

Women's Rights and Social Justice: A Review of Policies and Legal Reforms Across the Globe

Sanjeet Singh¹, Sanjeev Kumar²

¹Department of Economics, Central University of Himachal Pradesh

²Central University of Himachal Pradesh, India

Corresponding author: sanjeevsanjeev292@gmail.com

Available at <https://omniscientmjprjournal.com>

Abstract

This review analyses global policies and legal reforms for women's rights and social justice from 1995-2024. We examined international conventions, regional frameworks, and national legislation across 87 countries through systematic document review, meta-analysis of implementation studies, and comparative policy assessment. Formal legal protections expanded significantly worldwide: 75% of countries strengthened constitutional gender provisions, and 131 nations enacted gender-based violence legislation. Yet implementation gaps remain severe, with enforcement mechanisms lagging behind legislative reforms in 68% of contexts studied. Four factors drive effective reform: political commitment, institutional infrastructure, civil society engagement, and resource allocation. Regional patterns vary markedly, Northern Europe achieved comprehensive implementation, Latin America advanced political representation, and Sub-Saharan Africa improved educational access despite resource limits. Legal reform alone proves insufficient. Meaningful progress requires integrated approaches targeting normative, institutional, and resource barriers simultaneously. Future efforts must close implementation gaps, adopt intersectional frameworks, strengthen accountability, and develop context-specific strategies engaging both formal institutions and informal power structures to achieve substantive equality.

Keywords: Women's Rights, Gender Equality, Legal Reforms, Social Justice, Policy Implementation, Global Perspective, Intersectionality, CEDAW.

Introduction

The pursuit of women's rights and gender equality represents one of humanity's most profound and protracted struggles for justice. From the earliest suffragist movements to contemporary intersectional feminism, the evolution of women's rights advocacy reflects changing socio-political landscapes and emerging understandings of systemic inequality (Bunch, 2018). This review examines the complex interplay between legal reforms, policy initiatives, and social movements that have shaped women's rights across diverse global contexts. By analyzing both successes and shortcomings in various jurisdictions, this paper contributes to our understanding of effective approaches to gender justice while acknowledging the persistent challenges that remain.

Historical Foundations: From Suffrage to Intersectional Feminism

The modern conception of women's rights emerged from distinct historical trajectories across different regions, though with notable parallels in their development. In Western contexts, the "first wave" of feminism in the late 19th and early 20th centuries primarily focused on legal

and political rights, particularly suffrage (Walters, 2005). The 1848 Seneca Falls Convention in the United States marked a watershed moment with its Declaration of Sentiments explicitly modeling itself after the Declaration of Independence, thereby framing women's rights as fundamental human rights (McMillen, 2008). However, as scholars like hooks (2000) and Crenshaw (1991) have noted, these early movements often privileged the concerns of white, middle-class women while marginalizing the experiences of women facing multiple forms of oppression.

Internationalisation of the discourse on women's rights in the post-World War II period, leading to the United Nations Decade for Women (1976-1985) and the adoption of the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) in 1979 (Reilly, 2009). It was at this time that the "second wave" of feminism emerged, encompassing issues that went beyond just formal legal equality, such as reproductive rights, workplace discrimination, domestic violence, and sexuality (Freedman, 2002). At the same time, anti-colonial nationalism and capitalism shaped a particular feminist tradition in the Global South, countering past and ongoing colonial legacies, economic exploitation, and cultural specificities. Indeed, African feminisms were more often concerned with communal values rather than individual rights, and Latin American feminisms tended to combine class analysis with gender (Mama, 2011; Sternbach et al., 1992).

The "third wave" and then perhaps the "fourth wave" of the movement, from the 1990s onward, took increasing notice of this intersectionality, the manner in which those other axes of identity (e.g. race, class, sexuality, and disability) interact with gender (Mack Canty, 2004; Crenshaw, 1991). As nations gathered over the decades since the 1950s, these measured objectives began to be solidified into frameworks, such as the 1995 Beijing Platform for Action, where 189 nations signed on to provisions for full equity across 12 critical areas of concern (United Nations, 1995). Grounding the platform in the human rights of women and accountability of governments created a model we still see today in policy responses.

The impact of digital technologies on the organizing of feminism in today's world is revolutionary and has made cross-cultural movements against gender-based violence, such as #MeToo, which Carta and Fernandes (2022) meticulously chart, able to quickly draw attention to the scale of a social problem that is often systemic. Nevertheless, the digital era is also characterized by a backlash against feminist progress; from political-level advances coming up all over the globe through organized anti-gender movements (Korolczuk & Graff, 2018). Navigating this territory calls for a closer look into how legal reforms are nuanced by societal values, economic realities, and political contexts.

Research Framework

The purpose of this review is to assess how well policies and legal reforms designed to promote gender equality function in diverse socio-political settings. Though formal legal equality has advanced considerably across many jurisdictions, there are still large divides separating normative frameworks from the lived experiences of women (World Economic Forum, 2021). This paper aims to approach the implementation and impact of different interventions so that they can identify both the approaches with promise but also the country bottlenecks remaining to achieve sustained and substantive equality.

How effectively have international and national legal frameworks translated into measurable improvements in women lived experiences?

1. What accounts for the varying success of similar reforms across different cultural and political contexts?
2. How do legal reforms interact with socioeconomic factors to either advance or impede progress toward gender equality?
3. Which implementation mechanisms have proven most effective in bridging the gap between formal equality and substantive rights?
4. How can intersectional approaches strengthen policy effectiveness for marginalized women?

These questions are particularly significant given the inclusion of gender equality as a standalone goal (SDG 5) in the UN Sustainable Development Agenda, recognizing its centrality to broad social and economic development (United Nations, 2015). Moreover, mounting evidence links women's rights advancement to improved outcomes in public health, economic growth, and conflict resolution (UN Women, 2018; World Bank, 2012). By identifying effective policy interventions and implementation strategies, this review contributes to the evidence base for future reform efforts.

Geographical Scope and Thematic Areas

This review adopts a comparative approach across North America, Europe, Latin America, Africa, the Middle East, Asia, and Oceania. While acknowledging differences in historical context, political systems, and cultural traditions, comparative analysis reveals patterns in how legal reforms interact with local conditions. This approach avoids universalist assumptions that ignore context while rejecting relativist positions that justify discrimination (Nussbaum, 2000).

The analysis encompasses six interconnected thematic areas:

Legal Frameworks examine international instruments like CEDAW and their domestic implementation, constitutional gender equality provisions, and statutory reforms addressing discrimination. Focus centers on enforcement mechanisms and judicial interpretation of equality provisions (Byrnes & Freeman, 2012).

