



Solidarity in Action

Feminist Strategies for a Changing World

Transnational Partners Convening | Casablanca, Morocco | July 2025

Table of Contents

Introduction	5
Urgency and Opportunity	6
<i>State of the World</i>	6
<i>State of the Partnership</i>	6
Resilience and Resistance	8
<i>Humanitarian Crisis Response</i>	8
<i>Climate Justice</i>	9
Power and Participation	12
<i>Political Participation</i>	12
<i>Economic Empowerment</i>	14
<i>Family Law Reform</i>	16
Bridging Generations, Building Futures	19
<i>Intergenerational Feminism</i>	19
<i>Youth Leadership</i>	20
Reclaiming the Narrative	24
Sustaining the Movement	26
<i>Self and Collective Care</i>	26
<i>Resource Mobilization</i>	27
Reimagining the Next 25 Years	30
<i>Next Steps</i>	30
<i>Looking Forward</i>	32
Participants	34



In July 2025, Women’s Learning Partnership (WLP) convened leaders from 16 partner countries in Casablanca, Morocco for our biennial Transnational Partners Convening (TPC), marking 25 years of transnational feminist partnership. The convening was both a milestone and a moment of renewal — a space to reflect on our past, confront the urgency of the present, and reimagine the future of feminist movement-building across borders.

From its founding, WLP has been a bold experiment in transnational solidarity rooted in the Global South. Built on the conviction that women’s voices, wisdom, and leadership could shape more just and equitable societies, the Partnership has grown into a network that has trained thousands of grassroots leaders, reformed discriminatory laws, expanded political participation, and sustained women’s movements even amid repression, conflict, and rising authoritarianism. Over 25 years, our greatest strength has been collective resilience – the ability to resist erasure and backlash together while continuing to build new models of power and justice from the ground up.

This convening came at a time of profound global crisis and transformation. Across our regions, democratic spaces are collapsing, militarism and fundamentalism are on the rise, climate catastrophe is accelerating, and women’s rights are under siege. Women’s bodies, voices, and freedoms are being silenced, defunded, or erased, particularly in the Global South. And yet, our continued presence and solidarity underscore a powerful truth: we are still here, resisting division and defeat, and reimagining futures rooted in feminist values of dignity, equality, and justice.

Over four days, the Partnership wrestled with urgent questions: What is our role in this moment? How do we remain relevant, courageous, and accountable to our communities? And what do the next 25 years of feminist movement-building require — in our work, in our relationships, and in our leadership? Together, we reflected on lessons from the past, shared strategies of transformation, and co-created visions for the future.

The convening highlighted WLP’s unique position as a transnational feminist network with deep grassroots foundations and global reach. Partners reaffirmed their commitment to advancing political participation, economic empowerment, and family law reform; strengthening feminist crisis response and climate justice strategies; reclaiming narratives co-opted by regressive actors; investing in intergenerational leadership; and sustaining movements through collective care and feminist resource mobilization.

This report captures the insights, strategies, and commitments that emerged in Casablanca. It affirms that while feminist values and movements are under attack, WLP’s strength lies in the solidarity of its Partnership, its resilience in the face of backlash, and its collective ability to resist and reimagine. Together, we carry forward 25 years of achievement into a future defined not by crisis alone, but by the possibilities we dare to create.

“We need to recognize our value, our strength, and our power. This is why we’re the center of these attacks: because we are powerful.”

***–Jacqueline Pitanguy
(WLP Brazil, CEPIA)***

Meeting This Moment State of the World

We kicked off our 2025 Transnational Partners Convening (TPC 2025) with a “State of the World” session where **global feminist leaders reflected on a world in crisis**, marked by rising authoritarianism, ecological collapse, violent conflict, funding threats to civil society, and a growing backlash against gender equality. While global systems are failing to protect rights and deliver justice, speakers emphasized that **women’s movements are powerful, offering transformational solutions rooted in innovation, care, equity, and collective action**. The session called for feminist reinvestment in multilateral systems, the urgent need for women’s inclusion in peace processes, the defense of gender justice against coordinated backlash, and bold leadership to confront the climate crisis and reshape global priorities.

Despite immense challenges, this opening session underscored WLP’s unique role as a coordinated transnational network **equipped to meet this moment** through cross-border solidarity, shared strategies, and a deep commitment to justice and human dignity. This is a defining moment full of obstacles, but it is also a moment of **radical possibility**. Through our combined grassroots knowledge and courage to reimagine systems, together, we can shape a more just world.

Achievements & Lessons State of the Partnership

After setting the scene with the “State of the World,” WLP partners shared powerful achievements and hard-earned lessons from 25 years of feminist movement-building across the Global South. The “State of the Partnership” session highlighted **the Partnership’s collective strength**: deep local knowledge, cross-border collaboration, and a shared commitment to advancing women’s leadership and rights in challenging and shifting political contexts.

From securing legislative reforms to nurturing new generations of feminist leaders, partners underscored the transformative impact of leadership development and strategic solidarity. Many highlighted the growing power of youth engagement, using activism, digital platforms, and education reform to **challenge patriarchal norms** and foster inclusive dialogue. They spoke honestly about the difficulties they face, including shrinking civic space, donor pressures, the burden of being on the frontlines of rising rates of crises, and generational transitions, while reaffirming their commitment to mutual learning and shared values.



Key Takeaways



Feminist Movements are Powerful, and Under Siege.

Backlash is a reaction to progress. Women leaders are advancing peacebuilding, legal advocacy, youth organizing, and cross-border solidarity, even with scarce resources. This is a moment for feminist leaders to boldly affirm a collective vision of justice, equity, and shared power across movements and regions.



