Gender inequality is a global challenge of huge proportions. Around the world the prospects and life chances of millions of women and girls are stunted because of widespread discrimination and inequalities based on gender.

Yet, despite the scale and complexity of gender inequality, securing equal rights for women and girls has never been more within our reach. The last 15 years have seen important gains at the global level, with women living longer, a near halving of maternal mortality, and women having more control than ever over how many children they have. Women are also gaining representation in national parliaments and there is now parity in girls’ enrolment into primary schools. In addition, it is increasingly recognised that investing in women and girls and ensuring their equal rights will ‘fast track’ sustainable development and inclusive economic growth.1

The existing set of Millennium Development Goals represented a key step forward for women and girls, with MDG3 acting as a signal of the importance of gender equality and generating unprecedented political and financial interest, even if the only target under MDG3 concerned access to education. But across the MDGs, the goals that are most off-track and least likely to be reached are the ones that most depend on achieving gender equality, such as reducing maternal mortality. And major issues affecting women around the world were left entirely untouched by the MDGs, such as rampant and widespread gender-based violence, but also the impacts on women of prevailing economic development models. Overall, the MDGs failed to fully secure women’s rights or release the potential for women to transform their economies, societies and the environment.

A new post-2015 framework must do three things:

Finish the job that was started by the MDGs – ensuring momentum, focus and resources to support work within a reinforced standalone gender equality and women’s empowerment goal, as well as appropriate targets across the post-2015 framework.

Tackle the most critical barriers preventing women from fulfilling their rights and standing in the way of development overall. This must include:

- eliminating violence against women and girls
- reducing women and girls’ responsibility for unpaid care work
- securing equal access to and control over land and other resources
- securing women’s participation, voice and influence in decision-making
- completion of quality secondary education for young women in safe school environments
- universal access to sexual and reproductive health and rights
- access to decent work on an equal basis to men.

Establish a new global partnership for development that enables and supports countries’ efforts to reduce gender inequalities and empower women, not least by ensuring the global financial architecture delivers voice, influence and benefits for women and girls.
Achieving the MDGs depends so much on women’s empowerment and equal access by women to education, work, health care and decision-making.”
Ban Ki Moon, UN Secretary General, 2012.

Half the world’s population held back by gender inequality

While the last 15 years have seen crucial gains, nearly all around the world women and girls continue to endure a lower social, economic and political status than men and boys. And while poor and marginalised women experience the most extreme inequality, no country has achieved gender equality in areas such as political representation and incomes. Even relatively privileged women still face discrimination in economic, political and socio-cultural life by virtue of their gender. And violence affects women and girls of all ages, all classes across all countries.

The global impact of gender inequality

The result is that three billion people cannot fully enjoy their rights. Gender inequality is also keeping women and girls locked in poverty. The recent food, fuel, climate and financial crises have compounded this problem and together, despite other gains, have overall made women and girls more vulnerable than ever.

Gender inequality undermines our collective wellbeing – governments’ failure to ensure sexual and reproductive health and rights is a clear example of women’s wellbeing being undermined, with high maternal mortality rates among the many consequences. In other sectors too, women’s wellbeing is not sufficiently prioritised, for example in poor rural energy provision, where women’s health is often affected due to exposure to high levels of smoke while cooking.

Gender inequality reduces our prosperity – women account for two thirds of the 1.4 billion people living in extreme poverty, and make up 60% of the world’s 572 million working poor. At the level of households, women in one-person households are more likely to be poor than men.

The rights of all women have long been enshrined in international law including the Convention on the Elimination of All forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW), the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights and the Universal Declaration on Human Rights. Achieving these rights requires equality between women and men, girls and boys in all aspects of life.

- From cradle to grave: women and girls face gender inequalities and discrimination at every stage of their lives, including sex selection before birth, early and forced marriages as children and adolescents, poor education and health outcomes, systematic denials of basic rights including sexual and reproductive rights and access to decent and fairly paid labour, a disproportionate burden of unpaid care and domestic work, and marginalisation and exclusion in old age.

- From bedroom to boardroom: women and girls face discrimination at school, work or in public life, and in the economy, but they also face discrimination within the family, their communities and within their most intimate relationships, including being subject to gender-based violence.

