A WILPF GUIDE TO
LEVERAGING THE SDGS FOR FEMINIST PEACE
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A WILPF Guide to Leveraging the SDGs for Feminist Peace

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Introduction

2020 marks the beginning of the Decade of Action on the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) and Agenda 2030. WILPF believes the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) can be an important tool for promoting feminist peace by addressing conflict prevention gaps and moving from political economies of war to feminist political economies of peace and gender justice.

The SDGs are a framework to push for progress on crucial human rights issues and development issues such as poverty, food security, water and sanitation, climate change, sustainable and resilient cities, and education. Both the WILPF International Secretariat and Sections have been engaged in advocacy around sustainable development for many years as part of our work for human security and conflict prevention. We advocated for the creation of stand-alone goals on gender equality (SDG 5) and peace (SDG 16) when the SDGs were being developed. Since the adoption of the Sustainable Development Goals in 2015, our work has focused on breaking the silos between work on development, gender equality, and peace, by bringing our priorities of feminist peace, disarmament, and demilitarised security into development discussions, where they are often excluded. Although there is widespread recognition that peace and gender equality are critical for equitable and sustainable development, in reality, silos persist, and these issues are often sidelined. Additionally, the SDGs address key issues that affect people throughout the world, including in conflict areas, which is of particular relevance for WILPF.

This guide is meant to help you as an activist carry on with that work for human security, by working with governments and others in civil society to ensure that structural barriers, including gendered inequalities, are addressed for every person everywhere, including in conflict areas. It showcases how you can advocate for sustainable development using a human rights framework that addresses Member States’ legal obligations, including in disarmament, women’s human rights, and the Women, Peace and Security Agenda.

The SDGs are not a flawless framework, as we outline further in the section on challenges. Extreme corporate capture, the continued focus on economic growth, cherry-picking priorities, a lack of strong accountability mechanisms, and other issues have undermined the holistic vision of Agenda 2030. But despite these challenges, the SDGs are an important space for feminist peace activists who are interested in working towards feminist political economies, climate justice, and the prevention of armed conflict. As the United Nations launches its Decade of Action on the SDGs, it is crucial that we as feminists have a say in what our countries, economies, and ecologies will look like in 2030 and beyond.

This guide provides resources for feminist peace activists who are looking to engage in this work to design our collective future. Whether you have worked with the SDGs for a long time or are new to the work, let’s dive in!
What are the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs)?

According to the 1987 Brundtland Commission, sustainable development is development which "meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs." According to the Commission, sustainable development is the intersection of three dimensions: environmental protection, social development (including women’s human rights), and economic development. The right to development is integral to the enjoyment of economic, social, cultural and political rights, and required for progress in the full realisation of fundamental freedoms and human rights. The UN Declaration on the Right to Development (1986) holds states as duty bearers to ensuring that obstacles toward such development are eliminated.

**Historical Context: Development and Colonialism**

Sustainable development marks the beginning of a shift away from traditional conceptions of economic development. The traditional signposts of development include economic growth, social and cultural progress, capitalism and the free market, universalism, hierarchy and patriarchy, and the centrality of humans as the central and most important figures in the world pantheon.

Inequalities between mainly Global North and Global South countries are a result of centuries of colonialism which drove the economic and social development of a select few countries, mainly those in Western Europe and North America. From the end of the 15th century onwards, some states, including the United Kingdom, Belgium, Spain, and France, established vast foreign empires to establish control over trade and natural resources, exploiting the labour of people in colonised countries, enacting brutal repression and genocide, and utilising colonies as cheap markets for their goods to further their own industrialisation processes. This both drained economic resources from colonised territories and countries and also deindustrialised their economies, instead maintaining them as a source for primary goods, and kept them reliant on the colonising force for finished products resold to them.

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In other countries including the United States, Canada, and South Africa, colonialism also took the form of settler colonialism, relying on genocide and subjugation of indigenous populations, as well as slavery. Colonialism was fuelled by patriarchy, militarism, and the growth of global capitalism to subjugate people, the environment, and human rights and dignity for the glory and power of imperialist nations. It imposed widespread shifts in social structure, laws, gender norms, and religion, and fuelled inequalities and conflicts within colonised populations, which continue to reverberate today.

In the “post-colonial” era, Western colonisers shifted from overt pillaging of natural resources and exploitation of labour and into a focus on “development” centred on economic modernisation. This modernisation theory held that social and political development would follow from industrialisation, and therefore pushed economic growth, the building of large-scale infrastructure projects, and education as development “solutions”. However, the new system of development aid, debt schemes imposed by International Financial Institutions (IFIs), and structural adjustment programmes maintain global inequalities between people and nations.

In 2015, world governments adopted the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs), a universal agenda on sustainable development aimed to be achieved by 2030. The SDGs build on the 1987 Brundtland Commission, the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) and the 1992 and 2012 Rio Conferences on Sustainable Development, as well as existing commitments to human rights, gender equality, and peace. They aim to address the three dimensions of sustainable development outlined above in a balanced manner and conceptualise development through a framework that prioritises human security and environmental well-being.

Each of the 17 SDGs has a set of targets and indicators by which progress towards each goal is measured. For example, SDG 16 on peace, justice, and strong institutions has targets including 16.1: Significantly reduce all forms of violence and related death rates everywhere.

