed concerns that there is not enough funding across the board for GEF commitments. **Consensus in countries where funding is limited remains that the GEF commitment structure and tracking mechanism is dense, inaccessible, and opaque to grassroots feminists and others seeking accountability.** Donors should not only increase overall financial support and political commitment to feminist movements but should also ensure these enhancements do not come at the cost of reducing existing commitments. One way to hold GEF processes accountable is through improving and enhancing data on where and how the money is flowing to the grassroots level.<sup>24</sup> Youth-led, grassroots, and community-driven organizations from the Global South must also participate and lead in the process together with GEF commitment makers.

Some interviewees have highlighted the lack of transparency with advocates working within organizations and actors that made commitments. **Participants reported that many advocates are not aware of the commitments made at a higher level in their own organizations or networks, much less see any real changes in their programs, funding, or resources as a result.**

The [lack of knowledge about commitments] raises questions about the clarity, seriousness, and binding nature of commitments. It highlights the importance of effective communication and transparency within commitment-making organizations to ensure that all members are well-informed and aligned with the shared goals and commitments.”

– Leader of an LGBTQIA+ rights organization in Nepal

“The Black women’s movement has to think about how such an important agenda [GEF] does not reach us. How is it that Black women in Brazil didn’t even know that the Generation Equality Forum funds exist when we are such an expressive movement? We need to monitor, we need to follow up, we need to articulate our demands so that they don’t get lost and don’t become commitments that will be left behind.”

- Youth leader at a Black-led organization in Brazil

# IX. Conclusion

Imagine what our world would look like if we shifted power and money directly into the hands of real change-makers – feminist movements. The urgency of the current moment calls for solutions based in feminist accountability as activists and organizations face increasing repression, violence, oppression, and rollbacks on hard won gains for gender justice globally.

Commitment makers must adopt a feminist lens in allocating GEF resources and show us where the money is going. Feminist and youth groups must access precisely which GEF commitments are going where and whether that money is actually reaching their communities.

The equation for closing the global funding gap is simple: commitment makers and donors need to trust and collaborate with feminist activists. Feminist voices can help us rewrite the playbook by building the collective power of grassroots gender justice movements who are playing an essential role in fighting injustices worldwide. Together, we can get money to where it's needed the most – to the feminists leading and envisioning our collective future forward to social change.



## FEMINIST ACCOUNTABILITY PARTNERS AND AUTHORS OF THE FRAMEWORK

African Women's Development and Communication Network [FEMNET]  
Articulação de Organizações de Mulheres Negras Brasileiras [AMNB]  
Asia South Pacific Association for Basic and Adult Education [ASPBAE]  
Iniciativa Latinoamericana por los Datos abiertos [ILDA]  
ATHENA Network  
Batonga Foundation  
Criola  
Fòs Feminista  
Fundación de Acción Social e Integral Mujeres de Asfalto  
Gender and Development for Cambodia [GADC]  
Gender Mobile Initiative  
Girls for Climate Action  
Global Fund for Women  
Initiative Pananetugri pour le Bien-être de la Femme [IPBF]  
International Youth Alliance for Family Planning [IYAFFP]  
Key Affected Population Health and LegalRights Alliance [KESWA]  
Nala Feminist Collective [Nalafem]  
Numun Fund  
Odara Instituto da Mulher Negra  
Pacific Women Mediators Network  
Red de Salud de las Mujeres Latinoamericanas y del Caribe  
Revista Afirmativa - Coletivo de Mídia Negra e Feminista  
The Asian-Pacific Resource & Research Centre for Women [ARROW]  
The YP Foundation  
Women with Disabilities Development Foundation [WDDF]  
Young Feminist Europe

## STEERING COMMITTEE

Digital Grassroots, Equal Measures 2030, Fòs Feminista, Fridays for Future MAPA,  
Women's Environment & Development Organization [WEDO],  
The Asian-Pacific Resource & Research Centre for Women [ARROW]

The Steering Committee serves as an advisory body for the Feminist Accountability Framework. Its members provide guidance to the working groups on political and strategic matters, but they are not directly involved in the on-the-ground data-gathering efforts.

## FACILITATOR AND RESOURCE PARTNERS

The Feminist Accountability Framework is a multi-stakeholder initiative housed and facilitated by Global Fund for Women, and funded by a committed group of resource partners. Global Fund for Women facilitated a series of online and in-person spaces to build an accountability framework that reflects feminist priorities; created methodologies and tools to collect and analyze data for accountability; supported capacity strengthening to implement the designed feminist accountability approach and advocacy strategies; and built comprehensive and responsive communications and advocacy plans.