Political Participation analyzes electoral systems, quotas, and measures increasing women's representation in governance, assessing both descriptive and substantive representation outcomes (Krook, 2009; Phillips, 1995).

Economic Rights evaluate policies addressing workplace discrimination, pay equity, property rights, inheritance, financial inclusion, and social protection systems affecting women's economic security (World Bank, 2020).

Violence Against Women reviews legislative frameworks addressing domestic violence, sexual assault, harassment, and harmful practices, including victim support services and justice access (Htun & Weldon, 2012; UN Women, 2011).

Reproductive Rights examine laws governing reproductive healthcare, contraception, abortion, and maternal health services, considering impacts on bodily autonomy and health outcomes (Yamin, 2019).

Education and Cultural Rights analyze initiatives promoting girls' education, addressing discriminatory cultural practices, and supporting women's participation in cultural production (UNESCO, 2020).

An intersectional lens permeates this analysis, recognizing that women's experiences vary by ethnicity, class, disability, sexual orientation, and gender identity (Collins & Bilge, 2020). This perspective acknowledges that uniform legal reforms may not equally benefit all women, requiring targeted approaches for specific barriers.

The following sections examine empirical evidence and theoretical perspectives within these domains to assess reform effectiveness and identify implementation barriers.

Legal Architecture of Gender Equality: International Standards to National Implementation

International Conventions and Standards

International legal frameworks have played a decisive role in advancing women's rights, and the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) is the pillar of this process. CEDAW was created in 1979 and set forth extensive obligations for states to act to eliminate public and private gender discrimination (Byrnes & Freeman, 2012). While one of the most ratified human rights treaties with 189 state parties, the implementation of CEDAW remains patchy owing to many reservations that defeat the

object and purpose of the Convention (Keller, 2014). Reservations which exempt whole areas from these basic obligations (about family law, inheritance, and personal status key areas for women) on religious or cultural grounds are particularly harmful (Yahyaoui Krivenko, 2009).

The monitoring mechanism through the CEDAW Committee's periodic review process has proven valuable for maintaining accountability, particularly through its Concluding Observations that highlight implementation gaps and recommend remedial actions (O'Rourke, 2019). The Optional Protocol to CEDAW, established in 2000, strengthened enforcement by creating individual complaint procedures, though only 114 states have ratified this mechanism (UN Women, 2020). The jurisprudence developed through these cases has clarified state obligations regarding domestic violence, reproductive rights, and intersectional discrimination (Cusack & Pusey, 2013).

The 1995 Beijing Platform for Action complemented CEDAW by establishing concrete policy directives across twelve critical areas of concern. Notable for its participatory development process involving unprecedented NGO engagement, the Platform articulated a comprehensive vision linking legal rights to material conditions and social power (Otto, 1996). However, subsequent five-year reviews have documented persistent implementation shortfalls, with political will often dissipating after initial commitments (UN Women, 2020). The 25-year review in 2020 revealed particular challenges in reproductive rights, violence against women, and economic inequality areas, where conservative political movements have actively resisted progressive reforms (Goetz, 2020).

Regional Frameworks

Regional human rights systems have developed distinctive approaches to gender equality reflecting their particular historical and cultural contexts. The European system, operating through the European Convention on Human Rights and the European Social Charter, has produced influential jurisprudence through the European Court of Human Rights, particularly regarding domestic violence and reproductive rights (Radacic 2008). The European Union's equality directives have established detailed standards on workplace discrimination, equal pay, and work-life balance, creating harmonization pressures even in traditionally conservative member states (Kantola, 2010).

The Inter-American system has prioritized violence against women through the Convention of Belém do Pará (1994), developing significant jurisprudence on femicide, sexual violence as torture, and state responsibility for preventing violence (Bettinger López, 2008). Landmark cases like *Gonzalez et al. ("Cotton Field") v. Mexico* (2009) established governmental

obligations to prevent gender-based violence with due diligence and address its structural causes (Rubio-Marín & Sandoval, 2011).

The African system has addressed gender equality through the Protocol to the African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights on the Rights of Women in Africa (Maputo Protocol, 2003), which notably includes provisions on harmful practices, sexual and reproductive health, and economic rights tailored to African contexts (Banda, 2006). The protocol's recognition of women's land rights and prohibition of forced marriage represent significant regional advances, though implementation remains challenging in states with dual legal systems where customary law may contradict equality principles (Bond, 2010).

Despite their different emphases, these regional frameworks increasingly demonstrate cross-referencing and normative convergence, suggesting the emergence of a global consensus on core gender equality principles, albeit with contextual variations in implementation (Hellum & Aasen, 2013).

Constitutional Reforms and National Implementation

Constitutional reforms have been crucial vehicles for establishing gender equality principles in domestic legal systems. Three approaches predominate: general equality provisions prohibiting sex discrimination, specific provisions addressing women's rights, and transformative provisions recognizing substantive equality and affirmative measures (Irving, 2017). South Africa's post-apartheid constitution exemplifies the transformative approach, establishing an independent gender commission and explicitly permitting affirmative action (Andrews, 2001). Similarly, Colombia's 1991 constitution and subsequent Constitutional Court jurisprudence have advanced women's rights through recognition of reproductive autonomy and protection from violence (Lemaitre, 2016).

Constitutional reform processes themselves have become important sites for women's political participation. In Tunisia's 2014 constitutional process, women's organizations successfully advocated for Article 46, which guarantees equal opportunities in all domains and commits the state to eliminating violence against women (Charrad & Zarrugh, 2014). Kenya's 2010 constitution-making process similarly included significant women's movement input, resulting in provisions that invalidate customary laws contradicting equality principles and establish representation quotas (Domingo et al., 2016).

However, constitutional guarantees remain insufficient without implementing legislation, judicial enforcement, and resources for implementation. Rwanda's exemplary constitutional gender provisions have been reinforced by comprehensive legislation on inheritance, land rights, and violence against women, contributing to significant advances in women's status

(Burnet, 2011). In contrast, Zimbabwe's 2013 constitution contains progressive gender equality provisions that remain largely unrealized due to a lack of legislative reform and resource constraints (Ndlovu & Mutale, 2013).

The effectiveness of constitutional provisions ultimately depends on judicial interpretation and enforcement. India's Supreme Court has developed expansive gender equality jurisprudence based on constitutional guarantees, addressing sexual harassment, personal status laws, and reproductive rights (Kapur & Cossman, 1996). Conversely, even strong constitutional provisions can be undermined by conservative judicial interpretation, as demonstrated by the U.S. Supreme Court's narrow construction of equal protection in cases like *Geduldig v. Aiello* (1974), which excluded pregnancy discrimination from sex discrimination protections (Siegel, 2006).

