Consortium on Gender, Security & Human Rights

Feminist Critiques of the Sustainable Development Goals

Analysis and Bibliography

2017

The **Consortium on Gender, Security and Human Rights** created this analysis and bibliography to provide an overview of feminist critiques of the Sustainable Development Goals. Our goal is to provide the policy, activist and scholarly communities with access to the findings of academic research, as well as to curate a selection of the extensive and valuable resources produced by NGOs, policy agencies and international organizations

The Consortium on Gender, Security and Human Rights
Bibliographic Resources Series

http://genderandsecurity.org/projects-resources/bibliographic-resources

Art and Artists' Responses to Gender, Armed Conflict & Human Rights

Climate Change and Gender

Disarmament, Demobilization, and Reintegration in Colombia / Desarme, desmovilización y reintegración en Colombia
Selected English and Spanish Language Sources

Energy Infrastructure and Gender

Environmental Disasters: Gendered Impacts & Responses

Extractive Industries and Gender

Feminist Critiques of the Sustainable Development Goals

Gender Responsive Budgeting and Gendered Public Finance

Gender and Security in Afghanistan, India and Pakistan

Gendered Impacts of Neoliberal Economic Policy

Land Grabbing and Gender

Land Rights and Gender

Los derechos a la tierra, el despojo y el género
Land Rights, Land Grabbing & Gender: Spanish Language Sources

Os direitos à terra e o gênero
Land Rights and Gender: Portuguese Language Sources

LGBTQ Issues in Militaries, Wars, and Post-War Settings

Masculinities & Armed Conflict

Masculinity and Gendered Concepts of Honor, Shame, Humiliation, and Vulnerability (focusing on the Middle East)

Masculinities and Peacekeeping

Private Military & Security Companies: Gendered Perspectives

Roads, Transportation, Mobility, Urban Planning & Gender

Sexual Violence and Armed Conflict

Water Infrastructure Development and Gender

Please check the website for new bibliographic resources posted since this one was published.

This document starts with an analytic summary of feminist responses to the Sustainable Development Goals. All of the references found in that overview can be found in the bibliography that follows.

The bibliography itself is split into two sections. The first section provides a bibliography of the feminist academic literature on the SDGs; the second provides a bibliography of feminist analyses from NGOs and policy institutions. We have also included a few assessments that, although critical, lack a focus on gender issues. Insofar as possible, all entries include citations and abstracts or summaries.

This bibliography was created by the **Consortium on Gender, Security and Human Rights**, as part of the **Feminist Roadmap for Sustainable Peace (FRSP) project**. The FRSP starts with the perception that postwar transitions and the sustainability of peace itself are often undermined by transnational political economic actors and processes. Its goal is to provide: forward-looking expert knowledge of those processes; analyses of their impacts on gender relations and other structural inequalities underlying armed conflicts; and recommendations for how to engage and modify those processes to be more supportive of the societal transformations critical to building gender-equitable, sustainable peace. Topics addressed in the FRSP include, *inter alia*: the economic recovery policy prescriptions of international financial institutions; extractives; land rights, large scale land acquisition and land grabbing; infrastructure reconstruction; and climate disruption.

Consortium intern Abigail Millard undertook the primary research for this bibliography, with additional contributions from Sarah Chin and Jessica Tueller, as well as Consortium staff members. If you are familiar with resources that you think should be included in the next draft of this bibliography and/or in the Consortium's Research Hub, please send us the citation, and, if possible, the pdf. Resources can be submitted through our website at: http://genderandsecurity.org/projects-resources/bibliographic-resources.

An Overview of Feminist Critiques of the SDGs

Introduction:

In September 2015, the United Nations released a set of Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs). Focusing on the areas of climate, gender, health, urbanization, and the economy, the 17 goals outline a targeted agenda for countries to work towards a more sustainable planet (United Nations). The goals were adopted by all 193 United Nations member states.

The SDGs were created with significant input and engagement from several civil society groups from around the world. The Women's Major Group (WMG), a network of feminist organizations promoting women's rights and gender equality, provided many civil society groups a platform for participating in this process. WMG-affiliate organizations represented both regional and thematic areas of focus. They included the Women Environmental Programme (WEP), Forum of Women's NGOs of Kyrgyzstan (FKW), Asia Pacific Forum on Women, Law and Development (APWLD), International Women's Health Coalition (IWHC), Women's Environment & Development Organization (WEDO), among many others (Gabizon 2016, 104). Indeed, the WMG and its affiliates have been actively involved throughout, from the moment stock-taking and negotiations began among key stakeholders in 2013 to the release of the zero-draft in 2014, through today (Gabizon 2016, 105). Moreover, the WMG and its affiliates have been involved in the SDG Open Working Group as well as the Intergovernmental Committee of Experts on Sustainable Development Financing (Abelenda 2014, 121).

Since their genesis, there have been a variety of responses to the SDGs, both positive and negative. What follows is a brief description and analysis of the main arguments found in these responses, with a particular emphasis on feminist reactions to the goals.

The Positives:

Many feminist analyses of the SDGs begin with the acknowledgement that they are a marked improvement over their predecessors, the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs), which were established in 2000. Ashwani Saith, former advisor to the UN, acknowledges that the MDGs presented a "restricted and watered-down set of targets," which failed to incorporate previous UN mandates for women's rights, including sexual and reproductive rights (Carant, 2016, 24). Thus, the positive ways in which the SDGs are a departure from the MDGs are as follows:

1. Not only do the SDGs include **a stand-alone goal addressing gender and women's rights** (Goal 5), but they include mention of gender in several of the other goals as well, notably in Goals 4 and 8 (Abelenda 2014, 122). Feminist literature previously contended that the "MDGs [were] independent silos" that needed "to centralise on women's equality" (Briant Carant 2017, 26). The SDGs thus reveal an attempt on behalf of the UN to recognize the overarching, cross-cutting nature of gender and the gendered impacts of environmental, social, and economic concerns.

2. The process by which the SDGs were produced was markedly **more inclusive of civil society groups**, in comparison to the "behind close-doors" and top-down approach of the

MDG creation process (Abelenda 2014 121; Esquivel 2016, 10). As noted above, the multi-stakeholder process engaged multiple women's rights groups through the WMG and its affiliates (Gabizon 2016). Moreover, these groups' input was directly incorporated into the goals themselves. A notable example is the broad scope of the targets under Goal 5, which calls for the elimination of all forms of violence and discrimination against women in several areas, including in marriage, the workforce, the economy, and others (Abelenda 2014, 122).

3. The SDGs **set goals for all countries**, and allow for adaptation on a national/local context, as opposed to the MDGs, which specifically targeted poor and low-income countries without acknowledging their different starting points and national contexts (Fukada-Parr 2016, 50). More than a North-South aid agenda, the SDGs are seen as a universal sustainable development agenda – one that does not apply exclusively to low and middle-income countries (WILPF 2017, 2).

4. Another important addition is the **stand-alone goal dedicated to eliminating inequality between the Global North and South, as well as recognizing and dismantling hierarchies within countries themselves.** This goal is an important step forward because it demonstrates a recognition of the root causes of poverty and other far-reaching, systemic issues, such as gender inequality, racism, and economic disparities. Many feminist analysts suggest this goal indicates a recognition of the intersection between gender inequality and other forms of inequality (Abelenda 2014, 122; Stuart and Woodroffe 2016, 73).

5. The SDGs address **outcomes and implementation** much more extensively than the MDGs did. There is an entire stand-alone goal dedicated to means for implementation, in addition to mentions in many of the other goals (Kabeer 2015).

The Negatives:

While feminist analysts have praised the ways in which the SDGs have improved upon the MDGs, they have also been quite critical on several issues. These critiques can be broken down into four key categories: 1) feminist critiques related to larger, structural issues and failures to address root causes; 2) critiques of issues on which the goals are silent or weak; 3) specific critiques of Goal 5; and 4) concerns surrounding implementation.

1. **Feminist criticisms related to larger, structural issues and failures to address root causes:**

The most prevalent critiques by feminists concern: A) the SDGs' neglect of (and failure to take a transformational approach to) economic and social structures; B) the SDGs' promotion of traditional economic models and prioritization of growth over other possible models; and C) the SDGs' overall failure to address structural power relations.

