



OUTCOME DOCUMENT

Towards an ASEAN Feminist Action Agenda

2nd Southeast Asian Women's Summit & 8th National Women's Summit
ASEAN Leadership and Regional Cooperation: Where Are the Women?
March 2–3, 2026 | Miriam College, Philippines

Background

This Outcome Document reflects the collective analyses, lived experiences, and political demands of civil society organizations (CSOs), grassroots women's groups, Indigenous women, youth and gender advocates, feminist scholars, community leaders, across Southeast Asia. Over two days of dialogue and movement-building, more than 400 participants representing civil society, non government and people's organizations, government agencies, local government units, international development partners, and the academe—from Indonesia, Myanmar, Cambodia, Thailand, and the Philippines, including Luzon, Visayas, and Mindanao—affirmed a shared commitment to shift ASEAN's gender agenda from symbolic rhetoric toward meaningful, measurable action.

Grounded in civil society's long-standing advocacy for feminist, transparent, and people-centered regional governance, participants underscored six priority themes:

1. **From Presence to Power: Institutionalizing Women's Political Leadership:**

A shift from token representation to structural power-sharing through quotas, feminist governance, and accountable regional decision-making.



Transforming the regional economy by recognizing care work, empowering informal women workers, and institutionalizing feminist, climate-resilient economic systems.

4. Advancing Intersectional Justice: Leaving No One Behind: *Embedding intersectional feminism into regional policy to protect indigenous, migrant, queer, aging, and geographically marginalized women through rights-based, targeted action.*

5. Memory, Movement, and Mutual Care: Building Feminist Solidarity in ASEAN: *Strengthening feminist movements by reclaiming history, decolonizing narratives, and sustaining intergenerational, grassroots solidarity against authoritarian erasure.*

6. Prevention, Power, and Accountability: Ending Gender-Based Violence in ASEAN: *Dismantling gender-based violence by confronting demand, structural inequality, and toxic masculinities through justice-driven, community-led prevention.*

Persistent Structural Gaps and Urgent Priorities

Despite existing ASEAN frameworks, major barriers persist: lack of transparency, tokenistic engagement, inadequate sex-disaggregated data, gender-based violence including digital violence against women leaders, and deep-rooted patriarchy within institutions. The Summit proposed an ASEAN Feminist Action Agenda centering



Participants reaffirmed that while ASEAN increasingly cites gender equality in its communities, the region still lacks a structural, feminist approach to governance.

- **Feminist Foreign Policy or Gender Equality Foreign Policy & Human Security:** *The Summit emphasized that Human Security frameworks must go beyond state-centric notions of stability and instead protect individuals—especially those marginalized by conflict, poverty, and gender inequalities.*
- **The Three-Pillar Gap:** *Gender remains siloed within the Socio-Cultural pillar, with limited influence in the Political-Security and Economic pillars. CSOs stressed that economic policy without a gender lens perpetuates inequality.*
- **Representation vs. Influence:** *Civil society highlighted that women's participation must go beyond symbolic attendance. Without power to influence decision-making, patriarchal structures remain intact.*



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- **Political Will:** CSOs repeatedly underscored that ASEAN's challenge is not a policy gap but a political will gap. Existing commitments lack funding, transparency, and accountability.
- **Economic Empowerment as Security:** Women's economic agency serves as a critical safeguard against trafficking, exploitation, and violence, strengthening their capacity to withstand risks and reducing structural vulnerabilities.
- **Philippines' Leadership:** Participants acknowledged the Philippines' historical role in advancing regional gender equality, urging the country to champion a regional Center of Excellence on Gender Equality.
- **Technology as a Double-Edged Sword:** Technology enhances connectivity but also drives technology-facilitated GBV, online exploitation, and monetized misogyny—an urgent access to justice issue.
- **Intersectional Exclusion:** Gender inequality is compounded by ethnicity, geography, disability, SOGIESC, and class – leaving indigenous women, remote communities, and informal workers systematically invisible in protection, participation, and social protection systems.
- **Transparency and meaningful participation should be beyond tokenism:** Civil society participation in ASEAN remains largely symbolic – marked by presence without power, consultation without influence, and inclusion without decision-making authority.
- **Siloed Agendas, Fragmented Impact:** The separation of WPS, YPS, and related frameworks limits intersectional action and prevents peace and security commitments from reaching frontline communities.