- Compounding other inequalities: some of the greatest impacts of gender inequality are felt by women and girls who are also disabled, of low caste, of lower class, have uncertain or insecure citizenship status, identify as lesbian, bisexual or transgender (LBT), or are an ethnic or racial minority. Thus, young women slum dwellers commonly have little choice but to work in the informal sector in order to survive; migrant domestic workers earn very low wages and have no recourse to legal or social protection; disabled women more often experience sexual abuse while perpetrators act with impunity.
“For far too long, women’s will, women’s voices, women’s interests, priorities and needs have not been heard, have not determined who governs, have not guided how they govern, and to what ends. Since women are amongst the least powerful of citizens, with the fewest social and economic resources on which to build political power, special efforts are often needed to elicit and amplify their voice.”
President Ellen Johnson Sirleaf, now Co-chair of the Post-2015 High Level Panel

**Women and environment**

Women are deprived of their rights to natural resources and are often not included in natural resource management structures. Yet as farmers, entrepreneurs, managers of households, scientists and politicians, women are in a position to drive positive change and contribute to the vast portfolio of strategies needed to address environmental challenges and ensure appropriate responses to environmental limits and stress.

Green growth also presents opportunities for women. Increasing the use of clean energy and energy efficiency can reduce women’s unpaid work, improve the health of women in particular, whilst potentially creating decent work opportunities for poorer women. For example, in Bangladesh, Grameen Shakti installed more than 100,000 solar home systems in rural communities in a few years and is aiming for one million by 2015, creating some 100,000 jobs for local youth and women.

And within households, the distribution of income may be unequal, with a significant number of women suspected of living in poverty even though the household is not officially categorised as poor. The fact that women have unequal access to or control over land and other natural resources reduces their wealth and ability to generate further livelihoods opportunities.

Gender inequality reduces access to opportunity – for example, the unequal distribution of unpaid work means that young women in developing countries can spend much time collecting firewood and carrying this over long distances. This reduces the time they can dedicate to pursuing opportunities for paid work and furthering their education, as well as reducing leisure time. This limits women’s opportunities, for example, to secure more highly skilled and better quality jobs.
Ending gender inequality within a generation – a new goal post 2015

Learning from the Millennium Development Goals

The MDGs have helped to advance the international debate on women’s equality since 2000. The inclusion of MDG3 on gender equality and women’s empowerment signalled a recognition by the international community that women’s rights were an essential component of international development and that they were also important to delivering other development objectives. Experience from Liberia suggests the standalone gender goal helped to secure focused political attention, channel financial resources, make governments more accountable on efforts towards gender equality and build technical capacity and expertise. Importantly, it helped legitimise and open space for the work of women’s rights organisations and activists.

Notwithstanding the importance of MDG3, ‘there is still much to be done in every country and at every level to achieve gender equality and women’s empowerment.’\(^\text{10}\) While in part this is because existing MDG commitments relating to gender have not been met, the potential for success was limited from the start because the MDGs failed to tackle the root causes of inequality, and also failed to address many of the key barriers to women fulfilling their rights, including violence against women and girls. In

Women’s equality and the MDGs in Liberia\(^\text{9}\)

When President Ellen Johnson Sirleaf came to power in 2006, she placed a renewed focus on women’s rights and the plight of Liberian women, leading to an emphasis on gender equality in Liberia’s development agenda. This was an important and challenging task, given that Liberia had recently emerged from a 14-year civil conflict and still faced huge reconstruction costs, as well as a severe debt burden and food and financial crises.

MDG3 played a vital role in promoting the inclusion of gender in the wider Liberian development agenda. However, despite important progress being made, the impact of MDG3 in Liberia has, in part, been limited by the failure to frame the goal in a transformative way. For example, eliminating gender disparity in primary and secondary education, the only MDG3 target, puts emphasis on the enrolment of girls in school. This fails to take into account the barriers girls in Liberia face at tending and completing school such as experiences of violence at school, early marriage and the lack of sanitary facilities.

Critically, there has been growing acknowledgement that some violations of women’s rights, such as violence against women and unequal access to property and inheritance rights, are missing from the MDGs. A 2007 survey in Liberia found that approximately 33% of ‘ever married’ women between 15 and 49 years of age had experienced physical violence inflicted by a husband or partner during the preceding year.
addition, the economic crisis, food and fuel shortages, and climate change have all exacerbated the unequal position of women and girls. This is partly because the MDGs did not challenge the existing economic frameworks, including those promoting privatisation, trade liberalisation and budget austerity. Yet evidence has shown that women and girls gain least from these frameworks and indeed often suffer disproportionate harm.

