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FEMINIST FOREIGN POLICY: SOLUTIONS FOR A BETTER TOMORROW

**Background paper of the III Ministerial Conference
on Feminist Foreign Policies**

FINAL VERSION

Feminist Foreign Policy: Solutions for a better tomorrow. Background paper of the III Ministerial Conference on Feminist Foreign Policies.

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Foreword

Today, the world faces interconnected challenges that test our capacity for multilateral response and require systemic changes in global governance. In this context, Feminist Foreign Policies (FFP) are tools that allow facing these common challenges, both at national, regional, and international levels, providing innovative solutions focused on the needs and rights of all, which promote the effective participation of girls, youth, and women in all their diversity, with positive results for the whole society, especially for those people and populations severely impacted by multiple inequalities, intersecting discriminations and different forms of oppression and violence.

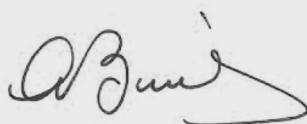
These policies stem from a long multilateral effort dedicated to promoting the rights of these populations and the search for substantive equality. They are also the result of the advocacy of organized feminist and women's movements over the years. There is sufficient evidence that the adoption and implementation of FFP, when incorporating a gender perspective and a human rights approach, constitute a formidable catalyst for change and a progressive instrument that provides concrete solutions to the challenges posed by the urgent need to move toward sustainable development with people and the planet at the center, as well as tools to eradicate all forms of inequality, discrimination, and violence, from an intercultural, intersectional, intergenerational and multidimensional gender perspective.

The III Ministerial Conference on Feminist Foreign Policy, to be held in Mexico City from July 1-3, 2024, aims to create a space for dialogue among actors committed to the implementation of foreign policies with this vision to identify good practices and lessons learned, as well as to discuss the challenges that hinder their implementation. The Ministerial Conference promotes the identification of innovative solutions towards the negotiations of the Pact for the Future, an action-oriented document that will encourage the acceleration of efforts to strengthen and revitalize the multilateral system, as well as accelerate the fulfillment of international commitments and adopt measures to address the new challenges that challenge the planet and all of humanity.

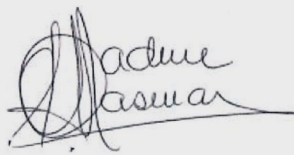
Building on discussions from the previous conferences in Berlin (2021) and The Hague (2022), the III Ministerial Conference on Feminist Foreign Policy also aims to promote greater involvement of high-level government representatives in the adoption of commitments on gender equality in foreign policy, responding to the demands made by civil society organizations and organized women's groups.

This document contains the context, current situations, and challenges facing the identified issues. The text constitutes the position paper of the Conference, whose objective is to reflect the various issues to be addressed and their important relationship with the design and implementation of Feminist Foreign Policies. Throughout the document, the FFP approaches to elements that have been considered in the Pact for the Future are presented: sustainable development and financing; peace and security; technology and innovation; youth; global governance; and the perspectives of FFP from the Global South, all from a lens that allows us to make inequalities visible and establish that for a better world, we require egalitarian societies.

The III Conference and this position paper are efforts by the Mexican Government, with the support of UN Women, to contribute to global conversations on Feminist Foreign Policies from intersectional, intercultural, gender, and youth perspectives, with the participation of governments, United Nations agencies, civil society, academia, women's groups and other actors interested in the design and implementation of a foreign policy based on equality.



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01.

Contributions of feminist foreign policies to a peaceful and sustainable future

PROPOSALS OF THE III MINISTERIAL CONFERENCE
ON FEMINIST FOREIGN POLICIES (MEXICO, 2024)

Feminist Foreign Policies, an emerging policy framework based on decades of feminist international studies

Women's movements, in all their diversity, have contributed to shaping internationally agreed development goals and existing peace and human rights instruments, as well as international tools for advancing gender equality and non-discrimination. The concept of feminist foreign policies (hereinafter FFP) is nourished by decades of feminist and gender activism, and has gained significant relevance as a framework for reshaping foreign policy. Feminist international studies and the feminist movements and academics developed cross-cutting, intersectional, cross-cultural, multi-scale, and cross-sectoral gender-transformative approaches to challenge discrimination, racism, and colonization. Mainstreaming gender equality and the empowerment of all women and girls in their diversity through policies, strategies, actions, and instruments at the national and sub-national levels in the past decades contributed to challenging and transforming different phases of foreign policy and international relations that have been historically marginalizing feminist studies and feminist diplomacy.

It is not a new abstract concept or ethical or normative principle. Instead, it is an operational category that connotes a deconstructive power, a political commitment, and a transformative capacity to advance policies and actions that ensure the full recognition, respect, protection, and exercise of women's human rights. The future evolution of FFP knowledge will emerge from the daily praxis and collective solutions and construction and the advance in implementing

existing and future transformative international instruments, agendas, and frameworks towards gender equality.

In the last decade, an increasing number of countries around the world have adopted or are in the process of adopting a FFP as a foreign policy instrument to accelerate the achievement of SDGs by 2030, primarily of SDG5, as well as to accelerate equal representation of all women in their diversity in decision-making positions, particularly within Foreign Service and UN bodies.

The first country was Sweden in 2014, then followed by Canada in 2017, France in 2019, Mexico in 2020 (IWDA, 2020), Spain and Luxembourg in 2021, Germany, the Netherlands, Liberia, Libya and Argentina in 2022, Chile in 2023, Colombia in 2024.

Other States, although they have not adopted a foreign policy explicitly referred to as feminist, have proven or advanced instruments for a gender approach in their foreign action.

The objective of a FFP is to put the rights of all women and girls in their diversity at the center of the international agenda and to promote, in line with international standards and commitments, processes of democratization of foreign policy, diplomacy, and international organizations in all its dimensions.

Therefore, in this stage of plural configuration and innovative deployment of FFPs, it is important to ensure that this framework is understood as a developing tool. Its theoretical justification and ethical, political, cultural, and social legitimization can be found in the contributions that many countries and other actors (including feminist movements) made in existing internationally and regionally agreed instruments advancing women's human rights and gender equality, such as the Convention for the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination (CEDAW) and its facultative Protocol, the Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action or the 1325 UN Resolution on Women, Peace and Security and its subsequent resolutions, or the Belém do Pará Convention and the Istanbul Convention.

FFP objectives either coincide or are developed within the framework of actions that are implemented by foreign ministries and mechanisms, and are part of programs of different cooperation architectures and modalities (UN Women, 2023).

Feminists' movements and gender equality activists' influence (both within the state and as part of civil society and academia) shifted the status quo and advanced FPPs that emerged from the international and national policy arenas. On the one hand, from international commitments, instruments, and actions and, on the other hand, from national gender equality mainstreaming policies. They are built mainly from three existing foreign policy lines: Human Rights policies, development cooperation policies, and Women, Peace and Security, and Humanitarian policies or action plans (Alemany, 2022). To understand the new FPP trend and future contributions, it is critical to analyze all the changes that the 1325 Resolution and its subsequent resolutions promoted and how it was one of the main drivers of FPP (Mesa, 2021).

In this sense, in theory, all UN member states have a basis of international standards and instruments to advance gender equality and women's human rights. However, assuming a feminist approach, re-position existing international instruments and conventions towards a more robust transformative framework that aims to deconstruct patriarchal power structures of historical discrimination based on gender, race, origin, age, or other intersections (Güezmes and Romero, 2024).

Adopting a FFP may provide States with a unifying and coherent policy framework, improve coordination between initiatives worldwide, and scale up the impact of national efforts through more effective and articulated interventions. A FFP not only strengthens coherence between the international obligations and commitments assumed by the States, but also promotes bottom-up strategies based on forming inclusive and multisectoral alliances -mainly with feminist organizations, women's and LGBTIQ+ movements. FPPs may promote horizontal platforms for cooperation and exchange, allowing countries and regions to influence the different forums and instances of international deliberation and decision-making.

Common approaches and priorities of Feminist Foreign Policies

The adoption of a FFP requires States to implement internal action plans and agree on inter-institutional and multisectoral strategies. This aims to strengthen the coherence between public policies and the national legal system with the obligations assumed internationally in relation to gender equality. It also reflects

in their foreign policy the norms, policies, and actions deployed by their States to advance women's rights.

In several countries, especially in the Global South, the development of a FFP assumes an intersectional, intercultural, intergenerational, multidimensional, and multiscale approach, making visible to the international community the structural causes that generate, reproduce, and perpetuate gender inequalities and hinder the eradication of the multiple forms of discrimination against all women, adolescents, and girls in their diversity.

The feminist movement, in its plural diversity, has challenged traditional power structures and advocated denaturalizing and making visible the unjust power relations and institutionalized systems of domination that sustain multiple forms of gender-based discrimination and structural inequalities around the world. As stated by the UN Secretary-General, "We still live in a male-dominated culture that leaves women vulnerable by denying them equality in dignity and rights. We all pay the price: our societies are less peaceful, our economies less prosperous, our world less just" ([United Nations, 2023](#)).

Feminist activists and thinkers recognized that women don't face a one-way or uniform struggle for equality but that feminist agendas around the world are defined by intersections across geographical, cultural, social, and political contexts that simultaneously impact on generating and/or reproducing different structures and forms of oppression, discrimination or subordination based on of race, sexuality, gender, ethnicity, religion, ideology, social background, among other characteristics.

However, the concept of intersectionality in itself is part of a legacy of anti-racist and anti-colonial "black feminisms" of the Global South, characterized by the key role and contribution of Latin American and Caribbean feminists that, in several studies and through activism efforts since the late 20th century, questioned the invisibility of structural and contextualized discriminations leading to gender inequality ([UN Women, 2021](#)).

Latin American decolonial approaches are linked with International Relations Critical theories, Decolonial theories, and Center-Peripheral economic structural theories from the region. They incorporate dynamic analyses of different forms of discrimination and understand gender inequalities as “intermeshed plots” that interrelate with one another rather than as “juxtaposed identities,” questioning not only the patriarchy but also colonialism as a vertical and violent system of domination that seeks to impose a single gender identity as hegemonic universality.

Hosting this III Ministerial Conference on Feminist Foreign Policies in Mexico, the first in the Global South is a significant milestone and coherent with the trajectories of feminism at the transnational, international, and multilateral levels, as its structure and purpose assumes and reaffirms the importance of promoting and deepening inclusive, plural, intercultural and democratic dialogues in the international community to shape a common path and a shared horizon based on differences.

This conference strengthened a comprehensive cooperation framework among FFP countries, which requires articulating from a gender and intersectional perspective priority common agendas related to climate change, the peaceful resolution of conflicts, multilateral disarmament and arms control, human mobility, human trafficking, health crisis, tax avoidance and illicit financial flows, the risks associated with new technologies, especially the regulation and governance of Artificial Intelligence (AI), among other common challenges. In addition, it was an opportunity to foreground and engage in addressing specific issues affecting women and girls, such as the feminization of poverty, food insecurity, the unjust social organization of care, the debt burden of developing countries (both the least developed and those classified as low, middle and high income in the global south), and the impact of deregulated extractivism from a human rights and gender equality perspective.

As the UN Secretary-General António Guterres stated, “Gender equality and women’s rights are fundamental to global progress on peace and security, human rights and sustainable development. We can only re-establish trust in institutions, rebuild global solidarity, and reap the benefits of diverse perspectives by challenging historic injustices and promoting the rights and dignity of all” (United Nations, 2019).

Therefore, for all the mentioned above, adopting a FFP requires going beyond defending and promoting some of the dimensions of the gender equality agenda. Embracing feminist theories and practices would imply a willingness to transform unjust power relations, unsustainable development models, violent structures of domination, and discriminatory cultural patterns rooted in patriarchal, racist, colonialist, and capitalist practices and cultures. According to the ODI¹, FFPs “[...] must adopt a transformative approach that avoids superficial acts of nation branding, as well as “pinkwashing” (Sowa, 2023), the political strategy of appropriating supposed commitments to minority rights to mask ongoing forms of structural discrimination or other harms” (Ayesha Khan, Emilie Tant y Ján Michalko, 2023).

"We have lived through many centuries of women's inequality. It is a profound distortion of human coexistence that harms us as a species. A world where poverty and hunger have a woman's face. A world where the majority of victims of trafficking and sexual violence are women. A world where women have less access to land ownership and financial resources and where they also earn less for equivalent work. A world where most unpaid and caregiving labor falls on women, girls, and adolescents, excluding them from decision-making processes and leadership roles. We are talking about an unsustainable world, a model that needs to be changed, moving towards a different model, because this neoliberal model is exhausted and it cultivates a culture of privilege over a culture of equality."

— Alicia Bárcena, Secretary of Foreign Affairs of Mexico. Mexico, July 2024.

Some common approaches identified in the existing FFPs worldwide as key elements of a FFP are the following:

- a. The promotion of a fair and equal representation of women in deliberation and decision-making within Foreign Service at all levels, especially within foreign ministries that are globally far from achieving parity.

¹ ODI is an independent think tank on global issues that conducts research and advocacy to inspire action against injustice and inequality. See [ODI.org](https://www.odi.org)

- b. The promotion of the inclusion of a gender and intersectional perspective in the curricula of diplomatic schools, institutes, and permanent training plans for diplomats and foreign service personnel.
- c. Promotion, support, and investment in the elaboration, deliberation, or implementation of international and regional conventions, instruments, and bodies, such as the Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action, the Women, Peace and Security Agenda, the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development, as well as the commitments assumed in the different bodies of the UN System, such as the Security Council, ECOSOC or the General Assembly. Additionally, the agreements, commitments, and agendas resulted from the UN FFP+ Group in New York, the FFP Group in Geneva, the Equality Generation Forum (UN Women, 2023), the Commissions on the Status of Women, the Women's Rights Caucus, among others.
- d. The search for acceleration mechanisms and positive actions to address and eradicate structural barriers and multiple and interrelated forms of discrimination against women and girls. Some of these barriers include the unfair and unequal distribution of care responsibilities, gender-based bias, stereotypes, a culture of privilege, and all forms of gender-based violence against women, especially in the Foreign Service.
- e. The support of women's and feminist organizations and movements, as of women human rights defenders, as relevant actors to consolidate multilateralism and democracy, strengthening the rule of law, preventing conflicts, negotiating peace, as in demanding and defending the recognition and full exercise of human rights by monitoring States' fulfillment of commitments made by States.
- f. Including an intersectional approach as an analytical tool to overcome a neutral approach to decision-making. Intersectionality is critical when studying, understanding, and responding to how gender intersects with other identities and how these intersections contribute to unique experiences of oppression and privilege (AWID, 2004). Intersections with gender are multiple and intersect: race, caste, ethnicity, ancestry, religion, origin, rurality, mobility, age or disability condition, or being located in a conflict or occupied zone. These intersections, combined, result in the multiplier effect of inequality and discrimination on women and girls.

- g. The defense and protection of women and girls' rights to prevent backlashes and the advance of regressive policies and hostile positions against women human rights and gender equality. According to Lombardo (2013), "FFP could strategically address the complexity and international nature of anti-gender movements and thus reaffirm their commitment to human rights and democracy, of which gender equality is a crucial feature." Countries that adopt a FFP also act in a coordinated and joint manner to prevent the advance of movements and speeches that deny and/or attempt against human rights, women's rights, and the commitments assumed by the international community or that promote actions aimed at weakening the multilateral system.
- h. Positioning the transformative role of care and care societies at the center of the regional gender equality agenda, international, traditional, South-South, and triangular cooperation, and shifting national policies against poverty and inequality, building comprehensive care policies and systems building on the Consensus of Buenos Aires (Güezmes and Romero, 2024). This approach is stronger in Latin America and growing with the UN General Assembly 77/317 Resolution on the International Day on Care and Support (2023), the resolution on the Importance of care and support from a Human Rights perspective at the Human Rights Council (2023), and the proposed EU-LAC Bi-regional Pact on care under development.

Relevance of Feminist Foreign Policies for a better future

Based on the core elements of FFPs, advancing feminist perspectives in regional and multilateral spaces can contribute to sustainable peace and multilateralism. Major global shocks in recent years – including the COVID-19 pandemic, armed conflicts and related increases in military expenses, the increase of hunger and extreme poverty, in addition to climate change, the risks and opportunities of technological advances and digital industrial revolution, with a disproportionate and differential impact on women's and girls, have contributed to the stagnation on the Sustainable Development Goals and challenged international institutions and relations.

"For the National Institute for Women, participating in feminist foreign policy is a matter of the highest importance, allowing us to position fundamental issues for women's rights, such as the right to care, the prevention of violence against women, sexual and reproductive rights, and the promotion of their autonomy in every international space we engage with. For example, in the area of Women, Peace, and Security, with the development of Mexico's First Action Plan on UN Resolution 1325 and the creation of the Ibero-American Network of Women Mediators, the G20 Women's Empowerment Group, the promotion of recognition for caregiving work, and statements by leaders in the Women and Economy Working Group of the Policy Partnership for Women and Economy of the Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation Forum, launched at COP 28."

— Nadine Gasman, President of the National Institute for Women of Mexico. Mexico, July 2024.

"Strengthening multilateralism and finding common solutions to major global challenges has been the focus of feminist analysts and activists, who have participated in major international conferences over the past decades to challenge gender-neutral policies and opposition groups to the human rights and gender agenda. As the UN Secretary-General stated, "interdependence is the logic of the 21st century." He also said, "the best way to promote the interests of our citizens is to promote the interests of our common future" (United Nations, 2021).

Promoting robust intergovernmental mechanisms, both regional and global, that provide a platform for preventive diplomacy and peaceful resolution of disputes is key in addressing today's multiple global challenges. For example, the agreement among UN Member States to strengthen and revitalize the Commission on the Status of Women, which plays a key normative role in ensuring the full exercise of women's political rights, is noteworthy. In this sense, feminist foreign policy must be anchored in a strong, effective, and accountable multilateral system that reports on progress in gender equality."

— María Noel Vaeza, Regional Director of UN Women for the Americas and the Caribbean. Mexico, July 2024.

In recognition of these trends and countries' unprecedented interconnectedness, Member States pledged to strengthen global governance and asked the UN Secretary-General for his recommendations to address current and future challenges (A/RES/75/1).

The UN Secretary-General responded with Our Common Agenda², calling for solidarity between people, countries, and generations and a corresponding renewal of the multilateral system to accelerate the implementation of existing commitments and fill gaps in global governance that have emerged since 2015.

The report proposed a Summit of the Future as a once-in-a-generation opportunity to take these steps. The General Assembly decided that the Summit of the Future would take place in September 2024, building on the 2023 SDG Summit, and that its outcome is being inter-governmentally negotiated towards the Pact for the Future, comprising a chapeau and five chapters on: i Sustainable development and financing for development; ii. International peace and security; iii. Science, technology and innovation, and digital cooperation; iv. Youth and future generations; v. Transforming global governance.

"FFP countries can agree on an advanced and robust position so that the Pact for the Future addresses in a transformative way the structural challenges that women face today, considering that achieving gender equality and the empowerment of all women and girls is a cross-cutting goal of the 2030 Agenda. The integration of a gender perspective and feminist foreign policies is not solely a women's issue but rather tools that enable substantive changes for the benefit of society as a whole."

— Nadine Gasman, President of the National Institute for Women of Mexico. Mexico, July 2024.

Adopting and implementing a FFP can be vital in redefining global priorities and strategies in the framework of the Summit of the Future. This is an opportunity to promote plural and inclusive environments in which approaches are not built on supposed consensus but instead on explicit approaches, interests,

2 United Nations (2021), "Our Common Agenda" Report of the Secretary-General.

and experiences of the different realities and situations, aiming at building a strategic, transparent, and effective agenda based on common priorities and agreed issues, especially those focused on the promotion, protection, and guarantee of women's rights.

It is the opportunity to jointly address the 6 mayor gaps identified by the UN Secretary-General in Our Common Agenda³ by: i) strengthening dialogue and investments to prevent, maintain and consolidate peace internationally; ii) committing with the effective implementation of emission reduction policies, while ensuring that developing countries are receiving the funds pledged for climate action, and that women are participating in decision-making around climate justice; iii) embracing the principles of feminist economy to reduce poverty affecting particularly women from the Global South, including by advancing care societies based on sustainability of life and the planet; iv) closing the gender gap as a radical transformation benefitting society as a whole; v) closing the digital gap, which primarily affect women and girls, as identified and committed by UN Member States withing the 67 session of the Commission on the Status of Women; vi) closing the intergenerational gap, by involving youth in shaping a better future for all.

Lessons learned from policymakers, experts, and activists of FFP can contribute to promoting an ethical, political, and institutional commitment in all international forums that places gender equality as a principle and horizon and incorporates the feminist agenda in international, bilateral relations and sub-regional, regional, international, and multilateral institutions.

"Feminist foreign policy can be crucial in jointly addressing the structural causes of migration and protecting women, girls, and all migrant communities from violence, abuse, and exploitation, which are essential issues for the Global South. Additionally, feminist foreign policy can help build more robust, stable, and sophisticated international regimes that include women in peace processes."

— Alicia Bárcena, Secretary of Foreign Affairs of Mexico. Mexico, July 2024.

3 United Nations (2021), "Our Common Agenda" Report of the Secretary-General.

FFP is an innovative tool that can contribute to building a more transformative Pact for the Future that places people and the planet at the center, revalues the ethics of care, and invests in policies associated with sustaining life and cooperation while promoting a more significant presence, leadership, and participation of all women in their diversity in the international system. A new Pact for the Future should advocate for a genuinely universal, democratic, and inclusive multilateralism that corrects historical inequalities and celebrates plurality.

"[The Summit of the Future] will be a Platform where Feminist Foreign Policies can play a crucial role in shaping a more equitable and just world order. I call on all of you to adopt innovative approaches in all areas of foreign policy and improve the representation of women in decision-making positions. The time for bold actions has come. Let us harness the power of Feminist Foreign Policies to create a world where equality is the norm, not the exception. Let us ensure that our daughters and granddaughters inherit a world that values their contributions equally and where no one is left behind."

— Amina Mohamed, Deputy Secretary-General of the United Nations.
Mexico, July 2024.

Contributions from States in the Framework of the High-Level Segment of the III Ministerial Conference on Feminist Foreign Policy

The high-level segment of the III Ministerial Conference on Feminist Foreign Policies: “Solutions for a Better Tomorrow” brought together representatives from countries promoting feminist foreign policies and gender perspectives in their foreign policies. The goal was to leverage their vision and experience in policies to contribute to the ongoing process towards a new Pact for the Future, as well as the preparations for Beijing+30, the 25th anniversary of Resolution 1325, and the 4th International Conference on Financing for Development (FFD) and the second World Summit for Social Development to be held in 2025. Below are the key messages and contributions from the State representatives, in the order of their interventions:

- **Germany (Special Envoy for Feminist Foreign Policy, Gesa Braütigam):** Sometimes, states view the struggle for women’s and girls’ rights through progress and recreation, fostering the presence of many women in activism, with a significant fight for gender equity that addresses discrimination. In this sense, the status of women’s and girls’ rights reflects the status of the society in which they live.
- **Australia (Ambassador for Gender Equality, Stephanie Copus-Campbell):** It cannot be said that gender equality is at the heart of Australia’s global agenda, but today, the focus is on equal opportunities for men and women to access better living conditions. Additionally, no country enjoys complete security, peace, and prosperity, so it must be ensured that everyone has the same opportunity to make their way in society.
- **Belgium (Resident Ambassador, Johan Verkammen):** The full, equal, and meaningful participation of women in peace and security decision-making processes revolves not only around conflict situations but also around social security issues. Therefore, women’s participation in conflict negotiations is fundamental for their timely resolution.
- **Brazil (Resident Ambassador, Fernando Estellita Lins de Salvo Coimbra):** By strengthening feminist foreign policies, multilateralism and the fight against global structural inequalities are also strengthened, with invaluable exchange of visions and best practices.
- **Colombia (Deputy Permanent Representative to the United Nations of Colombia, Arlene Beth Tickner):** At the current pace, we will not meet the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) of the 2030 Agenda, gender parity in senior positions and decision-making will not be achieved, and collective commitments needed to combat global warming will not be reached. The aforementioned challenges are due to setbacks in some gender equality achievements, including sexual and reproductive health rights for men and women. There is a need to insist on the transformative process that feminist milestones can impact global policy.

- **Bolivia (Minister of Foreign Affairs, Celinda Sosa):** Feminist foreign policies are an extension of the will to maintain peace and security between men and women, providing an approach based on the premise that human rights must be at the center of international policies, aiming to create solutions for a better tomorrow.

- **Costa Rica (Alternate General Director of the General Directorate of Foreign Policy, Eugenia Gutiérrez Ruíz):** We are living in times where inequalities are the common sign of the crises we face, which widen existing gaps in terms of gender, ethnicity, age, class, origin, and other intersections, especially in Global South countries. Fortunately, we live in times of feminism with intersectional, intercultural, and intergenerational approaches, which provide us with the necessary tools to understand and transform these realities into societies with social justice, equality, peace, and sustainable development.

- **Cuba (Minister of Foreign Affairs, Bruno Rodríguez Padilla):** The role of women in shaping each country’s foreign policy and international development cooperation is imperative in our times. In an increasingly unequal world, it is crucial to promote greater participation of women in all spheres, including foreign policy.

- **Chile (Deputy Foreign Minister, Gloria de la Fuente):** Gender equality should be a fundamental axis of foreign policies, budgets, and national institutions. Women’s struggle to rise to power is vital because it opens doors and breaks down barriers for everyone, enhances their autonomy, projects their political influence, and their capacity to shape the public agenda.

- **Dominican Republic (Deputy Minister of Administrative Affairs of the Ministry of Women, Doris Javier Saint Hilaire):** Currently, states face complex challenges that require innovative and cooperative proposals. Feminist foreign policies provide a transformative approach to global issues and the urgent need to promote gender equality for sustainable development and lasting peace.

- **Slovenia (Special Ambassador for Climate Diplomacy, Smiljana Knez):** Gender equity is cross-cutting in foreign policy, including Climate Diplomacy. Additionally, the participation of women in all discussion areas and support for initiatives to increase women’s representation in international, regional, and national forums is required.
- **United States (Chief of Staff, Office of Global Women's Issues, State Department, Varina Winder):** The growing divide between men and women must be addressed, as well as the challenge posed by the gender gap in access to technology, aiming to make it safer for everyone.
- **Philippines (Resident Ambassador, Lilybeth R. Deapera):** Despite not having a consolidated feminist foreign policy, the Philippines appreciates the invitation to the forum to learn more about the subject. It notes that Filipino women have traditionally been at the forefront of peace and justice movements throughout history.
- **France (Ambassador for Human Rights, Isabelle Rome):** This Conference is a unique opportunity to practice as States, to understand gender equity, which is a priority and must be integrated into foreign policy. France highlights women’s reproductive rights, which should be formally integrated into constitutions.
- **Guatemala (Deputy Foreign Minister, Maria Luisa Ramírez Coronado):** Historically, women have been subject to all kinds of discrimination, so the change we need requires that each of our voices be heard, valued, and considered, as it is crucial for decision-making to center on the needs and values of minority groups in public action.
- **Honduras (Undersecretary of Promotion and International Cooperation, Cindy Larissa Rodríguez Mendoza):** Feminist foreign policies are a powerful tool to address the numerous global conflicts that are exacerbating difficulties for women and girls, especially in developing countries. Therefore, they are essential for building the Pact for the Future, ensuring equitable representation of women in global governance, and reducing diplomatic gaps.

- **Indonesia (Resident Ambassador, Cosmas Cheppy Triprakoso Wartono):** Indonesia is committed to addressing the outstanding challenges related to gender equality and women’s and girls’ rights, both in its national and foreign policies.
- **Ireland (Director of Human Rights at the Department of Foreign Affairs, Jackie O’Halloran):** In this forum, with the attendance of various countries, it is recognized that substantive policies on gender equality have been implemented, so it is gratifying to share the experiences of those present with diverse perspectives.
- **Liberia (Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs, Dewey E. Gray):** In 2022, Liberia participated for the first time in the Conference on Feminist Foreign Policies, aiming to continue being part of the more than 203 peacekeeping missions led by women. This forum represents hope for women, especially African women.
- **Mongolia (Ambassador to the United States, Batbayar Ulziidelger):** Mongolia seeks to promote a diverse foreign policy on women’s and girls’ rights, as well as the integration of gender equality in its national policy. It emphasizes that Mongolia is one of the first in Asia to promote such agendas.
- **New Zealand (Resident Ambassador, Sara Maymand):** Integrating a feminist foreign policy is not only a moral issue but also a strategic necessity for achieving sustainable global progress in line with the SDGs of the 2030 Agenda.
- **Netherlands (Ambassador for Women’s Rights and Gender Equality, Peter-Derrek Hof):** Feminist foreign policies are of vital importance in these times, in light of growing patriarchal movements that also affect the LGBTQ+ community and the sexual and reproductive rights of minority groups. Additionally, the Netherlands considers it important to involve men in gender perspective forums, as it is crucial for preventing setbacks in the field.
- **Panama (Minister Counselor and Chargé d’Affaires, Alfredo Oranges Busto):** Feminist foreign policy will serve as a communication channel with a clear vision of priorities for focusing efforts, mainstreaming, and standardizing women’s participation in the development of the 2030 Agenda.

- **European Union (Commissioner for Equality, Helena Dalli):** Feminist foreign policies provide various opportunities to reflect on actions and to understand how to improve the promotion of human rights for women and girls. The European Union implements a gender equality agenda to complement its foreign policy, making legislative changes tangible. Gender equality is a priority in all external relations.
- **Uruguay (Deputy Director General for Political Affairs, Alejandra Costa):** It is necessary to consider the characteristics, cultural values, historical, and social values of each region of the world to engage in dialogues about gender equality and women’s rights. Therefore, if we want to achieve an equitable global community, we must accept that this progress will occur at different speeds, highlighting that there is no single version of feminist foreign policies.

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Empowering Tomorrow: Integrating Feminist Foreign Policy and Gender Perspectives in Sustainable Development and Financing for an Equitable Future

PROPOSALS OF THE FIRST PANEL OF THE III MINISTERIAL
CONFERENCE ON FEMINIST FOREIGN POLICIES (MEXICO, 2024)

Feminist foreign policy can contribute to the global debate and multilateral negotiations and forums by proposing reforms to international governance that reshape financial and economic systems to prioritize sustainability, climate justice, and peace, with equality at the core. With unprecedented challenges like international governance reforms reshaping financial and economic systems to prioritize sustainability, climate justice, and peace, with equality at the center. Against the backdrop of unprecedented challenges, including climate change, widening inequalities, and the enduring impacts of the COVID-19 pandemic, there is a growing consensus on the urgent need to reimagine economic paradigms and build common future visions. Central to this reimagining is the recognition that traditional models have often exacerbated inequalities, marginalized vulnerable populations, and disregarded the finite limits of our planet's resources.

