



**Study on the  
feasibility of establishing  
a Feminist Fund in  
Northeast Brazil**



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APOIO



REALIZAÇÃO





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# PRESENTATION

Faced with the worsening inequalities produced by the complex and contradictory intertwining of social relations of sex/gender, race, and social class, exacerbated in this context of advancing religious fundamentalism and the extreme right in Europe, North America, and, above all, Brazil, with strong negative impacts on the sustainability of anti-racist feminist movements and organizations, especially in the Northeast region, a group of these individuals who fight for transformation, defending common goods and the radicalization of democracy, felt the need to build a dialogue to think about new collective strategies capable of facing this context.

At that time, an initiative for dialogue with feminist organizations in Pernambuco was underway, this time coordinated by the Canadian Feminist Fund (Equality Fund) and its counterparts in the state. However, sensitive to the fragility of the anti-racist feminist field, they agreed not only to broaden the scope of their own proposal for dialogue, encompassing possible strategies, but also to include the participants in this process, in the same territory. Thus, local, regional, and national feminist and Black women's organizations and movements joined these initial dialogues: *Casa da Mulher do Nordeste*, *Coletivo Mulher Vida*, *Grupo Curumim Geração e Parto*, *SOS Corpo Instituto Feminista para Democracia*, *Articulação de Mulheres Brasileiras (AMB)*, *Rede de Mulheres Negras de Pernambuco*, and *Rede Nacional de Feministas Anti-proibicionistas*.

Therefore, our intention became possible. A dialogue began in the city of Recife, Pernambuco, which was intended to be only initial, situational to our current condition, and without any pretension of being exhaustive. We set as our initial goal to analyze together, based on our own experiences, the difficulties we face in ensuring our political and financial sustainability in the context of discrediting, criminalization, and, above all, reduction of resources from international cooperation and, specifically (and historically), reduction for the Brazilian Northeast.

It is important to remember that the Northeast region has historically been marked by a strong presence of social movements, especially feminist movements, with wide diversity and activity in different fields of struggle. Just consider the political actions of movements such as the MMTR - Movimento da Mulher Trabalhadora Rural do Nordeste, associations and later Sindicatos das Trabalhadoras Domésticas, the ANP - Articulação Nacional de Pescadoras, Fóruns de Mulheres, Redes de Mulheres Negras, and the whole range of movements carried out through the organized action of Black women, women from the periphery, and various feminist

organizations in the struggle against patriarchy, racism, and capitalism, in defense of sexual and reproductive rights, feminist economics, agroecology, fair and equal work, and environmental justice.

On the other hand, this region is a historical territory of exploitation, oppression, dispossession, and abandonment by the protective policies of the Brazilian State. It is still considered the most impoverished and unequal region in the country in terms of all social indicators, and it is no surprise that it is deeply marked by processes of racialization, as well as the subjugation and violence against women, particularly those who are racialized, those who live off their work, and those accused of being "sexual dissidents."

As a result, the Brazilian Northeast is burdened with prejudice and stigma, as a place of poverty, ignorant and backward people, which contributes to exclusion in public policies and low economic investment. This situation is exacerbated when we analyze the financial sustainability of feminist and Black women's organizations and movements in the Northeast, which face different but profound difficulties and vulnerabilities in carrying out their activities.

These vicissitudes that portray and impact the Northeast region seem, in many situations, to be reproduced with the same logic and intensity on anti-racist feminist organizations and movements in the region. And our response to this is—the precariousness that conditions our ways of existing has brought us here and also guides our resistance, the only strategy that allows us to exist in this power game against us. However, we are not a territory or bodies merely impacted by the indifference and abandonment of the world. We are, above all and despite everything, territories and bodies of political resistance, of imagination, of desires, and of rights. We too have a life project! We too are subjects of transformation and, in fact, we are already experiencing it amid the chaos that has been historically imposed on us by the racist, patriarchal, and capitalist system, and that is how we want to be seen and heard.

It was/is from this perspective and with the intention of proposing "ways out" of the growing fragility of the anti-racist feminist field in the Northeast region, in particular, that we set out to contribute to the analysis of the conditions, potentialities, and feasibility of a Feminist Fund in the Northeast, which we present here in the form of a study and which has the financial support of the Equality Fund.

With this, we hope to contribute to the strengthening and affirmation of the anti-racist feminist struggle in the Northeast, and to the expansion of national and international partnerships and funding, with a view to ensuring the sustainability of this fundamental field for the guarantee of rights, common goods, and democracy in Brazil, especially for the plurality of us women.

# INTRODUCTION

This document is the result of two studies conducted as part of a coordinated effort to understand the feasibility of establishing a feminist fund in Northeast Brazil. The first study focused on feminist organizations, collectives, and movements in the Northeast region and their demands and challenges in mobilizing resources to support their work in defending rights and democracy and promoting structural changes in favor of social, gender, and racial justice.

The second analysis focused on funds that support organizations working in Brazil, seeking to understand their specific characteristics and potential, their contributions to strengthening organizations, and also the challenges they face in ensuring their own sustainability.

The study was proposed by a group of feminist organizations working in the Northeast region: Articulação de Mulheres Brasileiras (Brazilian Women's Network); Casa da Mulher do Nordeste (Northeast Women's House); Coletivo Mulher Vida (Women's Life Collective); Fórum de Mulheres de Pernambuco (Pernambuco Women's Forum); Grupo Curumim Gestação e Parto (Curumim Pregnancy and Childbirth Group); Rede de Mulheres Negras de Pernambuco (Black Women's Network of Pernambuco); Rede Nacional de Feminista Antiproibicionista (National Network of Anti-Prohibitionist Feminists); and SOS Corpo - Instituto Feminista para a Democracia (SOS Body - Feminist Institute for Democracy), with financial support from the Equality Fund.

Data collection and analysis were carried out in a context of intense debate in the fields of international cooperation and philanthropy, with questions being raised about the role of large donors, their priorities, and mechanisms for allocating resources. At the same time, reflections have been developed on different ways of channeling funds to local organizations and movements in the Global South, with intermediary funds or "independent donor organizations" occupying an important place in these discussions.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> The term "independent donor organizations" was used in the Comuá Network publication entitled *Filantropia que transforma: mapeamento de organizações independentes doadoras para a sociedade civil nas áreas de justiça socioambiental e desenvolvimento comunitário no Brasil* (Philanthropy that transforms: mapping independent donor organizations for civil society in the areas of socio-environmental justice and community development in Brazil) (2023) to include "thematic funds, community funds, and community foundations that work in the field of social justice, mobilizing resources from diverse sources to donate to civil society" (p. 20). In this document, we will use the term "intermediary fund" or simply "fund" more frequently for greater fluidity of the text and dialogue with other productions in the field, while recognizing the political implications involved.

It is important to note that during the study, new elements emerged in the global geopolitical context that deserve further examination due to their impact on the sustainability of civil society organizations. Among these elements, the outcome of the 2024 US election stands out, which has emboldened far-right groups around the world, reinforced the climate denial agenda, attacks on immigrants' rights and gender and race issues, diversity and inclusion, as well as truculent trade and tariff disputes. Some of the first measures taken by the new administration have a direct impact on the financing of civil society organizations, such as the withdrawal from multilateral spaces and cuts in resources for international cooperation. It is essential to closely monitor the developments of these events to inform decision-making on the next steps and the definition of collective advocacy initiatives, not least because the impacts will go far beyond the United States, reaching other donor countries as well.

In a publication dated April 28, 2025, the Prospera network—which brings together women's and feminist funds—released alarming data collected from 45 of its members: 78% of funds have been affected by funding reductions, suspensions, or discontinuations in the last two years, with more than \$65 million in confirmed losses to date. The outlook is not encouraging, with an average 30% cut in budgets expected for 2026, impacting programs and teams. <sup>2</sup>

This scenario adds to the current political and social situation in Brazil, which exacerbates the organizational and sustainability challenges faced by feminist movements in the country, especially in the Northeast, where social inequalities have been historically deepened by policies of erasure and exploitation of the region and its people.

The election of Lula's government in 2022 reignited the possibility of focusing on the State as a guarantor of rights. However, the political crisis that began in 2013 continues to reinvent itself, imposing obstacles to the reconstruction of the State and the expansion of public policies and social infrastructure. This is a government elected by the people, but still hostage to the market and conservative groups.

The economic crisis, exacerbated by the COVID-19 pandemic, has not yet been overcome, and despite recent positive economic indicators, the reality for women has changed little.<sup>3</sup> High levels of informal employment, job insecurity, and food

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<sup>2</sup> <https://prospera-inwf.org/wp-content/uploads/2025/04/Prospera-The-Quiet-Crisis-report.pdf>.

<sup>3</sup> [https://agenciabrasil.ebc.com.br/economia/noticia/2025-04/desemprego-de-7-no-1o-trimestre-e-o-menor-ja-registrado-desde-2012#:~:text=O%20recorde%20anterior%20era%20de,quarta%2Dfeira%20\(30\).](https://agenciabrasil.ebc.com.br/economia/noticia/2025-04/desemprego-de-7-no-1o-trimestre-e-o-menor-ja-registrado-desde-2012#:~:text=O%20recorde%20anterior%20era%20de,quarta%2Dfeira%20(30).)

price inflation have a direct impact on women's livelihoods and organization, particularly in the lives of Black women.

In addition, we are facing an unprecedented climate crisis, with floods, droughts, deforestation, and the expansion of pastures that compromise production and survival in different rural and urban contexts. All of this is occurring in a context of growing conservatism, which further limits the possibilities for social transformation and the guarantee of rights.

This context is even more serious when we look at the Northeast. The region, historically marked by structural inequalities, feels the combined effects of the economic crisis, job insecurity, and the climate emergency intensely. Prolonged drought and extreme weather events directly impact rural communities, quilombolas, Indigenous peoples, riverine communities, and the outskirts of urban centers, affecting women in particular, who are primarily responsible for food production and caring for their families and territories.

In the Northeast, the strength of feminist and popular movements has been essential to ensuring resistance and building alternatives, but the material and political conditions for this action have proven increasingly challenging. In this sense, this document should be seen as an initial step to coming together and engaging in dialogue, providing elements to support the debate on the feasibility of establishing a feminist fund in the region.

In addition to the external challenges already mentioned, the great interest and positive expectations expressed by the interviewees, but also tensions that emerged during the preparation of the study, related both to some existing women's funds and to a group of Black women's organizations in the Northeast, highlight the importance of broadening the debate, as factors that can critically impact the conditions for establishing a possible new fund in the region.

The first part of the document presents a study on feminist organizations, collectives, and movements in the Northeast. This study aims to understand the trajectory, challenges, and resistance strategies of popular feminist movements in Northeast Brazil from a territorialized, autonomous perspective rooted in the realities of women in the region. To this end, the research is structured around different axes that dialogue with each other: the presentation of the objectives and methodology used; a brief history and contextualization of feminist movements and organizations in the Northeast; an analysis of the construction of autonomy and self-organization as foundations for the political action of the various feminisms in dialogue and under construction; the profile of the organizations interviewed, which reflect the diversity

and strength of regional collectives; as well as economic and social data that help to situate the living conditions of women in the Northeast.

The study also investigates the funding challenges faced by these movements, organizations, and collectives, and highlights the work of a possible Feminist Fund for the Northeast, emphasizing the role of territory as an important and fundamental category for organized action by women. By articulating these different elements, the research seeks to contribute to the visibility and strengthening of feminist and women's struggles in the region, recognizing their transformative power and their ability to confront multiple forms of oppression.

The second part presents a study on funds that support organizations in Brazil. After providing a brief overview of the financing of women's organizations and the gender and race justice agenda, reflections are shared on the role of intermediary funds, their specific characteristics, and elements related to their sustainability. Finally, perspectives for the creation of a feminist fund in the Northeast are discussed.



**PART I – FEMINIST AND  
WOMEN’S ORGANIZATIONS,  
NETWORKS, AND  
MOVEMENTS IN THE  
NORTHEAST**

## OBJECTIVE

The objective of this study is to analyze the trajectories, sociopolitical context, and challenges to the sustainability of women's and feminist movements in the Northeast region of Brazil. To this end, we examine several feminist and women's organizations, their structures and capacities, as well as their activities and strategies for building actions and struggles in defense of rights, democracy, and social transformation.

The aim is to understand the role of these movements and organizations in the region's political and social landscape, from the micro to the macro level, with an impact ranging from small community organizations to regional networks, identifying the challenges faced and opportunities that arise, especially with regard to the sustainability of their actions and their financing. It is important to note that this study did not intend to reflect on the enormous diversity of organizations, movements, and collectives operating in Northeast Brazil. It is a small sample, in the form of a qualitative study, based on listening and conversations, which provides elements for debate and collective reflection.

Thus, this work seeks to offer a comprehensive and critical view of feminist and women's initiatives in the Northeast, highlighting their contributions to the struggle for gender equality, racial equality, and social justice throughout Brazil.

## METHODOLOGY

Para alcançar os objetivos propostos, foi adotada uma abordagem metodológica qualitativa, baseada em pesquisa bibliográfica, análise documental e entrevistas semiestruturadas.

### **1. Literature review and documental analysis:**

**HISTORY AND CONTEXT OF FEMINIST MOVEMENTS:** A review of the literature produced by the movements themselves was conducted, including analyses, summaries, and research on historical documents that address the importance and popular construction of feminist movements in the Northeast region. This survey included articles, theses and dissertations, reports and research by NGOs, as well as official documents addressing the political and social context of feminism in the region.

## 2. Mapping of Key Organizations and Actors:

A mapping of organizations operating in the states of the Northeast region was carried out, based on bibliographic references and on the interviews and dialogues conducted during the preparation and implementation of the study. The mapping sought to include organizations created at different times, as well as their activities and locations, focusing on relevant actors in regional dynamics.

An overview of intra- and inter-movement cooperation in the region was outlined.

## 3. Semi-structured interviews:

Interviews were conducted with leaders and representatives of organizations, collectives, feminist movements, and women's movements. The interviews aimed to gather information about the main activities and strategies adopted, as well as the interviewees' perceptions of the challenges faced and opportunities surrounding the financing of organizations;

The issues addressed in the interviews included topics such as the impact of actions taken, methods of political coordination, social mobilization campaigns, and initiatives for the financial sustainability of organizations, collectives, and movements.

The list of interviewees was compiled based on discussions with the proposing institutions and documental analysis of reference organizations in their territory, whether state, city, or neighborhood. The aim was to ensure the representation of all federal units in Northeast Brazil, as well as different fields of action and activity: rural-waterside-city; Black women; Indigenous women; *quilombola* women; youth; small and medium-sized organizations and collectives; in addition to different organizational formats: collectives, NGOs, movements, articulations, and networks.

In order to take these representations into account and considering research limitations such as time and resources, 12 initial interviews were proposed. At the beginning of the research, the need to listen to the eight proposing organizations and to ensure greater representation of some groups was highlighted. Twenty-six movements, collectives, feminist organizations, and women's organizations covering the entire Northeast region participated in the research. Seven other representatives of organizations were invited to

participate in the research. Among these, some interviews were not conducted due to scheduling conflicts, and other representatives declined to participate in the study.

#### **4. Political Context Analysis and Strategies:**

The context analysis includes a study of the main political events and historical moments that impacted the emergence, expansion, and articulation of the feminist movement in the Northeast region. Both local policies and national influences that affected the activities and strategies of organizations were considered.

A critical analysis was conducted on the strategies adopted by feminist organizations, observing how they adapted to changes in the political, economic, and social landscape.

#### **5. Identifying Challenges and Opportunities:**

The challenges faced by feminist organizations, especially those related to financial sustainability, were examined through documental analysis and interviews. Aspects such as fundraising, diversification of funding sources, institutional partnerships, and management and governance practices, as well as transparency and accountability, were analyzed.

In addition, the research sought to identify opportunities for strengthening these organizations, considering the current socio-political-economic context of public policies, the presence of support networks, and the emergence of new forms of financing, such as crowdfunding and partnerships with the private sector.

#### **6. Data Analysis and Presentation of Results:**

The collected data were analyzed, and relevant information on each topic studied was categorized. Based on these analyses, data and reference points on the results obtained were prepared.

The results were discussed in light of existing literature, with emphasis on the contributions of the feminist movement in the Northeast region, considering the challenges faced and possible solutions for the sustainability and continuity of these initiatives.

