

# DAWN INFORMS

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### Gigi Francisco – In Memoriam

This issue of DAWN Informs is dedicated in loving memory to Josefa (Gigi) Francisco, former General Coordinator of DAWN (2008-2014).

Gigi was a beloved and key figure in DAWN. A feminist scholar activist, well known within both the women’s movement and leftist political groups in the Philippines, Gigi combined her teaching work at Miriam College where she headed the Women and Gender Institute (WAGI), with lifelong activism for economic and gender justice, nationally, regionally and globally.

Gigi brought her sharp political analysis, inside-out knowledge of and connections with social movements, well-honed strategic planning and organising skills, and activist heart and soul to DAWN over 30 years. She engaged both in persuasive advocacy at UN meetings, and in street demonstrations at WTO Ministerials and World Social Forums.

Strongly committed to intergenerational work with young feminists, Gigi conceptualised DAWN’s Gender, Economic and Ecological Justice (GEEJ) programme of regional-level consultations and training with young feminists in the South which began in 2010. Gigi was also one of the founders and leading lights of the International Gender and Trade Network (IGTN).

It is fitting that this special issue of DAWN Informs, which focuses on the outcomes of the recently concluded Third Conference on Financing for Development, is dedicated to Gigi who was the driving force behind the creation of the Women’s Working Group on Financing for Development. The DAWN team at the Conference was active and vibrant, and worked hard in collaboration with the rest of civil society. Regardless of the outcome, DAWN’s presence and sustained commitment would have made Gigi happy.

*Claire Slatter (Chairperson, DAWN Board)*

*Gita Sen (General Coordinator, DAWN)*

# Regressive trends in Financing for Development: The result of unbalanced negotiations

by Nicole Bidegain Ponte

A comprehensive overview of how the Addis Ababa Action Agenda (AAAA), approved by governments at the Third Conference on FfD, has reduced the integrity of the FfD process. This article identifies three shifts and points to the need to support the strengthening of the intergovernmental follow-up mechanism to overcome these regressive trends and reshape the agenda.

After months of heated debates and complicated negotiations, governments at the Third International Financing for Development Conference approved the Addis Ababa Action Agenda (AAAA). DAWN engaged actively in the FfD process, co-ordinating the Women's Working Group's reaction to the Outcome Document and contributing to the CSO Response to the AAAA Addis Ababa Action Agenda. Both documents reflect a critical analysis of the FfD outcome and were presented to Member States, UN Agencies and the international community during the FfD Conference held in Addis Ababa from 13 – 16 July.

United Nations agencies and developed countries tried to project the outcome of the conference as a landmark document in advancing a “new financing framework” with concrete deliverables. DAWN, as well as the wider CSO FfD community, however, consider the result most disappointing.

The AAAA has reduced the integrity of the FfD process. It is retrogressive in several areas in regard to

previous commitments such as the Monterrey Consensus (2002), the Doha Declaration (2008) and the outcome of the Conference on the World Financial and Economic Crisis (2009). It is an extremely unbalanced outcome that privileges developed countries' priorities over the agenda of developing countries. Among some examples: the global partnership between developed and developing countries is eroded by the strong reliance on private sector finance, and the endorsement and launching of multi-stakeholder partnerships, two key elements that were also actively promoted in the Post 2015 negotiations over the last few years. There is no agreement to binding timetables for Official Development Assistance (ODA) commitments, no clear commitment on additional climate finance, and references to using ODA to leverage private finance were inserted. The developing countries' proposal to upgrade the UN Tax Committee to an intergovernmental body was rejected as well as their attempt to maintain the integrity of the FfD as a process on its own, and to fully recognize the Principle of Common

but Differentiated Responsibilities. As a result, the approved document endorses three major shifts that have already had spillover effects in the Post-2015 Development outcome, and could have severe impacts on the global development architecture and policies for decades into the future.

The first shift is that developed countries have shied away from their responsibility to remove global obstacles to development and to implement internationally agreed development commitments. While Monterrey and Doha recognized such a responsibility as part of the global partnership for development, the AAAA focuses instead on domestic resource mobilization by developing countries.

The second shift weakens states' responsibilities (including those for international cooperation) by the strong promotion of an enabling environment for business and the endorsement of the private sector as a privileged “development actor”.

The third and more positive shift is a greater inclusion of women's rights and gender equality than previous



FfD documents. But, unfortunately and incorrectly, human rights especially women's rights have been made instruments for economic growth, rather than being recognized intrinsically. Nor are the means and structural conditions to realize them provided.

**The first shift: from responsibilities of developed countries under the global partnership for development to domestic resource mobilization**

The resistance by developed countries to addressing systemic issues at the UN, and their active lobbying to protect the illegitimate domination of global economic governance by the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD), the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank (WB) are not new. What might be new is the narrative used by developed countries on the need to overcome "old North / South dichotomies" while at the same time firmly refusing to give developing countries a seat at the table to define global financial, monetary, tax and debt rules.

As a result, the AAAA represents a retrogression in many key areas related to Systemic Issues, Debt, and International Tax Cooperation. It fails to provide concrete actions towards strengthening the role of the UN in promoting human rights-based, pro-development reforms of the multilateral economic and financial architecture. It fails to recognize the impact of macroeconomic policies of systemically important countries on developing countries. By not sufficiently respecting the policy space of developing countries, the AAAA limits their ability to use policy tools such as capital account

management or strengthening social protection to protect their people from the effects of global instability, vulnerability to financial crisis and contagion. As a result, governments will continue to rely on women's unpaid care work as a stabilizer and shock absorber of the economic and financial crises. This transfers the costs of austerity measures, privatization, cuts in cash transfers and social services and other similar measures onto women.

The AAAA also fails to establish an intergovernmental tax body. There is an inconsistency between an emphasis on mobilizing domestic resources and denying the possibility of developing countries being able to do so – since they can't participate in changing the unfair global tax, investment, trade rules, nor protect themselves from systemic vulnerabilities and external shocks or from corporate sector pressure to lower social, environmental and tax standards.

**The second shift: from the responsibilities of states to relying on the private sector**

Developed countries succeeded in including in the document an endorsement of the predominant contributions of the private sector to financing development and women's empowerment. This approach diverts attention away from the role of states as principal duty-bearers of human rights (including by their extraterritorial obligations), to mobilize sufficient public financing, and to agree on binding rules to ensure private sector compliance with human rights and environmental standards.

Domestic and international private business and finance are considered in the AAAA within the same

chapter. This is a retrograde step backwards from Monterrey and Doha because, as was pointed out during the negotiations, it consolidates the idea that there are no "boundaries" between the domestic and international private sectors. To a certain extent, it imports the World Trade Organization principle of "national treatment" into a UN document. Treating foreign and local private sectors equally erodes developing countries' ability to protect infant industries, female job intensive sectors, women small producers, and indigenous communities from unfair competition from multinational corporations. Furthermore, as we stated in the WWG reaction, the deletion from the text of a provision calling for the proper review of investor-state dispute settlement clauses is an enormous missed opportunity to ensure that such clauses do not undermine the right of states to regulate in the public interest. So nothing in this text prevents foreign investors from suing governments for implementing the Sustainable Development Goals, by reorienting development towards sustainable, gender-just and equitable patterns.



Nicole Bidegain Ponte speaking at the "Opening Plenary of the FfD3 CSO Forum", 11 July 2015.



The protection of investors' rights over human rights and sustainability is one of the greatest contradictions of the developed countries' agenda.