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# Feminist Accountability Appendix

This appendix complements the report “Show Me the Money: Feminist Stories on Shifting Power and Resources to Movements” by presenting the Feminist Accountability Framework’s analysis of data on GEF’s financial commitments<sup>25</sup> and subsequent funding data from the Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development OECD. The data is from 2021-2022 and focuses on two Action Coalitions highlighted in this report: GBV and SRHR.

## 1. RESOURCING MOVEMENTS TO END GENDER-BASED VIOLENCE

### GEF’S VISION FOR SUCCESS BY 2026

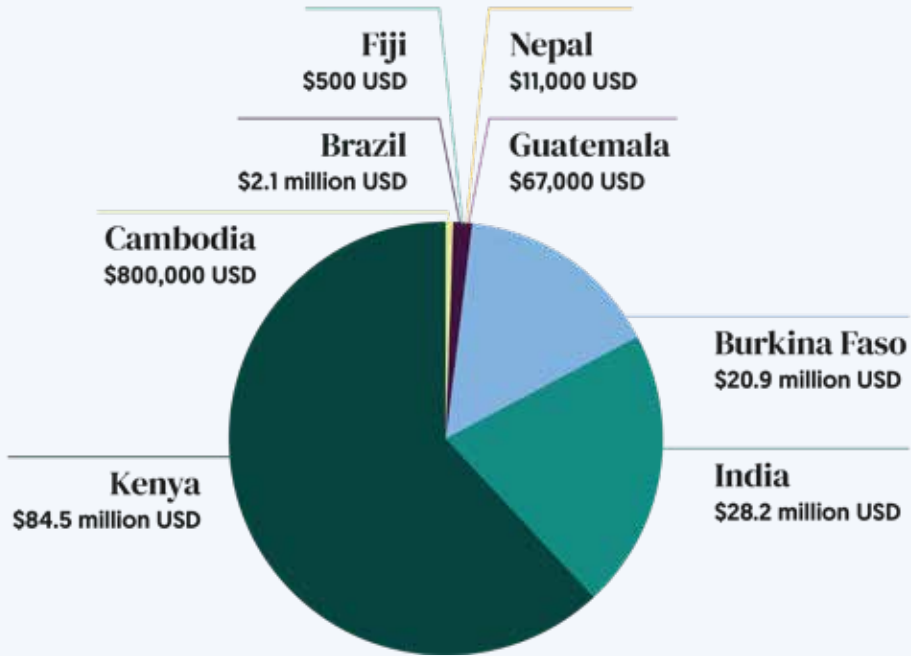
Progress towards eliminating gender-based violence against women and girls (VAWG) in all their diversity is rapidly accelerated through scaled-up survivor-centred global action. Priority actions include creating enabling policy, legal and resource environments; scaling up evidence-driven prevention programming; expanding comprehensive, accessible and quality services for survivors; and enabling and empowering autonomous girl and women’s rights organizations to exercise their expertise.”<sup>26</sup>

### What do GBV commitments look like worldwide?<sup>27</sup>

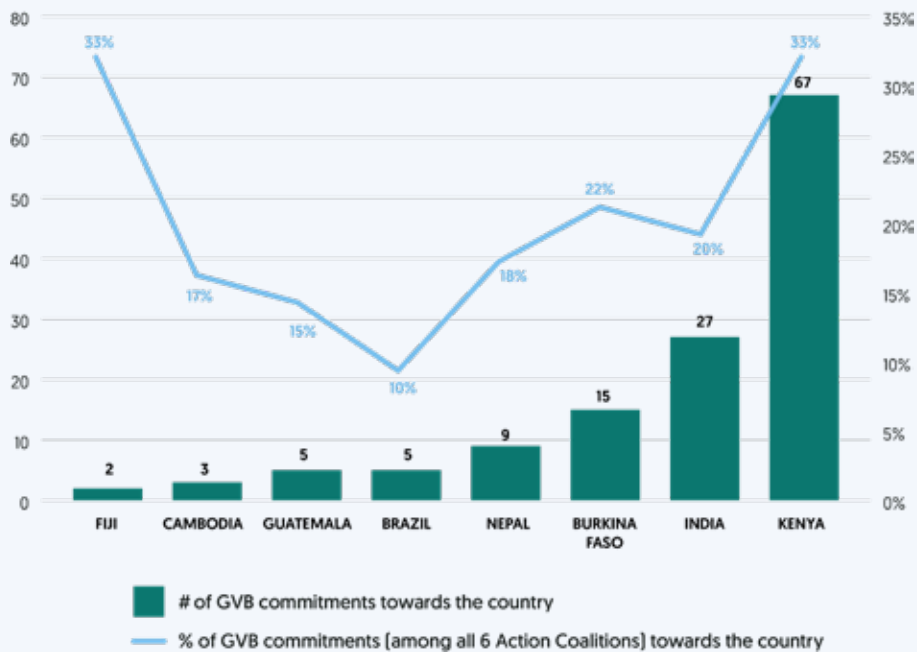
- Worldwide, GBV commitments under GEF are the highest of any Action Coalition—with 829 of 2,868 total commitments [29%].
- GBV commitments amount to at least \$5.1 billion, of which 11% has been reported as secured [\$564 million], and half of the secured amount has been spent to date.
- Of the financial commitments reported, \$171 million has been invested in civil society, \$67 million in adolescent girls and \$1 million in youth-led organizations.
- Only about 5% of the total OECD DAC28 funding dedicated to ending GBV is allocated to CSOs in developing countries.