The seven gender equality issues that matter post 2015

In order to complete the work started by the MDGs and finally end gender inequality globally, a set of seven critical issues will need to be tackled, and tackled together. These are:

1. eliminating violence against women and girls
2. reducing women and girls’ responsibility for unpaid care work
3. securing equal access to and control over land and other natural resources
4. securing women’s participation, voice and influence in decision-making
5. completion of quality secondary education for young women in safe school environments
6. universal access to sexual and reproductive health and rights
7. access to decent work on an equal basis to men.

These specific issues will need to be supported by other targets aimed at tackling poverty and inequality, including establishing universal social protection and universal healthcare, as well as reforms to global economic policies and institutions that promote stability and inclusive and sustainable development.

Reaching the goal – a twin track approach

While the specific content is critical, it is also vital that a comprehensive approach is taken to promoting gender equality. ActionAid, along with a growing body of women’s rights organisations, is calling for a twin-track approach, with a standalone gender equality goal plus gender equality mainstreamed across the entire post-2015 framework.

- A standalone goal is needed to address the persistent structural inequalities facing women and girls, fostering the necessary political will, resources and ownership to create sustainable and effective action. Priorities here include: violence against women and girls, women’s unpaid care work and women’s participation, voice and influence in decision-making.

- Mainstreaming – to ensure gender inequality is addressed in all targets across the entire post-2015 framework, in some cases including targets that specifically address gender inequality, such as sexual and reproductive rights being a necessary component of any future health goal.

Measuring success and ensuring accountability

Indicators should support the targets, reflecting needs rather than data availability. Indicators should help map the quality of improvements and rate of progress towards the targets.

The new framework must be underpinned by the collection and use of sex disaggregated data, ensuring accurate measurement of progress and informing policy choices at national and sub national levels.

The post-2015 framework must establish clear mechanisms for civil society, and women’s rights organisations in particular, to help shape the agenda, as well as feed experiences into national and international monitoring efforts.
There is growing consensus among women’s rights organisations around the world about the critical issues that must be addressed if gender equality is to be tackled, and women’s empowerment secured, through the post-2015 framework. ActionAid has identified seven key issues—listed in the previous section. All of these are closely intertwined, with progress on one likely to support progress on another.

**Target:** Eliminating violence against women and girls by 2030

Up to 70% of women—two billion women—experience physical or sexual violence from men in their lifetime. It is one of the most widespread abuses of human rights worldwide in times of both conflict and peace.

Women and girls’ risk of violence reflects their other identities and life circumstances, such as their poverty, disability, HIV status, caste, ethnicity or race, sexual orientation, class, religion, age, citizenship status, occupation or gender identity. It is also affected by gender norms and what is considered appropriate or acceptable behaviour for women and girls. The risk of violence can increase for example when women and girls try to get paid work, run for political office, become pregnant outside of marriage or speak to men they are not ‘supposed’ to.

Even where there are laws in place, men are often permitted by society—and sometimes encouraged—to abuse women without fear of reprisal. Violence is used to reassert women’s lower status, entrenching the idea that their lives are worth less than men’s, with men controlling how, when and which decisions women can take.

Violence against women and girls impoverishes families, communities and countries. Even the most conservative estimates measure the national costs of violence against women and girls in the billions of dollars. And the costs to women and girls themselves are devastating, affecting life chances, dignity, ability to participate in decision-making at all levels, and access to and control over resources.

“\textit{To be empowered women must not only have equal capabilities (such as education and health) and equal access to resources and opportunities (such as land and employment), they must have the agency to use those rights, capabilities, resources and opportunities to make strategic choices and decisions (such as provided through leadership opportunities and participation in political institutions). And to exercise agency, women must live without fear of coercion and violence.}”

Authors of the Millennium Task Force report, 2005

**The ‘must have’ targets for gender equality post 2015**

Acid attacks are a form of violent assault, often linked to notions of “honour” in parts of south Asia. Acid violence is more common where acid is readily available, for example in areas of Bangladesh involved in the garments trade. Poor women are usually the victims of these attacks perpetrated as revenge for refusal of marriage, sexual advances, dowry payment, and over land disputes.