Using this methodology, the study aimed to provide a comprehensive and critical analysis of the feminist movement in the region, from the perspective of the sustainability of activism and actions undertaken, with a goal to contribute to the debate and reflection of feminist organizations and movements and women in Northeast Brazil.

## **BRIEF HISTORY AND CONTEXT OF FEMINIST MOVEMENTS AND MAIN ORGANIZATIONS IN THE NORTHEAST REGION**

Though this study does not aim to provide an in-depth and detailed history of feminist and women's movements, organizations, and collectives in Brazil and the Northeast region, it is important to highlight some processes and cycles, as well as developments in this field, that have taken place over the last 40 years. This period marks the emergence and articulation of many feminist and women's organizations and movements that continue to serve as references for younger generations of movements and organizations that have emerged in recent years. This brief historical overview considers the historical and political context of the emergence of these organizations, which have shaped and enriched the social forces and struggles of social movements in Brazil.

In order to structure and organize the scope of this study, we consider the definition of feminist movement as "a process consisting of a set of organizational forms and social mobilizations, whether cycles of protest or other broad collective actions of public impact, carried out by women." It is also important to conceptualize the terminologies of women's movements and feminist movements as if they were distinct in themselves. They are not, and according to Silva C. (2016):

"The feminist movement is part of the women's movement, that is, it brings together organizations and demonstrations whose participants identify themselves as such, ..., adopting a radically critical perspective on the social situation of women..."<sup>4</sup>

In this sense, this study will cover both organizational fields, women's and feminist, understanding that they are part of social movements that fight for women's rights and lives, respecting the diverse perspectives and identities that comprise this field (networks, collectives, movements, forums, articulations, etc.) and their various organizational forms (legally formalized—with a CNPJ [Corporate Taxpayer ID] and organizations without legal personality).

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<sup>4</sup> Free translation

The 20th century was marked by intense political turmoil and profound structural changes in Brazil, a process that extends into the 21st century, impacted by the digital revolution, the advance of neoliberalism, and global crises of different dimensions—political, economic, climatic, or a combination of these—in an accelerated and hyperconnected historical moment.

However, in order to establish a relevant timeline for this study, it was essential to focus on the processes of social organization against the dictatorial regime that ruled Brazil from 1964 to 1985, culminating in a strong popular mobilization in the drafting of the 1988 Constitution, with the *Diretas Já* movement (1983/84) and the intense feminist advocacy carried out by the National Council for Women's Rights, created in 1985. This period is a milestone in the structuring of social movements in Brazil, evidenced by the creation of important entities such as the Workers' Party (PT) in 1980, the Central Workers' Union (CUT) in 1983, and the Landless Workers' Movement (MST) in 1984, among others.

It was during this same period and in this same context that, in the feminist field and in the struggle for women's rights, the first organizations emerged, marked by the struggle against the dictatorial regime and by the feminist debate that was in full swing in the West, with the historic date of the First UN World Conference on Women, held in Mexico City in 1975. Organizations such as *Sempreviva* Feminist Organization (SOF, 1963), *Rede Mulher de Educação* (Women's Education Network, 1980), *Movimento de Mulheres Agricultoras* (Women Farmers' Movement, 1981), *SOS Mulher* (Women SOS, 1981), *Coletivo de Mulheres Negras* (Black Women's Collective, 1983), and *Geledés* Black Women's Institute (1988).

In the Northeast, several organizations were also founded during this period, such as the collective *Ação Mulher* (Women's Action, 1980), *Casa da Mulher do Nordeste* (Northeast Women's House, 1980), *SOS Corpo – Grupo de Saúde da Mulher* (SOS Body – Women's Health Group, 1981), which later became *SOS CORPO – Feminist Institute for Democracy*, the *Rural Women Workers Movement* (MMTR, 1984), the *Campina Grande Domestic Workers Union* (1988), the *Recife Domestic Workers Association* (1979), which in 1988 led to the founding of the *Recife Metropolitan Region Domestic Workers Union*. Its activities were expanded and the union began to organize at the state level, becoming the *Pernambuco Domestic Workers Union* (SINDOMESTICA).

Internationally, following the World Conference on Women held in Mexico in 1975, the *Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women* (CEDAW) was adopted in New York in 1979, which spurred debate and feminist de-

mands in nation states. And, at the national level, the National Council for Women's Rights was created in 1985, which played a fundamental role in coordinating feminists in the 1988 Constituent Assembly process, a movement that became known as the *Lobby do Batom* (Lipstick Lobby).<sup>5</sup>

Concurrently, within the social organization of feminism, there are the Latin American and Caribbean Feminist Encounters (EFLACs)<sup>6</sup>, held since 1981, and the National Feminist Meetings, which began in 1979 in Fortaleza, Ceará, with particular emphasis on the 9th National Feminist Meeting in Garanhuns, Pernambuco, in 1987, and the National Feminist Meeting in João Pessoa, Paraíba, in 2000.

These moments and events provided intense and powerful local, national, and international coordination, allowing for a significant exchange of experiences and the strengthening of the feminist movement in a country of continental dimensions such as Brazil, in this duality of challenge and power at the same time. This period marked the emergence of numerous and diverse collectives and organizations that built, acted, demanded, and transformed the social relations prevailing at that historic moment, which continue to flow and flourish to this day.

The democratic opening and intense social participation in the 1988 Constituent Assembly further boosted the structuring of feminist social movements and organizations. In the 1990s, there were a series of important milestones in UN conferences on women's rights, notably Cairo (1994), which established principles on women's sexual and reproductive health and rights; Beijing (1995), which is a historic milestone in the advancement and establishment of women's rights proposals; and Durban (2001), which promoted debate to recognize and combat racism and discrimination around the world.

This series of conferences sparked numerous preparatory debates, which mobilized individuals and organizations to work together as a network with the aim of advancing international treaties and using political advocacy as a strategy to raise global awareness of the struggle for women's rights and against all forms of violence and discrimination.

From these mobilizations and the historical moment, several important initiatives emerged, such as the Brazilian Women's Network (AMB, 1995), the Feminist Network for Health and Reproductive Rights (1991), the National Association of Transvestites and Transsexuals (ANTRA, 1993), as well as non-governmental organizations (NGOs) such as the Curumim Pregnancy and Childbirth Group (1989), the

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<sup>5</sup> [https://www.canalcurta.tv.br/filme/?name=lobby\\_do\\_batom](https://www.canalcurta.tv.br/filme/?name=lobby_do_batom).

<sup>6</sup> <https://www.politize.com.br/eflac-encontros-feministas-da-america-latina/>.

Feminist Center for Studies and Advisory Services (CFEMEA, 1989), the Coletivo Mulher Vida (Woman Life Collective, 1991), CRIOLA (1992), among many others that emerged and strengthened the structures of social movements.

In the 2000s, notable developments included the creation of the Articulação de Organizações de Mulheres Negras Brasileiras (Network of Brazilian Black Women's Organizations, AMNB), the Marcha das Margaridas (March of the Daisies), and the Marcha Mundial das Mulheres (World March of Women, MMM). This was followed by the Movimento de Mulheres Camponesas (Peasant Women's Movement, 2004) and the Articulação Nacional de Mulheres Pescadoras (National Network of Women Fisherfolk, 2005), among others.

This period also marks the beginning of the Workers' Party governments: 2003 to 2010, Lula's governments; 2011 to 2016, Dilma's government, which faced an impeachment process defined by feminist movements as a patriarchal and misogynistic parliamentary coup, a coup against all women; and, 2023, the current and third Lula government. Starting with Lula's first administration, with the establishment of the then National Secretariat for Women's Rights (SPM), the National Conferences on Women's Rights were held beginning in 2004, which were and still are spaces for intense coordination and participation by organizations in the development of public policies.

Despite the rich history of feminism in Brazil, the political and social events of the last decade have played a decisive role in the transformation of social movements, especially women's and feminist movements.

In 2013, the June Protests marked the beginning of a cycle of popular mobilizations that caused a deep rift in the social and political pact established since redemocratization. This process culminated in the legal-parliamentary-media coup against President Dilma Rousseff in 2016 and, subsequently, in the election of Jair Bolsonaro in 2018, creating a highly complex political and social scenario.

At the same time, new forms of feminist activism emerged, many of them catalyzed by the use of the internet. In 2014, the 1st National Meeting of Quilombola Women took place. The following year, in 2015, the so-called Feminist Spring gained momentum and the historic March for Black Women was held, bringing together more than 50,000 participants in Brasília, Federal District.

In 2019 and 2021, the 1st and 2nd Indigenous Women's Marches were held<sup>7</sup>, respectively, with the third scheduled for August 2025, consolidating a new cycle of

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<sup>7</sup> <https://cimi.org.br/2019/08/mulheres-em-luta-as-principais-pautas-da-1a-marcha-das-mulheres-indigenas/>.

mobilizations led by women from different backgrounds and territories. The second edition of the Black Women's March is scheduled for November 2025, reinforcing the continuity and power of these movements. Another important action organized and led by women in the Northeast is the March for Women's Lives and Agroecology, which takes place in Polo da Borborema, in the state of Paraíba, and is now in its 16th edition, mobilizing women from various states in the Northeast. Over the last four years, it has been addressing the negative impact of renewable energy mega-projects on ways of life in their territories.

In the years that followed, whether in times of struggle or resistance against constant attacks on democracy, the women's and feminist movement were on the front lines at all times: against the coup against President Dilma Rousseff (2016), confronting the Temer government (2016-2018), against the Labor Reform (2017), against the Bolsonaro government — from flooding the streets with #EleNão<sup>8</sup>, against the Pension Reform (2019), denouncing the entire project that ignored a global pandemic and dismantled countless social public policies. Organized women fought in defense of life and for the right to democracy, creating countless solidarity networks during the Covid-19 pandemic. In the 2022 elections, the organization of women taking to the streets, neighborhoods, and cities prevented the reelection of a far-right government.

This panorama reveals the enormous richness and strength of the organizational structure of feminism in Brazil—a diverse, intense field deeply rooted in the territories, transforming itself into a force throughout the country.

Next, we highlight how feminist and women's movements in the Northeast have been able to remain active and sustain struggles for social transformation and the defense of rights in their territories.

The aim here is not to make critical comparisons between regions or rank methods of action, but rather to highlight the impacts of regional inequalities on access to resources and on ensuring the sustainability of feminist organizations in the Northeast.

These inequalities are not mere circumstances: they are part of a political power project that has been perpetuated since the colonial period and continues to this day, through public policies that have historically been insufficient to address structural processes such as racism, especially in the most vulnerable regions, such as the Northeast.

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<sup>8</sup> <https://www.bbc.com/portuguese/brasil-45700013>.

# THE POPULAR FEMINIST MOVEMENT IN THE NORTHEAST: AUTONOMY AND SELF-ORGANIZATION AS A PATHWAY

The Northeast region is historically recognized for its great capacity for social organization and militant action in the struggle for rights—a process driven by a reality marked by profound and structural socioeconomic inequalities in relation to other regions of Brazil.

In this context, feminist and women's movements and organizations in the Northeast reaffirm this capacity through diverse actions marked by strategies to combat gender, race, class, and territorial inequalities.

The actions of these movements have been fundamental in promoting and defending women's rights, as well as contributing significantly to broadening the debate on gender and race issues, especially in rural and peripheral areas and among Black and Indigenous populations. These are procedural actions, rooted in local contexts, which are strengthened and intertwined through regional networks and articulations, expanding the capacity to confront the realities experienced on a daily basis.

Below, we present the main lines of action and processes of struggle structured by feminist movements and organizations active in the region.

## 1. Focus on Intersectionalities – the multiple forms of inequality

A striking feature of feminist movements in the Northeast is their intersectional approach, based on the understanding that gender oppression is deeply intertwined with oppression based on race, class, and territory. According to Pereira (2021)<sup>9</sup>, The term and concept of “intersectionality” emerges as “Black feminism’s critique of the tendency to address race and gender as mutually exclusive categories of experience and analysis.” This is reflected in the work of organizations in the region, which structure their actions and lines of action against racism, patriarchy, and the capitalist system of exploitation. These elements are added to the agendas

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<sup>9</sup> Bruna Cristina Jaqueto in: Sobre usos e possibilidades da interseccionalidade (On the uses and possibilities of intersectionality).

of Indigenous and *quilombola* women's collectives, which address issues of cultural identity and territorial rights, or youth collectives and LGBTQIAPN+ collectives.

## 2. Territory – the place of living

The main reference used in preparing this topic was the book “*Mulheres Negras e Populares do Norte e Nordeste: experiências que se entrelaçam*” (Black and Popular Women of the North and Northeast: Intertwined Experiences) (CESE, SOS Corpo, 2018), which states:

“We adopt the broadest concept of territory: the concept of a place to live, but a place in which the actions of population groups throughout history create their own context. Territory is a place-context with history, heritage, culture, collective memories, physical space, the result of social relations established there over time. Today, territories contain and express conflicts of class, race, and gender, as well as the struggles of the past that shaped and structured them, but also contain and express the conflicts and correlation of political forces of the present that define and empower women's lives and the actions of their organizations in this time and place, whether in the rural areas or in the city. We also adopt the feminist idea of the BODY as TERRITORY, a territory where our lives exist, marked historically and socially, **our body is our first territory.**”<sup>10</sup>

This reflection reveals the specificity of the body-struggle-territory relationship for women in the Northeast, who, with a specific ability to analyze the scenario and the concrete situation of life, express themselves through their capacity for self-organization and self-reflection. This process reinforces the construction of arguments to unveil a reality that is insistently made invisible by governments, the media, and society as a whole. It is from this political and social context that the development of tools and strategies is enhanced in the quest to situate the practical reality of women's lives, whether in the countryside, on the outskirts of large cities, on the waterside, or in the hinterland.

## 3. Working in Rural and Urban Areas

Feminist movements in the Northeast have a strong presence in both rural and urban areas. In rural areas, organizations such as the *Movimento de Mulheres Trabalhadoras Rurais* (Movement of Rural Working Women, MMTR), *Movimento*

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<sup>10</sup> Free translation

*de Mulheres Camponesas* (Movement of Peasant Women, MMC), *Federação dos Trabalhadores Rurais Agricultores e Agricultoras Familiares do Estado de Pernambuco* (Federation of Rural Workers and Family Farmers of the State of Pernambuco, FETAPE), *Articulação Nacional das Pescadoras* (National Fisherwomen's Network, ANP), *Associação Quilombola de Conceição das Crioulas* (Quilombola Association of Conceição das Crioulas, AQCC), among others, have been essential in guaranteeing access to rights such as land ownership, water, and recognition of women's agricultural work. These organizations work to promote agroecology, food and nutritional security and sovereignty, and the autonomy of women in rural areas, combating domestic violence as well as institutional violence and violence caused by extractive development megaprojects in their territories.

It is with this political aspect that the struggle for access to and the securing of water, native seeds, and the preservation of the agroecological environment is also a pillar of the struggle against predatory capitalism, which is advancing in its devastation of the environment and altering the body-territory relationship on a daily basis. The greater difficulty in accessing public services and equipment in rural areas further precarious the conditions of subsistence and survival in an environment that faces increasingly adverse climatic conditions.

The perspective of environmental racism is intrinsically linked to the struggles waged by these groups. Defined by Araújo (2024)<sup>11</sup> as

"intensive exploitation of life and natural resources, which is unevenly distributed across the territory, placing a heavy burden mainly on the Black population and its relationship with struggles, healing, and the ancestral history of African-based religions, the Black population, and those living in the periphery of Brazil".

It thus conceptualizes the relationship experienced by these populations, who are mostly Black and depend on their relationship with the land for their self-organization and historical and ancestral resistance. It is no coincidence that the struggle for land, the expropriation of communities, histories, and survival is one of the main recent hallmarks of social movements.

It is from this perspective that women also denounce how climate change mainly affects Black women, as in the case of the Zika virus crisis, which had its epicenter in the Northeast region<sup>12</sup> and those most affected were Black women in the urban peripheries and rural areas, with impacts that are still felt today. It was only in 2025

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<sup>11</sup> ILF Araújo in: *Racismo ambiental, mineração e saúde mental da população negra* (Environmental racism, mining, and the mental health of the Black population).

<sup>12</sup> *Síndrome congênita do Zika Vírus: um olhar a partir de atores nordestinos* (Congenital Zika Virus Syndrome: a perspective from actors in the Northeast).

that the federal government recognized the need to support families affected by the Zika virus<sup>13</sup>.