Unlike the MDGs, which focused largely on Global South or “developing” countries, the SDGs are universal, and therefore apply to wealthy Global North countries as well. Through this principle of universality, the SDGs recognise that every single country has a responsibility to provide for the well-being of people and our shared planet, and that no country is free from hunger, poverty, violence, or inequalities. The SDGs also recognise the reality that in our interconnected world, actions often have intended or unintended consequences outside of our own local or national contexts. In the SDGs framework, countries are obligated to uphold their extraterritorial obligations, which means that they can be held accountable for the effects of their actions abroad.

Due to the tireless work of civil society, the SDGs explicitly address peace and recognise violent conflict as a significant impediment for development. The 2030 Sustainable Development Agenda is grounded in the idea that “there can be no sustainable development without peace, and no peace without sustainable development.”³

There are 17 SDGs as part of the larger 2030 Agenda, and they recognise gender equality (SDG 5) and peaceful, just and inclusive societies (SDG 16) as stand-alone global development priorities. The 2030 Agenda also provides specific guidance on the means of implementation (SDG 17). This is a significant improvement over the MDGs, which excluded conflict.⁴ WILPF believes that accomplishing the SDGs will not be possible without addressing conflict and its root causes, ensuring human rights, and informing actions and policies with the lived experiences of women in conflict situations. Conflict and violence are not only severe hindrances to development; they also reverse many years of development gains. The SDGs are meant to address challenges to sustainable peace. This should mean human rights as the basis for mitigating violence, insecurity, and armed conflict all of which slide back gains made in development.

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⁴ Conflict has prevented many countries from reaching their development goals. There are 33 states that have been identified as fragile and in conflict situations by the World Bank. This includes countries currently in conflict such as Afghanistan, Iraq and Syria. It also includes countries that are fragile but not in conflict, have had conflicts historically or are politically unstable such as Bosnia and Herzegovina, Côte d’Ivoire, Kosovo and Timor-Leste. These fragile and conflict-affected countries achieved significantly less progress than other developing countries in the MDGs. Also, no conflict-affected country achieved the goal of reducing by two-thirds the under-five mortality rate between 1990 and 2015. Read more from the Institute of Economics and Peace: http://www.peacewomen.org/sites/default/files/Goal16_2016_webfile.pdf.
Goal 16: Promote just, peaceful and inclusive societies

Through SDG 16, one of the cross-cutting pillars of the Agenda, the SDGs recognise the long-reaching consequences of conflict and violence for development outcomes. Countries that experience violent conflict and that do not have sustainable institutions have experienced some of the sharpest development reversals, particularly towards achieving SDG 1 (on poverty) and SDG 2 (on hunger). The SDGs provide a pathway to addressing many factors that contribute to conflict, including poverty (SDG 1), hunger (SDG 2), economic stability and opportunity (SDG 8), and structural inequalities (SDG 10). SDG 16 aims to “promote peaceful and inclusive societies for sustainable development, provide access to justice for all and build effective, accountable and inclusive institutions at all levels”.

Goal 5: Achieve gender equality and empower all women and girls

SDG 5, on gender equality, reflects the intersectional complexity of women’s lives and realities. Its targets include ending gender discrimination, stopping all forms of violence against women and girls, and ensuring women’s active and meaningful participation at all levels of economic, social, and political life. SDG 5 recognises that gender equality is not an option, but a necessary component of all aspects of sustainable development. At the heart of the intersectional nature of SDG 5 is the placement of an imperative on the human rights of all genders to equal access, whether to quality healthcare or education, in order to break the cycles of poverty and violence. Out of the 17 Sustainable Development Goals, eight explicitly integrate commitments to women and girls; however, it is crucial to recognise that the achievement of targets across the entire agenda has implications for women’s and girls’ human rights.
Sustainable Development and the Women, Peace and Security Agenda: Synergies for Conflict Prevention

The Women, Peace and Security (WPS) Agenda began with the passing of United Nations Security Council resolution (UNSCR) 1325 in 2000. The passage of this resolution was a historic watershed moment that recognised the critical importance of women and a gender perspective to peacebuilding, conflict prevention, conflict resolution, and post-conflict recovery and reconstruction efforts.

The Women, Peace and Security Agenda is organised into pillars of participation, prevention, protection, and relief and recovery. These pillars are meant to guide the work to promote gender equality and strengthen women’s participation in peacebuilding, protection and rights across the conflict cycle, from conflict prevention through post-conflict reconstruction, prevention through disarmament, protection in displacement settings, peacekeeping, peacebuilding and reconstruction. These interlinked and mutually reinforcing aspects are critical for respecting human rights and dignity and in tackling the root causes of conflict to create sustainable peace.

A total of 10 WPS resolutions\(^5\) have been passed, meant to reinforce the vital importance of women’s equal and meaningful participation and involvement in the maintenance and promotion of peace and security. When approached from a framing that centres root causes and gender justice, WPS is a powerful framework for moving from exclusive to democratic decision-making, from gender inequality to gender justice and from conflict and violence to sustainable and feminist peace.

There are numerous synergies between the feminist vision enshrined in UNSCR 1325 and subsequent WPS resolutions, and the Sustainable Development Goals. We know that patriarchy, inequalities, militarised masculinities and discriminatory power structures inhibit effective conflict prevention, inclusive peace, women’s rights and participation. The root causes of conflict and the cycles of armed conflict, resourcing that is not gender-responsive, and militarised masculinities have a destructive impact on societies, including on health, education, and the economy.

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As feminist peace activists who are familiar with working within the framework of UNSCR 1325 and the WPS Agenda, we can deepen our work on the three pillars of the WPS Agenda by recognising where complementarities exist in other policy frameworks. As a major agenda for the next ten years, the SDGs provide the opportunity to work towards addressing the specific root drivers of conflict in your country and build feminist, resilient, and sustainable communities.