Swapna Sen
“The role of women is particularly important in unlocking the drive for sustainable development, and all forms of barriers to equal participation need to be removed.”
European Commission, February 2013

Target: reducing women and girls’ responsibility for unpaid care work

Care work – including cooking, cleaning, childcare and caring for the ill and elderly – is critical to society. Yet across the world this care is primarily done by unpaid women and girls, is considered drudgery and therefore done out of obligation rather than choice and without payment. Unpaid care work leads to a violation of human rights to education, political participation, decent work and leisure. It hinders women from realising their potential and contributes to persistent gender inequality.

The work is often not captured in national statistics or economic analyses, despite its centrality to our day-to-day wellbeing. It is perceived to be less valuable than paid work and not considered to be “work” even by the women and men who engage in and benefit directly from these activities. In part because it is invisible in national statistics and less valued, local and national authorities generally fail to design social and economic policies that can reduce women’s primary responsibility for unpaid care work.

Unpaid care is more difficult to do in the context of poverty. With poor basic amenities, poor access to public care services and no funds to buy machines or pay for help, women must rely on their own labour to provide the care that is required. Many women living in poverty carry the dual responsibilities for both unpaid care work and scraping a living together or subsistence farming. The food, fuel, climate and financial crisis are increasing women’s unpaid care work to unsustainable levels. Policymakers continue to ignore the impact of these crises on women’s unpaid care work, taking it for granted that women’s labour in the home will always be available. Yet this leads to detrimental impacts on women’s health and well-being, and perpetuates discrimination and inequality as women shift their work to girls or poorer members of society.

Sandhya Limbu

Sandhya Limbu is 31, married with three daughters aged nine, eight and four years old. She lives in Nepal.

Sandhya says that women have to be responsible for doing all the unpaid care work at home because of tradition. Men have been given freedom not to carry out household chores and the work is considered the responsibility especially of the daughters-in-law. “If people in society see men doing housework, they immediately make comments about how the wife is enjoying herself while making her husband do the chores.” For the same reason, Sandhya feels that men are considered superior to women and hence, they can scold their wives.
Target: equal access to and control over land and other natural resources

Despite their role in subsistence farming and water and firewood collection, women have very little control over natural resources. In the case of land, women make up between 60 and 80% of small-scale farmers, but they own less than 20% of the world's land. Women represent less than 5% of all agricultural landholders in north Africa and west Asia, while in sub-Saharan Africa they make up an average of 15%. When women do control land it is often less fertile land.

When women have access to and control over land and other resources, they have a more sustainable source of food. Women farmers typically achieve yields that are 20-30% lower than men, mostly due to differences in resource access and use. Given equal access to resources as men, women could achieve the same yield levels, increasing agricultural output in developing countries by 2.5-4%. This additional yield could reduce the number of undernourished people in the world by 100 to 150 million or 12-17%.

Sustainable agriculture

ActionAid Brazil’s “Women and Agroecology project” recognised and aimed to address the problems created by conventional farming practices that rely heavily on inputs such as pesticides and fertilisers, whilst excluding women and shunning local/traditional knowledge and practices. The initiative recognised and supported the role of women in maintaining and disseminating an alternative and more sustainable agroecology model.

Andrelice Silva dos Santos, also known as Déo, is a 42 year-old farmer living in the south of Bahia, in the forest region of Camamu. She fought to claim her land and find sustainable farming solutions. Through her efforts over about 10 years, during which she received technical advice from ActionAid’s partner Sasop, her family were able to diversify their crops, and she became empowered and was no longer considered as merely her husband’s “helper” on the farm. She shared her success story with other women and now holds a number of civil society leadership positions.
of food, as well as livelihood and income, and are also more resilient to external shocks such as fluctuating food prices. With land rights, women also gain access to economic rights, being able, for example, to secure loans. Their rights to participate in decision making will also be strengthened because of the impact that land ownership has on social status.

**Target: women’s equal participation in decision-making**

Women are marginalised and excluded from decision-making, be these how to spend health budgets, manage the use of water courses or set economic policies. Exclusion happens from the household level, in community groups, right through to national and global institutions. It happens in times of war, in conflict resolution, in peace building and in peace time. Women are not only poorly represented in decision-making fora, the negative perception of their roles means that their influence over decisions is also relatively limited even when they are in decision-making roles.