“We are leaving more than half the world behind,” according to the UN Secretary-General⁴. As per the Sustainable Development Goals Report 2023, progress is weak and insufficient on more than 50% of SDGs targets, including key targets such as poverty, hunger, and climate. This would especially affect developing countries buried under a mountain of debt, affected by the COVID-19 pandemic,

4 United Nations (2023), The Sustainable Development Goals Report 2023: Special edition. Available at: <https://unstats.un.org/sdgs/report/2023/The-Sustainable-Development-Goals-Report-2023.pdf>

and facing a financing gap to invest in SDGs. When developed countries could adopt expansionary fiscal and monetary policies during the pandemic and have primarily returned to a pre-pandemic growth path, developing countries could not do so as per the risk of their currencies collapsing⁵.

The objective of the 2030 ambitious and universal Agenda adopted by UN Member States in 2015 was to realize the human rights of all and to achieve gender equality and the empowerment of all women and girls. This, through 17 goals and 169 targets that balance the three dimensions of sustainable development: the economic, social, and environmental⁶.

“Leave no one behind” has been the defining principle of the 2030 Agenda, a shared promise by every country to work together to secure the rights and well-being of everyone. However, despite the lack of progress towards the Sustainable Development Goals being universal, developing countries and the world’s poorest and most vulnerable people are bearing the brunt of the collective failure. The combined effects of climate change and natural disasters, COVID-19, and economic injustices are leaving many developing countries with fewer options and even fewer resources to make the Goals a reality⁷.

Halfway to 2030, a fundamental shift is needed in commitment, solidarity, financing, and action to put the world on a better path⁸.

At the heart of this transformative agenda lies the imperative to build economies that prioritize the well-being of all individuals, regardless of gender, ethnicity, or socio-economic status, eliminating all forms of discrimination while safeguarding the ecological systems upon which life depends. This requires a fundamental shift towards economies focused on the sustainability of care and life, progressive fiscal policies that meaningfully address gender inequalities, the promotion

5 Ibid.

6 United Nations (2015), *Transforming our world: the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development*, A/RES/70/1. Available at: <https://sdgs.un.org/sites/default/files/publications/21252030%20Agenda%20for%20Sustainable%20Development%20web.pdf>

7 United Nations (2023), *The Sustainable Development Goals Report 2023: Special edition*. Available at: <https://unstats.un.org/sdgs/report/2023/The-Sustainable-Development-Goals-Report-2023.pdf>

8 Ibid.

and enjoyment of human rights, the achievement of gender equality, and the preservation of ecological integrity.

Agreed conclusions of the 68th Session of the Commission on the Status of Women (CSW68) in 2024 addressed poverty and the need to strengthen institutions and financing with a gender perspective. They also acknowledged that "Systemic bias embedded in the economic and social structures of society expose women living in poverty to a disproportionately high risk of violence. Poverty increases the risk factors for intimate partner violence, including reduced educational and employment opportunities and increased household stress. In turn, violence heightens women's risk of poverty and economic hardship because of the associated out-of-pocket health expenditures and loss of earnings. Women and girls facing sexual harassment at work, violence at home or violence on the streets are unable to participate on an equal basis in the labor market, which translates into limited or no access to contributory social security benefits and a higher likelihood of experiencing poverty, violence and homelessness in old age" (E/CN.6/2024/L.3).

The CSW68 raised the importance to "Create and sustain effective partnerships to support developing countries in their efforts to eradicate poverty in all its forms and dimensions, including extreme poverty, and to achieve gender equality and the empowerment of all women and girls, including by improving tax systems, promoting financial inclusion, including access to financial services, enhancing capacity-building and productive capacity, entrepreneurship, creativity and innovation, encouraging the formalization and growth of micro-, small and medium-sized enterprises and promoting full and productive employment and decent work for all, particularly women" (E/CN.6/2024/L.3), and the need to strengthen international and regional cooperation with a gender perspective, including North-South, South-South, and triangular cooperation for the achievement of gender equality and the empowerment of all women and girls.

"The structural causes of gender inequality are not accidental; they stem from decisions we can change. Comprehensive care systems, climate justice, and tax reforms at subnational, national, and global levels are central issues for advancing gender equality and should be core elements of any Feminist Foreign Policy."

— Alexandra Haas, Executive Director, Oxfam Mexico. Mexico, July 2024.

Challenges to accelerate the Sustainable Development Goals and advance a new economic system towards gender equality

Heads of State and Government and High Representatives gathered in Addis Ababa in July 2015 at the Third International Conference on Financing for Development declared their firm political commitment to sustainable development: "Our goal is to end poverty and hunger and achieve sustainable development in its three dimensions by promoting inclusive economic growth, protecting the environment, and fostering social inclusion. We commit to respecting all human rights, including the right to development. We will ensure gender equality and the empowerment of women and girls. We will promote peaceful and inclusive societies and advance towards a fair global economic system where no country or person is left behind, enabling decent work and productive livelihoods for all while preserving the planet for our children and future generations."⁹

However, according to current trends, globally, 590 million people are expected to continue living in extreme poverty by 2030, and fewer than one-third of countries are expected to achieve the goal of halving national poverty levels¹⁰. In 2023, approximately 733 million people suffered from hunger, and 2.3 billion people experienced moderate to severe food insecurity¹¹. Additionally,

9 United Nations (2015), Annex, *Addis Ababa Action Agenda of the Third International Conference on Financing for Development (Addis Abeba Action Agenda)*. A/RES/69/313, August 17, 2015. Available at: <https://documents.un.org/doc/undoc/gen/n15/232/22/pdf/n1523222.pdf>

10 United Nations (2024), *Sustainable Development Goals Report 2024*. Available at: <https://unstats.un.org/sdgs/report/2024/The-Sustainable-Development-Goals-Report-2024.pdf>

11 Ibid.

the proportion of countries facing moderate or unusually high¹² food prices significantly increased in 2022, rising from 18.3% in 2019 to 58.1% in 2022¹³. This increase was primarily due to the indirect effects of conflicts and disruptions in supply chains¹⁴. Finally, at the current pace, by 2030, around 660 million people will still lack electricity, and approximately 1.8 billion people will continue to rely on polluting fuels and technologies for cooking¹⁵. Much of life and health depends on nature; the 2023 Sustainable Development Goals Report details that it could take another 25 years to halt deforestation, while many species worldwide are at risk of extinction¹⁶.

According to the 2023 review of the SDGs, five key areas were identified for urgent action: 1) accelerated, sustained, and transformative action, both nationally and internationally, to deliver SDGs; 2) concrete, integrated and targeted policies and actions to eradicate poverty, reduce inequality and end the war on nature, with a focus on advancing the rights of women and girls and empowering the most vulnerable; 3) strengthen national and subnational capacity, accountability and public institutions to achieve SDGs; 4) commitment in mobilizing resources and investment needed for developing countries to achieve SDGs; 5) strengthen the United Nations development system and boost the capacity of the multilateral system to tackle emerging challenges and address SDGs gaps¹⁷.

12 The ratio is based on the food price anomaly indicator (FPI), which is based on a weighted compound growth rate that captures price growth within and across years. In that sense, the indicator assesses growth over one month over many years. In addition, the indicator considers the seasonality of agricultural markets and inflation, so that, it can be answered if the price change is abnormal. Retrieved from: https://agenda2030lac.org/estadisticas/technical-sheet.html?lang=es&indicator_id=4279

13 Department of Economic and Social Affairs (2023), *SDG Indicators Database*. Available at: <https://unstats.un.org/sdgs/dataportal/database>

14 United Nations (2024), *Sustainable Development Goals Report 2024*. Available at: <https://unstats.un.org/sdgs/report/2024/The-Sustainable-Development-Goals-Report-2024.pdf>

15 Ibid.

16 United Nations (2023), *Sustainable Development Goals Report. Special edition*. Available at: <https://unstats.un.org/sdgs/report/2023/The-Sustainable-Development-Goals-Report-2023.pdf>

17 Ibid.

Focusing on Goal 5 (Achieving Gender Equality and the Empowerment of all Women and Girls) indicators, at this critical midpoint towards 2030, none of them are at “target met or almost met.”¹⁸

Gender stereotyping and stigmatizing practices are still experienced by multiple groups of women, especially in the Global South, affecting mainly migrants and refugees, indigenous and afro-descendent, black and young women, LGBTIQ+ people, women human rights defenders, women with disabilities and older women. In effect, women are twice as likely as men to report instances of discrimination based on sex¹⁹. Women experience higher poverty rates than men, and the gender poverty gap is projected to persist into the mid-century. The gendered care work, either paid or unpaid, done by women; the prevalence of violence against women; the consequences of the operations of extractive industries, the actions of organized crime, the precariousness of life due to the access to jobs with no rights, added to the underrepresentation of the diversity of women in decision-making spaces at all levels are cross-cutting factors to these gender structural inequalities that persist at all levels. Moreover, climate change and biodiversity loss have intense impacts on women and girls, especially those in poor households or rural communities with greater dependence on natural resources for food, water, and fuel²⁰. Women, adolescents, and girls are often forced to move or migrate, live in humanitarian emergencies and fragile contexts, face severe poverty, increased risk of violence, and limited prospects for education and employment. In many societies, as the primary caregivers for domestic energy needs, food provision and preparation, water, and the care of children, youth, and elderly individuals, women, girls, and adolescents can be particularly affected by climate change. They may be forced, for example, to travel further to obtain daily supplies, reducing their available

18 UN Women and United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs (UN-DESA), *Statistics Division (2023), Progress on the Sustainable Development Goals. The Gender Snapshot 2023*. Available at: <https://www.unwomen.org/sites/default/files/2023-09/progress-on-the-sustainable-development-goals-the-gender-snapshot-2023-en.pdf>.

19 Ibid.

20 United Nations (2024), *Accelerating the achievement of gender equality and the empowerment of all women and girls by addressing poverty and strengthening institutions and financing with a gender perspective*. Report of the Secretary-General. Economic and Social Council, Commission on the Status of Women, Sixty-eighth session, March 2024. Available at: <https://documents.un.org/doc/undoc/gen/n24/011/64/pdf/n2401164.pdf>

time for education, paid work, rest, or self-care and potentially exposing them to more significant risks to their physical autonomy.

"Very few countries have achieved more than 10% of landowners being women. In Kenya, less than 5% of landowners are women. We must prioritize women's rights to control and own land."

— Esther Mwaura-Muiru, Civil Society Representative from Kenya.
Mexico, July 2024.

Governments must make policy choices aimed at accelerating progress towards ending poverty and achieving inclusive, sustainable development for all. Gender equality mandates are grounded in the United Nations Charter, which unequivocally reaffirmed the equality of rights between women and men. The Fourth World Conference on Women held in 1995, which resulted in the Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action, advocated for the integration of a gender perspective as a fundamental and strategic approach to achieving gender equality commitments and urged all stakeholders involved in development policies and programs to take action in this regard. Gender equality is the overarching and long-term development goal, while the integration of a gender perspective involves specific and strategic approaches, as well as technical and institutional processes adopted to achieve this goal. Integrating a gender perspective encompasses gender equality within public and private organizations in a country, in central or local policies, and in sectoral and service programs²¹.

"It is necessary to integrate gender equality, diversity, and human rights into everything we do, as it is not an isolated approach. In this regard, empowering women and girls is critical to advancing the SDGs, and they must be included in all stages of the defined policies and programs."

— Anita Vandenberg, Parliamentary Secretary to the Minister of International Development of Canada. Mexico, July 2024.

21 UN Women, *Gender Mainstreaming*. Web note, available at: <https://www.unwomen.org/es/how-we-work/un-system-coordination/gender-mainstreaming>

Accomplishing those goals requires investment in a comprehensive set of economic and social policies to drive women's full economic participation, supported by gender-responsive, accountable institutions. An additional \$360 billion annually is needed to achieve gender equality across key Sustainable Development Goals, including ending poverty and hunger²².

As we approach the 4th International Conference on Financing for Development (FfD) in 2025, integrating gender perspectives into the broader discourse on sustainable development financing becomes increasingly imperative. The evolving understanding of the intricate links between gender equality and sustainable development financing underscores the need for a holistic approach that addresses systemic barriers and advances gender-transformative policies. New development strategies require resource mobilization, emphasizing the need to reform the economic and social architecture to ensure that governments have the necessary resources to invest in gender mainstreaming policies, green economies, and sustainable societies.

Reevaluating development finance requires a refined perspective and an assessment of development needs based on the structural gaps that limit it. By the end of 2023, 108 countries classified as middle-income, which host around 75% of the world's population and 62% of the world's poor, face growing debt and increasing climate vulnerability²³. These countries may be affected by a lack of development cooperation support, considering that per capita income levels and the focus on combating poverty are the main criteria for financial resource allocation, which are often directed toward lower-income countries. However, ECLAC warns that this resource allocation logic suffers from two major issues: firstly, overcoming poverty is a multifaceted process that not only involves improving living standards but also requires addressing a wide range of structural gaps that hinder and obstruct inclusive growth capable of tackling poverty and inequality. Secondly, it points out that the logic of low or high middle-income country categories reflects a relatively homogeneous

22 Ibid.

23 UNCTAD (2024), *Poverty, debt and climate risks: UNCTAD deputy/ urges stronger support for middle-income countries*. Web note, February 8, 2024. Available at: <https://unctad.org/news/poverty-debt-and-climate-risks-unctad-deputy-urges-stronger-support-middle-income-countries>

reality, yet countries exhibit significant heterogeneity in poverty conditions, social inclusion, productive capacity, and institutional and financial capabilities²⁴.

"The current international financial architecture—designed in 1945—was created by and for industrialized countries: the challenges of then are different from those we face today."

— Gloria de la Fuente, Vice Minister of Foreign Affairs of Chile. Mexico, July 2024.

As highlighted by the UN Secretary-General in "Our Common Agenda", the international financial architecture was designed when neither climate risks nor social inequalities, including gender inequality, were considered significant for development. There is a need to rethink and rebuild a system that can address today's challenges, including relentless climate change, growing systemic risks, extreme inequality, entrenched gender biases, highly integrated and vulnerable financial markets prone to cross-border contagion, and dramatic demographic, technological, economic, and geopolitical changes²⁵.

The UN Secretary-General's CSW68 report states that the high levels of debt distress and severely constrain countries' fiscal space (E/CN.6/2024/3). In 2023, 40% of the low- and middle-income economies were either in or at high risk of debt distress. Tax composition has shifted over the past several decades, which has led to gender-differentiated impacts since women are overrepresented in lower-income groups, where tax burdens are higher (E/CN.6/2024/3).

It also highlights that women and girls in fragile countries and areas are 7.7 times more likely to live in extreme poverty. In this context, despite the growing number of green, social, and sustainability bonds being issued, which represent a global sustainable investment universe of more than 40 trillion dollars, only about 17 billion dollars in assets are labeled by gender (E/CN.6/2024). /3). Likewise,

24 Titelman, Daniel, *Middle-income countries and a new agenda for financing for development*. Opinion, ECLAC Notes, December 4, 2012. Available at: <https://www.cepal.org/notes/74/Opinion>

25 United Nations (2023), *Our Common Agenda. Policy Report No. 6: Reforms of the international financial architecture*. Seventy-seventh session of the General Assembly, 18 May 2023. Available at: <https://documents.un.org/doc/undoc/gen/n23/135/61/pdf/n2313561.pdf>

the Executive Secretary of UN Women warned that only 0.01% of global financing supports projects addressing climate and women's rights²⁶.

"The evidence shows that climate change solutions are often more effective when they address the differentiated impacts related to gender, ethnicity, low income, and other social and economic factors. Communities are more successful in resilience and capacity-building strategies when women are part of the planning process. Women are often the first responders to natural disasters, lead disaster risk reduction, and contribute to recovery by addressing their families' early recovery needs and strengthening community building. Indigenous women, in particular, have been at the forefront of environmental conservation and possess invaluable knowledge and experience that can help enhance resilience and reduce greenhouse gas emissions."

— Smiljana Knez, Special Envoy for Climate Diplomacy, Slovenia.
Mexico, July 2024.

Even though the climate crisis has a clear gender impact, from the 1990s until COP28 (2023) only nine women have led the negotiations and the search for agreements among the nearly 200 parties participating in these discussions, and only 5 women in 29 years of COPs have held the presidency of that Conference²⁷. Since 2012, the COP has been committed to adopting gender balance and created in 2014 the Lima Work Program on Gender to promote women's balance and participation in climate policy-making scenarios. However, women made up 35% of delegations at COP27 and 34% at COP28, a decrease compared to COP34 where they reached 38%; only 19% of women were heads of delegation at COP28, compared to 26% at COP23. Only 2% of the delegations at COP28 were women. Only four of the 18 advisory councils and bodies of the United Nations Framework

26 United Nations, *Closing the gap, boosting ambition: Investing in women is key to climate action*. Web note, March 8, 2024. Available at: <https://unfccc.int/news/closing-the-gap-boosting-ambition-investing-in-women-is-key-to-climate-action>

27 Cuenca, Aida (2024), *28 hombres y ninguna mujer en el comité organizador de la COP29*. Climática, January 16, 2024. Available at: <https://climatica.coop/comite-organizacional-cop29-mujeres/>

Convention on Climate Change, reached gender parity by 2022²⁸ ²⁹ ³⁰. Climate action requires 100% of the population, so women's full participation is imperative, from boardrooms and climate negotiations to forests and fields, especially in the sectors and regions most affected by the ravages of climate change³¹.

Evidence shows that solutions to climate change are often most effective when they address differentiated impacts linked to gender, ethnicity, low income, and other social and economic factors and when women are part of the negotiating and decision-making tables. Communities are more successful in resilience and capacity-building strategies when women are part of the planning process. Women are often the first responders to natural disasters, lead disaster risk reduction, and contribute to subsequent recovery by addressing the early recovery needs of their families and strengthening community building. Indigenous women, in particular, have been at the forefront of environmental conservation and possess invaluable knowledge and experience that can help increase resilience and reduce greenhouse gases.

The current context of multiple crises requires transitioning to a new development model focused on ensuring the sustainability of human and planetary life. It requires public policies aimed at reducing intersectional inequalities through significant public investment in universal services that guarantee fundamental rights equitably, promoting climate justice through regulatory processes in environmental, economic, and social areas to prevent severe socio-environmental impacts and ensure fair resource distribution while safeguarding the rights of populations and local communities; and investing in universal care systems to

28 Gender Climate Tracker (2024), *Women's Participation on Party Delegations*. Available at: Women's Participation on Party Delegations | Gender Climate Tracker.

29 Guzmán Leon, Ana; Aguilar, María Alejandra (2024), *Equidad de género, una deuda pendiente en las negociaciones climáticas*. El País, América Futura, March 8, 2024. Available at: <https://elpais.com/america-futura/2024-03-08/equidad-de-genero-una-deuda-pendiente-en-las-negociaciones-climaticas.html>

30 Monsalve S., María Mónica (2024), *El género se cuele en la COP28: "Las mujeres somos más vulnerables al cambio climático"*. El País, América Futura, December 11, 2023. Available at: <https://elpais.com/america-futura/2023-12-11/el-genero-se-cuela-en-la-cop28-las-mujeres-somos-mas-vulnerables-al-cambio-climatico.html>

31 United Nations (2023), *Five reasons why climate action needs women*. Web note, March 8, 2023. Available at: <https://unfccc.int/news/five-reasons-why-climate-action-needs-women>

create mass employment, increase productivity, enhance job skills, improve women's economic autonomy, and boost public revenues³².

"Shifting to a care economy allows us to combine environmental policy with feminist policy, which is dynamic and can be implemented within countries. The only feasible way to achieve this is by structurally moving towards economic activities that are more inclusive and simultaneously have a lower environmental footprint [...] For example, Mexico has a sustainable financing taxonomy that recognizes the positive and negative externalities of investments."

— José Luis Samaniego, Consultant. Mexico, July 2024.

Taxonomy of sustainable financing with a gender perspective - Mexico

In 2023, the Government of Mexico adopted the first taxonomy in the world to consider social objectives in its design and gender equality as a cross-cutting component in all activities carried out in the agricultural, energy, manufacturing, transportation, construction and waste management sectors. The so-called "Sustainable Taxonomy of Mexico" is a public financial policy tool to encourage investment and resource mobilization towards economic activities that protect the environment by supporting mitigation and adaptation projects that, at the same time, aim to reduce social and gender gaps.

This environmental policy has been promoted by the Ministry of Finance and Public Credit, after a broad participatory process of more than two and a half years, which included various institutions from the public and private sectors, academia, civil society, as well as international organizations.

32 OXFAM (2024), *EconoNuestra. Time for an Economy for Everyone*. Oxfam LAC, July, 2024. Available at: https://oi-files-cng-v2-prod.s3.eu-west-2.amazonaws.com/lac.oxfam.org/s3fs-public/DocumentoDiagramado_ENG.pdf?VersionId=TWnbjTmSIHuAlwQPBFzAgxZfWNscYmVU

The tool has a classification system with criteria and indicators that allows grouping different economic activities according to their contribution to the country's sustainability. This system includes a gender equality index (GII), which contemplates and translates into a numerical scale the contribution of sustainable economic projects to three pillars of gender equality: 1) Decent work, 2) Well-being and 3) Social inclusion. In this sense, the tool seeks to promote gender equality within the organizations, in the productive chains and in the impact on the communities, without the actions carried out generating environmental or social damage with respect to the rest of the objectives considered within the Taxonomy.

(Ministry of Finance and Public Credit (2023). Sustainable Taxonomy of Mexico. First edition, 2023).

The Women's Working Groups on Financing for Development (WWG on FfD) has put forward some recommendations on structural economic reforms required for building more gender-sensitive and just economies. The Group has developed a document that puts forward a list of Macro Solutions for Women, all People, and the Planet. This document aims to build a common agenda to ensure gender equality and women's human rights are at the center of our collective efforts. It is based on the Civil Society on Financing for Development Group (CS FfD Group) call for "Global Economic Solutions Now!"³³.

The document outlines eight proposals to address the urgent and necessary reform of the global economic and financial system: 1) A New Global Economic Architecture that works for the People and Planet, under the auspices of the UN: International Economic Reconstruction and Systemic Reform Summit; 2) Debt cancellation, SDRs issuance, and Sovereign Debt Workout Mechanism at the UN; 3) Establishing a UN Tax Convention for redistributive justice, eliminating regressive taxation and illicit financial flows.; 4) Creation of a Global technology assessment mechanism at the UN; 5) Fully Assess development impacts of

33 Women's Working Group on Financing for Development. *Macro Solutions for Women, the People and the Planet*. Available at: <https://equidad.org.mx/eng/macro-solutions-for-women-the-people-and-the-planet-womens-working-group-on-financing-for-development-key-messages-and-inputs/>

current trade and investment framework; 6) Assess systemic risks posed by unregulated or inadequately regulated financial sector instruments and actors; 7) Review development outcomes of PPPs and 'private finance first' approach; and 8) Review of the Official Development Aid (ODA) framework.

Adopting an intersectional understanding of the struggles experienced by women and gender and sexual minorities is crucial to identifying a course of action. This marginalization is exacerbated for women from racial or ethnic groups, indigenous, afro-descendant, and rural women, women in mobility, LGBTIQ+, and women living with disabilities, among others.

"Feminist movements have been instrumental in shifting norms and securing a broad array of social, legal, and civil rights due to collective mobilization, and advocacy for legislative changes, and provision of frontline services, for example, in reproductive health, education, and legal aid. However, insufficient funding persists³⁴. By influencing international development, financing for gender equality is necessary to put feminist foreign policy into practice. In this sense, governments can be allies in financing for gender equality, especially by leading the way in funding feminist movements and advocating for fiscal policies that significantly address gender inequalities worldwide. The government of Canada, for example, allocated 150 million Canadian dollars to its "Voice and Leadership of Women" program, a flagship initiative under its Feminist International Assistance Policy aimed at funding the sustainability and capacity of women's rights advocacy organizations, while enhancing the effectiveness of networks and alliances that can influence political, social, and legal changes towards substantive equality. In 2022 alone, this program influenced over 100 policies, laws, and frameworks³⁵.

Data from 2011-2022 shows that only 4% of Official Development Aid (ODA) was dedicated to programs with gender equality as the principal objective

34 Jiménez Thomas Rodriguez, D., Harper, C. and George, R. (2021) *Mobilizing for change: how women's social movements are transforming gender norms*. ALIGN Report. London: ODI. Available at: https://www.alignplatform.org/sites/default/files/2021-11/align_-_mobilising_for_justice.pdf

35 Government of Canada (2024), *Women's Voice and Leadership Program*. Web note, updated 08/9/2024. Available at: https://www.international.gc.ca/world-monde/issues_developpement-enjeux_developpement/gender_equality-egalite_des_genres/wvl_projects-projets_vlf.aspx?lang=eng

(OECD-DAC, 2024)³⁶. Data on the level of allocable ODA dedicated to feminist movements and WROs is even lower – below 1% (ODI, 2024³⁷). Improving the existing ODA allocation on gender equality is critical, and it also requires increasing its volume and effectiveness in reaching autonomous feminist movements as well as women’s national authorities and ministries that are underfunded around the world, particularly in developing countries.

Additionally, “there is a chronic underfunding of public services, such as childcare provision, secondary education, and reproductive healthcare, resulting from complex intertwined measures, including austerity policies, high-interest loan instruments, and conditionalities attached to debt relief. In part, public budget cuts and constricted fiscal space in formerly colonized countries are driven by their obligations to service and repay high levels of foreign debt. For example, nearly a third of Nigeria’s 2023 budget was spent on debt servicing, compared to 8% spent on education and 5% on health”³⁸.

It is also critical to strengthen or establish governmental mechanisms that incorporate a gender perspective in central planning and budgeting to promote women’s organizations’ structured participation in the design, implementation, and monitoring of public plans, policies, and budgets. Gender-responsive budgets play an essential role in ensuring that the specific needs and priorities of women, young women, and girls, especially those facing multiple and intersecting forms of discrimination, are considered and addressed in funding and investment decisions.

36 OECD-DAC (2024), *Latest data on official development assistance (ODA) for gender equality and women’s empowerment*. Available at: [https://one.oecd.org/document/DCD/DAC/GEN\(2024\)1/en/pdf](https://one.oecd.org/document/DCD/DAC/GEN(2024)1/en/pdf)

37 Michalko, J. and Tant. E (2024) ‘*Where next for feminist foreign policy on funding feminist movements?*’ ODI Policy Brief. London: ODI. Available at: <https://media.odi.org/documents/ODI-ET-FundingMovements-PB-EN-May24-Final.pdf>

38 Jiménez Thomas Rodriguez, D., Harper, C. and George, R. (2021) *Mobilizing for change: how women’s social movements are transforming gender norms*. ALIGN Report. London: ODI. Available at: https://www.alignplatform.org/sites/default/files/2021-11/align_-_mobilising_for_justice.pdf

In this framework, governments can seek to create enabling environments and generate financial resources to positively support gender-related policies and financing by, among other initiatives:

- Challenging the dominant policy of austerity, governments can push for more funds to be available for essential public services.
- Integrating gender-responsive budget initiatives, ensuring budget provisions, methodologies and tools within their planning and budgetary normative and policy framework, and implementing systems to track public allocations to gender equality.
- Advancing in tax reform efforts: fiscal policies and taxation, in particular, have immense impacts on gender equality due to gendered income inequalities and differences in consumption (Abramovsky and Selwane, 2023)³⁹; therefore, advancing global tax reform by supporting the UN Global Tax Convention is essential to promote inclusive and effective tax transparency and cooperation internationally.
- Advocating for progressive wealth tax systems of between 2% and 10% for the world’s millionaires and billionaires.
- Tracking and inhibiting illicit financial flows, governments could help halt \$100–200 billion flowing out of countries in Africa, Asia, and Latin America each year.

Policy changes can make more funds available for feminist causes. Such reforms would be enabled by supporting the promotion of diverse leaders with feminist values. Ministries of finance determine the direction of national fiscal policy and need the total capacity to analyze the gender impacts of fiscal policy. Therefore, economic institutions must be representative and diverse to drive inclusive and gender-responsive economic policies, and women’s participation

39 Abramovsky, L. and Selwaness, I. (2023) *Fiscal policy and gender income inequality: the role of taxes and spending*. ODI Working Paper. London: ODI. Available at: https://ifs.org.uk/sites/default/files/2024-01/DPF_R_Fiscal_policy_and_gender_income_inequality_-_the_role_of_taxes_and_socia_4f1Dfpa.pdf

in these institutions is essential to combating gender bias and stereotypes in policymaking and policy outcomes. Data shows that, as of January 2023, only 31 heads of state, 36 finance ministers, and 22 central bank governors were women, and women made up just 5% of CEOs in commercial banks (Official Monetary and Financial Institutions Forum, 2023)⁴⁰.

Why is feminist foreign policy crucial in advancing these debates and proposals?

In a context of significant global challenges and interrelated crises, marked by polarization and threats to the full and effective exercise of human rights, adopting a Feminist Foreign Policy (FFP) can be the way through which governments can lead the way towards a more just and equal future.

FFP implies adopting a feminist and human rights approach in all instances and dimensions of foreign policy, where substantive gender equality is promoted not only as a goal but also as a central axis and a necessary condition for advancing the agenda of sustainable development, human rights, and peace. By investing and supporting efforts towards gender equality, they can create a more stable, equal, and safer world.

"Women who engage in feminist foreign policy are agents and subjects of change."

— Eva Granados Galiano, Secretary of State for International Cooperation, Spain. Mexico, July 2024.

As highlighted by ODI, a FFP government can play a key role in: i) influencing international development financing for gender equality -for example, through their seats in international financial institutions (IFIs) and their diplomatic relationships-; aiming at increasing the availability of affordable and long-term finance for gender-equality; ii) in promoting women's leadership in key

40 Goyal, Rishi, and Ratna Sahay. 2023. "Integrating Gender into the IMF's Work." IMF Gender Note 2023/001, International Monetary Fund, Washington, DC. Available at: <https://www.imf.org/en/Publications/gender-notes/Issues/2023/10/06/Integrating-Gender-into-the-IMFs-Work-539801>

decision-making positions within economic and financial institutions, including IFIs; iii) in stepping up commitments to support feminist movements, especially considering the decrease of funding for women's organizations in humanitarian crisis⁴¹; iv) in advocating for fiscal policies that significantly address gender inequalities around the world, including by promoting inclusive and effective tax transparency and cooperation internationally, or by adopting national policies that target corporations registered in their own countries for tax avoidance⁴².

As recalled by the UN Secretary-General on this year's International Women's Day, "This year's theme — 'invest in women'⁴³ — reminds us that ending the patriarchy requires money on the table. We must support women's organizations on the front line. And we must invest in programmes to end violence against women and to drive women's inclusion and leadership in economies, digital technologies, peacebuilding, and climate action. This all depends on unlocking finance for sustainable development so that countries have funds available to invest in women and girls."

Upcoming meetings, such as the Summit of the Future in 2024 and the fourth International Conference on Financing for Development in 2025, present unprecedented opportunities to embed feminist principles into reshaping the international financial architecture to promote more equitable participation in the financial system by recommitting to an open and transparent, gender-balanced and merit-based leadership selection.