In urban areas, especially in the peripheries, feminist movements have organized themselves forcefully to confront gender violence, precarious access to public services, and the criminalization of Black and peripheral bodies. It is in urban spaces that hundreds of collectives work directly in communities, promoting political education, coordinating support networks, and reflecting on the city that women need and want. These collectives, rooted in local realities, are fundamental for promoting debates and actions that aim to transform everyday urban life from a perspective of social justice and gender and racial equality.

It is through the strength and resilience of these movements that struggles for fundamental rights in cities are consolidated—for dignified access to health care, education, work, water, and housing. Urban areas, marked by historical inequalities, also become territories for demanding and building alternatives and agroecological urban agriculture practices.

In these disputes, women from the periphery are leading concrete transformations, reaffirming the right to the city as a space of belonging, citizenship, and dignity.

## 5. Mobilization and Political Participation

Feminist movements in the Northeast have a strong capacity for social mobilization and political participation. The region plays a leading role in constant demonstrations, bringing together thousands of women in protests against sexism, racism, and neoliberal policies that exacerbate social inequalities. The mobilization of women in the Northeast dates back decades of struggle against hunger and exploitation—such as the women on the emergency fronts in the Pajeú hinterland, which was greatly reinforced and empowered by the amplification of feminism in the public sphere, mainly through the cycles of the aforementioned UN Conferences, which placed women's demands on the national and regional public agenda.

Thus, feminist and women's movements play an important role in policy formulation and advocacy. Actions are carried out with public authorities and civil society in various ways: marches, campaigns, activism, demonstrations, women's people's tribunals, public hearings, etc., to debate and demand public facilities or prevent the approval of bills that further curtail women's rights.

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<sup>13</sup><https://www.gov.br/inss/pt-br/noticias/governo-federal-dara-apoio-financeiro-as-criancas-nascidas-vitimas-do-virus-zika#:~:text=O%20governo%20federal%20vai%20assegurar,valor%20de%20R%24%2060%20mil>

As political participation, in addition to acting daily in the political life of the territory, they build strategies to increase the number of women candidates and women elected to legislative chambers, spaces marked by patriarchy and racism, where machismo and political gender violence are tools used to prevent greater participation by women in political debate.

## 6. Popular Education and Political Training

Popular education is one of the main strategies in the organization and action of feminist movements in the Northeast. Movements and organizations hold workshops, debates, courses, and roundtable discussions on an ongoing basis in cities, neighborhoods, and communities with the aim of strengthening critical awareness and, through the development of knowledge, promoting greater autonomy and organization. These activities focus on topics such as feminism, patriarchy, racism, women's rights, gender violence, public policy, solidarity economy, ecofeminism, agroecology, and coexistence with the Semi-Arid region, among others.

By building knowledge rooted in diversity and women's concrete experiences, popular education becomes a powerful tool for resistance and social transformation. Produced collectively by social movements, it reflects the material realities experienced on a daily basis and challenges the meaning of real life in cities. This critical pedagogy confronts, in an increasingly incisive manner, the advance of religious fundamentalism, which infiltrates different territories and instances of power. As *SOS Corpo* (2020) states<sup>14</sup>, this fundamentalism “has reached the highest echelons of power and has a political agenda, with colonial roots, that destroys cultural diversity and subjugates women.” In this scenario, popular education positions itself as a strategic field of struggle in defense of the autonomy, plurality, and dignity of women throughout the country.

Political training is also a priority, with training programs for women leaders aimed at increasing women's participation in positions of power and decision-making, both in public spaces and in the construction and support of movements. One example is the campaign *Eu voto em Negra* (I vote for Black women)<sup>15</sup>, which aims to increase the representation of Black women in politics in the northeastern region.

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<sup>14</sup> [https://soscorpo.org/wp-content/uploads/Para-onde-vamos-Feminismo-como-movimento-social-SOSCorpo\\_WEB-DEZ2.pdf](https://soscorpo.org/wp-content/uploads/Para-onde-vamos-Feminismo-como-movimento-social-SOSCorpo_WEB-DEZ2.pdf).

<sup>15</sup> <http://euvotoemnegra.com.br/#o-projeto>

## 7. Support and Solidarity in Networks and Collectives

Networking is an essential feature of the feminist movement in the Northeast. Collectives, NGOs, and movements work in coordination, exchanging experiences and pooling resources to address common challenges. Local organizations work with regional networks and platforms, connecting feminist groups and mixed movements, such as the *Movimento dos Trabalhadores Sem-Terra* (Landless Workers' Movement, MST) and the *Movimento dos Trabalhadores Sem-Teto* (Homeless Workers' Movement, MTST), from different states, expanding their capacity for mobilization and political advocacy. It is important to highlight the experience of the *Rede Feminismo e Agroecologia do Nordeste* (Northeast Feminism and Agroecology Network), created in 2014 with the *Campanha pela Divisão Justa do Trabalho Doméstico* (Campaign for the Fair Division of Domestic Labor). The Northeast Feminism and Agroecology Network arose from the experience of several non-governmental organizations and rural women movements. The initiative offered training to strengthen the agroecological practices of these organizations in the Northeast region, among other agendas.

These networks are essential, as seen during the COVID-19 pandemic<sup>16</sup>, when they took action in solidarity, working on the front lines of emergency assistance, organizing campaigns to collect food, hygiene products, and financial support for women in vulnerable situations.

Solidarity as a political practice of feminism is expressed in different ways. From more direct forms of subsistence, such as the donation of resources and basic groceries packages in the territories—a practice that was very prominent during the pandemic and continues today in the context of crisis and impoverishment—to organized networks that guarantee support and shelter for women victims of violence, for example. In this sense, the movements structure conditions of support at all stages: from reporting to the public authorities, to helping find a safe environment, to supporting re-entering the job market and being able to rebuild their lives with autonomy. The network celebrated 10 years of activity in the Northeast region in 2024.

## 8. The role of Popular Communication

Communication as a political action of social movements is a fundamental strategy for mobilizing and strengthening political education. Feminist movements use and ex-

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<sup>16</sup> <https://soscorpo.org/?p=14100>.

plore creativity in every corner of the region, making communication a tool that drives feminist political action and is present in the daily lives of these organizations. They use posters, zines, popular radio shows, flyers, and many other diverse forms of communication in a world where access to communication is unequal and exclusionary.

In recent years, with the rise of social media, feminist and women's movements have intensified their use of these platforms and other digital tools to amplify their voices and mobilize society. The Feminist Spring<sup>17</sup>, which emerged in 2015, was a striking example of how feminists used the internet to organize protests and campaigns against the loss of rights. Digital platforms such as Instagram, Facebook, and X (formerly Twitter) are used to publicize complaints, mobilization and awareness campaigns, events, and to create support and solidarity networks<sup>18</sup>.

In fact, these movements are also advancing in their reflection on the current role of communication, the technological revolution, and its impacts—both positive and negative—on society. The use and control of digital platforms by the conservative field<sup>19</sup> has enabled the spread of misinformation and the mobilization of social groups that amplify all forms of violence. In this context, social media has become an arena for the clash of values, with profoundly unequal tools and possibilities. Women's organizations, in turn, also seek to build resistance and exercise an active voice in this space, albeit under very unequal conditions.

Feminist movements in the Northeast operate in a multifaceted way, addressing local specificities and the multiple oppressions that affect women in the region. With an intersectional approach and a commitment to social and environmental justice, these movements play a crucial role in the struggle for gender and racial equality, facing challenges such as violence, economic inequality, and structural racism. Through mobilization, advocacy, popular education, and support networks, feminism in the Northeast continues to grow stronger and expand its reach, consolidating itself as a transformative force in Brazil's social and political landscape.

## **SOME ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL DATA ON WOMEN IN THE NORTHEAST**

This section presents some key updated data on social and economic inequality affecting women in Northeast Brazil. The data was collected by the Relatório Anual

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17 [https://brasilelpais.com/brasil/2015/11/13/opinion/1447369533\\_406426.html](https://brasilelpais.com/brasil/2015/11/13/opinion/1447369533_406426.html)

18 <https://www.mujiresdelsur-afm.org/cartilha-feminista-para-refletir-sobre-o-mundo-digital-a-partir-do-ativismo/>.

19 <https://apublica.org/nota/meta-se-alinha-a-trump-mira-justica-latina-e-facilita-fake-news-sob-bandeira-anticensura/>.

Socioeconômico da Woman (Annual Socioeconomic Report on Women) (RASEAM, 2025)<sup>20</sup>, prepared by the Brazilian Observatory for Gender Equality, of the Ministry of Women, and in the Retrato das Desigualdades de Gênero e Raça (Portrait of Gender and Racial Inequalities<sup>21</sup>) (2024), prepared by the Instituto de Pesquisa Aplicada (Institute for Applied Research, IPEA).

**Work, Social Security, and Care:** The main indicators of labor market participation and access to income are: the participation rate—the proportion of the population aged 14 and over who are employed or unemployed—and the unemployment rate—the percentage of people in the labor force who are unemployed. Regarding the participation rate, it is noted that “regionally, women had a lower participation rate in the Northeast (43.5%) and North (48.3%) regions, while this rate reached 58.8% in the Midwest region” (RASEAM, 2025). Disparities remain in the unemployment rate, where “unemployment among women was highest in the Northeast (11.6%) and lowest in the South (5.6%)” (RASEAM, 2025)<sup>22</sup>.

Women in the Northeast face high rates of informality in the labor market, reaching more than 52% in the Northeast. In the Southeast, this rate is around 36%, and in the South, less than 30%. As a result, women have the least access to social security. According to the Retrato das Desigualdades (Portrait of Inequalities), Black women in the Northeast have the least social security protection and remain the most vulnerable. In 2022, more than one-fifth (21.2%) of employed Black women were unable to contribute to social security, while only 6.8% of white men were in this situation.

Data on time use remain consistent in terms of inequality between men and women, with women spending twice as much time on domestic chores and caring for children, the elderly, and/or people with disabilities. This indicator reinforces racial and regional inequalities: with less access to the labor market and fewer opportunities to stay in it, Black women in the Northeast region are more burdened with caregiving demands. These data indicate that “a marker of racial and gender inequalities is time poverty, that is, the scarcity of time for the various activities necessary to sustain life. Time poverty is accentuated by unequal access to resources (money, technologies, infrastructure, among others), which increase the time needed to carry out the activities necessary for the reproduction of life” (MADE, 2025).

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20 <https://www.gov.br/mulheres/pt-br/central-de-conteudos/publicacoes/raseam-2025.pdf/view>.

21 <https://www.ipea.gov.br/retrato/>.

22 <https://madeusp.com.br/publicacoes/artigos/pesquisas-de-uso-do-tempo-o-que-sao-e-sua-urgencia-para-o-brasil-2/>.

**Financial autonomy and poverty:** In this sense, it is women, especially Black women, from the North and Northeast who are most affected by extreme poverty in Brazil. Compared to other regions, women in the Northeast have lower average incomes and are more concentrated in low-paying sectors, such as domestic services and family farming.

"In 2023, almost 60.0% of households headed by women had a per capita household income of up to one minimum wage (58.6%). In households headed by men, this percentage was 46.0%. In households headed by Black or Brown women, almost 70.0% had a household income of up to one minimum wage per capita. Among white women heads of household, a smaller proportion was in the lowest income brackets (43.8% up to 1 MW)." (RASEAN, 2025).<sup>23</sup>

Thus, vulnerability is exacerbated by poor working conditions and the lack of public policies aimed at reducing gender and racial inequalities.

**Educação:** Despite improvements in education levels in recent decades, there is still a large educational gap, especially when viewed through the lens of regional inequalities. Women in the Northeast, especially Black and Indigenous women, have less access to technical and higher education courses.

"Black or Brown women aged 50 and over have considerably lower literacy rates than white women: in the 50-59 age group, 97% of white women are literate, while among Black and Brown women, the rate is 90.4%. Looking at the group of women with the lowest literacy rates—those aged 70 and over—and cross-referencing with color or race, the literacy rate for Black and Brown women is only 68.8%." (RASEAN, 2025).<sup>24</sup>

This scenario is reflected in employment opportunities and economic conditions, perpetuating cycles of poverty and vulnerability. The intersection of indicators reveals the difficulties women face in accessing and remaining in education, with school dropout rates caused by care work, whether due to early pregnancy or the dynamics of caring for older family members. What is referred to as the "generation that neither studies nor works" is, in fact, the generation that, due to the lack of state support, is assigned to the care of others, without access to income, social security, and without the basic conditions to remain in school.

**Integral Health:** Comprehensive healthcare for women is a fundamental right, achieved through much struggle, particularly in the process of democratization and universalization of the Unified Health System (SUS). Programs such as the Pro-

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<sup>23</sup> Free translation

<sup>24</sup> Free translation

grama de Assistência Integral à Saúde da mulher (Comprehensive Women's Health Care Program, PAIMS, 1984) and the Política Nacional de Atenção Integral à Saúde da Mulher (National Policy for Comprehensive Women's Health Care, PNAIMS, 2004) have implemented actions to defend and promote women's health in recent decades, with a focus on regionality, race, ethnicity, and territory.

Although there have been advances in women's health laws and programs in recent decades, indicators are still far from the parameters of the Sustainable Development Goals, as in the case of the Maternal Mortality Ratio, where: "The Northeast recorded an MMR of 55.9. The Central-West region of the country had a ratio of 53.1. In the Southeast, there were 46.9 maternal deaths per 100,000 live births. The South had the lowest number, with 36.1." This is also true for the number of cases of obstetric violence, which is recurrent in both public and private health services. "Black women, for example, are 50% less likely to receive anesthesia during episiotomies"<sup>25</sup> (GELEDÉS, 2024), and "Black women are 62% more likely to receive inadequate prenatal care, 23% more likely to lack a connection to a maternity hospital, 67% more likely to give birth without a companion, and 33% more likely to undergo antepartum peregrination."<sup>26</sup> (Santana, 2024)<sup>27</sup>.

In addition, between 2013 and 2023, more than 232,000 births were recorded in which the mothers were girls aged 14 or younger. There has been a steady decline in registrations over these ten years; however, pregnancy among girls in this age group in Brazil remains a cause for concern. "In 2023, 11.9% of births in Brazil occurred among mothers in this age group. Although there has been a reduction compared to previous periods, the percentage remains alarming, especially in the North (19.4%) and Northeast (14.4%) regions, which continue to have the highest rates."

**Violence:** a violence against women is an alarming reality throughout the country, affecting women from different backgrounds. However, when regional and racial differences are analyzed, an even more critical scenario emerges. Black women in the Northeast face a significantly higher risk of being victims of homicide than white women in the same region, revealing the intersection between structural racism, gender inequality, and territorial exclusion.

The situation of rural women is worrying—most of them are invisible in survey data—as is the absence of public policies, particularly the lack of a safety net for those who experience different forms of violence in their territories.

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<sup>25</sup> <https://www.geledes.org.br/violencia-obstetrica-contra-negras-apontada-por-geledes-e-tema-na-onu>.

<sup>26</sup> <https://www.periodicos.ufc.br/rene/article/view/94521/251362>

<sup>27</sup> AT Santana in: percepções de mulheres negras sobre a violência obstétrica Racismo obstétrico, um debate em construção no Brasil (Black women's perceptions of obstetric violence Obstetric racism, a debate under construction in Brazil).

In 2023, more than 300,000 cases of domestic violence, sexual violence, and other forms of aggression against women were reported in Brazil—of these, more than 56,000 occurred in the Northeast. The absence of the State, both in providing public protection facilities and in promoting awareness campaigns, exacerbates the problem. Without effective policies, violence persists in the private sphere, far from public view and with even less possibility of holding perpetrators accountable. As RASEAN points out, "of the reports of violence against adult women (aged 20 to 59), 60.4% were against Black and Brown women, while 37.5% were against white women." These data reveal the overlapping vulnerabilities that affect Black women, a direct consequence of historical racial and socioeconomic inequalities.