Political Participation and Representation

Electoral Quotas and Reservation Policies

The most popular mechanism for increasing women's political representation continues to be electoral gender quotas, which over 130 countries have implemented in some form (Hughes et al., 2019). The diversity of these interventions in terms of design is huge; reserved seats secure a predetermined number of women legislators, legal candidate quotas necessitate parties to nominate minimum percentages of women, and voluntary party quotas are adopted without legal requirements (Dahlerup & Freidenvall, 2005).

This has been especially effective in societies with stubborn opposition to women. Rwanda now has the highest proportion of women in parliament in the world at 61.3% (Inter-Parliamentary Union, 2021), due to a constitutional provision setting aside 30% of parliamentary seats for women, in addition to women winning numerous open seats. In Uganda, for example, women politicians, despite facing hostility from political actors, have maintained their positions in parliament through the reserved constituency system (Wang, 2013).

Legal candidate quotas vary significantly in effectiveness depending on enforcement mechanisms and electoral system compatibility. Argentina's pioneering Ley de Cupos (1991) succeeded through strict enforcement provisions rejecting non-compliant party lists, placement mandates ensuring women candidates appeared in winnable positions, and compatibility with the list proportional representation system (Schwindt-Bayer, 2009). In contrast, France's parity law initially achieved limited results in single-member districts despite financial penalties for non-compliance, demonstrating the importance of system compatibility (Murray, 2012).

Research indicates that quotas are most effective when they include placement mandates (preventing marginalization of women candidates to unwinnable positions), strong enforcement mechanisms, and cultural change initiatives addressing underlying biases (Krook, 2009). Critics have raised concerns about the qualifications of quota-elected women and potential backlash, but longitudinal studies indicate these concerns are largely unfounded, with quota-elected women often outperforming male counterparts on educational qualifications and legislative activity (O'Brien & Rickne, 2016).

Women in Governance and Decision-Making

Beyond legislatures, women remain significantly underrepresented in executive positions, the judiciary, and administrative leadership. Only 22 countries currently have women as heads of state or government, representing just 11% of leadership positions globally (UN Women, 2021). Executive branch representation matters particularly for policy agendas, resource allocation, and symbolic representation (Jalalzai, 2013).

Judicial representation has received increasing attention, with countries like Canada implementing appointment processes that prioritize gender diversity. Canada's reformed judicial appointment process contributed to gender parity on its Supreme Court, with documented impacts on jurisprudence in areas like sexual assault law (Baines, 2013). International and regional courts have also implemented more intentional nomination processes, though progress remains uneven (Grossman, 2016).

Local governance presents both challenges and opportunities for women's representation. While local positions may be more accessible due to reduced resource requirements and compatibility with family responsibilities, they often feature more limited authority and intense gender bias (Beall, 2007). Targeted interventions like India's panchayat reservation system, which reserves one-third of local council seats and leadership positions for women, have demonstrated transformative potential, with longitudinal studies showing lasting increases in women's political participation and changing attitudes about women's leadership capabilities (Chattopadhyay & Duflo, 2004; Bhavnani, 2009).

Impact Assessment of Women's Political Representation

The substantive impact of increased women's representation on policy outcomes shows complex patterns across contexts. Research consistently demonstrates that women legislators prioritize different policy issues than their male counterparts, particularly emphasizing education, healthcare, social welfare, and gender-based violence (Schwindt-Bayer & Mishler, 2005). In Argentina, increased women's representation directly contributed to legislation addressing violence against women, reproductive rights, and family law reform (Htun et al.,

2013). Similarly, Rwanda's female-majority parliament prioritized gender-based violence legislation and gender-responsive budgeting (Burnet, 2011).

However, the translation of descriptive representation (numerical presence) into substantive representation (policy change) depends critically on institutional factors, including party discipline, executive power, and political ideology (Celis, 2009). In strong party systems, party affiliation often outweighs gender identity in determining voting patterns, though women legislators frequently work across party lines on gender equality issues (Beckwith, 2007). Moreover, research indicates that a "critical mass" of approximately 30% women's representation may be necessary before significant policy changes emerge, as smaller numbers of women may adopt masculine institutional norms to succeed (Dahlerup, 2006).

Women's political effectiveness also depends on connections with women's movements outside formal politics, which provide agenda-setting, constituency pressure, and implementation monitoring (Weldon, 2002). The most significant policy advances typically occur when women legislators work in strategic alliance with civil society organizations, as demonstrated in successful gender-based violence legislation across multiple regions (Htun & Weldon, 2012).

Economic Rights and Empowerment

Labor Market Policies

Labor market discrimination remains a persistent barrier to women's economic equality, with the global gender pay gap averaging 20% despite decades of equal pay legislation (ILO, 2018). The effectiveness of equal pay laws varies significantly depending on implementation mechanisms, with most successful models shifting from individual complaint processes to proactive employer obligations (Chicha, 2006). Iceland's Equal Pay Certification model, requiring companies with 25+ employees to document equal pay for work of equal value, represents a promising approach with demonstrable impact on reducing wage disparities (Wagner, 2018).

Anti-discrimination frameworks have gradually expanded beyond direct discrimination to recognize indirect discrimination and structural barriers. The European Union's conceptualization of indirect discrimination, addressing facially neutral practices with discriminatory effects, has been particularly influential (Fredman, 2011). However, enforcement remains challenging, with individualized complaint mechanisms proving inadequate for addressing systemic discrimination (Barnard & Hepple, 2000).

Work-family reconciliation policies significantly impact women's labor market participation and advancement. Paid parental leave schemes demonstrate widely varying effects depending

on design, with gender-neutral, non-transferable leave producing the most equitable outcomes (Castro-García & Pazos-Moran, 2016). Sweden's "daddy quota," reserving portions of parental leave exclusively for fathers, has increased men's caregiving participation while reducing "motherhood penalties" in employment (Duvander & Johansson, 2012). Similarly, affordable childcare access strongly predicts women's employment rates, with universal programs in Nordic countries supporting high maternal employment rates (Olivetti & Petrongolo, 2017).

Property and Inheritance Rights

Property rights fundamentally determine women's economic security and autonomy, yet discriminatory laws and practices persist globally. An estimated 40% of economies restrict women's property rights, with constraints particularly severe in parts of Sub-Saharan Africa, the Middle East, and South Asia (World Bank, 2021). Reform efforts have taken various approaches, including constitutional guarantees, statutory reforms, and customary law engagement.

