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1. Introduction: Who, where, what and why

In 1995, more than 30,000 representatives of governments, women’s movements and NGOs gathered in Beijing at the Fourth World Conference on Women and the Women’s NGO Forum. Governments from across the world adopted the Beijing Declaration and Beijing Platform for Action (BPfA) and committed to the comprehensive and visionary agenda for gender equality and the realization of women’s and girls’ human rights. Building on the Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW), the BPfA called for systemic changes across social, economic, political and environmental domains. Systemic change implied transforming the gendered power relations embedded in existing systems, rather than simply adding women into broken systems that perpetuate the status quo.

Ahead of the 64th session of the Commission on the Status of Women, UN Women, in partnership with the Center for Global Affairs, School of Professional Studies, New York University, convened an Expert Group Meeting (EGM) in New York on September 25-26, 2019. The meeting assembled a global group of feminist academics and activists to assess current progress on gender equality, analyse emerging opportunities, threats and prospects for the implementation of the BPfA, and elaborate recommendations for accelerated implementation of the BPfA’s vision. The EGM was organized to focus on emerging and cross-cutting challenges to gender equality and women’s human rights, including:

- Continuity, change and future prospects for advancing gender equality in the current context
- Democratic backsliding and backlash against women’s rights
- Gender equality implications of the digital revolution
- Gender equality and generational perspectives: young women in the struggle for economic, social and climate justice
- The future of the peace, security and humanitarian agenda from a gender perspective

Since Beijing, there have been numerous advances in gender equality within national and international institutions, legal frameworks, policy mandates as well as in approaches aimed at securing sexual and reproductive health and rights, LGBTI rights, women, peace and security and gender and environment, among other areas. At the same time, epochal shifts in political and economic frameworks are undermining past gains and endangering further progress.

Inequalities within and between countries have multiplied. They are fuelled by dominant economic models that have narrowly focused on growth over human well-being and social inclusion, giving rise to chronic economic insecurity and exclusion. Surveillance, extraction of resources and political repression have expanded in new ways. The power and impunity of corporations ¹ have intensified labour exploitation and precarious conditions of work. More countries are experiencing some form of violent conflict today. This violence includes the rise of anti-democratic forces and conservative actors who amplify patriarchal and discriminatory agendas.

¹ Association for Women’s Rights in Development (AWID) and the Solidarity Center. 2016. Challenging Corporate Power: Struggles for women’s rights, economic and gender justice. Toronto and Mexico City: AWID.
Anti-gender-equality forces, including movements, civil society actors, religious institutions as well as governments, have re-emerged with an unprecedented force. They are networked not only nationally and regionally but also globally. Feminists have responded to these challenges and a new generation of activists have organised across local, national and global levels. In some societies, this new generation of activists have achieved a liberation from binary and restrictive gender norms, particularly for young people. With these forces at play, the visionary and bold calls for systemic transformation in the Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action have renewed relevance today.

2. Trends and challenges for advancing gender equality and women’s rights in the current context

Two central trends and challenges to gender equality are at play in the current context. First, the continuing ascent of financial globalization and consolidation of corporate and investor power. Second, anti-democratic political parties and leaders who seek to weaken human rights.

a. Private, state and multilateral actors in a financialized global economy create challenges for gender equality and human rights

Intersectional inequalities, including gender inequalities, are exacerbated by dominant economic models. These models include, for example, economic systems based on capital-intensive production, extractive sectors and the financial sector. Employment generation is weak (‘jobless growth’), while priority is placed on inflation control and squeezing public expenditure in the name of fiscal discipline. Not only do the wealth and resource benefits of such models accrue to a small and elite minority but they also systematically bias public policies away from equitable redistribution and fracture social solidarity.

The upsurge of illicit financial flows\(^2\), sovereign debt and public-private partnerships\(^3\) illustrate how financial globalization adversely affects the human, economic and social rights of people. Public tax revenue is denied to States through both legal and illicit financial flows. Between 2004 and 2013, the developing world as a whole lost approximately $7.8 trillion of taxable revenue in illicit financial flows. Fiscal consolidation and privatization, advised or mandated by International Financial Institutions (IFIs) on many developing countries and post-conflict countries through financial loans or macroeconomic policy advice, are a critical issue here. Women continue to shoulder the vast majority of unpaid care responsibilities, which include, for example, caring for those who are young, elderly and disabled. In many contexts where social protection measures are absent or minimal, women become the providers of last


resort, particularly during financial crises and economic recessions. They buffer their communities from economic shock by undertaking additional paid and unpaid work.