**GBV funding in the FAF pilot countries** – Across the eight pilot countries, our analysis under the Feminist Accountability Framework shows that funding and prioritization for GBV significantly varies by the country. The total GEF commitments dedicated to organizations working to address GBV in these countries amount to USD\$136 million. A considerable majority [95%] of this funding is concentrated in Kenya [62%], India [21%], and Burkina Faso [15%].

## GVB Funding Across Eight FAF Pilot Countries

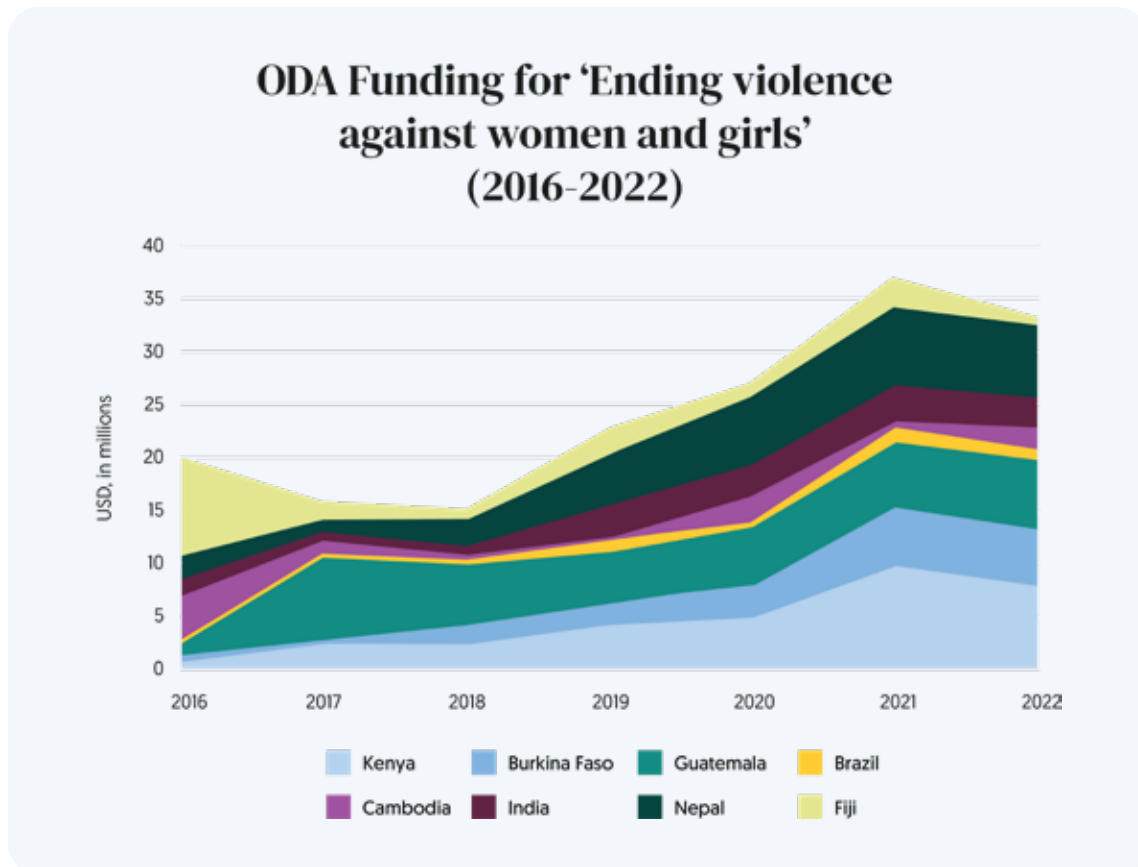


## GVB Commitments by Country



### Overall ODA Funding from all OECD Official Donors for GBV in the FAF pilot countries<sup>29</sup>

For the period that GEF has been active [2021-2023], ODA data was available for 2021-2022 at the time of the report. From the eight pilot countries, only Burkina Faso, Guatemala and Cambodia saw slight increases in ODA funding towards 'ending violence against women and girls [VAWG]' between 2021 and 2022. In ascending order, Brazil, India, Nepal, Fiji, and Kenya saw their funding decrease. This downward trend in five out of the eight pilot countries between 2021 and 2022 is interesting to note given the otherwise upward funding trend in all eight countries between 2018 and 2021.