Black women in the Northeast also denounce that State violence, through the police and military apparatus, is increasingly advancing with the genocide of Black youth, especially in the outskirts of large cities. In 2022, the victimization of Black people—including both Black and Brown individuals—in homicide records accounted for 76.5% of the total homicides recorded in the country. This totaled 35,531 victims.<sup>28</sup> When analyzing the ten states with the highest rates of homicides of Black people, six of them are in the Northeast, with Bahia having the highest rate (51.6%); "the state of Alagoas has the highest relative risk of a Black person being a victim of lethal violence". (Atlas da Violência, 2024).<sup>28</sup>

The data presented, among many others, reveal the worsening of regional socioeconomic inequalities in Brazil, keeping the Northeast at a disadvantage in relation to the Southeast, Central-West, and South regions, with markedly lower human and social development indices. Despite the implementation of public policies and social programs in recent decades—many of them focused primarily on the region—the scenario of inequality persists. The impoverishment of women—especially Black women—continues to be a structural reality, aggravated by the precarious living conditions of young people, who face serious barriers to accessing formal jobs and decent opportunities. Added to this is the fragility of social security systems and the State's inability to curb the multiple forms of violence that disproportionately affect Black women and youth.

Given this situation, strengthening the social and political organization of popular movements is essential. It is through collective coordination and skilled advocacy that it becomes possible to pressure the State to ensure the expansion of robust, integrated, and territorialized public policies that address structural discrimination and promote gender, race, and class justice. To transform the living conditions of

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<sup>28</sup> <https://www.ipea.gov.br/atlasviolencia/arquivos/artigos/9277-atlasviolencia2024retratodosmunicipiosbrasileros.pdf>.

women in the Northeast, it is necessary to invest in long-term strategies that combine combating violence, generating work and income, agroecology, access to health, education, water, and housing, and guaranteeing reproductive rights. These actions must take into account the specific territorial and cultural characteristics of the region, respecting the autonomy of local peoples and communities and prioritizing the leadership of women in political decisions. Only with structural and sustainable policies will it be possible to reverse negative social indicators and promote real change in the quality of life of the population of the Northeast.

## PROFILE OF THE ORGANIZATIONS INTERVIEWED

### Territorial and Political Representation

This study involved the participation of 26 organizations—formed by collectives, networks, coalitions, social movements, and civil society organizations—that significantly represented the political, ethnic, territorial, and identity diversity present in the Northeast region of Brazil. The interviews included representatives from all nine states in the region, with a notable presence of national feminist movements with strong roots and activities in local communities in the Northeast.

The study sample reflects broad territorial representation and a range of causes. Nationwide organizations with a strong presence in the Northeast participated, and grassroots organizations with local and regional operations were also heard, reinforcing the commitment to hearing diverse voices.

- ◆ National feminist movements, with a strong presence in the Northeast;
- ◆ Black women's organizations;
- ◆ Rural and Waterside women's organizations;
- ◆ Indigenous women's organizations;
- ◆ Quilombola organizations;
- ◆ Youth organizations.

## Trajectory and Time in Activity

The temporal diversity of organizations highlights the historical accumulation and renewal of feminist struggles in the Northeast. The distribution by year of foundation is as follows:

- ◆ • Founded before 1990 – 6 organizations;
- ◆ • Between 1991 and 2000 – 5 organizations;
- ◆ • Between 2001 and 2010 – 6 organizations;
- ◆ • Between 2011 and 2025 – 9 organizations.

## Institutional Formalization

Legal formalization is not a predominant condition among the organizations interviewed, revealing alternative strategies for institutional existence and resistance:

- ◆ • **16 organizations** (62% of study participants) do not have legal personality: movements, networks, collectives, coalitions;
- ◆ • **10 organizations** (38%) have legal personality (CNPJ).

## Fontes de Financiamento

The strategies these organizations use to access funding reveal the difficulties that require creativity; solidarity and precariousness characterize the sustainability of feminist activism in the region:

- ◆ • Open calls for small projects (up to R\$ 50,000) – 19 organizations;
- ◆ • Partnerships with associations, unions, NGOs, and local government – 19 organizations;
- ◆ • Open calls for international cooperation – 7 organizations;
- ◆ • Partnerships with universities – 3 organizations;
- ◆ • Self-financing through bazaars, raffles, fairs, solidarity actions, and services – all 26 organizations;
- ◆ • Government calls for proposals and parliamentary amendments – 4 organizations;
- ◆ • Only 9 organizations have accessed and continue to access funding that supports institutional projects;
- ◆ • 15 organizations do not have funding to pay their teams.

## Exp Expectations Regarding the Creation of a Feminist Fund in the Northeast

All organizations expressed support and enthusiasm for the feasibility study and the creation of a Northeast Feminist Fund, highlighting the relevance of this initiative for strengthening regional activism.

Among the arguments and expectations raised, the following stand out:

- ◆ • Recognition that the Northeast is the most unequal region in the country, but also the most politically organized;
- ◆ • Potential to address historical inequalities with a territorial focus;
- ◆ • Importance of ensuring the continuity of feminist actions and mobilizations;
- ◆ • Contribution to the democratization of funding for the feminist movement in Brazil;
- ◆ • Promotion of territorial autonomy and respect for local specificities;
- ◆ • Essential strategy for the political strengthening of the feminist and popular movement in the Northeast;
- ◆ • Recognition that movements in the region develop critical analyses consistent with the concrete reality of the territory;
- ◆ • Possibility of advancing in more sustainable and autonomous forms of organization.

Based on this active and territory-based dialogue, it is clear that there is an urgent need for financial support mechanisms that recognize, respect, and empower women and collectives in Northeast Brazil in their efforts to build social justice and gender and racial equality.

## FUNDING THE GRASSROOTS FEMINIST MOVEMENT IN THE NORTHEAST

This chapter addresses the main challenges and difficulties for the sustainability of feminist organizations, from conditions of access to resources and funding to issues related to the dynamics of funding, its temporality, and limitations.

In this sense, it is possible to affirm that the financing of grassroots feminist movements in the Northeast reflects the specific challenges and strategies adopted to

ensure the sustainability of these initiatives. Movements, organizations, and collectives in the Northeast face significant and distinct difficulties in obtaining and maintaining financial resources, both due to the reduced volume of resources available through philanthropy and due to the increasing dismantling of public policies and the precariousness of life.

Sources of funding for these movements include calls for proposals from national and international agencies, individual donations, and partnerships with institutions focused on social justice and gender equality. For example, funds such as the Fundo Brasil de Direitos Humanos (Brazil Human Rights Fund) and the Coordenadoria Ecumênica de Serviço (Ecumenical Service Coordination, CESE)<sup>29</sup> have played an important role, launching calls for proposals to support resistance projects focused on rural women's rights and climate justice, issues that are crucial for the Northeast region. The Fundo Elas + also plays a significant role in financing feminist and women's organizations through the Mulheres em Movimento (Women in Movement)<sup>30</sup> call for proposals and other support through specific programs. Elas+ has provided direct funding with the aim of strengthening institutions and supporting the actions of dozens of collectives annually.

However, these funding sources also face their own limitations and, in light of the current global political climate, resource constraints tend to make it even more difficult for feminist movements and organizations to access support. Currently, calls for proposals are annual and short-term, generally lasting up to 12 months or less, requiring feminist organizations to adopt diversified strategies to maintain their activities. This includes seeking alliances with other organizations, both local and regional, as well as international, in addition to the need to ensure the capacity to raise their own funds through the sale of services and products.

Another challenge pointed out by the popular feminist movement is maintaining its political autonomy from funders, seeking to ensure that resources are used to strengthen and structure feminist struggles, such as the fight against patriarchy, racism, and social inequalities. Transformative action takes place in a procedural format, involving various factors and strategies, from political education and self-organization to concrete actions with public authorities and society. For feminist and women's movements, the alignment of these actions occurs gradually; it is built, in feminist praxis, based on consensus building in light of the reality of each territory.

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29 <https://www.cese.org.br/>.

30 <https://fundosocialelas.org/mulheres-em-movimento/>.

In this sense, the autonomy of building and carrying out feminist action for women in the Northeast is fundamental to its existence as a movement. This contrasts with funding formats that establish their own criteria for access to resources, disregarding local construction and the strategies of movements or organizations. And, in times of increasingly reduced access to resources, this format of agreement tends to weaken political action and promote isolated, one-off actions, to the detriment of a process of movement building.

This overview highlights the importance of broadening the dialogue on the sustainability of feminist action in the current funding landscape, reinforcing solidarity and mutual support among movements to address the barriers imposed by both the socioeconomic context and contemporary political challenges.

The search for greater regional equity in access to and definition of resources is also a central point raised by the movements, especially considering that most financiers and funds are located in other regions—mainly in the Southeast. This means that support lines are often defined outside the territories that most need adequate conditions for access and participation in the definition of these resources.

The interviews and surveys conducted revealed as the **main challenges in fundraising:**

- 1. Lack of resources and funding constraints:** the main challenge faced is the lack of adequate funding, both for specific advocacy, training, and communication activities and for the basic operating structure of the organizations. Most organizations access funding that does not pay staff, only covering the costs of activities. This limitation makes the work carried out in organizations, which is often voluntary, even more precarious. Few organizations have funding for their institutional projects.
- 2. Low level of training in project development and management:** many collectives start with local leaders who, with their ability to connect and mobilize people, form action groups. Most of these groups don't have much access to computers, technology, or the internet, and have little or no training in project development. Organizations with a bit more structure try to train at least one person to be in charge of this. In some cases, they turn to people in the community or universities to develop projects. The criteria for accessing and developing projects eliminate many collectives and actions, either due to a lack of knowledge about the calls for proposals or because of the requirements established (online forms or documents that are difficult for some of the organizations interviewed to complete).

3. **Limited activists time:** many members are unable to devote themselves fully to political activities due to other obligations, such as work and family care. Due to a lack of support and precarious funding, many leaders of organizations share their time between different jobs, often in the informal market, to secure an income. In many cases, personal income supplements that of the collective or organization, ensuring the continuity of actions.
4. **Requirements of calls for proposals:** Many demands are beyond the capacity of smaller organizations. Although some calls for proposals have advanced in their formats to promote access, there are still many accounts of challenges in meeting the minimum requirements for obtaining resources.
5. **Short execution deadline:** calls for proposals generally require projects to be completed within 12 months, making it difficult to ensure the continuity of actions.
6. **Insufficient formalization:** Many organizations face difficulties because they do not have legal personality (CNPJ) or because they are unable to keep up with tax and accounting obligations, considering that access to resources for institutional support is sporadic and that maintaining their legal status is expensive and requires continuity and permanence.
7. **Lack of continuous fundraising strategies:** There is a lack of medium- and long-term planning to ensure the financial sustainability of organizations, which can also be attributed to the precariousness of internal structures and insufficient funding.

### The main sources of funding presented:

- *Small project funds:* Mobilization of local resources: organizations seek to raise funds through local strategies, including events, bingo games, raffles, and direct donations;
- *Self-funding:* dedication of time and resources by the activists themselves to finance operations and actions, in addition to holding fairs to sell food, handicrafts, and services provided to other people or organizations, which are returned to the collective in the form of resources;
- *Medium and large-scale projects:* a smaller proportion of organizations are able to submit proposals and obtain funding from larger calls for proposals, usually coming from international cooperation.

### Average annual funds turnover:

Considering that the vast majority of the organizations interviewed carry out their activities through solidarity campaigns, product sales, bazaars, raffles, and services; and that some of them are unable to raise funds annually, leaving them without

any financial support for more than two years, maintaining their activities through solidarity and volunteer work.

- More than half of the organizations interviewed have a turnover of up to R\$ 50,000 per year.
- Only a few of the organizations interviewed, mainly NGOs with more structure, have access to resources above R\$ 200,000.

## **Formalization, a challenge of continuous maintenance**

Of the organizations interviewed, 38% are formalized and struggle to comply with legal requirements, considering the demands of keeping up to date with accounting records, certifications, certificates, and all ancillary obligations.

For the 62% who are not formalized, access to resources occurs in two ways:

- Through projects that do not require a CNPJ (Corporate Taxpayer ID Number), which simplifies access but limits the amount of funding and duration;
- Through another organization, called a "legal representative" or fiscal sponsor, which manages resources for collectives without legal personality, as a way of enabling and democratizing access to financing and strengthening the common field of action.

These points highlight the challenges that feminist organizations in the Northeast face in maintaining their operations and political activities, emphasizing the need for more stable and strategic funding to ensure the continuity and strengthening of their struggles.

## **How access to resources is gained – differences between organizations**

Different formats for accessing resources were presented. While NGOs access calls for proposals, mainly from international cooperation, and many already have long-standing funders, movements and collectives use other forms and characteristics, which directly impact the construction of collective actions and struggles, which are medium- and long-term actions. In these cases, the interruption of funding limits and prolongs the implementation of concrete strategies for transforming reality. In this sense, we have:

- **Movements and Networks** – They rely on the support of NGOs that share their political alignment and contribute resources for actions and meetings, or that generate resources raised by the movement or network itself. In addition to managing, they offer structural support to the movements' projects. These resources are inconsistent and occasional, depending on calls for proposals aimed at strengthening networks and movements.
- **NGOs** – With more structured institutionalization and longer operating histories, they have access to international cooperation and other funding sources. A gradual and profound change can be observed in this type of funding, which is increasingly relying on **focal points/intermediaries** for more consistent decentralization of resources. This change alters the configuration of the feminist organizations field, since these entities, by acting to strengthen the feminist movement and its struggles to transform international cooperation, are increasingly relying on focal points/intermediaries for the decentralization of resources. They access resources more consistently, even with signs of decline in recent years. This change causes structural alterations in the configuration of feminist organizations, since these organizations work to strengthen the feminist movement and its struggles for transformation, functioning as beacons of support for the actions of collective movements.
- **Small organizations** – have access to limited and inconsistent resources, mainly funds earmarked for small projects. Most are not formalized and need organizations with more administrative structure and legal personality to support and manage their projects. They rarely remunerate their work teams, depending on voluntary efforts to ensure the continuity of their actions.

## Partnership Projects and Consortium Projects

One type of project that was frequently mentioned during the interviews was partnership or consortium projects. It is important to differentiate between them, as the impacts and issues they raise are distinct and often contradictory.

**Partnership projects** are proposals developed in harmony within the same political field, for joint action on a specific project. These are organizations that already work in a coordinated manner or in a network for their activities—training, meetings, marches, or campaigns—and that see larger calls for proposals as an opportunity to access resources that guarantee greater support for their collective purpose. These partnerships presuppose political alignment in the construction of the collective process and occur between NGOs, between NGOs and small collectives, state and regional networks, articulations, or between NGOs and movements.

## Points raised about Partnership Projects

- Possibility of access to more robust and longer-term calls, with an average duration of 2 to 3 years;
- Projects with a shared political view;
- Coordination with other organizations in the same political field;
- Building more political strength for projects that strengthen struggles;
- Potentialization of Actions and Strategies;
- Mutual support between organizations;
- Demand for greater organizational structure, especially in the administrative and financial areas;
- Consensus-based development of proposals and collective action;
- Need for transparency in project management and governance.

Consortium projects, on the other hand, are required in calls for proposals from international cooperation agencies, foundations, or funds, which, in an effort to enhance partnership projects, end up creating or imposing arrangements that are often not aligned in the same political field or in the way actions are implemented. This format can generate ruptures and wear and tear in political actions and articulations, causing the opposite effect of the original proposal, that is, the disintegration of the field or the unfeasibility of actions due to the requirements of the funder.

## Points raised about Consortium Projects at the request of the financier

- Interference in the strategies of organizations with different political views;
- Amplification of organizational differences and divergences and political alignment;
- Fragmentation of resources – calls for proposals with large contributions, but divided among several organizations;
- Difficulty in building consensus and maximizing actions;
- High demand, on the part of the funder, for joint actions among the funded organizations.

## **Organizations that provide support to movements, networks, and collectives**

Another institutional arrangement used to enable access to resources occurs through organizations that offer support and sustenance to movements, networks, and collectives. These are mainly formalized NGOs, which have a larger administrative structure and, as a strategy to strengthen movements and democratize access to resources, make their structures available by managing projects for movements, networks, and collectives. These institutions are popularly known as “umbrella” organizations, which assume the role of “legal representative,” ensuring access to resources for organizations that do not have this structure or legal personality (CNPJ).

This modality is more of a survival strategy for the movement than a strategy for accessing funding, since this support depends on political alignment in the construction of a partnership for management. Organizations agree to provide this support to movements, networks, and collectives linked to the construction of the field of struggle to which they belong.