Coalition-Building is Key to Expanding The Movement

Transformational change requires strategic coalition-building across generations, sectors, and movements. This includes collaborating with broader civil society, religious groups, policymakers, and youth while infusing feminist principles into every effort.



Adaptability is a Core Strength

Partners continue to respond creatively to crises, from political repression and conflict to economic and environmental shocks, while advancing their core missions. Their successful adaptation is rooted in collaborative leadership, community-rooted activism, and sustainable strategies.



Leadership Development is Transformative

Investing in women's leadership remains the most effective tool for long-term, sustainable change. Women consistently demonstrate their adaptability and willingness to take bold, imaginative action to meet the needs of their communities.



Intergenerational Collaboration and Care Are Essential

Partners are actively building space for emerging leaders and sustaining movements through collective care. As generations have different perspectives and strategies, collaboration leads to innovative solutions.

Cross-Movement Solidarity is Key to Preventing Fractured Movements

As dwindling resources and conservative backlash threaten to fracture movements for equality, our collective power depends on forging stronger cross-movement solidarity - uniting women's rights, youth, LGBTQ+, Indigenous, labor, and environmental justice struggles across borders to share resources, strategies, and skills for confronting intersecting crises together.



“It’s a feminist act to resist and refuse for women to be erased.”

***–Taghreed Naser
(WLP Palestine)***



Humanitarian Crisis Response **Sustaining Movements Amid Crises**

Leaders from across the WLP Partnership reflected on the realities of organizing through war, displacement, the climate crisis, and humanitarian collapse. While partners are not direct aid agencies, these crises prompt **urgent, creative responses** to meet the needs that the State and global humanitarian organizations fail to address. Drawing on firsthand experiences in Morocco, Pakistan, Turkey, Nigeria, Senegal, Mauritania, Mozambique, and beyond, speakers illuminated how feminist organizations are not only responding to crises, but **sustaining movements, communities, and hope in their midst**.



They shared strategies for care-centered response, political resistance, collective resilience, and crisis prevention, while also naming the limitations and harms of traditional humanitarian aid systems that often exclude or exploit women. They called for a **reimagining of crisis response** — one that centers women’s leadership, trust-based support, and the lived experiences and knowledge of those on the frontlines of both crisis and change.

Climate Change **Climate Justice is Gender Justice**

In contrast to humanitarian responses that focus on survival amid conflict and collapse, climate justice work within the Partnership **addresses the long-term, systemic drivers of inequality** that make communities vulnerable in the first place. Partners highlighted how the climate crisis intersects with extractive economies, land dispossession, and gender inequities, demanding more than emergency relief.

Across regions, women are advancing land and resource rights, reimagining food systems, and shaping climate policies that prioritize care, sustainability, and justice. Their leadership challenges exploitative models of development, offering community-driven alternatives grounded in equity and intergenerational stewardship. By **reframing climate change as a feminist issue**, partners emphasized women’s role not just as responders, but as visionaries shaping sustainable futures.

“Women are not only the victims, but they’re also the key to solving this crisis. Before climate resilience became popular, women were saving seeds, managing forests, protecting water resources, building communities, and so on, to preserve the environment around them.”

–Nadereh Chamlou
*(former Senior Advisor at the World Bank
and WLP Board Member)*

Key Takeaways

Feminist Organizations Respond First, and Stay the Longest

Feminist organizations are often the first to respond in moments of crisis, centering women's voices and providing safe spaces, psychosocial support, legal aid, basic services, and continuity for their communities. Their responses are grounded in deep local knowledge, intersectional analysis, and sustained community trust. Yet despite this essential work, they are frequently marginalized by outside formal humanitarian systems and funding structures.

Crisis is Structural, Not Temporary

For many women and communities, crisis is an ongoing condition, rooted in decades of conflict, authoritarianism, economic uncertainty, colonial legacies, and climate catastrophe. Crisis does not simply create new issues, but rather, it amplifies existing problems and inequalities. Local NGOs must resist government or donor calls for stopgap care without systemic change.

It's Imperative to Fund Grassroots Feminist Partnerships

Women's rights organizations rooted in their communities hold the deepest understanding of local realities and are best positioned to design and sustain lasting solutions. Their proximity allows them to respond quickly, navigate cultural and political complexities, and build trust that endures beyond project cycles. By resourcing a partnership of grassroots feminist organizations, funders catalyze solutions that are context-specific yet scalable, locally grounded yet globally connected, and resilient enough to withstand today's crises while building the foundations for gender-just futures.

Feminist Resilience is Political, Relational, and Regenerative

Feminist organizations must continue to organize during times of conflict and crisis, build relationships of solidarity and healing among trauma-affected women, document truth, amplify voices, and design care practices that center dignity and collective wellbeing. This kind of resilience does not fit into donor templates, but it is what sustains movements in the face of collapse.

Climate Justice is Directly Tied to Gender Justice

As climate change accelerates, it endangers access to fertile land, disrupts food systems, degrades water quality, and forces displacement. Women, who are central to the world's food production, are disproportionately impacted, threatening their livelihoods and nutrition, increasing risks of exploitation and GBV, and deepening inequalities, especially where women already face legal or cultural barriers to land ownership. We cannot solve the climate-related problems without directly addressing the gendered-inequities that surround them.

Include Women in Decision-Making Processes

From providing political training and advocacy tools to elevate women's demands and encourage policy shifts, to creating binding rules guaranteeing women's engagement, it is imperative that we work to raise the voices of women from vulnerable groups, rural communities, and disempowered households. Ensuring women have a direct role in the decision-making processes that affect their lives is crucial to supporting community-led solutions.