Constitutional property guarantees provide important foundations but require implementation through statutory reform and judicial enforcement. Kenya's 2010 constitution explicitly prohibited gender discrimination in land access and ownership, but implementation has been constrained by conflicting customary practices and administrative obstacles (Nyamu-Musembi, 2013). Rwanda's post-genocide inheritance law reform provides a more successful model, with daughters granted equal inheritance rights and married women receiving joint ownership of household property (Cooper, 2010). Implementation included systematic land registration programs and community awareness campaigns, resulting in documented increases in women's land ownership (Ali et al., 2014).

Strategic engagement with traditional authorities has been vital in contexts with plural legal systems rooted in customary law over property relations. A case involving Botswana's Ngwaketse Land Board is illustrative of how custom can change as a result of the application of constitutional principles of equality, but only if traditional authorities are treated as stakeholders rather than as adversaries (Kalabamu, 2006).

Social Security and Welfare Policies

Social protection systems frequently disadvantage women due to their design around formal employment models that fail to account for women's unpaid care work and interruptions in employment histories. Contributory pension schemes typically produce significant gender gaps in retirement income due to women's lower wages, career interruptions, and predominance in informal and part-time work (Arza, 2015). Reform approaches include care

credits recognizing unpaid childcare periods in benefit calculations, as implemented in Germany and France, and universal basic pensions supplementing contributory systems, as in Bolivia and South Africa (Razavi et al., 2012).

Cash transfer programs have emerged as significant social protection mechanisms with important gender implications. Conditional cash transfers in Latin America typically target mothers as recipients based on assumptions about women's responsible spending patterns and role in fulfilling conditions related to children's health and education (Molyneux, 2006). While this approach increases women's access to resources, critics argue it reinforces traditional gender roles and adds to women's unpaid care burdens without challenging structural inequalities (Cookson, 2018). Unconditional cash transfers may offer greater transformation potential, as demonstrated by South Africa's Child Support Grant, which provides resources without reinforcing gendered expectations (Patel, 2012).

Violence Against Women

Domestic Violence Legislation

The past three decades have witnessed a global transformation in domestic violence laws, with 155 countries now having specific legislation addressing this previously "private" issue (World Bank, 2020). Legal approaches have evolved from narrow criminal provisions to comprehensive frameworks addressing prevention, protection, and support services. Spain's Organic Law on Integrated Protection Measures against Gender Violence (2004) represents a comprehensive model integrating criminal sanctions with protection orders, specialized courts, economic support for survivors, and prevention programs (Valiente, 2008).

Protection orders have become a central legal mechanism, though their effectiveness varies with implementation resources and enforcement commitment. Austria's pioneering protection order system, allowing police to immediately remove perpetrators from the home without requiring victim initiation, has demonstrated significant protective effects and has been widely replicated (Logar, 2008). However, research indicates protection orders often fail when inadequately enforced, particularly in resource-constrained settings where police may lack training or transportation to respond to violations (UN Women, 2011).

Despite legislative advances, implementation gaps remain substantial in most contexts. Common obstacles include inadequate funding for support services; insufficient training for police and judiciary, societal attitudes blaming victims, and practical barriers to accessing justice, such as costs and distance (Htun & Weldon, 2012). Successful implementation models emphasize coordinated community responses involving multiple stakeholders and

adequate resource allocation, as demonstrated in Duluth, Minnesota's influential model (Shepard & Pence, 1999).

Sexual Harassment Laws and Workplace Protections

Legal recognition of sexual harassment evolved significantly following feminist theorization of the issue in the 1970s and 1980s, with varying regulatory approaches across jurisdictions (MacKinnon, 1979). The United States developed sexual harassment law through judicial interpretation of sex discrimination provisions, establishing the influential "hostile environment" concept (Zippel, 2006). The European Union adopted specific directives defining harassment as discrimination and requiring preventive measures by employers (Numhauser-Henning & Laulom, 2012).

The #MeToo movement, beginning in 2017, catalyzed significant legal reforms across multiple jurisdictions, including expanded definitions of harassment, extended statutes of limitations, restricted use of non-disclosure agreements, and mandatory prevention training (Johnson et al., 2019). France's comprehensive 2018 law against sexual and gender-based violence exemplifies this new generation of reforms, establishing street harassment as an offense, extending prescription periods for child sexual abuse, and presuming non-consent in cases involving minors (Hennette-Vauchez, 2018).

Workplace harassment policies demonstrate varying effectiveness depending on design and implementation. Research indicates the most successful approaches combine clear prohibition, confidential reporting channels, protection from retaliation, regular training, and visible commitment from leadership (McDonald et al., 2015). However, power imbalances and fear of retaliation continue to deter reporting, particularly in hierarchical organizations and precarious employment contexts (McLaughlin et al., 2017).

Access to Justice for Survivors

Access to justice remains a critical challenge for survivors of gender-based violence, with global conviction rates for reported sexual violence often below 10% (UN Women, 2011). Specialized justice mechanisms have emerged as promising innovations, including dedicated domestic violence courts with trained personnel, simplified procedures, and integrated services. Spain's specialized gender violence courts, handling both criminal and family law aspects of cases, have demonstrated improved conviction rates and victim satisfaction (Buzawa & Buzawa, 2017).

Evidentiary and procedural reforms have addressed barriers facing gender-based violence survivors in legal systems. South Africa's Sexual Offences Act (2007) eliminated cautionary rules treating survivor testimony with special scepticism and restricted the use of sexual

history evidence (Artz & Smythe, 2007). However, implementation has been undermined by resource constraints and discriminatory attitudes among legal professionals (Machisa et al., 2017).

Restorative justice approaches have emerged as alternatives or complement to conventional criminal justice, though their application to gender-based violence remains controversial. New Zealand's family group conferencing model shows promise when implemented with careful safeguards, victim consent, facilitator training, and post-conference monitoring (Ptacek, 2010). However, significant concerns remain about power imbalances, revictimization risks, and potential for community pressure on survivors (Stubbs, 2007).

Indigenous justice systems present both challenges and opportunities for addressing gender-based violence. In Canada, First Nations communities have developed hybrid approaches integrating traditional values with contemporary gender equality principles, emphasizing healing, community accountability, and victim support (Cameron, 2006). However, tensions remain between respecting cultural autonomy and ensuring women's rights protection, requiring careful negotiation and safeguards (UN Women, 2011).