A. The SDGs **do not identify larger issues within economic and social structures**, nor the obstacles to women and girls embedded in those structures. Indeed, there are inequalities entrenched in the traditional models for development and economics, but the SDGs do not question these models. Instead, they continue to operate within the current model, arguably furthering existing inequalities:

"[The SDGs] fail to take into account the structural and underlying causes and social norms that influence and perpetuate gender inequality, which therefore makes it difficult to see how the isolated initiatives it proposes can succeed in delivering a truly gender-transformative agenda that is essential in preventing that half of humanity does not continue to be held back" (Esquivel 2016).

"The SDGs do not tackle the question of what development is, and how it can be best achieved: that is, systemic issues" (Koehler 2016, 54).

 "[The goals do not] …provide a transformational approach to address growing inequalities within and between countries and between women and men, as well as the root causes of poverty, including the growing feminization and intergenerational transfer of poverty; [they do not] address the current macroeconomic model which perpetuates poverty and inequality" (Center for Women's Global Leadership 2017, 1).

"…Successful implementation of the SDGs would not only mean that poverty and marginalization are reduced, ecological sustainability is enhanced, and the gap between the powerful and less powerful is minimized. Rather, it also means recognizing a powerful ends-means connection between the goals and the ways in which they are integrated into global society. This requires conceptual coherence between the SDGs themselves and how they are applied. Thus, the methods for implementation would need to embrace the principles of inclusive development in themselves to overcome unequal power relations in order to genuinely address the goals." (Gupta and Vegelin 2016, 445).

B. Implicit in the SDGs is the idea that economic growth and gender equality are directly linked, taking for granted the current **growth-centric, mainstream development** model.

"There is no fundamental challenge in the SDGs to the economic model of development pursued over the past forty years, which has focused on resource-intensive economic growth as a pre-condition for progressive (redistributive) policies. Authors point out that the 2030 Agenda does not present a strategy for structural reform to tackle poverty and inequality, nor does it challenge existing trade, tax or financial architectures. In that sense, the Agenda thus fails to provide the right 'enabling environment', as well as the necessary financing, for the realization of women's rights" (Esquivel and Sweetman 2016, 6).

"Approaches used in gender mainstreaming to assess the differential effects of a policy on women and men can sometimes legitimize women's subordinate roles. Rather than treating the promotion of human rights and women's well-being as ends in themselves, their labor and productivity potential are viewed mainly as means to further increase economic growth." (Floro and Willoughby 2016, 16-7).

"The 2030 Agenda seems to take for granted some key elements of the currently dominant economic agenda, centered on continued growth, trade liberalization, and 'partnerships' with the private sector. Past experience suggests that more of the same is unlikely to provide an enabling environment for gender equality and the realization of women's economic and social rights. The hard won gains and vision of the SDGs will be difficult to realize unless the dominant economic model is revised" (Razavi 2016, 27).

"…It is critical to recognize and understand how foundational economic paradigms and problem-solution frames inscribed within these [SDG] goals specifically endorse methods of economic development and poverty abatement" (Carant 2017, 17).

C. Relatedly, the SDGs do not appropriately acknowledge, or even attempt to understand, **structural power relations**. The goal focused on inequality – Goal 5 – is a step in the right direction; nonetheless, it provides an inadequate framework for recognizing hierarchies of gender, class, region, or level of development.

"[The SDG agenda] does not attempt to transform power relations between the North and the South, between the rich and the poor, and between men and women. Agenda 2030 aims at 'transforming our world', but intends to get there without substantially opposing the powers that be. Power relations are the "big elephant in the room of Agenda 2030" (Esquivel 2016, 11).

"A search on the word 'power' in the Agenda 2030 document gives one strike only: 'at a time of immense challenges to sustainable development … There are enormous disparities of opportunity, wealth and power' (para. 14). This diagnosis understands power as a given, not as social relations at both the macro and micro level that 'leverage specific actors, policies and practices and ultimately privilege a particular rationality in the governance of social order' over others" (Esquivel 2016, 12).

"Although the UN has designed methods with the purported intention of gathering marginalized voices, the MDGs and SDGs should solely be viewed as persuasive rhetoric…the goals remain steeped in power-laden hegemonic frameworks, serving only as an opportunistic medium through which power interests can assert, maintain and defend their position and preferred economic modalities…" (Carant 2015, 34).

"We know that there is a need to move towards an approach that recognizes women's and girls' role as agents of change, and that understands the unequal power relations between women and men that create structural barriers which perpetuate gender inequality. This approach recognizes that women and girls are not, in fact, intrinsically 'vulnerable'; rather, they are disadvantaged by unequal gender power relations, and that a focus only on the immediate problems of individual women and girls will fail if these power relations are not transformed." (Stuart and Woodroffe 2016, 76).

2) Criticisms of issues on which the goals are silent or weak:

Four of the most commonly critiqued instances of silence or weak language in the goals are:

A. **Masculinities and nonconforming gender and sexual expression** – While attempts are made to engage with and understand the impacts of various issues on women, no attention is given to their impact on men. Additionally, any discussion around gender fails to touch on sexual orientation and to recognize LGBTQ+ members of society (Denney 2015, 5).

B. **Collective action** – Though the content of Goal 5 reflects the input of civil society groups, there is no mention of collective action in the goals, particularly among women. According to some, earlier drafts of the goals included this point, but political contention resulted in it being sacrificed in favor of other, imperative details related to women's rights (Goetz 2016, 132).

C. **Women, Peace and Security issues** – Members of the Women, Peace, and Security community have expressed criticism that this particular agenda was not integrated well into the goals. Goal 16 comes the closest, dedicated to "Peace, Justice, and Strong Institutions," but it still falls short, given that it does not include gender in any of its targets. Language recognizing the relationship between women and conflict is severely lacking (International Women's Development Agency 2016, 1-4).

D. **Human rights language** – According to many feminist critics, the lack of strong human rights language is one of the most glaring issues with the SDGs (Esquivel 2016, 18). Indeed, "the new agenda does not aim high enough in recognizing, protecting, and fulfilling human rights, taking into consideration their universality, indivisibility, and interdependence" (Pogge 2015, 4).

3) Specific critiques of SDG Goal 5:

While many feminist critiques address the SDGs as a whole, some focus on individual goals and their targets. Unsurprisingly, Goal 5 on the empowerment of women and girls is the most frequently addressed in these critiques. Like the rest of the goals, Goal 5 has many positive aspects. Most critics see it as stronger than the other goals in recognizing structural inequalities and the linkage between gender and other issue areas; this is seen as a clear reflection of the participation of women's groups in its formulation.

"Goal 5 is formulated on a strong gender analysis which understands gender inequality to possess economic, political and social aspects which are interconnected. The scope of the concerns addressed by Goal 5 and its targets is both qualitatively and quantitatively improved as compared to the [M]DGs" (Esquivel and Sweetman 2016, 5).

Nevertheless, criticisms of Goal 5 center on two key concepts: Goal 5's notion of A) political participation and B) economic empowerment.

A. **Regarding political participation:** There are two issues with the way Goal 5 encourages women's political participation. The first is that "political empowerment is equated with 'sitting women at the table,'" and an assumption that greater political presence of women will automatically benefit all women. However, a greater number of women in office does not necessarily equate to substantive representation. Furthermore, "women's full and effective participation and leadership is not only dependent on women's own effort and interest in coming to the national and international negotiating tables and having equal opportunities to men to participate…but also on access to the resources that act as preconditions for participation (money, time, confidence, and education among them), and on the existence of concrete mechanisms for promoting women's participation" (Esquivel 2016, 15). Goal 5 provides a recommendation to "adopt and strengthen sound policies and enforceable legislation for the promotion of gender equality," but it is vague when it comes to tangible mechanisms for eliminating the barriers that keep women from political participation (Esquivel 2016, 15).

