

SOUTH
FEMINIST
FUTURES



REPORT BACK

(May 2023- December 2024)

Trimita Chakma,
Manifesto Project Consultant
November 2024



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5. Diyana Yahaya (Malaysia)

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1. Mena Seilem (Western Sahara)
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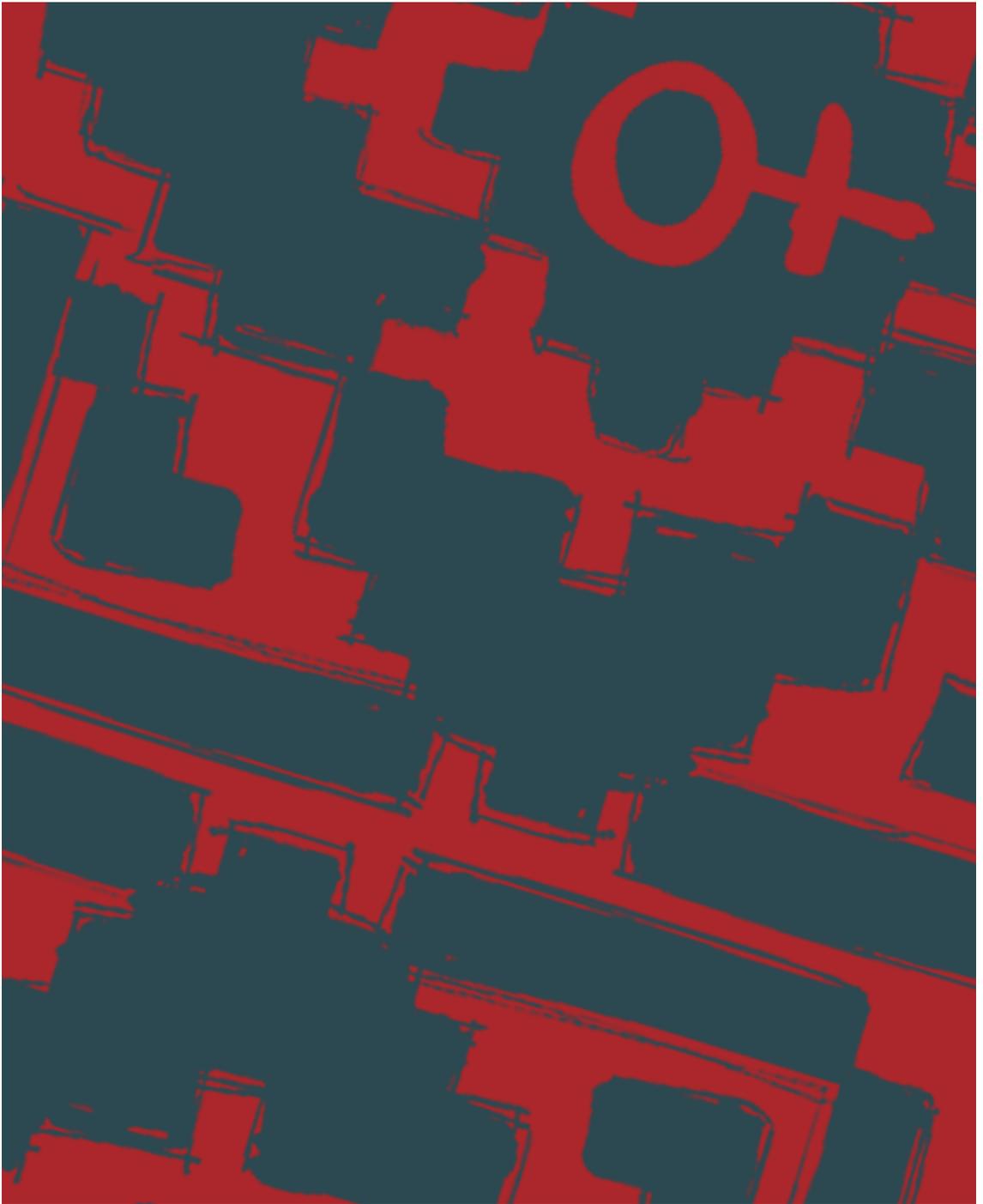
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INTRODUCTION

“Colonialism haunts the past, present, and future through climate. Imperialism continues through neoliberalism, racial capitalism, development interventions, education, training, and the media.”

In this document we present a summary report of the process for drafting a South Feminist Manifesto during 2023 and 2024.

South Feminist Futures launched its flagship programme - the South Feminist Manifesto - in May 2023, responding to the call to collectively reimagine Global South feminist visions emerging from our series of virtual dialogues on “South Feminisms Past Present and Future - Decolonisation, Neocolonialism and Self Determination” convened in May 2022.

South Feminist Manifesto aims to revive decades of feminist resistance and reimagining in the Global South building upon a rich legacy of transnational feminist manifestos and declarations that have historically catalysed social change, from the Charter of Feminist Principles for African Feminists (2006) to the Labour and Social Justice Charter of Feminist Demands from the Global South (2023).

The process was designed to engage feminist leaders, activists, and scholars across continents to articulate a collective vision for transformation. Despite a powerful history of feminist organising during decolonisation struggles, contemporary South-South cooperation frameworks have largely failed to centre feminist agendas. From the foundational Bandung Declaration (1955) to the more recent BRICS alliance (2009), these intergovernmental initiatives often overlook - or sometimes actively undermine - the challenges faced by women and marginalised groups. This disconnect between historical feminist



movements and current South-South cooperation mechanisms underscores the pressing need for renewed feminist vision-building and solidarity across the Global South.

CONTEMPORARY CRISES AND URGENCY

Global and intersecting crises emerged as central themes in our consultations in 2024, revealing how they compound devastating impacts on communities across the Global South:

Occupation, Militarisation and State Violence

The ongoing genocide in Palestine represents the most immediate manifestation of settler colonialism, imperialism and militarism. As one participant poignantly stated:

“The current genocide and ongoing assault on Gaza is not only attempting to destroy life, but also the act of life-making and sustainability in Gaza, as well as to destroy the constant act of survival.”

Increasing militarisation of everyday life extends beyond traditional warfare to include border militarisation, police violence, and surveillance of activists. In Kenya, “There were deaths recorded...There were a lot of abductions, a lot of intimidation...It was even crazier for women and gender diverse people because of the profiling and of the policing.”

In Mali, “women and children are paying a heavy price because they have been victims of all kinds of violence... People can no longer go to the fields to cultivate, and even those who manage to cultivate, the terrorists destroy the crops and threaten the population.”

Colonial-Capitalist Exploitation and Economic Violence

Acceleration of economic exploitation through unfair trade policies, debt traps, and resource extraction continues to widen inequalities. Neoliberal austerity policies and mounting sovereign debt create particular challenges for Global South countries. The creation of debt traps limits autonomy while cutting essential services. From Nigeria:

“The British exploited Nigeria’s resources and imposed their political and economic systems in the country, leading to the marginalisation of indigenous cultures and the extraction of wealth.”

Traditional colonialism now intersects with digital colonialism, where technological inequities and corporate control over digital infrastructure create new patterns of dependency, surveillance, and data exploitation.

Climate Crisis and Climate Colonialism

Climate change presents an existential threat, with impacts falling most heavily on communities least responsible. A participant from Zimbabwe highlighted:

“The climate crisis has become a cover for intensified extractivism, elite accumulation, rural communities’ dispossession - the sacrifice zones of green colonialism. Double punishment as a result of climate change - firstly the impacts of climate change and then the false solutions to address climate change which create further dispossession.”

In Guatemala, “Climate coloniality affects Mayan families in their territories, which are being dispossessed of their livelihoods by extractive corporations; families mainly live from agriculture and are forced to leave their territories.”

From Tunisia: “These factories, often installed in marginalised areas,



contribute to air, water and soil pollution, seriously affecting the health of local populations. The profits generated by these industries mainly benefit an economic elite, while local communities have to bear the environmental and health costs.”

Rising Authoritarianism, Anti-gender and Racist Discourses

The global rise of authoritarian movements presents urgent challenges to feminist organizing. In Argentina, recent political shifts demonstrate this trend:

“The government closed the remaining part of the Women’s ministry that is only for Gender Based Violence and our President Milei in an interview expressed that he entered the government to destroy the State but he is destroying the people.”

Electoral victories of far-right movements both in the Global North and South signal a renewed determination to defeat popular struggles for self-determination, often building legitimacy through anti-feminist, anti-gender, racist and xenophobic rhetoric. In West Papua, ongoing Indonesian occupation has led to widespread human rights abuses, with “Over 100,000 native Papuans killed since the 1960s -- at least 10% of the population.”

