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Private sector, development agenda and women's human rights: synergies or contradictions?

by Corina Rodríguez Enríquez (Argentina)

A very short time ago, the General Assembly granted Observer Status to the International Chamber of Commerce. This means the institution, which represents the interests of the biggest multinational corporations, will be able to sit in every session and even get the chance to speak, far more opportunities than what the civil society has. This event can be understood as yet another step in the process of consolidation of a huge influence of the corporate sector into the setting of the development agenda.

Within the UN, the influence of the corporate sector, as well as of private interests, has risen non-stop. From the late 90s promotion of Global Compact, to the more formal or informal participation of corporates representatives and philanthropists in SDGs discussions, their views are embedded in the development discourse. As Adams and Martens (2015) points out, there is "a growing reliance on corporate-led solutions to global problems", which denies that in the context of financialized globalization and the dominance of market self-regulation, the private sector contributes much more to the problems than to the solution.

The relevance of the private sector as a development actor is unavoidable in the context of capitalism. However the failure to properly regulate their activities, as well as to set up limits to their influence on public policies at the local, national and global level, constitutes a threat to the respect and promotion of human rights. In what follows I will argue in three dimensions where this can be perceived regarding women's human rights.

The first one is the consolidation of the concept of womenomics and even the fact that some women's organizations and agencies made it their own. The term, most familiar to the notion of smart economics, is used to refer to the idea that women's economic advancement will improve the economy as a whole, and

that this should be "the" reason to promote pro-gender equality policies. In particular, from this perspective, it is important to pursue women's access to employment (mostly private sector employment), and income generation activities. Many entrepreneurship and microfinance programs lay on this assumption, and foster women's participation in market activities.

Also, from this perspective, it is understood that gender discrimination and the violation of women's rights are economically inefficient. For example, there are economic costs on gender based violence (in the form of income loss, lower productivity, etc.) and that is why it should be overcome.

There are a couple of "disadvantages" with this point of view. If economic efficiency is "the" reason to promote gender equality and women's economic advancement, what would happen if it does not prove to be this way? For example, what shall we do if, given certain circumstances, evidence proves that the cost of violence against women is not that high? Shall we allow men to continue abusing women? What shall we do if the cost of implementing public policies to narrow gender gaps in the labour market, prove to be more expensive than the economic gains it provides to enterprises? In short, it is very risky to establish women's economic advancement and the respect and promotion of women's human rights just for efficiency concerns.

Inversely, the opposite can also be asserted, that gender inequality and women's economic disadvantage is the basis of economic growth. For example,

“ ... gender inequality and women's economic disadvantage is the basis of economic growth. ”

the Maquila Model, that supported economic growth in many countries in the world, is based on the over-exploitation of women's lower labor standards.

The second dimension of concern is the fact that there is little evidence to assert that private investment is or will be more positive for women than public investment. The case of private-public partnerships (PPPs) is a good example. PPPs are promoted with the assumption that most governments are unable to pursue the required public investment to expand population access to basic public goods (for example on social infrastructure) that are key for women's lives. Besides, it is considered the private sector can introduce technology and

innovation to make public services delivery more efficient. It might also be a way of developing local private sector capabilities, by joint ventures between local smaller enterprises and multinational corporations. PPPs might also be a way to improve public sector institutional capacities, both by skill transfers as well as by public sector adopting business criteria on efficiency and effectiveness.

Again, this perspective is controversial from the point of view of the ability of PPPs to actually contribute to narrow gender gaps and improve women's lives. Most of existing evaluations of PPPs are restricted to the assessment of their efficiency and effectiveness in management, their capacity to transfer technology and knowledge, their contribution to social services delivery finance. However, the revised reports indicate that it is not possible to make conclusive statements about these potential effects. (Serafini, forthcoming). On the contrary, there is evidence of the negative effects of PPPs, especially in terms of the fiscal risks (overcharges and fiscal unsustainability) that should be taken into account when analyzing the net effects. There is an emblematic case that summarizes this reality, which is the one of a PPP on the health sector in Lesotho, implemented to design, build, and begin operating a hospital. Three years after the hospital opened (in 2011), governments' expenses grew 64%, and the budget for this hospital represented half of the entire health sector public budget (Oxfam, 2014).

Finally, a third area of concern, related to the previous one, refers to the fact that corporations are in fact most responsible

for the lack of fiscal space for national governments, and therefore for their inability to implement policies that would protect and promote women's human rights. This is due to the persistent high levels of tax abuse by corporations. 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. However, tax policy currently fails to generate enough revenue to fund government expenditures and to close the gaps in gender equality and women's rights financing.

After decades of financial globalization and increasing corporate power there is little taxation of capital



assets and tax incentives schemes are unbalanced. Governments give favourable tax treatment to multinational companies in many countries, as a way to capture foreign direct investment. The result is that considerable revenue is forgone. When a state does not mobilize sufficient resources and has budget shortfalls it can only provide insufficient and low quality services (i.e. education, health, sanitation, public transport, social infrastructure, care services), whereby gender inequalities are perpetuated or even exacerbated, which in turn prevent improvement of women's lives and the narrowing of gender gaps. (Grondona et. al., 2016).

In brief, private sector is a controversial actor in the development agenda. While the role of private investment in promoting economic performance is undeniable, the lack of proper systems of monitoring corporate activities and ensuring their compliance with human rights standards allows for multiple abuses. The role that corporations have been playing on the financialized globalization suggest that they are most often part of the problem rather than part of the solution. What's more, corporate capture of public institutions and even women's organizations and agencies is also part of this picture.

Therefore, there is an urgent need to review the naive belief in the positive synergies between gender equality and economic growth, and rather think constructively on the way to build a governance that would make the private sector accountable for women's human rights. ✎



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Phambili¹ African Unity, but only for a Continental Free Trade Agreement on African peoples own terms

by Hibist Kassa (Ethiopia)

In the aftermath of the 2008 financial crisis, and persistent multiple and interlinked crises deepening poverty and devastating livelihoods, we are witnessing a seismic shift in global politics. A multipolar world with all its uncertainties is taking shape.

Former African Union (AU) Chairperson, Nkosazana Dlamini-Zuma, in her last speech to the Executive Council of Ministers of the African Union (AU) in

January, pointed to the threat that Trump poses to gender and climate justice, and the shift to increased protectionism. For Dlamini-Zuma, Africa's response is the Continental Free Trade Agreement (CFTA).