“Advocacy should be supported by practical action.”

–Julie Cissé
(WLP Senegal, GIPS/WAR)

Strategic Recommendations

Document and Share Feminist Crisis Response Strategies

- Develop a knowledge initiative to capture case studies, testimonies, and strategies from feminist organizations working in crisis.
- Use this documentation to advocate for feminist inclusion in international crisis policy and funding spaces.

Reclaim Power and Language in Humanitarian Spaces

- Challenge traditional aid models that erase gender, history, and local expertise by advocating for a shift in funding and leadership to local women's rights organizations.
- Equip partners with tools to navigate and challenge traditional humanitarian narratives.

Build Parallel Feminist Infrastructure

- Strengthen regional and transnational networks for security, care, and movement continuity during crisis. Regional collaboration is key to resilience as conflict, climate change, and migration are intersectional challenges.
- Develop shared feminist protocols for safety, relocation, trauma support, and leadership transitions.

Adopt Successful Strategies Already in Use

- Review the effective strategies that the Partnership and allied groups are using to combat climate change and respond to crises, and adapt them to localized contexts.
- Use existing models of civil society engagement to build broader coalitions to tackle these issues.

Drive Climate Justice with Intergenerational Collaboration

- Build intergenerational solidarity between rural and indigenous women and youth to amplify the call for climate justice.
- Use storytelling, curricula, and leadership training to ensure women's and young people's voices shape policies and solutions.

Political Participation Fostering Women's Political Power

Following the “Super Election Year” of 2024, women are both gaining and losing ground in political arenas across the Global South. Partners shared firsthand experiences navigating exclusionary systems, rising political violence, and shrinking civic space, while also highlighting gains achieved through grassroots organizing, strategic communications, and legal advocacy. Across contexts, quotas have started to increase women’s visibility in politics, but real power often remains elusive. Legal frameworks are inconsistently implemented, and political parties continue to operate in patriarchal ways. Participants emphasized that **political transformation must go beyond numbers to reshape power structures and norms.**



Key Takeaways

Awareness and Implementation are Key

Legal reforms lay the foundation for societal change, but without functional implementation, these laws remain ineffective. Similarly, if people are not aware of the rights they have under the law, they cannot fight for them to be upheld. Women’s rights organizations must work to not only pass anti-discriminatory legislation, but also to ensure it is effectively implemented and to raise awareness of how to take advantage of new protections.

Getting Women into Positions of Power is Not Enough

True gender equality in politics requires leaders who both understand disparities and act to change them. Too often, women and other marginalized groups adopt dominant, patriarchal behaviors in order to gain power, reinforcing harmful narratives instead of challenging them. This dynamic undermines women’s political autonomy and limits genuine access to power. Gender sensitization geared towards candidates of all genders can be a helpful tool to combat this phenomenon by ensuring those elected will actually take action against inequality.

Restructuring the Political Ecosystem is Essential

Gender quotas, even when successfully passed into law, have not achieved the intended results. Feminist organizations must move beyond sheer numbers to reshape systems and norms. By promoting institutional reforms and restructurings that address the root causes of discrimination and exclusion, organizations can ensure that the systems themselves act through a feminist lens.

Strategic Recommendations

Analyze and Map Political Power

- Analyze how political power operates, formally and informally.
- Map opportunities, allies, and adversaries at the national and regional levels.

Use Strategic Communication to Reframe Narratives

- Counter patriarchal narratives and support feminist candidates by shifting public attitudes through storytelling, digital media, and youth engagement.
- Use different communications strategies to target different audiences.

Support Leadership Development and Women's Safety

- Invest in ongoing training and mentorship to support women leaders.
- Develop protection mechanisms to respond to violence against women in politics (VAWP).

Work Towards Legal and Institutional Reform

- Push for meaningful quota implementation and anti-VAWP legislation.
- Advocate for greater transparency and equity within political parties.

Bridging Formal and Informal Spaces

- Understand that women's political influence often begins outside formal systems.
- Support women's leadership in civil society, unions, press clubs, and community spaces to accelerate long-term transformation.



“Political power means being able to have a say in those decisions that are related to my life.”

**–Gökçen Durutaş
(WLP Turkey, KEDV)**

Economic Empowerment Empowering Women, Transforming Economies

Despite historic gains in girls' education, women continue to **face systemic barriers to economic empowerment**, including higher unemployment, lower pay, occupational segregation, and restrictive family laws that act as quiet gatekeepers of inequality. These barriers not only **waste women's talent and energy but also cost the global economy trillions**. To unlock this potential, partners emphasized the need to change mindsets that treat women's work as secondary, recognize and value care work, expand career opportunities beyond traditional roles, and invest in women's ideas and enterprises.

Key Takeaways

Investing in Women Benefits Everyone

Despite receiving a mere fraction of global investment, women entrepreneurs are already transforming economies through innovations in renewable energy, sustainable agriculture, and more. Their success proves that investing in women – through capital, training, and inclusive policies – yields widespread social and economic benefits. To unlock their full potential, it is critical that both private capital and public resources are directed toward women-led businesses and projects. When women are supported through resources and inclusive policies, businesses, financial systems, and governments achieve more productive, and socially just outcomes.

The Care Economy is Essential

Women perform the majority of carework in communities across the globe, but they receive little to no recognition for their labor. Despite being unpaid, these support systems are what allow societies to function and economies to flourish. Without the invisible labor often performed by women, other members of society would not be able to sustain their lifestyles. Partners highlighted the importance of recognizing the value of carework and shifting societal perspectives to ease the load borne by women.