However, while this strategy is recognized as fundamental, the intense demands generated by this support end up overburdening the managing organizations. The demands for administrative and financial support are not covered by funding, so that management teams remain the same size but with a much greater volume of responsibilities. This causes greater precariousness and tension within the organizations themselves, which, even recognizing the political relevance of offering management, are often unable to provide administrative support in the face of the volume of demands.

## **Local Funds as Intermediaries**

The study highlights the role of intermediary entities in accessing financing. These are funds that centralize resources and then decentralize them through open calls for proposals. There is a growing trend—especially in the context of international cooperation, as detailed in the Study on Funds—to rely on these intermediary institutions as responsible for centralizing the strategy and dynamics of financing. These entities structure more robust contributions and, based on their installed capacity, decentralize them through calls for proposals that reflect the patterns mentioned above: small-value calls for proposals with discontinuous transfers.

Social and philanthropic funds play a strategic and increasingly recognized role in the financing ecosystem of civil society organizations, especially community-based

ones. Their relevance stems largely from the decentralization of resources through accessible calls for proposals, which significantly expands the possibilities for financial support to groups that would otherwise have little or no chance of accessing traditional international cooperation. These funds are highly valued by organizations for their ongoing efforts to improve selection, implementation, and accountability mechanisms, making the processes more compatible with the reality of collectives that, for the most part, do not have a robust administrative and financial structure for managing complex projects.

However, significant challenges remain. These funds often end up competing with the organizations themselves for the same resources, without offering structural support or technical assistance. As a result, small CSOs and informal collectives are particularly weakened, and resources tend to be concentrated in medium-sized organizations that are better able to meet bureaucratic requirements. This movement reinforces a cycle of exclusion precisely for the groups that need support the most.

The central tension lies in replacing the format of direct funding to feminist organizations and movements with a decentralization model that, instead of strengthening them, ends up fragmenting and reducing the volume of resources allocated to network-based movements. This trend weakens the processes of collective construction of feminist struggles and organization—a complex equation to solve. If, on the one hand, it broadens the reach to more collectives and organizations, on the other, one of the effects is greater difficulty in regional and national coordination of movement processes.

This scenario is not limited to the Northeast, but is particularly pronounced in the region, where large national networks and movements have greater organizational capacity and influence. This macrostructure—formed by collectives, networks, movements, and organizations—depends on more solid and sustainable funding. If the current funding trend continues, the main organizations responsible for sustaining feminist networks and movements in Brazil will also tend to be weakened.

Another strongly voiced criticism concerns the reduction in autonomy that this format of access via intermediaries imposes on organizations. Alignment with external strategies, dissociated from the collective construction developed and agreed upon by movements or networks, directly impacts the conditions for sustaining feminist self-organization, placing the process of collective construction in a state of permanent tension.

## NORTHEAST FEMINIST FUND: TERRITORY AS A KEYWORD

The possibility of creating a Feminist Fund for the Northeast was received, from the very first responses, as something timely and desirable, imbued with a strong sense of belonging. Acceptance was unanimous, accompanied by expressions of joy and hope, followed by affirmations of the urgency and necessity of concrete conditions for the struggle.

Brazil is a country of continental dimensions, and the Northeast has historically been expropriated and exploited since the colonial invasion. Centuries of patriarchy, racism, and xenophobia have been institutionalized as public and social policy, which only a few years ago began to take on new contours due to the persistence of struggles for resistance and transformation of social reality.

It is in this context that a Feminist Fund for the Northeast would represent a concrete possibility for sustaining the struggle. Feminist organizations in the region have increasingly found it difficult to access and secure resources, and changes in cooperation trends have imposed new challenges in this field. The increasingly restricted space for building bridges of dialogue and access to resources imposes the role of beneficiaries of projects, rather than authors.

From this perspective, the possibility of creating a Feminist Fund in the Northeast was presented as a strategic and essential alternative to ensure the continuity of actions, guarantee access to resources, strengthen autonomy, and value regional diversity, sustaining the struggle for a more just and equal world.

The main points presented in the study on the creation of a possible Feminist Fund for the Northeast point to the need to guarantee:

- Autonomy of political actions by organizations, collectives, and movements;
- Sustainability of different organizational formats;
- Support for the entire Northeast region and its different territories and struggles;
- Support for the institutional sustainability of organizations;
- Accessibility, with accountability requirements compatible with the reality of the groups;

- Flexible resources that allow activities to be carried out in contexts of sudden change;
- Provision of training workshops on project development and management;
- Maintenance of channels for ongoing support for project management;
- Production of educational material on the fund and financing in accessible formats;
- Ensuring support for maintaining structure and accounting;
- Developing methods for including groups that are unable to access resources in the current cooperation formats;
- Respecting the social technologies of the territories and local construction processes;
- Strengthening groups that have historically worked in the territories and the region;
- Capillarization in the territories and expansion to other spaces, ensuring participation in decision-making—both in the constitution and governance processes;
- Addressing different views and expectations, with attention to ethical challenges and the need to build solid internal agreements;
- Sustainability of feminism over time, reconciling different contributions and sources of resources.

**PART II – FUNDS AND  
THE FINANCING OF THE  
FEMINIST MOVEMENT IN  
THE NORTHEAST**

This study aimed to provide an understanding of the structures, strategies, challenges, and opportunities for creating a feminist fund in Northeast Brazil and included the following steps for its implementation: survey of funds operating in Brazil; interviews; and document analysis, briefly described below.

## Survey of funds operating in Brazil

The survey took as its starting point the "Mapeamento de organizações independentes doadoras para a sociedade civil nas áreas de justiça socioambiental e desenvolvimento comunitário no Brasil" (Mapping of independent donor organizations for civil society in the areas of socio-environmental justice and community development in Brazil), published in 2023 by Rede Comuá, which analyzed 31 national funds. Based on the recommendations of the organizations that proposed the study and documental sources, other global and regional funds operating in Brazil were added, in particular funds focused on women's organizations. However, there was no intention to conduct an exhaustive survey, given the limitations of the conditions for conducting the study and its purpose (ANNEX III).

## Interviews

In agreement with the organizations proposing the study, a group of funds to be interviewed was identified, as well as key figures in the field. A range of 12 to 14 interviews was defined, covering different types of funds and individuals with extensive knowledge and experience in the field.

The number of interviews was determined based on time constraints, the availability of the guests to participate, and the purposes of the study.

A reference script was prepared for the interviews, containing a set of ten questions (APPENDIX I). The script was shared and approved by the organizations proposing the study.

From July to November 2024, 18 interviews were conducted, 12 with representatives of funds, 2 with representatives of fund networks, and 4 with leading figures in the field (APPENDIX III).

This report seeks to reflect the diversity of views expressed by the interviewees, systematizing key ideas that enable the study's objectives to be achieved.

## Document analysis

Donors, funds, and fund networks have been investing time, energy, and resources to characterize the universe of existing funds, as well as to analyze their operating methodologies, their possibilities, and their limits as instruments for strengthening organizations that work to defend, guarantee, and promote rights.

Although it was not possible to process the enormous volume of knowledge generated from these efforts, the study included the analysis of some key documents published in recent years, with the aim of extracting data and analyses relevant to the research.

Among the documents analyzed are reports on the financing of the feminist movement, the Black feminist movement, and the LGBTIAPN+ movement; mappings of Brazilian funds; and other documents produced by funds or networks of funds. Articles and reports published on websites of actors relevant to the topic were also analyzed.

## FUNDING FOR WOMEN'S ORGANIZATIONS AND THE GENDER JUSTICE AGENDA

In this section, we present data on the current funding situation for women's organizations and the gender justice agenda, considering its intersections with other agendas, such as racial justice and climate justice. We also highlight some elements of the global and national political context that impact the possibility of creating a feminist fund in the Northeast, based on interviews, dialogues, and readings conducted for the preparation of this report.

A first element to highlight is the consensus regarding the idea that women's organizations and movements suffer from underfunding, to the detriment of other sectors of civil society. This situation is exacerbated if we take into account the location of organizations, with those in the Global South facing various types of barriers to accessing resources, compared to organizations based in the Global North.

Intersectional approaches encounter even more barriers to funding, which can be attributed to structural factors, such as the colonial influence on the configuration of cooperation and philanthropy institutions, or the simplistic conceptions that guide part of the work carried out. An example of this is the limited view of what constitutes the agenda of the feminist movement or the Black feminist movement, which

encompasses a wide range of issues on the democratic and human rights agenda, and not just those historically attributed to feminism/Black feminism.

This problem can also be found in issues considered "typically feminist," such as violence against women. The study conducted by the **Global Greengrants Fund** (2024)<sup>31</sup> states that:

"Narrow definitions of violence are misaligned with how most WEDs define and experience violence, which is structural and includes historical oppression, current state practices, socio-economic and political exclusion, land dispossession, defamation, personal attacks, intimidation, and patriarchal domination in their communities" (p. 21).

Below are some figures collected in recent years that demonstrate the underfunding situation.

Data published by the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) indicates that the annual average of Official Development Assistance (ODA) to support women's rights organizations, movements, and government institutions fell to US\$631 million in the period 2021-2022, compared to US\$891 million in 2019-2020.

Excluding funds committed to government institutions, the amount was \$453 million in 2021-2022, less than 1% of total ODA. In the same period (2021-2022), of the 43% of bilateral aid programs that aimed to promote gender equality, only 4% had this theme as their main objective, while for the remaining 39% it was just one of several important objectives. In terms of volume of resources, this represented US\$64.1 billion. Although this amount increased from US\$60 billion in 2019-2020, the proportion decreased from 45% in that period, marking the first decline after a decade of steady growth. This scenario raises concerns about the political intentions of donors.<sup>32</sup>

These figures become even more dramatic when analyzed in light of the information released in 2024 by the **#ShifthePower Movement**,<sup>33</sup> which shows that less than 10% of aid from countries that make up the OECD Development Assistance Committee (DAC) goes directly to civil society organizations in the Global South. In other words, more than 90% of the resources allocated to civil society remain

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31 A Holistic Approach to Funding Women Environmental Defenders (Global Greengrants Fund, 2024). [https://www.greengrants.org/wp-content/uploads/2024/05/GGF\\_v10.pdf](https://www.greengrants.org/wp-content/uploads/2024/05/GGF_v10.pdf)

32 <https://www.oecd.org/en/topics/sub-issues/gender-and-development.html>

33 Too Southern to be funded: The Funding Bias Against the Global South (#ShifthePower Movement, 2024).

with organizations based in DAC member countries and other organizations in the Global North.

With regard to women's organizations, according to research published by the **Association for Women's Rights and Development** (AWID)<sup>34</sup> in 2021, covering 3,739 feminist and women's rights organizations in the Global South that sought funding from the Global Fund for Women between 2015 and 2019, only 6% of these organizations had an annual budget above US\$300,000, and only 2% exceeded US\$1 million. On the other hand, 48% of organizations had an annual budget of less than US\$30,000, with this percentage reaching 58% in Latin America and the Caribbean.

Research published by the **Black Feminist Fund**<sup>35</sup> in 2023 showed that only 0.1% to 0.35% of global foundation donations and only 5% of human rights funding went to Black women, girls, and trans people. This is reflected in conditions that are very unfavorable to the Black feminist movement: 61% of Black feminist organizations have annual budgets of less than US\$50,000, and 59% of them have never received institutional funding, accessing support for up to two years (52%), mainly for specific projects (75%). In addition, more than half of the organizations (53%) do not have funds available for the next fiscal year.

The **Global Greengrants Fund** (2024) analyzed donations made by hundreds of foundations working on the connections between the environment, women, and gender-based violence, and found the following figures: out of the \$4.3 billion in environmental funding in 2017, only 1.12% (\$53.1 million) was directed to women and the environment. Even less, only 0.05% of that total (\$2.3 million) was directed toward issues of gender-based violence against women environmental activists.

In the report published by the **Global Philanthropy Project** (2024)<sup>36</sup> an analysis of global foundations' funding for the period 2021-2022 shows that less than 39 cents of every \$100 went to LGBTI issues, including funds allocated to organizations in the United States.

Another study on the reality of donations for social justice in the United Kingdom for the period 2021-2022 — **Funding Social Justice 2**<sup>37</sup> — showed that most resources were concentrated on service provision initiatives (32%) or advocacy actions in influential bodies (37%). Less than 10% of social justice funding went to community

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34 Where is the money for feminist organizing? (AWID, 2021).

35 Where is the Money for Black Feminist Movements? (BFF, 2023).

36 Global Philanthropy Project (2024) Global Resources Report Government and Philanthropic Support for Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender, and Intersex Communities 2021/2022

37 The Funding Justice 2 report analyzed 18,816 grants from 60 funders, many committed to social justice. These grants totaled over £950 million—about 21% of all UK foundation grants in 2021-2022. Of that figure, 27% (£256 million) went to work focused on social justice — just 5.7% of all UK foundation grants in the period

organizing or mobilization activities, which are fundamental to building power, and only 1.6% of the grants analyzed in the report went to initiatives with a primary focus on organizing. In addition, most of these funds did not reach local communities, with 63.4% of donations going to actions at the national level. These findings are significant because they reveal limitations in support for transformative actions led by local or grassroots organizations, even in a specific segment of donations for social justice.

Bringing the focus closer to the Brazilian context, some data demonstrate the low access to resources by local women's organizations. In a recent publication, **Fundo Elas+** and **Rede Comuá** (2024)<sup>38</sup> analyzed information from 1,280 women's and LGBTI+ groups and organizations, 37% of which are from the Northeast, that participated in the *Mulheres em Movimento 2024: Por Democracia, Justiça de Gênero e Climática* (Women in Movement 2024: For Democracy, Gender and Climate Justice) call for proposals, launched by Elas+. The data shows that, in 2023, almost half of the organizations spent less than R\$ 20,000 (48%) and 24% spent between R\$ 20,000 and R\$ 50,000. In other words, 72% of the organizations worked with an annual budget of up to R\$ 50,000. Another 13% of organizations had budgets between R\$ 50,000 and R\$ 100,000; 8% between R\$ 100,000 and R\$ 250,000; and only 7% above R\$ 250,000.

A research conducted by the **Iniciativa PIPA** (2023)<sup>39</sup>, based on information from 607 organizations in peripheral areas throughout Brazil (28% in the Northeast), pointed out that 31% of organizations had an annual budget of less than R\$ 5,000, 24% obtained between R\$ 5,000 and R\$ 25,000, 17% between R\$ 25,000 and R\$ 100,000, and 15% had no resources. In other words, when those that had no resources were added to those that operated in the lowest range, the total reached 46%—almost half of the initiatives surveyed—with an annual budget of up to R\$ 5,000. When cross-referencing this data with the racial profile of the people leading the initiatives (74% Black and 68% women), the study evidences a reality in which Black women are possibly the main financiers of the initiatives, using their own resources.

In the survey published in 2023 by the *Coordenadoria Ecumênica de Serviço* (Ecumenical Service Coordination, CESE)<sup>40</sup>, based on information collected from 61 women's organizations in the Northeast, 10% of the organizations did not hand-

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38 Global Philanthropy Project (2024) Global Resources Report Government and Philanthropic Support for Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender, and Intersex Communities 2021/2022

39 *Periferias e filantropia: as barreiras de acesso a recursos no Brasil* (Peripheries and philanthropy: the obstacles to accessing resources in Brazil) (Iniciativa PIPA, 2023).

40 *Nossas lutas, nossos jeitos de lutar: experiências de organizações de mulheres do Nordeste na defesa de direitos e da democracia* (Our struggles, our ways of struggle: experiences of women's organizations in the Northeast in defense of rights and democracy) (CESE, 2023).

le any financial resources, while more than half of the organizations (55%) reported handling up to R\$50,000 per year. Meanwhile, 20% of the organizations had an annual budget of between R\$50,000 and R\$100,000; 5% reported handling between R\$100,000 and R\$150,000; and only 10% reported handling more than R\$200,000.

About national philanthropy, the **GIFE Census 2022-2023**<sup>41</sup> provides information on 137 companies, institutes, and corporate, family, and independent foundations that allocated R\$ 4.8 billion in private funds to public-purpose projects. In terms of thematic areas, most organizations (71%) reported working in the field of education, with 33% having education as their priority focus. Productive inclusion, entrepreneurship, and income generation are in second place, both as general areas of activity (54%) and as a priority focus (10%). Defense of rights, democracy, and culture of peace appear in sixth place, as an area of activity for 38% of organizations, but as a priority focus for only 9%. Gender justice, racial justice, and related issues are not included in the list of 17 thematic areas, but may be included in the 6% of "others." As for the territories of direct action, only 10% of institutes and foundations operate in quilombola territories; 7% in Indigenous territories; and 3% in settlements, while 41% operate in communities and territories surrounding the business units of the supporting companies.