But this is not all, the document strongly promotes Foreign Direct Investment and blended finance, including Public-Private Partnerships (PPP). It also consolidates the OECD agenda of using ODA to leverage the private sector, promote multi-stakeholder partnerships, and reduce the scope of innovative finance mechanisms.

We have been raising the alarm about the contradictions and harmful consequences of this approach, especially in relation to respecting, protecting and fulfilling women's human rights (this is further elaborated in page 18). For instance, the promotion of an enabling environment for business, including the privatization and deregulation agenda, often contradicts and undermines the realization of women's human rights, especially for women from the global South. The profit-driven nature of the private sector can threaten accessibility, adaptability, affordability and quality of the services and infrastructure that they are expected to deliver. The lack of proper safeguards and the over-emphasis on mega infrastructure projects exacerbates a global trend towards socialization of risk and debt burdens and privatization of profits.

Developed countries promoted the language to "encourage the private sector to contribute to women's full and productive employment, equal pay for equal work" (para 41, AAAA). But they opposed an agreement on binding norms that would ensure that transnational corporations do not use the gender wage gap to increase profitability. Instead, as we stated in the WWG response, the AAAA promotes voluntary Global Compact principles on gender equality that have proven to be wholly inadequate

and inappropriate to respond to abuses of women's human rights.

Unfortunately, while the G77 emphasized the primacy of public funding, and pointed out that the private sector's bottom-line of profit seeking can be a barrier to sustainable development and human rights, there were different countries within the G77 that supported PPPs and engagement of the private sector.

**The third shift: greater inclusion of women's rights and gender equality without a consistent human rights approach and the means and structural conditions to realize them**

In paragraph 1 of AAAA, governments stated: "We commit to respecting all human rights, including the right to development. We will ensure gender equality and women's and girls' empowerment". In paragraph 6 governments "reaffirm that achieving gender equality, empowering all women and girls, and the full realization of their human rights are essential to achieving sustained, inclusive and equitable economic growth and sustainable development". However in terms of actionable commitment, governments "reiterate the need for gender mainstreaming, including targeted actions and investments in the formulation and implementation of all financial, economic, environmental and social policies." We have been saying that in the year of Beijing+20, reiterating the need is not enough. While the Doha Declaration called for gender mainstreaming in development policies, including financing for development policies (Paragraph 4, Doha Declaration), the AAAA dilutes this agreement. While it expands the scope of FfD policies to include environmental and social

policies it drops the development policies, and refers to "investments" rather than "dedicated resources".

A major contradiction of developed countries in this process was their attempt to portray themselves as the promoters of women's rights and gender equality while at the same time refusing to provide the means of implementation (MoI) or to remove the systemic global obstacles to realize those rights. The promotion of certain women's economic rights over others, or the narrative of women's empowerment to enhance economic growth (Para 21, AAAA) shows their instrumental approach. Unfortunately, women's rights became once more a bargaining chip in the negotiations. The more developed countries vocally supported women's rights, empowerment and gender equality language, the more the G77 retreated in their positions, privileging the agenda of regional groups with conservative positions (i.e. opposing women's inheritance rights, women's control over resources, opposing social and environmental safeguards systems for all development banks, and weakening the language on actionable commitments). It is important also to note that while some developing countries tried to challenge the instrumental use of women's rights and empowerment for economic growth, others supported the references to women as a source of tax revenue or productivity increases. The lack of transparency in the negotiations led to the mention of the need to reduce and redistribute unpaid care work being dropped, even though it had been supported by different groups of countries.

There are references to women's empowerment, women's rights, and gender equality throughout the different sections of the document. But, as is included in the Women's Working Group on



FfD's reaction to the AAAA, the references to gender equality and women largely rely on previously agreed language (i.e. Rio+20, Open Working Group (OWG) of the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) report, Doha Declaration). One positive insertion of agreed language that can be highlighted is paragraph 240 of Rio+20 Outcome with the recognition of girls' rights. AAAA states: "We are committed to women's and girls' equal rights and opportunities in political and economic decision-making and resource allocation and to remove any barriers that prevent women from being full participants in the economy. We resolve to undertake legislation and administrative reforms to give women equal rights with men to economic resources, including access to ownership and control over land and other forms of property, credit, inheritance, natural resources and appropriate new technology" (from Paragraph 41). However some other references consolidate instrumental formulations (i.e., as found in Paragraph 6), while others rely heavily on private sector contributions to achieving gender equality (later part of Paragraph 41).

### **An intergovernmental follow-up mechanism to overcome these regressive trends and reshape the agenda?**

A few of the "deliverables" of the AAAA are aligned with developing countries' priorities. Two of them are the Technology Facilitation Mechanism (TFM) and the compromise agreement on a dedicated follow-up and review of the FfD outcomes through the establishment of an annual ECOSOC Forum for Financing for Development and the General Assembly High Level Dialogue on FfD that will be convened back to

back with the High Level Political Forum every four years.

The TFM has been a core demand of the developing countries, especially since Rio+20. It is a non-financial means of implementation, and can be considered a response to the developed countries' strategy to reduce the FfD mandate to the Means of Implementation of the Post 2015 Development Agenda. A dedicated follow up mechanism which annually will have inter-governmentally agreed conclusions and recommendations is good news. While as a compromise the forum will also need to discuss the MoI of the Post 2015, it provides at least a space to push once more for the integrity of the FfD agenda and challenge the regressive trends outlined above.

To conclude, it is important to highlight the implications of the negotiation modalities for the outcome document. Since the first drafting session, the lack of transparency and clarity of the negotiation modalities were addressed, by several developing countries as well as by civil society. There was a resistance by the co-facilitators and developed countries to conduct a para-by-para negotiation with the different suggested amendments projected on the screen. Moreover, there were several bilateral and informal talks that made it extremely difficult to track the influential role of powerful countries, and well as actors such as IFIs, private sector and even UN agencies and to fully understand why some language was included while others magically disappeared. In Addis, DAWN alerted attention in a press conference to the "WTO Green Room" type of negotiation tactics and the pressure on many developing countries to accept the document as it was. The extra pressure from the host country to come up with an outcome, as well as the lack of high level delegations,

especially from progressive countries, made it difficult to change the course of actions in Addis. The statement of the G77 at the closing plenary as well as the reservations and country statements made by some developing countries served to highlight the failures of the AAAA.

However, a week later, developed countries continued to try to water down commitments. They tried to renegotiate the MoI of the Post 2015 agenda by asking for the annexation of the AAAA or the inclusion of specific regressive language of the AAAA in the final Post 2015 outcome. While developing countries got the inclusion of AAAA paragraphs on TFM, developed countries pushed very hard at the last stage of the negotiations and succeeded in including regressive AAAA language for instance on debt, policy space, trade as well as very problematic references that change the nature of the link between FfD and Post2015, stating that the AAAA is an integral part of the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development.

In this current context, there is a critical need to assess advocacy strategies in order to challenge the imbalance of power between countries, the "Green Room" negotiation tactics, the inconsistencies of the trade-off between development and human rights as well as the tendency towards corporate capture of the UN. When the UN is moving to a "universal", "voluntary" and "multi-stakeholder" agenda is when more is needed to push forward an equitable and meaningful multilateralism that can truly address the accountability gap and the global governance deficits.

