



# South Feminist Manifesto Consultation Guide

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## About the South Feminist Manifesto Project

The South Feminist Manifesto seeks to articulate a powerful, cohesive vision and agenda that reflects the collective aspirations and demands of feminists across the Global South. The manifesto will reaffirm Global South Feminism as a distinct identity and political endeavour. It aims to be a living document that provides political coherence and a foundation for organising, while continuously evolving through an inclusive, participatory process of drafting and updating.

Key goals of the South Feminist Manifesto are:

- Articulate a shared political vision and agenda for South feminist organising across regions;
- Challenge structures of cisheteropatriarchy, racism, capitalism, colonialism and oppression;
- Imagine solutions grounded in decolonial, intersectional frameworks; and
- Create a roadmap for collective action across regions, identities and sectors.

The manifesto process is being coordinated by South Feminist Futures (SFF), transnational association of members from across the Global South and Black, indigenous, feminists of colour in the Global North (South-in-North). SFF is committed to building solidarity between feminists across borders to shape collective visions and agendas for the future that are based on shared experiences, rich history of feminist theorising, and our determination to sustain and expand the gains of our struggles.

While SFF is convening this effort, the final manifesto will belong to the broader feminist movement across the Global South as a collective articulation of “South Feminism” core tenets.

To kick start the process, we are organising consultations in five languages – Arabic, English, French, Portuguese and Spanish – with plans to later facilitate additional discussions as needed to ensure inclusive outreach. We hope to connect with feminists globally to shape a bold vision for the future that challenges historical inequities.

## Why we need a South Feminist Manifesto

In a world grappling with converging challenges—neo-colonialism, climate crises, and the rise of fascism—a powerful response is required from feminists in the Global South. Movements across the Global South are gaining momentum in advocating for systemic change, but there remains a critical gap. South-South cooperation in its current state not only overlooks feminist concerns, but in instances is alarmingly bordering on anti-feminist and anti-gender rhetoric.

To prioritise feminist agendas, we must:

1. Confront hegemonies;
2. Build a new knowledge base;

*Last updated: February 2023*

3. Reimagine development;
4. Strategise for change and resistance; and
5. Reclaim South-South internationalism.

We take inspiration from pivotal historical manifestos like The Combahee River Collective Statement (1977), The South Asian Feminist Declaration (1985) and The Charter of Feminist Principles for African Feminists (2006) to create autonomous spaces for articulating solutions to global crises and reshape the landscape of feminist organising across different regions in the Global South.

In bringing together diverse voices, the manifesto presents an opportunity to challenge fragmentation within movements and build solidarity across identities and tactics toward systemic transformation. This manifesto will serve as a political and analytical framework for joint statements, campaigns, strategies and future initiatives aligned with our common goals.

## Who we want to hear from

We aim to centre voices from across the Global South in shaping the South Feminist Manifesto. If you identify as a woman, trans or non-binary person from the Global South, or a Black, Indigenous, person of colour (BIPOC) woman/trans/non-binary person in the Global North, you are warmly invited to join the conversation.

To ensure diversity, we strive for representation across:

- **Geographies:** Africa, Latin America and the Caribbean, Asia and the Pacific, West Asia and more. Please share your country and region information.
- **Identities:** Racial/ethnic minorities, LGBTQIA+ communities, people with disabilities, young feminists under 30, migrant workers, sex workers, domestic workers, indigenous and more. Please share your identity details.
- **Grassroots/frontline voices:** We especially want to hear from activists in informal collectives, community groups and local/territorial women's rights organisations. Indicate your type of work.
- **Circumstances:** We want to hear from activists experiencing climate disasters, living under military occupation, and/or experiencing violent conflict and instability. Recognising that occupation and conflict, while sometimes interlinked, refer to distinct power dynamics, we welcome perspectives from those facing either or both situations. Please share details of your circumstances, while protecting your safety.