The CFTA is meant to be an instrument for transformation and integration. According to UNCTAD, from 2007 to 2011 intra African exports, were only 11% while in other regions such as Asia and Latin America and Caribbean, were 60% and 21% respectively. This illustrates a particular degree of internal disarticulation and regional fragmentation. Thirty years of neoliberal reforms have actually worked to deepen these patterns, with declining manufacturing, stagnant agriculture and intensification of extractivism.

The CFTA is an attempt to fast track an earlier process initiated in 1991, known as the Abuja Treaty. This outlined a process for successive sectoral cooperation and the creation of free trade areas, continental customs union among others. The Abuja Treaty was only pursued in a limited way and remained largely stagnant. The CFTA will take forward the free trade component. In principle, there is no doubt that integration should be pursued as a matter of urgency. But how we do this is also critical.

The CFTA, as currently framed, has taken a narrow focus on aggressive elimination of tariffs and deregulation of services while

ignoring differences between countries and social groups on the continent. It is not linked to key sectors especially, agriculture and manufacturing, in a coherent manner. It assumes that aggregation of markets will overcome limitations that are more structural in nature. The problems of production and infrastructure facing African producers are not prioritised.

Without public policy that carefully works through linkages between tariff and trade related issues and agricultural and industrial policy, continental integration may actually be reduced to merely facilitating imports and therefore undermining African producers. In fact, it also has implications for commitments already made under agreements such as the Economic Partnership Agreements (EPAs) by creating a bigger market for European goods and investments. With the rise of emerging markets, it is not only the 'traditional partners' who pose a risk to African producers in this regard.

These limitations have long fed demands for structural economic transformation to rebuild domestic economies by focusing on manufacturing, value addition on export commodities, increased investment in agriculture, strengthening the productive base and linkages between sectors. This is to lay a basis for creating decent jobs, improving wages, incomes and strengthening livelihoods.



¹ This means 'forward' in Nguni which is spoken in Southern Africa. In the liberation struggles, and to date, Phambili remains a word often used in slogans, protests and marches.

As currently outlined, the CFTA aims to create a continental open market for goods and services, free movement of business persons and investments and a continental customs union. It also seeks to expand intra-African Trade through harmonisation of trade liberalisation and facilitation regimes. Additionally, it seeks to enhance competitiveness at industry

“

...there is a need to harmonise customs laws and procedures to boost intra African Trade”

and enterprise level through exploiting scale production and continental market access and better allocation of resources.

In effect, in a short span of time, it will create an open market across economies of varied levels of development, ignoring unevenness and differential impact on social groups. This raises other concerns, for instance, under CFTA, tariffs on food products are intended to be completely eliminated. It may seem like a less threatening prospect to bring together economies which appear to be on a more level playing field than, for example, EU and Togo. However, according to Regions Refocus and Third World Network Africa, ‘tariff liberalization alone could aggravate the economic imbalances among African countries and result in certain countries suffering from fiscal revenue loss and the destruction of local industries’.

When one considers the unevenness between agriculture in South Africa, dominated by commercial plantations which according to Henry Bernstein have become even more concentrated post-apartheid, and families farming less than an acre (majority of whom are women) elsewhere in Africa, the threat is obvious. Without conscious and purposive intervention from public policy, small producers and traders, will be overcome by competition. This is especially so with the threat posed by climate change in a region in which agriculture is dependent on natural cycles. Considering there is a context of stagnation in agriculture, and marginalisation of economic and social needs of rural populations, any threats to further undermine productive capacity should be alarming.

The pursuit of gender equity and equality ought to be prioritised. Policy ought to be geared to overcoming segmentation in low value, precarious and subsistence work, unequal access to productive resources and training and skill building in education and labour markets. It is particularly important to also understand how inequities and inequalities are deepened by the heavy burden of care and domestic work borne exclusively by women. However, these concerns seem to be ignored.

Regardless, AU and the Economic Commission for Africa (ECA) have been

forging ahead to fast track the process, begin negotiations and implement CFTA in 2017. This is even in spite of member states questioning its feasibility.

The first meeting of the technical working groups (TWGs) from 6-17 February was focused on ‘fast-tracking the establishment of the CFTA’. According to Mr. Nadir Merah, Head of Trade Division

of the African Commission, there is a need to harmonise customs laws and procedures to boost intra African Trade. A model text has been developed by the AUC on trade on goods and services.

To be presented with the possibility of opening up borders created under colonisation which divided the African people and the land is in principle in the right direction. Undoing a colonial legacy of orienting domestic economies to export unprocessed primary commodities, import manufactured products, weak linkages between sectors, and wider context of poverty and the devastation of livelihoods, ought to be priority.

However, the manner this is being approached actually threatens to deepen poverty and destroy livelihoods, while also creating even more unstable conditions for African economies. AU and ECA are bulldozing the CFTA, regardless of the consequences. According to Fatima Acyl, the Commissioner for Trade and Industry \$20 million for initial plans. The process itself has been largely opaque. Women, farmers, workers, the youth and civil society who will be directly affected by this process are being ignored. A democratic and transparent process for the negotiations are urgently needed. In the absence of this, African people’s perspectives, experiences and interests in all our diversity are being marginalised. Africans must unite, but only on our own terms. ✍



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The feminist path in the Social Forum of Resistances: reflections 16 years after the first World Social Forum

by Florencia Partenio (Argentina) & Celita Eccher (Uruguay)

The World Social Forum (WSF) was born in 2001 in Porto Alegre, in opposition to the Davos World Economic Forum. With echoes in local, national, regional and thematic forums, the WSF quickly became a space for articulation and learning, marked by horizontal, self-managed processes to exchange experiences on global militancy and activism.

DAWN participated in the construction of this space from its start. We walked through the agendas, proposing new spaces for dialogue and questioning when patriarchal relations were being reproduced within the movement and within the organization of the Forum. As Gina Vargas said, “feminists arrived at the WSF seeking to democratize gender relations, while fueling at the same time, the struggle against racism and homophobia [...] for symbolic and cultural transformations” (2016: 25) and for social, gender, economic and ecologic justice.

With the idea of generating new debate with social movements, DAWN organized a self-managed workshop in the Canada WSF (the first one ever in the Global North) in August 2016. In Montreal, our proposal as DAWN feminists was to reflect on the fragility of our democracies and rupture of social contracts, which is evident in different parts of this fierce world.