The Inclusive Trade Task Force

With the Joint Declaration on the Format for Progressive and Inclusive Trade held in Santiago, Chile in March 2018, Canada, Chile and New Zealand committed to jointly strengthen efforts towards the achievement of the

41 United Nations, *UN Secretary-General's video message for the high-level pledging event of the Invest-In-Women Global Summit*. Available at: <https://press.un.org/en/2023/sgsm22006.doc.htm>

42 Michalko, J. and Tant. E (2024) 'Where next for feminist foreign policy on funding feminist movements?' ODI Policy Brief. London: ODI. Available at: <https://media.odi.org/documents/ODI-ET-FundingMovements-PB-EN-May24-Final.pdf>

43 In this context, UN Women launched the "Invest in women" campaign.

2030 Agenda through more progressive and inclusive international trade policies that have a positive impact on economic growth and the reduction of inequality and poverty.

They therefore formed the Inclusive Trade Action Group (ITAG), which seeks to contribute to sustainable development with a particular focus on gender equality, indigenous peoples, domestic regional economic development, small and medium-sized enterprises (SMEs), labor rights, the environment and climate change.

Through regular work plans, the Group aimed to better understand and communicate the positive impact of trade and trade agreements on all segments of society; share experiences and best practices to develop inclusive trade provisions and promote their use in bilateral, regional and multilateral negotiations; build a community of like-minded nations and jointly promote the principles of inclusive trade in multilateral fora; and support each other for a sustainable and inclusive global economic recovery after the COVID-19 pandemic. ITAG is currently comprised of Australia, Canada, Chile, Costa Rica, Ecuador, Mexico and New Zealand.

A key initiative of the Group was to establish a Global Agreement on Trade and Gender (GTAGA), a non-binding instrument signed by Canada, Chile and New Zealand on August 4, 2020, which aims to improve women's access to economic opportunities by removing barriers to their participation in international trade. The GTAGA recognizes the importance of trade and gender policies being mutually supportive, and their role in promoting gender equality and women's economic empowerment. It also recognizes the importance of not weakening or reducing the protection afforded in their respective gender equality laws and regulations for trade or investment. The GTAGA was subsequently joined by Argentina, Brazil, Colombia, Costa Rica, Ecuador, Mexico and Peru, as it is not necessary to be part of the ITAG to adhere to the GTAGA.

Among the main commitments of the GTAGA, the following stand out: 1) jointly implementing cooperative activities to remove barriers to women's participation in international trade and working together in international forums, such as the WTO, to promote these issues; 2) enforcing their laws

and regulations by promoting gender equality and improving women's access to economic opportunities; 3) ensure non-discrimination on the basis of gender in licensing and certification in the services sector; 4) promote gender equality in the workplace; and cooperate and share best practices to eliminate discrimination based on sex, pregnancy, possibility of pregnancy, maternity, gender and gender identity, and sexual orientation.

(Undersecretariat of International Economic Relations of the Government of Chile)

Feminist foreign policies (FFPs) have the potential to effectively address the challenges and opportunities presented for accelerating investment in the SDGs, mainly through innovative and multilateral responses that promote transformations in the global financial, development, and philanthropic ecosystems towards gender equality and the empowerment of all women. By driving international and multilateral debates centered on well-being, human rights, gender equality, and ecological integrity, countries with FFPs can help chart a course towards more resilient, equitable, and sustainable economic systems, where every decision contributes to the development of people and the planet.

"No one will be left behind if we all pull together on the same path."

— María Luisa Ramírez, Vice Minister of Foreign Affairs of Guatemala.
Mexico, July 2024.

Action points towards sustainable development with gender equality

- Contribute to mobilizing more resources than have been mobilized to date for achieving the Sustainable Development Goals and realizing the 2030 Agenda, with a priority focus on reducing poverty and extreme poverty that disproportionately affects women.
- Drive global agreements to establish solidarity funds to support countries in implementing gender-sensitive policies, particularly in times of crisis.

- Transform the internal structure of international economic and financial institutions, as well as cooperation agencies—possibly through the adoption of affirmative measures—to ensure that gender-focused financing is a central axis and that there is greater representation of women at all decision-making levels to achieve gender parity.
- Promote gender parity in senior positions of international organizations so that decisions on sustainable development are made with a gender and intersectional perspective.
- Encourage the participation of women in all their diversity in free trade agreements, from their negotiation, signing, and evaluation.
- Support access to credit for women-led businesses to reduce economic gaps and promote inclusive development.
- Promote the availability of gender-disaggregated data at national, regional, and global levels; incorporate gender considerations at all stages of public policies; and establish robust mechanisms to monitor progress and ensure transparency.
- Invest in education and training programmes that promote gender equality early on and empower women and girls to participate in all stages of public policies and programs and contribute to advancing the SDGs.
- Increase funding for feminist civil society organizations and think tanks to produce innovative knowledge and research, and generate evidence and theories of change creatively to achieve systemic, inclusive, and sustainable change.
- Recognize and value the contribution of care work to countries' Gross Domestic Product (GDP) and reflect its importance in economic and social policies.
- Implement policies that combine environmental and feminist approaches to promote inclusive sustainability, ensuring that all people benefit equally.

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03.

Ensuring Equality: Exploring Feminist Foreign Policy and Gender Dynamics in International Peace and Security

PROPOSALS OF THE SECOND PANEL OF THE III MINISTERIAL CONFERENCE ON FEMINIST FOREIGN POLICIES (MEXICO, 2024)

At the core of Feminist Foreign Policies (FFP) lies the aspiration to impact a country's diplomacy, defense and security cooperation, aid, trade, climate security, and immigration policies⁴⁴. The FFP goal aligns with the Women, Peace, and Security (WPS) Agenda, which seeks to enhance women's pivotal role in promoting sustainable peace. Both agendas are grounded in the connection between peace and gender equality, recognizing it as a fundamental human right and a driver of just, peaceful, and inclusive societies.

Feminist perspectives break with traditional paradigms of security and state approaches to militarization, as they include human security, the fight against discrimination, and sexual and gender-based violence, among others. Therefore, applying a gender perspective—when analyzing the root causes of conflict—is essential.

44 UN Women (2022). *A Feminist Foreign Policy: an introduction*, Brief. Available at: https://www.unwomen.org/sites/default/files/2022-09/Brief-Feminist-foreign-policies-en_0.pdf

"Feminist perspectives provide a deep understanding that transforms and addresses the roots of conflicts, offering solutions and promoting sustainable peace. Without intersectional analysis of power structures and systems of oppression, including the patriarchal system, peace cannot be sustainable."

— Peter-Derrek Hof, Ambassador for Women's Rights of the Netherlands. Mexico, July 2024.

Evidence indicates that inclusive participation of all women increases the effectiveness and sustainability of peace agreements, strengthens democratic governance, and contributes to sustainable development⁴⁵. In addition, women's organizations are essential partners in promoting economic recovery, social cohesion, and political legitimacy⁴⁶.

Since 2000, with the adoption of the landmark UN Security Council Resolution 1325 on Women, Peace, and Security, UN member states have assumed a series of commitments to promoting women's full participation at all levels of decision-making linked to peace and security⁴⁷. Through its adoption, the Security Council highlighted the disproportionate impact of armed conflicts on women and girls and, for the first time, the fundamental role of women in the prevention and resolution of conflicts, as well as in the consolidation and maintenance of international peace and security⁴⁸. Resolution 1325 is the first of ten United Nations Security Council resolutions that make up the Women, Peace, and Security agenda, addressing the pillars of participation, protection,

45 As reflected in the Global Study on the Implementation of Resolution 1325 (2015), as well as in the study of the World Bank and the United Nations, *"Pathways for Peace"* (2018).

46 OECD (2018). *Seizing Opportunities to Sustain Peace: A Road Map*. By Sarah Douglas, Deputy Chief, Peace and Security, UN Women, and Tatyana Jiteneva, Policy Specialist, Peace and Security, UN Women. Available at: <https://oecd-development-matters.org/2018/03/13/seizing-opportunities-to-sustain-peace-a-road-map/>.

47 Goals 5 and 16 of the 2030 Agenda, UN Security Council Resolutions on Women, Peace and Security, CEDAW Recommendations.

48 UN Women (2021), *Las mujeres construyen paz en América Latina y el Caribe. Aniversario 21 de la Resolución 1325 de las Naciones Unidas sobre Mujeres, Paz y Seguridad*. Web note, October, 2021. Available at: <https://lac.unwomen.org/es/noticias-y-eventos/articulos/2021/10/aniversario-21-de-la-resolucion-1325-de-las-naciones-unidas-sobre-mujeres>

prevention, and peacebuilding, focusing on the prevention, response, and prosecution of sexual violence against women⁴⁹.

To date, 108 UN Member States have adopted a National Action Plan (NAP) on Resolution 1325, and there are also regional strategies or plans. However, despite some countries having their fourth or fifth Plan on Women, Peace, and Security, about 30% of the NAPs have now expired, having lapsed in 2022 or even earlier⁵⁰.

Challenges for women's full participation at all levels of decision-making on peace and security

"Peace agreements—when negotiations are led by women—have a 64% chance of not failing."

— Stephanie Copus-Campbell, Ambassador for Gender Equity, Australia. Mexico, July 2024.

Despite global commitments on peace and security progress is slow, stagnant, or even regressing. According to the 2023 WPS UN Secretary-General report, women remain underrepresented in peace and security decision-making. Of the 18 peace agreements reached in 2022, only one was signed or witnessed by a women's group or organization representative. Between 1992 and 2019, only 13% of negotiators, 6% of mediators, and 6% of signatories in significant peace processes worldwide were women. About seven of ten peace processes did not include a female mediator or signatory⁵¹. In the five UN-led or co-led peace processes in 2022, women's representation was 16%, down from 19% in 2021 and 23% in 2020.

Furthermore, research shows that mentions of women, girls, or gender in peace agreements often emerge at the global agreements stage. None of the ceasefire agreements reached between 2018 and 2020 included gender

49 Ibid.

50 Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, *1325 National Action Plans (NAPs)*. Disponible en: <http://1325naps.peacewomen.org/>

51 UN Women. *Facts and Figures Women Peace and Security*. Available at: <https://www.unwomen.org/en/what-we-do/peace-and-security/facts-and-figures>

provisions or prohibitions on sexual violence. In 2020, only 28.6% of peace agreements included gender provisions, which remains significantly below the peak of 37.1% in 2015⁵².

"The Peace Agreement in Colombia incorporated two especially relevant elements: the disproportionate impact of conflict on women and girls and the recognition of women as exemplary peacebuilders, both at the territorial and national levels."

— Carlos Ruiz Massieu, Special Representative and Head of the United Nations Verification Mission in Colombia. Mexico, July 2024.

Women and the peace process in Colombia

The Final Peace Agreement is a pioneer worldwide for its inclusion of a cross-cutting gender approach, considering that it has more than 120 gender-specific provisions and an Ethnic Chapter that recognizes the differential impacts of the conflict on women and ethnic peoples. Also noteworthy is the incorporation of innovative transitional justice, which achieves a balance between justice and peace and contemplates reincorporation measures for the signatories.

Among the achievements of the Agreement, the participation of victims, women's organizations, LGBTIQ+ people, youth, indigenous and Afro-Colombian communities and Colombian society as a whole, from its conception and in its implementation, stands out.

UN Women has worked hand in hand with the Gender Technical Committee of the National Council for Reincorporation (CNR), and the United Nations Verification Mission in Colombia, with the support of the United Nations Multi-Donor Fund for Peace Sustainability, with the purpose of influencing public policies and the attention given to women in the reincorporation process by governmental and territorial entities.

52 Ibid.

Almost 8 years after the implementation of the agreement, evidence shows that the participation of women ex-combatants in the negotiation stage and in the implementation of the agreements has a direct effect on the sustainability of peace, the strengthening of coexistence ties with the host communities, the strengthening of the social fabric and a decrease in the possibility of a return to arms through dissidence.

The key to reincorporation, the leadership of women signatories in the political arena where they have been candidates and elected; in the development of public policies such as CONPES 3931 of 2018 that promotes 18 affirmative gender measures for a more comprehensive and equitable approach to peacebuilding; or in the development of the National Action Plan of Resolution 1325. 177 mixed cooperatives of ex-combatants have been created throughout the country, 45 of which are led by women, contributing to an improvement in the lives of women and the sustainable development of their communities. Women have also led efforts to address problems such as gender-based violence, stigmatization, reconciliation and community reincorporation, thus strengthening the social fabric in territories affected by the conflict.

Despite the progress made by the women signatories, great challenges persist in relation to their labor reinsertion, stigmatization, the overload of care, and the multiple forms of discrimination and violence they suffer. According to data from the UN Verification Mission, 11 women peace signatories have been murdered since the signing of the agreements and many continue to receive threats for exercising their leadership.

(UN Women Colombia, 2023)

Another notable example of how the Women, Peace, and Security agenda was implemented in a conflict context is the Northern Ireland peace negotiation process that took place in 1998. A coalition of women ran for election outside of political parties and secured two seats as representatives in the peace negotiations. The Women's Coalition in Northern Ireland adopted three basic principles for their participation: inclusion, gender equality, and human rights

(Jackie O'Halloran, Director of Human Rights at the Department of Foreign Affairs of Ireland. Mexico, July 2024). In an interview with *El Mundo*, Monica McWilliams, a negotiator of the peace agreement, describes the two very tense years of negotiations that led to the Good Friday Agreements, a type of agreement where very few women participate: "Women bring solutions when many parties put problems on the table. [...] In my experience in different conflicts, women are a key resource both during conflict situations and when the violence ends. The priorities they bring to the negotiating table lay the foundation for more lasting peace. Moreover, women are crucial in civil activism which often creates the climate needed to achieve peace. In fact, including civil society was the reason behind the Women's Coalition's proposal to establish a Civic Forum as part of the Good Friday Agreements"⁵³.

At the same time, aid to women's organizations in fragile and conflict-affected contexts represents only 0.3% of the global bilateral aid and has decreased from \$176 million in 2020 to \$148 million in 2021⁵⁴. Furthermore, grassroots women's organizations, activists, and human rights defenders, who are actors in conflict prevention and peacebuilding at the local level, are continuously sidelined and subjected to threats and attacks in a widespread backlash against decades of progress for women's human rights and gender equality.

This scenario is exacerbated by increasing global threats to human and women's rights, where inclusive, gender-transformative multilateralism is compromised. The threat of re-nuclearization, increased militarization, growing political and social polarization, climate and financial crises, democratic setbacks, shrinking civic space, humanitarian crises, and rising food insecurity create a global scenario fraught with threats to human rights and sustainable peace. With 2 billion people living in conflict and an average displacement period of 20 years, the world has seen a dramatic surge in violent conflicts, military coups, and crises. In this context, progress towards women's participation in leadership

53 *El Mundo* (2023). *Mónica McWilliams, negociadora del Acuerdo de paz en Irlanda del Norte: "Las mujeres aportamos soluciones, cuando muchos partidos ponían problemas sobre la mesa"*. Web note, December, 2023. Available at: <https://www.elmundo.es/yodona/actualidad/2023/12/14/6564b250e85ece11738b458c.html>

54 UN Women. *Facts and Figures Women Peace and Security*. Available at: <https://www.unwomen.org/en/what-we-do/peace-and-security/facts-and-figures>

roles in humanitarian responses in refugee and internally displaced contexts has slowed down. According to UNHCR, it dropped from over half (56%) in 2019 to less than half (48%) in 2020⁵⁵.

Violent extremism is rising, with significant gender-differentiated impacts. In 2022, 614 million women and girls lived in conflict-affected countries, with 2,455 UN-verified cases of conflict-related sexual violence⁵⁶. In 2020, the UN reported 35 cases of murders of women human rights defenders, female journalists, and women trade unionists in seven conflict-affected countries, surpassing the numbers reported for 2019 and 2018⁵⁷. During conflicts, systemic discrimination intensifies, and the impunity of perpetrators—especially in cases of sexual violence against women and girls—prevents communities from recovering (Gesa Bräutigam, Special Envoy for Feminist Foreign Policy of Germany. Mexico, July 2024).

These crises threaten decades of development and erode confidence in international cooperation, underscoring the crucial importance of the Women, Peace, and Security Agenda to protect women’s rights and promote their active participation in society during times of crisis⁵⁸.

"In times of accelerated crises and conflicts, the agenda on women, peace, and security is the first to suffer. It is often considered a soft agenda that is "good" in times of peace but deemed unaffordable during difficult wartime situations."

— Gesa Bräutigam, Special Envoy for Feminist Foreign Policy of Germany. Mexico, July 2024.

55 Ibid.

56 Security Council Meeting SC/15357 (14 July 2023). *Strongly Condemning Rise in Conflict-Related Sexual Violence, Speakers Urge Security Council to Better Prevent, Enforce Accountability for Such Crimes*. Available at: <https://press.un.org/en/2023/sc15357.doc.htm>

57 UN Women. *Facts and Figures Women Peace and Security*. Available at: <https://www.unwomen.org/en/what-we-do/peace-and-security/facts-and-figures>

58 UN Women (2023). Press release: *Women are increasingly at-risk in conflict and underrepresented in peace processes, according to a UN report*, 23 October 2023. Available in: <https://www.unwomen.org/en/news-stories/press-release/2023/10/press-release-women-are-increasingly-at-risk-in-conflict-and-underrepresented-in-peace-processes-according-to-a-un-report>

According to new data on global military spending, which reached \$2.33 trillion in 2023, the top 10 spending countries in 2023—led by the United States, China, and Russia—have all increased their military expenditures⁵⁹. Global military spending rose for the ninth consecutive year across all world regions, particularly in Europe, Asia, Oceania, and the Middle East, hitting a historic high in 2023 with a 6.8% increase from 2022. In addition to armed conflicts, military actions against organized crime have also increased spending. For example, in Central America and the Caribbean, the escalation of crime has led to increased military action against criminal gangs, with military spending up by 54% in 2023 compared to 2014⁶⁰.

The increase in military spending directly impacts women and girls. It is estimated that providing essential services such as water, sanitation, and hygiene to underserved populations would require only 2% of global military expenditures, 6% to achieve universal and quality primary and secondary education, and 13% to eliminate extreme poverty and hunger. There is a relationship between lower income levels and democracy in countries and gender inequalities, according to an analysis of 153 countries from 1990 to 2019. Additionally, there is a link between the presence of women in key decision-making spaces and public budget allocations, with lower defense spending and higher social spending in countries with more women in legislative and executive branches of government⁶¹.

The misuse of small weapons poses an additional challenge, considering its differential impact on young women and girls. Data from the LAC Regional Center for Peace, Disarmament, and Development highlight that firearms misuse endangers women more than men, necessitating policies to address this disparity. Statistics underscore the urgent need for effective weapons regulation and transparent weapon registration to prevent gender-based violence. However, the cross-border nature of the arms trade complicates these efforts, making international cooperation essential.

59 Stockholm International Peace Research Institute (2024), *Global military spending surges amid wars, rising tensions and insecurity*. Press Release, April 22nd, 2024. Available at: <https://www.sipri.org/media/press-release/2024/global-military-spending-surges-amid-war-rising-tensions-and-insecurity>

60 Ibid.

61 UN Women. *Facts and Figures Women Peace and Security*. Available at: <https://www.unwomen.org/en/what-we-do/peace-and-security/facts-and-figures>

Despite the impact of military spending on sustainable development and achieving the 2030 Agenda, only four of the ten Security Council resolutions on Women, Peace, and Security address military and armament spending⁶². These are focused solely on small arms and light weapons within the Arms Trade Treaty. Moreover, less than 15% of the speakers representing Member States or regional blocs in the Security Council's annual debates on Women, Peace, and Security resolutions mention arms control or disarmament. The representation of women in multilateral forums dealing with arms control and non-proliferation remains very low, averaging between 20% and 35%, which affects discussions and decision-making on these issues⁶³.

Women are also underrepresented in peace operations. In 2020, only three women held the highest military leadership positions on the ground, and four women led the United Nations police components, marking the highest number of women in top uniformed positions in history. Of all the reports of sexual abuse and exploitation received across the United Nations system, 17% involved personnel in peace operations and special political missions⁶⁴. As highlighted by the UN Secretary-General in the report "Women, Peace, and Security," it is well-documented that women's participation contributes to stronger democracies and more enduring peace.⁶⁵ Based on research by academics shown by UN Women, in cases where women's groups were able to exercise a strong influence on the negotiation process, there was a much higher chance that an agreement would be reached than when women's groups exercised weak or no influence. Moreover, the strong influence of women in negotiation processes also positively correlated with a greater likelihood of agreements being implemented.

62 Resolutions 2106 (2013), 2122 (2013), 2242 (2015), 2467 (2019).

63 UN Women. *Facts and Figures Women Peace and Security*. Available at: <https://www.unwomen.org/en/what-we-do/peace-and-security/facts-and-figures>

64 Ibid.

65 United Nations (2023), *Women and Peace and Security*. Report of the Secretary-General. Security Council, September, 2023. S/2023/725. Available at: <https://documents.un.org/doc/undoc/gen/n23/279/08/pdf/n2327908.pdf>

"We must not only count how many women are involved in peace processes but also recognize their contributions and impact, as was the case in the peace process in the Philippines where women made significant contributions to the negotiations."

— Signe Grur Gilen, Special Envoy for Women, Peace, and Security, Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Norway. Mexico, July 2024.

Furthermore, peace processes that included women as witnesses, signatories, mediators, and/or negotiators demonstrated a 20% increase in the probability of a peace agreement lasting at least two years.⁶⁶

Miriam Coronel-Ferrer: the first female peace negotiator

Miriam Coronel-Ferrer marked a milestone as the first female chief negotiator in the world to sign a final peace agreement with a rebel group, the Moro Islamic Liberation Front, in the Philippines in 2014. She currently teaches Political Science at the University of the Philippines and works with the United Nations in mediation.

In an interview conducted by UN Women on the occasion of the twentieth anniversary of UN Security Council Resolution 1325, Miriam recounts: "The peace movement that emerged after the People Power Revolution was mostly led by women. We all collaborated, from many different organizations and ideological positions. All the best work I have done, including working on the National Action Plan for the Philippine Government to implement UNSC Resolution 1325, the landmark resolution on women, peace and security, has involved collaborating with women from many different walks of life to fight for a common goal."

66 UN Women (2015). *A Global Study on the Implementation of United Nations Security Council resolution 1325*. Available in: <https://wps.unwomen.org/index.html>

Because of her accumulated knowledge and experience working on peacebuilding and peace process issues, she was called by President Simeon Benigno Aquino to join the peace panel of the Philippine Government in 2010 to sign a peace agreement with the Moro Islamic Liberation Front, an armed group that wanted to form an autonomous region.

“After four years of hard work, I was the first female negotiator to sign a final peace agreement with a rebel group. It was also a milestone for women in the Philippines because three of the signatories on the government side of the peace agreement were women. [That experience] made me determined to work to ensure that more women participate and lead international peace processes. On the ground, many women are working to promote peace and security agendas, but we need to be recognized and visible at the highest levels as well.

“This has become much more important in recent years, as we have seen the return of authoritarianism and a rollback of women's rights and the peace agenda. Sexism is everywhere in public discourse, from social media to presidential palaces. I worry about how the next generation will look at this new wave of leaders and see how women tolerated them and men emulated them. This is alarming and dangerous...”

(UN Women, October 2020)

Why is feminist foreign policy crucial in advancing these challenges?

As we approach the Summit of the Future, the UN Secretary-General has outlined a vision to strengthen multilateral efforts for peace through A New Agenda for Peace⁶⁷. This framework identifies several challenges, including evolving conflicts, violence beyond traditional zones, misuse of emerging technologies, escalating inequalities, diminishing civic freedoms, and the urgent climate crisis.

67 United Nations (2023). *Our Common Agenda Policy Brief 9 : A New Agenda for Peace*. Available in: <https://dppa.un.org/en/a-new-agenda-for-peace>

To effectively confront these challenges, A New Agenda for Peace urges UN Member States to transcend prevailing competitive paradigms and explore avenues for cooperation and collective action to pursue shared objectives, including transforming gendered power dynamics in peace and security. It is an agenda that calls for dismantling patriarchal power structures and accelerating this transformation through coalitions among states that promote feminist principles” (Phoebe Donnelly, Senior Fellow and Head of Women, Peace, and Security, International Peace Institute) and recognize women as agents of change in diplomacy, aid, and peace and security programming.

Adopting Feminist Foreign Policies can be a platform to rethink power structures and catalyze a global push to accelerate gender equality commitments. With coordinated multilateral efforts, FFP countries could help address women’s shrinking participation in peace negotiations and ensure that women’s voices are heard on all matters related to peace and security while contributing to increasing respect for international legal standards to protect women and girls from gender-based violence. As well, they can articulate what “feminist” really means for humanitarianism, apply feminist principles to the “how” of crisis response, build policy coherence and collaboration across agendas, and make FFP (and decolonization) part of the humanitarian reform (Daigle, 2024).

In the case of disarmament, Feminist Foreign Policy (FFP) can significantly advance its efforts by incorporating gender perspectives into weapons control strategies and promoting inclusive decision-making processes. By prioritizing civil disarmament and arms control, FFP recognizes that addressing the root causes of gender-based violence is crucial for sustainable peace. FFP advocates for transparent weapon registration and supports international cooperation to combat the arms trade’s cross-border nature. It promotes the incorporation of gender considerations in arms export decisions within National Action Plans. Additionally, initiatives like the Guide of Good Practices in Arms Control for Preventing Gender-Based Violence provide states with effective tools for comprehensive risk assessments, ensuring that arms exports do not contribute to gender-based violence and reinforcing inequalities. By promoting equality in the participation of all women at all levels of disarmament processes, FFP can help create more effective and sustainable peace and security frameworks.

Behind these precepts is an underlying deeper aim: to examine - and contest - the principles that sustain the hegemonic paradigm of international security. It is necessary to promote a more equitable redistribution of power in international affairs, identify and remove installed privileges and naturalized discriminations, and move towards a new model of inclusive multilateralism aimed at sustaining peace, not only within the foreign service bureaucracy but in all dimensions and levels of international politics, including defense and security cooperation, aid, trade, climate security, and immigration policies, among others.

To advance in this issue, the continuous commitment and political will of States, international organizations, civil society, and strategic alliances among different stakeholders is essential. By recognizing women's unique experiences and contributions to peace processes and security initiatives, we can strengthen efforts to build more inclusive and effective global security systems.

It is important to recognize that significant efforts are currently being made to fund the Women, Peace, and Security (WPS) agenda globally and to highlight the importance of its sustainability. Since its launch in 2016, the Women's Peace and Humanitarian Fund (WPHF) has financed and supported the capacity of over 420 local and grassroots women-led civil society organizations working alongside women in 26 conflict-affected or conflict-prone countries worldwide⁶⁸. The Peacebuilding Fund (PBF) approved investments totaling \$173 million in 41 contexts in 2020, allocating 40% of these funds toward gender equality and women's empowerment, maintaining the same proportion as in the previous two years. Additionally, the Department of Political and Peacebuilding Affairs (DPPA) has committed to dedicating at least 1% of the annual budget of the multi-year appeal to initiatives focused on women's empowerment and promoting the crucial role of women in conflict prevention⁶⁹.

Funding and coordinating with feminist civil society organizations can be a key tool for countries with feminist foreign policies to prevent regressions and setbacks and to advance commitments to achieve gender equality and empower all women

68 UN Women. *Facts and Figures Women Peace and Security*. Available at: <https://www.unwomen.org/en/what-we-do/peace-and-security/facts-and-figures>

69 Ibid.

and girls (SDG 5). It also supports incorporating feminist perspectives and human rights approaches into all agendas and promotes gender parity in various UN forums. Furthermore, facilitating training for all diplomatic staff on gender equality, focusing on the WPS agenda, is necessary to ensure that gender issues are not sacrificed in multilateral negotiations (Phoebe Donnelly, Senior Advisor and Head of Women, Peace and Security, International Peace Institute. Mexico, July 2024).

Initiatives such as the creation and promotion of an Ibero-American Network of Women Mediators, led by Mexico through the Secretariat of Foreign Affairs and the National Institute of Women, with the support of SEGIB and UN Women, and including countries such as Andorra, Bolivia, Brazil, Colombia, Ecuador, Spain, Guatemala, Peru, the Dominican Republic, and Uruguay, are examples of how feminist foreign policies can significantly influence regional and global decision-making. These initiatives promote effective women's participation in conflict prevention, mediation, social reconstruction, and peace processes⁷⁰.

"The Ibero-American Network of Women Mediators is a crucial milestone for integrating Ibero-America into the global movement of regional networks of women mediators and peacebuilders. Investing in women's leadership is not only morally necessary but also economically wise. The global economic impact of violence increased by 17%, reaching \$17.5 trillion in 2022, equivalent to 13% of global GDP."

— María Noel Vaeza, Regional Director of UN Women for the Americas and the Caribbean. Mexico, July 2024.

Feminist foreign policy can also be a tool for monitoring the fulfillment of existing commitments, such as those made at the Generation Equality Forum promoted by UN Women in 2021, with support from the governments of Mexico and France. This forum adopted the "Pact for Women, Peace, Security, and Humanitarian Action (WPS-AH)." The 153 signatories of the Pact, including Member States,

70 Secretaría General Iberoamericana (2023), *Nace la Red Iberoamericana de Mujeres Mediadoras*. Available at: <https://www.segib.org/nace-la-red-iberoamericana-de-mujeres-mediadoras/>

regional organizations, UN entities, the private sector, civil society, and academia, committed to investing in at least one of the proposed actions.⁷¹

As highlighted by the UN Secretary-General, the international community has numerous opportunities to contribute to creating a different path for consolidating and sustaining peace: from the Future Summit in 2024, the 30th anniversary of the Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action, and the 25th anniversary of Resolution 1325 in 2025, to the collective efforts of the Generation Equality campaign and the policy report on the New Peace Agenda⁷². The Secretary-General also emphasizes the proliferation of feminist foreign policies as a new avenue for producing a radical shift and tangible results in women's meaningful participation in peacebuilding and advancing feminist principles in diplomacy, cooperation, defense and security, aid, trade, climate security, and migration policies.

"Given the prevalence of militarism and militarization in societies, coupled with the rise of extreme right-wing movements worldwide, the 25th anniversary of Resolution 1325 presents a strategic and fundamental opportunity to rethink the role of women and feminist principles and values in the peace and security agenda."

— Arlene Beth Tickner, Special Gender Issues Ambassador of Colombia.
III Feminist Foreign Policy Ministerial Conference, Mexico, 2024.

Action points towards a Feminist Foreign Policy that Promotes Equality, Peace, and International Security

1. Ensure that feminist foreign policies adopt a situated and inclusive approach, favoring analyses in which contextualization and localization serve to understand different perspectives and the root causes of conflicts.