Public-private partnerships (PPPs) have expanded their reach from primarily physical infrastructure projects to public service provision, often displacing the State as the provider of public goods and social services. Empirical research on PPP impacts on social services, such as healthcare and education, demonstrates that they often result in higher costs, decreased equity in access and distribution, environmental harm and debt risks.\textsuperscript{4} Women, girls and gender non-conforming persons depend on public services such as healthcare and social protection to a greater degree than men do. Within PPP arrangements, women pay a disproportionately higher price for public services and experience greater difficulties in accessing essential services. When public investments in social services and human development contract under austerity measures, women and children are most affected.

In order to advance gender equality, the state plays a vital role in building and maintaining a public sector that strives to fulfil the economic and social rights of people. The public sector can function as the standard bearer for gender equitable and inclusive social services, social protection and employment practices in ways that the private sector typically will not.\textsuperscript{5} In addition to being a direct employer, the state is also responsible for the framework of laws, regulations, gender-transformative financing, policies and programs. The state will not automatically fulfill this role without significant advocacy and social mobilization.

b. Conservative forces instigate regressions in gender equality

States across the world have taken illiberal turns in recent years by forging strategic alliances with conservative groups and movements. This illiberal turn has resulted in an erosion of democratic principles, mechanisms and institutions that uphold gender equality. While the forces behind this regression are not new, they have accrued power through political networking and a deepening of inroads. Backlash against gender equality both finds an opportunity in this crisis and further contributes to the erosion of rights and the hollowing out of democratic values.\textsuperscript{6}

Backslides in gender equality policies and commitments are occurring through multiple strategies. There are four key strategies, among others, that demonstrate this phenomenon.\textsuperscript{7} First, gender equality policies are discursively delegitimized, often in concealed ways. Official political discourses that are largely


supportive or silent on gender equality start to openly challenge gender equality objectives, often opposing formally adopted and accepted national policy positions. For example, the incoming populist right-wing government in an Eastern European country at the end of 2015 started to use a strong anti-gender equality rhetoric in which ‘gender ideology’ is featured as a major threat to society and religious family values. Statements that challenge gender equality are issued on a regular basis by national officials.

A second strategy involves reframing gender equality norms into morally imbued narratives. For example, formal gender equality laws and policies are weakened by language that strengthens legal protections for the traditional heterosexual family model rooted in patriarchal gender ideology. This is in large part a reaction against recent strides towards recognizing diverse family forms. Rather than being dismantled, the content of gender equality policies is distorted to promote demographic, xenophobic, religious or racial objectives. A third strategy is the undermining of institutions and mechanisms that implement gender equality. This includes, for example, the weakening of policy enforcement agencies, mechanisms of policy coordination, intergovernmental and other partnerships, strategic and programmatic processes, or allocated budgets. Fourth, inclusion and accountability mechanisms are eroded. Accountability processes, especially policymaking and consultation processes inclusive of women’s rights advocates, are indispensable to making progress on gender equality. Gender equality policies are hollowed out if women’s rights advocates are not meaningfully involved in policy processes beyond agenda-setting.

In particular, sexual and reproductive health and rights (SRHR) is experiencing opposition across various regions. Attempts to roll back the hard-won SRHR gains of past decades, often by alliances between states and conservative religious groups, directly impacts women, girls, intersex and gender non-conforming persons’ health and their right to bodily autonomy and reproductive choice. Conservative forces also reinforce exclusion through, for example, xenophobia, Islamaphobia, homophobic and anti-immigrant sentiments. The implication is that women who stand at the intersection of multiple forms of discrimination are adversely affected on many levels; while intragroup inequalities among women have also been growing.

c. A militarized peace and security agenda fails to uphold women’s human, economic and social rights

Feminist activism and scholarship has expanded the Beijing Platform for Action section E on “women and armed conflict” to a significant degree. Ten UN Security Council resolutions have been established on women peace and security, and significant institutional capabilities address gender and conflict issues in the areas of humanitarian response, conflict prevention, resolution, and recovery, including war crimes

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against women. One key area of gender equality progress is the Security Council’s approach to incorporating the gender dimensions of peacebuilding through the creation of an Informal Experts Group on women, peace and security.\(^{11}\) This Group proposes country- and sector-specific remedies to women’s exclusion in peace operations. Remedies include the consideration of electoral quotas for women, and the deployment of gender experts on such issues as land law, employment-creation schemes, health service-delivery systems and support for gender-equal economic recovery processes.