**Synergies between the Sustainable Development Goals and Women, Peace and Security**

Both UNSCR 1325 and SDG 5.5 recognise the critical importance of ensuring women’s full and effective participation and opportunities for leadership and decision-making.

Both UNSCR 1325 and SDG 5.2 address the elimination of violence against women and girls and the need for both prevention and protection from violence. SDG 16.1 calls for the reduction of all forms of violence.

SDG 16.3, 16.6, and UNSCR 1820 address the importance of access to justice and building the capacities of strong, transparent institutions.

SDG 16.4 calls for the reduction of illicit financial and arms flows. This is an important first step, and WILPF firmly believes that full disarmament is a prerequisite for sustainable peace.
Core Principles for Sustainable Development

As a universal, transformative, and rights-based plan for all countries, the UN, and other relevant actors, the 2030 Agenda is underpinned by key core principles to guide its plan of action and see implementation that creates a world that uplifts the vitality of people and planet. These principles are the following:

- **Universality** – The Agenda is applicable to all countries, in the Global North and Global South, whether low or high income, and in any part of the peace and conflict spectrum. This means that every country is expected to do its part in planning, resourcing, and implementing the SDGs.

- **Leaving No One Behind** – At the heart of the Agenda, this principle requires that commitments and implementation must move forward at all levels with all people considered irrespective of situation or location, especially those with particular vulnerabilities and marginalisation that require being addressed in order to meet the SDGs.

- **Interconnectedness and Indivisibility** – The implementation of the Agenda must be addressed with all 17 SDGs treated as integral parts of one another. This means one or a few SDGs must not be uplifted as more important than others, and the planning, resourcing, and implementation of these SDGs must not be done in silos.

- **Inclusiveness** – Connected to the principle of leaving no one behind, the Agenda recognises that the dignity of each person in every place is fundamental, and that all goals and targets of the SDGs must be met for all nations, peoples and societies.

- **Stakeholder Partnerships** – The Agenda emphasises the importance of multi-stakeholder partnerships to support and spread the knowledge, resources, and technology needed to plan, fund, and implement the SDGs.

These core principles contribute to the way in which the five dimensions of the Agenda 2030 shape the SDGs as a whole: People, Planet, Prosperity, Peace and Partnerships. These key dimensions are meant to highlight the integrated nature of the SDGs and signals the importance of not sliding into siloed action on any one SDG.
**People**
End poverty and hunger for people in all forms and ensure dignity and equality

**Planet**
Protect the planet’s natural resources and climate for future generations

**Prosperity**
Ensure prosperous and fulfilling lives in harmony with nature

**Partnerships**
Implement the agenda through a solid global partnership

**Peace**
Foster peaceful, just, and inclusive societies
Framing Sustainable Development from a Feminist Perspective

“Realising the 2030 Agenda requires shifting structures of exploitation and violence toward cultivation and justice. It requires recognising that scarcity is a myth. The resources are there. They are simply stuck in a capitalist, extractivist, militaristic, colonialist system.”

Throughout the world, feminist groups are advocating for the SDGs to be implemented in ways that centre the local priorities of women and girls in all their diversity, and which address the systemic barriers that inhibit the realisation of human rights.

Although feminist advocacy on sustainable development is dynamic, diverse, and varied depending on local, national, and regional priorities, what is shared is a commitment to advancing the human rights of all women and girls, and addressing the main obstacles to a peaceful and just world.

Systemic Barriers

Many feminists identify systemic barriers as impeding the realisation of the SDGs. These include:

- Capitalism and corporate influence
- The persistence of patriarchy
- Militarism’s ideology of violent power and domination
- Unsustainable consumption and production, which have caused a climate crisis
- Colonial legacies, authoritarianism, and nationalism
- Shrinking civil society space and attacks on women human rights defenders and environmental defenders

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The SDGs can only be successful if they realise their principle of leaving no one behind. From a feminist perspective, leaving no one behind means centring intersectionality, a tool of analysis that was created by Black feminist thinkers. Intersectionality requires taking into account the specificities and compounding nature of structural inequalities and our identities which include things like race, gender identity, age, disability, sexual orientation, nationality, and migrant status. When applied to the SDGs, it also means looking at how factors such as violent conflict impact people’s human rights.

Feminist Visions for Development

Feminist priorities for the sustainable development agenda include:

- **Intersectionality**
- **Climate justice**
- **Gender as a cross-cutting issue across all of the goals**
- **The centrality of human rights to the SDGs, and the necessity of accountability for human rights violations**
- **Financing the feminist movement through core, long-term, flexible financing**
- **Enhancing and protecting civil society space**
- **Peace, disarmament, and prevention of violence, including gender-based violence**
- **Dismantling systems of oppression such as militarism, patriarchy, and capitalism**

A genuinely inclusive realisation of the Agenda requires that every national and regional action towards Agenda 2030 have a gender, peace and environmental component to ensure we are reshaping the world in sustainable terms. However, despite the interconnected nature of the SDGs, many of the discussions, plans, partnerships, and implementation have focused on environmental protection, social development, and economic development at the expense of these issues.

The 2030 Agenda must be informed by the "inclusive, transformative thinking of justice-oriented movements and organizing, including that of feminist, women’s, and girl-led movements, in order to move out of siloed policy making processes." ^ Sustainable development and peace that works for women and all others marginalised across hemispheres is the redistribution of wealth, the laying down of arms, and the strengthening of gender equality and human rights.