## II. FUNDING SEXUAL AND REPRODUCTIVE HEALTH AND RIGHTS

### GEF'S VISION FOR SUCCESS BY 2026

“By 2026, all people, particularly girls, adolescents, women, trans-gender and non-binary people in all their diversity are empowered to exercise their sexual and reproductive health and rights (SRHR) and make autonomous decisions about their bodies, free from coercion, violence and discrimination. Priority actions include expanding comprehensive sexuality education, contraception and comprehensive abortion services; increasing decision-making and bodily autonomy; and strengthening feminist organizations.”<sup>30</sup>

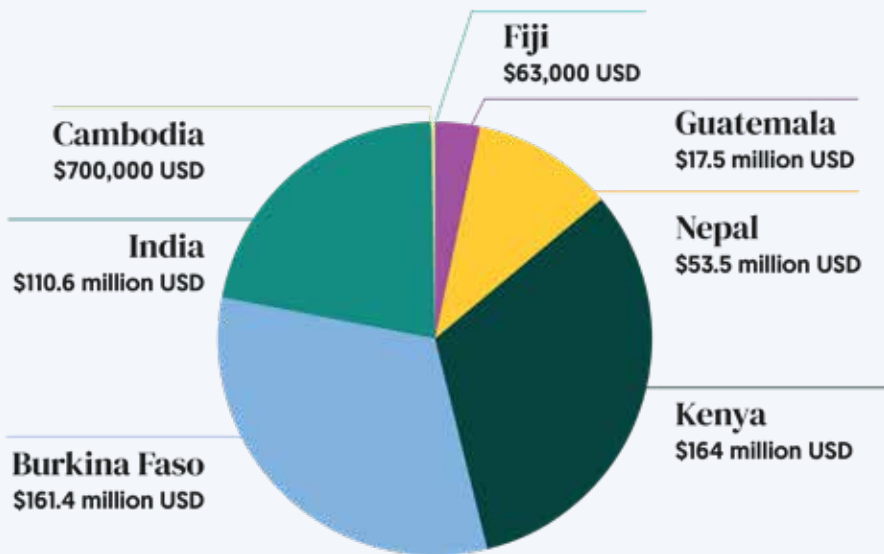
### Worldwide picture of SRHR Commitments<sup>31</sup>:

- Worldwide, SRHR commitments represent 421 of 2,868 total commitments (15%).
- Governments and organizations have pledged \$4.7 billion to this Action Coalition, with \$2.3 billion representing new or scaled-up funding.
- Based on current reporting, close to three quarters [\$3.4 billion] has been secured and a gap of \$1 billion remains.
- The majority of commitments are being implemented in Sub-Saharan Africa (57%) and in Europe and Northern America (52%), while 15% have a global scope.
- More than six in ten of reported SRHR commitments focus on programmatic work (65%) and advocacy (63%), while 44% contain a policy component and 27% include a financial component.

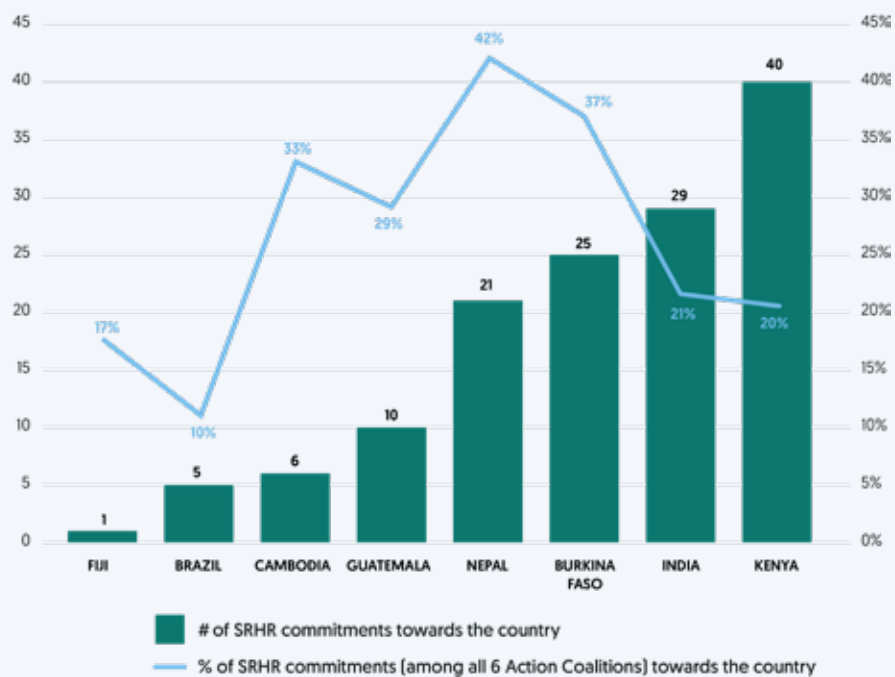
### What do SRHR commitments look like in the FAF pilot countries?

