



# TOWARD A FEMINIST FUNDING ECOSYSTEM

awid

# CREDITS

THE ASSOCIATION FOR WOMEN'S RIGHTS IN DEVELOPMENT (AWID) is a global, feminist, membership, movement-support organization. We support feminist, women's rights and gender justice movements to thrive, to be a driving force in challenging systems of oppression, and to co-create feminist realities.

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## TOWARD A FEMINIST FUNDING ECOSYSTEM

October 2019

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# TOWARD A FEMINIST FUNDING ECOSYSTEM



WE ALL LIVE WITHIN ECOSYSTEMS: OUR PLANET'S AIR, EARTH,  
AND WATER; THE TECHNOLOGIES THAT CONNECT US ACROSS SPACE  
AND TIME; OUR RELATIONSHIPS TO PEOPLE AND COMMUNITY.

An ecosystem starts with a simple principle that we are all interconnected. In nature, it is defined as, "all the living things in an area and the way they affect each other and the environment." To be a part of an ecosystem is to interact, support each other, and adapt – both in states of harmony and when an ecosystem is under threat. Every part of the ecosystem affects the others, and the relationships between them define the whole.





Building on this work and deep conversations with our partners and allies, AWID [proposed](#) the concept of a *feminist funding ecosystem* in 2018.<sup>1</sup> We both broadened the scope of Edwards' framework to encompass funding sources of all varieties and adapted it more specifically to feminist social change. We entered with the conviction that a feminist analysis of these new funding imaginaries would strengthen their power and potential and make them even more useful and relevant for feminist social change.

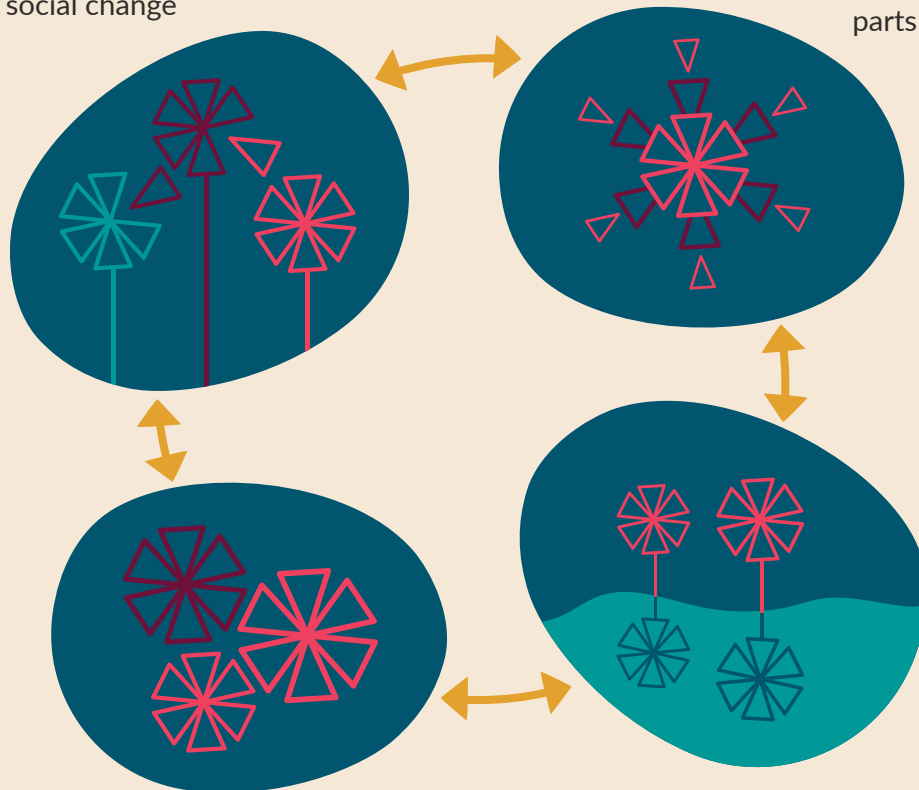
Overall, the ecosystem follows four principles. It is: dynamic; complex, interconnected; and reflective.

## DYNAMIC

Takes a holistic and systemic approach recognizing the interplay between actors of social change

## COMPLEX

Recognizes where the expansion or contraction of one part affects all parts of the system



## INTERCONNECTED

Web of diverse sources bringing money to the movements

## REFLECTIVE

Of environment and overall system surrounding it

<sup>1</sup> AWID's [initial article](#), "From Scattered Landscape to an Interconnected Ecosystem: How funding feminist and justice organizing can, do, and be better" was written in 2018 by Angelika Arutyunova, AWID's former Program Director of Feminist Movement Building.

In this report, we expand on these principles to bring to life the ecosystem in detail. We unpack challenges and potential within specific funding sectors and build a more complex, dynamic, three-dimensional model that feminist movements and funders can use. Over the coming pages, we explore the current state of resourcing and ask what it would take to move to a balanced, transformative feminist funding ecosystem.

## HOW WILL A FEMINIST FUNDING ECOSYSTEM CONTRIBUTE TOWARD MORE ABUNDANT AND RELEVANT RESOURCES FOR FEMINIST SOCIAL CHANGE?

Our objective is to enable feminist movements and funders to see and better understand how funding actors, sectors, and resources interact – creating a new and more responsive framework for resourcing and action for change. Ideally, with an ecosystem lens, movements and their allies could see not only how much funding is reaching them, from whom and from where, but to name and call out the places where funding could reach movements but does not. This approach also shines a light on places where power and decision making are concentrated and where inequalities are compounded. It also values movements' own often-invisibilized contributions of money, time and other resources and makes it possible for funders to see where they fit in the whole.

Even as we center on feminist social change, we hope this detailed account can contribute to broader analysis about the interactions between funders and social change. Most importantly, we hope this work can begin to lay out a pathway toward a funding ecosystem that supports the full richness of feminist organizing and vibrant, robust, and resilient movements.

OUR OBJECTIVE IS  
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— CREATING A NEW  
AND MORE RESPONSIVE  
FRAMEWORK FOR  
RESOURCING AND ACTION  
FOR CHANGE.



# STARTING WITH POWER



AS Alice Walker famously said, “The most common way people give up their power is by thinking they don’t have any.” This report is an attempt to help reveal where power sits and point to how we can all use our positions to shift the power dynamics toward a balanced ecosystem to support real feminist social change.

We enter this work with an understanding that **power in the current funding ecosystem is out of balance.**

We believe a **balanced ecosystem is one in which feminist activists themselves have the power to define funding priorities** iteratively and in dialogue with funders. At present, this is rarely the case and always contingent on funders’ willingness to open the door to shared priority-setting and decision-making.

Instead of activists forced to compete constantly and navigate each of the discrete funding pillars and sectors, movements’ needs and priorities should be positioned as the central objective, with funders as active agents in collaboratively supporting those priorities.

We also acknowledge that **power is not about money alone.** The resources that fuel feminist social change come in many forms – financial, political, and in daily acts of resistance, care, survival, and building new [feminist realities](#) – and are embedded in larger economic and political systems. Within the funding ecosystem, we look at flows of such resources and include the invaluable contributions of time, knowledge, and labour from movements in our analysis.<sup>2</sup>

We explicitly use the term “feminist” because it goes beyond working toward equality and rights for women. Feminist change means dismantling the patriarchal beliefs, systems and institutions that oppress women, girls, trans, intersex and non-binary people globally. This includes the dominant economic system, which makes its profits from the exploitation of people and nature. Achieving equality within these systems is not enough. We want to change – indeed, transform the systems themselves.

“THE MOST COMMON WAY  
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IS BY THINKING THEY DON’T  
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- ALICE WALKER

THE RESOURCES THAT FUEL  
FEMINIST SOCIAL CHANGE  
COME IN MANY FORMS —  
FINANCIAL, POLITICAL,  
AND IN DAILY ACTS  
OF RESISTANCE, CARE,  
SURVIVAL, AND BUILDING  
NEW FEMINIST REALITIES.

FEMINIST CHANGE MEANS  
DISMANTLING THE  
PATRIARCHAL BELIEFS,  
SYSTEMS AND INSTITUTIONS  
THAT OPPRESS WOMEN,  
GIRLS, TRANS, INTERSEX  
AND NON-BINARY PEOPLE  
GLOBALLY.

<sup>2</sup> Because of this distinction, we debated using the term “feminist *resourcing* ecosystem.” However, we settled on “funding ecosystem” to maintain consistency with the current debates and discourse and to distinguish the title of this work from other forms of resources, such as natural resources.

Next, we recognize that **movements have their own power dynamics** that mean some groups and activists have access to funds and political spaces, while others do not.

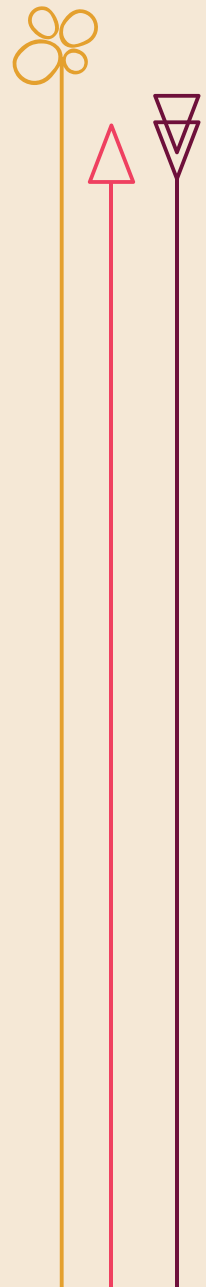
A healthier, more robust funding ecosystem must include movements and funders alike opening space for the full range and diversity within our movements, including frontline activists, communities, and informal collectives, and not just established NGOs, and those working to advance the rights of groups and communities facing marginalization and oppression, such as migrants and refugees, Black and indigenous people, sex workers, LBQTI communities, or women with disabilities.