Strategic Recommendations

For Governments, Institutions, and Regional Bodies

1. **Institutionalize Women's Leadership and Power-Sharing:** Mandate a minimum 30–40% representation of women in all leadership and decision-making positions across ASEAN mechanisms, including the ASEAN Secretariat and the ASEAN Business Advisory Council (ABAC). Member States, led by the Philippines during its 2026 Chairship, should model compliance and accountability.
2. **Establish an ASEAN Center of Excellence on Gender Equality:** Formally establish the ASEAN Center for Excellence in Gender Equality and Women's Empowerment in the Philippines to serve as a regional convenor, knowledge hub, and innovation catalyst advancing SDG 5 and strengthening evidence-based policy making.
3. **Adopt Feminist Foreign Policy Frameworks:** Integrate Feminist Foreign Policy / Gender Equality Foreign Policy approaches across regional cooperation to dismantle structural patriarchy and connect grassroots women's lived realities directly to regional and foreign policy decision-making.
4. **Institutionalize Transparency and Meaningful Consultation:** Ensure full transparency and inclusive consultation in the development of ASEAN agreements and frameworks, including access to draft texts (e.g., the ASEAN Digital Economy Framework Agreement), enabling CSOs and women's groups to assess gendered and social impacts before finalization.
5. **Implement the 3Rs of the Care Economy:** Adopt the Recognize, Reduce, and Redistribute (3Rs) framework for unpaid care and domestic work through

sustained public investment in social infrastructure such as childcare, eldercare, transport, and public services.

6. **Reform Social Protection Systems:** Implement universal rights-based social protection accessible to informal, migrant, and domestic workers by removing employer-dependent requirements and ensuring coverage for health, social security, and unemployment benefits.
7. **Embed Gender-Responsive Budgeting Across ASEAN Pillars:** Institutionalize Gender-Responsive Budgeting (GRB) across the Political-Security, Economic, and Socio-Cultural pillars, with clear, traceable allocations that reach local government levels and move beyond activity-based reporting.
8. **Formalize the WPS–YPS–Indigenous Peoples Nexus:** Integrate Women, Peace and Security (WPS) with Youth, Peace and Security (YPS) and Indigenous Peoples' rights, recognizing the leadership of diverse women mediators and grounding peacebuilding in local realities.
9. **Exclude Illegal Regimes from ASEAN Mechanisms;** Suspend engagement with the Myanmar military junta in all formal ASEAN bodies and processes, and ensure representation by legitimate, people-mandated actors in regional dialogues.
10. **Enable Cross-Border Humanitarian Assistance:** Support non-discriminatory cross-border humanitarian aid to displaced populations in Myanmar, including coordination with neighboring states to bypass access blockades and ensure civilian protection.
11. **Protect Indigenous Peoples' Ancestral Domains:** Fully implement laws recognizing ancestral domain rights to prevent displacement, extractive exploitation, and gendered land insecurity.
12. **Ensure Protection for Stateless and Migrant Populations:** Guarantee legal documentation, birth registration, and universal healthcare, including HIV

services and vaccinations, for stateless persons and migrant workers, with targeted protection for stateless LGBTQIA+ individuals.

13. **Decriminalize and Protect Diverse SOGIESC Identities:** Commit to SOGIESC decriminalization and inclusion, ensuring freedom of movement, safety, and employment across the region, and recognizing “chosen families” within care and social protection systems.
14. **Address the Demand Side of Sexual Exploitation:** Strengthen anti-trafficking frameworks by **criminalizing exploiters of prostituted persons**, implementing survivor-centered support services, and passing laws such as the Sexual Exploitation Assistance Act to shift accountability to exploiters.
15. **Clarify Consent in Law:** Reform legal frameworks to clearly establish that **consent is invalid when exploitation is driven by structural coercion**, including poverty, displacement, conflict, or adverse childhood experiences.
16. **Accelerate the Implementation of Regional and National Commitments to End Gender-Based Violence:** Member States should strengthen the implementation of existing commitments on GBV by developing national action plans, prioritizing primary prevention alongside response, ensuring coordinated multi-sectoral action, allocating sustainable financing, and strengthening monitoring and accountability systems in partnership with civil society.