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Down the Green Feminist Road

Environmental degradation is often a direct consequence of a competition for resources and extractivism. Capitalist structures continue to negatively affect the environment. Military activities and exercises lead to the devastation, pollution and destruction of ecosystems. But feminist activists in WILPF Afghanistan, Burkina Faso, Italy, Kenya, Lebanon, Mexico, Norway and Sweden are challenging these realities and working to build peaceful, sustainable, and resilient communities.

Making the SDGs Work for Women in Conflict and Non-Conflict Situations: Rooting Agenda 2030 Implementation in Human Rights

Because the SDGs are a holistic framework that encompass a wide range of social, political, environmental, and economic issues, they can be a valuable framework for feminist peace activists to utilise in their advocacy.

One of the strengths of the SDGs is their grounding in human rights. According to the Danish Institute for Human Rights, 92 per cent of the SDG indicators are linked to international human rights instruments. However, the implementation frameworks of the SDGs involve a much lower bar than human rights and the SDG indicators themselves. For the SDGs to effectively work for human rights and sustainable peace, there is a need for the implementation frameworks to be matched up with human rights obligations. As feminist peace activists, what can we advocate for in the approaches to the implementation of the SDGs that we know will help advance conflict prevention and resolution?

Advocating for Policy Coherence

SDG 17.14 explicitly calls for policy coherence for sustainable development. This is even further enshrined in the UN Charter, particularly Article 1 which calls for the UN principles for maintaining international peace and security “to be a centre for harmonizing the actions of nations in the attainment of these common ends.”

Policy coherence means aligning policies with one another to work together to be mutually reinforcing, while also avoiding or minimising negative impacts. Policy coherence is a key gap that WILPF has identified in SDG reviews.

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A comprehensive approach to sustainable development, which combines local, regional and international efforts, and connects different SDGs (with SDG 5 and 16 as cross-cutting) is crucial for holistic accountability. Developing SDG National Action Plans should support implementation of other international frameworks, including the Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW), the Arms Trade Treaty (ATT), and the Women, Peace and Security Agenda. This work can also go the other way around, and work on other agendas can be used to bolster implementation of Agenda 2030.

**Examples: Linking up the SDGs, the UPR, and 1325 NAPs**

In WILPF Cameroon’s shadow report to the Universal Periodic Review (UPR)\(^{11}\), women peace leaders called for the Government to:

- Ratify and implement, taking into account a gender perspective, the Arms Trade Treaty, the Action Programme of the United Nations on Light and Small Arms, and the Central African Convention for the Control of Light and Small Arms by 2019;

- Adopt implementing decrees of law No 2016/015 of 14th December 2016 on the general rules governing arms and ammunition in Cameroon by December 2018 and carry out awareness-raising activities with the public relating to this law, throughout the national territory and in partnership with civil society;

- Put in place, as early as possible, the National Commission on Light and Small Arms with the allocation of adequate human and financial resources.

WILPF Cameroon’s recommendations, particularly regarding arms control, are directly linked to SDGs 5 and 16. The related targets are SDG 5.2 which aims to eliminate all forms of violence against all women and girls in the public and private spheres, including trafficking and sexual and other types of exploitation, and SDG 16.4 which hopes to significantly reduce illicit financial and arms flows, strengthen the recovery and return of stolen assets and combat all forms of organised crime by 2030. In order to eliminate all forms of violence against women and girls, and address human rights and contributors to conflict, illicit financial and arms flows must be reduced.

In the UK’s fourth National Action Plan on Women, Peace and Security (2018-2020)\(^{12}\), the NAP uses the SDGs as indicators for certain objectives including: SDG 5.5.1 for the objective on women’s participation in decision-making levels; SDG 16.7.2 to assess the objective on inclusivity including women’s participation in decision-making levels; SDG 16.7.1 to assess how security and justice actors are increasingly accountable to women and girls, and responsive to their rights and needs and; SDG 16.3.1 to assess the role of public institutions and how security and justice actors are increasingly accountable to women and girls, and responsive to their rights and needs.

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Calling for Countries to Recognise their Extraterritorial Human Rights Obligations

Human rights obligations of states go beyond physical borders, and are relevant to the practices and policies that they participate in around the world, including in relation to issues regarding the environment, tax havens, and economic and labour regulations. States are obligated to ensure that human rights are respected, protected and promoted in places outside of their territories through the numerous international human rights instruments on economic, social and cultural rights, such as the Charter of the United Nations, the Universal Declaration on Human Rights and international treaties, including the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights.13

In 2011, the Maastricht Principles on the Extraterritorial Obligations of States in the Area of Economic, Social and Cultural Rights were adopted with the purpose of clearly articulating the already agreed-upon obligations in international treaties and other instruments.14

Because states are obligated to realise the economic, social and cultural rights of all people in accordance with international human rights law, people in Global South countries, including those affected by climate change and deregulation, can use these obligations as basis to call for accountability and redress, even while more powerful, wealthier states do not act in cooperation.

Example: Extraterritorial accountability on arms transfers and sexual and gender-based violence

Sexual and Gender-Based Violence (SGBV) is a cross-cutting issue since under any circumstances it is a violation of international human rights law, and, during conflict, can be a violation of international humanitarian law or be considered an act of terrorism, transnational organised crime, a war crime, a crime against humanity, or genocide.