Displacement and Migration

Displacement has reached unprecedented levels, driven by conflict, climate disasters, and economic hardship. As emphasised from Guatemala:

“Mayan territories mostly lack basic services and rights violations are severe. In this dispossession and displacement, women and girls suffer the most due to the role assigned to them socially: mothers, caregivers.”



The crisis extends beyond physical displacement to cultural and identity erasure. Another participant noted:

“In a Black African context, colonialism has stripped us of our indigenous identity as a way to violently tear us apart from our connection to land. We are purposefully left out of indigenous conversations to reinforce the idea that we are not people impacted by land devastation but that we are part of the flora and fauna, another resource to be extracted and exploited.”

Crisis of International Institutions

There is a growing crisis of legitimacy in international institutions meant to serve global interests. As one participant pointedly stated: “If CSW cannot address Gaza, then they can’t address anything. As far as I’m concerned, it’s a waste of time.”

The UN, once a space for transformation in the 1960s and 1970s, has become a hegemony itself, leading many Global South feminists to question traditional channels for international advocacy and change.

Conclusion

These are intersecting crises rather than a series of unrelated challenges – they form an interlocking system of oppression that demands holistic, feminist responses from the Global South. As our consultations revealed, the traditional institutions and frameworks meant to address these crises have often become part of the problem. Yet within this moment of profound crises, we also see unprecedented opportunities for transformation. As one participant powerfully articulated:

“The mindset we need to have is not only diagnosing and lamenting but also providing alternatives to the current systems of power. We need to be better at



what we are for instead of what we are against.”

We see this potential in the surge of youth movements across the Global South, in the growing power of South-South solidarity networks, and in the emergence of new forms of feminist resistance and organising. This moment demands not critique or reform, but a fundamental reimagining of how we organise our societies, economies, and relationships with each other and the planet. Global South feminist movements, who have long confronted these intersecting crises while developing sophisticated strategies of resistance and alternatives, are uniquely positioned to lead this essential transformation.

VISION AND SCOPE

In response to these urgent challenges, the South Feminist Manifesto aims to:

- Integrate feminist objectives within South-South cooperation
- Create autonomous spaces for articulating solutions to global crises
- Move beyond critique to propose concrete pathways for transformation
- Build collective power for systemic change

The manifesto development process itself demonstrates the possibility of building transnational feminist solidarity while respecting difference and centering historically marginalised voices. By creating infrastructure for sustained dialogue and collective action, we aim to strengthen feminist movements' capacity to confront current crises while building toward transformed futures.

An ambition of the South Feminist Manifesto was to use the opportunity



offered by digital platforms to facilitate dialogue across language and regional divides. The methodology embodies feminist principles of accessibility, inclusion, and knowledge sharing.

REFLECTIONS ON FEMINIST SOLIDARITY IN A TIME OF GENOCIDE

Sarah Kaddoura, a Palestinian feminist activist, is the South Feminist Futures Political Education Project Manager, shared her thoughts and experience of feminist solidarity as the months of genocide have unfolded in a presentation during the Manifesto Dialogues Week held in August 2024.

“As a third-generation Palestinian refugee, I grew up facing a long list of political, economic and civic exclusions in Lebanon where I reside and have lived all my life. Like many of you here today, I found myself gravitating towards anticolonial, anticapitalist feminism as I began navigating feminist spaces and politics. I also found myself doing my best to distance myself from the deeply alienating mainstream and neoliberal definition of feminism, which I was ashamed of associating with. I wanted to prove to myself that these are not my politics, but mostly, to prove to the communities that I come from that feminism is a movement for collective liberation. It’s uncomfortable, but it is not... evil.

The last ten months have been tremendously and exceptionally hard. This is the fourth or fifth war on Gaza that I have witnessed as an adult, all from behind the screen. The first one was in 2014. I watched as young Gazans documented their death on their phones. Through student clubs, we were protesting, calling for boycotts and divestments, and trying to amplify the voices and images of horror that our friends were living in bombardment under the siege. If bearing witness to atrocities was enough solidarity, Gazans wouldn’t have had to live many more wars since.



The last ten months challenged how I relate to feminist movements at the core. On a personal level, I could not understand how feminist organizations expected me and others to carry on work business-as-usual, and to submit deliverables on women empowerment, mental health, climate change, and other issues that were seen to somehow exist out of the sphere of the ongoing genocide. I found myself replying to emails that referred to this as an 'Israel-Hamas war', correcting them, asking for the minimum decency of acknowledging the genocide, whose main victims continue to be non-militant Palestinian women, children, and men, and elderly people evacuating again, finding refuge in half-destroyed houses, tents on the beach in the scorching heat, overcrowded UNRWA schools, and unable to anticipate the next hit.

In the first week of the war, Palestinian and Arab feminists were expected to denounce rape allegations of October 7th, when hundreds of Palestinians were already killed, and tens of buildings devastated. A Global North feminist expectation that ringed quite familiar, reminding many of us of the impossible position we are forced into: we must constantly prove that we are real feminists, by constantly denouncing the angry Arab or brown man/rapist, before we can even consider the human losses we are experiencing. We are expected to immediately believe those accusations, because of how openly we speak about misogyny in our societies, as if our feminism is ideologically and materially separate from our class and anticolonial struggle. We are expected to dehumanise all our men, for us to be seen as human, as worthy of solidarity, of spotlight, of a grieving post. Otherwise, we are fake feminists, fake queers...etc And overall, we are expected to forget how often this narrative is painted to justify the racist, imperialist murder machine, in Palestine, Afghanistan, Iraq, Algeria, India, and many more places.

Sara Salem wrote about similar frustrations faced by Global South feminists in international women's rights spaces during the early and mid-20th century, at a time in which discussions around Balfour's promise to give historical Palestine to the Zionist

movement were being had. It seemed that Global North feminists were reluctant to speak about this, or even see the issue in it. Many of them today, just like then, refuse to acknowledge the role both colonialism and imperialism played, and continue to play, in cementing our oppression. Just as in the past, solidarity from the Global North today seems conditional, whereas our transnational Global South solidarity comes almost like second nature.

We always think of alternative ways of sustaining our groups, collectives, organisations and movements. Funding does not necessarily have to be outright conditional for us to be anxious. Many of us already feel like we get exploited and tokenised, with funders using our faces, words and labour to whitewash their complicity in maintaining capitalist relations. On a personal level, I start worrying that I will eventually lose my edge as long as I keep getting financial support from funders who I know, deep down, do not have an interest in challenging the status quo. It makes you doubt yourself and your intentions, especially when you hear of the people who were fired, forced to quit, or who had to quit silently because their stance on Palestine clashes with that of the organisation or funder. People lost program funding, fellowships, jobs, and other means of support because they acknowledge the genocide, speak about Gaza, or blame Israel. I had friends and comrades apologise to me for the statements released by the international institutions they work in.

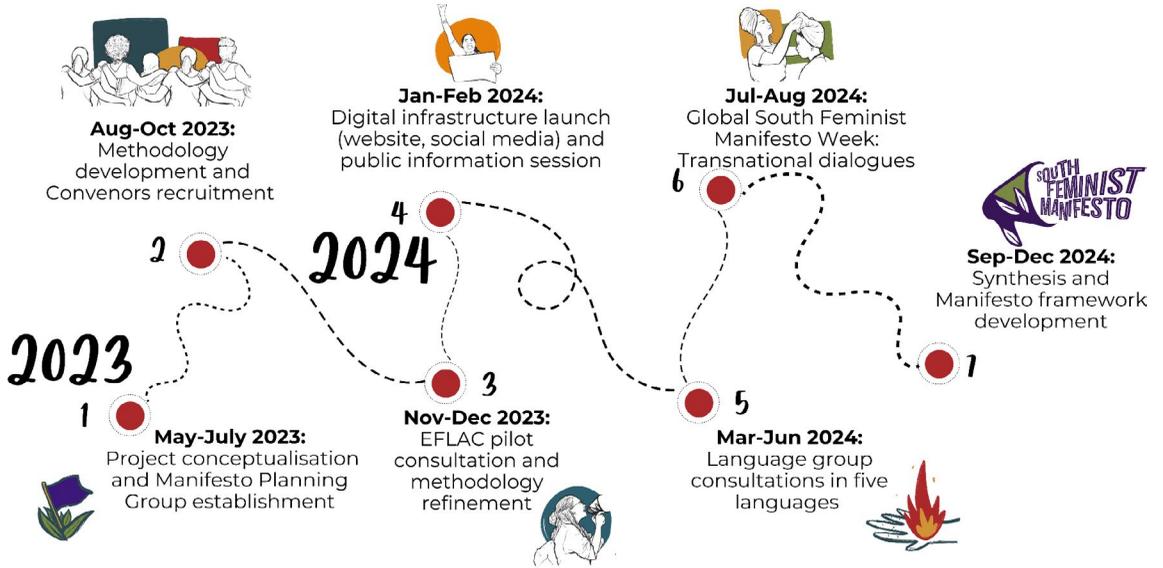
The question of funding has always loomed over us within our movements. We know very well that revolutions will not be NGO-ised, even as people who work within organisations following this structure. We are critical of the tools we use, and the methods we employ out of necessity. It's not surprising then that one of the first urgent discussions many feminist organisations in the SWANA region have had since last October is about funding, specifically feminist funding.