## Why you should participate

The South Feminist Manifesto aims to be a collective articulation of the vision, analysis, and agenda of feminists across the Global South.

We recognise participants may be speaking from various positions - as individuals, on behalf of their organisations or networks, or as representatives of a particular constituency. Please indicate which perspective(s) you bring when you share your insights. With approximately

*Last updated: February 2023*

15-30 participants per consultation, we consider this a wider discussion because participants often represent and convey the priorities of larger communities.

The specific results will include:

- A Global South feminist manifesto that will serve as a tool for action and agenda-setting.
- The manifesto will be a document to support advocacy efforts of South feminists.
- It will serve as a common ground for further projects, statements, and strategies.
- It will enable transnational feminist solidarity and action.

The manifesto drafting process will involve an inclusive and participatory consultation across regions. While the Convenors will be fully present and active during the consultation sessions, we will look to participants to help shape and own the process. Being a participant can mean filling out short paperwork with demographic information, helping to lead breakout conversations, noting down content from breakout groups, reporting to the larger group, and more. The consultations will culminate in a Manifesto Drafting Committee that will synthesise inputs into the final document.

This is a rare chance to shape the future of South feminism through a collective, collaborative, inclusive and participatory process. By taking part in the consultations, you can:

- Share your lived experiences, worldviews and ideas
- Connect with feminists across regions, identities and perspectives
- Analyse complex process and problems with diverse feminist comrades
- Learn from other feminist experiences and practices
- Influence the global feminist discourse and leadership
- Contribute to a radically transformative vision for change
- Join a growing community of South feminist activists

We understand that some feminist activists face barriers to digital access and participation. Though our capacity is limited at the SFF secretariat, we believe it is important to centre those impacted by systemic marginalisation. We welcome ideas on how to make this process accessible for wider feminist organising across digital divides. Please contact us regarding any specific needs so we can discuss potential accommodations and support to ensure your voice is heard.

## Our positionality

We acknowledge that we come from a position of both marginalisation and strength - strength derived from centuries of resistance against colonialism, racism, poverty, cisheteropatriarchy and economic exploitation.

Our identities and experiences are diverse, spanning continents, races, ethnicities, languages, abilities, classes, indigeneity, disability, sexuality and gender identity, and more. We navigate the complexities of living under neocolonial systems, within semi-feudal societies, under occupation, in exile and in diaspora.

We are claiming our rightful place by establishing our own platforms, setting our own agendas rooted in shared values, lived realities, and diverse conceptualisations of justice. Our path forward rejects colonial impositions, instead drawing deeply from our cultures and knowledge systems to shape futures defined on our own terms.

## Our core principles

At the heart of our vision lie these core principles:

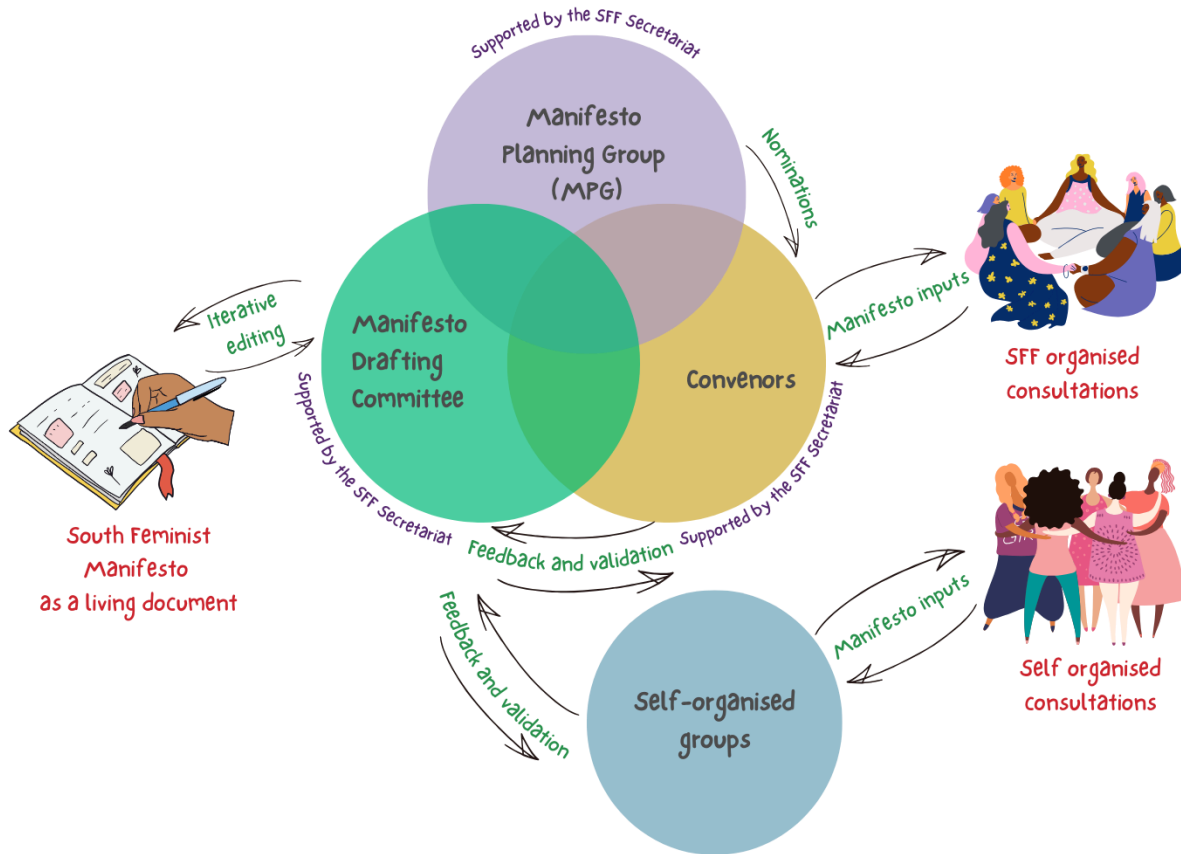
- **Decoloniality** - We embrace the complexity of interlocking systems of colonial oppression and exploitation. Our liberation necessitates confronting cisheteropatriarchy, racism, capitalism, ableism and anthropocentrism.
- **Collective care** - We propose solidarity and mutual care as antidotes to the individualism of neoliberal capitalism. We uphold interdependence among people and harmony between humanity and nature.
- **Pluriversality** - We honour the diversity of worldviews, cultures, identities and solutions that exist among the Global South. No singular narrative can represent our multitudes.
- **Self-determination** - We assert the rights of communities to democratically determine their own path, free from all forms of domination and violence.
- **Internationalism** - We are bonded through our shared struggles against intersecting systems of oppression that transcend borders. We express solidarity with all oppressed peoples whose liberation is interconnected with ours.

The Manifesto will serve as a framework for future activism and solidarity, presenting a common agenda to South feminists for issues ranging from climate justice to bodily rights, guiding us towards challenging systems of oppression.

## Manifesto drafting process

The South Feminist Manifesto seeks to articulate a shared vision and agenda for the future through an extensive, participatory process.

## South Feminist Manifesto Drafting Process



- ★ The process will be guided by a diverse Manifesto Planning Group (MPG) with representation across regions, identities and sectors.
- ★ The MPG will select Convenors to lead consultations in multiple languages to involve feminists globally. Creative offline and online methods will make consultations accessible.
- ★ Additionally, self-organising groups focused on key themes will be invited to participate.
- ★ A *Drafting Committee* comprising diverse representation across regions, identities and sectors will be formed to synthesise insights from consultations into successive manifesto drafts.
- ★ Drafts will be shared with the MPG and broader networks for feedback.
- ★ The final manifesto will be translated into multiple languages for launch in 2024.