The Women, Peace and Security resolutions in the Security Council mandate action to prevent and respond to sexual violence in conflict. Governments are obligated to restrict arms transfers and move the money away from military spending to uphold their commitments under the Beijing Platform for Action, Agenda 21, Women, Peace, and Security, and the SDGs. Furthermore, arms transfer authorities should be conducting risk assessments and preventing transfers to uphold these obligations.


14 Ibid.
SDG 5.2 calls for the elimination of all forms of violence against all women and girls in the public and private spheres, including trafficking and sexual and other types of exploitation, and SDG 16.4 recognises the impact of illicit weapons flows. The Arms Trade Treaty (ATT)\(^\text{15}\) covers SGBV in Articles 6 (prohibitions) and 7 (risk assessment), which highlights the gender and power dimensions of the arms trade, possession and use of weapons that need to be addressed, including by conducting risk assessments. Arms transfers exacerbate SGBV and other forms of violence especially in conflict situations. States that import and export arms need to work together to ensure that items transferred under the ATT are not utilised to commit or aid Gender-Based Violence (GBV) or in ways that would be in violation of Articles 6 or 7 of the ATT. This recognition of gender and power dimensions with arms transfers has been seen in the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) as it recognises that GBV in armed conflict contributes to the systematic discrimination of women, girls, and others.

The EU Common Position on Arms Exports\(^\text{16}\) requires an export license to be denied if, among other things, there is a clear risk that the equipment to be exported might be used for violations of human rights or international humanitarian law. Further, the EU Code of Conduct on Arms\(^\text{17}\) sets out eight risk assessment criteria which EU Member States must take into consideration when assessing a license application. These criteria were updated in 2015 to take into account the provisions of the ATT and Criterion Two and Three of the code of conduct explicitly relate to human rights considerations.

Leaving no one behind requires a global perspective that ensures accountability for national impacts both within and outside of a country’s borders. Climate change (SDG 13) has been fuelled by the greenhouse gas emissions of a relatively small number of wealthy countries, but has a disproportionate impact on countries in the Global South, including Small Island Developing States (SIDS) and Landlocked Developing Countries (LLDCs). The impacts of pollution on oceans (SDG 14), for which a few wealthy countries are disproportionately responsible, also have widespread global impacts. Throughout the history of armed conflicts, arms proliferation has had a different impact on women due to structural discrimination and inequality, paired with gender-specific violence, such as torture, sexual and gender-based violence, among others\(^\text{18}\). The arms trade fuels conflicts and also exacerbates gender-based violence\(^\text{19}\). Extraterritorial obligations can address these inequalities and accountability for and protection of human rights.

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Shifting the Balance of Power in the International Financial Architecture

Funding for gender equality and women’s movement building remains embarrassingly inadequate compared to resourcing for military budgets, even though this action is called for in Beijing Platform E20 and Agenda 21 (22.16)21. Although some of the most recent OECD data indicates that the share of bilateral aid that major donor countries spend on gender equality is increasing over time, only a small share of this aid goes directly to women’s organisations, and increases have recently been driven by projects that identify gender equality as a “significant”, but not a “principal” objective. 22

Added to this is the reality of countries in the Global South, which are often exploited as export economies, the undermining of food sovereignty and economic resilience, while conditionalities linked to the funding provided by International Financial Institutions (IFIs) continue to contribute to the feminisation of poverty and the deepening of gender inequalities. Meanwhile, illicit financial flows and tax havens continue to divert resources away from human security and into the hands of the world’s wealthiest people and corporations.

Instead, we must strengthen local and regional economies that are integrated, sustainable, and meet local and regional needs, rather than economies based on import/export models that rely on fossil fuelled long-distance trade. Tax justice and development justice are central to shifting the balance of power.

Examples: Gender budgeting and reducing military spending

Gender-responsive budgeting (GRB) guidelines such as those developed by UNIFEM/UNFPA23 can be used to assess government compliance with human rights obligations, such as those found in the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW), and holds promise for tracking budgetary commitments to gender equality in the implementation of the 2030 Agenda.

In Costa Rica, the military was abolished in 194824 and most of the defence budget has been reallocated to health and public services, including on universal healthcare. Despite instability in surrounding countries in Central America, Costa Rica has remained relatively peaceful, and its border with Panama (which abolished its military in 1989) is one of the only fully demilitarised borders in the world.

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Working past Challenges to Feminist Advocacy on the SDGs

There are a number of challenges to feminist engagement with the SDGs, some of which are outlined below. Being aware of these challenges and obstacles is crucial for our advocacy on sustainable development, and can inform our strategies of engagement. However, these challenges make it perhaps even more important that feminists claim our space within the sustainable development field. Building the “future we want” means subverting and working past these challenges, by building our collective power.

Critiques of the SDG Framework: Capitalism, Militarism, Nationalism and Authoritarianism

While the SDGs provide a powerful vision for a more sustainable and just world, they do not fully address all of the structural barriers that must be dismantled, including capitalism, militarism, unjust financial, trade, and investment agreements, patriarchy, and authoritarianism.

One key gap is that Agenda 2030 upholds the current capitalist, market-centric economic system. SDG 8 aims to achieve decent work, but also “sustained, inclusive, and sustainable economic growth.” Heterodox economists and “degrowth” advocates have long argued that the narrow focus on economic growth, private investment, and market-driven solutions as “development” does not in fact lead to advances in human well-being, and even undermines them. The relentless pursuit of economic growth fundamentally holds back the achievement of other goals and targets, including decent work (SDG 8), reducing inequalities (SDG 10), sustainable production and consumption (SDG 12), stopping climate change (SDG 13), and even no poverty (SDG 1) if the benefits of growth are not adequately redistributed and instead only benefit the wealthy and the private sector. Ultimately, only structural changes to the economic system away from capitalism will create a genuinely inclusive and sustainable economy that ensures the human rights of all people.