*Nicole Bidegain Ponte is a member of DAWN's Executive Committee, and leads DAWN's co-coordination of the Women's Working Group.*

# Reducing systemic risks, intensifying policy engagement, changing the balance of power

by Marina Durano

Identifying methods of reducing vulnerability to systemic issues at global and national levels is critical. Actions during crises focus on the ability to secure liquidity, and policies as a result must be developed around a countercyclical package and automatic stabilizers. There is a concurrent need to not only question the proposal to recognize the IMF as a permanent international financial safety net, but also for governments to start considering the conversion of Special Drawing Rights into a global reserve currency. The balance of power is against women's rights, gender quality and empowerment in developing countries in the global South, and must therefore shift.

The pursuit of gender equality and women's empowerment takes place in an uncertain global economic environment characterized by the potential effects of changes in macroeconomic policies of systemically significant countries, continued instability in the euro area, and vulnerabilities in emerging economies. In this environment of uncertainty, we find that achieving progress in meeting gender equality commitments associated with the Beijing Platform for Action and the ICPD Program of Action faces many challenges on many fronts. Commitments in the Third Financing for Development Conference on systemic issues have serious implications for our ability to achieve the goals that we have set for ourselves.

Systemic issues relate to economic problems for the system as a whole, and often take the form of risks experienced by countries that are due to macroeconomic policies taken by other countries, especially large countries or countries that issue currencies preferred for use in international transactions. The way

to look at it is to know what we need to do to prevent crises and what we can do during crises.

Crisis prevention focuses on coordinated and coherent action on macroeconomic policies of big countries and their effective regulation of their financial sector. The more globally integrated developing countries are, the more vulnerable their economies are to business cycles generated by policy changes of systemically significant countries. The objective for developing countries is to reduce their vulnerability to these business cycles.

Actions during crisis are focused on securing liquidity to ensure that liabilities, both domestic and external are covered and reduce threats to the value of the currency. Money needs to be injected into the economy when unemployment rises and when there are threats of bank failures. Policies need to focus on a countercyclical package and to institutionalize automatic stabilizers. Identifying sources of liquidity outside of what the International Monetary Fund offers is also crucial.

## Reducing vulnerability to systemic issues

Two things are needed at the global level to reduce vulnerability to systemic issues. One is coordinated and coherent actions on macroeconomic imbalances so that policies that manage respective balance of payments do not result in unstable financial flows between countries. The second action, that is related to this first one, is the importance of a surveillance mechanism to monitor actions of various countries and, therefore, help to anticipate where potential conflicts might arise.

At the national level, it is important to expand the policy options available for capital account management techniques. It is the balance of payments -- in trade, in debt, in portfolio and investment flows -- that serve as the transmission channel for changes in the macroeconomic policies of key economic partners. Given the current set of uncertainties, management is more helpful than liberalization.



Macro-prudential regulations and financial regulation, in general, are even more important in this environment of uncertainty. The banking industry has had too much freedom in developing financial products that contribute to risk-taking by investors and overall economic risk, which is exemplified by the 2008 global crisis that has yet to see resolution. There is special concern related to financial products associated with commodities that aggravate the already excessive volatility of commodity prices, which is hurtful to countries dependent on commodity exports.

### Expanding actions during crisis

I mentioned earlier the importance of countercyclical policies and automatic stabilizers. There was not enough emphasis placed on these matters in the FfD discussions.

With respect to actions needed during crisis, we need to question the proposal to recognize the IMF as a permanent international financial safety net. The G20 opted to expand the IMF's lending capacity to US\$750 million for countries undergoing a crisis. No one was interested. This is a clear indication that the IMF has ceased to enjoy legitimacy even among governments.

Instead, many countries have opted to create their own arrangements, such as the Chiang Mai Initiative Multilateralisation in Asia, the Latin American Reserve Fund and the Arab Monetary Fund, among others. The monies involved, however, remain small and there is a need to expand the number and volume of liquidity arrangements. The current policy preference of holding high levels of international reserves as a form of self-insurance is costly and does not reduce risk. However, in order to improve the inclusiveness of existing liquidity arrangements, our governments need to intensify



Marina Durano speaking at the side event organized by the WWG together with the Addis CSO Coordinating Group and co-sponsored by Uruguay, Iceland, the OHCHR, UN Women and FES, 13 of July.

the demand to work on converting Special Drawing Rights into a global reserve currency. The potential of SDRs will increase if reforms to the IMF decision making structures are pursued and, what is more important, reforms in the international financial architecture need to be taken more seriously.

### Improving the balance of power in international financial architecture

As I have alluded to earlier, the G20 insists on self-regulation. For example, it insists on reliance on the Financial Stability Board to define what types of regulation are to be recommended and implemented. The same is true for the Basel Committee on Banking Supervision that does not have universal membership. The insistence on recognizing the IMF as a permanent international financial safety net is in similar vein. The OECD- DAC wants to define the principles governing official development assistance as much as it wants to determine rules over taxation. The follow-up mechanism at the UN is especially important in redefining the balance of power in the international financial architecture. The follow-up mechanism needs to create a space where all countries are able to discuss, deliberate, and negotiate over the issues that I have just outlined here. The balance of power is tilted against developing

countries, against gender equality and women's empowerment, and especially against women in the global south.

There is no need to face another crisis. There is no need for more women to lose their jobs in gendered labor markets where they are fired first and hired last. There is no need for women to shift to the informal sector to find additional income. There is no need to increase women's care burdens because a crisis is an excuse to cut down on public services.

The systemic issues remain the weakest section in the document and yet its implications for our ability to see sustained employment growth are large. Women's involvement in decision making processes needs to go all the way up to the highest levels of policymaking. At the national level, this means engaging with central banks and finance ministries on policy direction. At the regional and global level, this means engaging with inter-governmental bodies dealing with taxes, trade, debt, financial regulation, and systemic issues.

*Marina Durano is an associate with DAWN, and has been a regular contributor to many of DAWN's analyses and publications. She co-edited the DAWN book, *The Remaking of Social Contracts: Feminists in a Fierce New World* (Zed Press, 2014). She was a member of the DAWN team at FfD3.*

# The limits to Domestic Resource Mobilization in the Addis Ababa Action Agenda (AAAA)

by Corina Rodríguez Enríquez

Although Domestic Resource Mobilization (DRM) has been highlighted as a key component of the Addis Ababa Action Agenda (AAAA), the AAAA approach fails to recognize structural barriers to developing countries' policy space and ability to mobilize resources in ways compatible with democracy, human rights compliance and gender equality.

Domestic Resource Mobilization (DRM) is recognized in the AAAA as a fundamental source of financing for development. "Public policies and the mobilization and effective use of domestic resources" are considered "central ... to the pursuit of sustainable development, including achieving the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs)" (AAAA, para 20). However, a series of misleading emphases in the AAAA contradicts this principle.

First, there is a simplistic and uncritical belief in economic growth as the first and foremost source of domestic resources. The spirit of the AAAA strongly focuses on reducing the role of the State to create enabling environments, with too many expectations and too much optimism about the private sector as the key actor to achieve development objectives. Incentives to attract private investment, however, often imply a loss of revenue and feed the "race to the bottom" in taxation standards. Moreover, economic growth could be based on the exploitation of women in the labour force and unpaid labour, as has been extensively proven by research in many developing countries.<sup>1</sup>

Moreover, in this same line, there is an instrumental view of women's economic participation, as it is clearly stated in para 21 of the AAAA, considering that "gender equality, women's empowerment and women's full and equal participation and leadership in the economy are vital to achieve sustainable development and significantly enhance economic growth and productivity". While there is evidence that more egalitarian countries do also have better economic performance, there is no automatic link between gender equality and economic growth, and by nor should this be the reason to improve women's economic participation. On the contrary, gender equality and women's full and equal economic participation, as well as access to and control over economic resources are not a matter of 'smart economics' but of human rights and economic and social justice.