Also, conditionality of funding stands in the way of staying true to one's politics and principles, especially when we don't want

to address our oppression through single-issue analysis. Covid challenged our ideas around work and access. We tried to adapt, as much as we could, in hopes that we do not make the same assumptions and mistakes again. Seeing how many of the funding structures we once believed to be solid have crumbled since the start of the assault on Gaza, perhaps this is also the moment to prepare for the future. To rip the band-aid and take control within these funder/funded relationships and think of ways of strengthening our networks and movements without being completely reliant on the fragility of funding.

We see it from our comrades in Sudan, South Africa, Congo, Western Sahara, Bangladesh, and other places that have experienced, and continue to live through some of the most violent wars, political unrest, and the remnants of colonial ambitions. We see it through student action primarily led by Global South students in the North, pushing educational institutions to divest. We see it through the relentless direct action of young activists blocking arms trade to Israel. This is the material solidarity that truly challenges colonial ambitions in our region. Otherwise, mainstream feminist discourses that separate women's issues from their material reality will continue to depoliticise the movement and alienate those most directly impacted by the killing machine."

IMPLEMENTATION TIMELINE



- **May-Jul 2023:** Project conceptualisation and Manifesto Planning Group establishment
- **Aug-Oct 2023:** Methodology development and Convenors recruitment
- **Nov-Dec 2023:** EFLAC pilot consultation and methodology refinement
- **Jan-Feb 2024:** Digital infrastructure launch (website, social media) and public information session
- **Mar-Jun 2024:** Language group consultations in five languages (Arabic, English, French, Portuguese, and Spanish)
- **Jul-Aug 2024:** Global South Feminist Manifesto Week: Transnational dialogues
- **Sep-Dec 2024:** Synthesis and Manifesto framework development

FOUNDATION BUILDING

From the onset we aimed to work collectively with feminists from the Global South to provide guidance and feedback to the goals and design of the South Feminist Manifesto process. We invited activists, scholars, and organisers from across the Global South, women, trans and non-binary persons from the Global South, as well as Black, Indigenous, and people of colour (BIPOC) women, trans and non-binary persons in the Global North to join us. We formed these structures to guide us:

Manifesto Planning Group (MPG)

The Manifesto Planning Group formed the project's foundation, established in June 2023 by transitioning the core Dialogues Planning Group members from 2022 and integrating new voices. This evolution ensured both continuity of vision and fresh insights as the group took on the task of providing strategic oversight for the manifesto development process.

Language Group Convenors

Language Group Convenors embodied our commitment to linguistic diversity and accessibility. They led consultations across language groups, ensuring dialogue spaces remained culturally nuanced and contextually relevant.

Editing group

The Editing Group steered two crucial project phases: designing and facilitating the Manifesto Week, and subsequently drafting the manifesto itself. Their work wove together the diverse voices, experiences, and visions emerging from the consultation process.

SFF Secretariat

The SFF Secretariat provided essential operational support through



technical and logistical coordination, developing consultation toolkits, managing multilingual resources, implementing documentation methods, and coordinating the Manifesto Reading Club.

EFLAC PILOT CONSULTATION

We launched the consultation phase with a strategic pilot at the Latin American and Caribbean Feminist Encounter (15EFLAC) in El Salvador. This face-to-face consultation, convened by South Feminist Futures' Agustina Calcagno and Gabriela Mendes, took place in EFLAC's self-convened activities under the theme "Feminist power and autonomy, keys to emancipation." The pilot proved invaluable, demonstrating both the richness of in-person, multilingual feminist dialogue and providing crucial insights for methodology refinement.



Key Themes and Insights:

- Conceptual Frameworks and Terminology:
 - * The concept of "Global South" revealed limitations, with understanding largely confined to geographical South America
 - * Participants challenged the term "development," questioning whether feminist reimagining was possible or if colonial origins necessitated new terminology
- Methodological Learnings:
 - * Small group format enabled deeper, more meaningful discussions

- * Face-to-face setting helped overcome language barriers through creative multilingual communication
- * Visual documentation (floor maps and post-it notes) proved effective for connecting ideas across SFF's five pillars
- * Need to simplify complex questions and provide additional context for technical terms
- Regional Perspectives:
 - * Strong advocacy for centering Central American voices in the manifesto process
 - * Recognition of diverse territorial contexts and local manifestations of global issues
 - * Emphasis on including marginalised voices: sex workers, gender dissidents, domestic workers, indigenous activists
- Process Recommendations:
 - * Development of glossary and simplified key concepts
 - * Effective time management strategies for small groups
 - * Implementation of consultation recording for comprehensive documentation
 - * Recognition of in-person format benefits for multilingual dialogue

The EFLAC pilot consultation significantly shaped the subsequent methodology, highlighting both opportunities and challenges in facilitating transnational feminist dialogue.





LANGUAGE GROUP CONSULTATIONS

In 2024, we held a series of multilingual consultations in five language groups - Arabic, English, French, Portuguese, and Spanish - each led by designated convenors with support from the SFF team. The choice of starting with language groups was to allow for an easier dialogue (without interpretation) that would also be transnational.

The consultations were structured around five key pillars:

- Confronting Hegemonies
- Building New Knowledge for South Feminist Futures
- Reclaiming South-South Internationalism
- Reimagining Development
- Strategies for Change and Resistance Together

Arabic Language Group

Convenors: Mena Souilem (Western Sahara) and Maie Panaga (Sudan)

The Arabic language consultations were convened against a backdrop of significant regional crises, particularly the ongoing genocide in Gaza and the war in Sudan. These consultations, conducted through three sessions between February-March 2024 brought together 22 participants from ten countries/territories: Egypt, Sudan, Jordan, Tunisia, Western Sahara, Syria, Algeria, Lebanon, Saudi Arabia and Palestine.

Key Themes and Insights:

- 1. Regional Power Dynamics and Hegemony:** A critical examination of power structures revealed complex layers of oppression within the feminist movement itself. Participants highlighted how the movement has become highly centralised in certain countries, creating new hierarchies based on geography, race, ethnicity, and class.
- 2. NGOisation and Movement Autonomy:** Participants articulated deep concerns about the impact of development agendas, humanitarian aid, and NGOisation on movement autonomy. The discussion revealed how funding structures and tokenisation have created rifts between organisations and their communities.
- 3. Knowledge Production and Institutional Engagement:** A significant focus was placed on the need to build knowledge structures independent of traditional institutions while strategically engaging with existing ones:

“To build something, we need to build it away from these institutions, i.e., academia and the media. It will take a lifetime but it will be better than what they are trying to impose on us.”

- 4. Technology and Resistance:** Participants explored the dual nature of technology in feminist organising:

“We exist between the polarisations of technophilia and technophobia. Tech is a tool a lot of us in the region have used to learn and educate ourselves... But it’s also a big threat to us as activists and active collectives in the region. It’s as much of a survival and knowledge tool as it is of oppression and surveillance.”

- 5. Development and International Institutions:** Strong critique emerged regarding traditional development frameworks and international institutions:

“What are we expecting from a space like the CSW, a space that is held in the most exclusive of spaces and places that are hard to make? Why do we keep doing this again and again?”

“The development agenda can’t be a mere job market for young Western graduates to come and vibe in the global south. And when reality hits like a war, they are the first ones to leave.”

- 6. Grassroots Survival and Movement Building:** Participants highlighted the challenges of balancing immediate survival needs with long-term movement building:

“The sole focus of grassroots activism in many places in our regions is survival. Their capacities are drained by simple day-to-day survival. They face too many challenges and obstacles to be able to focus on expanding or collaborating cross-regionally.”