B. **Regarding economic empowerment:** The economic empowerment target in Goal 5 is problematic because it inserts women into the traditional economic model which is at the root of many gender-based economic inequalities. Furthermore, this economic empowerment target mistakenly "equates gender equality as equality of [economic] opportunity between women and men" (Esquivel 2016, 16). This idea neglects "women's over-representation among informal workers, pervasive gender wage gaps, and occupational segregation" (Esquivel 2016, 16). Furthermore, while Goal 5 attempts to address women's unpaid care work, it doesn't fully incorporate that consideration into all the targets.

> "While the neoliberal project privileges capital and the 'productive' economy, household and informal spaces of social reproduction are rendered invisible. This despite the fact that it is in these latter spaces where a growing range of activities that sustain human life are carried out, essentially absorbing the costs of reproducing labouring bodies for capital. This work is largely (although not exclusively) the invisible work of women and girls" (O'Manique and Fourie, 2016, 124).

Finally, there has been significant discussion surrounding the language choice of the word "empowerment." Many feminist analysts take issue with the way the word "empowerment" is used, as well as the broader context under which it is used in

development discourse. Denney (2015) critiques the female empowerment agenda and the prioritization of economic empowerment in the SDGs, chiefly because:

> "Having educational and economic goals at the center of the female empowerment agenda conflates empowerment with a narrow set of economic returns that do not challenge the structural problems that women face. Moreover, it puts empowerment second to promoting a successful capitalist economic agenda." (Denney 2015, 1)

In addition, in an article summarizing the primary debates on women's empowerment, Chopra and Müller (2016) critically contrast the way "empowerment" is used in the SDGs with the term's emancipatory origins:

> "…the focus on economic growth in the SDGs rather than redistribution of resources, and the inability to recognise reproductive and sexual health and rights in their entirety, is problematic for the holistic realisation of the empowerment agenda" (Chopra and Müller 2016, 8).

For additional target-by-target critiques of Goal 5, UN Women has done a thorough analysis in their "2017 HLPF Thematic review of SDG 5."

4) Concerns surrounding implementation:

Finally, nearly all critiques of the SDGs highlight concerns about the degree to which they will be implemented. Most consider the inclusion of Goal 17, which addresses implementation, partnership, and accountability, to be a step forward from the MDGs, which contained meager mechanisms compared to these. However, there is concern about the lack of concrete methodology for implementing the rest of the individual goals.

A. First, there is skepticism of the ambitious, and sometimes abstract language used in the goals. Many criticize them for their focus solely on outcomes, as opposed to articulating how they can be operationalized (Esquivel 2016). Moreover, some contend that the implementation processes that have been outlined by the SDGs risk overlooking "ecological and relational inclusiveness" (Gupta and Vegelin 2016, 433).

B. Secondly, there is concern that the SDGs will become watered down in their implementation, as a result of individual countries' unique political pressures and contexts. "There is a risk that the most transformative goals and targets would be neglected in implementation through selectivity, simplification, and national adaptation. With 17 goals and 169 targets, which handful will receive policy attention, and mobilize effort and resources" (Fukuda-Parr 2016, 50).

C. Beyond these concerns, many take issue with the goal setting approach altogether, arguing that it is an ineffective way to create an international agenda.

> "The goals and targets *give the impression that progress is possible in all fronts –* without tensions or inconsistencies between targets – and that they are measurable through quantitative indicators in most cases…The underlying assumption behind the… template is that means of implementation (policies) are immune to power imbalances (politics)" (Esquivel 2016, 18).

Recent Developments—The High Level Political Forum:

Politicians, bureaucrats, and organizations are constantly engaging with Agenda 2030 and the SDGs; a few recent developments are worthy of note. On July 10-19, 2017, the UN sponsored the High Level Political Forum (HLPF) on Sustainable Development in New York. The HLPF serves as a forum for political and civil society leaders from member countries to discuss the implementation and progress of the SDGs. It is "meant to be a peer-learning space to share experiences, successes, challenges and lessons learned to accelerate the implementation of the 2030 Agenda" (WMG 2016, 2). Each year's HLPF is dedicated to a specific theme and to reviewing a certain number of goals. The theme of the 2017 HLPF was "Eradicating poverty and promoting prosperity in a changing world." Over the course of the eight-day event, seven of the SDGs were reviewed, Goals 1, 2, 3, 5, 9, 14, and 17. Forty-three countries also were subject to Voluntary National Review (VNR), regarding their progress in implementing the SDGs.

The feedback from the VNRs thus far demonstrates an unfortunately shallow engagement with Goal 5: "Reporting on SDG 5 was primarily focused on efforts made by Member States to empower women in all spheres of the society and address gender-based violence. In the meantime, only 10 states (22%) specifically addressed gender equality as a cross-cutting issue, only 5 states (11%) recognized their extra-territorial obligations for realizing SDG 5, and only 3 (7%) developed some monitoring and evaluation mechanisms and a clear system of measuring the SDG 5 progress" (WILPF 2017, 2).

The Women's Major Group (WMG) and over 2,000 individual stakeholder representatives were present at the HLPF and participated in conversation about how to better improve the forum's processes, in addition to directly contributing to the forum and producing several outcome documents. The WMG produced a position paper on the HLPF, which included five "essential areas for action," as well as a set of ten key priorities for going forward in the SDG process. In the position paper, the WMG once again emphasized that addressing systemic inequality and structural barriers is essential to moving forward.

> "Tackling systemic barriers and structural inequalities means recognizing and responding to the intertwined systemic issues of neo-liberalist capitalism, fundamentalisms, militarism, racism and patriarchy as systemic drivers of gender and other forms of inequality. It is imperative to take a democratization and rights-based approach with a clear and justice-focused definition of prosperity that fully recognizes concepts such as buen vivir, ecological sustainability and sufficiency and climate justice" (WMG 2017, 5).

Finally, in WMG Position Paper 10, the WMG outlined five areas of critique and recommendations for further action, post-HLPF:

1. **Women's Human Rights** - Take a democratization and human rights-based approach to SDGs implementation
2. **Meaningful Participation** - Ensure more than token representation of women and civil society
3. **Civil Society Space** - Maintain and enhance the space, building strength from diversity
4. **Finance** - Directly resource women's rights groups
5. **Accountability** - All actors take responsibility for Agenda 2030 (WMG 2017, 10).

Conclusion:

While the SDGs represent a significant improvement over the MDGs, they suffer from significant shortcomings in the eyes of many feminist analysts. These weaknesses emerge because of their failure to address the larger structural issues that underlie the current economic and political systems and perpetuate inequality in all forms.

> "Agenda 2030 has an ambivalent nature from a feminist standpoint. To overcome and transcend this, and make the SDGs work for women, it will be necessary to bridge the fissures between and among advocates of economic justice and gender justice, forging stronger and broader alliances and common agendas, including for defending the gains enshrined in Goal 5, in particular at the national level" (Esquivel 2016, 19).

> "The SDG agenda… incorporates the two-track strategy that feminists fought hard for: a stand-alone goal on gender equality, women's empowerment and women's rights. But it is a watered-down version of feminist demands since the rights perspective is largely missing. The…bitter aspect of the SDGs is the unwavering commitment to economic growth and the private sector to generate the resources necessary to translate these goals into concrete outcomes, rather than seeking redistribution of gross global and national inequalities in wealth and income" (Kabeer 2015).

While the degree of their implementation and effects of that implementation are still to be seen, what is certain is that the efforts of women's rights NGOs and feminist advocates to fully realize the best of the SDGs' promise will persist.

I. Academic Sources:

Abelenda, Ana Ines. 2014. "A Feminist Perspective on the Post-2015 Development Agenda." *The Equal Rights Review* 13: 117–28.