“The care economy is holding women down, even though it is holding up entire economies.”

–Nadereh Chamlou



Economic Autonomy is Inextricably Linked to Land Access and Control

In many parts of the world, women still face legal barriers to land rights that jeopardize their economic autonomy. Women are often the backbone of agriculture and food security throughout the Global South, and yet lack inheritance rights or control over the land they farm. When given access to land, women can adopt and teach sustainable practices to preserve the environment while also profiting from the fruits of their labor.

Advancing Women's Economic Autonomy

Women already have the skills to thrive - what they need are equal rights, resources, and opportunities. By opening access to markets, cooperatives, financing, and digital tools, feminist organizations help dismantle barriers and create pathways for women to turn their knowledge into lasting economic security. Economic justice means enabling women to define and shape their own futures.

Strategic Recommendations

Advocate for Legal & Policy Reform

- Reform discriminatory family, employment, and economic laws by strengthening watchdogs and shadow reporting.
- Introduce quota systems and ensure women's inclusion in national action plans and public procurement.

Champion Investment in Women's Businesses and Cooperatives

- Support expanded loans, cash transfers, and access to land and farming resources for women.
- Encourage the creation and strengthening of women-owned banks and community finance systems.

Rethink Care & Social Support

- Promote investment in affordable childcare and community-based child centers as sources of both income and support.
- Advocate for recognizing and reducing the burden of unpaid care work through supportive policies.

Support Entrepreneurship & Skills Development

- Back women-owned businesses, cooperatives, and collective production models.
- Encourage women's financial independence and link women to government projects and procurement opportunities.

Emphasize Capacity Building, Root Causes, and Collective Action

- Advance advocacy campaigns to address inequality's root causes and strengthen institutional capacity to deliver long-term support.
- Build cross-border networks and partnerships that uplift women producers.



“In order to create change in public spaces, politically and economically, we have to start from the private sphere because this is where the largest part of violence and discrimination comes from. When people are free inside of their houses, they can take a step out and they can create change in public spaces.”

*–Soumaia Abdallaoui Alaoui
(ADFM Youth Leader)*



Family Law Reform

Gender Equality Starts in the Family

Discriminatory family law remains one of the most entrenched arenas of legal inequality, impacting women’s autonomy, economic security, and protection from violence. Across diverse contexts, the Partnership is leveraging legal tools, grassroots mobilization, and intergenerational leadership to **challenge discriminatory laws and push for transformative change**. Regional collaboration on shared priorities — such as ending child marriage, securing inheritance rights, and dismantling guardianship laws — offers momentum, but lasting change requires addressing weak implementation, judicial bias, and social norms alongside legal reform. The path forward is clear: support youth as co-strategists, invest in sustained coalitions, and reimagine legal reform as a collective and cultural transformation.

Key Takeaways

Legal Tools are Central to Challenging Discriminatory Family Laws

Treaties like CEDAW and other legal instruments can be leveraged to frame state obligations for gender equality and feminist organizations can submit shadow reports to treaty bodies and government agencies to influence conclusions and media interpretations. Even incremental wins can build legal precedent and public momentum. Through private agreements like marriage contracts or business deals, equality clauses can be used to codify women’s rights where public law lags, and common usage of these clauses builds demand for broader legal reform.

Youth Leadership is Critical for Reframing the Narrative

Engaging youth is critical to effectively changing societal norms. Partners recognize that using digital storytelling, social media, art, and intersectional grassroots advocacy, today’s youth are able to link legal discrimination to economic justice and violence while moving language away from historically taboo concepts to rights-based dialogue. However, to sustain youth engagement, young people must be included in the women’s rights movement as co-leaders and co-strategists, not only mobilizers.



Regional Collaboration Leverages Shared Strategies and International Pressure

When multiple countries within the same region work together around shared goals, they are able to exchange legislative templates and advocacy tools, learn from each other’s strategies, and use similar countries’ successful reforms as evidence of what is possible. However, Partners emphasized that each country must remain sensitive to timing and their own national contexts.

Legal Change Alone Is Not Enough

Participants emphasized that changing the law is only part of the struggle. Reform efforts must also address weak implementation, judicial bias, and public awareness. Feminist organizations and governmental bodies should monitor enforcement and implementation, documenting violations to ensure the reformed laws are applied effectively. Through grassroots education, women’s rights groups can bring awareness of rights to rural or underserved communities. Strategic communication is necessary to shift cultural norms and call out judicial prejudice.

“Legal change is slow... don’t get discouraged by mild reforms. Use them to move on to greater reforms.”

*–Susan Deller Ross
(Professor, Georgetown School of Law)*

Strategic Recommendations

Draft Legislation in Partnership with National Allies

- Join other organizations with the same shared goal in order to write legislation and present it to policymakers.
- Pressure policymakers to keep specific provisions as they edit the drafted bills.

Conduct Data-Driven Advocacy

- Collect accurate data on how policies affect women, families, and society as a whole.
- Demonstrate harm and urgency by presenting this data-based evidence to policymakers along with proposals.

Shift the Conversation from Elites to the Broader Public

- Move debates beyond closed policy circles by launching grassroots and digital campaigns.
- Use public opinion to exert pressure.

Mobilize Youth

- Engage young professionals in law, journalism, politics, and medicine to recognize discriminatory laws and become active advocates for reform in their fields and communities.
- Mobilize youth clubs, secondary schools, and influencers to speak up and take action against discriminatory practices.

Address Implementation

- Use monitoring to enforce progressive family laws and document any violations.
- Employ strategic communication and messaging to shift norms.