However, normative commitments on gender equality in peace processes have not been adequately implemented for two important reasons. First, a culture of militarism and violent masculinities continues to limit women’s participation as leaders while marginalizing women’s experiences of conflict. Second, the illiberal drift in some of the world’s most powerful countries has led to the increased use of authoritarian models of conflict management. This has emboldened political leaders to use repressive tactics rather than power-sharing to address long-standing social grievances.

In the UN Security Council, there continues to be a lack of political will to insist upon gender-inclusive conflict resolution in peace and security deliberations. Gender inclusivity is vital to addressing the social and economic causes and consequences of conflict, as well as strengthen the material basis for women’s rights in conflict zones.\(^{12}\) Conflict-affected contexts are often opportune landscapes for International Financial Institutions (IFIs) and corporate actors to impose privatization, fiscal austerity and regressive tax policy schemes as short-term economic recovery methods. As a result, the basic economic and social rights of women and girls are systematically violated.

Across a range of conflict and humanitarian contexts, women lead and participate actively and dynamically in peacebuilding at the community level, including in negotiating, mediating, and resolving conflict by negotiating ceasefires, facilitating humanitarian access, and establishing civilian safe zones, among others. Despite their critical role as frontline peacebuilders and peacekeepers, women’s contributions are often trivialized, and their work remains unrecognized and insufficiently resourced.\(^{13}\)

d. Gender and environment analysis is not meaningfully integrated into analytical and policy frameworks

The ‘Women and environment’ section of the 1995 Beijing Platform for Action was visionary in two ways. First, it was one of the first official documents on women’s rights that included environmental issues. Second, it was one of the first and few multilateral agreements to identify militarism as an environmental threat, to spotlight the accountability of industrialized countries’ consumption and production as a

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primary driver of planetary unsustainability, and to argue that environmental degradation produced intersectional and differentiated impacts.

There exists today a knowledge foundation on gender and environment, which includes thousands of case studies and field reports. Many of these focus on the socially-differentiated impacts of environmental change. However, impact narratives often suffer from being primarily descriptive, elaborating on how women are disproportionately impacted by environmental crises. The gendered power dynamics that are drivers of environmental change are much less understood.\(^{14}\)

Across popular, policy and specialist spheres “the environment” is normatively framed in its bio/geo-physical form. Most environmental assessments conceptualize the environment within a physical sciences systems framework. Most environment-related funding, whether from private or public sources, goes to the physical sciences. Privileging the physical sciences also privileges quantitative information. Gender methodologies, however, recognize the value of both quantitative data and qualitative information, and foregrounds the role of perceptions, experiences and interpretations. Quantitative information is necessary but not sufficient. A gender-integrated environmental approach requires a conceptual ‘flip’ that redefines environmental relationships through the lens of social relationships rather than defining the environment in an exclusively physical form. In the context of the climate crisis, knowledge outside physical science is further minimized as a distraction.

A meaningful integration of gender-responsive environmental analysis into mainstream policy frameworks is still lacking. The problems of power, ideologies and economies of domination, inequity, exploitation and colonialism, all of which represent credible approaches to understanding environmental drivers and impacts, are mostly absent in current environmental policy regimes.

e. Digital and data revolutions have transformed the landscape for gender equality

The ‘digital revolution’ is one of the most rapid and far-reaching transformations since 1995, touching on almost every aspect of economic, social and political life. It presents both opportunities and challenges for gender equality and women’s rights.\(^{15}\) While technology has catalyzed various advances in communication, access to information, education, solidarity and mobilization, among other aspects, critical inequalities in access and use prevail within and across countries, and between women and men as well as along various other types of divides, such as by level of education.

Digital technologies have enabled women’s access to information and facilitated their collective action. However, it is important to not lose sight of the bigger picture. Technology is not gender neutral; rather, unequal gender relations are embedded in technologies, reflecting male-dominated institutions, choices and values. It is critical for feminists to push back against simplistic ‘technosolutionist’ narratives that


suggest that social and political problems – such as gender inequality – can be solved through technological innovation.

Instead, technological investment, research and design must be analyzed and prioritized from a gender perspective. For example, while greater gender diversity in technology workforces is rhetorically promoted by firms and employers, a meaningful gender integration approach involves promoting women’s rights in training, reskilling and job transition pathways, particularly in artificial intelligence and computer science, as well as addressing high levels of attrition, harassment and gender wage gaps in the tech workplace.