Abstract:
World leaders and diverse development actors are currently embroiled in a series of negotiations around a new global development agenda to follow the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) once they expire in 2015. The Association for Women's Rights in Development (AWID) has been heavily involved in seeking to shape the new agenda to ensure that it adequately addresses human rights, including women's rights and gender equality. The negotiation process has been complex, frustrating at times for civil society and women's rights advocates, yet a historical opportunity to re-shape global understandings of development in the struggle towards social, economic, ecological and gender justice. As the world navigates a context of multiple intersecting global crises coupled with increasing inequality and militarism, it becomes clear that business as usual is not an option. A paradigm shift is needed. This position paper presents a feminist analysis to help unpack what is at stake for people and the planet by pushing the envelope on the kind of world we want to live in. This approach is one which both AWID and the author believe is key to systemic change. A mere look at the 'shopping list' of goals and targets currently on the negotiating table is not enough. Feminist and progressive social movements must not bypass the opportunity to challenge the systemic root causes in the current economic system that continue to undermine women's autonomy and the achievement of human rights for all. *(Abstract from original source)*

Bidegain Ponte, Nicole, and Corina Rodríguez Enríquez. 2016. "Agenda 2030: A Bold Enough Framework towards Sustainable, Gender-Just Development?" *Gender & Development* 24 (1): 83–98.

Abstract:
This article, from two members of Development Alternatives with Women for a New Era (DAWN), aims to provide a perspective from a long-standing south-based network in the global women's movement on the Sustainable Development framework for the next decades. It starts by highlighting some of the key remaining challenges for the advancement of women's human rights and gender equality, and then assesses the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development, and the outcome of the third International Conference on Financing for Development (the Addis Ababa Action Agenda) from a feminist perspective. It pays particular attention to three dimensions: economic and financial volatility, the role of the private sector, and the domestic resource mobilization. Does the 2030 Agenda and its financing provide a foundation to enable us to tackle the structural obstacles that remain, advancing gender equality and women's human rights for the next decades? *(Abstract from original source)*
Keywords: 2030 Agenda; financing for development; women's human rights; financial volatility; private sector; domestic resource mobilization

Carant, Jane Briant. 2017. "Unheard Voices: A Critical Discourse Analysis of the Millennium Development Goals' Evolution into the Sustainable Development Goals." *Third World Quarterly* 38 (1): 16–41.

Abstract:
The United Nations' 2001 Millennium Development Goals and 2015 Sustainable Development Goals are of major importance for worldwide development. This article explores the construction of poverty and development within and across these documents, specifically focusing on the influence of dominant economic discourses – Keynesianism and neoliberalism – in the development paradigm. It assesses the failures of the Millennium Development Goals, as articulated by oppositional liberal feminists and World Social Forum critics, who embody competing values, representations and problem-solution frames that challenge and resist the dominant economic discourses. Finally, it evaluates responsiveness of the UN in the constitution of the Sustainable Development Goals. *(Abstract from original source)*
Keywords: Millennium Development Goals; Sustainable Development Goals; World Social Forum; liberal feminism; neoliberalism; Keynesianism

Chopra, Deepta, and Catherine Müller. 2016. "Introduction: Connecting Perspectives on Women's Empowerment." *IDS Bulletin* 47 (1A): 1–10.

Abstract:
With the formulation of the Sustainable Development Goal (SDG) on gender equality and women's empowerment, debates around empowerment of women find themselves at a critical juncture of donor preferences, programmatic and movement activity and the lived experiences of women. This introductory article summarises some of the primary debates surrounding women's empowerment across three lines: economic empowerment and its links with poverty reduction – focusing on the intersections between paid work and unpaid care work; social empowerment in terms of changes in gender norms and values; and political empowerment and mobilisation. The interconnectedness of these three domains of empowerment is important to bear in mind while looking ahead – especially with high levels of intersecting inequalities and power structures that prevent the realisation of empowerment. We conclude that a process of collective notion of empowerment that focuses on addressing structural inequality and accords primacy to women's own agency, would go a long way towards expanding women's opportunities and choices – in other words, realising women's empowerment in a meaningful way.

Denney, J. Michael. 2015. "Gender and the Sustainable Development Goals: Moving Beyond Women as a 'Quick Fix' for Development." Governance and Sustainability Issue Brief Series, Brief 11, Center for Governance and Sustainability, University of Massachusetts Boston.

No abstract available.

Summary:
In September 2015, the international community will sign on to a set of Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs), which will replace the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs). The SDGs are applicable to all states, developing and developed alike, and are the result of a political process led by an Open Working Group comprising 70 member states in consultation with other stakeholders. This brief concerns MDG 3, Promote Gender Equality and Empower Women, and the corresponding proposed SDG 5, Achieve Gender Equality and Empower All Women and Girls. All information about SDG 5 comes from the Open Working Group Proposal for Sustainable Development Goals.

In the first part, the author presents an analytical framework for evaluating whether the goals for female empowerment and gender equality attain the desired result. Next, the framework is applied to the targets for the proposed SDG 5. Finally, the author argues that the international community should embrace goals, targets, and indicators that advance gender equality for the sake of equality itself, rather than as a quick fix for economic underdevelopment. *(Summary from original source)*

Esquivel, Valeria. 2016. "Power and the Sustainable Development Goals: A Feminist Analysis." *Gender & Development* 24 (1): 9–23.

Abstract:
This article offers a power analysis of the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) process and outcomes, from a feminist perspective. Many see, in the SDGs, several opportunities for progress on gender equality and women's rights, if not for transformation. Yet there are many reasons for skepticism, as the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development's vision is not always met with strong enough language, clear policies or funding provisions. Realizing the 'transformative potential' of the Agenda in the decade and a half to come will be far from a technocratic exercise – and this is particularly true for the full realization of women's rights. A first step is to consider how structural power relations are challenged or reinforced in the Agenda and the SDGs, and in plans for their implementation and resourcing. *(Abstract from original source)*
Keywords: power; empowerment; justice; gender; growth; human rights

Esquivel, Valeria, and Caroline Sweetman. 2016. "Gender and the Sustainable Development Goals." *Gender & Development* 24 (1): 1–8.

No abstract available.

Summary:
"In this issue of *Gender & Development*, a range of prominent women's rights activists and advocates – many of whom have been directly involved in the creation of Agenda 2030 and the SDGs – offer their 'first-cut' analysis of them. Authors are differently positioned in this shared struggle for gender equality and women's rights. They are from

women's organisations, research think-tanks, academia, and international agencies, including both the UN and international NGOs. They focus on the outcomes of the negotiation process, and the potential these offer to feminists working inside and outside official 'development' circles to progress gender equality and women's rights.

"Because this *is* a 'first-cut' analysis, these articles are notable for being tentative evaluations of the SDGs. This is reflected in the fact that the majority of titles are posed as questions for the future. Authors are still assessing the SDGs' potential, while cautiously embracing them. The value of the agreement on goals and targets, including the dedicated 'gender goal', Goal 5, will be revealed in their implementation. At the time we go to press in January 2016, the process of agreeing indicators is still ongoing" (Esquivel and Sweetman 2016, 1).

Floro, Maria Sagrario, and John Willoughby. 2016. "Feminist Economics and the Analysis of the Global Economy: The Challenge That Awaits Us." *The Fletcher Forum of World Affairs* **40 (2): 15–27.**

No abstract available.

Summary:
"Over the past half-century, feminist economists have transformed our understanding of how the world economy functions. They have critiqued the gender-blindness of traditional economic models and challenged analytic descriptions of development and globalization that ignore much of women's economic activity. Feminist economists have developed analytical frameworks for examining gender relations that permeate political, social, and economic institutions including markets, governments, households, and firms. They have produced new methodologies that incorporate women's experiences in economic models, statistics, and the evaluation of economic phenomena. Their research has pushed the boundaries of knowledge by challenging conventional paradigms and concepts, ideas and categories that were engrained and therefore rarely scrutinized.

"The result has been the emergence of a new consensus. Well-documented studies have shown that the erosion of systems of patriarchy not only empowers women economically, but also has demonstrably positive impacts on alleviating poverty and promoting human development. These changes in our understanding of the development process have produced a new politics as well as new forms of economic development policy. Key international institutions, donor agencies, and governments have adopted gender-sensitive policies in their development programs as part of 'gender mainstreaming,' or the process of institutionalizing gender-sensitive analysis and policy in governments and organizations. Advocates have also used feminist knowledge of development to strengthen women's groups raising gender issues in broader social and political movements. Knowledge of feminism allows for greater clarity of the vision of social change and has served as a guide for consciousness-raising, thus enabling feminist research to be transformative at the grassroots level. This dynamic interaction between feminist thinking and feminist activism has revealed tensions regarding the intersections

of knowledge, power, and development outcomes. It has led to debates among feminist economists in terms of what needs to be done and how best to accomplish gender equality. These tensions and debates are necessary and vital in pushing the boundaries of knowledge and in deepening our understanding of development.