For CSOs, Youth Groups, Academia, and Partners

1. **Advance Power-Sharing and Co-Creation:** Position grassroots organizations, youth groups, and community leaders as co-implementers and strategic partners in national and regional action plans, moving beyond symbolic consultation toward shared decision-making and accountability.

2. **Strengthen the Grassroots-to-Policy Pipeline:** Institutionalize mechanisms that connect localized lived experiences directly to formal governance, ensuring women and youth shape policy from design to decision, not only during validation stages.
3. **Protect and Expand Civic Space:** Advocate for and safeguard open, safe, and enabling civic spaces as essential conditions for peace, democracy, and regional stability, including transparency, freedom of association, and meaningful participation.
4. **Institutionalize a Feminist Social and Solidarity Economy (SSE):** Integrate Feminist SSE principles into National Action Plans to support women-led nano-enterprises and climate-affected livelihoods through Community Economics (CE) Hubs offering skills training, regenerative practices, and market access.
5. **Build Digital Leadership and Online Safety:** Develop a regional corps of young women as “digital warriors” through training in digital literacy, safety, and civic engagement, and advocate for an ASEAN framework for safer online environments to counter AI-driven exploitation and online harm.
6. **Apply Culturally Rooted Community Interventions:** Utilize context-sensitive approaches to address harmful practices, prioritizing dialogue, trust-building, and community-led reflection rather than punitive or externally imposed solutions.
7. **Engage Men and Boys as Gender Equality Allies:** Implement targeted educational, community-based, and social norm change initiatives as part of primary prevention strategies to engage men and boys in deconstructing harmful masculinities, promoting respectful relationships, and fostering accountability through reflective and values-based approaches.
8. **Promote Intergenerational Leadership Pipelines:** Build intergenerational movements that combine youth innovation with elders’ historical knowledge,



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ensuring continuity of leadership while preventing exclusion by political dynasties or elite capture.

9. **Expand Education and Capacity on Women, Peace, and Security:** Replicate and regionalize the Diploma on Women, Peace, and Security, positioning universities as knowledge brokers that translate regional policy commitments into community-level practice.
10. **Use Feminist Archiving as Political Action:** Invest in feminist archiving and documentation to preserve women's contributions to social justice, peacebuilding, and resistance, countering historical erasure and authoritarian misrepresentation.
11. **Strengthen Community-Based Financial Resilience:** Establish Village Savings and Loan Associations (VSLAs) and pooled social enterprise funds to build local capital, reduce debt dependency, and enhance resilience during climate and economic shocks.
12. **Center Indigenous Women's Leadership in Development:** Revive and scale models ensuring Indigenous women lead resource development initiatives, represent communities in industrial planning, and shape responsible practices in extractive areas.
13. **Deepen Cross-Border Solidarity Networks:** Strengthen regional coalitions to address transnational challenges—including statelessness, migration, labor exploitation, and gender-based violence—through coordinated advocacy, shared learning, and collective action.
14. **Generate and Use Practice-Based Evidence for GBV Prevention:** Document, systematise, and share practice-based knowledge from community-led prevention initiatives to inform national and regional policy, strengthen advocacy, and scale effective approaches across Southeast Asia.





The Summit Participants call for an ASEAN that is truly feminist, people-centered, and accountable. The ASEAN Feminist Action Agenda provides a pathway from commitment to action, ensuring that regional integration does not leave behind the women, girls, Indigenous communities, LGBTQIA+ people, informal workers, migrants, and all those historically pushed to the margins.

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