This form of funding for conventional philanthropy is also present in other national contexts, as observed in a study conducted in 2024 by independent researchers, with funding from the OAK Foundation:<sup>42</sup>

"Even with the growth of corporate foundations as important sources of funding, their approach often leans toward a "technical-managerial perspective" on problem solving, favoring the direct provision of social services and distancing themselves from systemic changes and "controversial" issues such as gender, human rights, and environmental justice." (p. 9).

The current approach to conventional philanthropy occurs despite attempts to incorporate transformative language, with references to social structures, combating inequalities, anti-racism, and the decolonization of philanthropy. This means that shifts in discourse have not led to significant changes in practices in this field.

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41 <https://mosaico.gife.org.br/censo-gife/2022>.

42 *Compreendendo o ecossistema da redistribuição de doações no Sul Global: meio ambiente, gênero, justiça social e direitos humanos na Ásia, na América Latina e no Caribe* (Understanding the ecosystem of grant redistribution in the Global South: environment, gender, social justice, and human rights in Asia, Latin America, and the Caribbean) (2024). RutaCívica\_Parte1\_PT\_Resumo-Executivo-e-Recomendacoes\_Compreendendo-o-ecossistema-da-redistribuicao-de-doacoes-no-sul-global.pdf.

## THE ROLE OF “INTERMEDIARY” FUNDS

In this context of restricted funding, both from official cooperation and corporate philanthropy, as well as from the philanthropic field more generally, small project funds, particularly feminist/women's funds, are emerging as highly important for women's organizations, as was found, for example, in the aforementioned study by **Elas+** and **Rede Comuá** (2024), which found that, in addition to funding sources linked to the immediate environment of the communities themselves (volunteering, donations from individuals, sale of services, and events), independent national funds stand out, with 18.59%, ahead of other sources such as municipal governments (14.3%) and national NGOs (12.42%), independent international funds (11.8%), among others.

In the aforementioned study conducted by **CESE** (2023) focusing on women's organizations in the Northeast, the most frequent resource mobilization action is participation in calls for proposals from national institutions, cited by more than 62% of organizations. The large number of mentions of fundraising from individuals, both participants in the organizations themselves and external individuals, is noteworthy: both were mentioned by 50% of the organizations. In fourth place is the item referring to fundraising events, such as raffles, bingos, and parties, with 38%. The production and sale of products was mentioned by 34% of the organizations. Next are virtual fundraising mechanisms, such as online crowdfunding (16%), and the sale of services, cited by 10% of organizations.

Data collected globally corroborates the enormous demand for intermediary funds, which do not have sufficient capacity to meet this demand. Data released by the **Prospera network**<sup>43</sup>, which brings together 49 women's and feminist funds, show that even with a 31% increase in the volume of resources from 2020 to 2022, reaching a total of US\$ 275 million, the network's members were only able to handle 39% of the requests for support in 2022.

According to the **Black Feminist Fund** (2023), 81% of Black feminist organizations do not have sufficient financial resources to achieve their goals, and even with the growth in the number and budgets of Black feminist funds, they were only able to meet between 12% and 40% of the demands received.

According to the **Global Greengrants Fund** (2024), 81% of collectives, organizations, and environmental justice groups led by women and girls have insufficient funding to carry out their work.

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<sup>43</sup> [https://prospera-inwf.org/wp-content/uploads/2024/09/OnePager\\_aop.26SPTpdf.pdf](https://prospera-inwf.org/wp-content/uploads/2024/09/OnePager_aop.26SPTpdf.pdf).

In Brazil, the high demand from organizations for public notices and calls for projects from national funds also reveals this pent-up demand, with a very small percentage of proposals being funded in each call.

It is also necessary to consider the inequalities in access to information about these calls for proposals and the precariousness of organizations in specific segments, such as Black women, Indigenous peoples, and traditional communities, most of which work without paid staff, with less access to the internet, and with overworked members. It is common to hear representatives of women's groups and organizations in the Northeast, for example, reporting that they only learn about calls for proposals a few days before the deadline or that they are tired of trying to get approval from certain funds, preferring to invest their already limited time in carrying out their groups' activities, even if they are self-financed. This and other points were addressed in the first part of this study.

## FUNDS SUPPORTING CIVIL SOCIETY ORGANIZATIONS OPERATING IN BRAZIL

In the process of conducting this study, 51 funds were identified with a geographical scope that includes Brazil. Of these, 15 funds are specifically aimed at women/Black women/Indigenous women/lesbians, and one fund is aimed at trans organizations (International Trans Fund).

This is a highly heterogeneous set of funds, not all of which can be considered "intermediary funds." Even among these, there is considerable variation in terms of length of existence, origin, geographic coverage, volume of resources, thematic scope, legal format, and types of support. Just to illustrate, with some examples of Brazilian funds, we highlight that the CESE small projects fund was created in 1973, surpassing five decades of existence, while the *Fundo Jaguaratá* was launched by the *Articulação de Povos Indígenas* (Articulation of Indigenous Peoples, APIB) of Brazil in September 2024.<sup>44</sup>

There are also funds with national coverage and a wide range of themes and subjects supported, such as the *Fundo Brasil de Direitos Humanos* (Brazil Human Rights Fund), and funds with a very restricted geographical focus, such as the *Fundo*

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<sup>44</sup> Between the consolidation of data for the preparation of the first draft of the study and its final version, new funds were announced, such as the Rutí fund, linked to the Conselho Indígena de Roraima (Indigenous Council of Roraima, CIR), and the Fundo de Apoio ao Jornalismo (Journalism Support Fund, FAJ), to support local media outlets.

*Socioambiental Barcarena e Abaetetuba* (Barcarena and Abaetetuba Socio-Environmental Fund), or with a focus on specific territories, such as the *Fundo Babaçu* (Babaçu Fund), which supports different communities and organizations working in areas of babaçu palm groves. Some funds were created as such, while others emerged as one of the strategies of an existing organization or movement; some have their own legal personality, such as the *Fundo Podáli*, and others operate formally linked to an organization, such as SAAP-FASE. The forms of support also vary, both in terms of access to resources, volume of funding per project, and accountability models, among other aspects.

It is worth noting the existence of two funds specifically aimed at women, both with national coverage, but with very different trajectories and characteristics: *Elas+* and *Fundo Agbara*. *Elas+* was founded in 2000, initially called Fundo Ângela Borba, manages a significant volume of resources and plays a very relevant role in the field of philanthropy, integrating fund networks and leading knowledge production initiatives in the area. *Fundo Agbara*, founded in 2020, focuses on Black women, supporting both individual entrepreneurs and organizations, while also maintaining other areas of work.

In addition to these, there is the *Fundo Autônomo de Mulheres da Amazônia Luzia Dorothy do Espírito Santo* (Luzia Dorothy do Espírito Santo Autonomous Fund for Women of the Amazon), founded in 2014, aimed at strengthening collective projects by women in the Lower Amazon region of Pará, and the *Fundo Babaçu*, which, although linked to a women's movement, the MIQCB - *Movimento Interestadual das Quebradeiras de Coco Babaçu* (Interstate Movement of Babaçu Coconut Breakers), supports different types of organizations located in babaçu palm territories in four states, including two states in the Northeast (Piauí and Maranhão), as well as Pará and Tocantins in the North.

The funds are organized into networks, among which six were identified as most relevant to this study, four of them with a focus on gender/women: Prospera - International Network of Women's Funds; GAGGA - Global Alliance for Green and Gender Action; *Alianza Latinoamericana de Fondos de Mujeres y Feministas*; and *Alianza para los Movimientos Feministas* (multi-stakeholder network, including feminist funds). The remaining two are Brazilian networks that include women's funds among their members: *Rede Comuá* and *Rede de Fundos Comunitários da Amazônia* (Amazon Community Funds Network).

## Specific features of the funds

Independent national funds play a central role in financing small organizations in Brazil. In the interviews and documents analyzed, the interviewees highlight specific characteristics that make these funds key players in the philanthropic ecosystem.

Some of the characteristics most valued by the interviewees are:<sup>45</sup>

- In-depth knowledge of the geographical or thematic contexts in which they work, enabling them to allocate resources strategically, identifying uncovered areas, invisible subjects, and emerging issues;
- Understanding of local political dynamics, which implies the ability to distribute resources without causing harm or exacerbating tensions in the political arena in which the supported organizations operate;
- Ability to respond more appropriately to the priorities and strategies defined by local groups and organizations;
- Possibility of supporting organizations without legal personality;<sup>46</sup>
- Willingness to take risks and make bets on the support provided, based on knowledge of the field;
- Flexible support, including institutional costs, for organizational and management work;<sup>47</sup>
- Adoption of participatory decision-making practices regarding donations
- Simplification of procedures for submitting proposals, reports, and accountability
- Adoption of intersectional approaches, recognizing the connections between different thematic areas and supporting actions in a more holistic and integrated manner
- Ability to influence the agenda of major donors and large funds, asking questions and prompting advances in how priorities are set and support mechanisms are designed, based on the experiences of local organizations and the contexts in which they operate;
- Quality relationships with supported organizations, moving away from the concept of "beneficiaries" toward the idea of "partners";
- An approach guided by the movements or communities they serve.

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45 Further research would be needed to determine the extent to which existing funds implement these specificities in their practices, given the limitations imposed by agreements with donors and by current legislation in Brazil and donor countries.

46 Most of the time, this happens through another organization with legal personality, which becomes legally responsible for managing the resources.

47 One practice that was criticized in discussions with organizations was the so-called flexible support, which is, however, conditional on participation in events, consortia, and other types of collective initiatives, compromising a large part of the resources granted by the funds.

In fact, the funds recognize themselves as partners of organizations and movements, and express discomfort with the definition of “intermediary funds” or regranters. This rejection was detected in the report produced jointly in 2024 by the Global Greengrants Fund, Prospera, the **Human Rights Funders Network, and GAGGA**.<sup>48</sup> For example, the representative of one of the Brazilian funds that participated in the survey expressed a preference for the definition of “activist fund” as opposed to “intermediary fund.”

The same issue was noted in the study conducted with support from the **OAK Foundation** (2024)<sup>49</sup>, based on interviews, conversations, and two learning communities involving more than 90 philanthropy professionals and social leaders from different locations in Asia, Latin America, and the Caribbean. The consultants responsible for the research pointed out a series of roles assumed by the funds, in addition to their most obvious role as financial supporters: the funds also act by mobilizing, contributing to the construction of the field, enhancing capacities, articulating, producing, and disseminating knowledge, among other strategic activities.<sup>50</sup>

The impacts of such an expanded role for the funds must be examined in greater depth, in light of the observations made by some of the interviewees in this study regarding the necessary delineation of roles between funds and movements. The possibility that funds may contribute to “unbalancing” local political dynamics through their choice of financing mechanisms (stimulated consortia, for example) or the prioritization of certain issues, regions, and subjects should not be overlooked. Tensions that arise between feminist NGOs and feminist funds are linked to this issue, in addition to competition for resources.

In a study done by the **Equality Fund** (2024)<sup>51</sup> to back its new line of support, “Prepare, Respond, and Care”, the role of feminist funds is described as fundamental in providing support to grassroots organizations to respond to crises. The funds’ engagement in dialogues with a wide range of actors in the ecosystem, including humanitarian institutions, bilateral agencies, and philanthropic entities, is emphasized, advocating for the profound impact of grassroots movements.

Thus, three crucial aspects that guide feminist funds’ responses to crises are highlighted: they question the dynamics that perpetuate inequalities in terms of “re-

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48 Seeds for harvest: Funding gender, climate, and environmental justice. Global Greengrants Fund, Prospera International Network of Women’s Funds (Prospera), Human Rights Funders Network (HRFN), and the Global Alliance for Green and Gender Action (GAGGA), 2024.

49 [https://philanthropydialogues.org/wp-content/uploads/2024/09/RutaCivica\\_Part2\\_Regional-trends-and-emerging-practices\\_Understanding-regranting-ecosystems-in-the-Global-South.pdf](https://philanthropydialogues.org/wp-content/uploads/2024/09/RutaCivica_Part2_Regional-trends-and-emerging-practices_Understanding-regranting-ecosystems-in-the-Global-South.pdf).

50 It is also worth checking out the reference table presented in the same study, which lists nine qualities that funds need to have in order to play a role in the new philanthropic dynamics.

51 Unfolding the Tapestry: Weaving Themes and Strategies of Feminist Crisis Response (Equality Fund, 2024).

source politics"; they are responsive, with a holistic approach that not only reacts to crises but also confronts their structural nature; and they are prepared, building a response model that acts on structural and intersectional trends, proactively shaping the future.

## Promising practices of “intermediary funds”

Below is a summary of practices identified by the study funded by the OAK Foundation (2024) in the funds researched and which can serve as a reference for reflection during the process of establishing a Feminist Fund in the Northeast, should this path be followed:<sup>52</sup>

- 1. Proactively recruit, hire, and train diverse local leaders who are committed to social justice**, both as members of their Boards and as members of their paid teams responsible for decision-making.
- 2. Understand the legal and fiscal barriers**, working within them.
- Manage the **financial complexity of collecting and redistributing resources** and cover the overheads.
- 4. Develop and experiment with innovative procedures for making donations**, through public calls, participatory distribution, context-based due diligence, trust mechanisms, and deliberative processes to select the initiatives to be supported.
- 5. Bringing together and connecting partners**, investing time and resources in cultivating deeper, mutually supportive relationships between supported organizations.
- 6. Expand and diversify the network of international donors, ensuring the resilience, sustainability, and mission of the organization**, investing in impact monitoring and evaluation processes, and valuing action research and learning processes to create legitimacy, demonstrate transparency, and attract more donors.
- 7. Incubate other intermediary funds** in different regions and thematic areas, establishing effective partnerships and complementing the impact of each of them.

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<sup>52</sup> Compreendendo o ecossistema da redistribuição de doações no Sul Global: meio ambiente, gênero, justiça social e direitos humanos na Ásia, na América Latina e no Caribe (Understanding the ecosystem of grant redistribution in the Global South: environment, gender, social justice, and human rights in Asia, Latin America, and the Caribbean) (2024). RutaCivica\_Parte1\_PT\_Resumo-Executivo-e-Recomendacoes\_Compreendendo-o-ecossistema-da-redistribuicao-de-doacoes-no-sul-global.pdf.

## FUNDS SUSTAINABILITY

Data collected from documents and interviews reveal an increase in the number of funds supporting small projects in Brazil and worldwide, including feminist/women's funds.<sup>53</sup>

Although some funds have been in existence for decades, in recent years there has been a proliferation of local and thematic funds aimed at supporting small-scale initiatives in the Global South. In many cases, these funds are created through dialogue with international donors in the philanthropic field, who have made significant investments in the creation of funds or similar strategies, such as the inclusion of sub-grants in European Union project calls.

In the case of Brazil, mapping carried out by Rede Comuá (2023), which included 31 funds (or independent donor organizations), showed that 81% of the organizations mapped were created after 2000, with 61% becoming donors after 2010.

Just to cite a few examples of funds operating in Brazil, the following have been created in the last five years: *Fundo Agbara* (2020); *Fundo Podáali* (2020); Black Feminist Fund (2021); *Fundo Jaguatá* (2024); *Fundo Ibase para Favelas e Periferias* (Ibase Fund for Favelas and Peripheries, 2024). Other funds are in the process of being set up. For example, in October 2024, when the preliminary version of this report was being drafted, the Freedom Fund had an open call to select a civil society organization to operate a community fund in the Amazon locally, announcing this initiative as part of a strategy to transfer power to communities.

In the interviews conducted for this study, the creation of new funds was highlighted as an achievement of organizations, movements, and networks that, over the years, have emphasized the importance of knowledge of local realities and dynamics to guide the allocation of resources, in addition to demanding greater decision-making power in these processes. In this context, the decolonization of cooperation and philanthropy was also highlighted.