Intergenerational Feminism Reimagining Collaboration Today and Tomorrow

To meet the challenges of our time, feminist organizations must evolve into **inclusive, adaptive spaces that welcome both legacy and disruption**. Panelists from four generations shared what feminist resistance looks like in their generation – from everyday acts of courage and community-based organizing to digital disruption and calls for structural change. Embodying resilience, struggle, hope, sisterhood, creativity, and perseverance, each generation contributed to the evolution of the women’s rights movement. **Partners addressed generational tensions while also uniting over shared values**, working together to co-create a vision for inclusive and sustainable intergenerational collaboration within the WLP Partnership.



“How can we turn these differences into opportunities? It’s really by letting [younger generations] understand that they have received a heritage. There has been a history before them. And then us being humble enough to learn with them. Which is a difficult exercise.”

–Jacqueline Pitanguy
(WLP Brazil, CEPIA)

Youth Leadership

Tackling Persistent Issues Through Fresh Perspectives

Elevating the activism and perspectives of youth activists, WLP’s Moroccan partner, ADFM, brought seven representatives who participated in the series of workshops they hosted this year on the culture of democracy. The young students shared how these workshops **shifted their perspectives on gender equality and their own leadership capabilities**. Presenting some of the campaigns they created to combat discriminatory family laws, these youth leaders showcased how they are reimagining legal, cultural, and political advocacy in their own contexts.

Key Takeaways

Generations Differ on How to Achieve Shared Goals

Older leaders emphasize structure, long-term planning, and working within systems as key to dismantling patriarchal institutions. Younger feminists, however, call for faster, more flexible responses and question hierarchical, bureaucratic models that they view as outdated and alienating. Mentorship is valued by younger generations, but when it is not grounded in mutual respect and trust, it is seen as a method of control or a way to tokenize youth.

Power Struggles Extend Beyond Generations

Discussions highlighted that power struggles are not only between generations but also within feminist spaces, especially around intersectional issues like LGBTQI+ inclusion, digital activism, and the rejection of binary, Western-centric frameworks. Feminist organizing itself must undergo reform to reflect its values of equality, autonomy, and care.

Intergenerational Collaboration Requires Reimagining

Partners reaffirmed that intergenerational collaboration is not a transmission of knowledge from one group to another, but rather, it is a collective reimagining of leadership, activism, and power. A recurring theme in intergenerational collaboration was the role of curiosity—approaching each other’s differences with humility and a willingness to learn. A care-centered work culture that asks “Are you okay with this?” rather than demanding compliance was seen as foundational to effective intergenerational collaboration.

Youth Want to Co-Lead, Not Just Be Consulted

Youth participants expressed a strong desire to be recognized as strategic partners in reform efforts, not only as mobilizers or social media voices. They are building research and legal analysis skills, national coalitions, and cross-movement alliances, including with LGBTQI+ and disability rights groups.

Young Activists Need the Support and Trust of Older Generations

Trust emerged as a crucial factor for intergenerational collaboration, particularly when young leaders are given responsibility. Young people crave structures that allow them to lead and innovate without being micromanaged, siloed, or tokenized.



Strategic Recommendations

Institutionalize Intergenerational Power Sharing and Cultures of Care

- Embed youth in governance, leadership, and advocacy by revising bylaws, ensuring co-representation, and rotating leadership roles to democratize power across generations.
- Develop internal policies that prioritize well-being, autonomy, and feminist HR practices.



Move From Mentorship to Co-Creation and Dialogue

- Facilitate knowledge-sharing between generations and encourage intergenerational co-creation by engaging youth as partners and decision-makers for programs, advocacy, and campaigns.
- Host quarterly intergenerational forums to surface tensions and strengthen solidarity while integrating cross-generational collaboration skills into trainings.



Build Shared Learning and Memory Infrastructure

- Document oral histories, tactics, and lessons from older feminists and develop intergenerational learning initiatives that explore evolving feminist theories and strategies.
- Develop a shared digital platform where members from different generations can share tools and reflections, collaborate across borders, and build lasting intergenerational relationships.

Invest in Youth-Led Legal Advocacy and Movement-Building

- Provide flexible funding for youth-led initiatives focused on legal education, strategic litigation, and reform campaigns.
- Expand training in feminist legal analysis, legislative advocacy, and implementation monitoring tailored to youth leaders.

Expand Narrative Power Through Activism

- Invest in and collaborate with creative campaigns that use music, theater, visual arts, and digital storytelling to challenge patriarchal norms and religious exceptionalism.
- Use activism to make complex legal and rights-based issues more accessible and emotionally compelling, particularly for youth and marginalized groups.



“Intergenerational collaboration is about transparency and making room for uncomfortable conversations, especially about power, legacy, and change.”

***–Meryam Moudjaoui
(WLP Morocco, ADFM)***



Changing the Narrative

The Power of Reclaiming Language

Key terms in feminist discourse have been misrepresented or weaponized by far right and conservative movements. Words like feminism, family values, social justice, protection, gender, masculinity, human security, globalist, democracy, and equality have been **co-opted by actors pushing patriarchal or religious norms** and sometimes even criminalized. Partners strategized on how to reclaim this language with power, clarity, and cultural relevance. Rather than abandon these terms, participants advocated for **grounding them in local realities and feminist principles**. For example, instead of allowing “family values” to be defined narrowly by ideas that reinforce gender disparity, partners advocated for a vision of family values centered on safety, consent, reproductive rights, and caregiving support.