"Despite this headway, several important challenges remain. The progress we can document has been halting and uneven. Moreover, in certain key areas of economic policy-making, gender-sensitive economic policy is absent, and approaches used in gender mainstreaming to assess the differential effects of a policy on women and men can sometimes legitimize women's subordinate roles. Rather than treating the promotion of human rights and women's well-being as ends in themselves, their labor and productivity potential are viewed mainly as means to further increase economic growth. The important focus on long-run transformation of gender relations toward equality in the context of regional, national, and global economic processes is, more often than not, neglected, particularly when countries face economic crises. The very real setbacks women experience as a result of the gender-blind management of the economy during booms and downturns have long-term consequences. In this time of increasing economic disruptions, it will be important to systematically integrate the promotion of gender equality in the implementation of appropriate economic stabilization policies.

"First, we explore the link between dismantling systems of male dominance and our understanding of the development process, with a particular focus on what is required to achieve the recently adopted Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs). We then turn to interventions from key international organizations in order to illustrate the impact that feminist economics has had on development policymaking. We then argue that, despite some advancements, several missing elements in the development of economic policy still allow unequal gender relations to persist or create new forms of gender inequalities. We conclude with a discussion of the challenges that we still face in developing inclusive and sustainable economic policy that promotes equality and expanded cooperation to address urgent global issues" (Floro and Willoughby 2016, 15–7).

Freistein, Katja, and Bettina Mahlert. 2016. "The Potential for Tackling Inequality in the Sustainable Development Goals." *Third World Quarterly* 37 (12): 2139–55.

Abstract:
The recently passed Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) encompass a variety of explicit and implicit goals that address inequality. Although formulations remain vague and targets abstract, the SDGs go much further than previous development goals in addressing inequality as a central issue. Against the background of insights from inequality research, the article assesses their potential to become discursive resources for fundamental reforms of established development ideas. *(Abstract from original source)*
Keywords: development; global inequality; international political sociology; Sustainable Development Goals; world society

Fukuda-Parr, Sakiko. 2016. "From the Millennium Development Goals to the Sustainable Development Goals: Shifts in Purpose, Concept, and Politics of Global Goal Setting for Development." *Gender & Development* **24 (1): 43–52.**

Abstract:
The Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) differ from the MDGs in purpose, concept, and politics. This article focuses on the gender agenda in the SDGs as a reflection on the shifts from the MDGs to the SDGs. It argues that the SDGs address several of the key shortcomings of the MDGs and incorporate a broader and more transformative agenda that more adequately reflects the complex challenges of the 21st century, and the need for structural reforms in the global economy. The SDGs also reverse the MDG approach to global goal setting and the misplaced belief in the virtues of simplicity, concreteness, and quantification. While the SDGs promise the potential for a more transformative agenda, implementation will depend on continued advocacy on each of the targets to hold authorities to account. *(Abstract from original source)*
Keywords: global goals; MDGs; SDGs; gender in international development agendas

Gabizon, Sascha. 2016. "Women's Movements' Engagement in the SDGs: Lessons Learned from the Women's Major Group." *Gender & Development* **24 (1): 99–110.**

Abstract:
The Women's Major Group's role is to assure effective public participation of women's non-government groups in the United Nations (UN) policy processes on Sustainable Development, the post-2015 development agenda, and environmental matters. It works alongside eight other 'Major Groups' representing different elements of civil society. This article focuses on the role of the Women's Major Group in the negotiations of the UN 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development, which enabled women's rights and feminist organisations to participate in the process. The article assesses the ways in which this model of civil society participation in a UN process offers a route for feminist activism and women's movements to influence international development agendas and policy processes effectively. The next challenge is to ensure that women's rights organisations will participate in the planning of national implementation processes and adjusting national indicators to reflect the gender dimension in each of the goals. *(Abstract from original source)*
Keywords: gender equality; women's rights; 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development; SDGs; policy advocacy

Goetz, Anne Marie, and Rob Jenkins. 2016. "Gender, Security, and Governance: The Case of Sustainable Development Goal 16." *Gender & Development* **24 (1): 127–37.**

Abstract:
The 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development includes among its 17 key objectives the goal of creating peaceful societies based on inclusive and effective governance. However, none of the targets included under this 'peace and governance' goal (Goal 16) call for

specific measures to ensure women's equal participation in governance institutions and peace processes. This article identifies some of the reasons why gender-specific targets were not included, despite considerable advocacy by United Nations and civil society actors. These include: the relatively strong governance orientation of the gender equality goal (Goal 5), the political tensions surrounding Goal 16 prior to its adoption, the compression necessitated by the merging of what had originally been two separate goals (on peace and governance, respectively), and the 2030 Agenda's tendency to focus on ends rather than means. Despite the lack of gender-specific targets, we argue that if sex-disaggregated indicators are employed to measure progress in achieving the targets under Goal 16, gender-equality advocates will have a strong basis for demanding that efforts to improve governance address the systematic constraints and biases that confront women's ability to take part in public decision-making, receive justice, and contribute to the maintenance of peace. *(Abstract from original source)*
Keywords: governance; peace; conflict; SDG 16; women's collective action

Gupta, Joyeeta, and Courtney Vegelin. 2016. "Sustainable Development Goals and Inclusive Development." *International Environmental Agreements: Politics, Law and Economics* 16 (3): 433–48.

Abstract:
Achieving sustainable development has been hampered by trade-offs in favour of economic growth over social well-being and ecological viability, which may also affect the sustainable development goals (SDGs) adopted by the member states of the United Nations. In contrast, the concept of inclusive development emphasizes the social, ecological and political dimensions of development. In this context, this paper addresses the question: What does inclusive development mean and to what extent is it taken into account in the framing of the SDGs? It presents inclusive development as having three key dimensions (social, ecological, and relational inclusiveness) with five principles each. This is applied to the 17 SDGs and their targets. The paper concludes that while the text on the SDGs fares quite well on social inclusiveness, it fares less well in respect to ecological and relational inclusiveness. This implies that there is a risk that implementation processes also focus more on social inclusiveness rather than on ecological and relational inclusiveness. Moreover, in order to de facto achieve social inclusiveness in the Anthropocene, it is critical that the latter two are given equal weight in the actual implementation process. *(Abstract from original source)*
Keywords: Sustainable Development Goals; inclusive development; anthropocene; growth

International Council for Science, and International Social Science Council. 2015. *Review of Targets for the Sustainable Development Goals: The Science Perspective*. Paris, France: International Council for Science (ICSU).

No abstract available.

Summary:
The SDGs offer a 'major improvement' over their predecessors, the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs). However, this report by the International Council for Science (ICSU) and the International Social Science Council (ISSC) finds that of the 169 targets beneath the 17 draft goals, just 29% are well defined and based on the latest scientific evidence, while 54% need more work and 17% are weak or non-essential.

The assessment of the targets – which are intended to operationalize the 17 goals set to be approved by governments later in 2015 – is the first of its kind to be carried out by the scientific community, and represents the work of over 40 leading researchers covering a range of fields across the natural and social sciences.

However, the report finds the targets suffer from a lack of integration, some repetition and rely too much on vague, qualitative language rather than hard, measurable, time-bound, quantitative targets.

Authors are also concerned the goals are presented in 'silos.' The goals address challenges such as climate, food security and health in isolation from one another. Without interlinking there is a danger of conflict between different goals, most notably trade-offs between overcoming poverty and moving towards sustainability. Action to meet one target could have unintended consequences on others if they are pursued separately.