71 UN Women. *Facts and Figures Women Peace and Security*. Available at: <https://www.unwomen.org/en/what-we-do/peace-and-security/facts-and-figures>

72 United Nations (2023), *Women and Peace and Security*. Report of the Secretary-General. Security Council, September, 2023. S/2023/725. Available at: <https://documents.un.org/doc/undoc/gen/n23/279/08/pdf/n2327908.pdf>

2. Include women in peacebuilding processes and post-conflict reconstruction, to prevent further erosion of their security and promote a more inclusive and sustainable society.
3. Overcome the notion that women are merely victims and promote their active participation as agents of change, as their voices are crucial to ensuring dialogue amidst rising global conflicts, hate speech, and polarization.
4. Recognize and integrate the knowledge and experiences of community-level peacebuilders, valuing this installed capacity and acting in an inclusive, contextualized, and effective manner. It is essential to listen to women's voices in all their diversity, especially those from excluded and marginalized groups.
5. Ensure gender parity in formal peace processes and promote women's leadership as negotiators, given that currently, only 16% of peace process participants are women.
6. Create training and education spaces to provide better tools for negotiating peace agreements.
7. Promote spaces for dialogue and horizontal cooperation among women's platforms to generate exchanges of experiences in peacebuilding at the local, national, and international levels, with an emphasis on strengthening South-South Cooperation.
8. Stimulate and support intersectoral, multi-actor, and multiscalar collaboration to institutionalize the results achieved in each formal peace process, learn from mistakes, and share them with different actors at both local and international levels, ensuring gender parity, the adoption of a human rights approach, and the mainstreaming of gender perspectives.
9. Institutionalize best practices to reinforce feminist foreign policies within the Women, Peace, and Security agenda to ensure the inclusion of women and girls at all stages of peacebuilding and security.

10. Eradicate, prevent, and punish all forms of violence, sexual and otherwise, committed in armed conflicts and post-conflict situations, particularly rape, sexual slavery, forced prostitution, forced pregnancy, forced sterilization, or any other form of severe sexual violence.
11. Decisively contribute to ensuring justice and reparations for women and girls who are survivors of sexual violence and understand that nothing is more dangerous than the impunity of perpetrators and the prevention of community recovery.
12. Strengthen the focus on intersectionality in feminist foreign policies and the Women, Peace, and Security agenda to avoid exclusion.
13. Ensure consistency between feminist foreign policies and the positions adopted by states in the peace and security agenda, avoiding double standards, particularly regarding human rights, which are universal, indivisible, and interdependent, meaning applicable to all people without exceptions or discrimination.

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04.

Innovating Equality: Bridging the Gap in Science, Technology, and Digital Cooperation

PROPOSALS OF THE THIRD PANEL OF THE III MINISTERIAL
CONFERENCE ON FEMINIST FOREIGN POLICIES (MEXICO, 2024)

"Technology has no borders, and neither should there be limits to our efforts to improve it."

— Branka Panic, Senior Advisor, Office of Foreign Affairs, German Government. Mexico, July 2024.

The Summit of the Future convened by the Secretary-General of the United Nations for September 2024 aims, among other goals, to generate a Pact for the Future—an intergovernmental agreement oriented toward action—which will include the negotiation of a Global Digital Compact. This initiative addresses, among other things, urgent ethical, social, and regulatory issues to protect the digital space and strengthen its governance.

In an increasingly interconnected and technologically driven world, ensuring gender equality and promoting feminist principles in science, technology, and digital cooperation is critical for achieving fair, inclusive, and sustainable development. The digital transition has the potential to unleash structural barriers and the risk of increasing existing inequalities, structural and intersecting forms of discrimination that affect women, young women, and girls disproportionately due to the existing gender digital gap across the world (Gurumurthy, Chami, and Alemany 2019). The effects of the digital industrial revolution would be highly dependent on artificial intelligence governance frameworks and a diverse set of public policies on education, science, innovation, economic and sectorial policies

related to services, industry, and agriculture since all sectors are intensive on technology, as well as private sector incentives and social protection.

Therefore, public policies and international cooperation would play a central role in mitigating the potential negative impacts of digital transformation on all women's rights and guarantee their participation and leadership in social, economic, and political spheres free of violence and discrimination.

The conclusions agreed upon at the United Nations Commission on the Status of Women (CSW67) in March 2023: "While technology can be used to promote the full realization of the civil, political, economic, social, and cultural rights of women and girls, it can also perpetuate gender stereotypes and negative social norms, creating vicious cycles where inequalities are amplified and perpetuated through digital tools." It also reiterates the need to address the impact of structural barriers to realizing these rights (E/CN.6/2023/L.3).

Formulating appropriate comprehensive policies that address the structural challenges of gender inequality with proactive policies, establishing regulations that guarantee the exercise of all humans, economic, social, and cultural rights, and advances in affirmative measures are needed to reduce the risk of increasing gender, age, race, ethnicity, income and other inequalities in the digital industrial and social transformation.

All societies are far from ensuring women's equal and meaningful participation in all economic sectors, especially the more dynamic ones that are intensive on technology, science, and innovation. For women, young women, and girls to harness the benefits of digitalization, it is necessary to generate conditions of equality and protection in the digital world and opportunities for the development of the required capacities and skills in a changing context (ECLAC, UN Women, UNESCO; 2023). Otherwise, there is a risk of perpetuating and deepening existing and structural discriminatory patterns (Gurumurthy, Chami, and Alemany, 2019; Muñoz, 2021; Bercovich and Muñoz, 2022; Vaca-Trigo and Valenzuela, 2022). At the same time, it is essential to involve women, young people, and girls in education and aspects related to science and technology where they are less represented.

Challenges of the world's digital transformation

Science, technology, and digital cooperation policies and frameworks must focus on removing structural barriers to gender equality, indispensable for achieving inclusive, sustainable development. Different approaches to this subject should be addressed:

1. One of the most significant challenges of the world's digital transformation is to address the current gender digital gap. Digital technologies cannot be understood as autonomous and gender-neutral tools. They are part of a broader economic, social, and political context that determines their design, purpose, access, and use and can perpetuate historical discriminatory biases and harmful stereotypes in their configuration and solutions.

Although there are a significant number of initiatives in the world, i, to provide equitable access and use of the digital economy, there is still a considerable digital gender gap that limits the equal achievement of the benefits of digital transformation, especially given the imminent changes that the jobs of the future will bring with their digitization. By 2050, 75% of jobs will be related to science, technology, engineering, and mathematics. However, currently, only 57% of women use the internet⁷³.

The digital gender gap raises important dimensions that need to be considered, such as access, use, and skills. According to UNESCO data, women and girls are 25% less likely than men to effectively use digital technology for basic purposes, four times less likely to know how to program computers, and 13 times less likely to file for an ICT patent⁷⁴. Promoting universal access to and use of technologies for everyone as a basic requirement in ensuring the fair and equitable distribution of the benefits of digital transformation is imperative. Access to technologies should include education, training, and skills development.

73 United Nations (2023), *Sin acceso a la tecnología, no habrá igualdad de género*. Web note for the International Women's Day, March 8th, 2023. Available at: <https://news.un.org/es/story/2023/03/1519227>

74 UNESCO, *Women's access to and participation in technological developments*. Web note. Available at: <https://www.unesco.org/en/artificial-intelligence/gender-equality>

The digital divide negatively impacts the economy, as it is estimated that excluding women from the digital world has cost low and middle-income countries one trillion dollars in GDP over the past decade. The gender digital divide also adversely affects food security since women are predominantly responsible for food in households and communities. It also involves access to education and the integration processes of migrant women and girls, who—without access to computers or the internet—face a barrier that prevents them from acquiring knowledge, finding employment, and establishing a new life.⁷⁵

In Latin America and the Caribbean, within the framework of the Regional Conference on Women in Latin America and the Caribbean, States established as a priority that public policies should encourage access and create conditions conducive to the autonomy of women, adolescents, and girls in all their diversity, investing in developing skills and technology must be strengthened, and affirmative actions should be included to encourage their participation, permanence and completion of education in STEMs -Science, Technology, Engineering and Mathematics - (ECLAC, UN Women, UNESCO; 2023). For skills development, it is necessary to generate bonds of trust with technology to improve the quality of use of technologies in the different areas of women’s lives. Likewise, digital literacy should be promoted so that women can benefit to the same extent as men from the benefits of ICTs (education, work).

2. Women’s economic empowerment has a close relationship with women’s development in STEMs, as reducing this gap increases “women’s economic security, in addition to promoting women’s and girls’ access to education, training, and research in the fields of science, technology, engineering and mathematics” (UN Women, 2022). The future is digital, but only one-third of people working in the fields of science, technology, engineering, and mathematics are women, which means that the future is being designed by a majority of men.⁷⁶ Women hold 20% of the technical positions at major

75 United Nations (2023), *Sin acceso a la tecnología, no habrá igualdad de género*. Web note for the International.

76 Ibid.

machine learning companies, make up 12% of global researchers in artificial intelligence, and constitute just 6% of those who professionally develop software.⁷⁷ It is necessary to overcome gender stereotypes in the use of technology to promote women's educational trajectories in these areas and foster safe spaces to generate conditions of equality to achieve a higher percentage of women employed as Science, Technology, and Innovation specialists (ECLAC, UN Women, UNESCO; 2023).

3. Within the framework of the conclusions agreed at the United Nations Commission on the Status of Women (CSW67) in March 2023, it also recognized that the use of AI (Artificial Intelligence) "can contribute to setbacks in these spheres and have far-reaching implications and cause disproportionate negative impacts on women, young women and girls, especially through new and evolving technologies that create new forms of violence, such as deepfakes."⁷⁸ AI challenges us with the potential automation of sexist and racist practices, violence towards all women and LGBTIQ+ people, as well as unequal effects in social and economic terms. Indeed, one of the advantages of tools like AI chatbots is their ability to learn, but it is a learning that is influenced by a social and cultural environment in which biases prevail.⁷⁹ For instance, 99% of the pornographic content created with AI targets women and girls. (Isabelle Rome, Human Rights Ambassador, Former Minister for Gender Equality of France). In this sense, it is necessary and urgent for countries to promote a global and regional governance agenda for AI throughout the life cycle of emerging technology, ranging from data extraction, design, implementation, regulation, use, and decommissioning, including a framework to be nationally implemented. National regulatory frameworks are insufficient to address the risks and impacts of AI, as digital attacks do not respect borders. (Marcela Hernández, Frente Nacional de Sororidad de México. Mexico, July 2024).

77 Ibid.

78 A deepfake is a generated video, image or audio that mimics the look and sound of a person. Also called "synthetic media".

79 María Noel Vaeza (2023), *Revolución digital: una encrucijada para los derechos de las mujeres y las niñas*. UN Women, March, 2023. Originally published on *Planeta Futuro | El País*. Available at: <https://lac.unwomen.org/es/stories/noticia/2023/03/revolucion-digital-una-encrucijada-para-los-derechos-de-mujeres-y-ninas>

"We need a prosocial AI with inclusion at its core and to create innovative corrections for inequalities. We need a future for AI with ecosystems that weave together an interdependent, transformative, and multidisciplinary framework, not just a technological one."

— Caitlin Kraft-Buchman, CEO and Founder, Women@TheTable.
Mexico, July 2024.

In relation to AI regulation, the Ibero-American Charter of Principles and Rights in Digital Environments adopted in 2023 by the Heads of State of Ibero-America is highlighted. This charter expresses their “commitment to the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations and international law, the resolutions of the United Nations General Assembly, the Human Rights Council, and the ITU, recognizing that the same rights that exist ‘offline’ must also be protected in digital environments, considering their particularities...”⁸⁰ In the charter, non-binding for the signatory States, the importance of having the necessary resources to ensure digital development is acknowledged, including strengthening the capacity of developing countries to reduce the digital divide and achieve an inclusive, fair, secure, resilient, and sustainable digital society.

4. Another critical issue in the digital transition is online violence against women, young women, and girls, including digital sexual violence, which has been exacerbated, facilitated, reformulated, or amplified through the use of digital technologies and platforms (Vaca-Trigo and Valenzuela, 2022). Globally, 38% of women have personal experiences of online violence, and 85% of women online have witnessed digital violence against other women.⁸¹ Women and girls are 27 times more likely than men to experience harassment or incitement to hatred on the internet, which reinforces the gender gap

80 Secretaría General Iberoamericana (2023). *Carta Iberoamericana de Principios y Derechos en Entornos Digitales*. SEGIB, March, 2023. Available at: <https://www.segib.org/?document=carta-iberoamericana-de-principios-y-derechos-en-entornos-digitales>

81 UN Women (2023), *Violencia digital contra las mujeres y las niñas*. UN Women Mexico. Available at: https://mexico.unwomen.org/sites/default/files/2023-03/Brief_ViolenciaDigital.pdf

in technology access.⁸² Violence facilitated by new technologies includes symbolic violence; censorship of online expressions and content related to women’s rights and sexual and reproductive health, as well as cyberbullying, sexual harassment, sextortion, doxing⁸³, grooming⁸⁴, deepfakes, and hate speech—among others—that disproportionately affect women and girls and discourage equitable access to technology for women (Jimena Viveros, Member of the UN Advisory Board on Artificial Intelligence. Mexico, July 2024).

In this regard, CSW67 agreed conclusions express concern about “the magnitude of various forms of violence, including gender-based violence that occurs through or is amplified by technology, and the significant physical, sexual, psychological, social, political and economic harm it causes to women and girls, throughout their life course, infringing on their rights and freedoms, in particular for those in public life“ and highlight that “there is a need to addresses challenges associated with the misuse of new and emerging digital technologies which can be designed and/or used to incite violence, hatred, discrimination, and hostility, inter alia, racism, xenophobia, negative stereotyping and stigmatization of women and girls” (E/CN.6/2023/L.3).

Additionally, case studies on this matter highlight the differentiated and disproportionate impact that technology-facilitated gender-based violence has on women, young women, and girls. For example, the Aurora Project in Chile documented that 88% of women victims of digital violence suffered emotional affectations, including impacts on their self-esteem, as well as psychological and health problems, feelings of insecurity, and isolation. Equally, the encountering of gender-based violence online, including harassment, can deter women from fully participating online, thus missing important opportunities for their economic and social empowerment in the digital transformation. The collective “Luchadoras” in Mexico identified that it may impact identity construction, the free development of personality

82 United Nations (2023), *Sin acceso a la tecnología, no habrá igualdad de género*. Web note for the International Women’s Day, March 8th, 2023. Available at: <https://news.un.org/es/story/2023/03/1519227>

83 Doxing: action of searching for and publishing private information or information about a person’s identity on the Internet, usually with the intention of causing harm to that person.

84 Grooming: sexual harassment of minors, which is based on establishing a relationship of trust with them through computer or telematic means, mainly in chat rooms and social networks.

and sexuality, affect women's and girls' communication, and inhibit their participation and socialization in all aspects of their lives (UN Women, CIM/OEA, MESECVI, 2021).

"The online violence we are witnessing has a real-life impact and is a manifestation of misogyny. Technology is part of the problem and must also be part of the solution. We must acknowledge that it is not a women's issue or a private matter, but a societal issue. Victims need support now. Policies, legislation, and effective governmental intervention are required. The gap between access to technology and the violence caused by it must be addressed."

— Varina Winder, Chief of Staff, Office of Global Women's Issues, U.S. Department of State, United States. Mexico, July 2024.

Mexico's Olimpia Law

The Olimpia Law, composed of a set of legislative reforms in different Mexican states aimed at recognizing digital violence and punishing cyber-violence crimes, takes its name from its promoter -Olimpia Coral Melo-, a young Mexican activist from Huauchinango (Puebla, Mexico) who suffered digital violence at the hands of her ex-partner, who released a private video with sexual content that quickly went viral nationwide in Mexico.

After seven years of activism focused on the prevention of online violence and accompaniment of women victims, which included the creation of the organization Mujeres contra la Violencia de Género in Puebla and the Frente Nacional para la Sororidad in Mexico City, Olimpia succeeded in obtaining legal recognition of digital violence and a six-year prison sentence for those who share intimate materials without consent. In effect, the bill that Olimpia presented to the Puebla Congress succeeded in getting all 31 states in Mexico to recognize these acts as a crime.

The Olimpia law not only had a broad impact on Mexican legislation, but also inspired legislative initiatives in several places in Latin America and

the United States, such as Argentina, Honduras, Ecuador and Los Angeles, California. In 2021, Olimpia Coral Melo was honored by Time magazine as one of the 100 most influential people in the world.

Looking ahead, Olimpia hopes to drive transformations in the companies that dominate the algorithms that contribute to the objectification of women's bodies, and thus consolidate more harmonious digital spaces for women.

(United Nations, March, 2023)

Available evidence also shows that gender-based violence facilitated by new technologies has grown exponentially in recent years, with a disproportionate impact on women with a public voice. A 2022 study by UN Women and the Regional Alliance for Free Expression and Information highlights that journalists, communicators, and human rights defenders are targets of systematic online gender-based violence, affecting their exercise of freedom of expression and the quality of democratic debate. Interviews conducted as part of the study further concluded that visibility exposes them to online violence simply for being women with a public voice; there are gender biases in the attacks they receive; systematic online violence aims to silence them; and online violence transcends the virtual realm and often continues outside digital platforms, with concrete and visible consequences for the victims.⁸⁵

These approaches are not new; however, they would constitute a significant shift in citizenship, public policy, and human rights fulfillment, and foreign policies with a gender perspective can contribute to strengthening international and regional cooperation, policy response, an adequate legal framework, and practices preventing digital technologies from becoming an incubator of new inequalities and constituting instead a powerful tool to understand and reduce the gender gap.

85 Beck, Ingrid; Alcaraz, Florencia; Rodríguez, Paula (2022). *Violencia de género en línea hacia mujeres con voz pública. Impacto en la libertad de expresión*. Alianza Regional por la Libre Expresión e Información and UN Women. Available at: https://lac.unwomen.org/sites/default/files/2022-11/Resumen_ViolenciaEnLinea-25Nov-V2.pdf

Why is feminist foreign policy crucial in advancing these debates and proposals?

Feminist Foreign Policies (FFP) play a fundamental role, as they can promote multilateralism to address in a coordinated manner the main structural barriers that are the basis of gender inequality and is, therefore crucial to fostering the participation of women in Science, Technology, and Innovation. International frameworks, regulations, and the joint commitment of States are essential factors in advancing toward a more egalitarian society.

FFP implies adopting a feminist and human rights approach in all instances and dimensions of foreign policy, where substantive gender equality is promoted not only as a goal but also as a central axis and a necessary condition for advancing the agenda of sustainable development, human rights, and peace.

It is necessary to permeate the technological debate with feminist views. It is urgent to nurture feminism in technological debates. One of the issues highlighted in the CSW67 agreements focused on pointing out the concern about the systemic and structural barriers that deepen the gender digital divide, as well as the need to implement policies to transform this reality, “ensuring the full, equal and meaningful participation of women in the technology workforce, including in fast-growing, well-paying careers such as cloud computing, software development and artificial intelligence and data management, and as entrepreneurs, innovators, researchers and executives and industry leaders” (E/CN.6/2023/L.3).

Feminist foreign policies increasingly recognize the significance of technology and digital cooperation in advancing gender equality. Relevant topics include addressing the gender digital gap, protecting the privacy and digital security of women, young women, and girls, promoting their participation and leadership in technological innovation, and combating gender stereotypes and digital sexual violence.

Among the international efforts to counter online harassment and violence, the formation of the Global Alliance for Action Against Online Gender-Based Abuse and Harassment stands out. This alliance, established at the Summit of

Leaders for Democracy in the United States, includes Australia, Denmark, New Zealand, South Korea, Sweden, the United Kingdom, and the United States. Later, Canada and Chile joined the alliance during the Summit of the Americas 2022. The member countries of the Global Alliance have committed to jointly addressing gender-based violence facilitated by technology in consultation with governments, international organizations, academia, civil society, and the private sector.⁸⁶

Additionally, the creation of the Coalition for Action on Technology and Innovation for Gender Equality within the Generation Equality Forum (2021) is noteworthy. This coalition comprises governments, international organizations, the private sector, philanthropic organizations, and civil society. Its goal is to advocate for collective responsibility, particularly from governments and businesses, to develop bold and transformative gender actions aimed at expanding innovation ecosystems, incorporating principles of transparency and accountability in digital technology, and fostering inclusive digital economies.⁸⁷

It is essential that countries with gender-responsive foreign policies drive the debate and decision-making processes on advancements in science, technology, innovation, and digital cooperation and place at the center of discussions the importance of addressing gender disparities and promoting the participation and leadership of women in these fields.

The upcoming opportunities with international efforts to regulate AI and negotiate the Global Digital Compact during the Summit of the Future present unprecedented chances to embed feminist principles into digital governance.

86 U.S. Department of State (2022), *Alianza Global para la acción contra el acoso y el abuso por Internet por motivos de género*. Office of the Spokesperson, media advisory, June 2022. Found on the website of the U.S. Embassy in Chile. Available at: <https://cl.usembassy.gov/es/alianza-global-para-la-accion-contra-el-acoso-y-el-abuso-por-internet-por-motivos-de-genero/>

87 Generation Equality Forum (2021), *Technology and innovation for gender equality. Action coalition*. Mexico, 2021. Available at: https://commitments.generationequality.org/sites/default/files/2022-08/technology_and_innovation_1.pdf

"It is imperative to endow the Global Digital Pact with a feminist and intersectional perspective. This would ensure that digital transformation is grounded in human rights and promotes gender justice, recognizing the differentiated impact that technologies have on women and girls."

— Gloria de la Fuente, Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs of Chile.
Mexico, July 2024.

Action points to reduce the gap and promote equality in Science, Technology, and Digital Cooperation

1. Ensure that digital technologies are aligned with human rights principles such as equality and non-discrimination, respect the right to privacy within the framework of human dignity, and involve ethical data management throughout all stages—generation, collection, analysis, and dissemination—to avoid all forms of bias, including gender bias, and minimize risks such as digital violence against women and girls.
2. Promote gender diversity in artificial intelligence development to mitigate gender biases, encouraging states to ensure algorithmic transparency.
3. Encourage states with feminist foreign policies (PEF) to promote the full participation of women—and women’s and feminist organizations—in the design of AI regulatory frameworks to ensure the inclusion of gender and intersectional perspectives and human rights approaches, including in the development and implementation of the Global Digital Pact arising from the Summit for the Future.
4. Recognize and investigate how AI affects men and women differently and what its negative impacts are.
5. Ensure the implementation of mechanisms that guarantee transparency and accountability in technological platforms from a feminist perspective and human rights approach.

6. Intensify efforts to accelerate progress towards universal access to technologies and strengthen capabilities.
7. From States with feminist foreign policies, promote partnerships with academia to develop knowledge that informs public policies and fund educational projects to close the gender digital divide and create inclusive, safe, and non-discriminatory digital ecosystems, including the creation of grants and scholarships to include women and girls in STEM (science, technology, engineering, and mathematics) fields.
8. Address the under-representation of women in the digital world, both as users and developers, and ensure that women and girls are present at all stages of technological development.
9. Encourage and ensure the participation of women and girls in the technology sector, providing the commitment of States and cooperation from private sector companies to develop technologies with a feminist perspective and without gender biases.
10. Address in global normative frameworks regulating AI governance and use issues such as gender-based violence facilitated by technology and incorporate feminist principles.
11. Promote the advancement of regulations and policies that address gender-based violence facilitated by technology as not only a women's issue or a private matter but a societal issue, and advocate for governmental and intergovernmental interventions for its prevention.
12. Utilize data science and AI tools to advance the objectives of a feminist foreign policy.
13. Enhance the content and visibility of feminist foreign policies and involve more civil society and private sector actors to achieve inclusive and effective multilateralism.

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05.

Youth Voices, Future Choices: A Feminist Approach to Shaping Tomorrow's Global Agenda

PROPOSALS OF THE FOURTH PANEL OF THE III MINISTERIAL
CONFERENCE ON FEMINIST FOREIGN POLICIES (MEXICO, 2024)

"Youth apathy is false; it is a myth. Young people are taking action. Believing in this falsehood means silencing more than 30% of the population. Our mobilizations are visible both in cyberspace and on the streets."

— Naomi Martínez, Youth Ambassador of GirlUp. Mexico, July 2024.

The voices and perspectives of youth and youth organizations, as well as women and LGBTIQ+ youth organizations must influence the present and contribute to shaping the future, serving as powerful catalysts for social change and progress. However, challenges such as limited representation, generational disconnect, and inadequate resources hinder effective youth participation in decision-making in general, particularly in foreign policy and international negotiations. From a feminist perspective, the principles of intersectionality, inclusivity, and diversity mean integrating youth perspectives into decision-making and agenda-setting, which is crucial to creating a fairer, more equitable, and more sustainable world for all generations.

"All government interventions must have a feminist, inclusive, intergenerational, intercultural, and intersectional approach, ensuring meaningful participation of youth, especially those in marginalized, discriminated or excluded situations."

— Peter Derrek Hof, Ambassador for Women's Rights and Gender Equality, Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Netherlands. Mexico, July 2024.

In this regard, there are significant national efforts to involve youth in the design and implementation of norms, public policies, and other transformative initiatives at the subnational and community levels, as well as in key decision-making processes at national and international levels.

The Inter-Parliamentary Union (IPU) highlights in its 2023 report on Youth that the participation of young people (aged 30 and under, 40 and under, and 45 and under) has increased in national legislatures. Only 2.8% of parliamentarians worldwide are 30 years old or younger, an increase of 0.2 percentage points from 2021. With data similar to that of 2021, Europe and the Americas have the highest representation of youth in parliaments. No parliament has yet reached the 15% goal of parliamentarians aged 30 or under established by the IPU Young Parliamentarians Forum. It is also worth noting that while women remain underrepresented across all age groups, the gender gap is smaller among the younger age groups.⁸⁸

"19.7% of the 470 members of the Cuban parliament are young people aged between 18 and 35. Of these, 75.2% are women."

— Zonya Rivero López, Second Secretary of the Federation of Cuban Women. Mexico, July 2024.

Meanwhile, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Netherlands, in collaboration with the National Youth Council (NJR), established a Youth Advisory Committee made up of 10 young people from 10 different countries who inform and advise the Dutch foreign policy. This Committee provides a platform for ongoing dialogue and cooperation between the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and international youth on policies related to the “Youth at Heart” strategy, which focuses particularly on education, work, and youth participation, especially in the Horn of Africa, the Sahel, and the MENA region.⁸⁹

88 IPU (2023), *Youth participation in national parliaments: 2023*. Available at: <https://www.ipu.org/resources/publications/reports/2023-10/youth-participation-in-national-parliaments-2023>

89 Youth at Heart, *Youth at Heart Advisory Committee 2024-25*. Web note. Available at: <https://www.youthatheart.nl/youth-advisory-committee>

The Slovenian youth network “No Excuse,” nominated for the UNESCO-Japan Prize for Education for Sustainable Development (ESD) 2019, mobilizes young activists aged 15 to 19 who wish to acquire new life skills and enhance their knowledge in public health, filling gaps in formal school education. The program offers over 1000 hours of training, including workshops, training sessions, conferences, and projects, helping them to manage the challenges in their communities. Due to the success of one of the network’s projects focused on addressing the phenomenon of “greenwashing,” the initiative attracted the attention of international investors and became an international youth alliance.⁹⁰

Also noteworthy is the work of the Ibero-American Youth Organization (OIJ), the only public international organization made up of 21 Ibero-American countries, which coordinates youth cooperation, driving transformations from the power of young people and with the leadership of the official youth organizations of the member countries. The OIJ recognizes young people as protagonists of transformation and aims to raise awareness in society about the particular challenges faced by youth, moving away from stigmatization and victimizing perspectives to adopt a rights-based approach and highlight the changes driven by the actions of young people. Through the International Youth Cooperation Alliance, the OIJ collaborates with young allies worldwide, seeking to multiply the outcomes of its actions.⁹¹

Lithuania is the happiest country in the world for young people

"Countries that stand for democracy, like Lithuania, understand that youth is our ally and also our future."

— Jurgita Germanaviciene, Deputy Director of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Lithuania. Mexico, July 2024.

90 UNESCO (2023), *La red No Excuse de Eslovenia incita a los jóvenes a que cambien el mundo*. Web note, February, 2020 (last update on April, 20th, 2023). Available at: <https://www.unesco.org/es/articles/la-red-no-excuse-de-eslovenia-incita-los-jovenes-que-cambien-el-mundo>

91 OIJ, *Somos OIJ*. Webpage. Available at <https://oij.org/somos/>

According to the World Happiness Report published by Gallup, the United Nations and Oxford University, Lithuania would be the country where people under 30 would be the happiest (United Nations; Euronews; TheGuardian; Huffpost; 2024).

The report is based on the subjective responses of citizens from 140 countries, analyzed and evaluated by interdisciplinary experts from the fields of economics, psychology and sociology based on six key variables: income (GDP per capita), life expectancy, social support, freedom of choice, generosity and absence of corruption (Euronews, 2024).

In the case of Lithuania, the sense of opportunity among younger people is highlighted, due to the economic growth of the country, but also to the opportunities generated from the State in the field of education, mobility/travel, employment. Another element that stands out is the value that young people give to the family, and the feeling that they can always count on the economic support of their parents. In addition, there seems to be a diffuse feeling of gratitude for the present among Lithuanian youth, who are aware of the past of parents and grandparents who lived under the Soviet Union, or of the present of neighboring countries living in conflict (Kairys Antanas, Huffpost, 2024).

The report also shows a worrying divergence in the degree of happiness of young people globally compared to older generations.

Advancing global commitments on youth

Although there is no universally accepted international definition of the age group encompassed by the concept of youth, the United Nations—for statistical purposes and based on General Assembly resolution 36/28 of 1981—defines youth as individuals between the ages of 15 and 24.⁹²

92 United Nations, *Youth*. Web note. Available at: <https://www.un.org/en/global-issues/youth>

By 2030, it is expected that young people will make up 23% of the global population, reaching nearly 1.3 billion. However, young people currently face multiple challenges, including unemployment, political exclusion, marginalization, problematic access to education and health, and gender inequalities.

The Youth 2030 Strategy is an umbrella framework guiding the UN's engagement with young people across its pillars of peace and security, human rights, and sustainable development. It aims to enhance the UN's capacity to involve young people and leverage their perspectives, insights, and ideas.

"Sometimes young people are reduced to just one characteristic: 'being young' or 'being a woman,' but we are not just that; we are many other things as well. Having seats at decision-making tables allows us to discuss everything that concerns us as individuals. Speaking up enables us to be whole, not just defined by certain characteristics."

— Aurora Uribe Camalich, Mexico, Winner of the People's Choice Award at the UN SDG's Action in Film Festival for her short documentary 'Aurora.' Mexico, July 2024.