Key Takeaways

Emphasize How Feminism Benefits Everyone

Feminism is a global, inclusive movement that supports both women and men, especially when rooted in intersectionality and social justice. It must be presented as such, highlighting the benefits for everyone, including men.

Strategic Language is Essential

Slogans and digital storytelling are useful tools, and they must be combined with strategic rhetoric tailored to different audiences and adapted for international advocacy, community engagement, and youth outreach.

Meet False Narratives with True Facts

Feminist organizations must counter the false narratives presented by conservative movements by revealing the true facts. It's important to use a warm and welcoming tone when doing so to reduce hostile reactions.

Strategic Recommendations

Use More than Facts Alone

- Recognize that telling someone their beliefs are factually incorrect is not sufficient to change minds.
- Use stories that people can relate to emotionally combined with incremental strategies that meet people where they are.

Connect Feminist Concepts to Ideas People Already Support

- Use the same playbook as conservative movements, connecting rhetoric with ideas that already receive widespread support like ‘protecting children.’
- Reframe concepts people support to justify anti-discriminatory legislation and laws that protect women.

Demonstrate the Roots of Feminism within Local Contexts

- Highlight the feminist roots within local communities’ histories.
- Use feminist men involved in local history to bridge the gap between people’s beliefs about feminism and true feminist principles demonstrated by historical feminists.

Use Public Opinion and Legal Rights to Aid Each Other

- Use evidence of public opinion shift to help pass anti-discrimination laws and reform Constitutional rights.
- Change legal definitions of equality and implement laws and treaties to shape public opinion.

Start By Educating Youth

- Disseminate the idea of equality between genders in homes, communities, and through formal education systems.
- Dispel myths about women’s capabilities, denounce gender stereotypes, and sensitize younger generations in schools in order to shift communal perceptions.

“Taking a human being and considering them less than another human being is ridiculous.”

***–Aminetou Ely
(WLP Mauritania, AFCF)***

Self and Collective Care

Continuing Our Work from a Place of Power

Feminist activism is deeply rewarding, but also carries significant emotional, physical, and spiritual demands. The pressures of overworking, political and public backlash, and the grief that comes with confronting injustice can leave activists depleted if care is not intentionally prioritized. This affects the individual but these difficulties can also bleed into their activism. Too often, self-care is framed as an individual task, but **feminist practice reminds us that care is a shared responsibility** within organizations, partnerships, and movements. This means cultivating collective care practices that replenish energy, create space for rest and reflection, and foster solidarity. Building cultures of care allows changemakers not only to sustain themselves, but also to sustain the movements they are a part of.

Key Takeaways

Activism Is Both Joyful And Painful

Feminist leaders carry immense emotional labor in their work and personal lives, often without adequate space for replenishment. Commitment to a greater cause brings much fulfillment but is often accompanied by burn out and grief. It is important that feminist organizations are not only aware of this, but working to address it within their organizational structures.

Self-Awareness is the Foundation Of Care

Understanding one's emotional and physical states is a prerequisite to acting on self-care. Underlying needs cannot be addressed without first taking the time to reflect and name them.

Care is Contextual and Cultural

Participants shared diverse practices of self-care from their local traditions and environments, reminding us that care is not one-size-fits-all. It is vital that activists use the resources at their disposal to practice self-care in some form.



Collective Care Must Be Intentional

Team norms, leadership behavior, and organizational policies must reflect care values to avoid burnout and sustain the movement. Being available or supportive is not sufficient. Feminist organizations must build care into their organizational structures and agendas.

Partnership is a Space For Care

In addition to organizational teams, the WLP Partnership itself can be a site of mutual support, learning, and emotional resilience. Centering care in feminist organizing is not just about survival; it is an act of resistance and reimagining of how change is made.



Resource Mobilization

Diversifying and Strengthening Financial Support

In order to sustain the feminist movement long-term, women’s rights organizations must find ways to obtain resources and access to flexible, long-term funding. Partners and allies came together to examine the global funding landscape for gender justice work, naming it not simply as a resource gap but as a political crisis of priorities and power. Drawing on shared frustrations and bold experimentation, participants **critiqued dominant funding models** that fragment movements, exhaust organizations, and under-resource transformative work like coalition-building, political education, and care. At the same time, they **uplifted emerging strategies** of collective fundraising, donor dialogue, and value-aligned resourcing. **Partners called for a paradigm shift** from competition to collaboration, from scarcity to solidarity, and from transactional funding to long-term investment in feminist futures shaped by those most impacted.

Key Takeaways

The Crisis of Resourcing Is Political, Not Just Financial

Participants acknowledged that funding shortages are not simply about scarcity, but about structural choices: militarized governments and authoritarian regimes are well-funded, while feminist movements face defunding and delegitimization. Many donors continue to prioritize short-term, project-based funding with high reporting burdens – models that are misaligned with the long-term, trust-based, and political nature of feminist organizing.

Existing Funding Models Undermine Movement Resilience

Speakers underscored how current funding approaches fragment organizations through siloed funding streams, incentivize constant rebranding to donor priorities, create precarity through short grant cycles and delayed disbursements, and undervalue essential but “unfundable” work like coalition-building, political education, and care infrastructure. This has forced many feminist groups into cycles of burnout, mission drift, or dependency on large INGOs that extract labor and visibility without sharing resources or power.

Feminist Movements are Building Alternatives

Despite the constraints feminist organizations face, partners shared inspiring examples of movement-aligned resources strategies. Women's rights groups are turning towards collective action and collaboration, pooling funds and infrastructure across organizations in times of crisis and prioritizing collective rather than competitive fundraising. They are negotiating more equitable partnerships with donors, creating language and frameworks that reflect feminist realities rather than bending to jargon traditionally valued by donors.