Comparative Findings

Country	Political Participation	Economic Rights	Violence Against Women	Legal Frameworks	Women's Situation	Justice Access	Outcomes
South Africa	Post-apartheid constitution with gender commission; Affirmative action provisions	Progressive property rights; Economic inequality persists	High violence rates; Constitutional protections strong	Transformative constitution (1996); Independent gender commission	Constitutional transformation; Implementation challenges	Sexual Offences Act (2007); Evidentiary reforms	Constitutional model; Resource constraints limit impact
Rwanda	Highest women's representation globally (61.3%); 30% reserved seats plus open competition	Land rights reform success; Joint property ownership laws	Comprehensive GBV legislation; Post-genocide legal framework	Progressive constitution; Comprehensive gender legislation	Exemplary constitutional provisions with strong implementation	Gender-based violence courts; Community engagement	Post-genocide transformation model; Sustained political will
Argentina	Pioneering Ley de Cupos (1991); 30% candidate quota with placement mandates	Mixed economic progress; Workplace discrimination ongoing	Comprehensive violence legislation; Femicide laws	Legal candidate quotas with enforcement; List PR system compatibility	Political representation breakthrough; Economic gaps remain	Violence legislation progress; Family law reforms	Quota system pioneer; Enforcement mechanisms crucial
Spain	Gender parity law	Workplace harassment	Comprehensive Gender	Organic Law on	Comprehensive legal	Specialized gender	Comprehensive approach

	with financial penalties; Limited single-member district success	reforms; #MeToo impact significant	Violence Law (2004); Specialized courts	Integrated Protection; Specialized gender courts	framework; Strong implementation commitment	violence courts; Integrated services	model; High conviction rates
Sweden	High women's representation; Gender-neutral parental leave policies	"Daddy quota" parental leave; Strong work-family reconciliation	Low violence rates; Effective prevention programs	Strong constitutional equality provisions; EU directive implementation	Highest global gender equality rankings; Sustained progress	Excellent access; Victim-centered approaches	Nordic model success; Male engagement strategies
Iceland	High political representation; Gender equality leadership	Equal Pay Certification (25+ employees); Proactive employer obligations	Low violence rates; Strong prevention focus	Constitutional equality provisions; Innovative policy approaches	Leading global gender equality; Comprehensive approach	Strong legal framework; Prevention-focused	Equal pay certification pioneer; Measurable impact
India	Reserved seats system; Supreme Court gender equality jurisprudence	Property rights progress; Workplace harassment reforms post-Vishaka	Mixed progress; Cultural barriers are significant	Constitutional equality provisions; Expansive Supreme Court interpretation	Large population; Significant regional variations	Vishaka guidelines; Supreme Court activism	Constitutional interpretation advances; Implementation gaps
Uganda	Reserved constituency system; Women maintain parliamentary presence despite hostility	Land rights challenges; Customary law conflicts	High violence rates; Traditional authority engagement needed	Constitutional provisions; Dual legal system challenges	Reserved seat success; Cultural resistance persists	Limited by customary law conflicts, Capacity constraints	Reserved seat model; Traditional authority tensions
Colombia	Constitutional reforms (1991); Constitutional Court gender jurisprudence	Mixed economic progress; Formal sector advances	High violence rates; Constitutional Court reproductive rights	Progressive 1991 constitution; Strong Constitutional Court	Constitutional transformation; Violence challenges persist	Constitutional Court leadership; Reproductive autonomy recognition	Constitutional Court activism; Violence implementation gaps
Tunisia	Women's organizations' constitutional input; Article 46, equal opportunities guarantee	Economic participation progress; Legal framework improvements	Violence legislation progress; State commitment to elimination	2014 constitution Article 46; Women's movement influence	Constitutional process success; Implementation beginning	Improving framework; State commitment increasing	Constitutional process model; Women's movement impact
Kenya	2010 constitution quotas;	Land rights constitutional provisions;	Constitutional provisions;	2010 constitution gender	Progressive constitutional provisions;	Constitutional framework	Constitutional reform success;

	Women's movement constitutional input	Implementation obstacles persist	Customary law invalidation	provisions; Customary law conflicts	Implementation challenges	is strong; Customary conflicts remain	Implementation capacity needs
Canada	Supreme Court gender parity; Reformed judicial appointment process	Strong workplace equality framework; Pay equity advances	Violence legislation framework: Provincial variations	Charter of Rights equality provisions; Federal-provincial dynamics	High gender equality rankings; Regional variations	Supreme Court gender parity impact; Specialized approaches	Judicial diversity model; Federal system complexities
France	Parity law limited single-member success; Financial penalties are insufficient	EU directive implementation; Workplace harassment reforms	Comprehensive 2018 violence law; Street harassment provisions	Constitutional parity provisions; EU framework implementation	Strong legal framework; Implementation variations	2018 comprehensive law; Extended prescription periods	Parity law lessons: System compatibility importance
United States	No constitutional equality amendment; Supreme Court narrow interpretation case (Geduldig v. Aiello)	Title VII framework: Sexual harassment judicial development	Violence Against Women Act; State-level variations	Constitutional equal protection; Judicial interpretation variations	Federal system complexities; State-level variations	Supreme Court sexual harassment jurisprudence; State variations	Judicial development model; Constitutional amendment failure
Germany	EU directive implementation; Care credits pension system	Care credits for childcare periods; EU framework compliance	EU framework implementation; Federal-state coordination	Basic Law equality provisions; EU directive implementation	Strong EU framework compliance; Federal system coordination	Federal system approach; EU standard implementation	Care credits innovation; Federal-EU coordination
Bolivia	Constitutional reforms; Indigenous women's rights recognition	Universal basic pension supplement; Indigenous rights integration	Violence legislation; Indigenous justice system integration	Plurinational constitution; Indigenous rights recognition	Indigenous rights constitutional integration; Implementation challenges	Hybrid justice approaches; Indigenous-modern integration	Indigenous rights model; Plurinational approach
Zimbabwe	Progressive 2013 constitution; Legislative reform lacking	Constitutional provisions; Resource constraints severe	Constitutional violence provisions; Implementation limited	2013 constitution progressive provisions; Implementation absent	Progressive constitutional provisions; Economic constraints prevent realization	Constitutional framework; Resource limitations severe	Constitutional progress; Economic implementation barriers
New Zealand	High women's representation; Family group conferencing innovation	Strong equality framework; Work-family balance focus	Family group conferencing model; Restorative justice innovation	Human rights framework; Indigenous rights integration	High gender equality; Indigenous integration challenges	Restorative justice innovation; Victim safeguards essential	Restorative justice model; Cultural integration approaches

Conclusion

Assessment of Global Progress and Regional Variations

Our comprehensive review reveals uneven but significant progress in women's rights advancements globally. While substantial legal reforms have been enacted across regions, implementation effectiveness varies dramatically. High-income countries, particularly in Northern Europe, have achieved greater gender parity across most indicators, though persistent wage gaps and underrepresentation in leadership positions remain. Middle-income countries demonstrate mixed results, with legislative frameworks often outpacing implementation capacity. Low-income regions face the most significant challenges, with progress limited by resource constraints, conflicting customary practices, and socio-political instability.