The 2017 Social Forum of the Resistances in Porto Alegre, a follow-up to Montreal, took place in a moment in which the world increases day by day its ferocity, marked by an uncontrolled neoliberal globalization; a political economy militarized under a process of financialization; with crises in climate, food security, the organization of care and energy; the weakness of the nation state and strengthening of the media-corporate power and of national elites. Indeed, from Montreal to Porto Alegre, the world has become even more fierce, with the news about the US elections results, the right and extreme right making progress in



different parts of the world, and particularly in Brazil about Dilma’s impeachment.

With over 3,000 people on the streets, the Social Forum of the Resistances started 5 days of intense exchange among traditional activists, afro-descendants, indigenous, youth, and women’s organizations, together with prominent urban social movements, standing up against private appropriation of public space, the loss of

clear and realistic analysis that would allow clarity to pick up the struggles, the resistance and the organization in front of a crisis of civilization. In Latin America’s case, this re-learning is connected to an examination of the ‘lefts’, the outstanding debts of the “progressive” governments concerning real democratization, the revision of personality-based leaderships, and the limitations they imply.

“ This revolution has questioned the social movements themselves, insisting on the fact that women’s fight is not a secondary contradiction and cannot be subordinated. ”

rights and conquest of the workers, and criminalization of social movements.

This forum marks an inflexion in the process. We believe the reflections in the collective document, “The world seen from below”, presented by a group coordinated by Pierre Beudet of the Intercoll Network, reflects well the environment and discussions. They can be summarized by the slogan, “**1000 struggles, 1000 challenges, redefining our convergences, reinventing our tools**”.

Confronting the neoliberal offensive, and acknowledging the need to learn from past mistakes, the sessions on the international situation¹ discussed how to re-learn from experience through

At the same time, re-learning from experience also implies rethinking the space of the WSF itself. We concur with the intellectual and member of the WSF International Council, Gustave Massiah (2016), that in a global context of reaffirmation of policies of austerity and structural adjustment, the social forums find themselves in a bind. We need to relocate them in the movement against neoliberal globalization and as a historical movement of emancipation. Following that line of argument, we believe that the challenge still relies on the new articulations built by the social, cultural, students’, peasant-indigenous, workers’, LGBT and feminist movements. With this in mind, it is most important that we have a clear vision for how to deal with the difficulties that obstruct solidarity,

¹ See more at: <http://forumsocialportoalegre.org.br/2017/01/19/conjuntura-internacional-na-pauta-do-forum-social-das-resistencias/>



and to define strategies that foresee “another possible world”, here and now. To analyze the necessary ruptures that lead to an ecological, social and democratic transition, Massiah (2017) recover the five revolutions that are taking place, unfinished and filled with uncertainties. Those revolutions are: the rights of the people fighting for decolonization and self-determination; the ecological revolution; the digital and Internet revolution, because it changes the work with the written word and language in general; the revolution of the people for migration and the growth of the refugees. The fifth is the revolution for women’s rights and everything that the overthrow of patriarchy means, and the strategic importance of diversity brought by that movement, which has been central within the WSF. This revolution has questioned the social movements themselves, insisting on the fact that women’s fight is not a secondary contradiction and cannot be subordinated. From this perspective, in the Porto Alegre forum, DAWN organized a workshop on the feminist challenges in the context of the resistances. We debated on the different forms of social injustice, their interlinkages, and the responses from the feminist and women’s movement - and from other social movements - to resist and overcome the overwhelming forces of globalization that

threaten our victories. Women from unions, ecumenical groups, feminist movements, lesbians, teachers and students, women workers and afro-descendants organizations, discussed from a needed feminist perspective, the processes that weaken our democracies (such as the effects of the misogynist and patriarchal coup against Dilma Rousseff’s government; the increase of religious fundamentalism in schools, such as the movement for ‘schools without political parties’ in Brazil, etc.). But we also discussed the limitations shown by the Left when it comes to incorporating feminist perspectives on participation, alliances, the occupation of spaces and in their organization itself. As was said in different workshops, “to resist is to fight”; resisting is “a way of starting over”. In that path, feminisms from the global South have a leading role both in the analysis of the international situation, as well as in the contributions to the making of an alternative project. The revolution will be feminist or it won’t be at all. This revolution is unfinished and filled with riches built from the same path that feminisms have traced. We, women, walk towards an international strike on March 8. That fight has a lot to teach us about the discussions and experiences in contexts of resistance. Feminisms show themselves, once again, as a beacon of hope. ✨



Celita Eccher is a DAWN Board member and has been part of the International Council of World Social Forum since its very beginning.

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Florenzia Partenio is a member of DAWN’s Executive Committee . Flora’s work interests include: labor studies, industrial relations and job skills. She is an alumna of DAWN’s Latin American Gender, Ecological, and Economic Justice training course held in Montevideo in 2011.

DAWN Alumnae

DAWN's training institutes and meetings have provided tools to many young feminists around the world to apply feminist and interlinkage analysis in their everyday work, which takes place at the local, national, regional and global level. The following articles provide some examples.

Feminism as a strategy of resistance in spaces of social action¹

by Fabiola Virginia Morales Ortiz (Guatemala)

In reflecting on DAWN's (2014) concept of social contracts, especially under a dynamic of unequal power relations, I ask myself how, from the political proposal of feminism, mainly through theoretical and practical tools, we can construct mechanisms of resistance and transformation of the different spaces of participation, organizations and social movements?

This question becomes more relevant as a result of the stories and experiences shared at the DAWN Workshop: Feminist challenges in the context of resistances, held in Porto Alegre in January 2017, where different women reminded us that in Brazil, under a context of a coup, it is necessary to continue fighting and at the same time to innovate our strategies of change.

For several years now, social discourse has manifested the rejection of a capitalist system that reinforces relations of inequality, where inequities are mainly the result of poor distribution of wealth. This focus of analysis has allowed the class concept to remain valid in the discussion, adding other variables such as ethnic inequality and racism.

In this struggle to survive and confront the 'fierce world', women have been present in spaces of action through public complaint, analysis and collective work. Their participation has allowed to

introduce and make visible certain issues that are not so frequent in the public and social imagination, mainly to speak about conditions of vulnerability not only depends on the class and ethnicity to which you belong, but in turn are linked to gender and to sexual identity itself.

Francisco and Antrobus (2014)² describe this as follows: Feminist women have assured that the issues of equality and rights they have secured as part of global agreements are included in the agendas of social justice and development.