- 7. South-South Connections and Diaspora:** The discussions

emphasised the critical importance of building stronger connections across the Global South:

“We have seen the world for what it is and we are not going to make it if we don’t build these south-to-south connections... The diaspora in the West can and is a huge force and a reminder to colonial power of their role in global south disenfranchisement.”

The Arabic language consultations revealed both significant challenges and promising pathways for feminist organising in the region. While participants grappled with the immediate impacts of genocide and war in Gaza and Sudan, they also articulated clear visions for transformative change and identified several promising strategies: leveraging technology thoughtfully for movement building, strengthening diaspora networks as agents of change, and developing independent knowledge production systems. There is growing recognition that traditional development and international cooperation frameworks must be reimagined from the ground up.

As one participant powerfully articulated:

“The mindset we need to have is not only diagnosing and lamenting but also providing alternatives to the current systems of power. We need to be better at what we are for instead of what we are against.”

The consultations ultimately demonstrated that despite - or perhaps because of - the intense challenges facing the region, there is both urgent necessity and fertile ground for reimagining feminist futures through south-to-south connections and solidarity.

English Language Group

Convenors: Tinatswe Mhaka (Zimbabwe), Diyana Yahya (Malaysia), Lebohang Liepollo Pheko (South Africa), Patrice Daniel (Barbados) and Beena Pallical (India)

The English language consultations feminist activists and thinkers from across Asia, Africa, the Caribbean, and Europe.

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Virtual Consultations

Bring your voice, energy and solidarity to forge a new story!

SOUTH FEMINIST FUTURES

Patrice Daniel

Tinatswe Mhaka

Beena J Pallical

Lebohang Liepollo Pheko

Diyana Yahya

The graphic features a purple background with a white torn-paper effect at the top. It includes a megaphone icon with the text 'SOUTH FEMINIST MANIFESTO', a central title 'Virtual Consultations' with a subtitle 'Bring your voice, energy and solidarity to forge a new story!', and the 'SOUTH FEMINIST FUTURES' logo. Five portraits of women are arranged in two rows. The bottom of the graphic is decorated with illustrations of a pink fist, a pink female symbol with a crown, and a pink branch with yellow flowers.

Key Themes and Insights:

- 1. Multiple and Intersecting Hegemonies:** The consultations revealed how different forms of hegemony operate and intersect at global and local levels. In South Asia, particularly India, participants highlighted how caste operates as a fundamental system of oppression:

“Caste manifests in various guises, and to various degrees depending on whether it’s an urban or rural setup, but it is very much present in some form or the other, no matter where on the spectrum you are. The feminist movement, for very obvious reasons, is dominated by women and gender diverse folks from the dominant caste communities.”

In Indonesia, participants described multiple layers of hegemony:

“In Indonesia there are several types of hegemonies. Foremost, is the patriarchal hegemony, and second is the religious hegemony which is the current trend in Indonesia. As part of the global south, another hegemony we also notice is the legacy of colonialism and ongoing geopolitical power dynamics.”

- 2. Crisis of International Institutions:** Participants engaged in deep critique of international institutions, particularly the United Nations (UN) system. The discussion revealed growing disillusionment with traditional spaces of international cooperation:

“If CSW cannot address Gaza, then they can’t address anything as far as I am concerned. Right now, the UN, including UN Women, is a very problematic space now

for any kind of radical thinking, any kind of thinking that wants to challenge structures of patriarchy, white supremacy, and capitalism.”

This critique extended to international NGOs and their role in perpetuating global inequalities:

“Many international NGOs have more money and resources than some government ministries. How then can the ministries negotiate, genuinely be partners, if there is such an imbalance?”

- 3. Knowledge Production and Power:** discussions focussed around who produces knowledge and how it circulates. Participants emphasised the need to reclaim and centre Southern knowledge systems:

“It’s really important to deepen local knowledge, especially women’s knowledge, traditional knowledge. We already have the networks here, so we can exchange the knowledge that we have.”

- 4. Reimagining Development and Progress:** The consultations challenged conventional notions of development, with participants calling for fundamental reconceptualization:

“We don’t want to develop, and we don’t want to be empowered. We want liberation. And we want justice. We want human rights for everyone.”

This reimagining included practical alternatives:

“We are the ones who decide what we want to eat. We are the ones to decide what technology that we want

to use, what technology that we want to make, what kind of energy that we want to use.”

- 5. Strategies for Resistance and Change:** Participants engaged in critical discussions about methods of resistance and change. This included challenging assumptions about non-violence and examining different forms of struggle:

“If you are an oppressed people, if people figuratively, in all ways, have a boot of silence upon your neck, you cannot liberate yourself by saying ‘please’.”

The discussions emphasised the need for multiple strategies and deeper analysis:

“Is it not violent for anti-rights actors to invest billions of dollars across churches, abortion clinics, and progressive spaces to infiltrate these spaces and push their rhetoric? So, what is violence? And when is it okay?”

- 6. Movement Building and Solidarity:** A key focus was on building genuine solidarity and strengthening movement connections while addressing internal power dynamics:

“The transnational solidarity among the feminist movements, and with the other movements is important. But to start off, maybe we can start with recognising and identifying the common goals and areas of concerns and interest.”

The English language consultations revealed both the depth of current challenges and the richness of feminist analysis and alternatives being developed across the Global South. Participants emphasised that this



is a crucial moment for reviving radical feminist politics and building stronger transnational solidarity.

The discussions consistently returned to the need for fundamental transformation rather than reform:

“This is a moment to revive that activism. This is a moment to revive it because of what’s happening.”



Portuguese Language Group

Convenors: Bergman de Paula (Brazil), Sílvia Mungongo (Angola), Gabriela Mendes Chaves (Brazil)



Manifesto Feminista do Sul

Convite para participar da consulta em português sobre o Manifesto Feminista do Sul Global

SOUTH FEMINIST FUTURES

Para se juntar a nós em uma discussão on-line no sábado, 13 de abril de 2024 das 10h às 13h, horário de São Paulo, Brasil

Facilitadoras:

Bergman de Paula Pereira

Sílvia Mungongo

Gabriela Chaves

Traga sua voz, energia e solidariedade para construir uma nova história!

The Portuguese language consultations were conducted through two online sessions in March and April 2024 from Angola, Brazil, Cape Verde, Guinea-Bissau, and Mozambique.

Key Themes and Insights:

- **Regional Differences and Intersectionality:** Participants emphasised the need to consider the political, economic and cultural differences. As one participant noted,

“Oppression affects women differently depending on where they come from, their social class and race.”

- **Relationship with Funding Institutions:** Participants expressed concerns about the influence of international funding agencies, with one participant stating:

“We don’t have the financial capacity to act, right? So, I think this is an opportunity to stop capitulating to donor diktats.”

- **Knowledge Production and Decolonisation:** The group discussed decolonizing academic curricula, with one participant sharing her approach:

“In my doctoral thesis I started by citing Black women scientists, then white women, black men and then white men from the North.”

- **Grassroots Engagement and Accessibility:** A frequent concern was how to better engage women from rural, peripheral and marginalised communities. As one participant noted,

“Rural, indigenous, peripheral women also want to learn, they want to better understand these structures, because they want to define their own resistance mechanisms.”



- **South-South Solidarity and Movement Building:** Participants emphasised the importance of strengthening connections across the Global South, with one stating:

“This connection of the Global South is necessary and important.”

Key priorities emerged around maintaining movement autonomy, decolonising knowledge, ensuring grassroots participation, and leveraging south-south connections. Participants expressed a strong desire for the manifesto process to be the start of an ongoing, inclusive dialogue and collective action.

Spanish Language Group

Convenors: Ximena Arrieta Borja (Mexico), Luci Cavallero (Argentina), and Magdalena García Fernández (Mexico).

The Spanish language consultations brought together feminists from Mexico, Argentina, Colombia, Cuba, and the Dominican Republic.



Caption: Lucia Cavallero facilitates discussion among a diverse group of around 70 participants at a mass assembly consultation in Argentina, including precarious and domestic workers, students, indigenous representatives, and self-employed workers, as they prepare for a general strike against the Milei government. January 18, 2024.

MANIFIESTO FEMINISTA del SUR

Te invitamos a

la I Reunión de consulta para la construcción del Manifiesto Feminista del Sur

Modalidad: Virtual

Facilitadoras:

Luci Cavallero

Ximena Arrieta Borja

Magdalena García Fernández

Agustina Calcagno

¡Trae tu voz, energía y solidaridad para forjar una nueva historia!