In contrast to the GBV Action Coalition, Sexual and Reproductive Health and Rights (SRHR) funding from GEF exhibits a more substantial presence across the eight pilot countries, amounting to a total of \$508 million. Most (86%) of this funding was for three countries: Kenya (32.4%), Burkina Faso (31.7%) and India (21.7%).

## SRHR Funding Across Eight FAF Pilot Countries

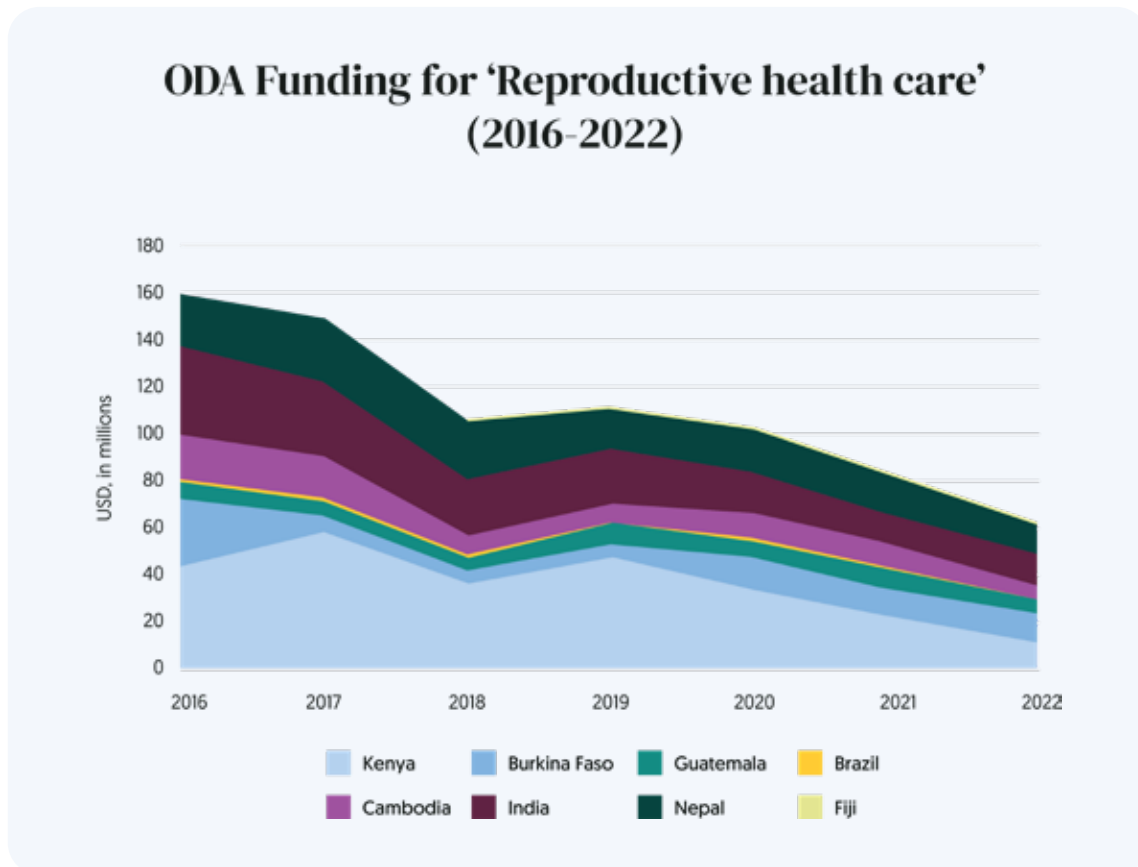


## SRHR Commitments by Country



### Overall ODA Funding from all OECD Official Donors for SRHR in the FAF pilot countries<sup>32</sup>

For the period that GEF has been active [2021-2023], ODA data was available for 2021-2022 at the time of the report. From the eight pilot countries, only Burkina Faso and India saw slight increases in ODA funding towards 'Reproductive health care' between 2021 and 2022. The other pilot countries demonstrate more significant decreases, with Kenya seeing the biggest loss. However, the trend of funding in this category has been on a general decline since 2016 in all countries, with the exception of a growth spurt between 2018 and 2019.