SDG 16 on peace, justice, and strong institutions contains important targets on ending violence, promoting the rule of law and access to justice, and building responsive, participatory institutions. However, the persistence of militarism, institutionalised through rising military budgets and war profiteering through the arms trade, is a significant barrier to the achievement of the SDGs.
Nationalism and authoritarianism also are extreme challenges to the achievement of the SDGs, because human rights and democracy are central to the vision of Agenda 2030. However, the first Global Sustainable Development Report (GSDR) did not take into account the impacts that authoritarian regimes have on people’s free expression, civic space, the exploitation of natural resources, and promoting violence, nor the impacts of nationalism and authoritarianism on marginalised groups, including migrants and LGBTQI+ people.²⁵

パートナーシップと企業の支配

政府以外の様々なアクターもSDGsの開発に参加し、現在の実施戦略に組み込まれています。これは、しばしば企業、企業系団体、および政府がSDGs実現のための多様なパートナーシップを推進し、公共活動とサービスの役割が減じられることが明らかにされています。数多くの研究とコミュニティの体験から、公私パートナーシップは不平等を増大し、必要サービスの均等なアクセスを損なうだけでなく、人権の実現を脅かす可能性があることが示されています。

選択的もしらべ

SDGsは、相互関連性のある事項を解決するための局所的な枠組みを設計されています。たとえば、SDG5（性別平等）の達成に成功するためには、SDG1（貧困）、SDG3（健康および福祉）、SDG4（教育）、SDG10（不平等の削減）、SDG16（平和、公正、強力な機関）を含む他のSDGsの達成に成功する必要があります。逆に、これらの目標間の関連性を考慮に入れないと達成の妨げになる可能性があります。各目標の達成のためのアドバイスを強化するためには、異なる問題がどのように他のすべてのSDGsに影響を及ぼすか、そしてそれは他の目標の実施に阻害される可能性があることを特定することが重要です。

Failures of Domestic Resource Mobilisation

Governments also continue to prioritise militarism and the super-rich over ensuring the human rights and security of all, which severely threatens the vision of sustainable development. Steadily increasing military expenditure diverts resources from peace, and actively undermines peacebuilding and conflict prevention efforts. In 2019, global military expenditure exceeded $1.9 trillion USD – higher than the yearly estimate for ending poverty (SDG 1). Governments are even worse at gender-sensitive budgeting and at supporting feminist peace. In addition, austerity measures and regressive taxation imposed by International Financial Institutions (IFIs) impede countries’ ability to finance the implementation of the SDGs as well as build foundations for peace and equality. The world has over 2,000 billionaires, but at least 730 million people live in extreme poverty, according to conservative metrics. Illicit financial flows and tax havens also continue to divert resources away from people and into the hands of the wealthy. As the 2018 Spotlight Report noted, the problem is not a lack of funding for sustainable development: it’s poor policy choices about how money is spent.

Meaningful Participation in Agenda 2030 reviews and High-Level Political Forum Reform

Feminists have called for reforms to the structure of the High-Level Political Forum (HLPF) and the Agenda 2030 reviews to ensure that civil society, including feminist groups, are meaningfully able to participate and contribute. These reforms include strengthening the Major Groups and Other Stakeholders (MGOS) mechanism; creating more space for the MGOS to engage in reviews; reforming the Voluntary National Reviews (VNR) process and linking it to human rights mechanisms, as well as allocating more time to VNRs; establishing more time for stakeholder groups to ask questions and make statements; creating a parallel reporting mechanism; and holding the private sector accountable.

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2020 and Beyond – The Decade of Action

As we move into the Decade of Action on the Sustainable Development Goals, WILPF is committed to continuing our work for transformative change for a peaceful, equal, and just world.

You may be asking: How can I use the SDGs for feminist peace?

Here are a few starting points.

Entry Points for Advocacy

Civil society activists can promote action for conflict prevention that builds on existing women’s human rights, disarmament, and Women, Peace and Security commitments by engaging in a cycle of advocacy.

A Human Rights Approach: Root Cause and Gender Analysis

When looking at the progress of the implementation of the SDGs, it is important to conduct a root cause and gender analysis of the issues concerned.

This involves looking at the underlying reasons and motivations for continuing development challenges and the set of unfulfilled human rights. To do this, one must identify the structural causes that contribute to social, political, economic, and cultural challenges and human rights violations. Structural causes can be seen in laws and practices that perpetuate levels of discrimination and against women, LGBTQI+, religious, and linguistic groups, for example, and how this discrimination and unequal treatment echoes in social exclusion, economic rights, access to education and adequate and safe work, safe and accessible housing, water, and sanitation, and the right to live free from violence. Similarly, a gender analysis requires looking at gender roles, practical and strategic needs, and the availability and access to resources and decision-making power, and how these variables impact the lives of women, girls, men, boys and non-binary or genderqueer individuals.