Finally, the report highlights the need for an 'end-goal' to provide a big picture vision for the SDGs. 'The "ultimate end" of the SDGs in combination is not clear, nor is how the proposed goals and targets would contribute to achieve that ultimate end,' write the authors. They recommend that this meta-goal be 'a prosperous, high quality of life that is equitably shared and sustained.' *(Summary from the International Council for Science)*

Koehler, Gabriele. 2016. "Tapping the Sustainable Development Goals for Progressive Gender Equity and Equality Policy?" *Gender & Development* **24 (1): 53–68.**

Abstract:
This article examines the new agenda for sustainable development adopted by the United Nations, to see if it contains policies for gender equity and equality as well as for sustainable development in tune with planetary boundaries. It finds that the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) are not ambitious and lack a systematic policy approach. It therefore examines other internationally agreed conventions that address gender equality and sustainable development concerns, and contain policies. I examine the universe of policies needed to make sustainable gender equality real, for all women, going beyond the current economistic rationale. The article concentrates on several 'domains' widely considered to be core to the empowerment of women: namely work and incomes, access to health services, and the environment. I conclude by arguing that, by incorporating other, more progressive conventions and declarations, the SDGs can be used creatively

and subversively, to move towards gender and climate justice. *(Abstract from original source)*
Keywords: policy; gender; rights; climate change; SDGs; United Nations

O'Manique, Colleen, and Pieter Fourie. 2016. "Affirming Our World: Gender Justice, Social Reproduction, and the Sustainable Development Goals." *Development* 59 (1–2): 121–6.

Abstract:
The Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) are presented as the new global framework to rid the world of poverty and inequality. While emerging from widespread consultation, we argue that they perpetuate rather than challenge the systemic drivers of gender injustice, silencing feminist critiques which demand systemic transformation. Instead, liberal feminism and its more insidious twin, economic neoliberalism, have captured mainstream development discourse. Unless new forms of agency emerge through truly transformative local strategies and global alliances, inequality and gender injustice will remain the norm. *(Abstract from original source)*
Keywords: women and girls; inequality; post-2015; feminism; labour

Pogge, Thomas W., and Mitu Sengupta. 2015. "The Sustainable Development Goals: A Plan for Building a Better World?" *Journal of Global Ethics* 11 (1): 56–64.

Abstract:
Despite some clear positives, the draft text of the Sustainable Development Goals does not fulfill its self-proclaimed purpose of inspiring and guiding a concerted international effort to eradicate severe poverty everywhere in all of its forms. We offer some critical comments on the proposed agreement and suggest 10 ways to embolden the goals and amplify their appeal and moral power. While it may well be true that the world's poor are better off today than their predecessors were decades or centuries ago, to judge whether this is moral progress, we must bring into view what was possible then and what is possible now. We may well find that there have never been so many people *avoidably* subjected to life-threatening deprivations as there are today, and if this is the case, we should insist that our governments end this oppression immediately through appropriate institutional reforms to be prominently outlined in their post-2015 agenda. *(Abstract from original source)*
Keywords: SDGs; MDGs; post-2015 agenda; poverty; inequality; sustainability

Razavi, Shahra. 2016. "The 2030 Agenda: Challenges of Implementation to Attain Gender Equality and Women's Rights." *Gender & Development* 24 (1): 25–41.

Abstract:
Moving beyond the narrow goals and targets of the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) and the top-down manner in which they were defined, the 2030 Agenda

promises to address many of their shortcomings. Not only has the process of defining the new agenda been more inclusive and its scope a universal one, but it is also anchored in human rights principles, while its goals and targets draw attention to a far more variegated set of structural concerns. This is evident in the remarkably broad scope of the targets under the gender-specific Goal 5. But the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs), like the MDGs, are somewhat silent on the policies needed to achieve the goals and targets. When it comes to the gender-specific elements, while the SDGs do a far better job than the MDGs in drawing attention to key structural constraints that hold back women's enjoyment of their rights, on some of the more contested issues they hardly advance the agenda beyond what has been the 'agreed language' for decades. At the same time, the hard-won gains and vision of the SDGs, including SDG 5, may be difficult to realise unless the dominant economic model that forms the backdrop is changed, and stronger accountability mechanisms are put in place. In the absence of robust accountability mechanisms, the risk of dilution and selectivity in the process of implementation looms large. *(Abstract from original source)*
Keywords: 2030 Agenda; gender; inequality; women; sustainable development; human rights

Reckien, Diana, Felix Creutzig, Blanca Fernandez, Shuaib Lwasa, Marcela Tovar-Restrepo, Darryn Mcevoy, and David Satterthwaite. 2017. "Climate Change, Equity and the Sustainable Development Goals: An Urban Perspective." *Environment & Urbanization* **29 (1): 159–82.**

Abstract:
Climate change is acknowledged as the largest threat to our societies in the coming decades, potentially affecting large and diverse groups of urban residents in this century of urbanization. As urban areas house highly diverse people with differing vulnerabilities, intensifying climate change is likely to shift the focus of discussions from a general urban perspective to who in cities will be affected by climate change, and how. This brings the urban equity question to the forefront. Here we assess how climate change events may amplify urban inequity. We find that heatwaves, but also flooding, landslides, and even mitigation and adaptation measures, affect specific population groups more than others. As underlying sensitivity factors we consistently identify socioeconomic status and gender. We synthesize the findings with regard to equity types – meaning outcome-based, process-oriented and context-related equity – and suggest solutions for avoiding increased equity and justice concerns as a result of climate change impacts, adaptation and mitigation. *(Abstract from original source)*
Keywords: adaptation; assessment; climate change; environmental justice; equality; equity; gender; impacts; low-income; mitigation; poverty; socioeconomic; women

Rosche, Daniela. 2016. "Agenda 2030 and the Sustainable Development Goals: Gender Equality at Last? An Oxfam Perspective." *Gender & Development* **24 (1): 111–26.**

Abstract:

The formulation of the Agenda 2030 and the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) have involved greater consultation with civil society than their predecessors, the Millennium Development Goals. This has been welcome to many development non-government organisations undertaking advocacy on women's rights and gender equality, which have engaged with the SDG process in various ways. This article, written by a feminist working in the international NGO (INGO) sector, elaborates on why and how the INGO Oxfam engaged in the process to formulate the new post-2015 development agenda. It provides insights into Oxfam's policy analysis, strategy development, and political engagement in advocating for a stand-alone gender equality goal, including together with allies. *(Abstract from original source)*
Keywords: policy influencing; strategy; stand-alone gender equality goal; allies; alliances; advocacy; violence against women; women's unpaid care burden; targets; delivering SDG 5

Stuart, Elizabeth, and Jessica Woodroffe. 2016. "Leaving No-One Behind: Can the Sustainable Development Goals Succeed Where the Millennium Development Goals Lacked?" *Gender & Development* **24 (1): 69–81.**

Abstract:

This article considers what the Leave No-one Behind agenda means, and how it interacts with the gender equality agenda. It starts with a brief assessment of what the Millennium Development Goals have delivered for women and girls by way of comparison. We then go on to look at the Sustainable Development Goal framework, in relation to both gender equality and Leave No-One Behind. This is followed by an assessment of what is needed to put this rhetoric into practice, through national plans, policy changes, data, financing, and political will. *(Abstract from original source)*
Keywords: intersectionality; poverty; gender; SDGs; leave no-one behind; women

II. Non-Academic Sources and Sources without Gender Analysis:

Araujo, Katia, Heather Barclay, Marta Benavides, Savi Bisnath, Eleanor Blomstrom, Clare Coffey, Kate Lappin, Rosa Lizarde, Abigail Ruane, and Alejandra Scampini. 2017. "Feminist Reflections: UNs High Level Panel Report on Post-2015 Development Agenda." New Brunswick: Center for Women's Global Leadership.

No abstract available.

Summary:

"In moving forward, we recommend that a human rights approach to sustainable development processes be strengthened through enhanced recognition of state obligations to respect, protect, and fulfill women's human rights and gender equality. We recommend clear regulations to ensure that economic interests are not allowed to override the greater aim of respecting human rights and promoting sustainable development. We call for a change in the current policies of international institutions that serve to entrench

inequalities through neoliberal reforms that leave countries struggling to meet their sustainable development objectives.