### III. GEF COMMITMENTS AND FEMINIST STORIES ON GBV AND SRHR: A LOOK AT THE COUNTRY-LEVEL

**Fiji:** Interviewees confirmed that there is minimal funding from GEF commitments, revealing a lack of financial support for grassroots organizations. Due to these funding gaps, many grassroots organizations were forced to self-fund their initiatives. The focus in Fiji remains on gender equality broadly, rather than specific GBV or SRHR initiatives. Challenges include limited resources, bureaucratic hurdles, and the need to meet strict donor criteria. Additionally, marginalized groups, such as rural women and ethnic minorities, face discrimination in accessing funding.

**Cambodia:** GEF commitments in GBV and SRHR in Cambodia are among the lowest in Asia, totaling \$1.5 million USD. Most feminist organizations receive their funding from international NGOs, philanthropic organizations, and global funders. While some funding exists for direct service delivery in the country, feminist organizations struggle with obtaining adequate support. Donors' strict criteria and administrative burdens limit operational flexibility, resulting in decreased funding for GBV over the past decade. Trans, intersex, and LGBTQIA+ populations are often excluded from GBV funding initiatives. Political and societal norms influence funding allocation, requiring organizations to navigate a conservative environment. Feminist groups have reported successful outcomes based on changes in gender policies and improved public awareness.

**Nepal:** GBV funding is limited in Nepal. In comparison, it has received more significant support for SRHR (\$53 million USD). Despite some progress, accessing funds remains a challenge due to bureaucratic obstacles and patriarchal mindsets. Funding often overlooks LGBTQIA+ communities and women with disabilities. Nepalese feminist organizations emphasize networking and transparency to secure diverse funding sources and prioritize gender equality initiatives.

**India:** The country reflects some of the highest amounts of GBV and SRHR funding from GEF in Asia although challenges exist with reduced core support grants and restrictive foreign funding. Accessible funding for diverse populations and languages is needed, especially for people with disabilities, sex workers, Dalit girls, and LGBTQI persons. Intersectionality remains complex. Feminist groups expressed uncertainty regarding funders' reactions to applying an intersectional lens. Interviewees also emphasized the cultural climate of regulation and suppression which adversely impacts the functioning of these organizations, as well as persistent anti-activist sentiments and hostility towards Women Human Rights Defenders (WHRD) that make the work of feminist organizations not only challenging but in some cases dangerous.

**Guatemala:** Guatemala receives negligible funding for GBV based on an analysis of GEF data. In comparison, the country receives more funding in SRHR. However, feminist grassroots organizations refute that SRHR funding is adequate, reporting that most SRHR funding in the country goes to anti-choice groups and programs. Funding primarily comes from private foundations and international organizations with donors shifting priorities over time. Political instability and corruption create challenges for feminist organizations navigating funding and political landscapes. Donor trends and funding priorities have also evolved over the years to focus more on Indigenous communities and LGBTQIA+ rights in addition to the issue areas of SRHR and environmental justice. However, donors have typically shifted focus to these communities without applying an intersectional lens that looks at the unique challenges of these groups.

**Brazil:** Brazil has more commitments for GBV (\$2.1 million USD) than SRHR (\$300,000 USD). However, Black and Indigenous groups face challenges in accessing funding. The interviewees called for more inclusive and effective funding mechanisms that genuinely address the needs of diverse feminist groups, particularly given the conservative political context and opposition to feminist agendas. Participants highlighted threats and violence against activists as recent setbacks. To navigate existing norms, Brazilian feminist organizations use digital outreach to reach wider audiences while maintaining safety measures for their activists.

**Burkina Faso:** GEF committed substantial commitments to Burkina Faso totaling \$161.4 million USD for SRHR – the largest share of GEF committed funding in the country – and significant funding for GBV totaling \$21 million. However, historically marginalized groups, including youth, rural women, and LGBTQIA+ individuals, face significant challenges in accessing these resources. Intense competition for limited resources exacerbates difficulties in accessing resources. Feminist organizations are advocating for more accessible funding mechanisms, capacity-building initiatives, and support for grassroots and emerging organizations. The allocation of funding for GBV and SRHR programs by feminist organizations in Burkina Faso is shaped by the political climate and societal norms. Despite obstacles, women’s rights organizations in Burkina Faso have achieved increased visibility and support, emphasizing education and advocacy to combat harmful practices while prioritizing safety protocols.