Second, after months of negotiations, governments did not reach any concrete commitment to ensure tax justice. On the contrary, the AAAA is weak in advancing progressive tax reforms at local level and risks promoting the reverse

when it calls for expanding the tax base by "formalizing the informal sector". As DAWN has already exposed in its contribution to the reaction of the Women's Working Group on FfD to the AAAA, this can in practice negatively affect self-employed women including small-scale market vendors, farmers and fisher people and those in micro and small-scale enterprises. In the absence of an equivalent agreement on the need to actively address tax avoidance, these economic sectors that mostly operate at a survival income level could well end up bearing a disproportionately high tax burden while big corporations and rich individuals continue to benefit from tax avoidance and evasion.

Taxation is the most sustainable and predictable source of financing for the provision of public goods and services, as well as a key tool for addressing economic inequality, including gender inequality. Operating in a gendered economic terrain, taxation is not gender neutral. It affects women and men differently because of their unequal status as workers, producers, consumers and asset owners. Women are overrepresented in the lower income population category and there is a tendency towards increased feminization of poverty; women also have more restricted access to and control over economic

<sup>1</sup> An example is the case of maquilas as an economic growth model in Mexico and Central America. See Giosa Zuazúa and Rodríguez Enríquez (2010) "Estrategias de desarrollo y equidad de género en América Latina y el Caribe: Una propuesta de abordaje y una aplicación al caso de la IMANE en México y Centroamérica". Santiago: Cepal. Serie Mujer y Desarrollo 97.





resources; not least, they bear the burden of unpaid domestic and care work (thereby making a non-recognized contribution to the economy while facing more structural barriers to economic participation). Gender inequality interlinks with socio-economic inequality. The type of taxation system is therefore extremely relevant to gender equity. The failure of the AAAA to explicitly address gender bias in taxation and to achieve concrete commitments to pursue progressive tax reform is therefore problematic.

Third there is no real agreement or commitment to enlarge the capacity of developing countries for domestic resource mobilization. This would need on the one side, strong policy space both to collect revenue but also to avoid the spillover effects of developed countries' economic policies, including taxation, in developing countries. On the other hand, there is the need for meaningful international tax cooperation. While the AAAA calls for addressing tax evasion, avoidance and illicit financial flows, the commitment to do so is weak. A demonstration of this was the reluctance of governments of developed countries, from the beginning and up to the very last minute of negotiations, to agree to the establishment of a transparent and accountable intergovernmental tax body that would help set new and more appropriate global tax rules.

This implies that tax rules and standards will continue to be established by an obscure global governance mechanism led by the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) and the Group of 20, instead of all governments sitting at a democratic, inclusive, transparent and accountable table of negotiations. As the Global Alliance for Tax Justice says, "if you are not at the table, you are on the menu"; which means that

unless there is a real commitment to meaningful international tax cooperation to include reform of international corporate taxation, the establishment of taxes on financial transactions, and strong and reliable monitoring of financial flows, resources will continue to be transferred from the South to the North and the interests of developing countries and their populations will continue to be ignored.

If developing countries were able to avoid the annual revenue losses through international corporations' tax avoidance, as well as through illicit financial flows, they would be more than able to address many of their development challenges, including the financing of comprehensive social protection systems that provide universal access to quality social services, social infrastructure, sexual and reproductive health services, inclusive and quality education, and care services – all essential "deliverables" for reducing gender gaps and promoting women's economic participation and therefore women's economic autonomy. Combating tax dodging and illicit financial flows could be a better and more fair alternative to substantially increase State's revenue and provide the necessary resources to fulfill State obligations concerning human rights, particularly women's human rights and non-discrimination, rather than calling for the support of the private sector, public-private partnerships, blended finance or more indebtedness.

Policy space and sufficient resource allocation are essential to guarantee comprehensive, quality and equitable social protection and services. Instead, the AAAA (para 12) calls to commit to a "new social compact", that provides "fiscally sustainable" and "nationally appropriate social protection systems". DAWN has already expressed in its contribution

to the Women's Working Group reaction, that this is a retrogression compared with Monterrey's and Doha's commitments to universal access to basic economic and social infrastructure and inclusive social services. Furthermore, the AAAA completely omits any consideration of the need for policies, regulations and services, including universal access to care services, to remove structural barriers to women's economic participation.

Finally, within the AAAA, there is more rhetoric than effective commitment to address systemic issues that prevent States from pursuing domestic resource mobilization by enlarging and diversifying productive structures. As already stated in "Regressive trends in Financing for Development: the result of unbalanced negotiations", developed countries have refused to address systemic issues within the UN. Moreover, as the CSO declaration at Addis Ababa has clearly put it "instead of safeguarding policy space, the Addis Agenda fails to critically assess international trade policy in order to provide alternative to commodity-dependence, to eliminate investor-state dispute settlement clauses, and undertake human rights impact and sustainability assessments of all trade agreements to ensure their alignment with the national and extraterritorial obligations of governments", all of which are critical to enabling developing countries to implement development strategies that are compatible with democracy, human rights compliance and gender equality.

*Corina Rodriguez Enriquez is a member of DAWN's Executive Committee and was part of the DAWN team to FfD3.*

# DAWN at FfD3

## DAWN Engagement at FfD3

### DAWN Team:

Nicole Bidegain Ponte  
DAWN Executive Committee Member (Uruguay)

Corina Rodriguez Enriquez  
DAWN Executive Committee Member (Argentina)

Marina Durano  
DAWN Associate (Philippines)

Veronica Serafini  
DAWN Associate (Paraguay)

Rama Salla Dieng (Senegal)

Ruth Nyambura (Kenya)



DAWN Team members, Corina Rodriguez Enriquez (far left), Marina Durano (middle) and Nicole Bidegain Ponte (second from right) at the Opening Plenary, **Red Flags for Women's Rights around FfD3**, 10th July.



DAWN team member, Veronica Serafini (far right) actively contributed to the analysis of the role of the private sector and the implications of the promotion of **PPP for women's rights at the Women's Forum**. 10 July, 2015.

## DAWN Contributions for FfD3

DAWN shared with FfD3 participants the following key contributions:

- [DAWN - Public Private Partnerships and Gender Justice \(pdf\)](#)
- [DAWN - Taxation and Gender Justice \(pdf\)](#)
- [FfD in Africa: Messages from Young African Feminists on the Road to the Third Conference on Financing for Development \(pdf\)](#)

Drafting of the **WWG reaction to the Addis Ababa Action Agenda** was co-coordinated by DAWN.

- Full reaction available in English at the following link: [Women's Working Group Reaction to Addis Ababa Action Agenda – 17 July 2015 \(pdf\)](#)
- Reacción completa en castellano disponible en el siguiente link: [Grupo de Trabajo de Mujeres sobre FpD Reacción a la Agenda de Acción de Addis Abeba – 17 de julio \(pdf\)](#)
- Réaction complète en français disponible au lien suivant: [Group de Travail des Femmes Réaction au Programme D'Action d'Addis Abeba – 17 juillet \(pdf\)](#)



DAWN Executive Committee member and WWG representative, Nicole Bidegain Ponte shared the key messages from the Feminist Forum on issues such as systemic issues, trade, private finance, ODA and follow-up at the **Opening plenary of the CSO Forum** on 11 July, 2015. (pdf)

Photo courtesy of Femnet Secretariat.