Key Themes and Insights:

- **Reimagining Feminist Futures:** Participants engaged in rich discussions about the intersecting challenges facing feminist

movements in the Global South and strategies for building collective power. A recurring theme was the need to move beyond critique to developing alternatives. As one participant powerfully articulated:

“The mindset we need to have is not only diagnosing and lamenting but also providing alternatives to the current systems of power. We need to be better at what we are for instead of what we are against.”

- **Confronting Patriarchal Logic:** The discussions highlighted how systems of oppression manifest in daily life. A participant from Mexico, noted:

“There are many structures that we women continue replicating...people want to talk about gender and diversity using the same logic of patriarchy.”

This led to deeper explorations about the co-optation of feminist language and movements, and the need to develop more transformative approaches.

- **Economic Justice and Anti-Colonial Resistance:** Feminist struggles for economic justice emerged as a central concern. Participants from Argentina shared powerful insights about confronting neoliberal policies and austerity measures. Speaking about the current situation in Argentina, one participant observed that:

“We are in a moment of relaunching colonialism through financial hegemony.”

The discussions emphasised how economic justice must be central to feminist organising.

- **Building Urban-Rural Feminist Solidarity:** A crucial theme was the relationship between urban and rural feminist movements. A

participant from Brazil highlighted that:

“Indigenous and peasant women’s communities and movements can show us the way.”

Participants acknowledged the existing disconnects while emphasising the importance of learning from indigenous and rural movements about alternative development models and ecological approaches.

- **International Solidarity and Network Building:** The consultations revealed both the challenges and possibilities of building international feminist solidarity. A participant from Honduras noted,

“Encounters like EFLAC help us continue weaving networks.”

Participants emphasised how technology can facilitate connection while acknowledging the need for deeper, sustained relationships.

- **Resource Challenges and Creative Solutions:** Resource constraints emerged as a persistent challenge. Many organisations rely on volunteer labour, making international coordination difficult. However, participants also highlighted creative approaches to resource sharing and mutual support. The consultations demonstrated how feminist movements are developing strategies to build power despite limited resources.
- **Intergenerational Dialogue and Collective Memory:** Looking towards the future, participants emphasised the importance of intergenerational dialogue and collective memory. In Argentina’s case, participants noted how quickly hard-won rights can be threatened, highlighting the importance of documenting struggles and passing on movement knowledge. As one participant reflected,

“Don’t take for granted the rights that have been achieved.”

- **Balancing Urgent Action and Long-term Vision:** Throughout the consultations, participants emphasised how feminist movements must be both responsive to immediate threats and focused on long-term transformation. The discussions highlighted the need for concrete alternatives to current systems of power and building stronger networks of solidarity across borders. This balance between addressing urgent needs and maintaining revolutionary visions emerged as crucial for the future of feminist organising in the Global South.

These consultations demonstrate both the complexity of challenges facing feminist movements and the powerful possibilities that emerge when activists come together across differences to imagine and build alternative futures.



French Language Group Consultations

Convenors: Edwige Dro (Côte d'Ivoire) and Pascale Solages (Haïti)

The poster features a purple background with a white torn-paper effect. At the top left is a megaphone icon with the text 'MANIFESTE FÉMINISTE du SUD'. At the top right is the 'SOUTH FEMINIST FUTURES' logo. The central text reads 'Invitation' in yellow, followed by 'Manifeste des Féministes du Sud' in purple, and 'Programme des Consultations du Groupe Francophone' in yellow. Below this, three consultation sessions are listed: 'Session d'Introduction Mardi 7 mai', '1ère Consultation Thématique Mercredi 8 mai', and '2ème Consultation Thématique Jeudi 9 mai'. Under the second and third sessions, the word 'Animatrices' is written in pink. Two photographs of women are shown: Pascale Solages on the left and Edwige Dro on the right, with their names printed below. The bottom of the poster is decorated with illustrations of a pink hand holding a yellow flame, a pink branch with yellow flowers, a pink female symbol with a yellow crown, and a pink fist holding a yellow object.

Invitation
Manifeste des Féministes du Sud
Programme des Consultations du
Groupe Francophone

Session d'Introduction
Mardi 7 mai

1ère Consultation
Thématique
Mercredi 8 mai

2ème Consultation
Thématique
Jeudi 9 mai

Animatrices


Pascale Solages


Edwige Dro

The Francophone consultations brought together feminists from West Africa, (Senegal, Burkina Faso, Côte d'Ivoire), North Africa (Algeria, Tunisia), Central Africa (DRC, Congo), the Caribbean (Haïti), and the diaspora in the Global North (Belgium, Canada).

Key Themes and Insights:

- **Multiple Intersecting Crises and Power Dynamics:** Feminist movements in the Global South are grappling with overlapping crises - from political instability to climate and economic crises, compounded by power dynamics between local feminist organisations and international institutions.

“We are in a situation of extreme multidimensional crisis, of security governance and within this security crisis, we are seeing the rollback of women’s rights, whether this is their civil rights, political rights or rights to services.”

The relationship with international organisations emerged as particularly challenging. Participants noted the paradoxical nature of their relationships with major institutions:

“Even UN Women who are meant for us, are controlled, so we need to constitute ourselves as a force to have much more control over what UN Women does.”

- **Decolonising Feminist Movements and Knowledge Production:** A central theme was the urgent need to decolonise feminist movements, knowledge production, and organising approaches. This encompasses the dynamics of dependencies on Global North funders, imposed agendas from international donors, persistent language barriers, and the critical importance of valuing local knowledge and leadership. As one participant noted:

“The question of dependence that we have today on funding from the North, the question of agendas imposed by donors and institutions.”

The language barrier emerged as a significant concern, particularly



regarding knowledge production and dissemination:

“Unfortunately, for the Francophone and Lusophone side, there is very little feminist knowledge in French (or Portuguese). Even if it is mainly in English, we claim that ‘it’s for Africa.’”

- **Strategic Solidarity vs Universal Sisterhood:** The consultations revealed a sophisticated analysis of feminist solidarity, challenging simplistic notions of universal sisterhood in favour of strategic alliances based on shared political interests and goals. This perspective was powerfully articulated by one participant:

“I am not the sister of all women, nor of all feminists... it means that when I have identified someone as my adversary, you are my adversary.”

- **Building New Forms of Political Power:** The consultations revealed a clear consensus on the need to actively seize rather than wait for power. As one participant forcefully stated:

“Power is not given, women must not wait for it to be given...power is acquired, we take it and we keep it.”

Particularly noteworthy was the recognition of traditional forms of women’s power, as articulated by a participant from Burkina Faso:

“Women’s struggles use wooden spoons, brooms, and other things that frighten men, and these are channels of POWER that African women can use.”

- **Intergenerational Knowledge and Movement Building:** The consultations highlighted the critical importance of preserving and transmitting feminist knowledge across generations while



acknowledging current challenges. As one participant noted:

“There are many challenges, many problems that mean women, the majority of women, even those who advance, can’t go further than the bachelor’s degree level.”

Conclusion

Across all language groups - Arabic, English, Portuguese, Spanish, and French - a powerful critique of international institutions and the traditional development framework emerged as a central theme. Participants from over 36 countries consistently questioned the effectiveness of the UN system and expressed deep concern about how NGOisation and funding dependencies impact the autonomy of feminist movements. This critique was intimately connected to calls for decolonising knowledge and power structures, with participants across all consultations emphasising **the need to build and value local knowledge systems while challenging imposed agendas and hierarchies.**

The importance of building meaningful South-South solidarity emerged as another dominant thread. Rather than superficial or tokenistic connections, participants emphasised **the need for genuine, strategic alliances to build collective power.** This vision of solidarity was consistently linked to the challenge of building sustainable movements while maintaining autonomy from dominant power structures.

A robust analysis of intersecting systems of oppression emerged from all consultations. While different groups highlighted oppressions specific to their contexts - from caste in South Asia to racial hierarchies in Latin America - there was a shared understanding of how multiple forms of oppression work together and must be addressed holistically. This analysis was consistently connected to discussions of economic justice and **the need for fundamental rather than superficial change.**

Perhaps most significantly, all language groups emphasised **the**

need to move beyond critique to building alternatives. Participants consistently reiterated the importance of understanding and challenging existing systems; they articulated the urgent task of developing concrete alternatives rooted in feminist values and practices. The call for transformation rather than reform was evident across all consultations, along with the need to reimagine fundamental concepts of power, progress, and development.

Finally, a recurring theme was the challenge of **balancing immediate crisis response with long-term vision.** Whether discussing Palestine, Sudan, Argentina, or other contexts, participants emphasised the need to address urgent survival needs while maintaining focus on revolutionary transformation, which emerged as a central challenge for feminist movements across the Global South.