Sustainability Relies on Support for Financial Justice

Partners emphasized the need to organize, not just for project funding, but for financial justice. Sustainable support must go beyond covering project activities to ensuring that movements can withstand repression, crises, and the slow work of social change. Partners called for long-term, flexible funding that enables continuity of organizing, centers collective care, and respects the autonomy of local movements.

***“We are activists, we are not in an enterprise.
Our work is humanitarian and it should be
founded on care.”***

*–Asmae Aboulfaraj
(WLP Morocco, ADFM)*



Recommendations to Sustain the Movement Through

Care Practices

Build Care Into Organizational Structures

- Begin or end meetings with space to share how people are doing emotionally and physically. Provide time for co-activists and employees to share their struggles. Establish norms around work hours, digital availability, and respecting time off.
- Build care into leadership practices, policies, and partnership norms—recognizing it as essential, not optional, for movement sustainability.

Prioritize Both Movement and Rest

- Incorporate walking, dancing, or stretching into daily routines.
- Try restorative practices like yoga and meditation.

Reconnect with Purpose

- Use art, journaling, music, or storytelling to process emotions and reconnect with purpose, revisiting the passion that drives this work.
- Spend time outdoors without social media or distractions, connecting to the natural world. Engage in spiritual or cultural rituals or practice grounding exercises.

Support Community and Team Wellbeing

- Share meals, laughter, tea, or moments of celebration with colleagues and loved ones.
- Identify what each person on the team needs from their group (rest, empathy, flexibility) and what they can offer (listening, humor, solidarity).

Resource Mobilization

Invest in Targeted Resource Mobilization

- Develop joint fundraising strategies that leverage the power of the network and reduce internal competition.
- Prioritize multi-partner, cross-country proposals grounded in shared values and mutual accountability.

Build Donor Relationships Rooted in Trust and Solidarity

- Identify and cultivate relationships with feminist, rights-based, and participatory funders.
- Engage donors in conversations about decolonizing philanthropy and shifting power to feminist movements in the Global South.

Establish a Shared Movement Infrastructure

- Explore models for pooled funds, shared financial management, or fiscal hosting to increase efficiency and flexibility.
- Document and share tools for ethical storytelling, monitoring, and evaluation rooted in feminist principles.

Promote a Feminist Resourcing Narrative

- Co-create language that reflects movement priorities (e.g., care, resilience, organizing, leadership continuity).
- Center stories of impact that reflect long-term change, community empowerment, and systems disruption, not only service delivery.

Building on 25 years of transnational feminist partnership, WLP and its Partners commit to the following priorities for the years ahead:



Crisis Resilience & Humanitarian Response

- Develop a feminist humanitarian crisis response strategy and toolkit rooted in local knowledge.
- Establish rapid-response mechanisms for relocation, trauma care, and digital safety.
- Ensure displaced and refugee women are included in crisis prevention and recovery.



Climate & Economic Justice

- Expand regional climate justice campaigns and produce a feminist climate justice manual with a focus on land rights, food security, and disaster prevention.
- Link economic justice to family law reform by exposing how discriminatory laws perpetuate poverty and climate vulnerability.
- Support women-led cooperatives, sustainable businesses, and access to land and resources.



Political Participation & Leadership

- Map political landscapes and coordinate joint advocacy on political violence against women (VAWP).
- Build and pilot a mentorship centered “accelerator” program to advance women from marginalized communities in political leadership.
- Elevate women’s influence in local councils, unions, and national action plans.



Legal & Family Law Reform

- Leverage data-driven advocacy to demonstrate harms of discriminatory laws.
- Launch grassroots and digital campaigns to shift public opinion and reframe family law as a rights issue.
- Promote regional exchange of legislative models on inheritance rights, guardianship, and child marriage.



Youth & Intergenerational Leadership

- Establish a WLP Youth Roundtable for structured youth engagement in governance and strategy.
- Create intergenerational dialogue spaces, peer-learning circles, and mutual mentorship models.
- Expand youth-led “artivism” initiatives, digital advocacy, and cross-border coalitions.



Narrative Power & Communications

- Reclaim co-opted feminist language through storytelling, activism, and digital media.
- Collaborate with artists to make legal and rights issues accessible and emotionally compelling.
- Build campaigns that connect feminist values to shared cultural and community priorities.



Movement Sustainability & Resourcing

- Strengthen a coordinated fundraising roadmap with joint concept notes and donor mapping.
- Explore South–South resourcing and regionally pooled funds to reduce dependency.
- Center self- and collective care as essential infrastructure for sustaining activism.



Together, these priorities will guide WLP in resisting backlash, reimagining feminist futures, & ensuring that grassroots women’s leadership shapes global justice.

REIMAGINING THE NEXT 25 YEARS

Marking 25 years of partnership, solidarity, and progress in advancing women's rights, this year's Transnational Partners Convening (TPC) underscored an undeniable truth: **the strength of our Partnership lies in our ability to imagine and build a more just and equal future beyond borders.** Over the past quarter century, WLP has distinguished itself not only through its deep local roots and sustained relationships, but also through its unique capacity to weave these into a truly global movement.

As we build on this legacy over the next 25 years and beyond, Partners envision a future where **WLP continues to stand apart as a network grounded in grassroots activism and united by shared feminist values.** We will sharpen our approach to climate justice,

prevention of violence against women, and family law reforms, building upon successful strategies, strengthening regional collaboration, and leveraging local-to-global campaigns. At the same time, we commit to investing in intergenerational leadership, creating structured spaces for youth to learn, lead, and transform advocacy using tools like activism to reach broader audiences.