Reality shows us that thanks to the work done by the women's and feminist movement in the world, today, talking about violence against women, femicide and abortion is not the same as it used to be. However, **the current challenge in a context of resistance raises the need to go a little beyond those spaces won by women and use the tools of feminism in other contexts of action and issues of debate.**

From the space of reflection in which I move, the Migrant Action Movement - MAM-, work has begun on incorporating new approaches to the analysis, for example, how to understand migration from the analysis of gender inequalities? How is this reality of leaving your country of origin in search of better opportunities, impacting in different ways?

The approach of the subject has been mainly from the analysis of racism and discrimination, being a powerful analysis framework that allows to derive other questions. However, it is still less analyzed how men, women and persons of sexual diversity face their process as immigrants in a differentiated way.

There is no clear analysis, for example, of the social and family costs of not allowing people who have a dependency status visa to be prohibited from developing work activities, knowing that a large percentage of women choose this type of entry permit. What is happening to people in the LGBTQUI community? What are the main problems they are facing, not only as

immigrants but because of their sexual identity? These and other questions make me think that it is not yet part of the central analysis, to interpret migration from the lens of gender inequalities, it is not part of the official discourse nor of most social organizations that work on the subject.

It seems to be that we have clear problems and limitations, but where do we begin? With whom do we resist? Where to look for alliances to refund the current social contracts?

In the case of migration, it has probably been from the academy and some social organizations that discussions have begun on gender inequalities. However, the challenge is how to transmit this knowledge to the communities, not only to raise awareness but also to develop concrete actions. In MAM, we believe that a first step is the approval of a new immigration law, especially as it is a minimum umbrella of rights.

Current experiences show us that the first step is to rely on women, men and people of sexual diversity who believe in feminism as a flag of struggle and transformation. How to build from the contributions and possibilities of each of the actors involved? We are aware that changing ways of thinking and cultural patterns requires a lot of time and patience, the important thing is to learn to recognize our mistakes and setbacks, but at the same time to congratulate ourselves on the small steps we take in this path of resisting and making this world a more human space. ✨



Fabiola Virginia Morales Ortiz is a Political Scientist and Master in Public Policies at Universidad de Chile. She attended DAWN Training Institute in 2016.

¹ This article was translated from Spanish by Maria Graciela Cuervo.

² Francisco and Antrobus (2014). Feminist activism for new global contracts amidst civil indignation, in Sen, Durano (2014). The Remaking of Social Contracts: Global Feminists in the Twenty-First Century. Development Alternatives with Women for a New Era. A group of social organizations created in 2014, in order to defend and promote the Human Rights of the migrant community in Chile. From its origins we have focused on the approval of a new immigration law, the current date to 1975, created in the government of Augusto Pinochet in which migration is framed within the concept of national security.

Renewed alliances between women to fight the HIV and AIDS epidemic¹

by Gracia Violeta Ross Quiroga (Bolivia)

I am a woman openly living with HIV in Bolivia. In the early 2000s, in the early days of my activism, it was difficult to find women responding to the HIV epidemic. For a long time, the HIV epidemic in Latin America was known as a phenomenon associated with the gay community, which pushed away many militants of the feminist movement.

Increasingly, HIV is understood to be something that directly affects women. HIV is associated with gender norms that continue to be unfavorable to women in most countries. Gender violence is the cause and effect of HIV and, in turn, creates more violence.

“Today, the HIV-positive community is seeing a drastic decline in HIV funding while cases continue to increase, affecting young women more and more, this will have a negative effect on women because in many countries they are not considered a “group at risk”.”

The HIV epidemic is an unprecedented challenge that requires the best alliances possible. However, despite the data, there are not many HIV prevention and care programs with a gender focus. The most well-known interventions continue to focus on HIV testing for pregnant women whose goal is to prevent transmission of HIV

to children; and prevention programs through women who are sex workers. In either case, programs continue to focus on women as a transmission vector for other populations.

In the 17 years of community activism as a woman living with HIV and as a survivor of sexual violence, I have seen few programs that have strategies for the empowerment of women. It is true that they talk about the use of condoms and their negotiation, but the reality of gender norms makes this very complicated for many women. Cases are known where women asking their partners to use a condom has resulted in physical violence or murder. Especially for Latin American countries, a gender perspective is required to be incorporated into HIV prevention and care programs, starting with strategies targeting girls and young people.

For these reasons the alliance between groups of women is important. Today, the HIV-positive community is seeing a drastic decline in HIV funding while cases continue to increase, affecting young women more and more, this will have a negative effect on women because in many countries they are not considered a “group at risk”.

Women with HIV witness the vulnerability of women who already have stigmas and less privileges, such as indigenous women, transgender women, women in sex work, those deprived of their liberty, those who use drugs and those who live in contexts of violence.

We need your help! ✎



Ross is a 38-year-old woman from La Paz-Bolivia, studied Anthropology in Bolivia and a Masters in Gender, Sexual and Reproductive Health in Peru.

Since 2000, when she discovered her HIV positive diagnosis, she organized people living with HIV to achieve universal and free access to medicines and care.) For over ten years, Ross has been the President of the National Network of Persons Living with HIV and AIDS in Bolivia (REDBOL).

She is currently a Member of the World Health Organization Civil Society Working Group for Tuberculosis, a member of the Medicines Patent Pool's Expert Advisory Group and the Delegate of Communities Living with Disease on the Governing Board of UNITAID; she was a member of the Civil Society Advisory Committee for UN Women in Latin America and the Caribbean.


Ross is an activist living with HIV, a public speaker on her experience of sexual violence and her HIV diagnosis, writer and researcher known in Bolivia and abroad. Ross is the second daughter of an evangelical pastor in La Paz.

¹ This article was translated from spanish by Maria Graciela Cuervo.

DAWN Training Institute 2016 (Sri Lanka)

Background

The 5th DAWN Training Institute (DTI) was held in Negombo, Sri Lanka, in November 2016 with a passionate group of 27 young women feminists from across 23 countries¹ and diverse professional and advocacy backgrounds. The first DTI took place in Bangalore, India (2003), the second in Montevideo, Uruguay (2005), the third in Cape Town, South Africa (2007) and the fourth in Siem Reap, Cambodia (2011).