# DAWN at FfD3

## — DAWN representation at FfD3 —

### **Women's Forum on Financing for Development - Feminist Perspectives on the Third International Conference on Financing for Development**

Co-convened with Women's Working Group  
10 July, 2015

*DAWN speakers:* Nicole Bidegain Ponte, Marina Durano, Corina Rodriguez Enriquez, Veronica Serafini

### **Civil Society Forum Opening Plenary**

11 July, 2015

*DAWN representative:* Nicole Bidegain Ponte  
DAWN actively contributed to both the CSO FfD Forum Declaration – 12th July, and the CSO Response to FfD Addis Ababa Action Agenda – 16 July, 2015.

### **Roundtable 2: Financing Gender Equality, Women's Rights and Economic Justice**

13 July, 2015

*DAWN representatives:* Nicole Bidegain Ponte, Corina Rodriguez Enriquez



DAWN Team member, Ruth Nyambura and DAWN EC member, Corina Rodriguez Enriquez.

Ruth Nyambura actively engaged in the **Women's Forum and CSO Forum** and contributed to the preparation of the [African Women's Recommendation on FfD conference \(pdf\)](#), from 13-16 July.

DAWN was also very active in coordinating the WWG publication [Realizing Women's Human Rights in Development \(pdf\)](#) that was officially launched on 13th July, 2015.

DAWN contribution with allies during the FfD process:

- [DAWN Briefing on FfD3, February 2015 \(pdf\)](#)
- [FfD3 Geopolitical Analysis produced by Regions Refocus, Third World Network and DAWN, March 2015 \(pdf\)](#)
- [Righting Finance response to the Zero Draft, April 2015 \(pdf\)](#)
- [WWG Publication Realizing Women's Human Rights in Development, June 2015 \(pdf\)](#)

DAWN interventions during the FfD process can be found here: [\(pdf\)](#)

# DAWN at FfD3

## — DAWN Interventions in FfD3 Side Events —



DAWN Executive Committee member and Women's Working Group representative, Corina Rodriguez Enriquez, delivered a contribution at the side event "**Expanding the Debate on Tax Reform**". The event was sponsored by the Independent Commission for the Reform of International Corporate Taxation (ICRICT), and the Friedrich Ebert Stiftung (FES), and it was held in Addis Ababa on Sunday 12 July, 2015.

Photo courtesy of Femnet Secretariat.

"To address tax evasion and avoidance and their impacts on the ability of States to guarantee human rights, and especially women's rights, and to reduce inequalities at the global level, it is necessary to reverse the "race to the bottom", to move towards a new social contract that shifts from tax competition to tax cooperation, and towards transparency and accountability over fiscal policy"

Full transcript ([eng](#))

Corina also contributed to **Roundtable 1: Global partnership and the three dimensions of sustainable development** on 13 July, 2015 ([eng pdf](#))

"It is hard to be optimistic with the current draft Addis outcome, as it is almost entirely devoid of actionable deliverables. It is deplorable that a conference on financing has so far failed to scale up existing resources and commit new financial ones. The additional steps to address gender equality and women's empowerment seem to speak more to "Gender Equality as Smart Economics" than to women and girls' entitlement to human rights and show a strong tendency towards the instrumentalization of women by stating that women's empowerment is vital to enhance economic growth and productivity."

Full transcript ([eng pdf](#))  
Video ([UN Web TV](#))



DAWN Team Member and WWG representative, Rama Salla Dieng delivering the statement with Stefano Prato on behalf of the CSO FfD Group at the **Open Plenary of the Third International Conference on FfD**, on 13 July, 2015.

Photo courtesy of United Nations Webcast, [webtv.un.org](http://webtv.un.org).

# DAWN at FfD3

## — DAWN Interventions in FfD3 Side Events —

### Financing Gender Equality, Human Rights and Economic Justice: Getting the Right(s) Balance in the FfD Addis Ababa Action Agenda

13 July, 2015

DAWN representative:  
Marina Durano

\* WWG publication, which DAWN actively contributed to "[Realizing Women's Human Rights in Development \(pdf\)](#)".



DAWN Team member, Marina Durano, delivered a statement at the side event "**Reimagining Regional and Feminist Policies to Finance Socio-Economic FfD3**", from 14 July, 2015, co-organized by DAWN with Regions Refocus 2015, Third World Network, Social Watch, Third World Network-Africa, Latindadd, Diverse Voices and Action for Equality, and Arab NGO Network for Development.



DAWN Team member and Women's Working Group representative, Marina Durano, at **Round table 6: Ensuring policy coherence and an enabling environment at all levels for sustainable development**, on 16 July, 2015.

Photo courtesy of IISD Reporting Services.

"In this conference, we find that the states that represent us here, and the men who lead them, are not decision makers themselves, exemplified by the failure to establish an intergovernmental tax body. We find hypocrisy among those club members who claim to share our ideals of gender equality and, yet, are the first to deny our peoples a seat at the table."

Full transcript ([eng pdf](#))

Video ([UN Web TV](#)) from 1:17:45 to 1:21:02

Marina also spoke at the **Statement by Civil Society to the Third International Conference on Financing for Development - Press Conference** on 16 July, 2015 ([UN Web TV](#)) from 3:24 to 7:24

# Favouring the private sector in the Addis Ababa Action Agenda: beyond evidence and human rights

by Verónica Serafini

While the Addis Ababa Action Agenda (AAAA) is quite optimistic about the ability of the private sector via Public-Private Partnerships (PPPs) to advance the development of social infrastructure and human rights. PPPs pose challenges in achieving gender equality and empowering women, and providing an extensive space for Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) will in turn reduce government's ability to enhance national revenue. The AAAA was not used to establish an accountable and transparent UN-led framework to monitor and review PPPs.

The Addis Ababa Action Agenda (AAAA) takes a strong step in favour of private financing for development. Public-Private Partnership (PPP) is one of the selected mechanisms to foster this, primarily in the area of infrastructure – including social infrastructure. However, the optimism about the potential of this type of financing to achieve development goals is far from having a solid foundation. On the contrary, growing evidence shows that PPPs can be a very expensive method of financing and can also put pressure on public expenditure in the medium and long term. Moreover, these costs are often non-transparent and inaccessible to scrutiny and accountability.

PPPs are promoted without sufficient empirical evidence of their positive impact on development goals.

The development impact of PPPs is rarely assessed. Existing evaluations are focused mostly on efficiency and access to services<sup>1</sup>. At best they include considerations of financial returns, contribution to tax collection and direct job creation.

Moreover, the rate of failure among PPPs is relatively high. In many cases, projects do not deliver outcomes as planned due to delays, corruption and weak delivery specifications. Failures seem to be larger where State capacity to monitor and regulate is weaker. PPP failures involve privatizing benefits and socializing losses.

Financing for infrastructure projects also increasingly relies on PPPs. Social infrastructure is key to guaranteeing women's access to health services, education, sanitation and care services. However, private sector financing through PPPs is

far more interested in participating in megaprojects, with higher return rates. Women's needs are therefore ignored and unmet.