While this report focuses on the relationships between funders and movements, we also raise questions about how feminist activists and organizations themselves can contribute to more just and distributed resourcing between parts of our movements.

Finally, we believe that **many actors within the funding ecosystem do not see or use the power they have to change the system** or their own institutional policies and practices.

This is not only about shifting power into the hands of feminist movements. Funders are much more than the grants they make. They are a particular point within a much larger system of interlocking resources. Within a single institution, sources of income, investments, and other programming also become sites of potential advocacy and social change.

Speaking on a panel, [#PhilanthropySoWhite](#), Vanessa Daniel, Executive Director of Groundswell Fund, was asked what advice she would give to white leaders in philanthropy. Her response inspires our report:





THERE'S A WEIRD WAY IN WHICH POWER OPERATES AMONG WHITE LEADERS IN PHILANTHROPY. BECAUSE IT'S A PARADOX. ON THE ONE HAND, THERE'S QUITE A BIT OF POWER AND THE EXERCISING OF IT.

BUT THERE'S THIS SORT OF FRAGILITY WHEN IT COMES TO EXERCISING POWER IN THE DIRECTION OF STRUCTURAL CHANGE IN OUR SECTOR. WHERE YOU HAVE FOLKS THAT ARE SITTING RIGHT NEXT TO THE LEVER OF INCREDIBLE RESOURCES AND DECISION-MAKING POWER AND *COULD* TRANSFORM IT... AND FEEL KIND OF IMPOTENT OR SOMEHOW UNABLE TO USE IT OR MAKE A DECISION NOT TO USE IT.

I THINK THAT FOLKS NEED TO STEP UP TO USE IT AND START USING IT AND GETTING COMFORTABLE WITH DISCOMFORT.



This is precisely what we hope an ecosystem approach will prompt:

- WHAT ARE THE LEVERS OF CHANGE THAT I SIT NEAR?
- HOW CAN I SHIFT THEM?
- WHAT CAN I DO TO MOVE THE LARGER ECOSYSTEM INTO THE DIRECTION OF SYSTEMIC CHANGE?

# THE "WHO AND HOW" OF THE FEMINIST FUNDING ECOSYSTEM



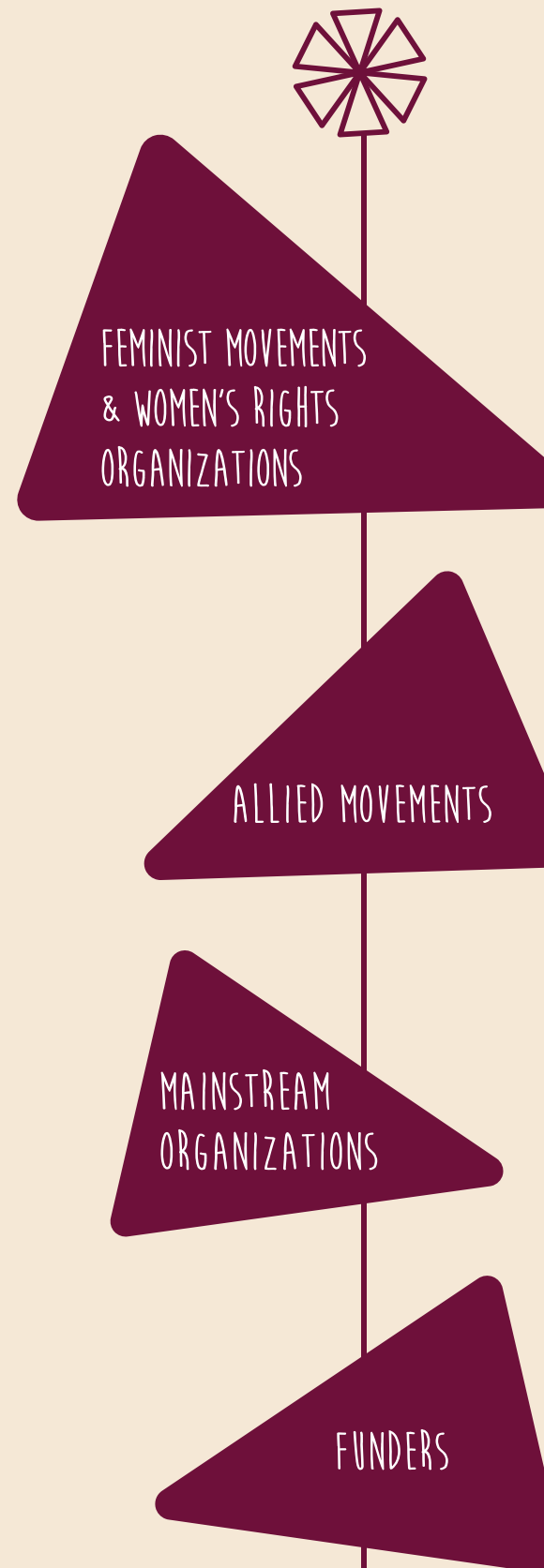
TO understand the feminist funding ecosystem, we must understand who is who and how resources flow.

**FIRST, THERE ARE ACTORS:** the people and institutions that fit within the ecosystem. In the feminist funding ecosystem, we are principally looking at:

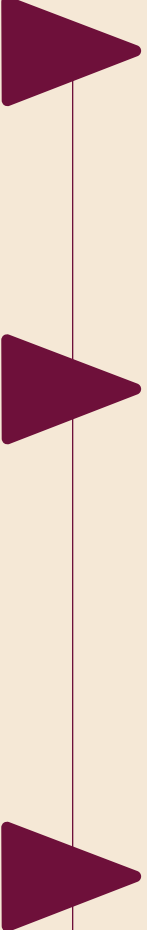
## FEMINIST MOVEMENTS AND WOMEN'S RIGHTS

**ORGANIZATIONS.** We define women's rights organizations (WROs) as crucial actors supporting, building and contributing to feminist movements, an organised set of constituents pursuing a core political agenda of protection, promotion and fulfilment of women's human rights through collective action.<sup>3</sup> Feminist movements and WROs:

- Work from feminist and/or women's rights perspectives;
- Are led by the people they serve;
- Have the promotion of women's, girls', trans and/or intersex people's human rights as their primary mission, and not just as the focus of part of their programs;
- Push for structural change;
- Work on issues that are marginalized and/or contested.



<sup>3</sup> See Batliwala, Srilatha. 2012. [Changing Their World: Concepts and Practices of Women's Movements](#); and Mama Cash Criteria for Funding: <https://www.mamacash.org/en/en-what-we-do-and-do-not-fund>.

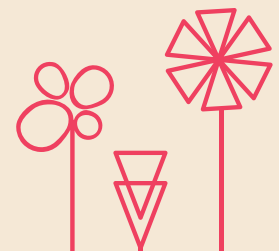


**ALLIED MOVEMENTS** and activists whose work intersects with feminist social change, including in the areas of LGBTQI rights, climate justice, labour rights, racial justice, disability rights, and more. These are grassroots movements that contribute directly to feminist agendas.

**MAINSTREAM ORGANIZATIONS** refer to civil society organizations (CSOs) and international non-governmental organizations (INGOs) that do not fulfill the criteria for feminist and allied movements: i.e. they are not grassroots, self-led groups that directly contribute to feminist social change. While they may have some gender-related programming, this may be one small part of a larger whole or come from a more mainstream approach as opposed to a structural change agenda.

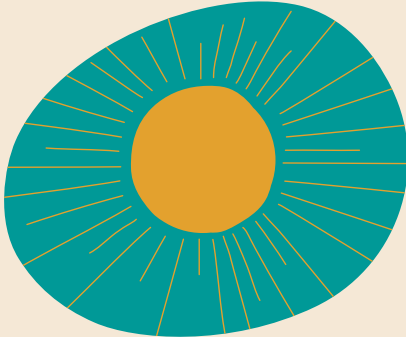
**FUNDERS** are the broad range of actors who contribute financial resources to feminist social change or to issues that affect the funding ecosystem. We describe their specific roles in the current ecosystem in much greater detail later in this report. According to AWID's past surveys of WROs, the primary funder groups to consider include:

- Foundations (public and private)
- International development organizations
- Women's funds
- Local and national governments
- Private sector (including corporate foundations)
- Movements' autonomous resourcing
- Other sources, including: individual donors, faith-based organizations, investments.