These shared themes reaffirm the belief that despite linguistic and regional differences, feminist movements across the Global South are grappling with similar fundamental challenges and moving toward aligned visions of transformation, and the powerful potential for transnational collective action rooted in shared analysis and strategic solidarity.

GLOBAL SOUTH FEMINIST MANIFESTO WEEK: TRANSNATIONAL DIALOGUES

Following the language group consultations, the Manifesto process entered a second phase of transnational dialogues aimed at synthesising insights and building collective visions.

Key Themes and Insights:





Global South Feminist Manifesto Week: Transnational Dialogues

Registration Link: shorturl.at/7LPVt

<p>Occupation, Imperialism and Militarism: Feminist Visions for Liberation and Self-Determination</p> <p>Mon, 19 Aug 2024 OPTION 1 Time: 1:00pm - 3:45pm UTC Tue, 20 Aug 2024 OPTION 2 Time: 7:00am - 9:30am UTC</p>	<p>Anti-Patriarchal Community Feminism with Adriana Guzmán</p> <p>Tue, 20 Aug 2024 Time: 1:00pm - 3:45pm UTC</p>	<p>Dismantling the Colonial Gender System For Collective Liberation</p> <p>Wed, 21 Aug 2024 OPTION 1 Time: 7:00am-9:30am UTC OPTION 2 Time: 1:00pm-3:45pm UTC</p>
<p>Climate Coloniality: Reclaiming Environmental Sovereignty</p> <p>Thu, 22 Aug 2024 OPTION 1 Time: 7:00am - 9:30am UTC OPTION 2 Time: 1:00pm - 3:45pm UTC</p>	<p>The People vs Capitalism: South Feminist Proposals for a Post-Capitalist World</p> <p>Fri, 23 Aug 2024 OPTION 1 Time: 7:00am-9:30am UTC OPTION 2 Time: 1:00pm-3:45pm UTC</p>	<p>JOIN US!</p> <p>SOUTH FEMINIST FUTURES</p>

The Global South Manifesto week was structured around four core areas that emerged from the earlier consultations:

- Occupation, Imperialism and Militarism: Feminist Visions for Liberation and Self-Determination
- Dismantling the Colonial Gender System for Collective Liberation
- Climate Coloniality: Reclaiming Environmental Sovereignty
- The People vs Capitalism: South Feminist Proposals for a Post-Capitalist World

In addition, a special Political Education session on “Community

Feminism and Anti-Patriarchal Struggles” was led by Bolivian feminist Adriana Guzman Arroyo.

Each theme generated rich discussions that wove together structural analysis with strategies for resistance and transformation. The insights from these discussions are summarised below.

Occupation, Imperialism and Militarism: Feminist Visions for Liberation and Self-Determination

Occupation, imperialism, and militarism cannot be understood in isolation, and must be examined as entangled with capitalism, heteropatriarchy, and racism. Participants shared experiences of state violence, forced displacement, and the erosion of democratic processes under militarised governance. The psychological and material impacts on communities were powerfully articulated, from the trauma of living under constant threat to the diversion of resources from social programs to military spending.

Environmental degradation emerged as a crucial dimension of these systems, with participants drawing clear connections between militarisation, extractive industries, and ecological harm. This analysis extended to critiquing how international development agendas often reinforce rather than challenge militarised power structures.

In response to these challenges, the importance of **building transnational solidarity** was consistently emphasised, exemplified by actions such as young activists blocking arms trade to Israel. Participants stressed the need to reclaim narratives and knowledge systems, with particular emphasis on valuing indigenous feminine models of leadership that were “erased or subordinated by imperialism.”

Beyond reform of existing systems, there is a need to **build autonomous**





spaces for Southern feminist solutions while engaging in strategic collective action to transform existing power structures. One participant powerfully stated: “Our feminism is not ideologically and materially separate from our class and anti-colonial struggle.”

Community care emerged as both a strategy of resistance and a vision for alternative futures. In contexts of state violence and repression, collective care practices provide crucial support while embodying feminist principles of solidarity and mutual aid. This was connected to broader efforts to build political power, with participants emphasising the importance of “reclaiming feminism as a political agenda” beyond donor-driven forms of activism.

Dismantling the Colonial Gender System for Collective Liberation

Colonial gender systems continue to shape and constrain societies across the Global South. Dismantling these systems requires not just addressing gender inequality, but understanding how colonial-capitalism fundamentally restructured societal relationships by imposing universal, hierarchical and binary gender relations in the colonies to maximise extraction and the dehumanisation of colonised peoples, impacts of which remain despite formal decolonisation.

In many pre-colonial societies, gender diversity and fluidity were the norm.

“In Uganda, certain ethnic groups had roles for people who didn’t fit in the binary framework. The process of reclaiming these indigenous identities has been a powerful way of resisting the colonial gender binary.”

This reclamation challenges the harmful narrative that non-binary and



queer identities are “un-African” or “Western” while highlighting the richness of indigenous gender systems.

The intersectional nature of colonial gender systems—where colonialism worked in tandem with patriarchy, capitalism, and religious systems—has been fundamental to the imperial project to reshape societies.

“The colonial system legitimised misogynistic acts and placed men above women by establishing religions that succeeded in programming African societies into hyper-patriarchal societies less focused on community.”

Colonial gender systems continue to exclude women from crucial decisions affecting their lives and communities. “The colonial gender system which has a patriarchal culture system has made women less valuable in decision-making. Men are made to talk on behalf of women.”

Participants shared successful examples of organising and movement building. The vision for the future went beyond simply including women in existing structures to fundamentally reimagining social relations. This involves “drawing on our endogenous resources that are being lost; relearning how to live and work as a community; thinking about the development of our countries in terms of our own perspectives and realities, and stop making the West and America (North) the benchmark.”

The dialogue emphasised that true liberation requires not just challenging gender inequality, but **rebuilding relationships and systems based on indigenous knowledge, collective well-being, and recognition of gender diversity**. This work of dismantling colonial gender systems was understood as essential to broader struggles for justice and liberation across the Global South.



Climate Coloniality: Reclaiming Environmental Sovereignty

Climate coloniality is another manifestation of continued colonial exploitation, where historical patterns of extraction and domination by the Global North are driving environmental depletion in the Global South. Intensifying climate change “exacerbates the vulnerabilities of women, people of diverse gender and historically oppressed indigenous communities, mainly due to the historical exploitation of land and resources by external powers.”

The unequal power dynamics inherent in climate coloniality affect communities under occupation, which has “marginalised the voices of the indigenous communities in West Papua, denying our rights to land, resources, and self-determination.”

There was a sharp critique of false solutions proposed by the Global North, particularly those rooted in market-based approaches: “The issue of climate seems to be monetised and some of the solutions being offered are just false, they are only to benefit the capitalist masterminds of these programmes e.g., carbon credits, geoengineering, synthetic biology etc. while having dire repercussions to women and vulnerable communities.”

The deep entrenchment of extractivism emerged as a crucial challenge: “Honestly, I think that extractivism might be one of the most difficult things to dismantle.” This recognition of the pervasive nature of extractive practices led to reflections about alternative approaches and resistance strategies.

A key theme highlighted was the importance of **indigenous knowledge** systems in building alternatives to climate coloniality, and in reimagining human relationships with the environment.



“Learn from our Indigenous sisters and brothers, they have been the best environmentalists, they have for centuries lived sustainably and survived because they have a different view of their environment not to be exploited but to be loved, respected and to be in harmony.”

Participants reflected on the power of transnational collective action and solidarity, e.g., through **sustained boycott campaigns**– in challenging corporate power.

“At the end of South African apartheid, corporations that had been complicit were able to get off scot free. Boycotts to hold corporations accountable should be something we never stop until transnational corporations and the capitalist neo-colonial system they represent is abolished.”

Addressing climate coloniality requires not just technical solutions **but a fundamental transformation of power relations through collective feminist action**. The discussions demonstrated both the urgency of the climate crisis and the powerful possibilities that emerge when communities come together to reclaim environmental sovereignty and build alternative futures rooted in indigenous knowledge, justice and ecological harmony.

The People vs Capitalism: South Feminist Proposals for a Post-Capitalist World

Participants analysed capitalism as a complex system of exploitation fundamentally intertwined with patriarchy and colonialism and their new iterations neoliberalism and neocolonialism. One participant powerfully articulated by this intermeshing by saying:



“Capitalism relies heavily on the ideology of neoliberalism which advances the lie of so-called ‘free’ markets, but needs for its own survival to encourage freedom of capital and the freedom of only global north (White) persons, and restrictions on everything and everyone else.”