## **Incentives for Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) reduce the fiscal space and challenge labor rights standards**

The AAAA promotes the generation of a business environment appropriate to FDI. In practice this means tax exemptions, as well as direct and indirect subsidies, which affect a State's revenue and therefore its capacity to exercise its role as the principal guarantor of human rights.

Other measures to support a business environment include the easing of labor rules, that end up in reducing wages and diminishing rights to social security and decent working conditions. The 'race to the bottom' as a mechanism of competitiveness



## Limitations of PPPs to achieve gender equality and women's rights

Evaluations of PPPs show the difficulties of this type of financing for reducing gaps and fostering the autonomy and economic empowerment of women<sup>2</sup>.

PPPs in agriculture have limited success in contexts of small farming by women and men farmers in situations of poverty or scarce capital due to profitability requirements of the undertakings. These characteristics affect women more intensively due to their unequal access to assets and lesser legal protection<sup>3</sup>.

In general and in line with the business case for women's empowerment, health PPPs consider women not as subjects of rights, but rather as clients and address them from a reductionist approach to women's sexual and reproductive health<sup>4</sup>.

An evaluation of a PPP aimed at providing water services showed that it did increase coverage of water service, but at the same time it also increased the use of women's time because they expended more on production and threshing, as well as feeding and caring for cattle. While it is assumed that better water infrastructure should reduce the time devoted by women to farm labour, in this case the opposite happened. The assessment did not include information on female earnings, making it impossible to assess whether the increased workload implied higher income or enlarged economic autonomy for women<sup>5</sup>.

enlarges the gender gaps, since women become the most seriously affected by bad working conditions.

The AAAA failed to take into account important features for an appropriate consideration of the private sector as a development actor. The private sector cannot replace the irrevocable responsibility of States as lead actors in setting the financing for development agenda in the context of a global partnership between developed and developing countries. Private sector contributions to development have to be transparent and accountable. In this sense, AAAA was a missed opportunity to put in place accountability mechanisms in compliance with human rights and gender equality standards and norms, including environmental and social safeguards. Agreed timelines for reporting and evaluating should be put in place, with full participation of affected communities, including women and girls, indigenous communities and people facing structural discrimination. The impact of PPPs on women's human rights as well as the way they respond

to women's diverse needs should be specifically considered at all stages: design, implementation, monitoring and assessment. A strong regulatory framework is needed in order to guarantee a fair distribution of risks and benefits.

In brief, the AAAA was a missed opportunity to establish an open, transparent, and participatory UN-led intergovernmental space for oversight, monitoring and review of any partnerships developed or promoted within the framework of the United Nations. The centrality given to the private sector in financing for development without mandatory rules, mechanisms of accountability and safeguards that ensure accessibility, quality and affordability, endangers the objectives of development, the provision of inclusive services and compliance with human rights, especially women's rights.

*Verónica Serafini was part of the DAWN team to FfD3.*

### Footnotes:

<sup>1</sup> Serafini Geoghegan, Verónica (2015). Gender justice and private financing for development. A critical look at PPPs.

<sup>2</sup> Romero, María José. (2014). Where is the public in PPPs? Analysing the World Bank's support for public-private partnerships. See [pdf](#).

<sup>3</sup> Ponnusamy, K. Impact of public private partnership in agriculture: A review. **The Indian Journal of Agricultural Sciences**, [S.l.], v. 83, n. 8, Aug. 2013. ISSN 0019-5022.

<sup>4</sup> Gideon, Jasmine; Porter, Fenella (2014). Unpacking women's health in public-private partnerships. A return to instrumentalism in development policy and practice? World Institute for Development Economics Research (WIDER). See [pdf](#)

<sup>5</sup> Kurian, Mathew; Dietz, Ton; K. S. Murali (2004). Public-private partnerships in watershed management – evidence from the Himalayan foothills. Pp. 131-152. See [pdf](#).

# A Missed Opportunity for African Women?

by Rama Salla Dieng

Why are African women not satisfied with FfD3's outcome document? We need to understand how Africa stands currently in relation to development policies by looking more closely at patterns of women's employment, and the social and gendered challenges they face in relation to the 'Africa Rising' narrative and the African Union's Agenda 2063.

The presentation by the African Women's Groups in Addis Ababa made specific recommendations<sup>1</sup> based on their regional priorities and critical analysis on systemic issues to be addressed under the FfD process.

The rationale of such an initiative is that despite being the backbone of economic development in the region, most African women are still employed in the informal sector, subjected to precarious and low-skilled employment, overburdened by unpaid care work, and are often marginalised in decision making particularly in the collection, control and redistribution of resources for sustainable development.

The prevailing 'Africa Rising' narrative based on the current growth performance of African countries is challenged by the realities of African peoples in general and African women and youth in particular. They still confront, inter alia, growing unemployment, increasing illegal immigration, conflict escalation, inequalities and poverty, de-industrialisation, lack of economic diversification, unmet Millennium Development Goals (MDGs), and the inability to mobilise sustainable funding. Moreover, Africa cannot 'rise' when the linkage between women's ability to participate in

the labor market and their control over their bodies and their sexual and reproductive rights are neither recognised nor addressed.

Moreover, while Africa is seeking to shape its future through the African Union's Agenda 2063, development programmes experimented on the continent aiming at 'reducing poverty' need to be assessed for their gendered outcomes especially for women. Additionally, women's human rights need to be included in the 'shaping and making' of new development policy initiatives and not just as a residual category. This is a step to avoiding the danger of 'ventriloquizing women's voices' and promoting sloganism with vague concepts such as "smart economics" or "womenomics".

Last but not least, the terms of the global partnership between Africa and the rest of the world need to be revisited to be more equitable and grounded in the Rio principle of Common But Differentiated Responsibilities. Furthermore, "development" needs to be country-led and people-centered, with governments playing their rights-bearer role. Hence, development finance cannot be privatised. To ensure this, transformative leadership and political will should

be *de rigueur* alongside sustainable financing for development resources through progressive fiscal policies, limitations to tax evasion and exoneration, repatriation of illicit financial flows, transparency and accountability mechanisms, and ending of corruption at all levels.

Despite these concerns and the strong mobilisation of CSOs and the Women's Working Group on Financing for Development (WWG on FfD), the outcome document adopted on 16 July is disappointing and there is little to be optimistic about, since African governments were pushed by developed countries to reach an agreement that does not benefit their people. In addition, there are further reasons for African women to not be content with the outcome document:

- On Trade: It does not take specific measures and deliverables to measures to protect women's businesses and share of markets, as well as infant-industries, female-job intensive sectors and small women producers and traditional knowledge nor does it specifically recommend public disclosure as well as ex ante and periodic human rights impact assessments of trade and investment policies.



## Footnote:

<sup>1</sup> The three-page recommendations by African Women is the synthesis of the discussions in Addis, policy recommendations from the May 2015 meeting convened by the African Women's Development and Communication Network (FEMNET), Post2015 Coalition, and the key messages from Young African feminists at the Addis Ababa convening organised by DAWN. See [pdf](#).



- On ODA: Where the Monterrey Declaration called upon developed states to commit to 0.7% of GNI as ODA, the AAAA seems to be a retrogression since it strongly relies on other sources than ODA such as blended financing, the private sector and regressive taxation to mobilize the resources needed for financing development. This is done without stating how the above would be done without harming the needs of women and adolescent girls, especially access to public services such as sexual and reproductive health services.
- As for the domestic resource mobilisation (DRM) sources identified, too much emphasis is placed on taxation, especially through value added tax (VAT) on essential commodities such as food products to ensure tax regimes, which place an undue burden on women and girls. Transformative tax reforms would have targeted progressive taxation, removal of indirect taxation on essential goods, whilst a more comprehensive definition of DRM would target other channels such as domestic philanthropy, natural resources (with better governance, transparency and accountability), remittances, etc.