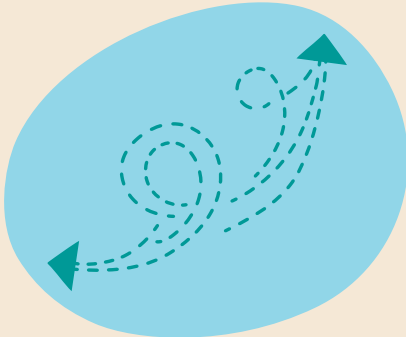
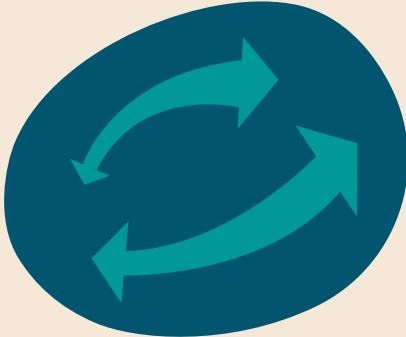


SECOND, THERE ARE TYPES OF FUNDING. We identify four broad categories that have different impacts in the ecosystem:

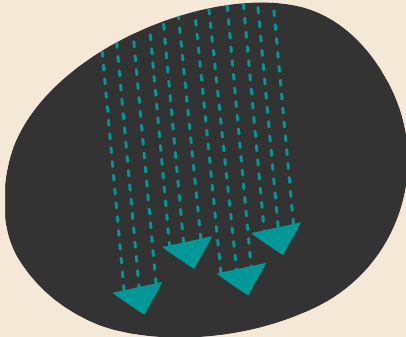
DIRECT FUNDING



POTENTIAL & DIVERTED FUNDING

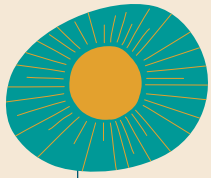


GENERIC FUNDING



FUNDING "AGAINST"





## DIRECT FUNDING

We make a fundamental distinction between general resources for gender equality or women and girls as a population and funding that supports women's rights and feminist organizations and movements. For example, governments doing gender-responsive budgeting or researchers assessing educational attainment by gender may be considered "gender equality" programs, but would not fall into our definition of feminist social change.

In direct funding, we count money that reaches feminist movements through grants, partnerships, or other programming, or via key intermediaries such as women's funds. This also includes [autonomous resourcing](#), generated for and by movements themselves.

To be clear: We believe that significantly more resources in the funding ecosystem should be moved into this category. Differentiating and tracking *direct* funding from more general gender equality or women-and-girls allocated resources is an immediate and necessary step for funders to see where they sit and how they can shift their power in the ecosystem.

DIFFERENTIATING AND TRACKING *DIRECT* FUNDING FROM MORE GENERAL GENDER EQUALITY OR WOMEN-AND-GIRLS ALLOCATED RESOURCES IS AN IMMEDIATE AND NECESSARY STEP FOR FUNDERS TO SEE WHERE THEY SIT AND HOW THEY CAN SHIFT THEIR POWER IN THE ECOSYSTEM.

## MODALITIES: LOOKING AT THE "HOW"<sup>4</sup>

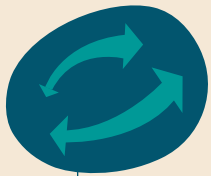
In addition to the forms of funding, we also need to consider how resources are allocated - or the *modalities* used. In the feminist funding ecosystem, the principle modalities include:

- **FLEXIBLE, CORE SUPPORT GRANTS** are those that are most helpful and supportive, because they allow the flexibility for movements and organizations to decide where this money needs to be spent - whether that be compensating staff, paying rent or for materials and resources. Most women's funds, some foundations and a very small number of grants from the international development sector do this. This is by far the most effective way to advance *direct funding* to movements.
- **PROJECT GRANTS** in general are those that can only be used for specific activities and/or projects and are typically short-term. This is often the form of funding from many sectors.

<sup>4</sup> In an upcoming report, AWID and Mama Cash investigate why funding often stays within bilateral and multilateral agencies and explore the modalities and mechanisms needed to reach feminist movements directly.

- **IMPLEMENTATION PARTNERSHIPS** are the leading way that development agencies and governments distribute funds, with feminist movements as partners on programs that contribute to the agencies' goals. While there may be alignment with what feminist groups want to achieve, they are still not fully defining the programs – falling principally into the category of *diverted funding*. They also face substantial reporting and compliance requirements that are impossible for many feminist groups to meet.

The paradox of the current ecosystem is that the largest funders primarily use the most restricted modalities, while the best, most flexible money sits in the smallest pools – women's funds, a small number of private foundations, and autonomous resourcing.



## POTENTIAL & DIVERTED FUNDING

This is money that *could* support feminist social change, but is currently held in portfolios or institutions that are not expressly led for and by women, girls, and trans and intersex people themselves. Both potential and diverted funds tend to be the places where funders themselves could make the most difference in shifting the ecosystem.

“Potential funding” is where funders of important issues such as human rights or the environment, and even those who focus on women and girls, *could* support feminist social change, but do not. Often, these resources stay within issue-specific CSOs or go to INGOs with gender programs.

A [recent study](#) showed that just 1% of 2014 foundation grants for environmental issues addressed “women and the environment.” The same paucity of funding for feminist movements can be seen in foundation support of economic justice, health, technology, general human rights, and many other areas where feminists organize but are not well-resourced.

One of the key challenges for potential funding is that funding is often done in silos, with money allocated to distinct issues, and does not match the richness and diversity of cross-issue organizing that characterizes modern social movements. **These resources are moving in the ecosystem, but missing our movements.**

International development provides another striking example of potential funding. A remarkable – and disturbing – [99% of gender-related international aid](#) fails to reach women’s rights and feminist organizations directly. Three-quarters of the [funding](#) never leaves development agencies themselves, and the remaining money that does goes almost entirely to mainstream CSOs and INGOs.

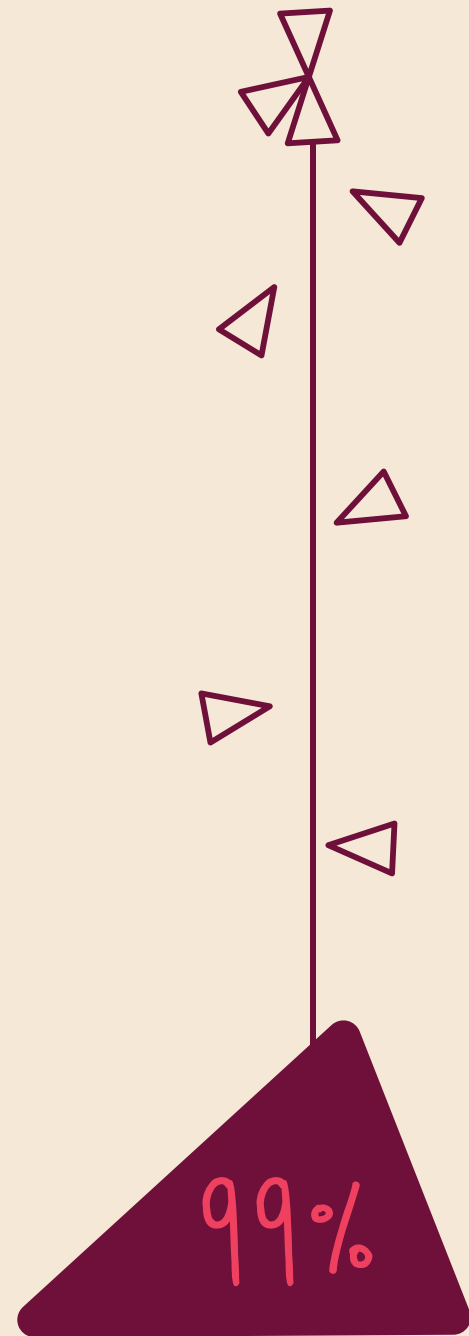
Surely, the case can be made that, INGOs, mainstream or issue-specific CSOs, and development agencies provide important programs for women’s rights and that they partner with women’s rights organizations. However, **we have failed to shift power when 99% of money circulating for gender equality is not in the hands of feminist movements.**

“Diverted funding” refers especially to money that is largely inaccessible to feminist organizing, despite claims that it advances gender equality. This may take the form of large-scale development projects that have some gender goals, but keep money within governments and development agencies, or business approaches to gender inequality that keep money principally within the private sector.

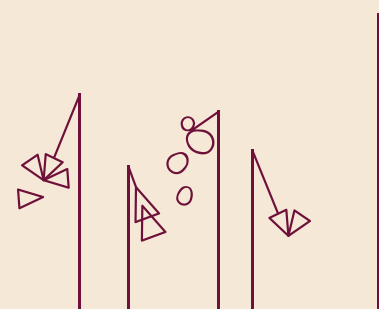
Potential and diverted funding are distinct in a key way: Potential funding could reach feminist movements with deliberate tweaks to current funding portfolios and within existing modalities. Diverted funding requires a more systemic critique of the rationale and reality that keeps big pots of money almost entirely inaccessible to our movements and reinforces structural inequalities.

A good illustration of diverted funding is the trend to “invest” in women and girls as “smart economics.” Hailed by some, the investment trend tends to approach individual women as recipients of services or individualistic empowerment processes, but doesn’t shift resources to collective political organizing that aims to shift power in society, economy, and politics.

Nonetheless, there has been an expansion of corporate social responsibility practices, gender impact investing, and a growing wave of public-private partnerships that bridge corporations with development or philanthropy. While promising in theory, such investments have



*OF GENDER-RELATED INTERNATIONAL AID FAILS TO REACH WOMEN’S RIGHTS AND FEMINIST ORGANIZATIONS DIRECTLY*



proven to be a huge injection of diverted funding – or, worse, “funding against” (described below).

## GENDER IMPACT INVESTING

Gender impact or smart investing is an approach to back businesses that seek to reduce gender inequality by integrating gender-based factors into investment strategies while also generating returns. Expanding well beyond the microfinance trend of the past several decades, gender impact investing increasingly taps into global financial markets and includes venture capital, private equity, bonds, and other forms of investments.

It is rapidly growing: According to Veris Wealth Partner, gender impact investing had reached \$2.4 billion by June 2018, 85% more than in the previous year, and is predicted to rise USD 20 billion by 2023.

While the idea of gender impact investing itself might be convincing, there is substantial cause for concern about its prominence as a fix for gender-based inequalities. Are returns coming from companies that promote women’s equality in one area, but rely on extractive labour practices or tax evasion in another? And what does “just” investment look like in a dominant neoliberal economy that is, to a large extent, built upon exploitation of women’s labour, both paid and unpaid? Even within the impact investing field itself, there is debate over whether investors can seed systemic change or if it is bound to perpetuate inequalities.