A feminist perspective on the digital and data revolution also means that gender must be located within broader structural trends, moving beyond the narrow focus on women’s access to and use of digital technologies, on the one hand, and ‘getting more women in tech’, on the other. The platform economy, for example, has generated a new ecosystem for social and economic interactions, characterized by centralization, consolidation and monopolization. The success of platform economy owners is predicated on the ability to continually accumulate the amount of data that can be extracted. Women’s material labor underpins the digital and platform economy while unregulated cross-border data flows generate feminization and precarity in the digital economy. From the mining of rare earth minerals in Africa to the factories producing iPhones in China, women from the Global South service the digital economy at huge risks to their health and human and labor rights.

There are also concerns that unprecedented levels of data mining, algorithms, and predictive risk models entrench existing inequalities and power dynamics, threaten individual rights and enable new forms of surveillance by governments and corporations, including over women’s fertility and reproductive behavior. In Latin America, for example, activists for sexual and reproductive health and rights highlight how States deploy social media surveillance to target feminist groups supporting women’s access to safe abortion.

The growing deployment of biometric technology in social protection systems has also given rise to concerns over data protection and privacy. For example, advances in facial-recognition technology may allow for the identification of protesters through the digital photographs they have provided to a social protection program. Because women are more likely to live in poverty and be responsible for the care of others, they interact with social protection systems and public services on a more frequent basis than men and are therefore likely to feel the impact of these trends most acutely.

**f. Young and intersectional feminist movements expand and invigorate pathways to gender equality**

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New forms of multi-generational, inclusive and intersectional feminist social movements are resisting many aspects of the restriction of rights in the current context and creating new solutions and responses to multiple structural crises.18 Young women in the struggle for economic, social and climate justice are mobilizing bold and creative expansions in feminist politics and social movement organizing, particularly across the global South. 19 Young feminists are also exercising leadership in social, economic, environmental and LGBTQ justice movements by centering core feminist demands across diverse issue areas.

Young feminist activists, many of whom are ‘digital natives’ that have come of age during the 2008 global financial crisis, are on the frontlines of critical struggles to secure, influence and guide transformative gender policies. Intersectionality is central to their worldview as they work across traditional silos, striving not only to advance women’s and girls’ human rights but perceive these rights as inextricable from ending manifold forms of discrimination, exclusion and injustice.20 They are committed to inclusivity through modes of organizing that include horizontal leadership structures, grassroots networks and social media mobilization, for example.

Young feminists may at times be distrustful of mainstream organizations and skeptical about policy outcomes and institutional agendas. At the same time, they are assuming leadership positions in public office and engaging in a diversity of issues from climate change to tax justice. Within their leadership, they are committed to strengthening the linkages to gender equality and to dismantling the political and economic instrumentalization of women.

Young feminist organizers are responding strategically to political shifts where civic space is being curtailed and financial shifts where reliable and sufficient funding streams for the sustenance of feminist movements are no longer a reality. 21 Organizational structures have evolved from that of Non-Governmental Organizations to more fluid structures involving non-linear growth models and non-traditional styles of leadership. These new developments include co-directing or horizontal structures where leadership roles are allocated among many or all organizational staff.

Feminist organizations are using new fundraising strategies, such as crowdsourcing and membership fees. While this is a result of shrinking institutional funding for feminists, such alternative strategies are also a potential resource for a generation of young feminists who are intentionally moving away from official donors. Diversifying funding sources allows feminists to reclaim their collective independence, freedom and power as well as embolden their language and strategies for critical resistance. A growing percentage of feminist organizations today are unregistered and operate informally on multiple media and societal

platforms, in part to protect themselves from surveillance and control by conservative and fundamentalist forces, including some governments.

3. Recommendations:

The Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action were visionary for their time. They expressed a global expectation that the culmination of the Cold War would create greater political momentum for peace and justice. A quarter-century later, this vision has been eroded, in large part, by revived inter-state rivalry and global anti-feminist mobilization by conservative forces. We assert the vital imperative of elevating gender equality as a global priority. Not only because of its importance to achieving the SDGs, but because intensifying attacks on women's rights around the world are an indicator of deepening instability and an accelerating drift towards intolerance, injustice, and totalitarianism; the very threats the United Nations is dedicated to prevent.

**Political economy:** Private, state and multilateral actors in a financialized global economy must be held accountable to gender equality and human rights

§ Transnational corporations, private investors as well as multilateral institutions must be held accountable by States, communities, the UN General Assembly as well as by global and national judicial systems and legal binding instruments for their impacts on gender equality and women’s social and economic rights.

§ The role of the state and the public sector must be strengthened in order to counter economic and social inequalities generated by financialized and extractive growth models. Gender-responsive social services must be safeguarded against public-private partnerships and long-term public investments in public goods prioritized and scaled up.