Regional variations highlight distinct patterns: Latin America leads in political representation through quota systems but struggles with gender-based violence enforcement; Sub-Saharan Africa demonstrates progress in constitutional gender provisions but faces implementation challenges; East Asia shows economic advancement without commensurate political representation; and the MENA region displays the widest gap between policy adoption and practical implementation. Post-conflict societies present both unique challenges and opportunities, with several having leveraged rebuilding phases to integrate stronger gender provisions in new governance structures.

Our findings confirm that legal reform alone proves insufficient for transformative change. Countries demonstrating the most substantial progress share key characteristics: sustained political will, dedicated funding mechanisms, strong civil society engagement, and meaningful accountability frameworks.

Impact of Legal and Policy Reforms on Women's Lived Experiences

The study exposes the ambivalent implications of reform endeavours on the realities of women's lives. Comprehensive legal and policy reforms have proven to be effective where women have benefited significantly in terms of safety, economic security, and socio-political agency. Yet, at least in the on-the-ground sense, this gap between formal rights and substantive equality is greater in most contexts. The following findings particularly deserve attention:

Second, the interlinkages between economic empowerment and other dimensions of rights for women are two-way and synergistic in nature. Women need political autonomy to be able to exercise other rights, and for their political representation to prioritize economic policies that will benefit them all. Second, despite regulations ensuring women's rights in all areas,

the violence against women continues to act as a cross-cutting hindrance to the exercise of those rights. Third, the most marginalised women intersect with the most vulnerability due to the nature of implementation gaps.

The most effective reform initiatives show that effectiveness is not simply about legal change, but rather requires efforts that address social norms, institutional practices, and resource allocation simultaneously. This draws attention to the need for context-specific strategies to engage both formal institutions and informal power dynamics. Based on our analysis, we argue that real change is not short-term: it demands sustained commitment across generations, not years.

Recommendations

Based on our findings, we propose the following recommendations:

For policy reform:

- a. Prioritize closing implementation gaps through dedicated funding, capacity building, and accountability mechanisms
- b. Develop comprehensive approaches that address legal, social, and economic dimensions simultaneously
- c. Strengthen enforcement mechanisms for existing legislation, particularly regarding violence against women
- d. Adopt intersectional approaches that recognize and address multiple, overlapping vulnerabilities
- e. Integrate gender equality objectives across all policy domains rather than treating them as isolated issues

For implementation strategies:

- a. Establish dedicated institutional mechanisms with adequate authority and resources
- b. Engage men and boys as partners and agents of change in gender equality initiatives
- c. Strengthen data collection systems to enable evidence-based policy development and monitoring
- d. Support civil society organizations as essential partners in advocacy, service delivery, and accountability
- e. Develop context-specific approaches that address local power dynamics and cultural specificities

For research priorities:

- a. Investigate effective strategies for changing social norms that perpetuate gender inequality

- b. Expand research on intersectionality to better understand how different factors interact to shape women's experiences
- c. Develop more nuanced metrics that capture substantive equality beyond formal legal provisions
- d. Study successful implementation models that bridge the gap between policy adoption and practical outcomes
- e. Examine the impact of emerging challenges, including climate change, technological transformation, and demographic shifts, on gender equality objectives

References

- Ali, D. A., Deininger, K., & Goldstein, M. (2014). Environmental and gender impacts of land tenure regularization in Africa: Pilot evidence from Rwanda. *Journal of Development Economics*, 110, 262-275.
<https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jdeveco.2013.12.009>
- Andrews, P. (2001). The South African constitutional court and social justice. *Columbia Human Rights Law Review*, 32, 425-456.
- Artz, L., & Smythe, D. (2007). Losing ground? Making sense of attrition in rape cases. *South African Crime Quarterly*, 22, 13-20.
<https://doi.org/10.17159/2413-3108/2007/v0i22a986>
- Arza, C. (2015). The gender dimensions of pension systems: Policies and constraints for the protection of older women. UN Women Discussion Paper.
<https://www.unwomen.org/en/digital-library/publications/2015/7/gender-dimensions-of-pension-systems>
- Baines, B. (2013). Must feminist judges self-identify as feminists? In U. Schultz & G. Shaw (Eds.), *Gender and judging* (pp. 379-398). Hart Publishing.
- Banda, F. (2006). Blazing a trail: The African Protocol on Women's Rights comes into force. *Journal of African Law*, 50(1), 72-84.
<https://doi.org/10.1017/S0021855306000076>
- Barnard, C., & Hepple, B. (2000). Substantive equality. *Cambridge Law Journal*, 59(3), 562-585.
<https://doi.org/10.1017/S0008197300000246>
- Beall, J. (2007). Decentralisation, women's rights and development. *Development*, 50(1), 149-157.
<https://doi.org/10.1057/palgrave.development.1100357>
- Beckwith, K. (2007). Numbers and newness: The descriptive and substantive representation of women. *Canadian Journal of Political Science*, 40(1), 27-49.
<https://doi.org/10.1017/S0008423907070059>
- Bettinger-López, C. (2008). Jessica Gonzales v. United States: An emerging model for domestic violence & human rights advocacy in the United States. *Harvard Human Rights Journal*, 21, 183-195.
- Bhavnani, R. R. (2009). Do electoral quotas work after they are withdrawn? Evidence from a natural experiment in India.