"While the HLP report is more of the same, or some would argue, MDG +, the world between 2015-2030 will be changing in many ways, including the balance of economic and political power. The Secretary General provided an opportunity for something more; it was a missed opportunity. It is now up to him and the member states to ensure that the next fifteen years post 2015 will be a time of people above profits" (Araujo et al. 2017, 9).

BRIDGE. 2016. "Four Reasons Why Gender Is an Essential Part of Sustainable Development." BRIDGE, March 7. https://www.bridge.ids.ac.uk/news/four-reasons-why-gender-essential-part-sustainable-development.

No abstract available.

Summary:
"One of the biggest events in the international gender equality calendar starts on 14 March. The 60th session of the Commission on the Status of Women (CSW) will take place at the United Nations Headquarters in New York until 24 March 2016, attended by state representatives, advocates for gender equality and UN representatives from across the world.

"The priority theme for this year's CSW is 'Women's empowerment and its link to sustainable development.' Often associated with the environment, the UN has a wider definition for sustainability as calling for: 'a decent standard of living for everyone today without compromising the needs of future generations.'

"Gender equality is an essential element of sustainable and inclusive development. Here are just four of the reasons why" (BRIDGE 2017).

Center for Women's Global Leadership (CWGL), and Post-2015 Women's Coalition. 2017. "Feminist Response and Recommendations: Proposed Goals and Targets on Sustainable Development for the Post 2015 Development Agenda." New Brunswick: Center for Women's Global Leadership.

No abstract available.

Summary:
"On June 2, 2014, the Open Working Group (OWG) on Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) released a zero draft of the first list of Proposed SDGs to be attained by 2030. As negotiations over the final SDGs move forward, the international community must take strong action to ensure a human rights approach to development that builds on women's realities and strengthens women's human rights.

"To uphold human rights obligations and realize the 'transformational shifts' envisaged in current development discussions, business as usual is no longer an option. The red line for policymaking must be the realization of gender equality and human rights, rather than growth and profit as ends in themselves. This means moving power away from corporate interests and toward marginalized peoples, women and communities. It means championing political action to overturn current discriminatory, oppressive and violent social, political, and economic systems and develop, invest in, and implement those that create an enabling environment for women's rights, equality, and sustainable peace. We reiterate the need for Member States to develop goals, targets and indicators that lead to structural changes in relations of power, consumption patterns, and the distribution of resources" (CWGL and Post-2015 Women's Coalition 2017, 1).

Development Alternatives with Women for a New Era (DAWN). 2017. "From People's Rights to Corporate Privilege: A South Feminist Critique of the HLP Report on Post 2015 Development Agenda." Development Alternatives with Women for a New Era (DAWN). http://www.dawnnet.org/feminist-resources/content/dawn-response-high-level-panel-report-post-2015-development-agenda.

No abstract available.

"What ought to be central to the post 2015 development agenda is attention to the kind of growth generated, and its overall contributions toward wellbeing and sustainability for all. This requires addressing the structural conditions that make economic inequality prevalent among and within countries and social groups. There is no automatic link between economic growth and poverty reduction. Several southern countries are in fact experiencing high "jobless" economic growth due to high prices of commodity exports. Studies have revealed that in some cases gender-based wage inequality had even been a stimulus to economic growth (Seguino 2000). The discussion should therefore be reoriented to identifying specific sources of economic growth, and then evaluating carefully the re-distributional effects of economic policy, as well as ensuring there is respect for human rights and ecological limits" (DAWN 2017, 1).

Doyle, Michael W., and Joseph E. Stiglitz. 2014. "Eliminating Extreme Inequality: A Sustainable Development Goal, 2015–2030." *Ethics & International Affairs* **(blog). March 20. https://www.ethicsandinternationalaffairs.org/2014/eliminating-extreme-inequality-a-sustainable-development-goal-2015-2030/.**

No abstract available.

Summary:

"As UN Secretary-General Kofi Annan later described them, the MDGs were a remarkable effort in international coordination. They established common ground among competitive development agencies, inspired concerted action by international organizations and national governments, and offered an opportunity for citizens to insist that governments focus on the 'we the peoples' they claimed to represent. In short, they transformed the agenda of world leaders.

"Fourteen years later, the MDG record has been mixed. Some goals, such as halving the proportion of people living in extreme poverty, have been met at the global level, but none have been fulfilled in all countries. Fourteen years later, the MDG record has been mixed. Some goals, such as halving the proportion of people living in extreme poverty, have been met at the global level, but none have been fulfilled in all countries. Others, such as universal access to primary education, are unlikely to be achieved by 2015.

"However, while the accomplishment of these goals would have been an impressive achievement, even taken together they do not represent a complete or comprehensive vision of human development. They were constrained by what the member states could agree upon in 2000 and, in particular, they lacked a vision of equitable development. As the international community thinks about the set of goals that will follow the MDGs, it is time to address that shortcoming by adding the goal of 'eliminating extreme inequality' to the original eight" (Doyle and Stiglitz 2014).

Hickel, Jason. 2015. "Why the New Sustainable Development Goals Won't Make the World a Fairer Place." *The Conversation***, August 23. http://theconversation.com/why-the-new-sustainable-development-goals-wont-make-the-world-a-fairer-place-46374.**

No abstract available.

Summary:
"The world's governments are preparing to finalize the Sustainable Development Goals at the United Nations in September 2015. It is set to be a major international event, and the goals will be ushered in with tremendous fanfare; they are widely regarded as a historic step toward building a better world, and toward eradicating poverty and hunger from the face of the Earth once and for all.

"It sounds wonderful, but unfortunately it's not as good as the media would have us believe. In reality, the goals are inadequate to the task of delivering the new economy we so desperately need. And in this sense they are not only a missed opportunity, they are actively dangerous: they will lock in the global development agenda for the next 15 years around a failing economic model that requires urgent and deep structural changes" (Hickel 2015).

International Women's Development Agency (IWDA). 2016. *The Global Goals: Women, Peace and Security***. Victoria, Australia: International Women's Development Agency.**

No abstract available.

Summary:
"IWDA welcomes the commitment to promoting peace, justice and strong institutions as one of the 17 Global Goals that make up the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development. Global Goal 16 commits the international community to seek 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.' This is an important recognition that we cannot achieve poverty eradication and sustainable development without tackling conflict and insecurity – and it was not inevitable; there was considerable debate about whether a peace goal should be included. Disappointingly, however, Goal 16 is missing a critical ingredient for success: reference to women, peace and security" (IWDA 2016, 1).

Irsten, Gabriella. 2017. "Editorial: What Will the 2030 Agenda Accomplish for Women in Conflict? Policy Coherence and Extraterritorial Accountability as Key Requirements." *Women, Peace, and Security E-News***, Women's International League for Peace & Freedom Sweden, July 25. http://www.peacewomen.org/e-news/women-peace-and-security-e-news-july-2017.**

No abstract available.

Summary:
"At last week's High-Level Political Forum (HLPF) on the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) and the 2030 Agenda, the Irish ambassador commented: 'Improving the lives of women is the litmus test of all the 2030 Agenda.'

"But what about women in situations of conflict? The impact on them is a critical part of this test.

"Women have demanded and fought for inclusion in peace and political processes for a long time. Today, to some extent, the international community has managed to adapt legal frameworks that support women's participation and rights at the international level. But women are still missing from peace negotiations and political discussions about their future and their societies' future" (Irsten 2017, 1).

Kabeer, Naila. 2015. "Gender Equality, the MDGs and the SDGs: Achievements, Lessons and Concerns." *International Growth Centre* **(blog). October 1. http://www.theigc.org/blog/gender-equality-the-mdgs-and-the-sdgs-achievements-lessons-and-concerns/.**

No abstract available.