§ Human rights, including social and economic rights of women, must be centered and integrated into the call for structural reforms in the global political economy.

**Conservative forces:** Vigilance, resistance and organizing against conservative forces and illiberal states must be strengthened, supported and sustained

§ To counter the backsliding of gender equality rights and norms resulting from their alliances with conservative forces and actors, States need to be held responsible by people, communities and courts for the damaging impacts of conservative forces on human rights, legal and policymaking institutions and discourses.

§ Gender equality movements must uphold and build wider support for zero tolerance on attacks against sexual and reproductive health and rights, gender and sexual violence, hate and terror crimes, rights and respect for the care economy, migrants and religious freedoms and anti-discrimination laws and policies. In particular, the re-criminalization of abortion, and sometimes
contraception, must be monitored and mobilization to counter this trend must be organized and supported.

§ Gender equality advocates should embolden their language of feminism in order to more effectively resist the strengthened influence of conservative movements.

**Peace and security:** Gender inclusivity, participation and analysis need to be incorporated in peace and conflict governance.

§ Gender and conflict analysis and women’s participation will not be part of conflict resolution until international peace-makers (UN envoys, the UN Security Council etc) consistently require this of all peace negotiations supported or endorsed by the UN system. Gender equality provisions must be introduced to peace accords and must be priority items for implementation of any peace agreement recognised by the international system.

§ Post-conflict economic plans and aid and investment strategies that work for women are urgently needed to ensure sustainable peace and to prevent women's immiseration after wars. A conflict prevention agenda that works for gender equality requires radical shifts in policy prescriptions and accountability from International Financial Institutions in order to ensure that the macroeconomic, tax, regulatory and private sector policies negotiated protect and uphold the economic and social rights of women.

§ Women’s productive and reproductive work in conflict areas needs to be recognized by global and national actors as core components of economies recovering from conflict. Women’s leadership in peacebuilding and participation in economy recovery must be adequately resourced and financed.

**Gender and environment:** Meaningful integration of gender-environment analysis requires a conceptual flip

§ Rather than defining the environment primarily in its physical form, effective environmental analysis needs to incorporate an understanding of social and gendered relationships, including power asymmetries. Environmental analysis must methodologically take up both quantitative data and qualitative information.

§ Gender norms need to be examined and acknowledged as drivers of environmental change. Creating a healthy and sustainable environmental future will require paying attention to, and then being willing to shift, gender identity formations as they affect environmental practices and processes.

§ Existing environmental and gender equality commitments by national governments and international entities need to be followed up and implemented. This will require a commitment of resources to develop enhanced data bases on the gender-environmental nexus, as well as a sustained focus on the dimensions of intersectional social inequality that are environmentally destructive.
**Digital technology and data:** better governance is vital to address gender bias and inequality

§ The idea that improvements in technology are gender neutral and that gender equality can be achieved by more automation and technology ('technosolutionism') must be rejected. Instead, gender analysis needs to be an integral part of technological investment, research and design.

§ A global governance framework for national data pools and the intelligence commons is required. Such a governance framework should take the form of an international agreement that validates the territorial sovereignty of nation-states to govern the data generated in their territories, and take necessary local action for women’s empowerment, while ensuring the provision of digital public goods to support women’s participation in the digital society and economy.

§ The corporations influencing the digital platform discourse need to be held accountable for their ‘duty of care’ to their users. One important part of this task is to ensure that in content oversight and artificial intelligence ethics boards in Big Tech companies, women’s human rights are not perceived as an optional value to be customized or tweaked on an episodic basis, but rather as a non-negotiable obligation.

**Feminist movements:** New waves of young and intersectional feminist movements must be supported and adequately resourced as they forge new pathways to gender equality and sustainable development

§ Autonomous, intersectional and rights-based feminist organizations remain the most critical actors for advancing gender equality and their leadership must be supported as well as adequately resourced through reliable funding streams on all levels.

§ New modes of successful mobilization and feminist strategic action should be recognized, documented, researched

§ Donors should be made aware of changing patterns of mobilization and guided on how to sponsor new forms of activism

§ Gendered political violence, including violence against women who are politicians or activists, must be prevented, denounced and sanctioned, including by legal and institutional means.

§ Gender equality and feminist movements must continue to act in cross-border solidarity in order to build multigenerational and collective power, while also evolving their unity, strategy and content in the context of differentiated identities. Coalitions and alliances, including men and boys pursuing a feminist agenda, are vital for achieving progress.