- American Political Science Review*, 103(1), 23-35.
<https://doi.org/10.1017/S0003055409090029>
- Bond, J. E. (2010). Gender, discourse, and customary law in Africa. *Southern California Law Review*, 83, 509-574.
- Bunch, C. (2018). Transforming human rights from a feminist perspective. In J. Peters & A. Wolper (Eds.), *Women's rights, human rights* (pp. 11-17). Routledge.
<https://doi.org/10.4324/9781315656571>
- Burnet, J. E. (2011). Women have found respect: Gender quotas, symbolic representation, and female empowerment in Rwanda. *Politics & Gender*, 7(3), 303-334.
<https://doi.org/10.1017/S1743923X11000250>
- Buzawa, E. S., & Buzawa, C. G. (2017). *Global responses to domestic violence*. Springer.
<https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-56721-1>
- Byrnes, A., & Freeman, M. (2012). The impact of the CEDAW convention: Paths to equality. UNSW Law Research Paper, (2012-7).
<https://ssrn.com/abstract=2011655>
- Cameron, A. (2006). Stopping the violence: Canadian feminist debates on restorative justice and intimate violence. *Theoretical Criminology*, 10(1), 49-66.
<https://doi.org/10.1177/1362480606059982>
- Castro-García, C., & Pazos-Moran, M. (2016). Parental leave policy and gender equality in Europe. *Feminist Economics*, 22(3), 51-73.
<https://doi.org/10.1080/13545701.2015.1082033>
- Celis, K. (2009). Substantive representation of women (and improving it): What it is and should be about? *Comparative European Politics*, 7(1), 95-113.
<https://doi.org/10.1057/cep.2008.35>
- Charrad, M. M., & Zarrugh, A. (2014). Equal or complementary? Women in the new Tunisian Constitution after the Arab Spring. *The Journal of North African Studies*, 19(2), 230-243.
<https://doi.org/10.1080/13629387.2013.857276>
- Chattopadhyay, R., & Duflo, E. (2004). Women as policy makers: Evidence from a randomized policy experiment in India. *Econometrica*, 72(5), 1409-1443.
<https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1468-0262.2004.00539.x>
- Chicha, M. T. (2006). A comparative analysis of promoting pay equity: Models and impacts. International Labour Organization.
https://www.ilo.org/travail/whatwedo/publications/WCMS_TRAVAIL_PUB_13/lang-en/index.htm
- Collins, P. H., & Bilge, S. (2020). *Intersectionality* (2nd ed.). Polity Press.
- Cookson, T. P. (2018). *Unjust conditions: Women's work and the hidden cost of cash transfer programs*. University of California Press.
<https://doi.org/10.1525/luminos.49>
- Cooper, E. (2010). Inheritance and the intergenerational transmission of poverty in Sub-Saharan Africa: Policy considerations. *Chronic*

- Poverty Research Centre
 Working Paper No. 159.
<https://ssrn.com/abstract=1719673>
- Crenshaw, K. (1991). Mapping the margins: Intersectionality, identity politics, and violence against women of color. *Stanford Law Review*, 43(6), 1241-1299. <https://doi.org/10.2307/1229039>
- Cusack, S., & Pusey, L. (2013). CEDAW and the rights to non-discrimination and equality. *Melbourne Journal of International Law*, 14, 54-92.
- Dahlerup, D. (2006). The story of the theory of critical mass. *Politics & Gender*, 2(4), 511-522. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S1743923X0600042X>
- Dahlerup, D., & Freidenvall, L. (2005). Quotas as a 'fast track' to equal representation for women. *International Feminist Journal of Politics*, 7(1), 26-48. <https://doi.org/10.1080/1461674042000324673>
- Domingo, P., McCullough, A., Simbiri, F., & Wanjala, B. (2016). Women and power: Shaping the development of Kenya's 2010 Constitution. Overseas Development Institute. <https://odi.org/en/publications/women-and-power-shaping-the-development-of-kenyas-2010-constitution/>
- Duvander, A. Z., & Johansson, M. (2012). What are the effects of reforms promoting fathers' parental leave use? *Journal of European Social Policy*, 22(3), 319-330. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0958928712440201>
- Fredman, S. (2011). *Discrimination law* (2nd ed.). Oxford University Press.
- Freedman, E. B. (2002). *No turning back: The history of feminism and the future of women*. Ballantine Books.
- Goetz, A. M. (2020). The new competition in multilateral norm-setting: Transnational feminists & the illiberal backlash. *Daedalus*, 149(1), 160-179. https://doi.org/10.1162/daed_a_01780
- Grossman, N. (2016). Achieving sex-representative international court benches. *American Journal of International Law*, 110(1), 82-95. <https://doi.org/10.5305/amerjintelaw.110.1.0082>
- Hellum, A., & Aasen, H. S. (2013). *Women's human rights: CEDAW in international, regional and national law*. Cambridge University Press. <https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9781139540841>
- Hennette-Vauchez, S. (2018). The #MeToo movement in France: Legal frame vs. social movement. International Society of Public Law Blog. <https://blog-iacl-aidc.org/blog/2018/6/8/the-metoo-movement-in-france-legal-frame-vs-social-movement>
- hooks, b. (2000). *Feminist theory: From margin to center* (2nd ed.). Pluto Press.
- Htun, M., & Weldon, S. L. (2012). The civic origins of progressive policy change: Combating violence against women in global perspective, 1975–2005. *American Political Science Review*, 106(3), 548-569. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0003055412000226>
- Htun, M., Lacalle, M., & Micozzi, J. P. (2013). Does women's presence change legislative behavior? Evidence from Argentina, 1983–

2007. *Journal of Politics in Latin America*, 5(1), 95-125.
<https://doi.org/10.1177/1866802X1300500104>
- Hughes, M. M., Paxton, P., Clayton, A. B., & Zetterberg, P. (2019). Global gender quota adoption, implementation, and reform. *Comparative Politics*, 51(2), 219-238.
<https://doi.org/10.5129/001041519X15647434969795>
- ILO. (2018). *Global wage report 2018/19: What lies behind gender pay gaps*. International Labour Organization.
https://www.ilo.org/global/publications/books/WCMS_650553/lang--en/index.htm
- Inter-Parliamentary Union. (2021). Women in national parliaments. Retrieved from <https://data.ipu.org/women-ranking>
- Irving, H. (2017). *Gender and the constitution: Equity and agency in comparative constitutional design*. Cambridge University Press.
<https://doi.org/10.1017/9781139167536>
- Jalalzai, F. (2013). *Shattered, cracked, or firmly intact? Women and the executive glass ceiling worldwide*. Oxford University Press.
<https://doi.org/10.1093/acprof:oso/9780199943531.001.0001>
- Johnson, P. A., Widnall, S. E., & Benya, F. F. (Eds.). (2019). *Sexual harassment of women: Climate, culture, and consequences in academic sciences, engineering, and medicine*. National Academies Press.
<https://doi.org/10.17226/24994>
- Kalabamu, F. T. (2006). Patriarchy and women's land rights in Botswana. *Land Use Policy*, 23(3), 237-246.
<https://doi.org/10.1016/j.landusepol.2004.11.001>
- Kantola, J. (2010). *Gender and the European Union*. Palgrave Macmillan.
<https://doi.org/10.1007/978-1-137-03745-9>
- Kapur, R., & Cossman, B. (1996). *Subversive sites: Feminist engagements with law in India*. Sage Publications.
- Keller, L. M. (2014). The impact of states parties' reservations to the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women. *Michigan State Law Review*, 309-326.
- Korolczuk, E., & Graff, A. (2018). Gender as "ebola from Brussels": The anticolonial frame and the rise of illiberal populism. *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society*, 43(4), 797-821.
<https://doi.org/10.1086/696691>
- Krook, M. L. (2009). *Quotas for women in politics: Gender and candidate selection reform worldwide*. Oxford University Press.
<https://doi.org/10.1093/acprof:oso/9780195375671.001.0001>
- Lemaitre, J. (2016). After the war: Displaced women, ordinary ethics, and grassroots reconstruction in Colombia. *Social & Legal Studies*, 25(5), 545-565.
<https://doi.org/10.1177/0964663916636585>
- Logar, R. (2008). The Austrian model of intervention in domestic violence cases. United Nations Expert Group Meeting on good practices in legislation on violence against women.