The Drafting Committee will craft inclusive, representative drafts that challenge oppressive structures and provide a roadmap for change. The committee will work closely with the MPG to build consensus and validate the final manifesto through a participatory process.

## Discussion themes and guiding questions

To craft a cohesive manifesto, we welcome your insights on five key themes/pillars. We have included sample topics and guiding questions under each theme for you to consider. Please note that the questions serve more as a menu rather than a checklist; you will not be expected to address every question in depth during the consultation. We want the discussions to be driven by the interests and priorities you identify as most relevant or impactful. The questions are there to spur thinking and provide options to choose from during the conversation.

### Pillar 1: Confronting hegemonies

Potential topics of discussion:

- Discuss imperialism, border control, conflict, and the global political landscape.
- Address racism, caste systems, and socio-cultural dynamics.
- Critique extractive capitalism and privatisation of public goods.
- How to break down hegemonies, including hegemony of knowledge.

#### Guiding questions for pillar 1

1. What are some examples of the white supremacist, imperialist, capitalist patriarchal power structures in place today? How are they maintaining control?
2. Which specific global institutions and forums like the WEF, G20, IMF etc are perpetuating economic injustice? Is "neocolonialism" an apt term for present day dynamics?
3. How are new technologies like surveillance, social media platforms, and AI being used to both expand but also disrupt dominant power structures?
4. What strategies should South feminist movements use to engage institutions like the UN, WTO, World Bank etc?
5. What recent popular uprisings reveal cracks in the neoliberal status quo? How should we respond to violent state suppression of dissent?
6. What hierarchies around race, region, caste, class, gender, sexuality exist within feminist movements? How do we address this power imbalance?
7. Where have feminist anti-capitalist efforts like Occupy Wall Street failed and what lessons do we learn from them?
8. What existing counter-hegemonic movements and ways of organising, like trade unions, indigenous groups etc. can we learn from?

### Pillar 2: Building new knowledge for south feminist futures

Potential topics of discussion:

- Apply decolonial analyses to technology impacts and digital colonialism
- Strengthen analysis of migration, displacement, and labour perspectives
- Envision collective care and inclusive spaces

### Guiding questions for pillar 2

1. How is academic, policy, and media knowledge production skewed against the Global South? How do we challenge the ideological dominance of neoliberal orthodox in public discourse and shaping macro-economic policy?
2. To what extent have feminist agendas become too donor driven? How do we shift the euro-centric coloniality of knowledge production to centring knowledge from indigenous feminisms, Dalit feminism etc instead?
3. What examples of South feminist solutions do we see in ecological knowledge, solidarity economies, and development models?
4. How can we learn from them as well as protect them from dilution and appropriation?

## Pillar 3: Reclaiming south-south internationalism

Potential topics of discussion:

- Amplify voices from BRICS, Brazil, the Caribbean, Pacific Islands
- Critique Northern dominance and move toward multipolarity
- Build South solidarity across socio-cultural diversity

### Guiding questions for pillar 3

1. Why are South-South connections important today? What new partnerships can we build between regions?
2. How did male-centric projects like NAM and G77 fail to address gender issues? What should a feminist south-south vision prioritise instead?
3. How did Western-dominated forums like OECD and G7 gain influence while the UN lost ground?

## Pillar 4: Reimagining development

Potential topics of discussion:

- Critically examine dominant notions of 'development' and how the term has been defined and deployed by institutions like the World Bank and IMF.
- Challenge development models that are extractive, growth-focused, and rely on the oppression of nature and marginalised communities.



- Interrogate past economic policies like the New International Economic Order (NIEO) and Right to Development; analyse their limitations and valuable aspects.
- Reformulate alternative visions of development grounded in ecological sustainability, care systems, solidarity economies and indigenous worldviews.
- Centre climate and environmental justice, agrarian reform, feminist economics and just transition frameworks as essential to reimagining development.
- Build power from below through grassroots organising and participatory processes that redefine progress on local terms and realities.