**Kenya:** Kenya has received the most GEF commitments amongst African countries with a total value of \$1.37 billion USD. While Kenya has the highest number and value of both GBV [\$84 million USD and 67 commitments, which is 33% of all commitments to Kenya] and SRHR commitments [\$164.6 million USD and 39 commitments, which is 20% of all commitments to Kenya] in comparison to other pilot countries, neither action coalition received the most committed funding in the country (instead, ‘Feminist Movements and Leadership’ received the most funding commitments in Kenya at around \$1 billion USD). Despite this, the qualitative stories revealed that key challenges of patriarchal social norms continue to make it difficult to address and prevent femicide in Kenya. Although during the launch of the Generation Equality Forum in June 2021, Kenya’s former President committed to establishing 47 safe houses, there are only three government-run safe houses in the country. Towards the end of January 2024, thousands of women and men marched in Nairobi and other major cities in Kenya calling for an end to femicide and violence against women and girls.



## ENDNOTES

- 1 United Nations Population Fund, [Adolescent and Youth Demographics: A Brief Overview](#).
- 2 Ibid.
- 3 Only 1 percent (or \$690 million of \$53 billion) of gender-focused aid from 30 OECD member nations reached women's rights organizations on average in 2018-2019. See "[Development Finance For Gender Equality And Women's Empowerment: A 2021 Snapshot](#)," OECD DAC Network on Gender Equality (Gendernet), April 2021.
- 4 AWID analyzed the budgets of feminist organizations using Global Fund for Women's database of grants from 2015 to 2019. Almost half (48%) of women's rights and feminist organizations from the Global South seeking funding from Global Fund for Women reported their most recent fiscal year budget was less than \$30,000 USD a year. See AWID, "[Where is the Money For Feminist Organizing?](#)" 2021, 12.
- 5 Black Feminist Fund Report, [Where Is the Money for Black Feminist Movements?](#), March 2023, 8.
- 6 Funding for grassroots organizations focusing on LGBTQIA+ communities is also in a dire state. According to Astraea Lesbian Foundation for Justice, the median budget for LGBTQIA+ groups in 2017 was only \$11,713 USD and more than half of trans groups had annual budgets of less than \$10,000. See AWID Report, [Where is the Money for Feminist Organizing?](#), 2021, 14.
- 7 Ibid.
- 8 Only 5 percent of all global human rights funding supports Indigenous peoples. See Alliance Magazine, [Indigenous Led Funds Can be a Solution to Philanthropy's Inequity](#), May 2021.
- 9 The Bridgespan Group, [Lighting the Way: A Report for Philanthropy on the Power and Promise of Feminist Movements](#), April 12, 2022, 4.
- 10 [The Generation Equality Forum Official Website](#).
- 11 Global Fund for Women, [Feminist Accountability: Unveiling the Impact of Generation Equality for Feminist Movements](#), September 2023.
- 12 We selected eight pilot countries based on ensuring geographic representation across three regions; responding to current political opportunities; accessing partners via FAF member groups; and aligning a mix of overall values and numbers of the GEF commitments.
- 13 Over 700 grassroots feminist organizations in the eight pilot countries assessed the relevance, transparency, and accessibility of the GEF commitments; identified gaps between needs and commitments; and determined the extent to which GEF is aligned with the country-level needs of feminist movements from a community-led perspective. See Global Fund for Women, [Feminist Accountability: Unveiling the Impact of Generation Equality for Feminist Movements](#), September 2023.
- 14 Action Coalitions are global multi-stakeholder partnerships committed to tracking measurable progress towards critical gender equality issues. The six Action Coalitions are: 1) Gender-based violence, 2) Economic justice and rights, 3) Bodily autonomy and sexual and reproductive health and rights (SRHR), 4) Feminist action for climate justice, 5) Technology and innovation for gender equality, 6) Feminist movements and leadership. See Generation Equality Forum Report, [Action Coalitions: A Global Acceleration Plan for Gender Equality](#), March 30, 2021. Given the intersections of GBV and SRHR, feminist groups working on Feminist Movements and Leadership (FML) were also interviewed, particularly in Nepal.
- 15 SRHR received the most financial commitments out of all 6 action coalitions in Burkina Faso, Guatemala, India, Nepal and Fiji. In Kenya, SRHR received the second largest financial commitments (after Feminist Movements and Leadership) among the 6 action coalitions.
- 16 OECD is an intergovernmental organization that fosters policy development and coordination among 35 member countries to promote economic and social well-being globally. We use data from Official Development Aid (ODA) from all [OECD](#) official donors. ODA is defined as "government aid that promotes and specifically targets the economic development and welfare of developing countries. ... ODA data is collected, verified and made publicly available by the OECD." See Feminist Accountability Appendix for our analysis of ODA funding in the pilot countries for GBV and SRHR.