The DTI is a three-week intensive training programme for young feminist activists and advocates from the South. The programme draws on DAWN's feminist analysis which interlinks issues under the themes of Political Economy of Globalisation (PEG), Political Ecology and Sustainability (PEAS), Sexual and Reproductive Health and Rights (SRHR), and Political Restructuring and Social Transformation (PRST). Its contents 

¹ Liberia, South Africa, Kenya, Ethiopia, Zimbabwe, Ghana, Madagascar, Fiji, PNG, Tonga, Cambodia, China, India, Philippines, Malaysia, Sri Lanka, Mexico, Brazil, Uruguay, Bolivia, Argentina, Chili, Palestine, Caribbean



“Within my busy life I do not have much time to get together with other activists to learn and share in such a dynamic space and for this length of time. Every person from the DTI team, facilitators, trainers, sister participants were amazing and inspirational; I loved it!”

also reflect the network’s considerable experience in UN conference processes and other sites of engagement and struggle, including the global civil society movement against neoliberal economic globalization, as well as regional, sub-regional and national processes. The 5th DTI particularly focused on ways forward on the implementation and accountability of the Post 2015 Development Agenda.

The DAWN Secretariat worked closely with the host institution, Women and Media Collective (WMC) in Colombo, Sri Lanka, a well-established women’s organization focusing on gender, poverty and governance issues. Importantly, given the major political transitions occurring in Sri Lanka, DTI participants gained direct understanding about the complexities of post-conflict political transformation and strategies through the lenses of local feminist activists and advocates. 





“Definitely was inspirational to be in such a supportive and enriching working space... I felt appreciated and challenged and inspired to try new things, come forward and speak”

The Program

The program development process emphasized the interlinked crises of neoliberal financialized globalization, climate change and the ecological and human impacts of ‘extractivism’, the backlash against sexual and reproductive health and rights, and the closing spaces for civil society that characterize what DAWN describes as “the fierce new world”. Like each DTI before this one, it built on the lessons learned from previous DTI editions, but also completely rethought and revamped them to respond to current realities such as the post-2015 development agenda and the SDGs.

DTI is a feminist training program where a South inter-linkages perspective is applied to an interrogation of issues cutting across the terrains of gender justice, economic justice, sexual and reproductive rights, ecological justice, sustainable development and democracy. It is a formal arena through which DAWN women, along with other resource persons, share with younger feminists from the South the accumulated knowledge, analyses, skills and experiences of DAWN in the past years.

The 5th DTI benefitted immensely from the knowledge and vast experiences of women advocates who work on different, interlinked areas of development and women’s rights. Resource persons featured the members of the DAWN Executive Committee (EC), each with their own area of expertise, shared critical analysis and gender perspectives of global development agendas. In addition to the DAWN EC, various resource persons were engaged to provide key in-depth analysis and critic on thematic components of the program. DAWN appreciates the



“Really, I think that all the content and the political analysis was really good, having the time to really work on the connections, it’s like wiring our brain to see things in a new dimension, like a horror 3D with so much inequality, devastation and urgency”



“I’m convinced DTI has broadened what I now recognize as my ‘limited understanding of feminist politics’ I’m quite compelled to strengthen my organizing around these issues and now have the “how to” to mobilize around these issues in my country”



“The DTI has inspired me to be more fearless, confident and passionate about myself and what I do or stand for. It has encouraged me to continue to raise my voice on issues that affect me and my community, especially gender equality in all its spheres”



contributions of each resource persons in highlighting the interlinkages of development challenges for women. Through this partnership with resource persons, participants were shown how to develop an inter-linkages approach with a focus on Extractives as a basis for the discussions. There were sessions on analysis and advocacy by way of exploring different forms of communications and to decide which tools are the most appropriate to use for varying situations. Furthermore, sessions looked to sharpen the ability to analyze controversial issues with participants engaging in respectful listening and discussions. New tools for perspective building were introduced, focusing on the transition from the MDGs

to the SDGs by equipping participants with skills to think in the medium and long term, to look beyond being reactive to current concerns, to engage in influencing strategic trends and to develop the ability to respond to new questions and/or scenarios. Finally, an emphasis was placed on the issues, importance and challenges for the women's/feminist movements in building alliances and coalitions with other social movements as well as working with the state and the UN in the current context of closing spaces. Recognizing issues within the women's/feminist organizations themselves, and supporting participants' individual sustainability were explored as factors that need more feminist reflections. 



“It has deepened my knowledge particularly about extractivism and climate change”

“It helped me to look and think more critically towards every issues, and it's quite helpful in shaping my work strategy and focus”



“This was a life changing experience for me. I almost did not come to DTI 2016... DTI is full of interesting, passionate women that lifted my spirit again. I went to the Fidel Castro memorial in Colombo, I couldn't believe what I saw. Young and old people still passionate for a cause. I have started to rethink how I engage with finance and trade issues. I will not give up”





“These were not new thematic areas but the useful part of it was the deeper analysis of each theme and the interlinkages, which made me realize that a lot of things in the spheres are not as they seem, but there are so many other factors and forces that we need to consider”





“I always thought internationalism with Latino-american boundaries. Now I feel more and more identified with many fighting women from Africa, Asia and Pacific. This is the most valuable experience that I carry besides the concrete content of the training”

Beyond DTI 2016

The 5th DTI created a collective space for analysis and review of dominant development priorities, including a focus on the implementation and accountability of the Post 2015 Development Agenda. Here feminists engaged as participants, facilitators and trainers to share learnings and develop critical analysis needed to advance their advocacy and action for women’s rights. This space enabled feminists to build new bonds, connect over shared challenges, and offer up diverse approaches and responses to challenges. The building of networks and continuation of key partnerships was an outcome that the DTI enabled by bringing together young feminists from the South. Strong bonds were created among the participants and between participants and trainers through the three weeks of being together in a supportive and creative feminist learning environment. Additionally, one of the main feedbacks provided by participants concerned the importance of remaining connected and engaged with DTI alumni and DAWN activities. ✎



“Thanks to the DTI team for making space for all of us to learn, to share, to challenge, to be challenged, to inspire and to be inspired”

A Complex Journey: Engaging with Political Restructuring and Social Transformation in Sri Lanka

by Kumi Samuel
(Sri Lanka)

An early call for presidential elections in January 2015 served as the impetus to catalyze a wide spectrum of forces, ranging from civil society to cross party political elites, into a coalition that made possible democratic regime change in Sri Lanka. The coalition was based on a platform of good governance, anti-corruption, opposition to dynastic politics, and abolishing the all-powerful executive presidency. Critical to this mobilization was a stranglehold on dissent, and triumphalist majoritarian, and nationalist authoritarianism exercised by incumbent President Mahinda Rajapakse.