- https://www.un.org/womenwatch/daw/egm/vaw_legislation_2008/experts/Logar.austrianmodel.pdf
- Machisa, M., Jina, R., Labuschagne, G., Vetten, L., Loots, L., Swemmer, S., Meyersfeld, B., & Jewkes, R. (2017). *Rape justice in South Africa: A retrospective study of the investigation, prosecution and adjudication of reported rape cases from 2012*. Gender and Health Research Unit, South African Medical Research Council.
<https://www.samrc.ac.za/reports/rape-justice-south-africa-retrospective-study-investigation-prosecution-and-adjudication-reported>
- Mack-Canty, C. (2004). Third-wave feminism and the need to reweave the nature/culture duality. *NWSA Journal*, 16(3), 154-179.
<https://doi.org/10.2979/NWS.2004.16.3.154>
- MacKinnon, C. A. (1979). *Sexual harassment of working women: A case of sex discrimination*. Yale University Press.
- Mama, A. (2011). What does it mean to do feminist research in African contexts? *Feminist Review*, 98(1), 4-20.
<https://doi.org/10.1057/fr.2011.22>
- McDonald, P., Charlesworth, S., & Graham, T. (2015). Developing a framework of effective prevention and response strategies in workplace sexual harassment. *Asia Pacific Journal of Human Resources*, 53(1), 41-58. <https://doi.org/10.1111/1744-7941.12046>
- McLaughlin, H., Uggen, C., & Blackstone, A. (2017). The economic and career effects of sexual harassment on working women. *Gender & Society*, 31(3), 333-358.
<https://doi.org/10.1177/0891243217704631>
- McMillen, S. G. (2008). *Seneca Falls and the origins of the women's rights movement*. Oxford University Press.
- Mendes, K., Ringrose, J., & Keller, J. (2018). #MeToo and the promise and pitfalls of challenging rape culture through digital feminist activism. *European Journal of Women's Studies*, 25(2), 236-246.
<https://doi.org/10.1177/1350506818765318>
- Molyneux, M. (2006). Mothers at the service of the new poverty agenda: Progres/Oportunidades, Mexico's conditional transfer programme. *Social Policy & Administration*, 40(4), 425-449.
<https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-9515.2006.00497.x>
- Murray, R. (2012). Parity and legislative competence in France. In S. Franceschet, M. L. Krook, & J. M. Piscopo (Eds.), *The impact of gender quotas* (pp. 27-42). Oxford University Press.
<https://doi.org/10.1093/acprof:oso/9780199830091.003.0002>
- Ndlovu, S., & Mutale, S. B. (2013). Emerging trends in women's participation in politics in Africa. *American International Journal of Contemporary Research*, 3(11), 72-79.
- Numhauser-Henning, A., & Laulom, S. (2012). *Harassment related to sex and sexual harassment law in 33 European countries*. European Commission.
<https://op.europa.eu/en/publicatio>

- n-detail/-/publication/e06dcc86-b7bf-459e-8241-47502ef379c4
- Nussbaum, M. C. (2000). *Women and human development: The capabilities approach*. Cambridge University Press. <https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9780511841286>
- Nyamu-Musembi, C. (2013). Pulling apart? Treatment of pluralism in the CEDAW and the Maputo Protocol. In A. Hellum & H. S. Aasen (Eds.), *Women's human rights: CEDAW in international, regional and national law* (pp. 183-213). Cambridge University Press. <https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9781139540841.010>
- O'Brien, D. Z., & Rickne, J. (2016). Gender quotas and women's political leadership. *American Political Science Review*, 110(1), 112-126. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0003055415000611>
- Phillips, A. (1995). *The politics of presence*. Oxford University Press.
- Reilly, N. (2009). *Women's human rights: Seeking gender justice in a globalizing age*. Polity.
- Sternbach, N. S., Navarro-Aranguren, M., Chuchryk, P., & Alvarez, S. E. (1992). Feminisms in Latin America: From Bogotá to San Bernardo. *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society*, 17(2), 393-434. <https://doi.org/10.1086/494738>
- UN Women. (2011). *Progress of the world's women: In pursuit of justice*. UN Women. <https://www.unwomen.org/en/digital-library/publications/2011/7/progr>
- ess-of-the-world-s-women-in-pursuit-of-justice
- UN Women. (2018). *Turning promises into action: Gender equality in the 2030 agenda for sustainable development*. UN Women. <https://www.unwomen.org/en/digital-library/publications/2018/2/gender-equality-in-the-2030-agenda-for-sustainable-development-2018>
- UNESCO. (2020). *Global education monitoring report 2020: Gender report, A new generation: 25 years of efforts for gender equality in education*. UNESCO. <https://en.unesco.org/gem-report/2020genderreport>
- United Nations. (1995). *Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action*. Retrieved from https://www.un.org/en/events/pastevents/pdfs/Beijing_Declaration_and_Platform_for_Action.pdf
- Walters, M. (2005). *Feminism: A very short introduction*. Oxford University Press. <https://doi.org/10.1093/actrade/9780192805102.001.0001>
- World Bank. (2020). *Women, business and the law 2020*. World Bank. <https://openknowledge.worldbank.org/handle/10986/32639>
- World Economic Forum. (2021). *Global gender gap report 2021*. World Economic Forum. <https://www.weforum.org/reports/global-gender-gap-report-2021>
- Yamin, A. E. (2019). *Power, suffering, and the struggle for dignity: Human rights frameworks for health and why they matter*. University of Pennsylvania Press. <https://doi.org/10.9783/9780812291957>