- 17 The concept of [Intersectionality](#) is rooted in Black feminist activism and explains how multiple forms of discrimination, such as on race, gender, class, ability, and other layered identities can intersect to create a unique form of oppression.
- 18 The [Montevideo Consensus](#) is an intergovernmental agreement on population and development in the world that incorporates a series of measures aimed at guaranteeing human rights, especially sexual and reproductive rights. Guatemala lacks a mechanism that ensures the participation of civil society in monitoring and implementing the agreement.
- 19 While abortion access has been restricted in the U.S., global trends show a story of feminist movements succeeding in pushing for less restrictive abortion rights laws in nearly 60 countries. See Global Fund for Women, [Year in Gender Justice](#), 2022.
- 20 [The "Life and Protection Law" \(Law 5272\)](#) criminalizes miscarriages and imposes prison sentences on anyone who 'promotes or facilitates access to abortion.' It also expressly prohibits same-sex marriage as well as the teaching of gender equality in schools, and outlaws prosecuting people or groups for discriminating against others for their sexual orientation.
- 21 The International Labor Organization (ILO) Convention 189 established the first global standards for domestic workers including weekly days off, limits to hours of work, minimum wage coverage, over-time compensation, social security, and clear information on the terms and conditions of employers. The new standards obligate governments that ratify to protect domestic workers from violence and abuse, to regulate private employment agencies that recruit and employ domestic workers, and to prevent child labor in domestic work. See Human Rights Watch, "[The ILO Domestic Workers Convention: New Standards to Fight Discrimination, Exploitation, and Abuse](#)," 2014, 3.
- 22 Adrianna Beltrán, [Q&A: Guatemala's Controversial NGO Law](#), WOLA, March 19, 2020.
- 23 Recommendations included providing flexible long term funding to grassroots feminist and youth groups; aligning GEF commitments with local needs; ensuring clear and accessible communications about the GEF commitments in different languages; investing in transparent accountability mechanisms to track countries' progress; involving communities and grassroots movements for more inclusive funding decisions; and holding GEF commitment makers accountable for reporting on progress. See Global Fund for Women, [Feminist Accountability: Unveiling the Impact of Generation Equality for Feminist Movements](#), September 2023.
- 24 Our [Feminist Accountability](#) report from August 2022 analyzed commitments made toward the pilot countries categorized by the amount of funding allocated to each Action Coalition and the number of commitments made by different groups of commitment makers for each Action Coalition. More recently, we have updated our analysis based on the information released by Generation Equality at the Midpoint Moment in September 2023. See Feminist Accountability Appendix. Due to changes in data categories for 2023 in the GEF Commitments Dashboard, implementation country-level data is no longer available and the updated Feminist Accountability analysis provided at the end of this report is based on the availability of regional-level data.
- 25 Analysis has been completed using the GEF commitments dataset released in the GEF dashboard.
- 26 [Generation Equality Accountability Report 2023](#)
- 27 Ibid.
- 28 The Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development's (OECD) Development Assistance Committee (DAC) is a forum to discuss issues surrounding aid, development and poverty reduction in developing countries. [see [OECD DAC](#)] It describes itself as being the "venue and voice" of the world's major donor countries. [see '[DAC in Dates: The History of OECD's Development Assistance Committee](#)'. 2006, 6.]
- 29 [OECD.Stat](#) [Donor: 'Official donors, Total'; Flow: 'Official Development Assistance'; Channel: 'All channels'; Flow type: 'gross disbursements'; Amount type: 'constant prices'; Type of aid: 'All Types, Total'; Sector: '15180: Ending violence against women and girls'] This data will no longer be on this platform beyond March 2024 and is expected to be found on the [OECD Data Explorer](#)
- 30 [Generation Equality Accountability Report 2023](#)
- 31 Ibid.
- 32 [OECD.Stat](#) [Donor: 'Official donors, Total'; Flow: 'Official Development Assistance'; Channel: 'All channels'; Flow type: 'gross disbursements'; Amount type: 'constant prices'; Type of aid: 'All Types, Total'; Sector: '13020: Reproductive Health']. This data will no longer be on this platform beyond March 2024 and is expected to be found on the [OECD Data Explorer](#)