### Guiding questions for pillar 4

1. What will an anti-capitalist, anti-racist development agenda look like?
2. Is the new attention being given to intersectionality and decolonization a passing fad or a paradigm shift? How do we as South feminists enrich and inform these conversations?
3. How can we revive debates at the national level as a challenge to neoliberalism?
4. What are our South Feminist critiques of the Beijing + 25 / SDG agenda and the corporate/ philanthrocapitalist capture? Is there a need to revive “the right to development” and what are feminist realisations of this?
5. What issues like unpaid care work, climate impacts, land rights, and global debt crisis should a Southern feminist development agenda tackle?
6. How are feminists contributing to initiatives like the Green New Deal, social protection policies, and sustainable development? Should we engage existing frameworks or build our own?

## Pillar 5: Strategies for change and resistance

Potential topics of discussion:

- Share strategies like multilateralism and corporate accountability
- Propose policies for language decolonisation and reparations
- Envision governance that enables self-determination

### Guiding questions for pillar 5

1. How do we overcome the fragmentation within feminist movements across the Global South and what are some of the issues around which we should build those movements?
2. How can feminists collaborate better with existing social movements such as unions, indigenous groups, racial justice movements etc?

3. Why did the anti-globalisation, anti-racism, anti-capitalism, 50 years is enough, jubilee debt campaigns, palestine solidarity die/become diluted? What replaced them?
4. If normal democratic processes have failed to respond to demands for change, what are movements supposed to do? How do we deal with escalating violence against peaceful protest, freedom of expression and dismantling human rights frameworks?
5. Can regional feminist collaborations be a stepping stone for building South-South internationalism? How can we strengthen the regional to international cooperation, networks and partnerships?
6. How do we overcome language and geographical constraints? How do we ensure that these collaborations are grounded in local struggles?

## Participation guidelines

We aim to create a welcoming and inclusive environment for all participants. By participating in this consultation, you agree to:

- Treat all participants with respect, dignity and care. Listen actively and share the space for others to speak.
- Avoid discriminatory language and behaviour, including racism, casteism, homophobia, transphobia, and discrimination based on ethnicity, religion, disability, age, appearance, occupation, or any other aspect of identity.
- Immediately report any concerning incidents of discrimination to facilitators and [manifesto@southfeministfutures.org](mailto:manifesto@southfeministfutures.org). Your report will remain fully confidential.
- Not share screenshots, photos, audio or video of other participants without their consent. Note that the consultation will be recorded by organisers for internal note taking. Recordings will not be shared publicly without your permission.
- Engage in good faith while expressing disagreements and diverse opinions respectfully. Avoid personal attacks or insults.
- Maintain complete confidentiality of all stories and identities shared by other participants.

Last updated: February 2023

## Contacts

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## Project team members

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- Twitter: [@SouthFeministas](https://twitter.com/SouthFeministas)
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Sign up to get the latest information on the campaign using the QR code below



## Annex A: Glossary

**Ableism** - Discrimination in favour of able-bodied people, resulting in negative attitudes and exclusion of people with physical, mental, emotional disabilities and illnesses.

*Example: Lack of wheelchair ramps restricting disabled people's participation*

**Anthropocentrism** - The belief that human beings are the most important entity and that nature exists solely for human use rather than having intrinsic value.

*Example: Deforestation harming wildlife habitats for industrial growth*

**Collective care** - The shared responsibility of communities to nurture, protect and encourage the wellbeing of their members through mutual solidarity and support.

*Example: Community-organised childcare and meals so no one has to struggle alone*

**Decoloniality** - The process of exposing, challenging and dismantling colonial ideologies and systems that remain deeply embedded in cultures, economies, politics and knowledge systems today.