It is a democratic deficit to have women excluded from decision-making, and represents a governance failure. Decisions taken by men often do not fully reflect the priorities and needs of all, instead only serving the interests of only half the population. When women are involved in decision-making, the outcomes better reflect their priorities and needs.²²

**Source:** UN Women calculations using MEASURE DHS latest available (2004–2009).²¹

**Note:** Lack of autonomy is defined as having no say in any of these vital everyday decisions: own health care, large household purchases, purchases for daily needs, and visits to family or relatives. The data refers to women aged 15 to 49 who are married or in a union.

**Target: young women complete quality secondary education in safe school environments**

Despite important gains in girls’ enrolment in primary education, there is marked disparity in girls’ and young women’s attendance and completion in education in many countries. Particular differences between boys and girls exist in secondary and tertiary education, partly as a result of girls assuming increasing domestic responsibilities as wives and carers.

“*We live in a world that is unequal. When we have unfair trade, we cannot improve the lives of small farmers even though we provide them with the best seeds. We need to deal with inequality at the global governance system level to ensure that inequalities are tackled.*”

UN Women Executive Director, Michelle Bachelet
Sexual violence in and around school, including “sex for grades”, can mean that girls and young women are exposed to greater risk of violence because they go to school, or that they drop out of school for want of a safe space to learn. Even when young women complete secondary education, the poor quality and/or irrelevance of that education means that they are frequently skilled as “carers”, rather than being equipped to participate in local paid and decent work. A gender-specific target on completion of quality and relevant education for girls and young women in safe environments must be embedded in a broader goal to ensure completion of quality primary and secondary education for all.

**Target: universal access to sexual and reproductive health and rights**

Women’s ability to control their bodies continues to be restricted, preventing them from making decisions that affect them and their families, stopping them from accessing health services, and creating risks to their health and life. Women’s sexual and reproductive health and rights are enshrined in international agreements including the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights and the International Conference on Population and Development Plan of Action and are a key component of the right to the highest attainable standard of physical and mental health. They are also a key part of gender equality and women’s empowerment. They help prevent poverty, unwanted pregnancies, support a healthy life and education, and further the enjoyment of women’s economic and political rights.

Of the existing MDG targets, those on reducing maternal mortality and achieving universal access to reproductive health are amongst those least likely to be achieved. An estimated 220 million girls and women are still lacking access to voluntary family planning, resulting in about 60 million unintended pregnancies each year, particularly affecting marginalised young women and girls.

A global effort is needed to ensure all women and girls have access to information, means and services to achieve the best possible sexual and reproductive health, and all girls and women have the freedom to make decisions about their sexuality including if, when and how many children to have.

**Target: access to decent work on an equal basis to men**

Women represent 60% of the world’s working poor. They occupy the least secure jobs, in both formal and informal sectors. Informal sector jobs often lack security, social and legal protections and entitlements such as sick leave and maternity pay, and women occupy the lowest paid and most precarious employment within the informal sector. Migrant workers are particularly vulnerable. Absence from work on health grounds, for example, means earnings are interrupted, which in turn may put medical care out of reach. Even when employed in the formal

_Hadia Ali Makame_

Hadia Ali Makame, 46, lives in Mkokotoni village, Zanzibar, Tanzania. She is married with eight children, and is a community mobiliser and advocate for women’s rights in her village through the ActionAid Violence Against Women project.

At school, Hadia received no information about family planning. When she was 20 her parents forced her to marry a man more than twice her age. “It greatly affected me. I was not able to decide how many children to have. I was afraid of him.” She tried to discuss family planning with her husband. “I used to tell my husband, according to the age of the children, maybe we should not have another child until this one grows. But you know men do not accept this. Even if you tell them we should go to the hospital to seek advice; they do not accept it.”
sector, women’s ability to organise and join unions is frequently denied. In many countries women are in fact denied equal access to jobs and, overall, the past decade has seen little progress in reducing the segregation between women’s and men’s work. In practice, this means women are more likely, for example, to be domestic workers, which is in turn seen as women’s work and often not treated as “proper” labour. In a majority of countries, women’s pay remains below that of men’s, on average 10 to 30% less than that of men’s. Women’s concentration in public sector work in some countries, for example in the European Union, can also mean they have been disproportionately affected by budget austerity measures and cuts to public sector jobs as a result of the financial crisis.