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Winning the Presidency as the common candidate of the opposition Maithripapa Sirisena and the new Prime Minister Ranil Wickremesinghe consolidated their alliance with a victory at the Parliamentary elections of August 2015. They established a national unity government and moved to bring in a Constitutional amendment to curb Presidential powers and establish independent commissions dealing with human rights, elections, corruption, the public service, police and the judiciary among others. The new government also attempted to restore media freedom and ended the culture of white van abductions of media and political opponents. It also

began the slow process of demilitarizing the north and east and restoring some State acquired land to civilians. Investigation commenced into corruption and political killings and the government unfolded an ambitious plan to revive the economy. A year into office it began the process of constitution making and commenced work on identifying mechanisms for transitional justice central to democracy, national unity and reconciliation.

Making the democratic change possible was a rainbow coalition of civil society groups and mobilizations ranging from key trade unions, human and women's rights organisations, families of the disappeared, environmentalists and economic rights disability rights and cultural activists, academics, persons of diverse sexual orientation and gender identities, youth and ethnic minority groups from Tamil and Muslim communities. This concerted civil society engagement to ensure democratic regime change opened up the possibility of a process of political negotiation for State reform, political restructuring, and anticipated social transformation. Civil society and women utilized this political space to ensure that marginalized groups, including women, have greater voice and representation in nation building than ever before.


Constitutional Reform

In 2016, a Public Representations Committee on Constitutional Reform (PRCCR) was established and consulted widely on Constitution making. A new Constitution is critical to state reform and a solution to Sri Lanka's protracted ethnic conflict. At the heart of this deliberation is the sharing of power between the center and the periphery; the nature of the state – whether unitary or federal; the nature of the executive and the need to check its excessive powers and a new electoral system that is inclusive and representative. As the Constitution making process opened up, women's organizations from across the country mobilized to make individual and collective representations to the PRCCR at national and district levels.

They called for recognition of the inherent and individual dignity, autonomy, and personhood of every person. Women's right to life, bodily integrity, and protection from violence without reservation, women said, should be specifically recognized. They called for an inclusive equality clause that protected marginalized groups including people of diverse sexual orientation and gender identity from discrimination. As the report of the PRCCR noted, women's representations covered all areas of the Constitution and in general "women from all parts of the country called for the recognition of Sri Lanka as a plural, multi-cultural and multi-religious country" Women also "argued for the democratization of the polity,

peace, reconciliation, nondiscrimination, equality including equality of opportunity" (p.115). As a consequence the PRCCR recommend that the Bill of Rights should include a special section on Fundamental Rights for Women and called for the establishment of an independent Women's Commission. Significant in the PRCCR process was that while men were more concerned with state reform and devolution of power, women focused on who would wield power and how power would be exercised and directed their attention to social justice concerns, personal and economic security, including rights to land and employment, health, education, and environmental justice.

While the PRCCR process was very inclusive the next stage of Constitution making is inevitably less so. Parliament is now also constituted as a Constitutional Assembly and six sub-committees and a steering committee are drafting the Constitution. Political representation across ethnic and political divides must now come together to negotiate and inevitably compromise to reach a consensus. The new Constitution requires a 2/3rd majority in Parliament and must be endorsed at a referendum. Women are already experiencing setbacks. While the sub-committee negotiating the Fundamental Rights chapter did include provisions for socio-economic rights and expanded an inclusive equality clause, it chose to ignore the PRCCR recommendation for a specific articulation of women's fundamental rights. Despite strong submissions from women, their predominantly male representatives in Parliament chose yet again to deny women stronger protections under the Constitution. Patriarchal discrimination prevailed and it appeared easier to accede to specific rights protection for children, the elderly and the disabled than to women.

The Fundamental Rights chapter is also silent on the establishment of an independent Women's Commission, essential to ensure policy coherence, equality, nondiscrimination, investigation and monitoring to protect and promote women's rights. Also, critically, while recommending repeal of Article 16(1) of the Constitution (which does not allow for judicial review and repeal of discriminatory laws), the sub-committee proposed an exemption for Personal Laws (including the Muslim Marriage and Divorce Act - MMDA) despite numerous submissions and appeals by Muslim women's groups calling for its repeal. Muslim personal law reform has been fraught with contention and a commission has been studying its review since 2009. Constitutional Reform provided the best opportunity for progressive change but the State continues to give greater weight to the opinions and recommendations of male Muslim MPs and religious leaders, rather than Muslim women's groups and women and 

girls directly affected by MMDA. Reform of discriminatory personal law continues to be considered a politically sensitive issue. There is a perception that these laws are 'customary' and reform will infringe cultural or religious sensitivities despite the clear information base on influences of colonial law on the customary laws.

With these setbacks, the lack of significant political representation for women has yet again surfaced in the Constitution making process where Parliament, with less than 6% women, will now decide the fate of Constitutional Provisions. Making submissions before the PRCCR women called for redress of historic discrimination in politics through affirmative action in an entrenched clause in the Constitution.

These recommendations were strongly articulated in the report of the PRCCR. However we are yet to know what provisions will feature in the draft on electoral reform now mired in partisan political bargaining by MPs. Away from Constitution making in what has been hailed a somewhat double-edged victory for women is a legislative amendment allowing for the appointment of 25% women to Local Authorities. Currently represented by less than 100 women, this requirement will see an increase of approximately 2100 women local counselors if the much delayed local government elections are held according to this amendment. While welcoming this affirmative measure women's groups and women within political parties are also asking that their right to contest elections is protected and that women are guaranteed equitable nominations to contest the 60% first past the post seats as well. Representation is a critical issue for women but equally critical is the urgent need to ensure voice for women at decision making levels within political parties and a serious strengthening of internal democracy and transparent governance within them.

Transitional Justice

The transitional justice process also allowed women across ethnic identities to work together. They made representations before a Consultative Task Force (CTF) and Zonal Task Forces (ZTF) seeking public views on potential mechanisms for truth seeking, justice, reparations, and non-recurrence. For women working on conflict, transitional justice is a critical concern. It includes both restorative justice and redistributive justice stemming from a deep concern to seek redress for civil and political rights harms, but also socioeconomic rights harms. Over 7300 submissions were made to the CTF/ZTF. Many persons expressed frustration at the lack of answers despite numerous testimonies to various earlier established commissions. They questioned continued lack of accountability for crimes of the past which entrenched impunity. Yet they hopefully expressed a strong desire to be part of both the design

and implementation of mechanisms for justice and reconciliation that would be created. They also wanted to know the fate of missing loved ones; truth about disappearances and killings; State acceptance and accountability. They spoke of reparations both material and symbolic and from all ethnic communities came the call for confidence building and reconciliation. Constitutional reform that will bring about a sustainable solution to the ethnic conflict was a key factor, and demilitarization together with the repeal of draconian legislation such as the Prevention of Terrorism Act and the return of land appropriated by the military were foremost in many submissions.