As with other forms of investing, we must follow the money – not only that which may ultimately reach gender-related action, but also back to its source.

Feminist movements around the world are working to understand where investments do good and where they do harm. This is not an easy task, with many forms of diverted funding managed behind closed doors and in spaces with little oversight. **It remains an active question whether and when we should strive to unlock such resources and where we should resist their ascendancy in the ecosystem.**

Even with a limited view, we believe there are significant ways that potential and diverted funding could advance feminist social change, or at least stop working against it, explored in the remainder of this report.

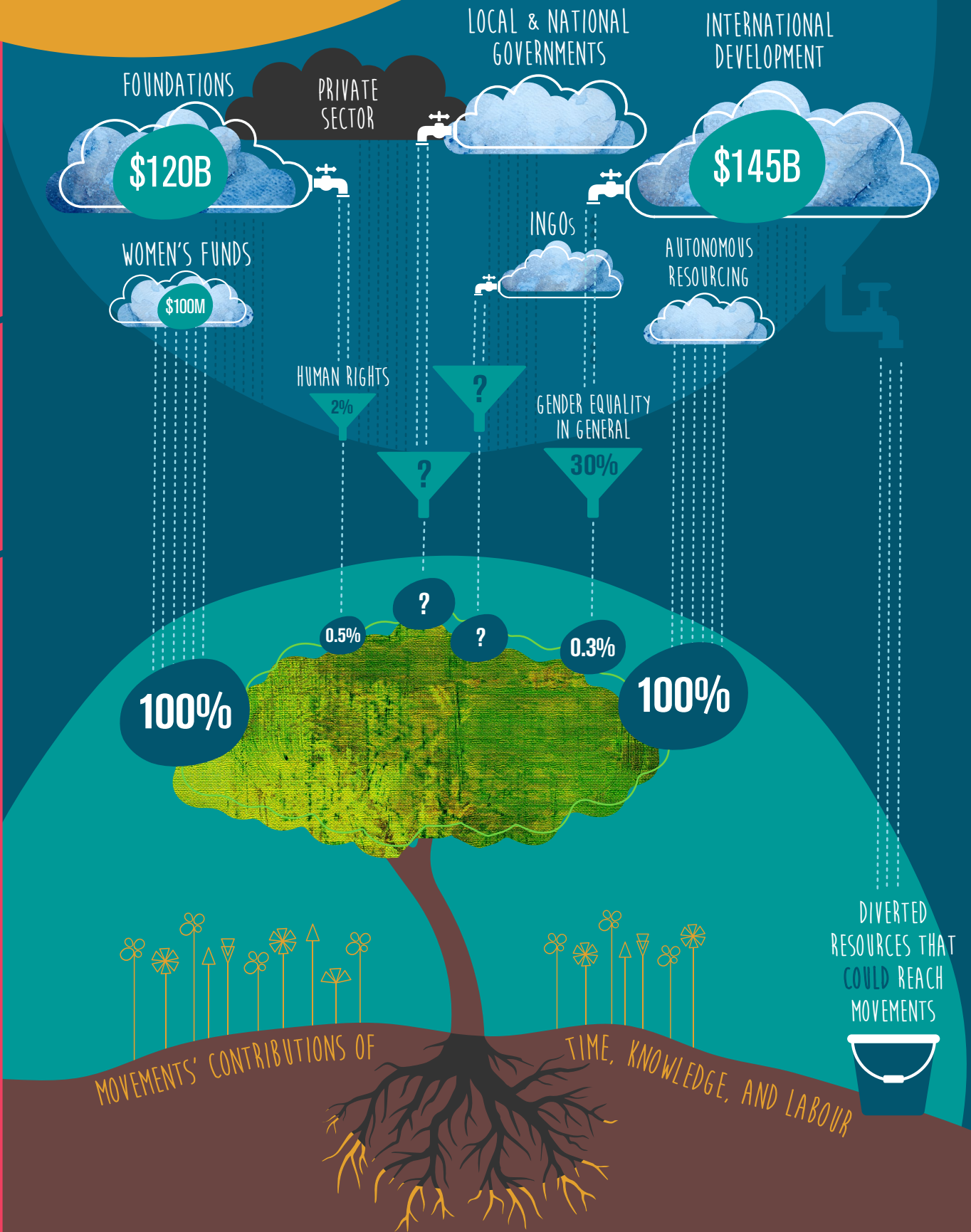
The visual on the next page envisages the current state of direct vs. potential and diverted funding for feminist movements.

# CURRENT FUNDING BY SECTOR

TOTAL BUDGET BY SECTOR (ANNUAL)

APPROXIMATE FUNDING FOR RELATED ISSUES

% SECTOR THAT ACTUALLY REACHES FEMINIST MOVEMENTS



## RESOURCING FOR FEMINIST MOVEMENTS

Aside from women's funds and autonomous resources raised by movements themselves, you can start to see in the above image how diluted and filtered the money reaching feminist movements really is - and how much money in general is out there.

Two other types of funding come to light in the ecosystem.



## GENERIC FUNDING

The vast majority of money in the funding sector is allocated without a social-change lens and in what we are calling “generic funding.” This funding goes toward areas such as the arts, religion, education, or health. While there is crossover in some of these issues and feminist agendas, generic funding often takes the form of service-oriented programs and is not focused on structural change.

The magnitude is clear: just 2% of philanthropy is directed toward social change, constituting USD 2.8 billion in 2016.<sup>5</sup> The remaining 98% (roughly USD 120 billion per year) is [concentrated around several key issues](#): “...35 percent of nearly 30,000 foundations [focus] at least some of their resources on the [education] sector. Other priorities include human services and social welfare (21 percent), health (20 percent) and arts and culture (18 percent).”

Generic funding is not inconsequential for social change. For instance, [large education pushes in Africa](#) have reinforced neoliberal private-public (or just private) education, rather than frame education as a right that deserved public funding. And gender inequalities in health research have reinforced biases and, at times, led to [devastating health outcomes](#) for women and non-binary people.

Generic funding can also blur the solutions to pressing problems by driving money toward service provision and charity without addressing the root causes of inequalities or the depletion of public services in the first place. It may also reinforce in cultural spaces that are inaccessible for many people.

GENERIC FUNDING CAN ALSO BLUR THE SOLUTIONS TO PRESSING PROBLEMS BY DRIVING MONEY TOWARD SERVICE PROVISION AND CHARITY WITHOUT ADDRESSING THE ROOT CAUSES OF INEQUALITIES.

<sup>5</sup> This number is according to our latest calculations using data from Human Rights Funders Network's joint work *Advancing Human Rights: The State of Global Foundation Grantmaking* (<https://humanrightsfunding.org/>) and is consistent with research on social change grantmaking (e.g. Jenkins, J. C. (1998). Channeling Social Protest: Foundation Patronage of Contemporary Social Movements. In W. W. Powell & E. S. Clemens (Eds.), *Private Action and the Public Good* (pp. 206–216). New Haven: University Press.).

Some of this money may fall into the categories of potential and diverted funding and even funding “against” (see next category). However, we recognize that a substantial amount of the generic funding within our ecosystem will not be redirected to feminist social change any time soon. Though we will continue to resist harmful framings and bring attention to structural change approaches, it is not a core goal to secure or influence most of this generic funding.



## FUNDING “AGAINST”

Funding against is money that expressly funds issues and actors that **undermine feminist social change**. This is often the most insidious and hard to track, and can sit within the very same institutions that laud gender equality and women’s rights in other areas.

At its most extreme, “funding against” consists of the quite well-organized funding of anti-rights movements and agendas that undermine gender justice worldwide. (This can include from extreme pockets of religious-oriented funding described in “generic funding” above.) These are the emerging dynamics that tie together corporate, fundamentalist and fascist actors within political and economic power structures. [Funding to anti-rights movements](#) and agendas is flowing from the corporate sector and [extremely wealthy individuals](#), but this funding is often cloaked in secrecy and is only now just beginning to be exposed.

At the same time, “funding against” includes the larger context of funding flows that negatively affects feminist social change, including where funding is going toward militarism, projects that degrade the natural environment, produce extreme inequalities in wealth and other injustices that compound gender-based inequality. The image on the next page gives a snapshot of the overall flows against feminist movements.<sup>6</sup>

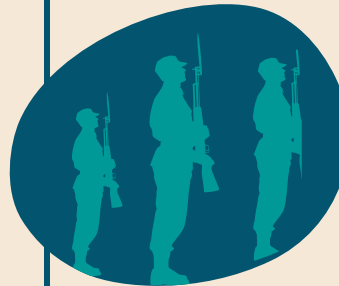
FUNDING AGAINST IS  
MONEY THAT EXPRESSLY  
FUNDS ISSUES AND ACTORS  
THAT UNDERMINE FEMINIST  
SOCIAL CHANGE.



GLOBAL WEALTH  
317 TRILLION



OIL & GAS REVENUE  
2 TRILLION



GLOBAL MILITARY  
SPENDING  
1,8 TRILLION



FOUNDATIONS' ASSETS  
1,5 TRILLION



HEALTH (GLOBAL DEV.  
ASSISTANCE)  
38,9 BILLION



EDUCATION  
22 BILLION



AID TO GENDER EQUALITY (PRINCIPALLY)  
4,6 BILLION

All monetary references are in USD.

<sup>6</sup> Sources for the graphic above: [foundations](#); total world [military expenditure](#); [global wealth](#); [health](#); [education](#); aid to gender equality as a [principal objective](#); and [oil and gas](#).