*Example: Questioning narratives of history told from the coloniser's perspective*

**Cisheteropatriarchy** - Social systems of power that uphold and enforce heterosexuality and binary cisgender identities as dominant and normative, privileging cis men and systematically oppressing those with other gender identities and sexual orientations.

*Example: Laws that recognise only opposite-sex marriage*

**Global South** - The regions and countries of Africa, Central and Latin America, the Caribbean, and most parts of Asia including what is known as the Middle East or West Asia that share common experiences of colonialism, neocolonialism, and current economic disadvantages in the global order. It is also a political and analytical identity claimed by racially marginalised communities living within the geographical Global North who share historical bonds and systemic oppressions with the nations of Africa, Asia, Latin America etc.

*Examples: India, Nigeria, Brazil are part of the Global South. Indigenous groups in the US that identify with the term Global South.*

**Global hegemony** - The dominance of one group over others across the world in economic, cultural, technological domains.

*Example: The outsized influence of institutions like the IMF, World Bank and WTO in shaping policy for Southern nations*

**Intersectionality** - The interconnected nature of social identities and systems of oppression that overlap to shape lived realities of privilege and marginalisation.

*Example: Indigenous women facing both racism and patriarchy*

**Internationalism** - The principle of organising political activities or movements that extend beyond national boundaries and transcend nationalism.

*Example: Feminists building South-South alliances across borders*

**Neocolonialism** - The practice of using economic, political or cultural power to control another country, even after it is politically independent.

*Example: Trade policies that benefit Northern multinationals over Southern countries*

**Philanthrocapitalism** - The growing trend of mega rich philanthropists, corporations and private foundations steering the agendas of nonprofits, international institutions etc.

*Example: Bill Gates foundation influencing global health policies*

**Pluriversality** - The existence of multiple worldviews, realities and knowledge systems that challenge the dominance of Eurocentric universalism.

*Example: Indigenous water management practices developed locally*

**Self-determination** - The right of peoples, nations, communities, and individuals to freely decide their political status, place in the world, and pursue economic, social and cultural development on their own terms. At an individual level, it refers to the right to make decisions about one's own life and future without coercion.

*Examples: Indigenous tribes having autonomy over their ancestral lands; A woman having bodily autonomy to make her own health and reproductive choices.*

## Annex B: Key features, approaches and envisioning of the South Feminist Manifesto

The summary below reflects initial thinking on the key features, approaches and envisioning of the South Feminist Manifesto, as discussed by members of the Manifesto Planning Group present at their 12 July 2023 meeting.

### Key Features of the manifesto

The intended content and structure of the manifesto are as follows:

- Living, evolving document
- Structure of anger, hope and action
- Overview and detailed versions
- Trend analysis covering key issues
- Centred on gender-based violence and militarisation
- Strong, accessible language
- Questions of legitimacy and broad membership
- Discusses harm, reparation and intergenerational handover
- Envisions South Feminist Futures and community-centred futures
- Creates action plan and record of outrage

### Approaches to developing the manifesto

The process and perspectives guiding the development of the manifesto are as follows:

- Learn from existing manifestos and processes

*Last updated: February 2023*

- Participatory and grounded-up consultations
- Intersectional, highlighting diverse voices
- Anti-colonial, anti-neoliberal, anti-capitalist stance
- Radical future visioning through arts and queer politics
- Contextual analysis of Southern challenges
- Intergenerational dialogue via technology
- Cautious about co-optation risks

### **What we envision for our manifesto**

- Bringing fresh, original South feminist perspectives rather than replicating existing texts.
- Speaking directly from our positionality, not making generalised calls to institutions.
- Focusing on solutions, visions and ideas for change rather than just problems.
- Using bold, relatable language rather than diluted academic jargon.
- An iterative, participatory process led by South feminists, not a rushed donor-driven effort.
- Radical inclusivity that amplifies marginalised voices.
- Centering collectives, communities and interdependence rather than individuals.
- A living document that grows and evolves over time.