The comprehensive and sensitively written CTF report, released in January 2017, proposed a range of recommendations in relation to the four pillars of its mandate, the establishment of an Office for Missing Persons (OMP), a truth and reconciliation commission, an office for reparations and non-recurrence. They called for legislation for the mechanisms, strengthening existing legislation for the OMP, a strong victim-witness protection law and a strengthening of access to justice and the rule of law. It set out a range of confidence building measures that could be applied immediately through meaningful outreach across all communities including measures for grieving, memorialization and reconciliation. This process of transitional justice demanded by a UN Human Rights Council resolution but more meaningfully representing needs expressed by a large number of citizens affected by conflict, war and political violence, expressed with deep felt hope for healing and non recurrence, truth, justice and reconciliation has disturbingly not resonated with state or partisan politicians. The report of the CTF is yet to be endorsed with a strong and committed political



Kumudini Samuel is a member of DAWN's Executive Committee and is on DAWN's Political Restructuring and Social Transformation (PRST) team.

will to implement its recommendations. Instead political and media response has concentrated more specifically, not on reconciliation, truth and justice, but on recommendations for a hybrid court to deal with accountability and the possible inclusion of international expertise in the court and the prosecutor's office. In this impasse legislation approved in August 2016 to set up the OMP has yet to be gazetted and the office yet to be established. While there is some expectation that legislation will be drafted to establish an office of reparations and a truth commission, accountability still remains an elusive consideration.

Unmet Promises

A number of electoral promises and expectations remain unmet. Among these the government's inability to punish or stop violence and hate speech against Muslims instigated by the extremist monks of the Bodhu Bala Sena (Buddhist Power Army) nor stop attacks on evangelical churches; the presence of key officials across the state sector supportive of the policies of the previous regime and blocking progressive reforms is a critical concern. Similarly it is believed military non-corporation has stalled progress in a number of investigations into disappearances and extra judicial executions. The inability of the current government to significantly reduce militarization in the north and east in particular and the proposed replacement of the Prevention of Terrorism Act with a Counter Terrorism Act drafted in the main by a committee of military and police officials is a troubling indication of the military's continued role in State and politics.

A perceived fundamental failure has been the government's inability to bring about any promised economic relief to a vast majority whose living standards are steadily deteriorating as the government struggles with a huge debt burden inherited from the previous regime. Current policies of economic liberalization come with high social and political costs in the form of higher taxes, privatization, withdrawal of subsidies, and trade and investment policies that give politically controversial advantages to exploitative foreign companies and governments. And public disaffection continues with the government's inability to investigate and prosecute rampant corruption of the previous regime nor prevent corruption among its own. The main saving grace of this period is a very comprehensive and far reaching Right to Information Act that has just been adopted.

The rainbow coalition of CSOs will now have to be both critical and constructive to force the national unity government to regain the courage of their convictions and be serious about their promises on reform and reconciliation so that Sri Lanka can finally enjoy a just and sustainable peace. ✨



Panel Discussion: The Rise of Illiberal Democracy and Implications for Social Mobilization

by Mereoni Chung
(Fiji)

Together with Fiji partners, the School of Government, Development and International Affairs (SGDIA) at the University of the South Pacific (USP) and the Pacific Network on Globalisation (PANG), DAWN hosted a panel discussion on The rise of illiberal democracy: implications for social mobilization, in Suva, Fiji on 28th February, 2017. This presented an opportunity to explore global challenges of illiberal democracies with a cross-section of people.

The Fiji discussion represented an ongoing review of democratization processes. Social mobilization is a key democracy mechanism that assists citizens in attaining and maintaining their liberties. Gita Sen, DAWN's General Co-coordinator, highlighted in her keynote address that while many nations aspire to democratic values now more than ever before, recent political trends are witnessing a rise in illiberal democracies. Underlying these 'illiberal' trends in politics and society are often deeper struggles for economic power and political control of the levers of economic policies and decision-making. Politics is about struggles for power. The history of the evolution of democracy is a history replete with the selling out of the civil and other rights of the least powerful in society, even as social compacts are joined between elites and sections of the subordinate laboring classes. The respondent panelists were Vijay Naidu, the current Professor and Director of Development Studies at USP; Maria Graciela Cuervo – newly appointed

general co-coordinator of DAWN; and Maureen Penjueli – the Coordinator for PANG and a dedicated activist with over a decade of experience in environmental and social justice issues in Oceania. Each speaker shared their perspectives on the topic to include the Pacific Islands, Latin America and global vantage points.

The event was attended by various members of Fijian society, including university students and staff, CSO and INGOs members, youth groups, political party members, trade unionists, media and others. Comments from the audience highlighted the reality of closing spaces experienced by social movements, and the need for them to transform their strategies and practices towards greater solidarity and alliances between those who are socially excluded and marginalized and the traditional working classes.

Illiberal Democracy – perspectives and lessons

Gita Sen spoke about the concept of illiberal democracies introduced in 1997 by Fareed Zakaria's paper on "The rise of illiberal democracy". Gita drew parallels from recent examples of political struggles in many countries including the USA, Brazil, Hungary, Turkey, Philippines, Venezuela, who each have forms of closing and controlling spaces for civil society. The resulting backlash against social movements, especially against feminists and rights movements, are indicative of the threats and dangers of illiberal democracies. The call to resistance is an imperative response to challenge and transform the political struggles facing many countries and regions. Furthering this are serious considerations for how, when, with whom and for what is this resistance occurring.

Gita shared, "The threat of 'illiberalism' within overt electoral democracy has resurfaced again and again in the history of the last two centuries. This moment in time is one where it seems to be once more resurgent".

Vijay Naidu shared experiences from the Pacific Islands States who established democracy in post-colonial contexts. Focusing on the political instability of Fiji since independence, Vijay highlighted the role of institutions and the challenges of maintaining a separation of powers in new democracies.

Maria Graciela Cuervo spoke on the challenge of illiberal democracy in Latin American contexts. She highlighted the closing spaces for civil society and social movements in recent times, under seemingly democratic and progressive governments beyond their ideological orientation. Maureen Penjueli linked discussions to economic liberalization and the deficiency in functioning democracies to ensure that the rights of citizens are protected, promoted and respected. Looking to the Pacific Islands, Maureen highlighted the efforts undertaken in Vanuatu to hold leaders to account and maintain a separation of powers within their state systems, as well as questioning the development and economic agendas of big countries entering the region.