Gender and root cause analysis is critical to underpinning an understanding of the key challenges, gaps, and violations in the context of issues that affect our daily lives, including accountability and implementation of Women, Peace and Security concerns, climate change, disarmament, and the SDGs.
A cycle of analysis could include (and is not limited to) the following:

- Identifying the human rights issue impacting certain communities or genders disproportionately, mapping the underlying structural causes (discrimination, official policies, social norms, institutions), and identifying your arguments and which policymakers and other actors with which to engage for change;
- Identifying what your government is doing about it through the Agenda 2030, whether resources have been allocated and how much, and where progress is on the implementation of SDGs commitments;
- Determining whether you want to join coalitions such as the Women’s Major Group to strengthen your advocacy work;
- Determining a strategy for engagement at different levels and identifying if it makes sense for you and your allies to engage in national, regional and international review fora;
- Continuing to advocate and monitor, by regularly contributing to resources and evidence-based materials and discussion and engaging with actors within the grasp of your resource capacity.

This cycle of advocacy involves creating commitments based on disarmed security, evaluating the impact of existing security and development work based on women’s human rights and Women, Peace and Security obligations, and then calling for action in security, development, and other policy areas that uphold those commitments. At WILPF, this type of cycle is an example of our “integrated approach” model of work, which creates interlinkages between separate policy spaces to address systemic issues.

**Global and Regional Reviews of the SDGs**

**United Nations High-Level Political Forum on Sustainable Development**

Every year in July, the United Nations hosts the High-Level Political Forum (HLPF) on Sustainable Development to follow-up and review the 2030 Agenda. The HLPF is a critical space for monitoring the implementation and progress towards the SDGs, and brings together stakeholders from around the world to discuss the Sustainable Development Goals.

The HLPF is the main United Nations platform on sustainable development and it has a central role in the follow-up and review of the 2030 Agenda and the SDGs at the global level. The Forum meets annually under the auspices of the Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC), and includes a three-day ministerial segment and ministerial declaration on key priorities. In addition, every four years an SDG Summit takes place during the opening session of the General Assembly for two days in September, with attendance from Heads of State and Government.29

The review process contains Voluntary National Reviews as well as annual thematic reviews of the SDGs including cross-cutting issues.

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29 General Assembly resolution 70/299 provides further guidance on the follow-up and review of the 2030 Agenda and the SDGs. Visit https://sustainabledevelopment.un.org/hlpf for more information about the HLPF.
‘The Process’

Every year, there is an annual progress report on the SDGs prepared by the Secretary-General of the United Nations. Every four years, an independent panel produces the Global Sustainable Development Report (GSDR), and the first one was published in 2019.

Regional forums are also held in each region in the preparation and lead-up to the High-Level Political Forum, often starting mid-winter and going through the spring. The Regional Forums for Sustainable Development, convened annually by the Regional Economic Commissions (e.g., The United Nations Economic Commission for Africa, the United Nations Economic Commission for Europe), are the regional platforms for assessing progress and exchanging knowledge, best practices and policy solutions to support the implementation of the 2030 Agenda, in line with regional priorities and specificities. More information about participation in these forums can be found on each Regional Commission’s website.

Voluntary National Reviews

Part of the follow up and review process for the SDGs are national level reviews, known as Voluntary National Reviews (VNRs), to assess the progress that countries have made towards reaching their SDG targets. The 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development encourages member states to “conduct regular and inclusive reviews of progress at the national and sub-national levels, which are country-led and country-driven.” Reviews by the HLPF are to be voluntary, state-led, undertaken by both developed and developing countries, and involve multiple stakeholders.

Every year, dozens of countries conduct VNRs, where they assess their own progress towards Agenda 2030 and then report on this progress. In 2020, almost 50 countries are undertaking VNRs.

VNRs are intended to involve the participation of multiple stakeholders, including civil society. However, the extent to which governments engage with civil society in the VNR process varies greatly.

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31 Ibid, para. 84.
32 The 2020 VNR countries are Argentina, Armenia, Austria, Bangladesh, Barbados, Benin, Brunei Darussalam, Bulgaria, Burundi, Comoros, Costa Rica, Democratic Republic of the Congo, Ecuador, Estonia, Finland, Gambia, Georgia, Honduras, India, Kenya, Kyrgyz Republic, Liberia, Libya, Malawi, Micronesia, Morocco, Mozambique, Nepal, Niger, Nigeria, North Macedonia, Panama, Papua New Guinea, Peru, Republic of Moldova, Russian Federation, Saint Vincent and the Grenadines, Samoa, Seychelles, Slovenia, Solomon Islands, Syrian Arab Republic, Trinidad and Tobago, Uganda, Ukraine, Uzbekistan, and Zambia.
To get started with the VNR process, civil society activists should:

- Identify if their country is coming up for a VNR in the next year;
- Learn who can be involved in your country’s VNR process by identifying and contacting the government entity that is responsible for the VNR, and contacting other relevant actors;
- Raise awareness with other civil society working on SDGs, peace, and human rights that your country is planning a VNR process;
- Participate in consultations or shadow reporting on the status of progress on the SDGs in your country;
- Review the draft report for key priorities;
- Participate in the reviews;
- Engage in follow-up.

Civil Society Participation in Agenda 2030

The SDGs were developed through years of dialogue between governments, UN agencies, civil society, and other actors. Governments have the primary responsibility to implement the SDGs, but they are supposed to do so in consultation with civil society, the private sector, and others.