On the other hand, more pragmatic motivations for large donors to invest in the creation of local funds were mentioned, such as the need to respond to growing questions about their role in the philanthropic ecosystem and the search to optimize their operations, reducing the number of direct transfers and concentrating

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<sup>53</sup> In its study published in 2023, the Black Feminist Fund recorded the creation of new Black funds, feminist or otherwise, in the last 2 or 3 years, such as the Black Feminist Fund (global), Black Trans Fund (US and Caribbean), Black Girl Freedom Fund (United States), the Baobab Foundation (United Kingdom), and Foundation for Black Communities (Canada), as well as the growth in the budgets of existing Black feminist funds.

them in organizations capable of redistributing resources with capillarity, “reaching the end” and amplifying the impact of donations.

One of the interviewees identified two cycles of fund creation in Brazil. The first, in the early 2000s, was influenced by the discussion about the country's withdrawal from international cooperation and occurred in a more closely aligned way with social movements, in many cases emerging from them as a legitimate tool for getting resources to local organizations. The second, more recent cycle is characterized by the creation of funds in a verticalized manner, often encouraged by funders, with a more pragmatic perspective of optimizing resources and operations.<sup>54</sup>

According to the mapping carried out by Rede Comuá (2023), independent donor organizations created between 2000 and 2010 mention that they were “created by activists from social movements, with solid knowledge of the field, its needs and demands, and with the ability to articulate in national and international networks” (p. 30). This issue deserves further study, based on new research that allows for a detailed reconstruction of the trajectory of the creation of these funds.

In any case, something that appears to be widely agreed upon among the interviewees is that the legitimacy of a fund is strongly linked to its degree of connection with local organizations and movements. In this sense, the prospect of creating a feminist fund in the Northeast, based on the initiative of organizations and networks from the region's own feminist movement, with different profiles, was an aspect that was valued in several interviews, including as a differentiator in relation to other related initiatives.

More specifically, with regard to the increase in the number of feminist and women's funds, a driving factor identified by the interviewees was the process of incorporating a gender perspective, beginning in the 1990s, which strongly influenced the agenda of funders.

Despite the enthusiasm for the benefits brought by the funds to the “feminist ecosystem,” in several interviews conducted—mainly with representatives of feminist/women's funds and fund networks—great concern was expressed about medium- and long-term sustainability. There are fears of competition for already scarce resources, and some interviewees believe that the current situation indicates a greater likelihood of a reduction in available resources. Some data presented earlier in this study confirm these concerns, such as the reduction in the annual

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<sup>54</sup> The creation of territorial and thematic funds in recent years, especially those linked to indigenous peoples and traditional communities, does not seem to follow this logic.

average of Official Development Assistance (ODA) to support women's rights organizations, movements, and government institutions.

One of the biggest challenges for the sustainability of feminist funds, both national and global, is the difficulty in generating their own resources, such as through an endowment fund—that is, a permanent fund that aims to ensure the long-term sustainability of the organization, as the principal capital remains invested and only its returns are used to finance activities. According to a study by the Black Feminist Fund, there are currently no Black feminist funds with endowments that ensure their long-term viability, despite this being a goal for several of the funds interviewed. During the period of this study, for example, we followed worrying news in this regard, such as the significant loss of resources from the FRIDA Fund, which led to a profound organizational restructuring, including a drastic reduction in staff.

Below, we discuss other points relevant to assessing the sustainability of a feminist fund in Northeast Brazil.

The growth of the far right in Brazil and around the world, including in some countries with more progressive international cooperation policies, such as the Netherlands, may impact the availability of resources for the gender justice agenda in the coming years.

On the other hand, the centrality of gender issues in the discourse and attacks of the far right has contributed to greater visibility and appreciation of the gender justice agenda by major donors, who now understand it as a fundamental element in the defense of democracy and human rights.

Some reflections point to the fact that feminism has gained space on donors' agendas. One of the interviewees stated that 15 years ago, gender was not even considered in the field of philanthropy. Slowly, it began to be understood, and a feminist perspective was even incorporated. In the case of Brazil, the work of the *Fundo Elas+* over more than two decades was highlighted as fundamental to these developments. Another interviewee considers that there has been an increase in the number of funders for gender and racial justice agendas in Brazil and identifies the process of building the first Black Women's March<sup>55</sup>, in 2015, as a milestone for expanding dialogue between Black women's organizations and funders, including organizations in the Northeast.

However, in recent years, donors have turned their attention to specific issues that do not always reflect local organizations' perceptions of their priorities, such as the

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<sup>55</sup> Black Women's March Against Racism and Violence and for Good Living, held in November 2015 in Brasilia.

climate change agenda. In fact, the environmental and climate agenda has received greater attention, with a consequent concentration of resources from large donors. In the case of Brazil, the Amazon biome stands out, followed by the Cerrado, with little attention paid to other biomes in the Northeast.

On the part of the funds, there has been an effort to raise visibility and coordinate gender, racial, and environmental/climate justice agendas to influence donors, reflected, for example, in the aforementioned recent surveys conducted by *Elas+* and *Rede Comuá*,<sup>56</sup> as well as in the study conducted jointly by the Global Greengrants Fund, Prospera, Human Rights Funders Network, and GAGGA<sup>57</sup>.

In the interviews conducted for this study, it became clear that the link between the agendas is quite organic, since women are some of the main actors in socio-environmental struggles in these territories, as well as being the most impacted by climate change. However, this does not mean that there is not much work to be done in terms of coordinating these agendas, both at the community level and in terms of the perception of major donors.

Another element to be noted is the imbalance in organizations' access to philanthropic donors. Recently created organizations with new configurations—such as initiatives and campaigns—and specific thematic focuses end up capturing the attention of donors. One reason for this may be that these types of organizations are more adept at using the language of philanthropy, employing concepts familiar to the field, such as innovation, creativity, entrepreneurship, social impact businesses, and institutional development<sup>58</sup>, and more.

There are also organizations that present theories of change that only touch on the complexities of social problems and the political field of popular movements. Inequalities in terms of digital presence are pointed out as a factor that disadvantages organizations linked to social movements in relation to other types of organizations. It is also important to note that several of these organizations have no historical or

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56 *Justiça Climática e Ativismo Feminista: Impactos e Soluções (Climate Justice and Feminist Activism: Impacts and Solutions)* (Elas+ e Rede Comuá, 2024).

57 *Seeds for harvest: Funding gender, climate, and environmental justice*. Global Greengrants Fund, Prospera International Network of Women's Funds (Prospera), Human Rights Funders Network (HRFN), and the Global Alliance for Green and Gender Action (GAGGA), 2024.

58 In one of the interviews, it was emphasized that the idea of institutional development (ID) has been increasingly defined in the field of philanthropy in specific terms that respond much more to the expectations of donors than to the needs and experiences of organizations and movements (e.g., reliability of organizations, setting a 10% limit on overhead costs (indirect administrative and operational costs, such as office maintenance expenses, legal advice, accounting services, etc.), establishing a resource mobilization sector, conducting annual audits, etc.). This would lead to a depoliticization of the debate on ID and neglect of issues that are very important from the point of view of movements. Another "fad" with negative effects is the demand for new impact measurement methodologies, which, although it covers interesting aspects, has ended up putting organizations under pressure. After all, the adoption of experimental approaches and the formulation of sophisticated indicators are expensive processes in which donors are unwilling to invest adequately, in addition to disregarding other evaluation practices already adopted by organizations.

organic links to the women's movements that have been engaged for decades in supporting the struggle for rights and defending democracy in Brazil.

This type of organization has emerged more frequently in the Southeast, contributing to increased regional disparities in the distribution of resources. Some women's organizations in the Northeast manage to "break through the blockade" and grow, but in numbers that are insufficient to meet the needs of the region, leaving these organizations overwhelmed with a very large set of tasks. Thus, a greater volume of resources is needed, with openness to use based on local realities.

A study conducted by the Equality Fund (2024) notes that, although feminist funds are playing an increasingly important role in feminist movements and human rights financing, the context in which they operate is one of a continuing lack of funding for grassroots movements working on the gender justice agenda. This is exacerbated by the backlash against gender justice on a global scale, with funding often directed to organizations that work against the rights of women and LGBTQIAPN+, in favor of fundamentalist and ultra-conservative agendas.

As one of the interviewees said, there is a problem of "fit" between the priorities of philanthropy and the priorities of women's organizations. While donors operate on a project basis, with a preference for more concrete work, aiming for quantitative results and impacts, social mobilization and political advocacy strategies are neglected. In the case of the racial justice agenda, the *quilombola* agenda has also gained greater appreciation among donors, but with a focus almost always restricted to the issue of land titling. Other aspects that require greater attention from donors are: police violence against the Black population; attacks against Indigenous and *quilombola* communities, particularly women, in the context of territorial and socio-environmental conflicts; and the exposure of Black women in the periphery who lead organizations, given the dominance of drug trafficking and militias in their communities.

Geopolitical conflicts of great importance to donor countries also impact the availability of resources, as they almost always entail cuts in development policies and greater investment in national security, in addition to the redirection of resources to humanitarian aid.

Established women's funds emphasized the importance of learning enabled by their respective periods of operation. They also highlighted the accumulation of collective knowledge on participatory management and decision-making methodologies for support, joint strategies for resource mobilization, and advocacy on the agenda of funders, based on exchanges within fund networks and other partner-

ships. In this regard, they raised interesting questions about the need and opportunity to create new structures, proposing to broaden the view to other possibilities, such as the creation of new mechanisms in partnership with existing funds and their structures.

In addition to understandable apprehension about the presence of other actors competing for resources, concern was also expressed that new funds, especially smaller ones, would not be able to sustain themselves, jeopardizing the credibility of the independent fund movement as a whole. It was also noted that the growth in fund budgets seems to have reached a limit, and it was assessed that the trend is toward a reduction in funding.

To deal with the difficulties of raising funds, smaller funds have created strategies, such as forming their own networks, with their own governance mechanisms, with one of the networks being legally responsible for managing the resources.

Although the prospect of creating a Feminist Fund in the Northeast was received in very different ways by the interviewees, a common element in the analyses was the perception that the volatility of large donors in relation to their strategies and thematic priorities could compromise the sustainability of the funds, especially the new ones. It is not uncommon for large donors to redirect their strategies in a short period of time or to prioritize new themes in response to the current situation. One example mentioned in several interviews was the issue of race, which received greater attention and resources from 2020 onwards, in the wake of the strength demonstrated by the Black Lives Matter movement, but which is already showing a sharp decline in investment.

This factor, together with other common practices in the philanthropic field—such as short-term contracts—compromises not only the continuity of funds, but also the ability to respond to the real needs of organizations and movements, including support for longer periods and flexibility in the use of resources. At least two of the funds interviewed include longer-term support, ranging from five to eight years, among their practices, which can be considered bold, given that cooperation agreements with donors generally do not exceed three years in duration.

## **PROSPECTS FOR THE CREATION OF A FEMINIST FUND IN THE NORTHEAST**

Representatives of funds with different thematic focuses, as well as leading figures in the area of funds supporting organizations, welcomed the possibility of creating a

feminist fund in the Northeast with optimism. There were expressions of joy and hope that such a fund could increase the volume of resources allocated to organizations in the region, which has historically been neglected. The initiative was also celebrated for involving, from its inception and conception, organizations recognized in the field of women's movements at the regional and national levels. This is a valued differential in comparison to funds created on the initiative of international funders.

These individuals considered the feminist stance of a future fund in the Northeast to be necessary and timely. For one of the interviewees, socio-environmental and economic funds are fundamental, but the strengthening of democracy is a precondition for them to achieve their objectives. In this sense, a feminist fund would have the role of addressing essential issues for the defense and strengthening of democracy and rights in a broad sense. The interviewee also highlighted the feminist movement's proven ability to address, in depth, issues such as women's participation in politics, social security, public budgeting, sexual and reproductive rights, and violence against women. She also considered that a feminist fund in the Northeast would bring new elements to existing funds and could contribute to the mainstreaming of gender and race issues in the work of other funds, including through joint initiatives, such as the launch of calls for proposals involving various organizations in the region.

Another point that was strongly emphasized was the prospect of a northeastern fund as a way to achieve a more equitable distribution of power among Brazil's regions, more accurately reflecting the current configuration of the Brazilian feminist movement. For the interviewees, the location of a fund in the Northeast goes beyond a geographical issue: a fund would inevitably be imbued with the dynamics of the territory in which it operates. Knowledge of the political dynamics, the relationships between organizations in each of the nine northeastern states, and local realities—cultural, environmental, and access to infrastructure, for example—was also cited as a highly relevant aspect.

One aspect considered in the positive analysis of the possibility of creating a feminist fund in the Northeast is the high concentration of funds in the Southeast, even though these also channel significant amounts of resources to the Northeast or the Amazon<sup>59</sup>. According to the Rede Comuá (2023) mapping, 58% of independent donor organizations are located in the Southeast, followed by the North (23%), Northeast (13%), and Midwest and South (3% each). In addition, funds with larger annual

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<sup>59</sup> Some of the organizations interviewed, which operate globally, admit that there is a greater concentration of resources in organizations in the Southeast or Brasília, either due to the nature of the action (political advocacy, requiring proximity to centers of power) or due to the limitations of the decision-making committees' knowledge of the support available in each national context and the finer dynamics of the movements in each country.

budgets (from R\$ 5 million to R\$ 25 million) are located in the Southeast (62%), and none in the North, despite this being the second region with the most organizations mapped.

The only donor organization with a budget exceeding R\$ 25 million is also located in the Southeast. As one of the interviewees pointed out, other types of organizations that handle larger volumes of resources are also located in the Southeast and work with broad human rights agendas. Even the resources allocated to the Amazon often come through organizations in the Southeast.

Several interviewees considered the timing for the creation of a feminist fund in the Northeast to be opportune, both from the point of view of the importance and necessity of women's movement organizations in the Northeast and in terms of funding opportunities, with some donors expressing interest in investing in the strategy of supporting local funds in the coming years. One of the interviewees pointed out that there are still "outliers" to be considered in the field of philanthropy, such as Melinda Gates and Mackenzie Scott,<sup>60</sup> who demonstrate a willingness to support women's organizations and funds.

In general, there is recognition of the importance of women's organizations in the Northeast within the feminist movement, and of women and Black women at the national level, as they express a plurality of subjects and agendas representative of women's struggles in Latin America, covering issues such as the defense of traditional territories, environmental and climate issues, combating racism, transphobic violence, gender violence in general, and confronting organized crime. This is another factor favoring the creation of a feminist fund in the region.

However, it is important to note that representatives of women's funds have expressed concerns about the prospect of creating a feminist fund in the Northeast, drawing attention to points already mentioned in the previous section. One of the interviewees even proposed that, if a fund is created in the Northeast, its central strategy should be to mobilize resources from individual donors (feminists from the region itself). In her view, this would give the fund legitimacy and greater chances of sustainability, generating "new resources" instead of competing with existing funds for the same resources.<sup>61</sup>

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60 Philanthropists in the United States whose fortunes were built on their ties to large technology companies (Microsoft and Amazon), and who have made significant donations to causes considered progressive and socially just, including the agenda of promoting gender equality and strengthening organizations led by women.

61 On the other hand, some interviewees expressed skepticism about mobilizing a significant amount of resources through individual donations.

Another interviewee expressed discomfort with the feminist focus of the proposed fund, arguing that this focus is already addressed by other funds in Brazil. The regional focus also raised questions, as the proposal to create a fund in the Northeast could be seen as a criticism of the distribution of resources from existing funds, as if these did not significantly reach the region. One of the interviewees believes that the term “feminism” should not be used in the name of the fund, as it does not always reflect the perspectives of peripheral women’s groups, who would be the main beneficiaries of this fund.