In the current funding landscape, the larger overall flow of resources – such as the USD 1,686 trillion for annual global military spending and the concentration of [82% of the world's wealth by 1% of the population](#) – remains unseen. The money that flows into our ecosystem cannot be divorced from this context. **Funding “against” compels us to look at fundamental contradictions in the ecosystem.**

As we have asked [elsewhere](#):

*What does it mean... when programs making grants for feminist organizations come from agencies that also champion [privatization of land](#) or invest heavily in [extractive industries](#)? What about “charity” from [corporations](#) whose labour practices exploit rather than upend inequality?<sup>7</sup>*

These are not abstract questions, but realities for many of the actors that support feminist social change. More and more, feminist and allied movements are interrogating such macro-economic issues and asking questions about where resourcing for civil society is coming from – and at what price – leading to demand for greater accountability from grantmakers.

With an ecosystem, funding “against” can – and must – be taken out of the shadows.

And this is where it begins to get interesting.

<sup>7</sup> Miller, Kellea. March 13, 2019. “Taxes, taxes, taxes. All the rest is bullshit in my opinion.” AWID. <https://www.awid.org/news-and-analysis/taxes-taxes-taxes-all-rest-bullshit-my-opinion>.

# DYNAMICS OF THE CURRENT ECOSYSTEM



**I**n this section, we look at the different funders to shed light on the power they hold, the money they manage, and the roles they can play to move toward a healthier ecosystem.

Of course, **not all sectors or funders are the same**. Individuals and institutions face different constraints, priorities, and requirements depending on where they sit.

The ecosystem framework takes these distinctions into account, first spelling out the differences amongst general funding sectors. We also pay attention to where movements have access and decision-making power to shape the priorities and strategies that garner resourcing. This relational view moves away from “who funds women’s rights?” to a much more complex understanding of how resources flow between organizations and both toward and away from direct funding for feminist movements – and where those resources are coming from.

**International Development** refers to the combination of bilateral and multilateral agencies that make grants and run development programs, including those related to gender equality and women’s rights. Both forms of funding are typically part of official development aid (ODA).<sup>8</sup>

### **Bilateral Funders**

“Bilateral” funding is money that is given out by a single government, usually managed by national development agencies. For instance, the Dutch Government has been a leader in [developing bilateral funding streams](#), such as the Millennium Development Goals 3 (MDG3) Fund and its successor, Funding Leadership and Opportunities for Women, to support WROs globally.

### **Multilateral funders**

“Multilateral” funding comes from numerous governments and organisations (including from multiple bilateral funders) and is usually arranged by an international organisation such as the World Bank or the UN. These entities are considered mechanisms to coordinate and streamline aid from multiple sources. Examples for gender equality include the UN/European Union’s €500 million Spotlight Initiative to End Violence Against Women and UN Women’s Fund for Gender Equality. The vast majority of multilateral funding goes either directly to governments or stays within development agencies themselves.

<sup>8</sup> We do not use the term “international development” lightly. It is both a fraught framework and reality, in which countries that have benefitted from extraction from the Global South now mete out resources under their own agendas. While often with social good tacked on, this system is far from neutral. As one [recent critique](#) summarized, “Donor nations use crippling loans as weapons to promote their own interests.” We retain the term here to reflect the overall field and place it into the larger political and economic context.



INTERNATIONAL  
DEVELOPMENT

LOCAL & NATIONAL  
GOVERNMENTS

INGOS

FOUNDATIONS

PRIVATE SECTOR

FEMINIST AND WOMEN'S  
FUNDS

AUTONOMOUS  
RESOURCING



This type of funding is especially bureaucratic, suffering from financial inefficiency and tied to “economic growth” models of development that are not rights-based.

In the current ecosystem, international development resources - even with a recent wave of over [USD 1 billion new commitments](#) - are often inaccessible, locked behind requirements most feminist organizations will never reach, channeled through INGOs, other governments, or other development agencies.

Another issue is that such funding is political, with some countries engaging in preferential or conditional allocation of funds (such as refusing to fund certain programmes of work like sexual and reproductive health rights). This can depend on a number of things such as economic and other interests of the donor country, ideology or geopolitics, and national political pressure.

Within international development, harmful development practices (funding “against”) and programming for women’s rights and gender equality may sit in the same institution. For example, international development monies often come with “conditionalities,” or requirements for countries to receive large-scale aid packages. Conditionalities overwhelmingly require austerity measures and other economic policies that strip social services from the public and place greater control in the hands of private companies. This is [unequivocally harmful for gender equality](#). These contradictions are a lever – a point where insiders may start to push, to question, and to see a role for them to shift the larger whole.

We have seen a groundswell of interest and commitment to the ideals of gender equality within this sector. Now is the time to turn these promises into proven practices to support feminist social change.

Those individuals and programs committed to advancing gender equality within bilateral and multilateral funding have the potential to play a role by opening up new, often large-scale resources in the current ecosystem. They could, with creativity and based on many years of recommendations from feminist movements, find ways to move money

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directly to feminist movements, especially in the Global South. Potential lies in bilateral and multilateral agencies' willingness to:

- **CREATE DELIBERATE OPENINGS** to hear from movements
- **SHARE EXPERIENCES AND LESSONS** learned from working with movements
- **WORK TOGETHER**, such as through pooled funds and multi-donor funds
- **CHANGE THEIR OWN INSTITUTIONS** to address contradictory programming, restrictive requirements, and barriers to accountability to movements
- **ADVOCATE** to bring other bilaterals on board with feminist agendas
- **ADDRESS THE POLITICS, POLICIES AND PRACTICES** of their own governments and institutions where they undermine feminist and social justice causes and activism

## Local & National Governments

In AWID's past research, local and national governments reportedly provided 20% of the total income for women's rights organizations.

This important source of funding is often hard to track and can be delivered through government programs or direct grants. Some of these resources are also tied to aid that flows from international development institutions to national governments, including with the harmful effects described above. Understanding where these forms of funding are tied together is again part of the impetus of an ecosystems approach.

Simply tracking local and national funds and differentiating direct from potential or diverted funding would be an important start to understand where it sits in the ecosystem.

To do so helps shed light on the contradictory practices that, like other sectors, can sit within a single government. National and local governments' proximity to feminist movements gives them a unique vantage point to support social change. This same proximity represents a major threat where governments are hostile to human rights and feminist social change. Recognizing these differences is critical within the ecosystem.

For governments aspiring to support gender equality and feminist social change, shifting the ecosystem entails both financial practices and deliberate opening of political space. **To move toward a balanced ecosystem, national and local governments can:**

- **UPHOLD THEIR RESPONSIBILITIES** to secure an enabling environment for progressive realization of gender equality, especially the work of feminist movements and women's human rights defenders, including through [integrated protection](#) approaches.
- **COMMIT TO MOBILIZING RESOURCES** – including through taxation – that will support social services to reduce the gendered burden of care and other forms of inequality.
- **TRACK GENDER-RELATED FUNDING** (e.g. gender-responsive budgeting) and differentiate direct funding from broader “gender equality” budgets.
- **PROVIDE DIRECT SUPPORT TO FEMINIST MOVEMENTS** and/or partner with feminist movements for programming.
- **WORK WITH NATIONAL FEMINIST MOVEMENTS** to bring their agendas into global and multilateral spaces.
- **ADVOCATE IN INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT AGENDAS** and other intergovernmental spaces for feminist agendas and sustained financial support for feminist movements.

## INGOs

These powerful actors are conduits for bilateral and multilateral aid, but also generate their own revenue from fundraising. The power imbalance between hugely resourced INGOs and feminist organizations in their own contexts was recently illustrated by Global Fund for Women UK:

A 2016 study by the OECD Development Assistance Committee found that, of the \$35.5 billion that donors gave to support gender equality in 2014, around \$10 billion went to civil society organisations (CSOs) but only eight per cent of that went directly to CSOs in developing countries – leaving 92 per cent for INGOs. This inequality has only grown in recent years, with the amount of support going to organisations in the developing world declining since 2012, while funding to INGOs has increased.<sup>9</sup>

<sup>9</sup> See their report, [Sisterhood, Solidarity, and Shifting the Power](#).

Given this power imbalance, what role can INGOs play in the ecosystem? **To support a feminist funding ecosystem, INGOs can:**

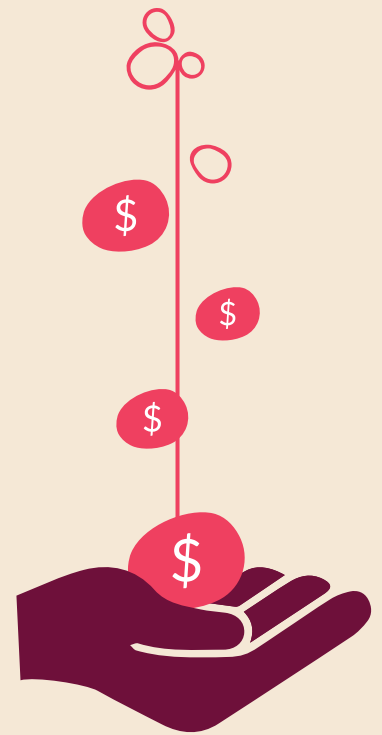
- **TAKE HONEST STOCK** of where they sit in the ecosystem and how they can shift power to center movements.
- **NOT ENTER INTO UNEQUAL COMPETITIONS** with WROs and movements to access funding.
- **LOOK AT THEIR OWN PRACTICES AS INTERMEDIARIES.** In cases where they do bring resources to feminist movements, what terms and conditions do they offer? How can they move toward equal partnerships instead of transactional relationships with “local implementers”?
- **PROVIDE MORE TRANSPARENT ACCOUNTING** of which resources are delivered directly and to feminist movements.