Summary:
Following the formal announcement of the Sustainable Development Goals, Naila Kabeer reflects on lessons from the Millennium Development Goals through a feminist lens, which she argues were weakened by their very narrow interpretation of women's empowerment. She writes that much more is needed to dismantle more resilient structures of inequality, and while the SDGs offer some grounds for cautious optimism, there is a continued lack of emphasis on rights. *(Summary from International Growth Centre)*

Prügl, Elisabeth. 2016. "Feminist Strategies for Implementing the Sustainable Development Goals." Women's International League for Peace & Freedom. February 24. http://www.peacewomen.org/sites/default/files/Feminist%20Strategies%20for%20Implementing%20the%20Sustainable%20Development%20Goals%20_%20WILPF.pdf.

No abstract available.

Summary:
"To begin with, SDG promises are substantial and should make feminists happy. Goal 5 addresses many issues of particular importance to feminist movements, including ending

violence against women and girls, recognizing and valuing unpaid care and domestic work, seeking to advance women's equal participation and leadership, and ensuring access to reproductive rights (though carefully excluding sexual rights). Moreover, gender is mainstreamed throughout all the goals bringing into view crucial issues such as the need to give women equal access to economic resources including control over land and other property. Important for WILPF is goal 16 on promoting just, peaceful and inclusive societies, which includes a focus on ending all forms of violence, abuse, exploitation and trafficking, as well as a call for inclusive, participatory and representative decision-making.

"This is a far cry from the Millennium Development Goals that reduced gender equality to equal access to primary and secondary education and to improving maternal health. In the SDGs politics is built in, structures of patriarchy are recognized as problems, and women are moved from clients to citizens with rights. Importantly, the SDGs apply universally, not only to low and middle-income countries. They thus give a tool to activists both in the North and South to hold their governments accountable on issues ranging from ending discrimination to protecting the labor rights of migrant women" (Prügl 2016).

UN Women. 2016. *Women and Sustainable Development Goals.* **New York: UN Women.**

No abstract available.

Summary:
UN Women Communications and Advocacy Section in New York conducted an analysis of what the 17 SDGs adopted mean to women in order to inform strategic interventions building on the efforts of localization at country and regional levels. This analysis has been collated in this publication and linked to UN Women Eastern and Southern Africa Regional and Country Office priorities. Concrete examples programming interventions by UN Women country offices in the region are pro led in relation to specific SDGs and how those streams of interventions could lead to localization efforts. This has been done through an analysis of all annual reports submitted by regional/ multi/country offices to identify work streams feeding into the localization of sustainable development goals. The team comprising UN Women's consultant on SDGs, Knowledge Management and Research Specialist and UN Women's Regional Communications Assistant, under the leadership of the Deputy Regional Director, linked to existing analysis provided by UN Women on Women and Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs).

The publication showcases how women are affected by each of the 17 proposed SDGs, as well as how women and girls can — and will — be key to achieving each of these goals. Data and stories of the impact of each SDG on women and girls is illustrated. UN Women Eastern and Southern Africa region's efforts and interventions as they relate to SDGs are also discussed under each SDG, including our programmes, intergovernmental work and advocacy for policy change.

This publication is intended to help countries in Eastern and Southern Africa understand and appreciate the linkages between SDGs and women and girls in their localization efforts and in establishing various partnerships and networks that feed into the vision of localizing SDGs at the country and regional levels. *(Summary from UN Women)*

UN Women. 2017. *2017 HLPF Thematic Review of SDG 5: Achieve Gender Equality and Empower All Women and Girls***. New York: UN Women.**

No abstract available.

Summary:
"The gender-responsive implementation of the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development presents an enormous opportunity to achieve gender equality, end poverty and hunger, combat inequalities within and among countries, build peaceful, just and inclusive societies, protect and promote human rights, and ensure the lasting protection of the planet and its natural resources. The SDGs provide an important framework for collective action to achieve gender equality and the empowerment of all women and girls and the realization of their full enjoyment of all human rights. This work requires continued attention to the implementation of outcomes of major United Nations conferences and Summits, including the Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action and the Programme of Action of the International Conference on Population and Development, as well as sustained implementation of international human rights treaties" (UN Women 2017, 1).

Women's International League for Peace & Freedom (WILPF). 2017. "Beyond #HLPF2017: Integrating Feminist Peace in the 2030 Agenda." July 20. http://wilpf.org/beyond-hlpf2017-integrating-feminist-peace-in-the-2030-agenda/.

No abstract available.

Summary:
"In 2015, the world's governments adopted the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs), a universal Agenda that recognizes gender equality (SDG 5) and peaceful, just and inclusive societies (SDG16) as stand-alone global development priorities and provides specific guidance on the means of implementation (Goal 17).

"The Second High-Level Political Forum (2017 HLPF) was convened at the time when the aspirations of the SDGs are on the rise but the current climate of violence, patriarchy and political economies of war increasingly restricts women's meaningful participation and creates structural barriers to the effective SDG implementation.

"As part of our work to strengthen conflict prevention and promote accountability on gender equality and peace, WILPF's Women, Peace and Security Programme monitored the forum for gender and conflict issues, mobilized action, through its outreach strategy

and in coalition with Women's Major Group, to promote implementation of the SDGs in a way that ensures women's meaningful participation and engaged in other opportunities for concrete action.

"Now, the Forum is over and it is time to assess what has been achieved and what are our next steps as a global movement for feminist peace and development" (WILPF 2017, 1).

Women's Major Group (WMG). 2016. "Women's Major Group Paper for High Level Political Forum (2016) 'Ensuring That No One Is Left Behind': Listen to Women for a Change." Women's Major Group. https://sustainabledevelopment.un.org/content/documents/10118WMG_HLPF_paper_2016_27April.pdf.

No abstract available.

Summary:
"The Women's Major Group (WMG) and its members are fully committed to the implementation of the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) and to doing so while leaving no one behind, irrespective of gender, race, ethnicity, caste, sexual orientation, migrant status, nationality or other status. Achieving gender equality, the realization of women's human rights and the empowerment of women is essential and cross-cutting to all of the SDGs and to actualizing a transformative agenda, rather than replicating business as usual.

"Creative and complementary efforts are required by government, UN and civil society as we implement sustainable development in order to both ensure human rights of all and dismantle systemic inequalities. Pursuing the SDGs also carries risks if not implemented with a human rights-based approach or monitored for human rights abuses. Cases of land-grabbing for (renewable) resources, the recent murder of Berta Caceres, and the abuse of hundreds of other indigenous and women human rights defenders each year exemplify this.

"The WMG identifies below what we are doing to support implementation, follow-up and review; the need to address systemic causes of being 'left behind'; and proposes key areas for action" (WMG 2016, 1).

Women's Major Group (WMG). 2017. "High Level Political Forum - Position Paper (2017)." Women's Major Group. https://sustainabledevelopment.un.org/content/documents/3467HLPF_WMG_Paper_2017.pdf.

No abstract available.

Summary:

"More than ever, women and girls are most greatly affected by inequality, yet they are also key actors of sustainable development, knowledgeable in providing solutions to challenges. With just 13 years to implement the ambitious 2030 Agenda, issues such as climate change and ecological damage magnify the urgency of action needed to reach every woman and every girl of every age, place, ability and status.

"'Eradicating poverty and promoting prosperity in a changing world' where just eight men hold the same wealth as the poorest half of the world requires tackling systemic barriers and structural inequalities, including neo-liberalist capitalism, fundamentalisms, racism and patriarchy, that cause and exacerbate inequalities; it also requires addressing issues of militarism, corporate influence, consumption and production and shrinking civil society space.

"Gender inequality (SDG 5) is one of the most pervasive inequalities, evidenced by numbers of women living in poverty (SDG 1); discriminatory laws/policies targeting women, including unequal inheritance or criminalization of abortion (SDGs 2, 3); predominant unsustainable industrial agriculture/fisheries models pushing out small farmers and artisanal fisher-people, majority of whom are women (SDGs 2, 14); and reduction/elimination of essential services and infrastructure women and girls rely on, such as education/health services and social protection (SDGs 3, 9).

"Solutions by, with and for women as actors in sustainable development must be elevated to guide coherence in addressing multiple SDGs, alongside systemic barriers. For example, women's groups support organic agriculture and solar energy cooperatives to produce healthy food, generate decent income and mitigate climate change (SDGs 1, 2, 5, 8, 9, 13)" (WMG 2017, 1).