The Youth2030 Progress Report (2023) marks five years since the launch of the Strategy. The report highlights significant progress in global youth commitments and integrating youth perspectives into UN strategic planning. Fifty-five UN entities and 131 UN Country Teams (UNCTs) actively implement the strategy, focusing on meaningful youth engagement, capacity building, and direct funding to youth-led organizations. Top-performing regions include Europe and Central Asia, and 6 United Nations entities and agencies, such as DMSPC, FAO, OSGEY, UNAIDS, UNDP, and UNFPA, had achieved the 2024 goals by 2022, particularly regarding actions that promote the exchange of knowledge about youth, the participation of youth in global and regional forums, and the diversity of young people involved.⁹³

93 United Nations (2023). *Youth2030: Progress Report 2023*. Available at: <https://www.unyouth2030.com/progressreport23>

Despite these advancements, the report emphasizes the need for accelerated progress to meet the 2024 goals. Challenges such as slow implementation, stronger policies and processes for youth engagement, and improved coordination in non-traditional sectors remain. Enhancing resource tracking and transparency is crucial to ensure effective youth participation and support.

Establishing the UN Youth Office should enhance advocacy, coordination, and accountability for youth-related initiatives. The report calls for continued efforts to integrate youth into strategic planning and decision-making, ensure equitable internships, and increase youth representation in the UN workforce. These efforts aim to realize global commitments, including the SDGs, and transform the UN's role in multilateralism.

The UN has also established mechanisms like the Youth Advisory Group on Climate Change and the Young Leaders for Sustainable Development Goals to provide practical advice, diverse perspectives, and concrete recommendations to accelerate the implementation of climate action and all 17 Sustainable Development Goals.

Similarly, the ECOSOC Youth Forum—the largest annual youth event within the United Nations system—provides a platform for young people to express their needs and concerns to member states, enhancing their leadership and influence in United Nations deliberations, as well as in the implementation of the 2030 Agenda.⁹⁴

Additionally, the UN Secretary-General reiterated in Our Common Agenda⁹⁵ the importance of diverse and effective youth participation in decision-making at all levels, highlighting the UN's commitment to empowering young people as essential actors in achieving sustainable development and addressing global challenges with gender equality. In “A New Pact for a New Generation”—an agenda developed by youth in 2021 that complements the Secretary-General's “Our Common Agenda”—the importance of having young people participate

94 United Nations, *Youth*. Web note. Available at: <https://www.un.org/en/global-issues/youth>

95 United Nations (2021), *Our Common Agenda. Report of the Secretary-General*. Available at: <https://www.un.org/en/content/common-agenda-report/>

in the conversation as architects of their own future, rather than merely as recipients of decisions made by previous generations that have failed them in many fundamental ways, is highlighted. It is a global plan to address immediate and urgent priorities due to the COVID-19 pandemic and to address the long-term need for quality education and skills development, economic opportunities, secure and meaningful jobs, and more sustainable ways of living.⁹⁶

2025 will mark the 30th anniversary of the World Program of Action for Youth. While it remains highly relevant, its implementation lags behind the commitments made. The anniversary presents a valuable opportunity to acknowledge achievements and key challenges youth face while strengthening political commitment to policies and programs that support youth.

As part of the Generation Equality youth participation process, young human rights defenders have articulated precise demands to advance gender equality and ensure inclusive, effective policy development. The demands emphasize the urgent need for comprehensive sexual and reproductive health rights (SRHR) education and services, calling for universal access to safe and legal abortion, contraception, and youth-friendly health services. Feminist youth advocate for gender-responsive education systems that challenge stereotypes and promote feminist values, urging governments to integrate gender studies into curricula and provide training for educators.

Additionally, young people demand economic justice, including equal pay, decent work opportunities, and social protection for marginalized youth. The call for action extends to ensuring youth participation in decision-making processes, focusing on creating meaningful platforms for youth voices in policy development and implementation. Lastly, the demands highlight the necessity of investing in data collection and research to track progress on gender equality, urging stakeholders to prioritize disaggregated data to address intersectional inequalities effectively.

96 Next Generation Fellows (2021), *Our Future Agenda. A vision and plan for next and future generations*. Washington DC, United Nations Foundation, 2021. Available at: <https://ourfutureagenda.org/wp-content/uploads/2021/09/EN-Our-Future-Agenda-24Sep21.pdf>

"It is an ethical imperative and a political priority to move beyond 'adultcentrism' and include young women in national, regional, and multilateral spaces linked to mechanisms for advancing women's rights, and eliminating all forms of discrimination."

— Doris Javier Saint Hilaire, Administrative Deputy Minister
of the Ministry of Women, Dominican Republic. Mexico, July 2024.

In preparation for the Summit of the Future, various UN entities and youth partners organized a global online consultation on Young People at the Summit of the Future in March 2024. This consultation aimed to engage young people worldwide in discussions and idea-sharing, recognizing their critical role in shaping the global agenda.

The youth consultations before the Pact for the Future have highlighted several agendas and demands for empowering young people and ensuring their active participation in global development and foreign policies. The primary focus is on transformative investments in social services, including health, education, and social protection, to help young people reach their full potential. Commitments include accelerating access to universal health coverage, enhancing education systems for lifelong learning, and significantly increasing investment in early childhood education in developing countries. These efforts aim to equip young people with the knowledge, skills, and opportunities to thrive in a rapidly changing world.

Additionally, the consultations emphasize the importance of social inclusion and meaningful youth participation. This includes eradicating all forms of discrimination and violence against young people, particularly the most vulnerable and marginalized, such as young women, girls, indigenous women and girls, Afro-descendant women and girls, and persons with disabilities. In this regard, the activism of the 32 young women and victims of violence from Argentina is highlighted. They worked and advocated for the inclusion of digital violence among the forms of violence against women in national legislation. They now continue, alongside other young people from the region and the world, to ensure that the Future Pact prioritizes the prevention of digital violence with a feminist perspective, establishes measures to protect the sexual privacy of

women and girls, works with businesses to close the gender digital divide, and ensures that women play a leading role in the discussion and implementation of the Global Digital Pact, while valuing youth. (María Florencia Villegas, Olimpia Law Activist, Argentina. Mexico, July 2024).

Similarly, the #NiSilencioNiTabu campaign—launched in Uruguay to raise awareness among adolescents and young people about mental health and psychosocial well-being—is an example of initiatives that seek the involvement and participation of youth in community-level social transformations. The campaign, launched with a kit of materials featuring dynamics and proposals developed by mental health professionals with UNICEF’s support, aimed to raise awareness about mental health issues by making visible what young people think, feel, and propose and encouraging them to be agents of change in their communities.⁹⁷

"Among the issues to be considered in the international development cooperation agenda, we believe it is essential to strengthen networks of young people and prevent violence against youth online. We still lack an understanding of what mental health means in the digital realm and the need to protect the rights of children, adolescents, and young people. I am not entirely sure that the impact of these technologies on mental health and the need to minimize risks is fully appreciated."

— Alejandra Costa, Deputy Director General of Political Affairs,
Uruguay. Mexico, July 2024.

Similarly, the young people who participated in the consultations on the Future Pact advocated for the establishment of national youth advisory bodies and intergenerational dialogues to ensure that the voices of young people are heard in policy-making and decision-making processes. By addressing these critical areas, the Future Pact aims to create an inclusive environment where youth can actively contribute to the promotion of human rights, sustainable development, and peace and security.

97 UNICEF (2022), *Ni Silencio, Ni Tabú. Hablemos de salud mental*. Web note, UNICEF Uruguay. Available at: <https://www.unicef.org/uruguay/ni-silencio-ni-tabu>

"From Mongolia, we are committed to establishing a North Asian Climate Council. This will include a platform for young people to contribute to policies with a diversity-focused approach as a means of meaningful participation. The involvement of young women has been crucial in the creation of this Council."

— Ulziibayar Vangansuren, Delegate Representative of Mongolia to the United Nations. Mexico, July 2024.

The document advocates for establishing national youth consultative bodies and intergenerational dialogues to ensure young people's voices are heard in policymaking and decision-making processes. By addressing these critical areas, the Pact for the Future aims to create an inclusive environment where young people can actively contribute to advancing human rights, sustainable development, and peace and security.

Why is feminist foreign policy crucial in advancing these debates and proposals?

Intergenerational and feminist decision-making processes remain the exception rather than the rule. A feminist approach to foreign policy places the rights and perspectives of all women, young women, and girls at the core of global diplomacy. Collaboration with civil society, grassroots movements, feminist groups, and youth is fundamental for an inclusive approach.

"Gender agreements, environmental agreements, or international forums often do not mention youth. We need to be at the tables with the decision-makers."

— Melissa Hernández, Juventudes Escazú. Mexico, July 2024.

FFP implies adopting a feminist and human rights approach in all instances and dimensions of foreign policy, where substantive gender equality is promoted not only as a goal but also as a central axis and a necessary condition for advancing the agenda of sustainable development, human rights, and peace.

Member States play a crucial role in guaranteeing youth effective participation as part of the feminist foreign policy. Initiatives such as the Generation Equality Forum, co-led by the governments of France and Mexico, have kickstarted partnerships between States, UN organizations, the private sector, philanthropies, civil society, and youth-led organizations. This collaboration is essential for ensuring that youth voices are heard and considered in developing and implementing feminist foreign policies, leading to representative, sustainable, and effective outcomes.

In September, during the upcoming Summit of the Future, Member States will agree on an effective roadmap to “accelerate efforts to meet our existing international commitments and take concrete steps to respond to emerging challenges and opportunities”⁹⁸. To fully achieve this goal, it is urgent and necessary to include and listen to the voices and demands of all young people in their diversity. It is also essential to incorporate the gender perspective from a human rights approach so the new commitments do not compromise future generations.

During the ECOSOC Youth Forum in April 2024, Sarah Baharaki, Global Youth Ambassador, stressed the need to involve youth in decision-making processes “Not only because we make up to 16% of the world’s population or because we are the most educated generation so far, but because we have power: the power to dream for a better world and the courage and bravery to work and make these dreams a reality”⁹⁹.

98 United Nations (2024). *Summit of the Future*. Available at: <https://www.un.org/en/summit-of-the-future>

99 United Nations (2024). *UN Youth Forum focuses on sustainable future for all*, 16 April 2024. Available at: <https://www.un.org/en/desa/un-youth-forum-focuses-sustainable-future-all>

"Let's build a new social contract. We aspire for the Summit of the Future to recognize young people as key protagonists and actors in social, economic, and political development. We hope that the New Youth Agenda will address both old challenges and new issues in youth reality, such as digital transformation. We advocate for greater participation of women. We expect the initiatives we have been working on to transition from commitments to concrete actions."

— Max Trejo Cervantes, Secretary General, International Youth Organization for Ibero-America (OIJ). Mexico, July 2024.

Action points towards Global Solutions Involving Youth

1. Strengthen the incorporation of a gender perspective in international cooperation and all foreign policy negotiations, emphasizing the participation and perspective of young women.
2. Include the youth perspective in the design and implementation of Feminist Foreign Policies and other state public policies, as well as in international negotiations.
3. Develop toolkits and specific methodologies to build and strengthen capacities for real participation of young women in international meetings, ensuring the inclusion of innovative viewpoints that reflect the diverse realities of youth.
4. Promote the inclusion of youth in delegations from countries with Feminist Foreign Policies (FFP), to ensure their participation in important meetings at the United Nations and other relevant international organizations.
5. Promote mechanisms and regular consultation spaces with youth-led organizations to inform national decision-making and governments' international positioning.
6. Encourage the participation of youth from the Global South in international meetings, fostering intergenerational dialogues to build joint actions and incorporate innovative perspectives.

7. Allocate government and international cooperation resources and budgets to support youth organizations, address their needs at national, regional, and global levels, and promote their effective inclusion and participation.
8. Create and/or support comprehensive programs addressing mental and physical health, education, housing, and other rights specifically targeted at youth.
9. Promote safe and violence-free spaces for young human rights defenders.

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Redefining Leadership: Transforming Global Governance with a Feminist Lens for Gender- Inclusive Progress

PROPOSALS OF THE FIFTH PANEL OF THE III MINISTERIAL
CONFERENCE ON FEMINIST FOREIGN POLICIES (MEXICO, 2024)

As stressed by the UN Secretary-General's Our Common Agenda Report¹⁰⁰, a strengthened global governance structure is required to respond to the urgent and intertwined global challenges of today. The ongoing transformation of global governance, including in the multilateral system, should strive to ensure that the multilateral system is better equipped to tackle current challenges while seizing the opportunities of today and tomorrow. The Secretary-General's report also envisions a revitalized multilateral system that is fair and representative, inclusive to allow participation by a wide range of actors, and networked to ensure that the multilateral system can bring together existing institutional capacities.

Addressing power dynamics within the configuration of global governance structures has been at the center of international governance debates in recent decades. Redefining leadership in international governance through a feminist lens can lead to more inclusive decision-making that prioritizes the security and well-being of all people, particularly women, young women, and girls, in all their diversity.

100 United Nations (2021), *Our Common Agenda. Report of the Secretary-General*. Available at: <https://www.un.org/en/content/common-agenda-report/>

"The concept of global governance is young, less than 30 years old. It has evolved from its initial conception as a way to distinguish itself from bipolar politics in the shaping of the global order to include both states and international organizations. Civil society organizations also play a role in this concept of global governance. However, global governance that has been excluding more than 50% of the population, women, is neither legitimate nor sustainable."

— Lorenzo Jiménez de Luis, Resident Representative of UNDP. Mexico, July 2024.

According to CEDAW (Convention on Elimination of Discrimination Against Women) Committee, recent crises have evidenced that women's rights are not sufficiently consolidated and institutionalized to withstand abrupt changes, even though gender equality is a fundamental condition for the achievement of the SDGs (Sustainable Development Goals) and a key driver of peace and conflict prevention. A multitude of contemporary challenges require gender-responsive and -inclusive forms of governance¹⁰¹.

The CEDAW Committee states that only parity in governance structures can ensure the effective and durable advancement of women's rights and resilient, inclusive, and sustainable development for all¹⁰². At the same time, the CEDAW Convention promotes in its Article 8 measures to guarantee women, on equal terms with men and without discrimination, the opportunity to represent their government at the international level and to participate in the work of international organizations.

101 CEDAW Committee (2024), *Parity: from a cause to a norm. From leaving no one behind to bringing everyone along*. Flyer on CEDAW general recommendation No. 40 (2024) on the equal and inclusive representation of women in decision-making systems.

102 Ibid.

"The current international scenario tests the capabilities and responses of global actors, highlighting the urgency of reshaping global power structures. This involves adjusting the dynamics of international cooperation and leadership to promote equitable representation that includes greater participation from women, Indigenous peoples, and other ethnic groups. Key issues such as sexual and reproductive rights, the elimination of all forms of structural violence, care work, the digital divide, the environmental crisis, and equal pay and opportunities must be advocated for."

— Cindy Larissa Rodríguez, Deputy Foreign Minister and Undersecretary for Promotion and International Cooperation of Honduras. Mexico, July 2024.

Challenges for women's full and effective participation in decision-making

Despite women's increased engagement in public life at all levels over the past 30 years, change in unequal power relations is slow. 90% of UN Member States ratified the Convention on CEDAW, which expresses the duty of States parties to take "all appropriate measures to eliminate discrimination against women in the political and public life of the country and, in particular, shall ensure to women, on equal terms with men" as well as to take "all appropriate measures to ensure to women, on equal terms with men and without any discrimination, the opportunity to represent their Governments at the international level and to participate in the work of international organizations."

Nevertheless, the gender gap persists at all levels and spheres of decision-making, even though they are recognized as the primary forces for peace, stability, and sustainable development worldwide, for instance, in the 2030 Agenda. Organized opposition to women in public life is sometimes intense and violent, with the situation worsened by democratic backsliding, increased social and political polarization, and deepening inequality¹⁰³.

103 United Nations, Economic and Social Council (2021). *Women's full and effective participation and decision-making in public life, as well as the elimination of violence, for achieving gender equality and the empowerment of all women and girls: Report of the Secretary-General (E/CN.6/2021/3)*.

Women constitute just 27% of national legislators worldwide¹⁰⁴, 35.5% of locally elected officials¹⁰⁵, and 22.8% of cabinet ministers¹⁰⁶. Only 28 countries are headed by a woman Head of State and/or Government¹⁰⁷. At the current rate of progress, it will take 130 years to achieve inclusive governance¹⁰⁸ with women participating equally as Heads of State and/or Government; 53 years to achieve gender parity in ministerial positions¹⁰⁹; and 39 years to reach gender parity in national legislatures¹¹⁰.

Women are also under-represented in international decision-making spaces. According to data from the GQUAL Campaign, 43% of international positions were occupied by women in 2023¹¹¹. Excluding bodies with mandates linked to “women’s issues” (such as the CEDAW Committee and the Working Group on Discrimination against Women and Girls), the percentage drops to 36% (2022)¹¹². In the International Tribunals, women represented just 34% of the seats¹¹³. The Campaign has pointed out through its research that the imbalance has affected international organizations since its creation. Global Women Leaders Voices also warns that since 1946, 74 men and only 4 women have led the UN General Assembly; and that no woman has ever been elected as UN Secretary-General. Most international financial institutions (IFIs) have also never had a woman at the head of their organizations.¹¹⁴

104 Inter-Parliamentary Union. Online; <https://data.ipu.org/women-averages>

105 UN Women, Women in Local Government; <https://localgov.unwomen.org/>

106 UN Women and Inter-Parliamentary Union (2023). Women in politics: 2023.

107 UN Women, data updated at May, 2024; <https://www.unwomen.org/en/what-we-do/leadership-and-political-participation/facts-and-figures>

108 UN Women calculations. Online: https://www.unwomen.org/fr/what-we-do/leadership-and-political-participation/facts-and-figures#_edn2; see also: <https://www.unwomen.org/en/digital-library/publications/2023/03/women-in-politics-map-2023>

109 Ibid.

110 UN Women calculations. Online: https://www.unwomen.org/fr/what-we-do/leadership-and-political-participation/facts-and-figures#_edn2.

111 GQUAL (2023). GQUAL Rankings.

112 GQUAL (2023). [The Potential of Article 8 of the CEDAW Convention to Guarantee Women’s Equal Representation in International Representation: An analysis of the CEDAW Committee’s reporting practices and trends.](#)

113 GQUAL (2023). GQUAL Rankings.

114 Global Women Leaders Voices (2024), *Women in Multilateralism 2024. Behind Closed Doors. An analysis of the gender composition of governing bodies and management teams in the world’s leading multilateral organizations.* January, 2024. Available at: <https://gwlvoices.com/download/women-in-multilateralism-2024-in-english/>

According to data from 17 European and G20 countries included in the #SHEcurity Index, the representation of women among foreign ministries' staff almost reached parity with 46,8% of women in 2021. However, the Index shows that, among the countries analyzed, only 23,1% of all ambassador posts are occupied by women, resulting in an estimated 38 years, on average, until parity is reached¹¹⁵.

While significant efforts have been and continue to be made worldwide, they are insufficiently effective and sustainable. Systemic challenges and structural discrimination, especially the increasing levels of violence perpetrated against women in public life, including its manifestations in the digital space, as well as certain enduring harmful norms, require urgent attention, as do specific challenges encountered by marginalized women who face multiple and intersecting forms of discrimination. Women's higher levels of poverty, more limited access to finance, more significant share of care duties, and challenges faced in realizing their sexual and reproductive health and rights, combined with exclusionary institutional rules and procedures, limit their full participation. The attitude that women should not have public roles, enduring norms about gender roles, and legal discrimination compound these challenges and devalue women's contributions to decision-making, threatening sustainable development¹¹⁶.

"There must be a guarantee of safety for women in the workplace, in the digital space, and their public and political participation. The violence they face is the main reason why women withdraw from political involvement."

— Stephanie Copus-Campbell, Ambassador for Gender Equality, Australia.

States can facilitate a more inclusive and enabling environment where all women can participate in public life through more ambitious targets, increased political will, sustainable financing, and gender-responsive institutional arrangements¹¹⁷

115 Dr. Hannah Neumann, Sofiiia Shevchuk (2022), SHEcurity Index.

116 United Nations, Economic and Social Council (2021). *Women's full and effective participation and decision-making in public life, as well as the elimination of violence, for achieving gender equality and the empowerment of all women and girls: Report of the Secretary-General (E/CN.6/2021/3)*.

117 Ibid.

"The design of global governance in all areas of international politics must be a co-creation with parity because all issues affect women differently. Gender parity is not just a matter of quantity but also of the quality and effectiveness of global governance."

— María Fernanda Espinosa Garcés, Executive Director of Global Women Leaders Voices. Mexico, July 2024.

While most countries have not achieved gender parity, gender quotas and especially parity measures have contributed to progress over the years. In countries with legislated candidate quotas, women's representation is five percentage points and seven percentage points higher in parliaments¹¹⁸ and local government, respectively, compared to countries without such legislation¹¹⁹.

Affirmative measures are needed to transform gender-based structural discrimination and the historical sexual division of labor. A new paradigm change is required, as pointed out by the CEDAW Committee in its draft General Recommendation No. 40 on Equal and Inclusive Representation of Women in Decision-Making Systems¹²⁰.

The current context creates and requires a historical momentum for women's equal and inclusive representation in decision-making systems. Their skills and the importance of their voices have been significantly highlighted during the COVID-19 crisis. There is ample evidence that they were leaders in managing the crisis, and yet, recovery measures hardly include them in the design of reconstruction policies and programs, not even as beneficiaries¹²¹. There is established and growing evidence that women's leadership in political decision-making processes strengthens inclusive and democratic governance¹²².

118 Inter-Parliamentary Union (2024). Women in parliament 2023.

119 Ibid.

120 CEDAW Committee (2024), Draft General Recommendation No 40. on the Equal and Inclusive Representation of Women in Decision-Making Systems.

121 CEDAW Committee (2024), Concept Note on the Future General Recommendation on Equal and Inclusive Representation of Women in Decision-Making Systems.

122 UN Women (2013). In brief: Women's leadership and political participation.

"Parity is not only for the benefit of women but for the entire world. The systemic underrepresentation of women in decision-making spaces is a violation of human rights and reduces the potential of states and the international community to effectively respond to global challenges."

— Nicole Ameline, Expert on the CEDAW Committee responsible for General Recommendation No. 40. Mexico, July 2024.

The CEDAW General Recommendation No. 40 on women's equal and inclusive participation in decision-making systems

The CEDAW Committee, within its mandate, is developing a new General Recommendation (GR40) to guide States Parties on how to achieve equal and inclusive representation of women in decision-making systems, both in the public and private sectors.

The Committee's GR40 aims for a new approach to governance based on parity as a core principle and driving force for transformative change.

The Committee is carrying out this work in close collaboration with UN Women and the Inter-Parliamentary Union and in consultation with States Parties, regional organizations, NHRIs, NGOs and academic institutions to ensure a participatory approach.

RG40, promoted by France and Mexico and supported by 60 States, is expected to be adopted at the 89th session of the CEDAW Committee, in October 2024.

RG 40 has as its priority to accelerate, innovate and mobilize efforts towards equal and inclusive participation of women, and is based on 7 pillars:

1. 50-50 parity in all decision-making systems as a starting point, and establishing action plans to accelerate this goal by 2030;

2. Priority focus on promoting and accelerating the inclusion of new generations in decision-making;
3. Equal and inclusive participation of women in all their diversity.
4. Comprehensive approach to decision-making, including all areas, from the international to the local, diplomacy, economics, the private sector, etc.
5. Proposing effective solutions and measures to achieve an equal distribution of power and understanding what is needed to influence decision-making.
6. Achieving a fair balance between professional and personal responsibilities, with a priority focus on the co-responsibility of care.
7. Promoting and guaranteeing the participation of women's and youth organizations in decision-making and policy design.

As the Beijing Platform for Action approaches its 30th anniversary, it states, “Gender equality is a human rights issue and a condition for achieving social justice. It is also a necessary and fundamental prerequisite for equality, development, and peace. For human-centered sustainable development, it is essential to have a transformed, equality-based relationship between women and men.”¹²³

“Gender equality is the best economic policy; it strengthens democracy, enhances social cohesion, and increases the well-being of society as a whole.”

— Mario López Roldán, Director of the OECD Center in Mexico for Latin America. Mexico, July 2024.

123 United Nations (1995), *Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action*. Chapter I, Statement of Objectives. Available at: <https://www.un.org/womenwatch/daw/beijing/pdf/BDPfA%20E.pdf>

Why is feminist foreign policy key to advance an inclusive governance?

A Feminist Foreign Policy (FFP) can be key in promoting the institutionalization of the principle of equal access of women and men to responsibilities and leadership positions, as in addressing the multidimensional obstacles that keep hindering women from participating fully and effectively in public life, such as gender stereotypes, patriarchal patterns of oppression, discrimination, and gender-based violence against women in politics.

FFP implies adopting a feminist and human rights approach in all instances and dimensions of foreign policy, where substantive gender equality is promoted not only as a goal but also as a central axis and a necessary condition for advancing the agenda of sustainable development, human rights, and peace. A strong, respected, and impactful feminist foreign policy (PEF) also requires a strong, respected, and impactful domestic policy (Mario López Roldán, Director of the OECD Center in Mexico for Latin America. Mexico, July 2024).

"Although significant and promising progress has been made, it is still insufficient, as we are far from the vision and goal of parity in all areas. Furthermore, it is not enough to simply advance the inclusion of more women if they do not represent the diversity of women. An intersectional and inclusive approach is necessary. Various studies and reports show how internship programs or recruitment of young professionals often prioritize individuals from the Global North rather than providing opportunities for women from the Global South. If participation is not inclusive, even within international organizations, it contradicts the fundamental goals of the feminist agenda [...] The feminist foreign policy must contribute to reimagining new forms of leadership, drawing inspiration from those who came before us, and incorporating the diverse voices of today's feminists."

— Foteini Papagiotti, advisor to the International Center for Research on Women. Mexico, July 2024.

The Feminist Foreign Policy Index: A qualitative assessment of feminist commitments

The Feminist Foreign Policy Index (FFPI Index), developed by the International Center for Research on Women, is a tool that seeks to assess countries' progress towards a feminist foreign policy approach, based on a score ranging from 0 (weak integration of feminist commitments) to 1 (strong integration of feminist commitments). The Index assesses 48 OECD member countries in seven key priority areas, including peace and militarization, gender equality, institutional commitments, climate, and others, across 27 indicators. The Index serves as an accountability mechanism and a tool for comparison between countries.

In the dimension of institutional commitments to gender equality, the Index measures ratification – without reservations – of the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) and the representation of women in ministerial positions and in national parliaments. The Index does not limit itself to measuring the participation of women in the Foreign Service, considering that a whole-of-government approach is needed for a PEF that successfully addresses all the priority areas of the Index.

According to data collected through the Index, 30 countries (63%) have fully ratified CEDAW, and 17 countries (35%) have done so with reservations. The United States remains a notable non-ratifier, despite repeated calls from civil society, academia, and multilateral partners. In terms of representation, Mexico, South Africa, Finland, and Spain follow Sweden in terms of women parliamentarians, and France, Finland, Spain, and Canada occupy the top five positions for women ministers.

Sweden tops the list with the most integrated FFP approach, while European and Latin American countries dominate the top 10. The FFP Index aims to incentivize change and offer a template that countries can prioritize when developing or revising their PEF frameworks to advance bolder, more feminist external actions.

(International Center for Research on Women, 2023)

A parity representation in all decision-making spaces should be a core principle of a FFP government, especially within Foreign Ministries and international organizations that are globally far from achieving parity. At the national level, legislative harmonization and the repeal of norms that contradict or are not aligned with commitments made by States at the international level to promote, protect, and guarantee human rights, particularly the rights of women and girls in their diversity, should be prioritized. Additionally, discriminatory norms should be repealed, and mechanisms for inclusive recognition and positive action should be implemented to ensure women's fair, equitable, and intersectional representation and participation in political and public decision-making at all levels¹²⁴. In this respect, one of the main objectives of a FFP is to democratize foreign policy, diplomacy, and international organizations in all its dimensions. To achieve this, it is essential to promote and facilitate participatory decision-making mechanisms with feminists, women's movements, and organizations, as well as prioritize disaggregated data to address inequalities.

In May 2024, the Development Assistance Committee (DAC) adopted the Recommendation on Gender Equality and the Empowerment of All Women and Girls in Development Cooperation and Humanitarian Aid. The aim is to establish a clear standard for integrating a gender perspective into all DAC members' policies and systems, considering the current global context of development cooperation operating in an environment of geopolitical tensions and unprecedented global challenges, including resistance to the inclusion of society as a whole and gender equality. To support adherents in implementing the Recommendation, the OECD and the DAC will facilitate the learning and exchange of policies, best practices, and innovative approaches on gender equality and the empowerment of all women and girls; develop additional tools and analyses addressing issues through the six pillars of the Recommendation; and create approaches to document and share progress more frequently, among other actions.¹²⁵

124 UN Women (2023). *Policy brief: Gender-responsive approaches to foreign policy and the 2030 Agenda: Feminist foreign policies*.

125 OECD (2024), *DAC Recommendation on Gender Equality and the Empowerment of All Women and Girls in Development Co-operation and Humanitarian Aid*. Available at: <https://legalinstruments.oecd.org/en/instruments/OECD-LEGAL-5022>

In this regard, the Ellas+ Program, promoted by the Spanish government since 2021 as part of its Feminist Foreign Policy, stands out. The program aims to advance and accelerate real participation and leadership of women at all decision-making levels in the political, economic, social, and cultural spheres. Through the program, initiatives presented by states, NGOs, and development actor alliances that wish to contribute to achieving SDG 5 of the 2030 Agenda, particularly target 5.5, “Ensure full and effective participation of women and equal opportunities for leadership at all levels of decision-making in political, economic, and public life,” are financed. In 2023, the Ellas+ Program was selected by the European Union under GAP III (Gender Action Plan III) as a good practice in Leadership and Equal Participation. As of 2024, AECID has funded 14 projects in Ethiopia, Lebanon, Morocco, the Philippines, Palestine, Ecuador, Guatemala, Colombia, Brazil, Argentina, Chile, Honduras, Mexico, Paraguay, El Salvador, and Uruguay, totaling more than five million euros.¹²⁶

"Among the principles of Spain's Feminist Foreign Policy is to foster alliances with sectors historically not engaged by diplomacy, such as civil society, and from an intersectional approach. Our FFP aims to empower all people in their diversity and make them feel respected. To achieve this, it must leverage the knowledge and firsthand experience that civil society brings, as these organizations best convey the sentiments of the street. Additionally, Spain's FFP is carried out in collaboration with other ministries, civil society, and think tanks to strengthen its implementation."

— Ana María Alonso Giganto, Special Mission Ambassador for Spain's FFP. Mexico, July 2024.

The UN Secretary-General emphasized in Our Common Agenda¹²⁷ that “no meaningful social contract is possible without the active and equal participation of women and girls. Women’s equal leadership, economic inclusion, and gender-balanced decision-making are simply better for everyone, men, and women alike. The Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action and the Global Acceleration

126 Ministry of Foreign Affairs, European Union and Cooperation of Spain (2024), *Ellas+*. Available at: <https://www.aecid.es/ellas-mas>

127 United Nations (2021), *“Our Common Agenda” Report of the Secretary-General*.

Plan for Gender Equality point the way” and urged Member States to advance “measures to promote gender parity in all spheres and at all levels of decision-making, including quotas and special measures.”