## Foundations

Foundations run the gamut from large-scale private foundations to small family funds to public foundations that fundraise for different issues. These fall under the category of philanthropy, though philanthropy can also include wealth from individuals.

The roots of philanthropy are tangled: wealth accumulated over generations, exacerbating and benefiting from massive inequalities; tax loopholes designed to keep public money private; and hoarded resources in the hands of the few. As Edgar Villanueva writes in [Decolonizing Wealth](#), “The basis of traditional philanthropy is to preserve wealth and, all too often, that wealth is fundamentally money that’s been twice stolen, once through the colonial-style exploitation of natural resources and cheap labor, and the second time through tax evasion.”

Foundations are notoriously opaque and undemocratic, with decisions made behind closed doors. As we’ve noted above, the vast majority of foundation money goes toward “causes” and “charity” rather than progressive social change, and an increasing amount supports regressive anti-rights agendas.



At the same time, those foundations that *do or could* reach social change issues are an important player in the funding ecosystem. Often staffed by individuals with strong commitments to social change, these foundations bring significant resources to our movements. In 2016 alone, foundations granted at least USD 2.8 billion to advance human rights. There are also strides within the field to ask how philanthropy can be [\(re\)organised for systemic change](#) even while recognising the complex reality that “philanthropy is embedded within processes of wealth extraction and accumulation we’re trying to change.”

Modern day foundations are not only the resources they give out. They are also a place to hold and generate money through investments. According to a [2018 study of global philanthropy](#), over 90% of private foundations are independent and their assets exceed USD 1.5 trillion - heavily concentrated in the United States (60%) and Europe (37%). In comparison, foundations spend an average of just 10% of the assets they hold. The remaining 90% sits in investments and assets, generating returns indefinitely.

These pools of unallocated resources are increasingly coming under scrutiny. A limited number of foundations have become “spend downs,” aiming to distribute the totality of their assets. Others are considering impact investing and other ways to align endowments with grantmaking values.

**To create a more robust, balanced ecosystem, foundations can:**

- **PROVIDE CORE, FLEXIBLE, AND MULTI-YEAR SUPPORT** directly to feminist movements. This call for **more and better funding** has been a resounding and definitive recommendation from feminist movements for more than a decade.
- **SUPPORT THE FULL AND RICH RANGE OF ORGANIZING** based on their own locations within the ecosystem. This may mean funding community-based groups or finding ways to fill the funding gap that helps medium-sized feminist groups compete for larger resources, such as bilateral funding.
- **RESPOND TO MOVEMENTS’ PRIORITIES** and build in regular accountability measures.
- **COLLABORATE**, particularly to support cross-issues and intersectional organizing.

OVER 90% OF PRIVATE FOUNDATIONS ARE INDEPENDENT AND THEIR ASSETS EXCEED USD 1.5 TRILLION



- **ASSESS THEIR OWN INTERNAL PRACTICES** to unpack where power is held or hoarded.
- **HIRE STAFF AND BOARD MEMBERS** from the movements and communities themselves.
- **ADVOCATE ADVOCATE ADVOCATE:**
  - **TAKE UP THE RESPONSIBILITY** to push the field of funders, including bringing on board allies in the “potential” funding category;
  - **CALL OUT DIVERTED FUNDING** and, where relevant, serve as an intermediary or interlocutor to get resources to movements;
  - **WORK WITH PORTFOLIOS** in their own institutions to link large funding pools to feminist social change.
- **RIGOROUSLY ALIGN INVESTMENT PRACTICES** and institutional policies with grantmaking goals and values.
- **GET HONEST ABOUT PHILANTHROPIC WEALTH.** Explicitly support work to democratize and decentralize wealth, combat economic inequality, and move public money back to the public.

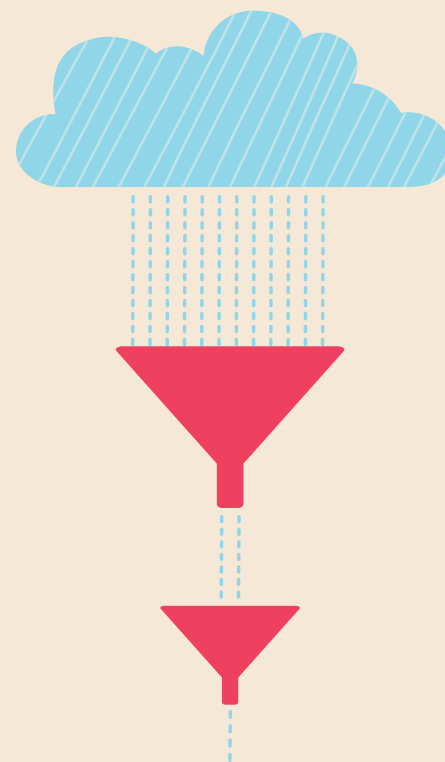
## Private Sector

The private sector is relatively new, but a rapidly rising actor in the funding ecosystem. It is extremely diverse, but for the clarity of analysis we refer to the private sector as having its primary purpose in profit seeking-activities, either through production of goods and/or services.

Private-sector-led financing models have taken a toll on the funding ecosystem. In his book, [Winners Take All](#), Anand Giridharadas questions the premise of market-based solutions that claim to be a “win-win” for society: “In an age defined by a chasm between those who have power and those who don’t, elites have spread the idea that people must be helped, but only in market-friendly ways that do not upset fundamental power equations.” He argues that such approaches undermine the role of government and fail to democratize resources that should have been public in the first place.

Addressing the dynamics of the current funding ecosystem with regards to private sector starts with analysing the power and politics behind the private money. Feminist movements continue to do just this, including in AWID's [Building Feminist Economies](#) Initiative. In 2013, AWID conducted a preliminary mapping of 170 private sector initiatives worth USD 14.6 billion in commitments focused on women and girls. Out of those, only 14% had a thematic focus on *women's rights* and just 9% provided any form of direct funding to women's rights organizations. The lion's share of these funds were "diverted" to the [corporations' own foundations](#), focused on individual women and girls, and prioritized quick quantifiable wins, not least to strengthen the corporations' overall business strategies in countries they operate.

**For funders** – particularly those foundations, governments, and international development agencies embracing business logic and public-private partnerships – **and actors within the private sector, we see several keys ways they can advance a feminist funding ecosystem:**



- **LISTEN TO EVIDENCE AND FACTS:** models like public-private partnerships continue to grow and enjoy success among policy makers and funders despite overwhelming research-based evidence of their failure to deliver on their promise.
- **EMBRACE HUMAN-RIGHTS-BASED APPROACHES** to private financing, without any compromises. Apply an intersectional lens and root practices in feminist analyses of the economy.
- **ASK THE HARD QUESTIONS:** What is the ultimate objective of these initiatives: profits, public relations, or contribution to broader structural changes? What are the *costs* of this approach? Where is private money supporting the gender equality agenda and where is it undermining social change altogether?
- **REDIRECT DIVERTED AND POTENTIAL FUNDING**, as well as funding against. Where there are positive strides, transform this into direct funding.
- **RESPECT THE LEADERSHIP** of and partner with feminist movements on their terms. Tap into and follow their extraordinary knowledge and experiences of structural change instead of pursuing their own approaches and/ or copy/pasting business model to complex gender equality sphere.

- **PRIORITISE POLICY COHERENCE.** Giving or investing by one arm of the company can not be undermined by the practices of the other. For example, funding for public campaigns to end violence against women is counterproductive and damaging if the company running it – or its subsidiary – is abusing labour rights in other regions of the world.
- **ALLOW FOR AND INVITE FEMINIST SCRUTINY** into private financing and be accountable to feminist movements, not just companies' boards or investors.
- **WORK WITH FEMINISTS IN THEIR OWN INSTITUTIONS.** Promote women from marginalised communities, including lesbians, trans and intersex people with connections to the movements into the position of power. Trust their leadership on where and how to invest and where to divest.

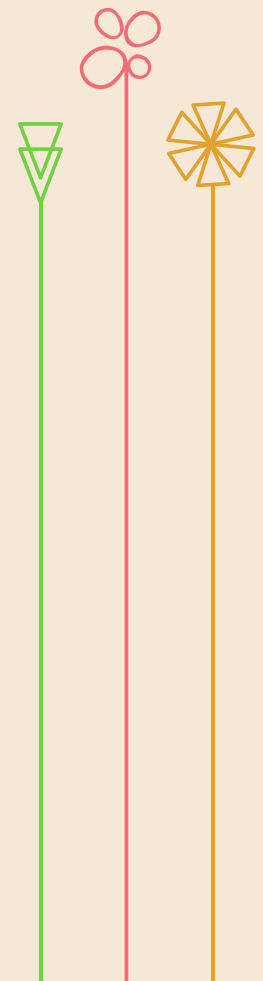
## Feminist and Women's Funds

Feminist and women's funds and foundations are dedicated exclusively to feminist work and often emerge as a direct result of the significant underfunding and challenges that feminist movements face. Examples include Global Fund for Women, FRIDA, Astraea Lesbian Foundation for Justice, Central American Women's Fund, Mama Cash, African Women's Development Fund, Urgent Actions Funds, and many other national and regional funds.

[Prospera](#), the international network of women's funds, has 38 members in 33 countries that grant an estimated USD 100 million per year. Aside from grantmaking, many of these organizations also engage in feminist movement building work such as research and advocacy.

Women's funds, along with larger NGOs and regional networks, play a pivotal role in the feminist funding ecosystem, transforming money that would otherwise have too high a barrier for smaller feminist organizations to access. While this is a relatively tiny amount of money in the overall ecosystem, the importance of feminist-led foundations must not be understated.