In some of the interviews, possibilities for expanding funding to women’s organizations and the gender and race justice agenda were pointed out based on a few key points:

- Reinforcing the association between gender and race justice and the democratic and human rights agenda, demonstrating the need to “recapitulate this agenda.” This would involve strengthening local mobilization efforts in favela communities and traditional territories, for example, in order to influence public debate based on local contexts, as a counterpoint to other forces that are increasingly rooted in these territories, such as fundamentalist neo-Pentecostal churches, factions, and militias.<sup>62</sup>
- Adopting intersectional approaches, paying attention to the various axes of organization and collective subjects mobilized: in this sense, women’s movements in Brazil are recognized for their distinctive role in debates on the intertwining of gender and race dimensions, for the strength of Black women’s and LBT women’s movements, and for the significant growth in the organization and public visibility of indigenous women in recent years (although less so in the Northeast than in the Amazon). There is scope to explore the connections between gender, race, and the right to the city, taking into account a new repertoire built on experiences in favela communities, mainly by Black women who have already incorporated part of feminist ideology, even though they have no links to feminist organizations and movements; gender, race, and socio-environmental justice, from a Northeast perspective; gender, race, and work, based on categories of precarious workers in sectors with a female majority; gender, race, and violence against human rights activists/defenders.
- Appropriation by local organizations of priorities defined by major donors, such as climate change. Related to this point, the importance of giving visibility to the Northeast’s potential contributions to priority issues on the cooperation and philanthropy agenda was highlighted, such as the accumulated knowledge about

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<sup>62</sup> This point was also addressed in Part 1 of this study.

living in the semi-arid region, agroecology, and food security and sovereignty, and its relevance to addressing climate change.<sup>63</sup>

- The growth of the Indigenous women's movement at the national level in recent years is also an element to be considered by a feminist fund in the Northeast.
- Demonstrating the importance of more structured organizations in the women's movement in the Northeast, with the capacity to respond to the challenges of collectives in the territories, carry out strengthening and training processes, and ensure organizational infrastructure for the region. This would include both organizations with a long history in the region and new organizations with consistent links to the field of feminist movements and that have this type of structuring as their goal.

## CLOSING REMARKS

This study highlighted the complexity and strength of the feminist movement in Northeast Brazil, marked by its diversity, territorial capillarity, and historical relevance in the struggle for human rights. However, structural challenges persist that hinder the sustainability of the actions developed, especially among small and medium-sized organizations, often led by women in contexts of socioeconomic vulnerability. These women, responsible for fundamental activities such as community mobilization, institutional coordination, communication, political advocacy, and daily organization, carry out invisible organizational work that needs to be recognized and adequately compensated in funding models.

In this context, feminist funding emerges as a strategic tool for strengthening the field and promoting social, gender, and racial justice. A possible Feminist Fund for the Northeast could represent an important advance, provided that its design and implementation are aligned with regional specificities, respecting local dynamics, valuing the plurality of voices, and avoiding the reproduction of internal inequalities within the movement.

It is essential that such a fund be designed as part of a broader ecosystem of organizations and political actors, and that its actions promote complementarity and

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63 In this regard, it is worth reading the article published in Folha de São Paulo entitled "*Sertão Nordestino pode ensinar a Amazônia a lidar com a seca*" (The Northeast hinterland can teach the Amazon how to deal with drought). Access via the link:

<https://www1.folha.uol.com.br/ambiente/2024/10/sertao-nordestino-pode-ensinar-amazonia-a-lidar-com-a-seca-diz-pesquisador.shtml>. Knowledge about the interfaces between climate issues and gender in the Northeast is also being produced. One example is the report *Semiárido em perspectiva de Gênero: violências sexuais contra meninas e adolescentes e os efeitos dos períodos prolongados de seca* (The Semi-Arid Region from a Gender Perspective: Sexual Violence against Girls and Adolescents and the Effects of Prolonged Periods of Drought), published by Ilyaeta – Pesquisa, Ciências e Humanidade.

cooperation, rather than competition or overlap. Continuous dialogue with existing funds in Brazil, actively listening to local organizations, and strengthening collaborative practices will be key elements in mitigating tensions and expanding the scope of its activities. Special attention should be given to medium-sized organizations, whose coordinating role and ability to build bridges between local, regional, and national levels are strategic for the cohesion and continuity of the feminist movement.

Furthermore, the fund's governance structure should reflect the principles of equity, transparency, and democratic participation, ensuring power sharing and representation of the various strands of the regional feminist movement. Funds, by their nature, should not replace movements, but act as instruments to strengthen and sustain their political agendas.

Given the current scenario of shrinking rights, the advance of conservative forces, and the intensification of inequalities, the creation of a regional feminist fund could be a relevant political response, as long as it is committed to structural transformation and respect for the autonomy of the collective subjects that make up the feminist movement in the Northeast. The accumulated experience, qualified listening, and ethical and political commitment to gender, race, and social justice should guide each stage of this process.

# ANNEXES

## ANNEX I: REFERENCE SCRIPT FOR INTERVIEWS – FUNDS

**ATTENTION:** *Questions relevant to the profile of each person/organization interviewed will be selected from this script.*

1. Which elements in the international and national context would you cite as the main opportunities and challenges for women's rights?
2. How do you perceive the place of women's/feminist movements and organizations in the international cooperation and philanthropy agenda? In your view, what could be done to expand this space?
3. Additionally: How do you perceive the balance of funding for organizations and movements in different regions of Brazil?
4. In your opinion, what factors explain the growth in the number of thematic, sectoral, and other funds in recent years in Brazil and worldwide? How do you perceive this trend?
5. In your opinion, is there demand and favorable conditions for the creation of a fund to finance women's/feminist organizations in Northeast Brazil?
6. What advantages and disadvantages do you see in the creation of funds based on the efforts of organizations linked to the social movement?
7. Based on your experience, what are the main challenges and risks involved in operating a fund to support small projects?

# ANNEX II: REFERENCE SCRIPT FOR INTERVIEWS – MOVEMENTS

**ATTENTION:** *This script will select questions relevant to the profile of each person/organization interviewed.*

## General Questions

1. When was your organization and/or movement founded?
2. What is the area of activity of your organization and/or movement? (multiple choice)
3. Is your organization and/or movement formalized? Does it have a CNPJ (Corporate Taxpayer ID)?
4. Does your organization and/or movement have a project and resource management team?
5. How is your organization and/or movement structured to access financial resources?
6. What type of funding/support has your organization and/or movement received over the years (flexible, support only for activities, etc.)?
7. What has been the average duration of support/funding? And the average amount of resources per year?
8. What is the main difficulty your organization and/or movement faces in accessing resources?
9. What are the main difficulties your organization and/or movement faces in managing resources and projects (reporting and accountability)?
10. Which resource is easiest for your organization to access: to work in the field of public policy? To carry out humanitarian and/or solidarity actions and/or mitigate the negative impacts of state and/or capital policies? To work in the broader civil society sphere?

## Questions about context

11. What elements of the local and regional context would you highlight as the main opportunities and challenges for women's rights?
12. Do you see a balance in funding for organizations and movements in different regions of Brazil?

## Questions about trends in cooperation

13. Given the tendency for cooperation to preferentially support consortium projects, what are the challenges and potentialities of this type of partnership between organizations and social movements?
14. Given the growing trend for service provider organizations to mediate a relationship that was previously direct between the supported organizations/social movements and the cooperating organizations, what issues does this type of relationship raise for those receiving support?
15. What are the consequences for your organization and/or social movement of the reduction and/or absence of institutional support, as well as the non-financing of human resources expenses in financing projects?
16. What is the impact on your organization and/or social movement of the current trend in cooperation to democratize funding, directing small amounts of resources with shorter terms to a larger and more diverse number of collectives? What is the impact on these collectives and on the broader feminist field?

## Questions about the Fund

1. In your opinion, is there demand and favorable conditions for creating a fund to finance women's/feminist organizations and movements in Northeast Brazil?

## ANNEX III: LIST OF FUNDS AND NETWORKS OF FUNDS

FUNDS	SCOPE OF ACTION
1. Associação das Comunidades Remanescentes de Quilombos do Município de Oriximiná (ARQMO) – Fundo Quilombola	Território de Cachoeira Porteira, Alto Trombetas I, Alto Trombetas II, Boa Vista, Área Trombetas, Água Fria, Erepecuru and Ariramba
2. Associação de Profissionais do Audiovisual Negro (APAN) – Fundo de Amparo a Profissionais do Audiovisual Negro (FAPAN)	National
3. Associação Endowment Sempre FEA	São Paulo
4. Associação Nossa Cidade – Fundo Regenerativo Brumadinho	Brumadinho and Paraopeba
5. Astraea - Lesbian Foundation for Justice	Global
6. Ayni - The Indigenous Women's Fund	Global
7. Baobá – Fundo para Equidade Racial	National
8. Black Feminist Fund	Global
9. BrazilFoundation	National
10. Casa Fluminense	Região metropolitana do Rio de Janeiro
11. Coordenadoria Ecumênica de Serviço (CESE)	National
12. ELAS+ Doar para Transformar	National
13. Equality Fund	Global
14. Federação das Fundações e Associações do Espírito Santo (FUNDAES) – Fundo de Investimento Comunitário Capixaba (FIC)	Espírito Santo
15. Federação das Organizações Indígenas do Rio Negro (FOIRN) – Fundo Indígena do Rio Negro (FIRN)	São Gabriel da Cachoeira/AM
16. Federação de Órgãos para Assistência Social e EDUCACIONAL (FASE) – FUNDO DEMA	Amazônia
17. Federação de Órgãos para Assistência Social e Educacional (FASE) – Fundo SAAP	National
18. Fondo Acción Urgente América Latina Y El Caribe	Latin America and the Caribbean
19. Fondo De Mujeres Del Sur (Programa regional: Liderando desde el Sur)	Argentina, Uruguay, and Paraguay. *21 countries in Latin America and the Caribbean

FUNDS	SCOPE OF ACTION
20. FRIDA - The Young Feminist Fund	Global
21. Fundação Luterana de Diaconia	National
22. Fundo Agbara	National
23. Fundo Autônomo de Mulheres da Amazônia Luzia Dorothy do Espírito Santo	Lower Amazon region
24. Fundo Babaçu	Maranhão, Pará, Piauí e Tocantins
25. Fundo Brasil de Direitos Humanos	National
26. Fundo Brasileiro de Educação Ambiental (FunBEA)	National
27. Fundo Casa Socioambiental	South America
28. Fundo Ibase para Favelas e Periferias	National
29. Fundo Iratapuru	Reserva de Desenvolvimento Sustentável do Rio Iratapuru (Iratapuru River Sustainable Development Reserve, RDSI)
30. Fundo Jaguatá/ Articulação dos Povos Indígenas do Brasil (APIB)	National
31. Fundo Malala	Global
32. Fundo Positivo	National
33. Fundo Puxirim/Conselho Nacional das Populações Extrativistas (CNS)	Amazônia Brasileira
34. Fundo Socioambiental Barcarena e Abaetetuba	Barcarena and Abaetetuba/Pará
35. Fundo Quilombola Mizizi Dudu	Pará
36. Global Fund for Women	Global
37. Global Greengrants Fund	Global
38. Instituto Clima e Sociedade (ICS)	National
39. Instituto Comunitário Baixada Maranhense	Baixada Maranhense
40. Instituto Comunitário Grande Florianópolis (ICOM)	Grande Florianópolis
41. Instituto Juruti Sustentável (IJUS) – Fundo Juruti Sustentável (FUNJUS)	Juruti/PA
42. Instituto Procomum	Baixada Santista, Santos/SP
43. Instituto Sociedade População e Natureza (ISPAN)	Amazônia, Cerrado, Caatinga
44. Mama Cash	Global
45. Manauara Associação Comunitária	Manaus/AM
46. Podáali – Fundo Indígena da Amazônia Brasileira	Amazônia Brasileira
47. Redes da Maré	Favelas da Maré/RJ

FUND NETWORKS	SCOPE OF ACTION
48. Silo – Arte e Latitude Rural	Área de Proteção Ambiental da Serrinha do Alambari (Serrinha do Alambari Environmental Protection Area) (Serra da Mantiqueira)
49. Tabôa Fortalecimento Comunitário	South of Bahia
50. VidaAfrolatina	Latin America
51. Women Win	Global
52. Alianza para los Movimientos Feministas	Global (multi-actors)
53. Global Alliance for Green and Gender Action (GAGGA)	Global
54. Prospera - International Network of Women's Funds	Global
55. Rede Comuá	National
56. Rede de Fundos Comunitários da Amazônia	Brazilian Amazon

## ANNEX IV: LIST OF PEOPLE INTERVIEWED – FUNDS

	NAME	ORGANIZATION	DATE
1.	Mara Vanessa Dutra	Independent consultant/advisor on the creation of the Fundo Podáali	24/07/24
2.	Taciana Gouveia	SAAP/FASE	25/07/24
3.	Nina Madsen	Open Society Foundations	26/07/24
4.	Sandra Regina Monteiro	Fundo Babaçu (MIQCB project coordinator; former executive secretary)	31/07/24*
5.	Viviane Vergueiro-Simakawa	Fundo Internacional Trans (International Trans Fund)	01/08/24
6.	Sheila Tanaka	Fondo de Acción Urgente – América Latina e Caribe	02/08/24*
7.	Amália Fischer	Fundo Elas+	06/08/24*
8.	Júlia Mota	Fundo Agbara	07/08/24
9.	Jonathas Azevedo	Rede Comuá	07/08/24
10.	Nilce Cardoso Luciene Figueiredo	Fundo Babaçu (Executive Secretary) Fundo Babaçu (Advisor to the Executive Secretary)	09/08/24
11.	Ana Gualberto	Koinonia (partnership with FAU for the transfer of funds to supported organizations)	09/08/24
12.	Valeria Paye	Fundo Podáali	12/08/24
13.	Virginia Bolatti	Fondo de Mujeres del Sur (membro da direção colegiada/ coordenação institucional)	14/08/24
14.	Denise Hirao	Prospera International Network of Women's Funds	15/08/24
15.	Maria Clara Araújo Timiebi Souza	Black Feminist Fund	02/10/24
16.	Rosana Fernandes	Coordenadoria Ecumênica de Serviço (CESE)	09/10/24
17.	Carolina Tamagnini	Fòs Feminista	10/10/24
18.	Dimas Galvão	Coordenadoria Ecumênica de Serviço (CESE)	11/11/24

## ANNEX V: LIST OF PEOPLE INTERVIEWED - MOVEMENTS

	ORGANIZATION	NAME
1	Articulação de Mulheres Brasileiras (AMB)	Elisa Anibal
2	Articulação Nacional das Mulheres Indígenas Guerreiras da Ancestralidade (ANMIGA)	Gabriele Pankararu
3	Articulação Nacional de Mulheres Pescadoras (ANP)	Elionice Sacramento
4	Associação Nacional de Travestis e Transexuais (ANTRA)	Bruna Benevides
5	Casa da Mulher do Nordeste	Itanaci de Oliveira
6	Casa Suely Rodrigues	Maria Lúcia
7	Coletivo Desabrochar	Vanessa Serena
8	Coletivo Motim	Telma Gurgel
9	Coletivo Mulher Vida	Dolores Fastoso Vânia Maria Rodrigues
10	Comunidade Quilombola Cajá dos Negros	Ivaniza Leite
11	Cunhã Feminista	Marina Maia
12	Fórum de Mulheres de Imperatriz	Conceição Amorim
13	Fórum de Mulheres de Pernambuco	Daniele Braz
14	Grupo Afirmativo de Mulheres Independentes (GAMI)	Goreti Gomes
15	Grupo Curumim Gestação e Parto	Sueli Valongueiro
16	Grupretas	Cleide Resende
17	Instituto Jarede Viana	Ana Pereira
18	Marcha Mundial das Mulheres - MMM	Adriana Vieira
19	Movimento Brasileiro de Mulheres Cegas e com Baixa Visão (MBMC)	Denise Santos
20	Movimento de Mulheres Camponesas (MMC)	Maria Rita dos Santos
21	Movimento Ibiapabano de Mulheres (MIM)	Cristina Costa
22	Rede de Mulheres Negras de Pernambuco	Rosa Marques Piedade Marques
23	Rede Nacional de Feminista Antiproibicionista (RENFA)	Ingrid Farias Priscila Gadelha
24	Rede Nacional de Matrizes Africanas	Lígia Borges
25	SOS Corpo - Instituto Feminista para Democracia	Rivane Arantes Fabiana Alencar
26	Tambores de Safo	Deyse Mara

# EXPEDIENTE

**Estudo sobre a viabilidade de constituição de um Fundo Feminista no Nordeste é uma realização | 2025**

**Realização:**

Articulação de Mulheres Brasileiras, Casa da Mulher do Nordeste, Coletivo Mulher Vida, Fórum de Mulheres de Pernambuco, Grupo Curumim Gestação e Parto, Rede de Mulheres Negras de Pernambuco, Rede Nacional de Feministas Anti-proibicionistas, e SOS Corpo - Instituto Feminista para a Democracia.

**Apoio:**

equalit fundy

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