The upcoming opportunities, such as the Summit of the Future, as well as the preparation of Beijing+30 and the 4th International Conference on Financing for Development (FfD), and the adoption by Member States of a new CEDAW General Recommendation No. 40 on the inclusive representation of women in decision-making systems, present unprecedented opportunities to embed feminist principles into global governance by setting gender parity as a principle of democratic systems and an essential requirement to achieve sustainable development.

"Let the Summit of the Future be the Summit of Hope."

— Sarah Hendriks, Global Director of the Division of Policies, Programs, and Intergovernmental Processes at UN Women. Mexico, July 2024.

Action Points to Transform Global Governance with a Feminist Lens

- Promote legislation and affirmative measures that ensure the equal participation of women in decision-making spaces and address the structural barriers that limit equal exercise of power.
- Highlight the need for inclusive and feminist global governance at the Summit of the Future, including clear goals and affirmative actions to achieve gender parity in all decision-making processes and spaces.
- Advance parity by creating capacity-building opportunities and providing resources to finance campaigns for women leaders in the political and public spheres.
- Strengthen women’s participation in diplomacy and multilateral spaces, specifically within the United Nations, to advance feminist foreign policies and support the campaign by GWL Voices to ensure the next UN Secretary-General is a woman.

- Establish a Global Parity Alliance in 2025 in collaboration with the CEDAW Committee and UN Women to advocate for gender parity as a priority focus in decisions by the General Assembly, ECOSOC agreements, and Security Council resolutions.
- Ensure comprehensive public policies and programs that address women’s demands in health, education, economy, care, and other areas, and tackle social norms limiting their full participation through strategies promoting equality based on data and evidence.
- Generate evidence and comparative studies to document the relationship between gender equality strategies and positive outcomes.
- Produce knowledge, build data, and strengthen arguments on why gender equality is important and how it benefits society.
- Ensure safety for women in the workplace, digital spaces, and their public and political participation, recognizing that harassment and gender-based violence are primary reasons women withdraw from politics, including in foreign policy and international relations.
- Reinforce feminist domestic policies that address structural inequalities and violence at the national level, with participatory mechanisms ensuring the inclusion of women’s movements and organizations in decision-making tables.
- Increase funding to feminist and women’s organizations to enhance civil society participation at all stages of decision-making processes, both nationally and internationally.
- Ensure that women’s voices are heard and considered in multilateral and international debate and decision-making spaces to promote sexual and reproductive rights, eliminate all forms of structural violence, address the care economy, bridge the digital divide, tackle the environmental crisis, ensure equal pay and opportunities, and advance peace and security agendas.

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Feminist Foreign Policies from the Global South and the intersectional elimination of structural discrimination

PROPOSALS OF THE SIXTH PANEL OF THE III MINISTERIAL CONFERENCE ON FEMINIST FOREIGN POLICIES (MEXICO, 2024)

Feminist Foreign Policies (hereafter FFP), as operational and methodological instruments and political frameworks for gender equality and the empowerment of women, young women, and girls in all their diversity, are required to promote, protect, and fulfill human rights, peace, and security globally. They are also necessary to make progress across all goals and targets of the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development, the full implementation of the Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action, and the mandates under the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) to achieve intersectional and equitable justice.

Analyzing the root causes and structural nodes that generate, reproduce, perpetuate, or deepen gender inequalities and discrimination in the current global context requires a feminist perspective and a human rights and intersectional approaches to highlight and generate evidence about why and how women, young women, and girls are disproportionately affected by the multiple and interconnected climate, economic, social, political and geopolitical crisis. “The concept of intersectionality has been very useful in overcoming the arithmetic conceptualization of socio-racial inequalities as the result of the convergence, fusion, or addition of different discrimination criteria against women (Dorlin, 2009). It has also been instrumental in challenging the hegemonic model of the universal woman and understanding the experiences of poor and racialized women as the product of the dynamic intersection between sex/gender, class, and race within historically constructed contexts of

domination [...] In any case, it is important to note that responses should not be absolute but contextual with regard to the types of relationships that may occur between axes of inequality.” Applying an intersectional approach with relevance means avoiding the temptation to prioritize one category of oppression over others, assuming a priori that one holds more weight than the others.¹²⁸

Southern feminist academics have widely sustained that “feminist questioning on patriarchal structure of power is not encompassed within politics and the State” (Barreiro, 2000). For several decades, feminist activists and academics have proposed “a profound and radical cultural transformation in society and institutions” (Barreiro, 2000) from the family to international instruments and standards¹²⁹. The democratization process, which took the feminist demands from its formulation to its inclusion in State agendas and expressed as a public policy, has been complex (Vargas, 2000)¹³⁰, but in the XXI century, it has evolved to the point of having an emerging body of FFP.

"The issue of development is of great importance to the Global South. In this sense, it is necessary to emphasize that development and gender are not opposing issues but are related and complementary, as outlined by SDG 5 in the 2030 Agenda, also considering that gender equality is a matter of human rights."

— Luisa Kislinger - Gender Officer at the United Nations Foundation.
Mexico, July 2024

While reiterating the urgent need to implement a transformative change that allows effective progress toward sustainable development, FFP countries and

128 Viveros Vigoya, Mara (2023) *Interseccionalidad. Giro decolonial y comunitario*. Mara Viveros Vigoya; foreword by Flavia Rios. - 1a ed. - Ciudad Autónoma de Buenos Aires: CLACSO; Amsterdam: TNI Transnational Institute, 2023. Digital Book. Available at: <https://biblioteca-repositorio.clacso.edu.ar/bitstream/CLACSO/248817/1/Interseccionalidad.pdf>

129 Barreiro, Line (2000), *The State, women and politics throughout Latin American history*, in *About women's powers and wisdom*, DAWN – REPEM, Working Documents, first edition May 2000. Available at: https://dawnfeminist.org/sites/default/files/articles/book_debates_on_prst.pdf

130 Vargas, Virginia (2000), *Democratic institutionalism and feminist strategies during the nineties*, in *About women's powers and wisdom*, DAWN – REPEM, Working Documents, first edition May 2000. Available at: https://dawnfeminist.org/sites/default/files/articles/book_debates_on_prst.pdf

countries with a gender perspective in their foreign policy are called to lead actions that put gender equality and sustainability at the center of the agenda and coordinate initiatives to promote equality worldwide, bringing to global fora a progressive agenda which implies a more significant impact in favor of equality and sustainable development. Defending the right to development as an inalienable human right, as enshrined in the Declaration on the Right to Development adopted by the General Assembly in 1986, involves promoting the participation of all individuals in economic, social, cultural, and political development where they can fully realize all human rights and fundamental freedoms, so they can contribute to and benefit from that development.¹³¹ Together, the global community can reignite progress towards achieving the SDGs and create a brighter future for all.

Recent estimations show that an additional \$360 billion per year is needed to achieve gender equality and all women's rights across key global goals, including ending poverty and hunger¹³². If the current trends continue, over 340 million women and girls will still live in extreme poverty by 2030, 158 million of which may be pushed into poverty as a direct result of climate change. Food insecurity caused by climate change is projected to increase by as much as 236 million more women and girls, and 1 in 4 women and girls are expected to be moderately or severely food insecure by 2030. Progress will need to be 26 times faster to reach the "No Poverty" goal established by UN Member States by 2030 (UN Women and UN-DESA, 2023).

At this critical midpoint towards 2030 none of the Goal 5 indicators (Achieving Gender Equality and the Empowerment of all Women and Girls) are at "target met or almost met"¹³³. Gender stereotyping and stigmatizing practices are still experienced by multiple groups of women especially in the Global South, affecting particularly migrants and refugees, indigenous and afro-descendent,

131 United Nations (1986), *Declaration on the Right to Development*. General Assembly Resolution 41/128 approved on December 4th, 1986. Available at: <https://www.ohchr.org/en/instruments-mechanisms/instruments/declaration-right-development>

132 UN Women and United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs (UN-DESA), Statistics Division (2023), *Progress on the Sustainable Development Goals. The Gender Snapshot 2023*. Available at: <https://www.unwomen.org/sites/default/files/2023-09/progress-on-the-sustainable-development-goals-the-gender-snapshot-2023-en.pdf>

133 Ibid.

black, and young women, LGBTIQ+ people, women human rights defenders, women with disabilities and older women. In effect, women are twice as likely as men to report instances of discrimination based on sex¹³⁴.

The gendered care work, either paid or unpaid, done by women; the prevalence of violence against women; the consequences of the operations of extractive industries, the actions of organized crime, the precariousness of life due to the access to jobs with no rights, added to the underrepresentation of the diversity of women in decision-making spaces at all levels are cross-cutting factors to these gender structural inequalities that persist at all levels. According to the following data:

- The world population is comprised of approximately 49.6% men and 50.4% women¹³⁵(UN). Total population: 8.1 billion people.
- Every 11 minutes, a woman or girl is killed by a member of her own family (UN Women, 2022). There are still 25 countries that do not have laws addressing domestic violence (World Bank, 2024).
- At the global level, women spend 2.6 times more time than men on unpaid care and domestic work (OECD, 2023), and at the current rate of progress, the next generation of women will still spend, on average, 2.3 more hours per day on unpaid care and domestic work than men (UN Women and UN-DESA, 2023).
- Globally, only 56% of women can make their own decisions about their sexual and reproductive health and rights (UNFPA, 2024).
- Only 49% of countries have achieved gender parity in primary education. At the secondary level, the gap widens. Just 42% of countries have achieved gender parity in lower secondary education, and only 24% have done so in upper secondary education. (UNICEF). Institutional barriers, including workplace discrimination, an unequal division of unpaid care and domestic

134 Ibid.

135 United Nations, *World Population Prospects 2022*. Available at: <https://population.un.org/wpp/>

responsibilities, and an undersupply of decent job opportunities, disrupt the school-to-work transition for young women (UN Women and UN-DESA, 2023).

- Although globally, 70% of women prefer to work in paid jobs (ILO, 2017), the rate of female participation in the labor force is only 48.2% compared with 72.9% for men (ILO, 2024). In 2019, for each dollar men earned in labor income globally, women earned only 51 cents (UN Women and UN-DESA, 2023). Additionally, laws in 96 countries allow financial institutions to make it harder for women to access loans (World Bank, 2024).
- Only 26.9% of parliamentarians — in all houses combined — are women, up from 11.3% in 1995 (Inter-Parliamentary Union, 2024).
- Nearly 40% of countries limit women’s property rights (World Bank, 2022).
- Solid legal frameworks can promote positive change, but despite progress, 54% of countries still lack laws in all key areas of gender equality, including on equal rights to enter marriage and initiate a divorce (UN Women and UN-DESA, 2023).

"Worldwide, migration routes have become increasingly dangerous, replicating gender vulnerabilities, especially due to the externalization and militarization of borders. Therefore, it is necessary, from a feminist and human rights perspective, to influence multilateral spaces. In the case of Latin America and the Caribbean, it would be important to include migration issues in the Regional Conference on Women as they have been addressed only occasionally, and globally, to increase spaces for civil society organizations in decision-making forums."

- Dinorah Arceta Casanova, Advocacy Coordinator of the Instituto para las Mujeres en la Migración de México. México, July 2024.

"Everyone, in both the Global South and the Global North, should work together towards the inclusion of refugees, creating more inclusive spaces for women, as many of the challenges are similar."

- Giovanni Lepri, UNHCR Representative for Mexico. July 2024.

FPPs have the potential to connect national and international interests, emphasizing governance shifts needed to challenge power and structural inequalities and institutionalized forms of women’s discrimination, tackling “inequality and poverty, but also paying particular attention to race and gender inequality” (Seguino, 2000)¹³⁶. Not all women, young women, and girls experience and suffer this multi-crisis in the same way. An intersectional approach to ensure specific actions with an emphasis on afro-descendant, rural, indigenous, women in mobility, women living in poverty or conflict-affected areas, LGBTIQ+, human rights defenders, women with disabilities, and older women, is fundamental since these crises have direct impacts on women’s livelihoods, especially for the most vulnerable and marginalized.

As defined in the Article 2 of the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) “States Parties condemn discrimination against women in all its forms”. The CEDAW Committee specifies in its General Recommendation No. 28 on the Core Obligations of States Parties under Article 2 of the Convention that “Intersectionality is a basic concept for understanding the scope of the general obligations of State parties contained in Article 2. The discrimination of women based on sex and gender is inextricably linked with other factors that affect women, such as race, ethnicity, religion or belief, health, status, age, class, caste and sexual orientation and gender identity. Discrimination on the basis of sex or gender may affect women belonging to such groups to a different degree or in different ways to men. States parties must legally recognize such intersecting form of discrimination and their compounded negative impact on the women concerned and prohibit them” (CEDAW/C/GC/28). Member States obligation to adopt an intersectional perspective in decision-making is also included in General Recommendation (GR) No. 33 (2015) on women’s access to justice (CEDAW/C/GC/33); GR No. 35 (2017) on gender-based violence against women, updating GR No. 19 (CEDAW/C/GC/35); GR No. 39 (2022) on the rights of indigenous women and girls (CEDAW/C/GC/39); and the draft GR No. 40 (2024) on equal representation of women in decision-making systems.

¹³⁶ Seguino, Stephanie (2014), *Financialization, distribution and inequality in REMAKING SOCIAL OF CONTRACTS FEMINISTS IN A FIERCE NEW WORLD* edited by Gita Sen and Marina Murano for DAWN, London: Zed Books, 2014.

According to the CEDAW Committee, States should consider the intersectional discrimination experienced by women and girls based on factors such as sex, gender, Indigenous origin, status or identity, race, ethnicity, disability, age, language, socioeconomic status, and HIV/AIDS status.

Rising inequalities across the world are one of the defining challenges of our time, putting sustainable development at risk, stirring social unrest, undermining social progress, threatening economic and political stability, and undercutting human rights. The incomes of the poorest 40% of the population had been growing faster than the national average in most countries. However, emerging yet inconclusive evidence suggests that COVID-19 may have disrupted this positive trend of falling within-country inequality. The pandemic has also caused the largest rise in between-country inequality in three decades ([United Nations, 2023](#)).

Income inequality is high or increasing in 60% (64 out of 106) of low- and middle-income countries receiving grants or loans from the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and World Bank. Countries with high levels of income inequality have Gini coefficients above 0.4, the warning level set by the United Nations ([Oxfam, 2024](#)). The global inequality gap between the global North and South has grown for the first time in 25 years, with 4.8 billion people poorer today than in 2019. Although only 21% of humanity lives in Northern countries, they are home to 69% of the world's private wealth and 74% of the world's billionaire wealth. The 2020s, which began with the COVID-19 pandemic, followed by escalating conflict, accelerating climate crisis, and rising cost of living, appears to be turning into a decade of growing inequality, with a disproportionate impact on the poorest, generally, women, racialized people and the most marginalized groups ([Oxfam, 2024](#)).

Rising debt, escalating import prices for fuel, food, and medicine are driving governments to take drastic budget cuts and austerity measures that are differentially and disproportionately impacting women and girls, especially in the Global South. From cutting the public wage bill, when most public sector employees are women, to cutting health expenditure and social protection or increases in value-added tax (VAT) on essential goods and services ([Oxfam, 2024](#)). More than 54% of the countries planning to further cut their social protection budget in 2023 as part of new austerity measures already offer minimal to no

maternity and child support¹³⁷. Economic instability also impacts girls' dropping out of school early, worsens gender-based violence, and increases child marriage, with an estimated 10 million girls getting married by 2030 due to the pandemic, according to UNICEF's data¹³⁸.

Nonetheless, world military expenditures reached a record high of US\$ 2.24 trillion in 2022, which represents an increase of 19% over the past 10 years. The number of women, young women, and girls living in conflict-affected contexts reached 614 million in 2022, 50% higher than in 2017¹³⁹. In relation to this, the UN Secretary-General urged States to “move away from overly securitized and militarized approaches to peace and to reduce military expenditures through a comprehensive approach focused on sustaining peace and the attainment of the Sustainable Development Goals” (United Nations, [A/78/158](#), 2023).

In this sense, it is crucial to advance global norms, decisions, programs, and agreements that are conscious and attend to those specific gender inequalities produced and/or reinforced when characteristics such as gender, race, age, social background, disability, or sexuality interact and intersect.

Equally important is to adopt a multidimensional approach to gender inequalities aiming at addressing economic, social, justice, and cultural barriers that women face in their daily lives, especially the most left behind. Ensuring education and health rights and services, addressing the labor and income gap, supporting the advancement of case societies through the implementation of comprehensive case systems, facing environmental challenges and climate change impact from a gender and intersectional perspective, and guaranteeing the safe and equal access and use of the internet and digital technologies for all women and girls

137 Abed, Dana; Kelleher, Fatimah (2022), *The Assault of Austerity: How prevailing economic choices are a form of gender-based violence*. Oxfam. Available at: [bp-assault-of-austerity-prevailing-economic-choices-are-gender-based-violence-221122-en.pdf;jsessionid=A14BC67DFA6BF059C6F0F493E6084E70](https://openrepository.com/files/221122-en.pdf?jsessionid=A14BC67DFA6BF059C6F0F493E6084E70) (openrepository.com)

138 FOCUS2030 (2024), *Overview of Gender Equality Around the World*. Special Focus 8 March 2024. Available at: <https://focus2030.org/Gender-inequality-around-the-world-in-2024-special-report#D%C3%A9fis>

139 UN Women and United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs (UN-DESA), Statistics Division (2023), *Progress on the Sustainable Development Goals. The Gender Snapshot 2023*. Available at: <https://www.unwomen.org/sites/default/files/2023-09/progress-on-the-sustainable-development-goals-the-gender-snapshot-2023-en.pdf>

must be considered as a fair and efficient investment to achieve sustainable development and equality for all.

Discussions unfold at upcoming global forums like the Summit of the Future, G20, Climate, Biodiversity and Desertification COPs, FFP, among others, will be key in ensuring that national, regional, and international efforts and financial resources are directed where they are most needed.

The G20 Women's Empowerment Working Group

For over a decade, women have been driving the incorporation of a gender perspective into the debates and processes of the G20, one of the world's main spaces for political and economic deliberation that brings together leaders and central bank presidents from 20 countries.

In 2015, under the Turkish presidency, Women20 (Women20 - W20) was launched, a commitment group that focused on gender-inclusive economic growth. In parallel, the G20 Alliance for the Empowerment and Advancement of Women's Economic Representation (G20 EMPOWER) was created in 2019, with the aim of promoting a broader, action-oriented alliance between companies and governments.

In 2023, under the presidency of India, a Working Group on Women's Empowerment was institutionalized, a great achievement for women to promote and follow up on the commitments made by G20 member countries to the effective exercise of the rights of women and girls.

The working group met for the first time under the presidency of Brazil in 2024, and focused on women's equality and economic empowerment, including health and the care economy; the fight against gender-based violence and discrimination; and the promotion of climate justice for women.

Within the framework of the G20 in Rio de Janeiro, the "G20 Ministerial Declaration on Development to Reduce Inequalities" was adopted, an important framework in the commitment of these countries to address

global inequalities and promote sustainable development, with an emphasis on reducing poverty and promoting social, economic and political inclusion, guaranteeing equal opportunities and eliminating discrimination. The need to mobilize adequate financing for sustainable development and the importance of inclusive digital transformation to boost sustainable growth and reduce inequalities are also highlighted.

(G20 Brazil 2024)

Approaches and priorities from the Global South

To address and find sustainable, transformative and just solutions from a FFP perspective, the proposals and actions should focus on the structural causes of the current multiple crises and challenges. As such, any FFPs should lie under the principles of macro and structural reforms to the current global economic governance and political system. Feminists and feminist economists from the Global South have been instrumental in proposing this regard and recognizing the global interdependence and the need to act jointly on a global scale on macro solutions and actions and developed countries' responsibilities in global inequality in contemporary and historical terms.

Ten years ago, the G77 - the largest coalition in the Global South representing 80% of the world's population -affirmed that the XXI Century was the time for their countries and the peoples from the South to develop their economies and societies to fulfill human needs sustainably, in harmony with nature, and with respect for Mother Earth and its ecosystems. They agreed to build on their traditional values and practices of solidarity and collaboration for mutual benefit and on the strength of their people to achieve progress in their countries and South-South¹⁴⁰In 2024, during the Third Summit of the G77 and China, UN Secretary-General António Guterres urged leaders to continue pushing efforts to reform global governance to advance sustainable development: "Let's be realistic:

140 G77 Anniversary Declaration "*For a new world order for living well*" adopted by the Summit of Heads of State and Government on the occasion of the fiftieth anniversary of the Group of 77 (Santa Cruz de la Sierra, Plurinational State of Bolivia, 14-15 June 2014). Available at: <https://www.g77.org/doc/docs.html#declare2>

those who benefit the most from the current global governance system are unlikely to lead its reform. Therefore, the push for change must come from you.”¹⁴¹

The Buenos Aires Commitment -approved at the XV Regional Conference on Women in Latin America and the Caribbean in 2022- co-organized by ECLAC, UN Women, and the government of Argentina, reinforced a regional agreement to promote subregional, regional, and multilateral cooperation programs through North-South, South-South and triangular cooperation modalities, including among national mechanisms for the advancement of women, that promote gender equality, women’s autonomies, the prevention and eradication of all forms of gender-based violence against women, including human trafficking and smuggling, particularly of women and girls, and the right to care (ECLAC, 2022).

In several countries, especially in the Global South, the development of a FFP assumes an intersectional, intercultural, intergenerational, multidimensional, and multiscale approach, making visible to the international community the structural causes that generate, reproduce, and perpetuate gender inequalities and obstacles to the eradication of poverty and other multiple forms of discrimination against all women, adolescents, and girls.

"We challenge traditional power structures. We understand that our historical and cultural differences and diversities enrich Feminist Foreign Policies (PEFs) and international and diplomatic relations. We advocate that cooperation and solidarity must prevail to build more just, equitable, and sustainable societies."

— Celinda Sosa Lunda, Minister of Foreign Affairs of Bolivia. Mexico, July 2024.

In combination with other crises, like economic instability, political unrest, and conflicts exacerbated by climate crises, women can face rapid reversals in areas such as extreme poverty, access to decent work and economic resources, and gender-based violence, among others. Efforts to support adaptation and

¹⁴¹ United Nations (2024), *Guterres insta al G-77 y a China a impulsar la reforma de la gobernanza mundial*. Web note, January 21st, 2024. Available at: <https://news.un.org/es/story/2024/01/1527217>

increase the resilience of countries, communities, and the most marginalized women and girls are urgently needed to prevent reversals.

In the Global South, the impacts of the multiple crises are unequally experienced and highlight the normative principle of ‘common but differentiated responsibilities’, acknowledging that the historical responsibility for causing these problems rests with wealthy individuals and States. Economic prosperity in today’s high-income countries was built, largely, on the colonization and exploitation of people and natural resources in the Global South (Fraser, 2021).

Therefore, a global redistribution of resources is needed to settle this historical debt, compensating Global South countries for the uneven distribution of resources. Even in the case that more resources are made available for addressing inequality and discrimination efforts in countries in the Global South, there is no guarantee that the most marginalized women and girls will benefit from it. Indeed, women’s decreased access to jobs and productive resources and their disproportionate responsibility for unpaid care and domestic work may reduce their capacity to adapt and exclude them from new economic opportunities that may open transitions towards sustainability at the national and community levels. Deliberate efforts to redress these socioeconomic disadvantages as part of climate change mitigation and adaptation efforts are urgently needed (Turquet, Tabbush, Staab, Williams, and Howell, 2023).

Adopting a FFP from the Global South would imply political will to transform unjust power relations, unsustainable development models, violent structures of domination, and discriminatory cultural patterns rooted in patriarchal, racist, colonialist, capitalist, and extractivist practices and culture.

"We must prevent the creation of artificial divisions between a Global North and a Global South."

— Eugenia Gutiérrez Ruiz, Alternate General Director of the Directorate General for Foreign Policy, Costa Rica. Mexico, July 2024.

Due to the recent adoption and implementation of feminist foreign policies, especially in countries of the Global South, a comparative analysis of results is

complex at this stage. However, according to the normative basis reviewed in the preparation process of the Chilean FFP carried by UN Women in 2022¹⁴², and FFPs cases analyzed by ECLAC in 2024, it can be affirmed that the majority of countries that adopted a FFP made progress in the development and adoption of an action plan to follow up on the implementation of 1325 UN Resolution on Women, Peace and Security.

Other common grounds and themes identified in FFP in the Global South are the focus on strengthening democracy and gender equality policies (Chile) and conducting free, fair, and transparent elections (Libia); the eradication and elimination of gender-based violence (Chile and Mexico); and the empowerment and increased representation of women in decision-making (Chile and Mexico)¹⁴³. It should also be noted that in the future, it could be relevant to track FFP public financing from those countries of the Global South that adopted an FFP via their public budget reporting systems and in cases where there is sensitive gender budgeting to identify tracking markers in this sense. The Ibero-American program on South-South cooperation, under the presidency of Chile, is launching its 2024-2030 strategy that integrates the gender equality dimension and involves 21 countries where FFP cooperation can be promoted (e.g., Chile, Mexico, and Spain). In addition, Chile and Mexico signed a Joint Cooperation Fund within the framework of international cooperation, which intends to finance the implementation of bilateral and trilateral development cooperation projects and contains a significant gender component, as this is a priority area agreed upon by the two countries¹⁴⁴.

In Latin America, the first High-level Meeting on FFP took place on September 2023 in Buenos Aires -with the participation of diplomats and special representatives of Argentina, Brazil, Colombia, Chile, and Mexico, feminist think tanks, civil society organizations working on FFP and in collaboration with UN

142 Alemany, Cecilia (2022), *Reflections towards a Feminist Foreign Policy*, Presentation at the Diplomatic Academy of Chile, Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Chile, UN Women, Santiago de Chile, November.

143 Guezmes García, Ana; Romero Castelán, Brianda (2024), *Ten years of feminist foreign policy and feminist international cooperation policy. An opportunity for Latin America and the Caribbean*. ECLAC, 2024. Available at: <https://repositorio.cepal.org/server/api/core/bitstreams/cf4ca332-203e-4a38-b016-0818dabb74cf/content>

144 Ibid.

Women and ECLAC-. It was an important milestone to accelerate adopting and implementing diplomacies for gender equality and/or FFPs' Action Plans and strengthening a regional platform for cooperation, exchange experiences, and a joint definition of common interests, and increasing each country's capacity, and the region as a whole, to influence international and multilateral deliberations and decision-making processes. According to the meeting's conclusions, participants agreed to: i) promote and articulate FFPs among LAC countries as a way to strengthen networking and the implementation of the Gender Regional Agenda in international, regional, and subregional intergovernmental spaces, especially of the Global South; ii) promote monitoring, evaluation and follow-up systems of FFPs in the region, as well as participatory mechanisms for CSOs and particularly for feminist and women's organization in all their diversity; iii) jointly promote feminist initiatives such as the Generation Equality Forum, the Global Alliance for Care and the Bi-regional Pact for Care between Latin America, the Caribbean, and the European Union.

In Africa, during the 2023 Conference of African Women in Media (AWiM), representatives from the media sector, academia, and society adopted the Kigali Declaration on the Elimination of Gender-Based Violence in and through Media for 2034. According to data from the Global Media Monitoring Project, only 1% of stories on new platforms in Africa cover gender-based violence.¹⁴⁵ The action-oriented Declaration addresses gender-based violence within journalism organizations and its representation in media content. It asserts that African media have the power to shape narratives and inform the public about all forms of gender-based violence; acknowledges the urgent need for principles to guide media reporting on gender-based violence and to appropriately address gender-based violence experienced by staff in the course of their duties; and sets benchmark measures for various stakeholders in the media sector.¹⁴⁶

145 World Association for Christian Communication (WACC), *Kigali Declaration outlines African commitment to eliminating gender violence in and through the media*. December 7th, 2023. Available at: <https://waccglobal.org/kigali-declaration-outlines-african-commitment-to-eliminating-gender-violence-in-and-through-the-media/>

146 African Women in Media (2024), *Kigali Declaration on the Elimination of Gender Violence in and through the Media in Africa by 2034*. December, 1st, 2024. Available at: <https://africanwomeninmedia.com/declaration/>

"The experiences of feminist foreign policies in their countries make us reflect. Women in Africa face significant challenges, such as gender-based violence. We have recently adopted the Kigali Declaration on the elimination of gender-based violence in and through media."

— Jenelly Matundu, Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs and Cooperation, Namibia. Mexico, July 2024.

Policy contributions and experiences from the Global South

According to ECLAC's 2022 report, achieving planetary sustainability requires a development model prioritizing care. This concept, known as a "care society," emphasizes the value of activities essential for life – caring for both people and the planet, with a gender perspective grounded in human rights. A profound shift is necessary and urgent, moving away from the patriarchal logic of capitalist production that plunders natural resources for profit (Carrasco Bengoa, 2016). In this approach, the contributions of women and indigenous peoples are crucial, highlighting the Latin American indigenous communities' concept of "buen vivir" (good living) that embodies the harmonious relationship between nature, people, and social organization.

A feminist approach to foreign policy implies a democratic shift in terms of civil society and citizenship participation in the policy process. International and national civic spaces have evolved, but challenges persist, and many countries face shrinking spaces for civil society. FPP countries can continue to advance civil society participation and voices in their national policy design and accountability process and across inter-governmental spaces. The Civil Society Group on Financing for Development (FfD) and the Women's Working Group on Financing for Development (WGG on FfD) set up a Campaign with key proposals to tackle the multiple crises. These are based on feminist economic principles with the overarching ethos of caring for people and the planet. As expressed by these groups "That perspective would acknowledge the centrality of women's paid and unpaid care work for global prosperity, and it would recognize how the Global North continues to drain resources and withhold decision-making power from the Global South. A potential way forward would combine rejuvenation of the United Nations system, cancellation of debt, a focus on tax justice, reform of

the financial sector, and elimination of extraterritoriality that shields public and private actors from accountability for human rights violations and environmental degradation.”¹⁴⁷

"Social and community organizations in the Global South have been doing a lot with very little, preventing the enactment of discriminatory laws and harmful practices. Powerful feminist movements confront the inequalities that oppress us amidst atrocities and violent contexts [...] Feminist foreign policy (FFP) can serve to counter regressive forces and movements opposing women's rights. It is urgent to strengthen transcontinental collaboration and work collectively. What drives these groups forward is funding, and feminists lack sufficient financial resources, so we need more collaborations, coordination, and dialogue."

— Memory Kachambwa, Executive Director of FEMNET. Mexico, July 2024.