As women's funds increasingly sit at the nexus between movements and other funding sources, they continue to ask the hard questions: How do feminist organizations at this intersection maintain integrity and feminist politics? How can this increased access be a resource



for those most marginalized in the movements? Where are the levers unique to women's funds and how can they continue to open space for activists?

## Autonomous Resourcing

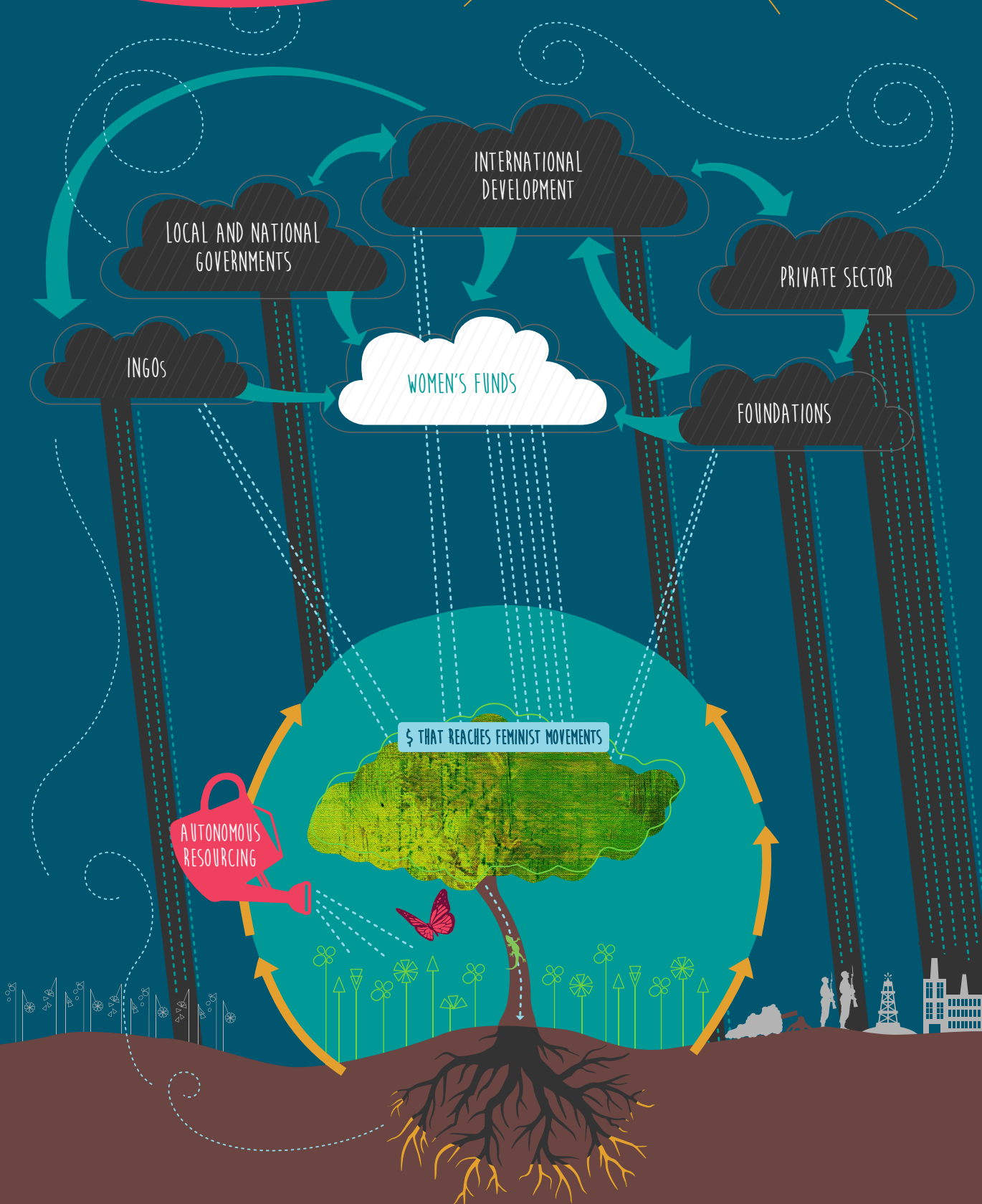
Often invisibilized in funding analysis, movements' own contributions of money, knowledge, time, and spirit directly contribute to the resourcing of feminist social change. At AWID, we define [autonomous resourcing](#) as the way that "movements are mobilizing financial, human, and material resources that directly support the liberatory aims of feminist political projects." Referring to money directly, self-generated funding usually includes the funds that feminist organizations generate themselves from membership fees and donations, for example.

In a balanced ecosystem, autonomous resources are seen and valued – both for the financial support they offer and for the political autonomy they may bring.

HOW DO THESE FORMS OF FUNDING TRANSLATE  
INTO THE FUNDING ECOSYSTEM?

The image on the next page illustrates where we are currently.

# WHERE WE ARE NOW



# RESOURCING FOR FEMINIST MOVEMENTS

We see that it's actually raining money. But this money is missing the feminist movements and organizations doing most of the transformative work. It's like there's an invisible roof over our movements, and we are left with small buckets, strategically placed to catch the leaks and drips. Meanwhile thousands of litres are being funneled into tanks and streams we not only can't access, but are being used to "water" projects that work against us, such as development infrastructure like dams or roads, or military spending, or the profit corporations are making from exploitation - especially of women, girls, trans people, and intersex people.

We also see relationships, such as:

- The closeness between women's funds and feminist movements;
- Diverted resources that move from international development to INGOs;
- The not-so-virtuous cycle between private money, philanthropy, and development, including the shadow of funding *against* feminist social change.

The cycle of feedback between movements and funders is also small. This image begs the question: When such an overwhelming preponderance of money does *not* reach women's rights and feminist movements themselves, how much are movements defining their own priorities and determining what is needed in their own communities and contexts?

At this point, power and money is still very much in the hands of funders.



WE ARE LEFT WITH  
SMALL BUCKETS,  
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AND DRIPS.

# TOWARD A BALANCED ECOSYSTEM



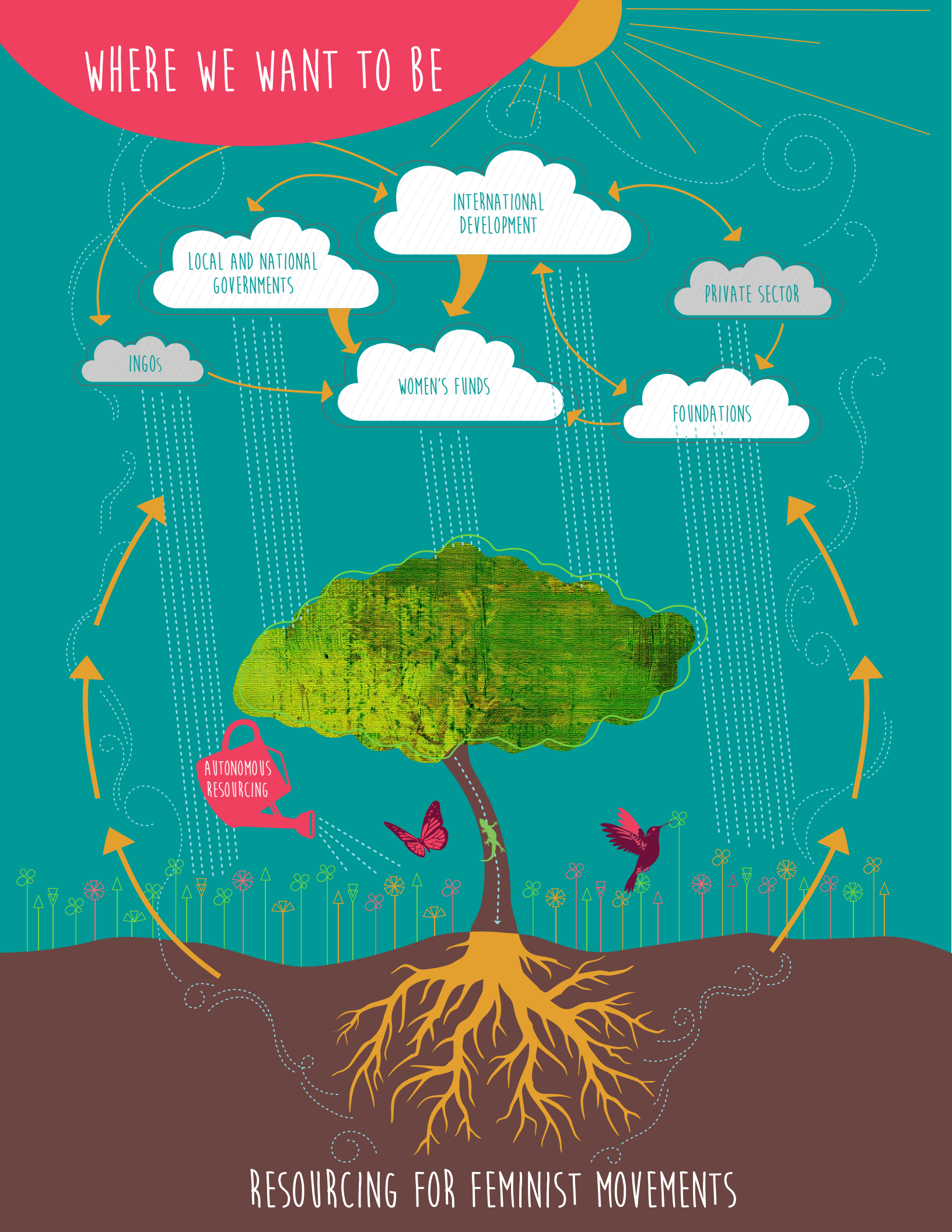
IN A BALANCED FEMINIST FUNDING ECOSYSTEM, FEMINIST MOVEMENTS — PARTICULARLY IN THE GLOBAL SOUTH — ARE AT THE CENTER AND EQUAL PARTNERS IN THE POLITICAL PROJECT FOR GLOBAL GENDER JUSTICE. FUNDERS THEMSELVES SEE AND UNDERSTAND THEIR ROLE WITHIN THE ECOSYSTEM AND ARE ABLE TO PULL THE LEVERS OF CHANGE SO THAT THE CLEAR MAJORITY OF THEIR FUNDING COMMITMENTS TOWARD GENDER JUSTICE AND WOMEN'S RIGHTS ARE GOING TO MOVEMENTS DIRECTLY.