The plenary discussion segment sought comments and questions from the floor. Some called for CSO's to continuously relook at themselves in this environment of closing spaces. A member of the audience argued that civic organizations require certain capacities to keep spaces open and the types of mobilization that occur today are different from other times. Movements have always had closing spaces, yet there are alternative strategies that can be taken up, and new strategies to engage leaders. Social media and online news is one such growing space highlighted by a member of the audience. Responses from the panel raised the importance of education systems and innovative spaces for resistance and movement building. The discussions concluded with references to the trend in popular politics that are shaping value systems under the guise of democracy. ✓



Mereoni Chung is the Programme Officer at DAWN Secretariat in Fiji.

Linking Gender, Economic and Ecological Justice: Feminist Perspectives from Latin America

by **Alejandra Santillana Ortiz** (Ecuador)

A few centuries ago, the emerging international division of labour meant that some countries became specialized in exporting Nature (Global South) and others in importing Nature (Global North). The development of capitalism and western modernity established the separation between Nature and human beings, where Nature was constituted as a productive resource, used for the reproduction of capital. Women were linked to Nature and men were associated with culture and science.

As part of this split, the patriarchy articulated itself with capitalism and determined that women were “naturally” in charge of reproductive work and men were part of productive work. Both productive and reproductive work are socially required but they have not occupied the same place in the social structure: productive work is valued as such while reproductive work is not even recognised as work.

In this sense, extractivism synthesizes the primitive accumulation of capital as a primary export model that is part of the consequences of the international division of labour. The way capitalism developed contributed to deepening the gap of inequality in the world, increasing ecological deterioration and exposing the biophysical limits of the Earth.

As a corollary of this context, the last four decades have been characterized by the emergence of governments in Latin America (neoliberals and those that have modernization of capital as a political project, such as the so called “progressive governments”) centred on extracting raw materials to export to the Global North, as well as to China and Latin countries. At the same time, these different political regimes have

“ The actual narrative of the Latin America process has proposed two hypotheses in order to understand the present time: crisis of hegemony or the end of progressivism. ”

implemented and institutionalized criminalization of protest, militarizing territories, building police States and undermining organizational autonomy.

The trend is that most of the Global South is now dominated by agroindustry (soya, canola and African palm), biofuel production, mining and oil companies and hydroelectricity for mines. None of these activities have brought better conditions for the population. Extractivism has meant more inequality and pollution for local populations, dispossession and a systematic process of regression in terms of guaranteed social, economic, political, collective and

cultural rights. Evidently, the way that the industrialized countries of the North are seeking to get out of the crisis is to deepen the role of the South in terms of extractivism by forcing them to sign free trade agreements. These mechanisms increase global inequality, international and sexual divisions of labour and represent an erratic way to stop climate change and environmental problems.

Women’s situation worsens in extractivism contexts; because of their roles in social reproduction women are directly exposed to water pollution and seed contamination, reducing agricultural products for food



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sovereignty and food security; the breakdown of community relationships and lack of decent employment often mean that sex work is almost the only way to have an income. But women have also shown strong capacity to build networks, initiatives and support struggles and demands worldwide. These women are not only part of women's movements but also participate in feminist organizing, bringing wide, enriched and multiple concepts to feminism, as well as other claims, representative structures and collective action that have changed the way feminism has been perceived in the past three decades. So, the problem of inequality, gender, ethnicity and class are equally important for women, and are closely interconnected, as indicated in the graffiti on Bolivia and Ecuador streets: "no food sovereignty without body sovereignty"; as the care economy and reproductive labour incorporate demands about territories, seed, land and water, concepts like "Buen Vivir (Living Well)" become linked to peace and self-determination.

These days, it seems that the post neoliberal progressive governments in Latin America, which made important promises and raised expectations over the last 10 years or so, haven't

transformed the exploitation and dominant structures. While the level of poverty has decreased, inequality has not and experts now say that to eliminate poverty, States must change the structures of inequality. Extractivism has proven once again that Latin America economies hold the possibility of redistribution and real change.

The actual narrative of the Latin America process has proposed two hypotheses in order to understand the present time: crisis of hegemony or the end of progressivism. Both are related to a context of increasing conflict between social movements and governments; but it also means an economic pact between governments and right wing/ dominant national sectors. In the case of some countries in the region, these kind of alliances show a possible answer to the crisis or a shift to right.

But what is the situation of women in Latin America in terms of extractivism in their territories? How are they organized and what is the feminist content in region? What is the role and the place of care as a political category? Are they fighting against extractivism?

Development Alternatives with Women for a New Era (DAWN) presents a

collection of articles and materials written by feminist researchers and materials from Latin America to show extractivism as part of capitalism and the patriarchy, of an international and gendered division of labour, the ways it is being established in the territories and the outcomes for the population, especially women. We start with a broad understanding of what the women's demands are, self-defined and linked to each situation and process, so the book will incorporate all of these experiences. And we want to show the important mechanisms and strategies that women have in their personal, everyday life as well as in other political contexts, to fight for their lives and also for the life of humanity and the planet. This e-book is a tool for all women, feminist-activists in different spaces, intellectuals who contribute to feminist thinking not only in Latin America but beyond these "borders". ✎



Alejandra Santillana Ortiz is an alumnae of DAWN's GEEJ training institute and editor of the recently released GEEJ eBook. This article is the prologue of the book, which available for download from the DAWN website: https://www.dawnnet.org/feminist-resources/sites/default/files/articles/20170117_geej_ebook.pdf



On DAWN's Website

www.dawnnet.org

GEEJ eBook Available to download

DAWN has released a new eBook: "Linking Gender, Economic and Ecological Justice: feminist perspectives from Latin America / Vinculando la justicia de género, económica y ecológica: perspectivas feministas desde América Latina".

<https://www.dawnnet.org/feminist-resources/article/geej-ebook-available>

Illicit Financial Flows Undermining Gender Justice

This paper was prepared by Veronica Grondona as part of DAWN's thematic work on the Political Economy of Globalisation (PEG).

It was presented at the Research Workshop on Corruption and the Role of Tax Havens. City University London, 28th & 29th April 2016. Organized by the Association for Accountancy & Business Affairs, City University, and the Tax Justice Network.

<https://www.dawnnet.org/feminist-resources/en/article/illicit-financial-flows-undermining-gender-justice>

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