Throughout the week, we discussed the importance of **being intentional about how we communicate and collaborate**, embracing storytelling approaches that speak to emotions and building alliances across sectors to amplify feminist narratives in all spheres. Using the successes and lessons of our Partners, we will create a partnership-wide humanitarian crisis response strategy, build models for women's





“Feminists are under attack because we are powerful. Our work has changed laws, mindsets, and futures. Now is the time to protect and expand that power, together.”

***–Dr. Leila Golestaneh Austin
(WLP Secretariat)***

political leadership, coordinate joint climate advocacy, launch campaigns to reclaim feminist narratives, and address economic injustice. The Partnership will also support technical expertise in emerging areas like digital safety and AI, foster regional action plans, and deepen our collaboration on shared tools and resources.

Although feminist values and funding are under attack, **we have faith in our ability to sustain this movement and build upon the momentum we’ve created** by working together on collective fundraising efforts and coordinated funding proposals, and exploring South-South resourcing and partnerships with global platforms such as the UN and COP. The challenges we face and the foundations we’ve laid to overcome them are not only

relevant to the future of WLP, but to the future of the global feminist movement as a whole. **This convening affirmed the power of our transnational Partnership – and the urgency of bold, unified, feminist action.** Together, we will carry the spirit of the TPC forward, building a more just and equal world for generations to come.



To Our Partners:

Thank you for your continued resilience and commitment to the fight for gender justice, your dedication to this Partnership, and your solidarity over the past 25 years. Let’s continue to innovate, lead, and rise together to meet the challenges ahead.

To Others Looking to Make an Impact:

We invite you to join us in this next chapter! Invest in a network that is bold enough to confront backlash, creative enough to reimagine grassroots solutions, and resilient enough to advance equality in the face of intersecting global challenges. Learn more and take action at learningpartnership.org/donate.

We Thank Our Participants

Partners

**All Women's Action Society (AWAM),
WLP Malaysia**

represented by Andrea Koh

**Association Démocratique des Femmes
du Maroc (ADFM), WLP Morocco**

represented by Asmae Aboulfaraj, Nezha
Belkachla, Yassine Semmami, and Aatifa
Timjerdine

**Association des Femmes Chefs de Famille
(AFCF), WLP Mauritania**

represented by Aminetou Mint El-Moctar

Aurat Foundation, WLP Pakistan

represented by Rabeea Hadi

Bir Duino, WLP Kyrgyzstan

represented by Tolekan Ismailova

**Center for Advancement of Development
Rights (CEADER), WLP Nigeria**

represented by Joy Ngwakwe

**Citizenship, Study, Research, Information,
and Action (CEPIA), WLP Brazil**

represented by Andrea Romani

**Forum for Women in Development
(FWID), WLP Egypt**

represented by Enas al-Shafie

Fórum Mulher, WLP Mozambique

represented by Nzira de Deus

**Foundation for the Support of Women's
Work (KEDV), WLP Turkey**

represented by Gökçen Durutaş

**Groupe d'Initiatives pour le Progrès
Social/West Africa Region (GIPS/WAR),
WLP Senegal**

represented by Julie Cissé

**Shymkent Women's Resource Center
(SWRC), WLP Kazakhstan**

represented by Gulnara Karakulova

**Solidarity is Global Institute/Jordan
(SIGI/J), WLP Jordan**

represented by Enaam Asha

**Women and Youth Development Institute
of Indonesia (WYDII), WLP Indonesia**

represented by Jani Purnawanty Jasfin

WLP Palestine

represented by Taghreed Naser



Experts and Board Members

Hafsat Abiola (Nigeria)

Founder and President of the Kudirat Initiative for Democracy (KIND)

Mahnaz Afkhami (Iran/USA)

Founder and President Emerita of Women's Learning Partnership and former Minister for Women's Affairs in Iran

Rothna Begum (USA)

Legal Advocacy Director at the Clooney Foundation for Justice's initiative: Waging Justice for Women

Nadereh Chamlou (Iran/USA)

Former Senior Advisor at the World Bank

Susan Deller Ross (USA)

Professor of International and Comparative Law on Women's Human Rights at Georgetown University School of Law

Sara Abou Ghazal (Brussels)

Membership Director at Human Rights Funders Network (HRFN)

Thoraya Ahmed Obaid (Saudi Arabia)

Former Under-Secretary-General of the United Nations and Executive Director of the United Nations Population Fund (UNFPA)

Jacqueline Pitanguy (Brazil)

Founder and Director of WLP Brazil/Cidadania, Estudo, Pesquisa, Informação e Ação (CEPIA)

Fancy Sinantha (United Kingdom)

Founder and Director of The Dot & The Line

Marcela Suazo (Honduras)

United Nations Population Fund (UNFPA) Representative for Malaysia and Country Director for UNFPA Thailand

Madhavi Sunder (USA)

WLP Board Chair and Professor of Law at Georgetown University

Mona Tajali (USA)

Director of the Women Living Under Muslim Laws (WLUML)'s Transformative Feminist Leadership Institute

WLP Secretariat

Leila Golestaneh Austin

Co-Executive Director

Allison Horowski

Co-Executive Director

Shannon Kuehn

Senior Program Associate for Advocacy and Communications

Jessica Molander

Program Associate for Archives and Knowledge Management

Alex Murray

Senior Program Associate for Training and Evaluation



 /learningpartnership

 @wlp_feminist

 @wlp_intl

 /learningpartnership.org

 /women's-learning-partnership

learningpartnership.org