Relationships of power are demystified and power asymmetries identified - providing a clear picture of where movements do and do not have avenues to shape the resourcing around them. In a balanced ecosystem, this feedback loop is a transparent conversation between funders and movements, so the ecosystem can respond and adapt accordingly.

**The image on the next page presents a balanced ecosystem:** symbiotic, where the needs of movements are central, and where the destructive funding “against” has been confronted – and, in an ideal world, eradicated!



# WHERE WE WANT TO BE



# RESOURCING FOR FEMINIST MOVEMENTS

## HOW DO WE GET THERE?

There are hopeful moves to shift toward a healthier ecosystem.

Most importantly, feminists continue to organize in every corner of the globe. They are not only [best placed](#) to achieve women's rights and gender justice, but have been doing it for a very long time, with very limited resources. As active agents of change, these movements continue to make – and prove! – the case for sustainable funding that goes directly to feminist movements and agendas. **Imagine** the world we could create together if we were abundantly resourced!

A number of funders have been working to meet this call – both through their grants and through advocacy in their own fields.

In philanthropy, [participatory grantmaking](#) and systemic alternative approaches to funding are gaining ground. Networks like [PAWHR](#), [EDGE Funders Alliance](#), and [Justice Funders](#) are organizing donors to truly put their money toward long-term social transformation. Others, like Thousand Currents, are talking about what it means to [transform philanthropy](#) and wealth systems from the inside out, with an appreciation for where funders are coming from. And feminist and women's funds continue to show that it is possible and necessary to support feminist movements. For example, Astraea Lesbian Foundation for Justice's [Feminist Funding Principles](#) chart a path to fund feminist movements deeply and powerfully.

In international development, a number of bilateral and multilateral funders are working more closely with feminist movements around the gap between direct and diverted funding in their own settings. The UN Trust Fund to End Violence Against Women has opened new windows with smaller grants to support more grassroots groups. The Dutch Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Global Affairs Canada's Equality Fund have both committed to building new models to directly fund feminist movements.

These examples, led by feminist allies and dedicated staff within their agencies or fields, are still far too rare. And as hopeful as they are, it is time to move our focus from the small and sector-by-sector snapshot



IMAGINE THE WORLD WE  
COULD CREATE TOGETHER  
IF WE WERE ABUNDANTLY  
RESOURCED!

to a broader picture of the ecosystem.

We need to bring our analysis of other actors – INGOs, private sector, autonomous resourcing – into view and out of the shadows. As we do, we can better unpack the interactions between those in the ecosystem and see where resources get stuck or diverted.

We must continue to name and call out the funding that undermines our movements. Feminist movements are fighting for clean air, fair labour practice, bodily autonomy, and just economies. Allies within funding institutions must also question, name, and shift practices that hinder and harm, even within their own organizations.

As we look toward creating a balanced ecosystem, feminist movements don't just want to participate in the process. To achieve women's rights and gender justice, the needs and demands of the movements need to be driving the conversation, with funders as equal partners, or if you like, funders "participating" in the journey with us, rather than the other way around.

## FLIPPING THE SCRIPT

Why don't more funders support constituency-led feminist movements in the Global South? While there are many answers, the issue of "absorptive capacity," or the ability to manage grants and meet financial requirements, has long been a justification for support to mainstream CSOs and INGOs.

This self-fulfilling prophecy creates a cycle in which feminist organizations can't receive the grants that would prove they can absorb them. Feminist women's funds fill a small part of this gap, transforming larger pots of money into more accessible forms and sizes for movement organizations.

But imagine if others in the ecosystem made it part of their mission to break the cycle. If INGOs, CSOs, and even some governments made it a benchmark of their own "success" to support movements to absorb larger funds themselves. If after 5 years of working with a feminist organization the group is not in a position to get the grant themselves, the project failed.

This kind of creative approach distributes responsibility for creating a more sustainable, movement-driven ecosystem.

# RECOMMENDATIONS



## How do we make this practical?

It is time for funders, activists, and allies alike to **get comfortable with discomfort in order to use their power.**

## WHAT WE CAN DO AS ACTIVISTS

We have touched on the power that feminist movements hold to shift us toward a balanced feminist funding ecosystem. Here are some additional ideas and inspiration:

1. **DON'T TAKE THE SYSTEM FOR GRANTED.** The relationship between an organization and a funder is a powerful one and a place where you can bring your critical eye and politics. Claim your own power in your funder relationships.
2. **GET INFORMED ABOUT HOW MONEY MOVES** through our economic system. The fact that it is so mysterious is no mistake – taking back [knowledge about financial flows](#) and economic systems is a feminist act!
3. See yourself as an active agent in the ecosystem. Name where money is diverted, and **ADVOCATE FOR RESOURCING THAT MEETS YOUR NEEDS** and the needs of feminist movements more broadly.
4. Identify where you can **SHIFT POWER.** Understand the access your organization, group, or collective has in the funding ecosystem and make sure that you support others in your movements to access these and others. In this way, you can practice solidarity rather than competition in your own resourcing.
5. **PUSH BACK ON FUNDERS.** Many funders do not have the perspective or information to truly meet your needs. Organize with others in your movements to say, “these are our priorities.” Push back collectively on requirements that are too burdensome or not serving you. Underscore the need for core support. Point to good practices by other funders - a little competition amongst the funders won't hurt! Ask for more collaboration among funders, such as pooled funds or simple, standardized application formats.
6. **ASK YOUR FUNDERS FOR MORE,** including introducing you to other funders or connecting you with spaces you might not otherwise have access to.

7. **ENCOURAGE YOUR FUNDERS TO DO THEIR OWN ADVOCACY** and, where it is of interest, partner with allied funders to build the case and influence their peers. When partnering, work to establish terms that are equal to the extent that you can.
8. Do not shy away from **SHOWING YOUR INTERSECTIONAL ORGANIZING**, even if funders make grants in silos. The more we present the *realities* of our organizing and refuse to partition our work, the more we refute the siloed funding model. While this might not be realistic while seeking funds, it can come in interactions with funders after the fact.
9. **VALUE YOUR CONTRIBUTIONS** of money, time, and knowledge, as well as those of your communities and movements. Find ways to make these visible to your donors. Autonomous resourcing is an invaluable driver of the resourcing ecosystem.
10. **CALL OUT CONTRADICTIONS** in the resourcing ecosystem, including where resources are undermining our movements.
11. **CONTINUE YOUR BOLD AND BRAVE ORGANIZING!** This ecosystem wouldn't exist without you.

## RECOMMENDATIONS FOR FUNDERS

Funders are much more than the money they distribute; they play powerful roles in shaping the ecosystem as a whole.

The following recommendations summarize key ways all funders can contribute to a more robust and balanced feminist funding ecosystem. (On pages 29 through 35, we provide sector-by-sector recommendations for specific types of funders.)

1. **IDENTIFY WHAT LEVERS OF CHANGE YOU ARE NEAR — AND PULL THEM!**  
This may include opening those political spaces that movements want you to open; organizing with peer funders or activists; or working within your own institution to move the needle.

2. **INCREASE DIRECT SUPPORT FOR FEMINIST MOVEMENTS** particularly in the Global South. This means core, long-term support to constituency-led feminist movements that work at the intersections of issues and identities. Such flexible funding allows feminists to build their realities and craft their own solutions.
3. **BREAK DOWN SILOS** to support more cross-movements work in areas where feminists work but are generally underfunded, including communities facing marginalization and oppression, such as migrants and refugees, Black and indigenous people, sex workers, LBQTI communities, or women with disabilities.
4. **DISTINGUISH AND TRACK FUNDING** that is direct versus funding that is general (i.e. diverted & potential). This should be done within institutions, as well as across the ecosystem.
5. **DEMAND POLICY COHERENCE:** Rigorously align your investments, grantmaking, and policies with the feminist and social justice values that you espouse. The values gap here must be closed.
6. **BECOME AN ADVOCATE.** Plain and simple. Work with other allies to craft messaging that will bring others on board, including those in the “potential” funding category. This may mean other portfolios or programs in your own institution or peer funders.
7. **BE ACCOUNTABLE TO FEMINIST MOVEMENTS.** Establish clear and ongoing structures for movements to inform your strategies, priorities, and mechanisms for resourcing.
8. **REMAIN CRITICAL AND CURIOUS ABOUT PRIVATE FINANCING.** There are no silver bullets. There may be some potential here, but there are also real costs to consider.
9. **SUPPORT LONG-TERM TRANSFORMATIVE SOCIAL CHANGE,** including working within your own institution and beyond to move public money back into the hands of the public. This includes retaining a historical and systemic view on the economic structures that have made it possible for resources to be so unjustly distributed to begin with.



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