Participants discussed how capitalism operates to maintain systems of exploitation and domination, ensuring that so-called democratic systems, as well as multilateral systems serve to facilitate rather than regulate, let alone, challenge capitalist exploitation.

“Citizens in the Global South are made to believe that Westminster democracy is the pinnacle of governance, but these ‘democratically elected’ governments are there to implement the dictates of the IMF and World Bank for the benefit of multinational corporations sitting in the Global North.”

The dialogues emphasised the importance of moving beyond surface-level critiques to address the fundamental structures of capitalism in all contexts.

“It’s important that we raise the bar on what is accepted as real work for the liberation of women in Palestine, from what it is not: dismantling the structures profiteering off our cause through manipulative white, green, pink, purple and blue-washing!”

Similar to the language group consultations, an emerging theme was the need to reconnect with alternative knowledge systems and practices that challenge capitalist logic, particularly in the context of increasing



dependency on digital platforms.

“the importance of finding ways to no longer be dependent on technology - we can use it but not be dependent on it for connecting to other humans or living things, connecting to ourselves or life and living. This would be key to truly transforming and dismantling capitalist and neoliberal structures.”

Throughout the dialogues, participants emphasised the need for immediate action in solidarity with ongoing struggles while maintaining focus on long-term systemic transformation. This was evident in urgent calls for action on Palestine, South Sudan, and Haiti, highlighting how anti-capitalist struggle is inseparable from movements for justice and liberation.

“We want an inclusive system, without authoritarianism, without exploitation of human beings against each other; cooperation and solidarity are the basis of this image of a better system.”

Community Feminism and Anti-Patriarchal Struggles

The political education session led by Bolivian feminist activist Adriana Guzmán Arroyo offered profound insights into community feminism as a powerful framework for understanding and challenging intersecting systems of oppression, in particular, how patriarchy operates not in isolation but as part of an interconnected web that includes capitalism, extractivism, and colonial power structures.

“Capitalist imperialist patriarchal systems directly oppress marginalised grassroots women most of all, namely rural peasants, urban and rural informal sector operators and workers.”



Guzmán articulated a powerful critique of conventional feminist approaches, stating

“To be feminists is to end the patriarchy and communitarian, because we believe in [community] the most.”

Community feminism emerges from lived experience and struggles carried out in streets rather than academic theorising, challenging the commodification of feminist knowledge.

As well as the importance of community as a site of resistance against individualistic capitalism and an alternative to capitalist atomisation. Guzmán powerfully articulated this, noting,

“And we have seen that the war has destroyed families, has destroyed life in all its expressions, that we are also killing children and destroying nature. The individualism not to share with others, the individualism not to be in solidarity, the individualism not to weave community.”

The transformative potential of community feminist analysis was captured in one participant’s testimony:

“Once, 6 or 7 years ago, I found a video of Adriana talking about this and my feminism changed, there was a before and after. Understanding the different levels of oppression, including men and children, was essential to being able to understand all the interconnected struggles anchored to a territory.”



The session included a strong critique of state feminism and institutionalised approaches to gender equality. As one participant observed,

“I love your emphasis on self-organising and self-government - state feminism has shown itself to be a re-instantiation of patriarchy with women merely added into the oppressive power structure.”

Guzmán reinforced this point, noting that while laws and decrees might help transitionally, truly ending patriarchal structures requires more fundamental transformation.

The importance of concrete, community-based organising was highlighted through examples like that shared by a participant from Tanzania:

“My organisation has developed intensive movement building processes to work with community ‘gender’ activists to meet with local villagers in a given location, assess their situation, identify priority issues, plan strategies of action using participatory action research approach.”

The discussions emphasised the crucial role of memory and storytelling in feminist resistance and the foundation for movement building. As noted in the session, “memory has a political force, not just stories, stories, or anecdotes.”

Throughout the session and subsequent discussions, participants emphasised the importance of building solidarity across borders while maintaining rootedness in local struggles. As one participant from West Papua noted, “feminist movements can show solidarity with West



Papuan women by standing with us in our struggles, amplifying our voices, and providing a platform for our stories to be heard.”

The political education session demonstrated how community feminism offers both a framework for understanding intersecting systems of oppression and practical strategies for building alternative futures. By emphasising the importance of collective struggle, memory, and solidarity while critiquing institutionalised approaches to feminist organising, the session provided crucial insights for the broader project of building feminist movements capable of achieving genuine liberation.

Synthesis: Emerging Insights and Methodological Learnings

Across the five thematic dialogues, several insights emerged about contemporary feminist organising in the Global South. First, participants consistently emphasised the interconnected nature of struggles - from Palestine to West Papua to Sudan and Haïti, from climate justice to gender liberation - revealing how effective resistance requires dismantling multiple systems of oppression simultaneously.

Second, a sophisticated critique of institutional power emerged, with participants repeatedly highlighting the limitations of working through state structures or international development frameworks. Engagement with institutions cannot substitute building autonomous feminist spaces and alternative forms of power rooted in community and collective care.

Third, the dialogues revealed the central importance of knowledge reclamation and production. Indigenous knowledge systems, community memories, and lived experiences of resistance provide vital resources for imagining and building alternatives to current systems of oppression.

Fourth, the discussions demonstrated a clear shift from defensive resistance to proactive vision-building. While acknowledging the



urgency of current crises, participants consistently moved beyond critique to articulate concrete proposals for transformative change, emphasising the need to build new forms of relationship, organisation, and power.

Finally, the transnational dialogues themselves modelled a form of feminist organising that emphasises accessibility, multilingual exchange, and the weaving together of different struggles and perspectives. The unexpected participation of feminists from more than 100 countries demonstrated both the hunger for such spaces and the powerful possibilities that emerge when feminist movements create opportunities for deep collective analysis and strategy-building.

These insights from the Global South Feminist Manifesto Week provide crucial guidance for the ongoing development of feminist movements capable of confronting current crises while building toward fundamentally transformed futures. The discussions revealed both the depth of challenges facing feminist movements and the rich resources for resistance and transformation that emerge when movements create spaces for collective analysis, vision-building, and strategic action.

Insights on Global South Feminist Manifesto Week Participation

The Global South Feminist Manifesto Week was a high point for us, drawing an unprecedented 1,030+ registrations from 120 countries.

Regional and Linguistic Diversity

Among 1,031 registrants and 552 total participants (of which 503 had valid country data), interesting patterns emerge in regional representation and engagement:

- Strong African representation led participation at 28.6%, demonstrating robust engagement from the continent

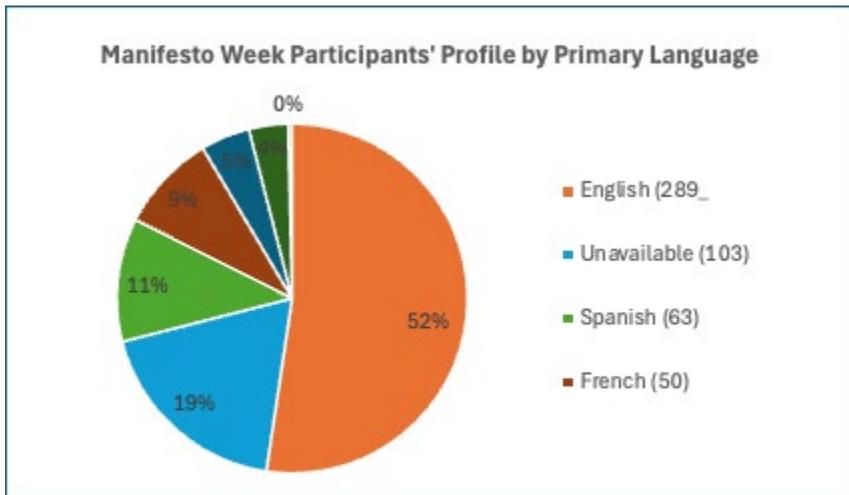


- The Global North (South in the North) (22.1%) and Latin America (19.3%) formed substantial contingents, followed by South Asia (10.9%) and SWANA (10.3%)
- This regional diversity was reflected in language participation: English dominated at 52%, followed by Spanish (11%), French (9%), Arabic (5%), and Portuguese (4%)
- Notable gaps emerged in Central Asian (0.2%) and Pacific Island representation (0%) and South East Asian (3.6%), indicating need for targeted outreach