Agenda 21, adopted at the Earth Summit, formalised nine sectors of society as the main channels through which broad civic participation would be facilitated in UN activities related to sustainable development. These are officially called "Major Groups", and the number has since increased. The engagement of these groups and others was reaffirmed by the Rio+20 Conference and Agenda 2030. Major Groups and Other Stakeholders played a major role in the development of the Agenda 2030 framework and continue to actively work towards the implementation of the SDGs, as well as participate in its review and follow-up. They attend all official meetings, have access to all official documents, intervene in official meetings, submit documents and make written and oral contributions, make recommendations, and organise side events. They are self-coordinated groups that are independent from the UN Secretariat. There are at least 17 Major Groups, including Women, People with Disabilities, Trade Unions, Indigenous Peoples, NGOs, and Farmers, and through this mechanism is how civil society participation in the HLPF and regional forums is coordinated. Members of each Major Group are nominated to contribute to high-level meetings and discussions on sustainable development, and participate in global, national, regional, and thematic reviews.


34 The establishment of the United Nations High-Level Political Forum on Sustainable Development (HLPF) was mandated in 2012 by the outcome document of the United Nations Conference on Sustainable Development (Rio+20), “The Future We Want”. The format and organisational aspects of the Forum are outlined in General Assembly resolution 67/290.
Among these Major Groups, the Women’s Major Group (WMG) is an open-ended group of organisations that works on women’s rights, sustainable development and the environment. The WMG has the mandate to facilitate women’s human rights and gender equality perspectives into United Nations policy processes on sustainable development. It is a broad international coalition of feminists who are mobilising for peace, education, climate justice, sexual health and reproductive rights, an end to poverty, and more, using the SDGs framework. The WILPF Secretariat and some WILPF Sections have long been active in the Women’s Major Group, and WILPF is a Global Organising Partner of the WMG for 2019 and 2020.

Any WILPF member, WILPF Section, or WILPF Group can sign up to participate in the Women’s Major Group if they want to connect and work with others in the global feminist movement on sustainable development. The WMG has members throughout the world, and you can join an email list that is specific to your region or priority issues. It holds meetings and webinars in multiple languages, including English, French, Spanish, Arabic, and Russian.

The SDGs and Human Rights Bodies

Beyond the SDG space, one way to hold governments accountable to the promises made in the sustainable development agenda is through the human rights frameworks, as identified in the Maastricht Principles³⁵.

The Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW)³⁶ offers systematic review via a committee of independent experts, whilst the Universal Periodic Review (UPR)³⁷ offers intergovernmental peer review. Bringing in SDG targets and indicators to UPR and CEDAW submissions can further strengthen this work and lead to stronger policy coherence.

Example: Arms exports and weapons testing

WILPF Sweden has utilised the SDG commitments of leaving no one behind and promoting policy coherence to strengthen advocacy on restricting arms exports to countries where there is a heightened risk that they will be used to exacerbate GBV and addressing immigration and asylum policy. They have also leveraged other goals, such as SDG 14 on oceans, to address action on demilitarisation and disarmament, including by advocating to repeal Swedish military authorisation of testing weapons in Swedish lakes. The SDGs have provided a useful tool to promote an integrated approach that strengthens women’s human security in their work on peace. WILPF Sweden uses the SDGs to strengthen their existing work, rather than seeing them as a new area of work.

These are just some of the ways that activists can leverage the Sustainable Development Goals for conflict prevention and feminist peace.

To build societies that move away from violence, discrimination, and exploitation, it is critical to build a global architecture for feminist peace and development justice. Building such an architecture requires integrating inclusionary policies and approaches that reflect the interlinkages between human rights and the SDGs. Gender approaches must be incorporated throughout national budgets and SDG implementation plans. Policy coherence must be strengthened to address spill-over effects. Key issues, such as the rights violations, risks, and devastation caused by arms flows, armed violence, environmental destruction, and climate change, must be adequately taken into account in development discussions.

WILPF continues to advocate for a conflict prevention approach to development that promotes gender equality and peace. Governments and the international community should recognise that gender equality must be a primary priority for realisation of SDG 16 on peaceful societies.

These priorities include the following:

- Commit to concrete steps to implement the WPS Agenda as part of voluntary SDG Acceleration Actions at the SDG Summit during the September UN General Assembly;
- Report on Women, Peace and Security Agenda implementation at HLPF as part of action on SDG 16;
- Report on extraterritorial impacts of small arms and light weapons (16.2) on women and girls as part of preventing gender-based (5.4) and all forms of violence (16.1) in line with the Arms Trade Treaty;
- Address CEDAW and UPR recommendations in SDG Voluntary National Reviews to strengthen policy coherence and human rights accountability;
- Stop militarisation of development aid (i.e., militarisation of OECD-DAC ODA rules);
- Strengthen women civil society’s participation including by supporting civil society engagement mechanisms, space for discussion, and core, ongoing, and sustained funding;
- Use post-conflict reconstruction and recovery processes to redress inequalities, including gender inequalities, including through linking reparative measures to wider transitional processes, such as economic reforms, and supporting social protection rather than austerity measures;
- Ensure effective, holistic, and accountable cross-sectoral coordination and consistent, ex-ante and post gender, peace, and environment impact assessments to strengthen women’s participation, protection, and rights in conflict prevention through post-conflict reconstruction.


We need to raise the standards on the implementation of SDGs that include strengthened women’s participation, protection, and rights across the conflict spectrum, and the prevention of conflict through disarmament and peaceful alternatives to security and economic practice.

We hope this brief guide helps you in your future planning and strategic thinking on how to engage with the SDGs space!

For more information please contact: peacewomen@wilpf.org
This guide provides a framework for working on the SDGs from a feminist peace perspective.

It is designed to help activists leverage the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) for conflict prevention and human security, by working with governments and others in civil society.

It shows how activists can advocate for sustainable development using a human rights framework that addresses Member States’ legal obligations, including on disarmament, women’s human rights, and the Women, Peace and Security Agenda.