Civil society groups worldwide have also been engaged and closely following agendas and decisions of the International Financial Institutions (IFIs) that have been leading the functioning and the rules regulating the global financial and economic system. In the framework of the latest Spring Meetings of the Bretton Woods Institutions, now in their 80th year, they have pointed out the need to consider the situation of the countries of the Global South and the impacts of structural adjustment policies. For example, they have expressed while attending these meetings that “What we expected from the evolution of the World Bank is a fundamental reassessment of how the institution achieves its mission and vision for the world’s poorest countries. Instead, the process has been reduced to indicators and a scorecard, maintaining the same failed policies focused on the private sector. While monitoring systems have their value, they will not solve structural problems. They distract attention from the problems, rather than solving them.”¹⁴⁸

147 Reyes, Emilia (2021), *Shaping the Future of Multilateralism: Feminist, decolonial economic solutions to address interconnected global crises*, Heinrich Boll Stiftung, May 19, 2021. Available at: <https://us.boell.org/en/2021/05/19/feminist-decolonial-economic-solutions-address-interconnected-global-crises>

148 Eurodad (2024), *IMF-World Bank Spring Meetings 2024 - Piecemeal 'solutions' to shore up countries hit by crises will not help in the long run*. Available at: https://www.eurodad.org/imf_world_bank_spring_meetings_2024_reaction

In the same direction, other CSOs from the Global South disagreed with the outcomes of these meetings, noting that “In a highly changing and (...) crisis-prone world, the policy orientation of boosting GDP and economic growth, reinforcing “credible fiscal frameworks” by deepening austerity policies, and tackling the debt crisis from a short-sighted, partial and insufficient approach... persist”.¹⁴⁹

Considering the above, a FFP needs to calibrate and put its efforts into advancing proposals to structurally transform these mid-20th-century institutions and policies that no longer serve the needs of most of the world. It is an ethical responsibility for officials and policymakers to commit to transforming declarations, resolutions, and good intentions into political will and recalibrate the current power relations within the multilateral system.

"Intersectionality is not just a declarative matter; it requires political will and the participation of women and girls from an intersectional approach, particularly those facing multiple forms of discrimination."

— Luisa Kislinger, Gender Advisor at the United Nations Foundation. Mexico, July 2024.

Why is feminist foreign policy necessary in advancing these debates and proposals?

"Foreign policy must be intersectional, inclusive, and participatory."

— Secretary Mariana Yokoya Simoni - Gender and Human Rights Advisor, Social Participation and Diversity Advisory, Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Brazil. Mexico, July 2024.

149 LATINDAD (2024), *LATINDADD's reaction to 2024 IMF and World Bank Spring Meetings*. Available at: <https://latindadd.org/arquitectura-financiera/latindadd-reaction-to-2024-imf-and-world-bank-spring-meetings/>

In the report “Our Common Agenda”¹⁵⁰, the UN Secretary-General advocated for a form of inclusive, interconnected, and effective multilateralism to achieve better outcomes for people and the planet. “Around the world, conflicts, climate disasters, poverty, and inequalities pose enormous obstacles to diplomacy and multilateral solutions. Competition overtakes collaboration; relentless division stifles dialogue. Diplomacy and the multilateral system were created precisely for moments like this. We must infuse a new spirit of global cooperation to rebuild trust, bridge divides, and guide humanity toward peace.”¹⁵¹

Achieving this vision requires a shift towards models of international cooperation that are just, democratic, fair, and transparent. Countries committed to implementing a FFP must prioritize this renewed multilateralism. In the context of climate crises, it implies acknowledging its uneven impact on specific populations and regions to address these inequalities and discriminations and place the care for people and the planet in the center.

The High-Level Advisory Board on Effective Multilateralism (HLAB) -established by the UN Secretary-General to identify concrete, actionable recommendations that point towards a radical shift in global governance- identifies that effective multilateralism is only possible if SDG 5 is fully implemented and women and men are equally and meaningfully represented across the leadership and core work of all institutions and processes of global governance. It also identifies the Summit of the Future as the opportunity to agree on clear steps to place gender equality and equity at the center of the multilateral architecture¹⁵².

The upcoming opportunities, such as the Summit of the Future in September 2024 and G20 in November 2024 that will bring together global leaders from the Global North and South, present unprecedented opportunities to embed

150 United Nations (2021), *Our Common Agenda. Secretary-General Report*. Available at: https://www.un.org/en/content/common-agenda-report/assets/pdf/Common_Agenda_Report_English.pdf

151 United Nations (2024), *Secretary-General’s message on the International Day of Multilateralism and Diplomacy for Peace*. April 23rd, 2024. Available at: <https://www.un.org/sg/en/content/sg/statement/2024-04-23/secretary-generals-message-the-international-day-of-multilateralism-and-diplomacy-for-peace-scroll-down-for-french-version>

152 HLAB (2023), *A Breakthrough for People and Planet. Effective and Inclusive Global Governance for Today and the Future*. United Nations University. Available at: [highleveladvisoryboard_breakthrough_fullreport.pdf](https://www.un.org/ehp/content/press/2023/04/16/HLAB_Breakthrough_Report.pdf)

feminist principles into reshaping the international multilateral architecture to address historical and structural inequalities between and within countries from a gender and intersectional perspective as well as to understand the specific needs of the global south .

As such, the sixth panel, Feminist Foreign Policies from the Global South and the intersectional elimination of structural discrimination, at the III Ministerial Conference on Feminist Foreign Policies, will play a pivotal role in shaping discussions and strategies to ensure that feminist foreign policies effectively address the challenges and opportunities presented in reducing inequalities and addressing the needs of the most left behind women, young women, and girls.

The panel will delve into the complexities that arise when various forms of discrimination and inequality intersect; it aims to amplify the voices, experiences, and proposals from the Global South, fostering a space for open dialogue and knowledge exchange on how Feminist Foreign Policies can contribute to addressing the priority needs of women in the Global South, in addition to tackling common global challenges towards gender equality and the empowerment of all women and girls worldwide.

Action points from the Global South for the Intersectional Elimination of Structural Discrimination Against Women

- Continue dialogues on FSPs from the perspective of the global South and advocate for FSPs to take into account historical and cultural diversities and incorporate the contributions of feminisms from the South, that is, an intersectional, intercultural, anti-racist and decolonial approach, which can be transformative in international and diplomatic relations.
- Strengthen the bridges between the global North and South, and contribute from the countries with PEF to make visible the coincidences of inequalities faced by women in the world, as well as the gaps and inequalities that particularly affect the global South, and agree on common frameworks for action and cooperation that allow the democratization of global governance and a parity multilateralism, overcoming divisive formal categorizations between North and South.

- Promote inclusive and participatory mechanisms and partnerships based on solidarity and mutual respect between countries with FSPs in the global South and North, strengthening South-South cooperation and taking special consideration of the situation of women in climate crises, in situations of poverty and in contexts of human mobility and conflict.
- Recognize and make visible the diverse realities and experiences of women and feminist organizations of the South in international policy discussions and in all multilateral fora.
- Collaborate to counteract discourses and ideologies that threaten women’s rights and to break with the political instrumentalization of concepts such as “human rights” or “gender equality” in some countries of both the North and the global South, which limit progress in the shared objectives of countries with FSPs.
- Promote inclusive and participatory investment and development programs and policies in international and multilateral organizations that prioritize indigenous, afro-descendant, rural, migrant, and displaced women.
- Actively participate in multilateral spaces dealing with migration, bringing the gender perspective and the principles and priorities of feminist foreign policies and advocate for the adoption and implementation of assistance, protection, and integration policies that take into account the priorities of refugee women.
- From the FFP, prioritize the generation and monitoring of disaggregated and reliable data, from a gender and intersectional approach.
- Promote in countries with FFP access to the Foreign Service for indigenous women, afro-descendants, young people, low-income women, LGBTIQ+ women, and women with disabilities so as not to leave anyone behind.
- Strengthen within the Foreign Ministries plural, representative, and intersectoral mechanisms to promote and guarantee the participation of women’s and feminist organizations, not only in the specific gender agenda

but in the different working groups and advisory councils on issues that are the subject of debate and deliberation in the international community, to mainstream the gender approach and make visible the priorities of the PEF, also taking into account the advance of discourses and groups that oppose women's rights and gender equality.

- Make innovative and transformative contributions to redesign the international financial system so that financing for development prioritizes and establishes clear goals for the equality of all women and girls in their diversity, reinforcing that there is no sustainable development without gender equality since they are not opposing issues but complementary.
- Promote an economic model that prioritizes the well-being of people and the environment with investment and development policies that are inclusive and respectful of social and environmental rights. Policies must be participatory with civil society organizations, emphasizing that indigenous and Afro-descendant women participate in decision-making and international and multilateral organizations.
- Use the convening power and proactive capacity of the FFP to propose moving towards care societies, for example, through the promotion of the Bi-regional Pact for Care between the Community of Latin American and Caribbean States (CELAC) and the European Union to promote joint cooperation in key areas and advance the exchange of experiences and good practices in comprehensive systems and care policies.

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Feminist Foreign Policies and Development Cooperation with a Gender Perspective from Latin America and the Caribbean: A Care Society for a Better World

PROPOSALS OF THE SEVENTH PANEL OF THE III MINISTERIAL CONFERENCE ON FEMINIST FOREIGN POLICIES (MEXICO, 2024). BACKGROUND PAPER PREPARED BY THE DIVISION FOR GENDER AFFAIRS OF THE ECONOMIC COMMISSION FOR LATIN AMERICA AND THE CARIBBEAN (ECLAC), WITH CONTRIBUTIONS FROM THE TEAMS OF THE GOVERNMENT OF MEXICO, UN WOMEN, AND THE PANELISTS WHO PARTICIPATED IN THIS SPACE WITHIN THE FRAMEWORK OF THE CONFERENCE.

From the region to the world: A feminism that disrupts and transforms

Latin America and the Caribbean have a long tradition of contributions by feminists and feminisms to multilateralism, sustainable development, and peace, which, together with the efforts of governments and multilateral organizations, have been nurturing a regional and global network of human rights instruments, norms, institutions and policies dedicated to the achievement of gender equality and women's rights. Güzmes and Romero point out that “when the United Nations was created in 1945, diplomats Bertha Lutz of Brazil and Minerva Bernardino of the Dominican Republic were the key women who, acting from the South, secured the inclusion of the phrases “equal rights of men and women” and “the dignity and worth of the human person” in the preamble of the United Nations Charter. Milestones such as the first United Nations World Conference on Women, held in Mexico in 1975, the subsequent adoption of the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women, and the

inauguration of the Regional Conferences on Women in Latin America and the Caribbean in Cuba in 1979 attest to this renewed momentum. It was also the region that adopted the first binding treaty, the Inter-American Convention on the Prevention, Punishment, and Eradication of Violence against Women (Convention of Belém do Pará, 1994), which recognizes violence against women as a human rights violation.”¹⁵³

An element worth highlighting is that the region is the only one that has the Regional Conference on Women in Latin America and the Caribbean, which is the leading United Nations intergovernmental forum on women’s rights and gender equality. This Conference is a subsidiary body of ECLAC and, since 2020, has been organized in coordination with UN Women. It has a broad participation of the region’s governments, the United Nations system, international agencies, academia, and civil society organizations, particularly women’s and feminist movements.¹⁵⁴

Over the past 47 years, ECLAC member States have held 15 meetings of the Regional Conference on Women and have agreed on an ambitious, in-depth, comprehensive, and cumulative Regional Gender Agenda, which guides the countries’ public policies to achieve gender equality, guarantee the rights of women, adolescents, and girls in their diversity, the exercise of women’s autonomy and the sustainable development of the region.¹⁵⁵

At the XV Regional Conference on Women in Latin America and the Caribbean, which took place in November 2022 in Buenos Aires, the Position Document titled “The care society: A horizon for sustainable recovery with gender equality” on which the governments of the region debated and approved the Buenos Aires Commitment, where a call is made to move towards a new development pattern, a care society that prioritizes the sustainability of life and the planet,

153 A. Gúezmes García and B. Romero Castelán, “*Ten years of feminist foreign policy and feminist international development cooperation policy: an opportunity for Latin America and the Caribbean*”, Gender Affairs series, No. 164 (LC/TS.2023/202/Rev.1), Santiago, Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean (ECLAC), 2024

154 ECLAC (2024) *Regional Conference on Women in Latin America and the Caribbean*. Available at: <https://www.cepal.org/en/subsidiary-bodies/regional-conference-women-latin-america-and-caribbean>

155 ECLAC (2021) *Towards a care society: the contributions of the Regional Gender Agenda to sustainable development* (LC/MDM.61/3), Santiago, 2021

recognizes the right to care as part of the fundamental human rights for the well-being of the population as a whole and guarantees the rights of the people who need care, as well as the rights of the people who provide such care and self-care. The care society places the sustainability of life at the center and recognizes the interdependence between people, the environmental dimension, and economic and social development in synergy.¹⁵⁶ Investment in the care economy constitutes a central element towards a more just, sustainable, and equal transformative recovery. Investing in the care economy is a central element towards a more just, sustainable, and egalitarian transformative recovery.^{157 158 159}

In order to advance toward the horizon of the care society, it is essential to implement comprehensive care systems and policies based on a people-centered approach, where the State is the guarantor of access to the right to care on the basis of a model of social co-responsibility - with civil society, the private sector and households - and gender. Implementing the care systems implies an intersectoral management for the gradual development of its different components¹⁶⁰ -services, regulations, training, information and knowledge management, and communication for promoting cultural change- that considers cultural and territorial diversity^{161 162}.

Investment in care systems and policies generates a triple dividend^{163 164}. First, redistributing care among households, the State, the market, and the community

156 ECLAC (2022) *The care society: A horizon for sustainable recovery with gender equality* (LC/CRM.15/3), Santiago.

157 ECLAC (2019) *Women's autonomy in changing economic scenarios* (LC/CRM.14/3), Santiago.

158 UN Women and ECLAC (2022). *Financing care systems and policies in Latin America and the Caribbean: Contributions for a sustainable recovery with gender equality*.

159 UN Women (2022). *Financing of comprehensive care systems. Proposals for Latin America and the Caribbean*.

160 UN Women and ECLAC (2021). *Towards the construction of comprehensive care systems in Latin America and the Caribbean. Elements for implementation*.

161 UN Women, UNDP, ECLAC and ILO (2022). *Community care in Latin America and the Caribbean: An approach to care in the territories*.

162 ONU Mujeres y CLACSO (2022). *Estado del arte sobre cuidados en contextos de ruralidad en América Latina y el Caribe*.

163 UN Women and ECLAC (2021). *Towards the construction of comprehensive care systems in Latin America and the Caribbean. Elements for implementation*.

164 UN Women (2022). *Financing of comprehensive care systems. Proposals for Latin America and the Caribbean*.

reduces the burden of care that falls mainly on women and even more so on those with lower incomes. This frees up women's time, reduces their time poverty, reduces the opportunity cost of women's participation in the labor market, and, consequently, increases their economic, physical, and political autonomy. Secondly, by increasing the value of paid care work, investment in the care sector integrates previous informal jobs into the economy, generates new jobs, and stimulates other interrelated sectors of the economy (public works, among others). In turn, all this increased economic activity, in the medium term, can pay back the initial investment in the form of increased direct and indirect tax revenues. Finally, investment in care systems and policies contributes directly to people's well-being, both directly to those who receive care (from early childhood to dependent older adults) and to those who care for and participate in this redistribution within households or work in the sector under decent working conditions, and to the community as a whole, primarily if the quality of community, public and private services that provide care is regulated and monitored.

Did you know...

- The care economy is a major employment generator, with 215 million care workers and 70.1 million domestic workers worldwide. If you add to these workers who help provide care, the number worldwide rises to 381 million, or 11.5% of total global employment. This workforce is made up of 249 million women and 132 million men.
- By 2030, the number of care recipients is expected to rise to 2.3 billion, driven by 100 million more older people and 100 million more children aged 6 to 14.
- 15% of the world's population, or 1 billion people, live with some form of disability, and the prevalence of disability is highest in developing countries (World Bank, 2023). The prevalence of severe disabilities means that between 110 and 190 million people with disabilities may require care or assistance throughout their lives. Demand for both paid and unpaid care work provided in the home for people with disabilities has also increased.

- Every day, 16.4 billion hours are spent on unpaid care work. This corresponds to 2 billion people working eight hours a day without receiving any remuneration in return. Women perform 76.2% of all unpaid care work, 3.2 times more time than men. If these services were valued on the basis of a minimum hourly wage, they would represent 9% of global GDP.
- No country in the world records equal unpaid care provision between men and women, resulting in time poverty for women, with impacts on their participation in the labour market.

(ILO, 2019)

Progress towards comprehensive care systems and policies, in addition to advancing rights and their fundamental impact on achieving gender equality and women's autonomy, is a fundamental contribution to reducing poverty and inequality and advancing sustainable development.

Along with the regulatory, institutional, and political advances that the Latin American and Caribbean countries have made in the care sector in recent years, it is necessary to innovate and advance options for financing comprehensive care policies and systems to ensure sustainability. To this end, public and private actors must promote strategies for financing care systems based on progressivity, universality, solidarity, and co-responsibility¹⁶⁵. This approach, as agreed at the regional level, makes it possible to advance in the recognition, redistribution, and reduction of care work and the rewarding and representation of care workers¹⁶⁶.

Considering the above, the region's countries have reaffirmed in the Regional Gender Agenda the importance of considering care as a need expressed by growing demand, as work, as a right, and as a dynamizing sector for the economy.

165 UN Women and ECLAC (2022). *Financing care systems and policies in Latin America and the Caribbean. Contributions for a sustainable recovery with gender equality.*

166 UN Women (2022). *Financing of comprehensive care systems. Proposals for Latin America and the Caribbean.*

"In the last five years, the National Institute for Women of Mexico has been working towards a National Care System that is universal, sustainable, and progressive, including an intersectoral technical table, a legislative support process, and reforms to the Articles of the Constitution to recognize care as a human right."

— Nadine Gasman, president of the National Institute for Women of Mexico. Mexico, July 2024.

In addition, the region has the first regional environmental agreement, the Regional Agreement on Access to Information, Public Participation and Justice in Environmental Matters in Latin America and the Caribbean, known as the Escazú Agreement. Recently, at the COP3 and with the impetus of Mexico, the countries adopted the Decision on Mainstreaming the gender perspective, in which the urgency of integrating and strengthening the gender perspective, the full and effective participation of women in all their diversity, including indigenous women, and the prevention of discrimination and gender-based violence against women defenders was raised. This represents a significant milestone for sustainable development in Latin America and the Caribbean.¹⁶⁷

On the other hand, “the countries of the region have worked actively in global and regional forums to integrate gender equality as a guiding principle and pillar into global agreements on climate change, sustainable development, migration, financing for development, human rights, peace and security, international cooperation and international trade, among other topics, which shows that no area of foreign policy is gender-neutral and that women’s full and equal participation remains a work in progress everywhere” (ECLAC, 2024).¹⁶⁸

167 See press release at: <https://acuerdodeescazu.cepal.org/cop3/en/news/cop-3-reinforced-commitment-mainstreaming-gender-perspective-and-womens-full-and-effective>

168 A. Gúezmes García and B. Romero Castelán, “Ten years of feminist foreign policy and feminist international development cooperation policy: an opportunity for Latin America and the Caribbean”, Gender Affairs series, No. 164 (LC/TS.2023/202/Rev.1), Santiago, Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean (ECLAC), 2024

"The care agenda is one of the eight priorities of Chile's feminist foreign policy and is very important for the region. [...] On the international stage, we are working with many States present here with which we share agenda and commitment. For instance, together with Spain, we presented the resolution for the International Day of Care (October 29, 2023), and with Argentina, we achieved the adoption of a resolution at ECOSOC. The resolution was presented by Chile on behalf of Argentina, Brazil, Colombia, the Dominican Republic, El Salvador, Mexico, and Paraguay and represents a significant step forward as it is the first ECOSOC resolution focused exclusively on care and support for social development, inviting member states to explore the benefits of implementing the care agenda."

— Gloria de la Fuente, Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs of Chile.
Mexico, July 2024.

At the intergovernmental level, the region has promoted important advances for the recognition of care in the framework of human rights, including the resolution "Promoting care and support systems for social development"¹⁶⁹, approved by the Commission for Social Development of the United Nations Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC) in February 2024, the resolution on "The centrality of care and support from a human rights perspective"¹⁷⁰, and the proclamation of October 29 as the International Day of Care and Support in the General Assembly resolution¹⁷¹, adopted in July 2023. Furthermore, Mexico, together with UN Women, has promoted the Global Alliance for Care, the first global multi-stakeholder community, and articulation between governments, civil society, unions, the philanthropic sector, international organizations, and academia to advance the care agenda from the local to the global level.

169 United Nations Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC), Resolution E/CN.5/2024/L.5.

170 United Nations Human Rights Council, Resolution A/HRC/54/L.6/Rev.1.

171 United Nations General Assembly, Resolution A/RES/77/317.

"The Global Alliance for Care that we are promoting with the support of UN Women is a success story and an effective example of feminist foreign policy, with over 200 members."

— Nadine Gasman, President of the National Institute for Women of Mexico. Mexico, July 2024.

The Global Alliance for Care

The Global Alliance for Care is a global initiative launched by Mexico's National Institute of Women in collaboration with UN Women to engage and urgently call on governments, international agencies, civil society, private initiative, philanthropic organizations and other strategic partners to address the burden of care that hinders women's economic opportunities. Members of the Global Alliance for Care make and promote commitments, concrete actions, funding and collaboration around care. Alliance partners have access to exclusive information, analysis, research, data, evidence and best practices on care and participate in global communications campaigns focused on cultural transformation.

The Alliance seeks to transform culture and reduce inequalities by ensuring the recognition, reduction and redistribution of domestic and care work among co-responsible actors, as well as the remuneration and recognition of care workers. Accelerate equitable economic recovery from the COVID-19 pandemic by implementing and scaling up concrete care commitments and actions.

It recognizes care as a right and a public good, emphasizes the responsibility of the State as the main guarantor of care, and promotes the availability, accessibility, affordability and quality of care services, including their monitoring and evaluation.

The Alliance's commitments include: 1) implement concrete actions by States, families, communities and the private sector to develop and increase care services; 2) promote public policies to reconcile personal, family and

work life with flexible hours; 3) promote reforms to recognize the rights of caregivers and care recipients; 4) promote transformative actions to promote co-responsibility for care, such as through awareness campaigns; 5) promote investment in social and physical care infrastructures so that care services meet the diverse needs on equal terms; 6) promote the generation of data and evidence; 7) identify and disseminate practices in care work through an experience exchange platform; expand fiscal space for the gradual and progressive financing of a universal and sustainable care system.

(INMUJERES and UN Women)

In recent decades, the region has made significant progress in gender equality in the law, the enactment of laws against gender violence, the prohibition of child marriage, and wage discrimination, among others¹⁷². Progress has been made in the institutionalization of gender in the different branches of government; however, we face challenges in the implementation and financing of equality policies. In the region, one in four women (25.3%) has no income of her own, which is almost three times more than the proportion of men with no income of their own (9.7%). Among women in the first quintile, nearly 40% do not receive any type of monetary income. The region has made progress in education parity, in fact, women have more years of study on average. However, this is not yet reflected in their full participation in the economy, politics, science, and technology, among other fields. For example, half of the women are outside the labour market, in contrast to the participation rate of men, which is close to 75%. These gaps are mainly due to the sexual division of labor and the disproportionate burden of care work that falls on women. Women spend almost three times as much time as men on unpaid domestic and care work. Young women face higher rates of unemployment and job insecurity than young men, and these differences are even greater when there are children in the household, showing that the trend is not being reversed. Poverty disproportionately affects women, with three in ten women in poverty and one in ten in extreme poverty. There are 118 women in poverty and 120 women in extreme poverty for every 100 men in

172 For more information on legislative advances, please visit: UN Women and the Ibero-American General Secretariat (SEGIB) (2022). <https://leyesigualdadgeneroiberoamerica.org/en/>

similar situations. The feminization of poverty is even greater among indigenous populations, afro-descendants, and inhabitants of rural areas (ECLAC and UN Women, 2024, Opinion Column by the Executive Secretary of ECLAC).¹⁷³

In response, the region proposes a profound paradigm shift: the care society for a better world. Investing in gender equality and the care society is an economic and ethical imperative to accelerate progress towards sustainable development. In a context of intertwined crises that threaten to deepen historical inequalities, it is crucial to implement policies to break the vicious circle of care, poverty, inequality, and exclusion and transform it into a virtuous circle that generates economic and social returns¹⁷⁴. Therefore, the theme to be addressed at the XVI Regional Conference on Women in Latin America and the Caribbean (Mexico, 2025) is “political, economic, social, cultural and environmental transformations as a means of advancing the care society and gender equality”.

"At the XV Regional Conference on Women, it was agreed to advance towards a care society by promoting the sustainability of life, the planet, and care as a right. Leading up to the next Conference in 2025 in Mexico, we will address how to advance the necessary transformations in various areas, where cooperation is key. Today is the time for strategic investments and for feminism to make its mark across all areas of public policy, to progress towards a care society and equality, and to build a sustainable future."

— Diana Rodríguez, Social Affairs Officer of the Gender Affairs Division at ECLAC. Mexico, July 2024.

173 ECLAC et al. (Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean et al.) (2023), *“Regional data bank for statistical follow-up to the SDGs in Latin America and the Caribbean”* [online] <https://agenda2030lac.org/estadisticas/regional-data-bank-statistical-follow-up-sdg-1.html?lang=en> (cited in Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean (ECLAC)/United Nations Entity for Gender Equality and the Empowerment of Women (UN-Women), *The 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development and the Regional Gender Agenda in Latin America and the Caribbean: gender indicators up to 2023* (LC/TS.2024/19), Santiago, 2024. Opinion column by ECLAC’s Executive Secretary at: <https://www.cepal.org/en/articles/2024-investing-women-and-gender-equality-better-world>

174 UN Women and ECLAC (2021). *Towards the construction of comprehensive care systems in Latin America and the Caribbean. Elements for implementation.*

Implementing foreign and cooperation policies with a gender perspective is undoubtedly a driving force, together with the drive of feminisms in their different expressions, to achieve a more productive, inclusive, and sustainable future with substantive equality more rapidly.

Feminist Foreign Policy in Latin American and Caribbean countries

"If the 20th century was the era of formal equality, the 21st century is the time to achieve substantive equality."

— Ana Guezmes, Director of the Gender Affairs Division at ECLAC.
Mexico, July 2024.

Within the framework of regional advances in Feminist Foreign Policy, there are currently three countries that have FFPs. Mexico stands out as the first country in Latin America to adopt a Feminist Foreign Policy in 2020¹⁷⁵, which seeks to mainstream the gender perspective and intersectionality in all areas of foreign policy. On the other hand, Chile is the first South American country to adopt a FFP, beginning to work on it in 2022 and officially presenting the country's first Feminist Foreign Policy in June 2023. Its objective is to establish the principle of equality and non-discrimination as a guiding principle in Chile's foreign policy.¹⁷⁶ Subsequently, in 2024, as part of the International Women's Day commemoration, the country also launched its first Feminist Foreign Policy Action Plan to guide the implementation of the instrument. Among other regional milestones, Colombia presented its Feminist Foreign Policy for the first time in March 2024 during the 68th Session of the United Nations Commission on the Status of Women.¹⁷⁷

175 Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Mexico (2023). *Mexico's Feminist Foreign Policy, among the best in the world*. Retrieved from: <https://www.gob.mx/sre/prensa/la-politica-exterior-feminista-de-mexico-entre-las-tres-mejores-del-mundo?idiom=es>

176 Ministry of Foreign Affairs Chile (2023), *Chile Feminist Foreign Policy*.

177 Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Colombia (2024). *For the first time in history Colombia presented its Feminist Foreign Policy to the United Nations*. Retrieved from: <https://www.cancilleria.gov.co/newsroom/news/primera-vez-historia-colombia-presento-su-politica-exterior-feminista-naciones-unidas>

Argentina had a FFP from February 2023 until December 10, 2023, when the new government decided to end its feminist foreign policy.¹⁷⁸

The articulation in and from the Latin America and Caribbean region

"As feminists we know that foreign policies have an androcentric view that prioritizes economic and military interests, as well as adherence to colonial practices, economic exploitation, and geopolitical impositions. Therefore, we celebrate that today, here, feminism is being discussed, and we commit to paving the way for feminist foreign policies that promote knowledge forged from oppressed bodies, fostering the construction of solidarity bonds centered on the sustainability of dignified life within the framework of social, economic, and gender justice."

- María Eugenia Romero, Member of the Feminist Articulation Marcosur (AFM) and representative of civil society organizations on the Board of the Regional Fund for Support to Women's and Feminist Organizations and Movements. Mexico, July 2024.

To advance towards the institutionalization of feminist foreign policies and ensure their continuity, the commitment of government authorities and the implementation of concrete actions to accelerate the path towards substantive equality are essential. Bilateral, regional, and multilateral agreements, as well as exchange spaces between countries with feminist visions in their foreign policies, are crucial elements for achieving this objective.

178 For more details on national experiences, see: A. Gúezmes García and B. Romero Castelán, "Ten years of feminist foreign policy and feminist international development cooperation policy: an opportunity for Latin America and the Caribbean", Gender Affairs series, No. 164 (LC/TS.2023/202/Rev.1), Santiago, Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean (ECLAC), 2024

In this context, adopting a focused declaration on Feminist Foreign Policy for Latin America and the Caribbean stands out. This was done during the VIII Summit of Heads of State and Government of the Community of Latin American and Caribbean States (CELAC), promoted by Mexico, together with Chile and Colombia, and endorsed by Bolivia, Brazil, Ecuador, and the Dominican Republic.¹⁷⁹

For Latin America and the Caribbean, the described evolution represents an opportunity to renew multilateralism by contributing to foreign policies and development cooperation with a gender perspective. This aims to overcome the structural challenges of gender inequality, guarantee the rights of women, adolescents, and girls in all their diversity, ensure their autonomy, and promote sustainable development at the global, regional, national, and local levels.

Undoubtedly, this requires cooperation in all its forms.¹⁸⁰¹⁸¹ In this context, the project “Strengthening Feminist Foreign Policy and International Feminist Cooperation through a Community of Practice among Chile, Colombia, Mexico, Germany, and ECLAC” stands out. Recently approved by the Regional Fund for Triangular Cooperation in Latin America and the Caribbean (BMZ/GIZ), it aims to strengthen the capacities of the Ministries of Foreign Affairs and International Cooperation Agencies of Chile, Colombia, Mexico, and Germany in the design

179 Government of Mexico (2024), “Mexico led the adoption of the Declaration on Feminist Foreign Policy for Latin America and the Caribbean”. Retrieved from: <https://www.gob.mx/sre/articulos/mexico-lidera-la-adopcion-de-la-declaracion-sobre-la-politica-exterior-feminista-para-america-latina-y-el-caribe-359348>

180 Resolution 1(I) of the First Meeting of the Regional Conference on South-South Cooperation in Latin America and the Caribbean (Santiago, May 30-31, 2023) called for “the subsidiary bodies of the Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean, in particular the Statistical Conference of the Americas, the Regional Conference on Women in Latin America and the Caribbean and the Regional Conference on Social Development in Latin America and the Caribbean, as well as the Forum of the Countries of Latin America and the Caribbean on Sustainable Development, to strengthen synergies in areas relating to bilateral, multilateral, South-South, triangular and humanitarian cooperation, sustainable development and gender equality, particularly with regard to the identification of common criteria to guide evaluation of these cooperation modalities and their impacts, including in the area of humanitarian cooperation, [...]” See Resolution 1 (I).