Table 1: Manifesto Week Participation - Regional Distribution

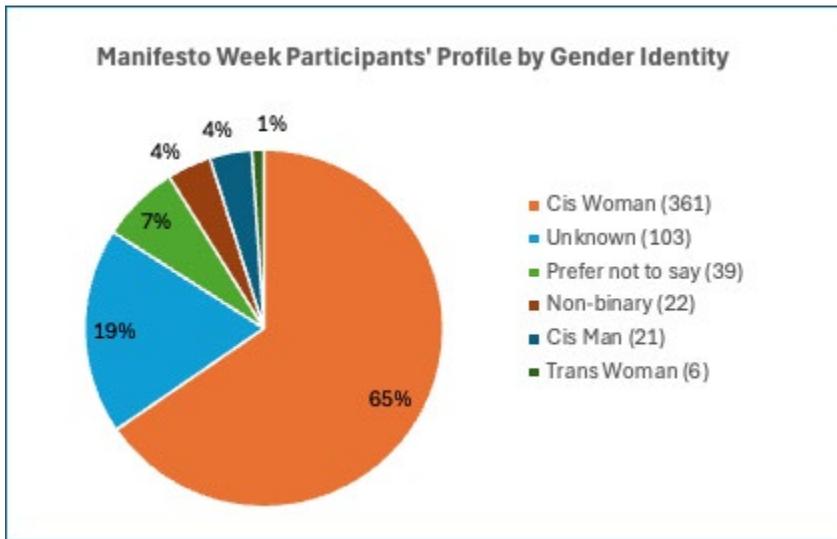
Region	Registration	Participation*
Africa	27.60%	28.60%
Global North	23.50%	22.10%
Latin America	23.50%	19.30%
South Asia	9.90%	10.90%
SWANA	8.00%	10.30%
Caribbean	3.70%	5.00%
Southeast Asia	3.60%	3.60%
Central Asia	0.10%	0.20%
Pacific Islands	0.10%	0%

* Note: From the total 552 participants, this regional distribution analysis is based on 503 participants with valid country data. Country information was unavailable or unspecified for 49 participants (8.9% of total participants).



Gender Identity and Inclusion

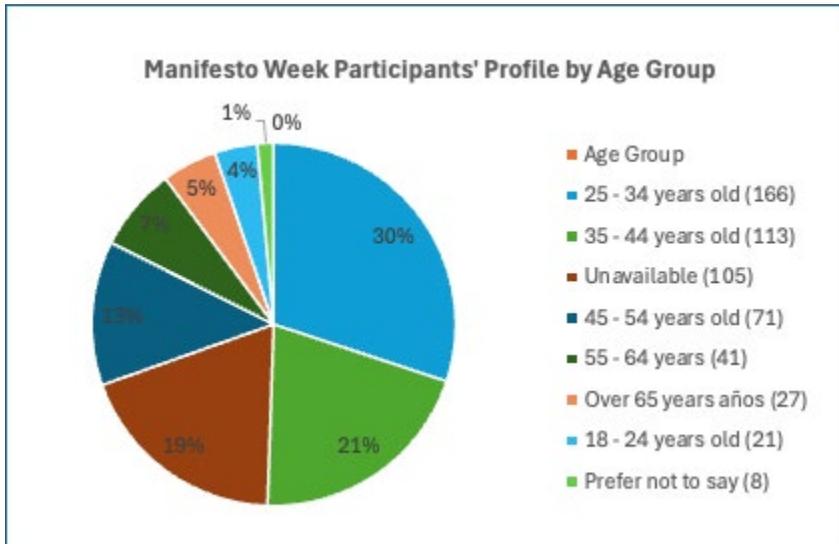
- The event achieved strong women’s representation with cis women constituting 65% of participants
- Gender diversity was evident with:
 - * Non-binary participants (4%)
 - * Trans women (1%)
 - * Cis men (4%)
 - * Other gender identities and those preferring not to specify (7%)
- 19% of the participants’ gender data is missing due to our technological limitations



Age Distribution and Intergenerational Dialogue

- The participation showed strong representation of early to mid-career voices:
 - * 25-34 years: 30%
 - * 35-44 years: 20%
 - * Combined 25-44 age range: 50%
- Meaningful participation from senior participants:
 - * 45-54 years: 13%
 - * 55-64 years: 7%
 - * Over 65: 5%
- Youth participation (18-24) was relatively low at 4%, suggesting potential for increased youth engagement
- 19% of the participants' age data is missing due to our technological

limitations



TOWARDS A MANIFESTO FRAMEWORK

Building on these insights, an editing group drawn from Convenors and the SFF team met in person in October 2024 to process the many contributions and insights and structure these into a Manifesto framework for further consultation and discussion during 2025.



Caption: Editing group meeting in Kuala Lumpur in October 2024

The Editing Group proposed a draft framework for the next stages of drafting and consultations.

PART 1: OUR DECLARATION OF LIBERATION

A call to action, highlighting the shared vision and commitment of Global South feminists to dismantle interlocking systems of oppression. It emphasises:

- The ongoing legacies of colonialism, capitalism, imperialism, white supremacy, casteism, religious fundamentalism, ableism, and cis-heteropatriarchy and their devastating impacts on communities in the Global South.
- The urgent need for intersectional liberation that addresses all forms of domination simultaneously.
- The importance of South-South solidarity and cooperation in resisting oppression and building a just future.
- The generative nature of resistance, envisioning and constructing a world where every person can live with dignity on a thriving planet.

PART 2: ANALYSIS AND CALL TO ACTION

This section provides a detailed analysis of the political, economic, social, cultural, environmental, and technological systems that perpetuate oppression. It outlines specific demands for change across these domains - provided here in summary:

- **Political Systems:** The ongoing impacts of imperial occupation, militarism, and the co-optation of radical resistance calling for:
 - * An end to all forms of occupation and militarism.

- * The dismantling of the military-industrial complex.
- * Radical political participation beyond token representation.
- * New forms of democratic participation that empower communities.
- * Full respect for the right to self-determination of all peoples.
- **Economic Systems:** Challenge the dominant model of development, exposing the devastating impacts of neoliberalism on life and the reproduction of life and the economies meant to sustain it. It demands:
 - * The cancellation of all debts owed by Global South countries.
 - * The dismantling of the World Bank, IMF, and WTO.
 - * Equal recognition between 'productive'/market and reproductive/non-market sectors.
 - * The creation of solidarity economies based on shared ownership, worker-owned enterprises, and ecological sustainability.
 - * An end to austerity, extractivism and redistribution of wealth through universal public services, public infrastructure and an end to privatisation of the global commons.
- **Socio-cultural Systems:** The manifesto critiques the colonial gender system, highlighting the erasure of diverse gender identities and the persistent impacts of patriarchal oppression. It calls for:
 - * The decolonisation of gender and sexuality, challenging rigid binaries and hierarchies.
 - * Full bodily autonomy and sexual and gender minority rights.
 - * Recognition and redress for the harms of casteism and Brahmanical patriarchy.

- * Resistance to the weaponisation of faith and tradition against women's freedom.
- **Environment and Climate:** Understanding the connection between climate catastrophe and neocolonialism, and ongoing primitive accumulation for Global North capitalist interests.
 - * An end to all forms of environmental racism and extractivism.
 - * Reparations for environmental damage caused by Global North countries and corporations.
 - * A just transition to a sustainable future based on agroecology, food sovereignty, renewable energy, and the protection of biodiversity.
- **Technology and Knowledge:** The manifesto critiques the role of technology in perpetuating colonialism and capitalism. It calls for:
 - * The development of technologies that serve the needs of communities rather than corporate interests.
 - * Reclamation of indigenous knowledge systems and challenges to the coloniality of knowledge production.
 - * Bridging the digital divide and ensuring equitable access to technology.

Overall, the Kuala Lumpur meeting highlighted the complexity and importance of crafting a manifesto that represents the diverse voices and aspirations of the Global South feminist movement. The Editing Group's discussions revealed the need to balance accessibility with theoretical rigour, to address sensitive topics with nuance and sensitivity, and to ensure that the manifesto is a living document that can evolve and adapt to the changing realities of the movement.

CONCLUSIONS - WHAT NEXT IN 2025?

The Manifesto Project will continue over 2025, firstly with continuing with processing the inputs that we have received over so many valuable conversations. We will share this draft for further discussion, which we would like to be the basis of in-person discussion with many groups and constituencies that we know we may not have been able to reach.

We invite all to continue to share their perspectives with us and above all look forward to your support, suggestions and inputs during the year. Please look out for news by subscribing to our mailing list or social media pages or reaching out to us via email:

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