- Financial inclusion is still falsely equated with 'more access to microcredit' for African women whereas there is a need to recognise the adverse effects of such programs and instead encourage alternative gender responsive financial facilities to complement grassroots financial mechanisms to enable access of interest-free credit facilities to strengthen women's autonomy.
- African states have made progress in formulating continental policies to promote investor accountability on issues such as land acquisition. However; more binding instruments are needed in addition to the current voluntary guidelines. States should also commit to additional measures such as better, transparent and accountable contract negotiation, the elimination of the secrecy of beneficial ownership and public registration.
- Regarding extractive industries, energy, and water: emphasis should be on addressing structural issues including funding. Sustainable funding must prioritise local, decentralised and clean energy, which Africa has huge resources to tap into in order to challenge

current energy systems that rely heavily on fossil fuels like coal and oil, which disproportionately impact communities particularly women and children. Water and sanitation should be accessible to everyone. All of this is a matter of both ecological and gender justice.

- States and not just the private sector must remain accountable for the respect of rights, including ending all sexual and gender based violence and discrimination, and the provision of social services, infrastructure and programmes including social protection, education and sexual and reproductive health services for women.
- The space for CSOs must be safeguarded and not jeopardised, to allow for all voices to be heard, including women and girls.

*Rama Salla Dieng was part of the DAWN FfD3 team to Addis. She has actively contributed towards DAWN analyses and been part of FfD trainings.*



DAWN Team member, Rama Salla Dieng, contributed to the preparation of the the African Women's Recommendation on FfD ([pdf](#))

Photo courtesy of FEMNET

# Africa Rising: the cost of Extractivism in Africa

by Hibist Kassa

Mozambique's coal mining industry provides a good example of how extractivist industries in Africa have negatively affected the environment and people's health and livelihoods and have led to national financial losses.

Africa is supposedly on the rise. Despite this euphoria over high growth rates, driven largely by volatile commodity markets, the objective reality is somewhat different. So far this year, 2000 people are known to have drowned in the Mediterranean in their attempt to escape the continent. For the vast majority life is not getting better, it is getting worse.

Mozambique, with some of the largest coal deposits in the world, is one of the countries supposedly making significant progress with 7% real GDP growth in 2013. The strategy is to focus on coal, as a cheap source of energy (while ignoring the significant costs to health, environment and livelihoods) to supply markets in India and China. Yet already this edifice is beginning to collapse.

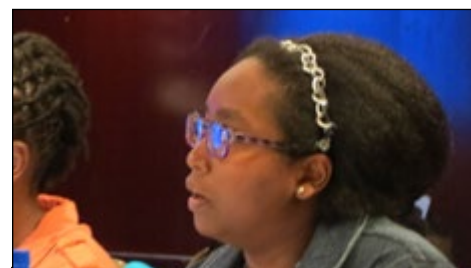
Coal prices fell dramatically, with some foreign companies facing significant losses<sup>1</sup>. Vale, the Brazilian mining giant, has an operation in Moatize, which has one of the largest coal deposits, with an expected output of 22 million tonnes this year. It sold part of its stake to a Japanese

company. Rio Tinto, another Brazilian mining giant, has pulled out of Mozambique, selling its stake to a consortium of Indian companies.

To make way for these mining companies, farming communities were displaced. With the loss of fertile lands and relocation to remote areas, with threats of flooding, cyclones and drought expected to worsen in the country, their struggle for survival continues. In the context of high unemployment (especially for youth) and collapsing social infrastructure, the need for an alternative to extractivism is clear. This is not just about mining alone but is a critique of development itself, in defence of cultural identity and human dignity. A woman farmer in Mozambique asks poignantly: 'What is the point of development? We bear the cost of development, but do not receive the money made from mining. How do we fight back...?'<sup>2</sup> Rightly, she places the pursuit of an alternative as a priority.

However, at the Third Financing for Development conference held

in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, this was far from the agenda. Among other things, the current strategy is to pursue 'sustainable development' in which corporations are expected to voluntarily finance development and ensure women's empowerment. In reality, this leaves untouched a development strategy which centres on enabling foreign investment and export oriented production<sup>3</sup>. From 1970-2008, Africa is estimated to have lost about \$854 billion in illicit financial flows alone. The total may be about \$1.8 trillion<sup>4</sup>. It is on this basis that a mining company like Lonmin could repatriate about R400 million<sup>5</sup> per year between 1999 and 2012 from South Africa, while 34 miners were gunned down in the Marikana massacre for striking for a living wage. As the widespread protests and strikes in South Africa show, the status quo is simply unacceptable.



*Hibist Kassa, a PhD candidate attached to the South African Research Chair in Social Change at the University of Johannesburg, contributed to the Messages from Young African Feminists on the Road to the Third Conference on Financing for Development prepared at the DAWN workshop "Africa Rising: Promise or Challenge for Gender Equality?" Addis Ababa, 30 & 31st of May 2015. (pdf)*

## Footnotes:

<sup>1</sup> Nisha Varia, Mozambique's Mining Boom damns the poorest, Mail and Guardian, 10 October 2014. See [pdf](#).

<sup>2</sup> Samantha Hargreaves and Hibist Kassa, Women Stand their Ground Against Big Coal, South African Civil Society Information Service, 3rd February 2015. See [pdf](#).

<sup>3</sup> Dick Forslund, The Bermuda Connection: Profit shifting, inequality and unaffordability at Lonmin 1999-2012. See [pdf](#).

<sup>4</sup> See Global Financial Integrity Report, 'Illicit Financial Flows from Africa: Hidden Resource for Development' available at <http://www.gfintegrity.org/report/briefing-paper-illicit-flows-from-africa/>

<sup>5</sup> This occurred between 1999-2012

# Fifteen Years of FfD Advocacy by DAWN

by Marina Durano

A longstanding DAWN Associate recalls the beginnings of DAWN's FfD advocacy, from attending a 2001 lead-up meeting to the first FfD Conference in Trivandrum, to the Third Conference on FfD in Addis Ababa, this July. DAWN's critique of the Monterrey Conference, as well as its analysis role in Doha, contributed to the establishment of the Women's Working Group (WWG) on FfD, spearheaded by DAWN's Gigi Francisco, to analyse and organize activities throughout the preparatory processes. With the Post-2015 Development Agenda and sustainable development goals (SDGs) negotiations influencing the FfD atmosphere, DAWN together with the WWG and the wider CSO FfD Community, has maintained its appeal for improvements in the global financial structure and equality in structures of economic governance.

It was in a meeting in Trivandrum in 2001 when DAWN agreed to actively participate in the ongoing processes leading up to the first UN Conference on Financing for Development. Gigi Francisco and Sonia Correa teamed up with Alejandra Scampini of REPEM and myself from Southeast Asia.

The conference was to be held in Monterrey in March 2002 at the end of a series of UN conferences in the 1990s that begged the question of how all the internationally agreed development goals would be financed. The 1997 Asian financial crisis also pushed UN member states to revisit global systemic issues, acknowledging that national policies alone cannot deliver development.