181 For further references, see the *Buenos Aires Commitment*. Paragraph 36 states: “Encourage subregional, regional and multilateral cooperation programmes through North-South, South-South and triangular cooperation modalities, as well as between national machineries for the advancement of women, that promote gender equality, women’s autonomy, the prevention and elimination of all forms of gender-based violence against women, including human smuggling and trafficking, particularly of women and girls, and the right to care”.

and implementation of Feminist Foreign Policies and International Cooperation for Development with a gender perspective.

The transformation proposed by the project involves changes within both the Ministries of Foreign Affairs and international cooperation agencies in international negotiations and decision-making related to foreign policies. It also presents a significant opportunity to advance the Regional Gender Agenda and promote substantive equality between men and women. Similarly, the outcomes of this project will contribute to the exchange between countries through their Cooperation Agencies in the Second Meeting of the Regional Conference on South-South Cooperation in Latin America and the Caribbean (Santiago, 2025), and in the XVI Regional Conference on Women in Latin America and the Caribbean (Mexico, 2025).

The countries of Latin America and the Caribbean recognize that South-South and triangular cooperation is essential to meet the challenges of sustainable development, leaving no one behind¹⁸². The current international context of cascading crises is characterized by the growing challenges posed by climate change, biodiversity loss, desertification, pollution, high levels of public indebtedness, and increased demand for care.¹⁸³ These challenges have had an impact on the progress made in meeting the Sustainable Development Goals and on the implementation of the Regional Gender Agenda. Likewise, these cascading crises have an impact on advances in gender equality, the guarantee of women's rights in all their diversity, and the exercise of their autonomy, preventing their full participation in all spheres of society. In the face of this inequality, it is necessary to act with a sense of urgency and to raise the ambition and scale of joint and collaborative recovery efforts at the international level.

The region recognizes the importance of decisively including and supporting women's and feminist organizations. A pioneering initiative that arose within the framework of the Regional Conference on Women in Latin America and the Caribbean is the Regional Fund in Support of Women's and Feminist

182 See Resolution 1 (I), of the First Meeting of the Regional Conference on South-South Cooperation in Latin America and the Caribbean

183 Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean (ECLAC), *Buenos Aires Commitment* (LC/CRM.15/6/Rev.1), Santiago, 2023, preambular paragraph 9.

Organizations and Movements.¹⁸⁴ The Fund has a Board of Directors made up of representatives of governments and women's and feminist organizations, networks, and movements, and ECLAC, a secretariat made up of representatives of governments and women's and feminist organizations, and the UN Women Regional Office as the administrative entity.

Action points for advancing care societies

- Develop a foreign policy that incorporates contributions from feminist economics, emphasizing the need to integrate climate and labor agendas to address the sexual division of labor and reduce the care workload for women.
- Evaluate and question the impact of debt on states and the negative consequences that austerity measures and public service underfunding have on the care sector, disproportionately affecting women and girls.
- Strengthen institutional frameworks for gender equality and advocate for parity in all decision-making spaces to advance norms and policies that address structural inequalities disproportionately affecting women.
- Disseminate and promote the full implementation of the Buenos Aires Commitment adopted at the XV Regional Conference on Women in Latin America and the Caribbean in 2022 and move towards a new development model centered on care society, promoting life and planet sustainability, and respecting indigenous peoples and communities.
- Support and strengthen the work of the Global Alliance for Care as a platform for advancing comprehensive care systems throughout Latin America and the Caribbean, as well as globally.
- Promote mechanisms for consultation and dialogue within feminist foreign policy (PEF) for the design and implementation of comprehensive care systems and collaborate with financing to support this work.

184 Regional Fund in Support of Women's and Feminist Organizations and Movements. Available at: <https://fondoregional-lac.org/FolletoFR.pdf>

- Challenge and denounce economic blockades that undermine people's lives in the affected countries.
- Encourage states that have adopted or are willing to adopt a feminist foreign policy to actively participate in the Inclusive Trade Action Group, which seeks to improve women's access to the economy and recognizes the importance of not weakening legal protections while promoting trade and investment.

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Contributions from civil society to the implementation of Feminist Foreign Policies for a better tomorrow

PROPOSALS OF THE EIGHTH PANEL OF THE III MINISTERIAL CONFERENCE ON FEMINIST FOREIGN POLICIES (MEXICO, 2024)

The III Ministerial Conference on Feminist Foreign Policies: *Solutions for a better tomorrow* (Mexico, July 1st to 3rd, 2024) builds upon the results of the “International Conference Shaping Feminist Foreign Policy”, (Germany, September 12, 2022) and the Second Edition of the Conference (Netherlands, November 1 and 2, 2023). The Conference’s main objectives include fostering the dialogue between all stakeholders interested in promoting foreign policies fully committed to the advancement of women’s rights in all their diversity; promoting regional and international instruments that contribute to the achievement of equality; and advancing this agenda in the process towards the Future Summit that will take place in 2024, the 30th Anniversary of the Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action and the 25th anniversary of Resolution 1325 on Women, Peace and Security to be celebrated in 2025.

The main objective of the eighth panel, *Contributions from civil society to the implementation of Feminist Foreign Policies for a better tomorrow*, is to facilitate a space where civil society organizations (CSOs) can contribute their knowledge and experiences to enrich the implementation of concrete actions of feminist foreign policy (FFP) towards the agenda of the future.

Through the presentation of experiences and good practices, as well as the analysis of the challenges in incorporating the gender perspective in foreign policies, the panel aims to translate the voices of civil society into proposals for innovative solutions that guarantee the full participation of feminist networks

and women in all their diversity in international relations. We also seek to discuss means to strengthen the design and implementation of public policies aligned with the principles of the FFP.

This exchange of ideas and perspectives between CSOs and governmental actors will contribute to consolidating more effective strategies that are aligned with the needs, demands, and proposals of women, as well as to the configuration of an approach that prioritizes the defense of women's human rights in the regional and international arenas.

The incorporation of the visions, goals, and challenges of CSOs in the III Ministerial Conference on Feminist Foreign Policies is particularly valuable. Through their influence from the local to the international sphere, their knowledge, the advancement of feminist studies, and their work in the field, CSOs develop a unique sensitivity to the effects of public policies on the lives and rights of women, particularly those who face multiple discriminations.

CSOs are agents of change and transformation. The Feminist movements, as well as the growing participation of women in local, national, and international governments, have enabled the advancement of feminist foreign policies in numerous countries. Civil society organizations and networks constantly influence the advancement of women's rights, transparency, and accountability, as well as the effective application and implementation of the different commitments assumed by States, both at the national and international levels.

"Civil society organizations have never been as vulnerable as they are today. The proliferation of anti-gender and discriminatory movements around the world not only leads to the physical repression of women's and feminist movements globally but also results in a reduction in funding. Today, hundreds of thousands of organizations worldwide are affected and will continue to be impacted in the coming years by this reduction. Therefore, we call on governments to step forward to find effective support mechanisms and not leave civil society in a state of extreme vulnerability."

— Sandra del Villar, Alliance for Feminist Movements. Mexico, July 2024.

It is important to recognize that international, regional, and national instruments that are legally binding to states contribute to the advancement of gender equality and are the pillars of the international system for the elimination of all forms of discrimination and violence against women. It should be noted that many of these are the result of decades of advocacy by civil society organizations and the feminist movements around the world and in our region, in particular. Instruments emanated at the regional and global level, such as the Regional Conference on Women in Latin America and the Caribbean, which constitute the Regional Gender Agenda, and the Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action, advocate for the substantive participation of women in politics and in all areas of public life.

The implementation of Feminist Foreign Policies intends to break patriarchal structures that are still present in diplomacy and to advance toward achieving gender equality at the national and international arenas. To attain substantive equality as an essential precondition for development, the FFP must address various agendas ranging from the eradication of gender-based violence to the achievement of women's economic autonomy and the elimination of all forms of discrimination.

"A feminist foreign policy supports peace. No war represents us. A feminist foreign policy does not endorse any war or armed conflict. [...] A feminist foreign policy is not a question but an answer for justice. Environmental justice, social justice, fair trade, racial justice, and gender-focused and comprehensive justice against violence. A feminist foreign policy means embracing the principles of feminism in issues of care and protection of women, women leaders, and human rights defenders. States must protect the lives of defenders, all women, girls, and their territories."

— Adriana Benjumea Rúa, Corporación Humanas. Mexico, July 2024.

FFPs under construction face the challenge of conceiving and operationalizing a transversal, transformative, intersectional, anti-colonial, and inclusive approach while ensuring the active engagement of women's and feminist organizations, as well as civil society in general.

The contributions of CSOs will allow us to address the main challenges in the implementation of Feminist Foreign Policies from a plural perspective that incorporates the points of view of the Global South, as well as those of developed countries that have registered greater progress in the institutionalization of FFPs, guaranteeing their continuity and non-regression concerning equality and full respect for the human rights of all women and girls.

"With civil society organizations, we have already built something fundamental because we trust the experts who work on the ground. We understand this dynamic process as a mutual and complementary learning experience of our efforts, and thanks to this, our feminist foreign policy has been strengthened. For example, it took us over a year to develop our feminist cooperation policy. We conducted around 300 consultations with civil society organizations, academic experts, and Indigenous people. As a result, it is notable that civil society organizations have helped shape the cooperation policy through a gender lens, but they have also acted as an early warning system when alerts have been needed and have helped us share success stories."

— Anita Vandenberg, Parliamentary Secretary to the Minister of International Development of Canada. Mexico, July 2024.

Alliance for Feminist Movements

The Alliance for Feminist Movements brings together feminist civil society organizations, private philanthropy, national governments, women's and feminist funds and other partners to address issues of funding and policy support for feminist movements.

The Alliance for Feminist Movements was promoted within the framework of the Generation Equality Forum under the Coalition for Action on Feminist Leadership and Movements. Initially promoted by the governments of Canada and the Netherlands, with the objective of increasing and improving the quality of resources, including but not limited to financial resources, in

support of feminist movements and agendas, and mobilizing alliances and political support for diverse feminist movements, agendas and policies.

The Alliance's work is based on the following principles:

1. Strategic Coordination

The scope of feminist funding includes development assistance, domestic resource mobilization (local and national governments), private philanthropy, women's / feminist funds, as well as autonomous resourcing by feminist movements themselves. There are few mechanisms where we can collectively examine how these various flows converge in particular contexts, strategize for more effective, coordinated resourcing, and plan for long-term stability within the feminist funding arena. In addition, many Global South governments face similar challenges in accessing development funding as civil society organizations; this can result in a situation where Global South governments and national civil society organizations are placed in competition with one another.

2. Learning and Solutions Hubs

Adequate, effective resourcing for feminist movements requires both political will and technical knowledge and understanding. Learning and Solutions Hubs aim to serve as spaces for exploring innovative solutions relevant to all the stakeholders related to funding and addressing concrete barriers by supporting experience exchanges, learning across different sectors, and creative experimentation. As a result of the Hubs, we will see shifts in practices and approaches that lead to more resources directly reaching feminist movements and greater quality (core, long term, accessible, and flexible) funding.

(Alliance for Feminist Movements).

Action points from civil society for implementing Feminist Foreign Policies

1. Institutionalize feminist foreign policy and make it a state policy, focusing on agendas aimed at reducing all forms of oppression that the system exerts against women in all their diversity and historically discriminated groups.
2. Highlight in all forums where countries with feminist foreign policies (PEF) participate that PEF must be intersectional, holistic, multipurpose, and supportive, addressing the various forms of oppression and violence affecting women.
3. Break with institutional architectures and colonial power structures and reveal the forms of oppression that colonialism fosters.
4. Apply the perspective and priorities of PEF to all areas of foreign policy, including democracy, people, peace, planet, security, trade, economic relations, assistance and cooperation, and consular services.
5. Recognize that PEF goes beyond gender equality; it involves using all aspects of foreign policy and influence to prioritize people, peace, and the planet, and as a tool to eradicate patriarchy, xenophobia, homophobia, Islamophobia, anti-Semitism, colonialism, and racism, among others.
6. Deepen efforts to build more inclusive, participatory, and equitable global governance in various international forums and spaces where it is necessary to integrate a gender perspective and recognize the critical role of women in crucial and inherently interconnected issues like peace and security, armed conflicts, climate change, migration, artificial intelligence, food security, etc.
7. Encourage the participation of civil society, academia, and feminist groups through consultation mechanisms and ongoing dialogues with foreign ministries and substantive gender government areas for consistent implementation of PEF, ensuring that their voices strengthen multilateral decisions and are considered in the formulation of all national and international public policies, thereby giving them greater impact and sustainability.

8. Ensure that governments, in addition to supporting the physical participation of feminist civil society organizations in international and multilateral forums and promoting diverse delegations, consider the recommendations made by civil society organizations when integrating the country's vision and position on various foreign policy issues and subsequently create evaluation and monitoring spaces with civil society.
9. Increase dissemination of the results or resolutions from international forums where feminist civil society organizations accompany governments.
10. Ensure civil society's participation in cooperation and human rights mechanisms by creating specific mechanisms and providing adequate funding to civil society organizations.¹¹ Work collaboratively among countries with PEF and with civil society to counteract anti-rights forces fighting against the so-called "gender ideology."
11. Promote greater representation of women in high-level political positions both nationally and in human rights mechanisms, multilateral organizations, and other key decision-making spaces at the international level. To date, there has not been a female UN Secretary-General or OAS Secretary-General. We hope this will soon become a reality.
12. Ensure continuous funding with flexible requirements in each country, especially for small and medium-sized feminist organizations, to support their ongoing work and provide tools for NGOs to secure international funding for their participation in multilateral forums.
13. Ensure that funding, advice, support, and mentoring for feminist organizations and movements are carried out under approaches that do not reproduce patriarchal power relations and structures or exacerbate the precariousness of activist work but rather invest in flexible and multi-year cooperation and funding mechanisms.
14. Ensure the protection of activists and human rights defenders, particularly women, to prevent their criminalization and ensure their safety.

15. Establish mechanisms for monitoring, transparency, and accountability of organizations and governments to build mutual trust in the work they do together to implement PEF.
16. Promote that civil society organizations share best practices with each other and facilitate the cross-pollination of innovations.
17. Encourage a more proactive role for men in the implementation of Feminist Foreign Policies.
18. Prioritize sexual and reproductive rights of women in all their diversity when designing Feminist Foreign Policies.
19. Advocate for the demilitarization of the national agenda and international relations and direct multilateral agendas towards reducing armed conflicts and disarmament.
20. Reaffirm and transform punitive policies that lead to the criminalization of the bodies of women and individuals in vulnerable contexts.
21. Strengthen collaboration between states and civil society in monitoring and implementing CEDAW recommendations, particularly the latest recommendations, 39 on the rights of Indigenous women and girls, and 40 from 2024 on achieving gender parity in all public and political representation and decision-making spaces.
22. Focus efforts and coordinate actions to make the perspective and agenda of PEF a central theme in discussions and proposals at the United Nations Conference on Financing for Sustainable Development, Spain, 2025.
23. Ensure that the Future Pact emphasizes gender equality and women's rights in all their diversity and includes concrete commitments on gender and incorporates the principle of parity in all dimensions and cycles of foreign policy.

Annex 1.

Message from the Secretary of Foreign Affairs of Mexico, Alicia Bárcena Ibarra, during the conclusions and closing of the III Ministerial Conference on Feminist Foreign Policy: “Discussion on Feminist Foreign Policy Strategies and Future Steps”¹⁸⁵

STENOGRAPHIC VERSION
MEXICO CITY, MEXICO, JULY 3, 2024

We close today a very fruitful, intense and demanding meeting, a moving one... It has been three days of frank and urgent dialogue that I believe culminates, with hopes and expectations, and that is why I am pleased that, in these corridors of the Mexican Foreign Ministry, from where the most exceptional face of Mexican diplomacy has been chiseled, as Leticia Bonifaz described very well, these spaces have become spaces with a majority of women leading the discussion tables and conversations.

Also with male allies, thank you very much also because you are here in a shared cause that cannot be postponed.

We ask for nothing more than equality, no more and no less, and that is what we, the women who are here today, are fighting for. And on a day like today, July 3, 1955, Mexican women exercised their vote for the first time.

¹⁸⁵ Available at: <https://twitter.com/i/broadcasts/1OdKrjOkkXwKX>

And that is why having Olga Sánchez Cordero, a magnificent senator, at this event, because the phrase “the future will be feminist, or it will not be” is by Olga Sánchez Cordero, is something very important. I have always remembered your phrase throughout my life, that’s just the way it is.

And also to have Marcela Mora Arellano, president of the Foreign Affairs Commission, two extraordinary women, as we had our Secretaries of State at the inauguration, and that will permeate us all in this very important stage of Mexico, which is in a historic moment, because we are going to inaugurate this first woman president in 200 years of the Republic and especially with Claudia Sheinbaum, who will lead a transformation of our national life, a path opened by Andrés Manuel López Obrador, and which we call the Revolution of Consciences.

That is what Claudia called us yesterday: “the Revolution of Consciences”. And she said, “I do not arrive alone, we all arrive.” And I say that she is so right... because when a woman advances and transforms, we all advance.

When women advance, society progresses, and that is what is happening here, and that is why it is so important to remember some of the highlights of these three days.

I think we had very interesting contributions, for example: feminist foreign policy is a will for peace, said Celinda Sosa, from Bolivia; it must be rational and pragmatic, as Gesa Bräutigam, from Germany, said; we must continue to replicate the “three R’s” -that you said, Nadine-, reduce, recognize and redistribute care work.

And something very striking that Arlene B. Tickner, from Colombia, said: instead of thinking outside the box, it is time to throw away the box. I found it very important to imagine other possible worlds.

And we also talked about the Pact for the Future, about how we can arrive at the Summit of the Future with something, with something concrete, because we have to bet on a generational and gender pact, and that can truly include regulatory and legal foundations, and the empowerment of women in international forums, as Jackie O’Halloran, from Ireland, told us.

And that, I think, we need a transparent, responsive multilateral system, Smiljana Knez, Slovenia, told us. And it is imperative, Varina Winder, from the United States, told us very clearly: we need to be better organized, better funded and better coordinated.

And also many of the countries here are already doing important things, for example, diplomatic academies, foreign services in several countries are already functioning and making progress with affirmative actions to strengthen female leadership. I mean, without a doubt, in Brazil, in Colombia, in Mexico, in Slovenia, in France, in the Philippines, in Mongolia, we hear those examples to strengthen feminist policies.

Isabelle Rome, who is with us here, how wonderful that France is offering us to go there in the Fourth Conference, without a doubt, hopefully with many advances and very important actions, especially to overcome the culture of patriarchy and colonization, and that will lead us, as Amina Mohammed said, to equality being a rule and not an exception.

We also saw very interesting things in the Women in the Economy panel, very important aspects were discussed.

Graciela Márquez came and told us: let's see, it is none of these three things: neither education, nor age, nor the presence of a majority of women in the population that prevents us from equality.

So, what is holding us back? Why can't we achieve women's economic autonomy, which, in the end, is fundamental? We cannot achieve physical or political autonomy if there is no economic autonomy. We cannot make women dependent on their abusers, that is impossible and that is why it is so important to move forward.

Mariana Mazzucato told us: we have to conceive the economy, not simply as a performance rate, but as a trajectory that with the right orientation will allow us to achieve a mission, a mission that cannot be postponed, which is, in this case, gender equality. And economic growth must be the result of this process.

So it seems to me that Mariana, together with Graciela Márquez, made us think about what is preventing us. Why are only 30% of women in the labor market? Why is there a salary difference of almost 35% between men and women? Why are 50% of women in the service sector and in the informal sector? What is wrong with us? Why have we not been able to move forward? Why have we not been able to move forward economically?

And here we had representatives from the private sector, we had the vice-president of Walmart, we had Marlene Garaizar, who also put seven billion pesos into a fund to support women... This seems fundamental to me.

And, of course, Guadalupe Philips, from the private sector, who came to tell us that in such a difficult sector as construction and infrastructure, it is also possible to include women.

But for this to happen, there is no doubt that there must be greater, I would say, leadership from us as well, to encourage young men and women to study mathematics, engineering and get involved in science and technology.

Affirmative actions are needed, there is no doubt about that, because I am going to tell you one thing, the costs of excluding institutions are very high. The enormous losses in potential productivity resulting from gender equality are a fact.

And that is why we do have to move forward and move from the culture of privilege to the culture of equality; from extractivism to sustainability; to break the patriarchy and these great social and cultural stigmas and, really, to have access, access to productive, symbolic and material capital. I think this is fundamental.

And that is why I think it is so important that the topic of the care society has been discussed in depth here. Diana de la Parra, from Colombia, said a phrase that I liked very much: "(...) until the care society becomes our society". And that seems fundamental to me because, we, if we do not succeed in making the care society become part of our lives, we are not going to achieve that civilizing advance.

We have to free women in their time, we have to free caregivers from unpaid work, that is the truth; and turn it into an economic sector, a formal sector, a well-paid sector, as the European Commissioner told us, which in Malta is already a free access to the care society. This seems to me to be fundamental.

And here we also talked about the role of women in peace. And look at what Carlos Ruiz Massieu told us, that only 16% of the people who take part in peace processes are women. What is going on? We women are great negotiators, conciliators.

We need both, nobody wants to replace men, we only want power, which is the only thing I was saying on the first day, right? That's all. We don't want anything. Nothing more than that. No more, no less.

And not just because they are women. Stephanie Copus, from Australia, told us: "Well, it is not about women for women". No, but it is true that when there are women working in conflicts -such as the women mediators, this network that has been created in Latin America-, then we do make progress.

And as I was also saying, I think that, in science, in technology, there was also a lot of discussion here on that topic and how to advance in education in this intersectional perspective that also connects us with the great digital transformation so that we can really enter into modernity.

And intersectionality, of course, between sectors and, of course, between people. That is what we are looking for, that it is not only women, that it is indigenous peoples, that it is the disabled, that it is everyone, all the people that we are part of, that we are included.

And the truth is that we also hear voices, youth voices. And I like that very much, because all the young voices are also proclaiming that the time for equality has come. And because the truth is, I understand that we have to look at the past, no doubt, learn from it, but the truth is that there is nowhere to go back to, so it is better to go to the future because there is no way back.

And, precisely what we have to achieve is that there are no setbacks. (...) I have told you here on several occasions, it worries me that we, who are proclaiming

for a feminist foreign policy, fight so that there are no setbacks in the multilateral forums, in the political agendas, we cannot do that.

And I would say that, on the issue of youth, notice that yesterday our virtual president-elect recalled something very beautiful... When she spoke of the revolution of consciences, she made a call to remember Salvador Allende, who passed through this country in 1972, and said something very beautiful: "To be young and not to be revolutionary is a contradiction even biological."

And it is so, we young men and women have... because I feel young, I am no longer there, right? Young from the last fight... We have to make the revolution because that is what it is all about, we are here to make the revolution of consciences.

And I believe that we really have a unique opportunity to transform global governance. Maria Fernanda Espinosa told us that we have to make gender parity a prism, a methodology and a political commitment. But I loved it, a prism, through which we can look at the world from all points of view.

And of course, I think we cannot wait 140 years, as Mario Roldan told us, right? He said that we had to wait 140 years to reach political positions. Ah, no, look, I will see them from the other planet, of course, but it is not like that, because really, if we were able to integrate women, we would achieve a breakthrough. He said it too, in the OECD, 9.2% of the GDP, so.... man! Well, we are talking about prosperity.

So I believe that we have to make progress, a lot of progress to make, I believe that there is a lot to do, especially we who come from a continent where poverty and inequality still have a woman's face. Where more than a third of Latin American women do not manage to generate their own income and, when they do, their salary is lower than that of men, right? And they do not have the same rights.

So I think we have a huge task to do, a lot to contribute to the global south. There is no doubt that we have great challenges and here I would like to refer to one that, by the way, Giovanni Lepri expressed very clearly.

In your panel, Giovanni, you said something to the effect that of the hundreds of millions of displaced people, 50% are women. How can this be? What about migrations and displaced people and refugees? That perhaps is a problem of the global south, but I am sorry to report that it is also a problem of the north, and that we have to make an alliance to really achieve that human mobility is not discriminated against, is not seen as a crime, and that we protect women and girls, above all, from trafficking, from extortion, from the violation of their rights.

I believe then that we are at a very important moment and I would like to thank the civil society that has been present and that is always very important, because without civil society, the truth is that feminism and freedoms would not exist. So it is with civil society that we can build a more just society going forward.

And so, I would just like to say that I was also very interested in what was discussed in the panel on cooperation. And over there I see my colleague and friend from Chile, our dear Enrique, who is a great promoter of AECID, ACCI and also Amexcid, all the cooperation agencies participated, because cooperation can be the tool par excellence of the global feminist movement.

And let us try the care society, because let us carry out pilot programs, let us do things to prevent teenage pregnancy, let us do concrete things to move forward, precisely, in overcoming the great obstacles that sometimes stop our citizenship.

Above all, let us give women access to land, to credit, to financing, to property, because that is where the great inequalities start.

And really, as Eva Granados said, something very interesting: "The gender approach is not an accessory and any strategy that does not include it tends to fail".

So, of all these issues that you have brought to the table, and, above all, I think, one that we cannot forget is to break the statistical silence. This seems fundamental to me; we have to measure, disaggregate and see, because if we do not make the issue and the problem visible, we are not going to find the solutions either.

And I would simply like to close, dear friends, by saying that there are important women, there are interesting women, there are necessary women, but there are indispensable women. And they are María Noel Vaeza, Nadine Gasman, whom I love dearly.

I would also like to mention two indispensable women of this Chancery: Ximena Mariscal and Ximena Gómez, (...) Other indispensable women in this room: Moni Pizani, Marita Perceval,

And there are many others, but I just want to tell you that it is us women, the senators, the secretaries, the anonymous ones... with Jonathan Chait, all your team, who have made this meeting possible, so many colleagues who are here, really..., or.... There has been a collective, fantastic work of many people.

So I simply want to say thank you because it has been... I would say, a wonderful and encouraging few days, and I believe and hope that everyone will take back with them a good memory of this place.

And I am going to close with a woman whom I admire and will always admire, Gabriela Mistral, who said: "We women form a human hemisphere. Every law and every movement of freedom or culture has left us in the shadows for a long time. But any law aimed at transforming peoples and which does not take women into account is an infertile law."

Thank you very much.

Annex 2.

Statement from the Presidency of the III Ministerial Conference and Senior Representatives on Feminist Foreign Policies¹⁸⁶

We, representatives of governments committed to the incorporation of a gender perspective in international relations, through the adoption of respective Feminist Foreign Policies (FFP) and, in other cases, by the strengthening of gender equality in their foreign policies, gathered in Mexico City on July 1st, 2nd, and 3rd, 2024, on the occasion of the III Ministerial Conference on Feminist Foreign Policies:

Reaffirm the responsibility of our nations with gender equality, non-discrimination, and respect for diversity as fundamental principles of human rights and as necessary conditions for the fulfillment of the objectives of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action and essential requirements to achieve egalitarian, equitable, prosperous, peaceful and sustainable societies;

Also reaffirm our commitment with international instruments on human rights and gender equality, with the mainstreaming of a gender perspective into all development efforts, as well as to comply with the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development, especially SDG 5, on achieving gender equality and the empowerment of all women, young women, and girls, in all their diversity, from a gender-transformative approach;

We celebrate the implementation of Feminist Foreign Policies and other initiatives in our countries to provide foreign policies with a gender focus, recognizing them as tools to respond to current and future challenges from

¹⁸⁶ Available at: <https://www.gob.mx/sre/prensa/mexico-presenta-declaracion-sobre-derechos-de-la-mujer-en-la-iii-conferencia-ministerial-sobre-politicas-exteriores-feministas>

a human rights perspective and for the strengthening of democracy, with innovative solutions that put equal rights at the center of the international agenda aiming for a better tomorrow for all people;

We commit to:

1. Advance gender-responsive reforms, to reshape financial and economic systems to prioritize sustainability, climate justice, and peace and achieve economies that focus on the well-being of all people, in particular, those in situations of vulnerabilities;
2. Design gender-responsive fiscal and budgetary policies that address the rights of all women, young women and girls, and include them in decision-making;
3. Reaffirm the important role of women in the prevention and resolution of conflicts, mediation efforts and peacebuilding, and stressing the importance of their full, equal and meaningful participation in all efforts for the maintenance and promotion of peace and security, as well as the need to increase their role in decision-making with regard to conflict prevention and resolution;
4. Advance in the elimination of the gender digital divide, guaranteeing for women, youth, and girls, equality of opportunities, conditions, and treatment in access, use, and appropriation of technology, as well as the promotion of women's skills and leadership and the incorporation of the gender perspective in science, technology and digital cooperation and intersectional approaches that allow dismantling discriminatory biases and generating inclusive, responsible, safe and transparent digital systems;
5. Incorporate the voices of youth in decision-making, particularly young women and girls, including their meaningful participation in the design, implementation, and evaluation of foreign and development policies with a gender perspective and with an intersectional, intergenerational, intercultural, and human rights approach;

6. Promote, through foreign policy, conditions that allow women, young women, and girls to participate fully, freely, and effectively in public life, as well as to establish policies to eradicate gender stereotypes, patriarchal patterns, and all forms of discrimination and sexual and gender-based violence in public –including all sectors of foreign policies– and private life, online and offline, highlighting the importance of promoting comprehensive global policies and approaches based on human rights in favor of decent work, the care economy, access to education and gender equality;
7. Incorporate intercultural, and intergenerational perspectives in the design, implementation, and evaluation of feminist foreign policies, as well as other commitments related to the promotion, protection, and guarantee of the rights of women, young women and girls, and their fully, freely, and effective participation in public life;
8. Promote South-South and triangular cooperation, as well as multilateral actions that favor eradicating the structural barriers of gender inequality, all forms of discrimination and gender-based violence;
9. Establish and strengthen mechanisms for participation, support and collaboration with civil society, especially women’s and feminists’ organizations, women’s human rights defenders and movements and grassroots organizations, for the design, implementation and evaluation of gender perspectives in foreign policies and Feminist Foreign Policies, promoting the significant participation of youth and their integration in the decision-making processes;
10. Continue joint cooperation and collaboration within the framework of the United Nations System and other regional and international forums and diverse initiatives in these contexts, to enhance our efforts towards substantive gender equality, putting rights and participation of women, young women, and girls at the center, within the framework of the Summit of the Future and mainly in the implementation of the Pact for the Future.



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