Enabling progress: women’s voice and priorities reflected in global economic institutions

MDG8 focuses on the international policies and support structures needed to help deliver the other MDGs. While there has been limited discussion of MDG8 in relation to gender, it is clear that structural adjustment programmes, trade liberalisation and economic crises have had a disproportionately negative impact on women. Meeting restrictive fiscal deficit levels or low inflation targets leads to smaller government budgets and therefore fewer public services. Women end up filling this gap in public services through their unpaid care work. For instance, when healthcare centres are not available in poor areas women and girls provide care for the ill in their homes.

In other areas of MDG8, benefits to gender equality have also been limited. Thus, according to the OECD, just US$ 3.19 billion of a total of US$91.8 billion overseas development assistance was targeted at gender as its principal objective in 2010-2011.

A new global partnership must support – both explicitly and implicitly – delivery of the substantive gender equality commitments in the post-2015 framework. This means amongst others that partnerships among government institutions, gender-specific ministries, women’s rights organisations and agencies, and gender experts are enhanced in order to promote gender mainstreaming in developing and implementing global policies, programmes and projects.

It will also require sufficient, effective and stable funding – from aid and other flows, as well as changes to the global tax system to enable the mobilisation of domestic revenue sources – to support the delivery of both the gender specific targets and gender mainstreaming across the post-2015 framework. Gender budgeting at global, national and local levels will be critical as a means of delivery, monitoring and accountability.

Crucially, women and women’s rights organisations should be shaping and benefiting from global economic decisions and policies that set the agenda for action within countries.

Women’s rights in economic crises

Economic crises tend to have a highly gendered impact, exacerbating already existing inequalities. For example, women dominate sectors such as garments and agriculture and are therefore more likely to lose their jobs when there is a decline in consumer spending. Cuts in spending on public services affect women both as users and as employees and research increasingly suggests that in times of crisis violence against women tends to increase.

www.actionaid.org.uk
“Addressing inequalities is not only a choice, but also a moral and practical necessity that speaks to the world’s sense of justice and can spur economic growth and lead to more cost effective outcomes”
Anthony Lake, Executive Director, UNICEF, Feb. 2013

**Within our reach – ending gender inequality post 2015**

Achieving gender equality in a generation presents a formidable but achievable challenge to the global community.

It means finally ensuring that – in line with longstanding international human rights instruments – women will be able to enjoy their rights to live free from oppression and violence, as well as the fear of both, and also enjoy their full economic, social, cultural and political rights.

There is now a growing consensus that achieving gender equality post-2015 is not just about women’s rights but also means unleashing the potential for development that is locked in by tackling gender inequality. Securing women’s rights will not only enable social and economic transformation, it will catalyse it.

But this cannot be done half-heartedly. To succeed we must secure a standalone gender equality goal within the post-2015 framework, and we must set out clearly the world’s determination to act on the set of seven critical issues outlined in this paper:

- violence against women and girls that affects one billion women globally
- unpaid care work that falls heavily and disproportionately on women and girls
- limited participation, voice and influence of women in decision-making at all levels
- women’s limited rights to access and control land and other natural resources
- poorly paid, vulnerable and indecent jobs that women fill
- the abuse of women’s sexual and reproductive health and rights
- the failure to ensure girls and young women complete secondary education

And vitally, in order to enable national-level progress, women must also be at the heart of the global economic architecture post 2015.
1 See for example, World Bank (2012) World Development Report 2012: Gender Equality and Development


9 Liberian Women Civil Society Leaders’ Steering Committee on Post-2015 (2012), Women’s Rights and the MDGs: Liberia’s Experience

10 Commission on the Status of Women Fifty-Seventh Session Preparatory Panel for 2014 (2013) Challenges and achievements in the implementation of the Millennium Development Goals for Women and Girls


16 http://www.unifem.org/gender_issues/violence_against_women/facts_figures.html

17 Day T., McKenna K., Bowlus A. (2005) The economic costs of violence against women: an evaluation of the literature. Expert brief compiled in preparation for the Secretary General’s in-depth study on all forms of violence against women, UN


25 See http://www.asiafloorwage.org/asiafloorwage-abou