The lead up process involved several preparatory committee meetings in New York as well as national and regional consultations on the various themes. Civil society groups and a women's caucus facilitated by the Women's Environment and Development Organization (WEDO) organized themselves similarly.

DAWN's advocacy during this period focused on the link between production and social reproduction and the interdependence between market and non-market activities.

DAWN sought the removal of the artificial divide between economic policy and social policy, demanding corresponding and complementary sets of social policies to ensure that economic opportunities and benefits are equitably enjoyed by women and men. DAWN also sought the application of the human rights framework on the FfD agenda to ensure coherence between FfD themes and existing global commitments on gender equality, women's empowerment and social development found in the Beijing Platform for Action (BPFA), International Conference on Population and Development (Programme of Action (ICPD PoA)), the Agenda 21 of the United Nations Conference on Environment and Development (UNCED), and Convention on the Elimination of all forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW). Finally, it was important to emphasize the need to address long-term institutional deficiencies and barriers to gender equality.

In Monterrey, DAWN was highly critical of the outcome, first because gender equality and women's empowerment were barely included. Second, the level playing field in global economic governance did

not materialize, a failure to take the opportunity for a trade-off between free trade and market access given by developing countries in exchange for debt cancellation. Third, the kind of coherence that occurred at Monterrey revolved around securing an aid effectiveness agenda while Doha claimed a development round of trade and the World Summit on Sustainable Development (WSSD) in Johannesburg was looking for ways of managing the global commons through the promotion of environmental services. In the end, Monterrey attempted to celebrate commitments to a 25 per cent increase in Official Development Assistance (ODA) although it was common knowledge that the 0.7% of GDP commitments have remained unfulfilled since the early 1970s.

The follow-up conference in Doha in 2008 was less elaborate with the negotiations process concentrated in New York. By this time, WEDO was not able to facilitate a women's caucus. In October 2007, there was a meeting of a few women's organizations that had shown active engagement during Monterrey as well as related events, such as the World Trade Organization's Doha Development Round and the Organization for Economic Cooperation and



Development's Committee's Paris Declaration on Aid Effectiveness of 2005. There Gigi Francisco led a highly strategic move to form a Women's Working Group on FfD to analyze proposed language for the Doha follow-up conference and to organize activities throughout the preparatory processes.

Gigi Francisco was in the midst of pushing for gender justice in the OECD-DAC's aid effectiveness agenda and the UN Economic and Social Council's (ECOSOC) Development Cooperation Forum, a struggle to secure the UN's role in global economic governance over official development assistance. Gigi Francisco and the WWG on FfD saw this struggle reflected in the Doha Follow-up Conference, which took place only a few months after the US housing market crash, leading to the global recession.

From early on in the process, the women's working group struggled against efforts by certain governments to reduce the scope of the Review and to further erode the significance of the FfD and the United Nations in global economic governance. However, the rush to find solutions to the global financial meltdown produced an exclusionary process exemplified by the G20 Summit in Washington, DC.



The United States had quickly moved for Economic and Cooperation-Assistance to expand the G8 to include the large middle-income countries of Brazil, China, India, and South Africa to take charge of finding solutions to the global crisis. The result pre-empted the FfD Review Conference, thus limiting the policy options and actions that could have been considered to correct long-term systemic imbalances. The UN High Level Conference on the World Financial and Economic Crisis and Its Impact on Development as an outcome of the Doha FFD Review Conference was an attempt by the Presidency of the General Assembly to ensure that the UN had a role in defining resolutions to the financial crisis and systemic issues on financing. DAWN and the WWG issued a

statement on the Doha Review saying “Good but Not Enough”. There were commitments to the promotion of gender equality and women's economic empowerment seen as essential to the achievement of equitable development; the document took gender analysis into the wider public management arena though still heavily referenced in the domestic resource mobilization section (as in Monterrey); and there was a reaffirmation of the need to eliminate gender-based discrimination, including in labor and financial markets and in the ownership of assets and property. While limited, these were the most far-ranging commitments to gender equality in any recent forum oriented to economic policies. How these achievements of the WWG on FfD came about were described in a UN Non-Governmental Liaison Service (NGLS) newsletter Go Between:

DAWN Team member, Marina Durano, delivered a statement at the side event "Reimagining Regional and Feminist Policies to Finance Socio-Economic Transformation: A Dialogue between Government and Civil Society at FfD3", from 14 July, 2015, co-organized by DAWN with Regions Refocus 2015, Third World Network, Social Watch, Third World Network-Africa, Latindadd, Diverse Voices and Action for Equality, and Arab NGO Network for Development.

“These results came from linking and synchronizing through information sharing and joint strategy sessions (online and face-to-face) the global advocacy work of different women's organizations and networks in key negotiation areas of aid, trade, and official development assistance.”



The environment changed considerably entering into the Third UN Conference on FfD. WWG expanded to include new organizations and Nicole Bidegain Ponte took over the DAWN leadership on FfD as



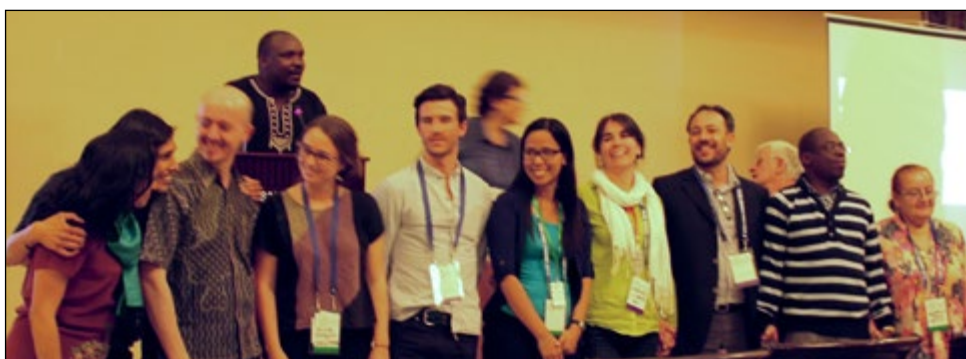
Gigi Francisco was no longer active. The atmosphere was also heavily influenced by the negotiations over the Post-2015 Development Agenda and the sustainable development goals (SDGs). Where the original motivation of the FfD agenda was to finance the commitments made during the various UN Conferences of the 1990s, attempts were made to limit the scope of the 3rd Conference to means of implementation of the SDGs only.

Once again, the WWG moved to prevent downgrading the importance of FfD and the UN in global economic governance. It understood that the improvements in the text towards gender equality was paid with the price of instrumentalization. Women's empowerment was a means towards economic growth, with no appreciation of the inherent value of women's human rights. Developed country governments resisted further commitments and tried to water down the document. Developing countries were forced to accept that

no additional financing could be had given the prolonged recession and they played the game that only private financing and philanthropy can be the answer, while celebrating commitments to infrastructure and technology mechanisms whose effectiveness is still to be evaluated.

While gains were made in institutionalizing a process where FfD themes will be discussed on a regular basis in the UN through an annual meeting, commitments on systemic issues were never made, as had been the case with the previous FfD conferences. Developing countries gave up much on the tone

and strength of the document to gain the follow-up mechanism. The question now is whether the follow-up mechanism in the outcome document will be able to effectively produce serious discussion and negotiation over a UN approach to solving the global economic imbalances and the risks arising from these systemic issues. DAWN's final statement maintains its original call to seek deeper reforms in the international financial architecture and to shift the balance of power in global economic governance structures.



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