



# DAWN INFORMS

Development Alternatives with Women for a New Era

*Towards the World Summit on Sustainable Development*

## AGENDA 21: A VIABLE ALTERNATIVE TO HYPER-LIBERALISATION

**O**n June 16 1992, the day after the Earth Summit was over, many civil society participants, including myself, left Rio defeated because our perspectives on social and ecological crises and visions of sustainable development were not fully reflected in Agenda 21.

Our complaint was that while the preparatory process for the UN Conference on Environment and Development gave unprecedented access to citizens' movements and organisations, our influence was not comparable with the voice given to business. NGOs and business talk to governments from vastly different power positions. The outcome was an ambivalent document that promoted business interests in sustainable development and efficient use of resources, and constructed the images of a world and global ecology that paved the way to legitimising globalisation. The alliances between NGOs and (some) governments resulted in victories such as a strong social framework for sustainable development that linked poverty reduction with environmental improvements, governments' commitments to changing consumption patterns in the North, and adoption of the precautionary principle, to mention a few. The recognition of the role of women in sustainable development was inserted into almost every page of Agenda 21. When one moved from the world of political programmes to the real world, however, it turned out that progress towards implementing these commitments was not substantial. At the same time neo-liberal approaches have been gaining ground in global governance, with the process sealed by the formal establishment of the World Trade Organisation in 1995. It is not surprising, therefore, that within a few years of Rio, citizens organisations shifted position from disgruntled critics into steadfast defenders of Agenda 21, recognising that it provides an available and viable alternative to the hyper-liberal economic framework of globalisation. Today, 10 years after Rio, the socio-economic context and the frameworks of international governance have changed tremendously.

*DAWN Joint Coordinator on Sustainable Livelihoods, Erwa Charkiewicz spoke at the conference on Sustainability, Gender Justice and the Environment: Women between livelihood and mainstream strategies organised by the NGO Frauen Forum & Gustav-Stresemann Institute, Bonn, 22-23 February, 2002. This is an extract from her paper.*

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## Back to the 50s.

This change can be best described with the notion of a return to the 50s. Many governments, for instance the UK and US, have curbed citizens' rights in response to external threats. After 11 September 2001, the 'Al Qaeda Man' became a new archetype. Other to the US hegemony and new/old patterns of racism have been engendered in response to terrorist threats. The World Bank, CNN and George Bush are projecting themselves as protectors of women and children in the South at the same time as Southern governments are struggling for equitable positions in global governance. This display of concern about



women reveals more about the revival of traditional patriarchy and competing masculinities in global governance than about the actual commitment to gender equality.

Just as in the 50s, today too the assumptions of economic growth are hardly discussed. Questions about social and ecological costs of economic growth, how they are assessed, and what kind of economic models would be good for people's livelihoods, for women, and for the environment, and actually contribute to reducing poverty, are no longer on the agenda of governments and the UN. The neo-liberal economic growth ideology and the assumption of its trickle-down effects on general welfare reign supreme, justified by claims of poverty reduction. A clear example is the Poverty Reduction Strategy Papers that oblige countries to introduce further prescribed trade liberalisation measures. The initial goals and objectives of PRSPs (country ownership, participatory development of the strategy, responsiveness to the needs of the poor) have been subordinated to the Integrated Framework which was developed in the follow up on the Coherence Agreement between the World Bank, IMF, and WTO. The Coherence Agreement represents the hyper-liberal and hyper-

masculine structure of global economic governance. We see its first crystallisation in the PRSPs.

Along with reviving the privileged role of the economists, also back in the driving seat are the technocratic policy makers who know what is best for women, communities and countries. The participatory practices are geared to improve the project and policy efficiency rather than to frame policies from the perspectives of people's needs and empowerment. While some progress has been made in more efficient use of resources (the ecological modernisation process), the growth in volume and acceleration of production and consumption cancel any overall gains. Given increasing mobility of people and products, more greener and cleaner cars do not make the difference in terms of aggregate impacts on the environment. Similarly, while the number of women entering the labour market is increasing, and more governments and intergovernmental organisations demonstrate interest in gender mainstreaming, contradictory processes are also at hand. The terms of incorporation of women into the market: gender wage gaps, insecure forms of employment, decline in social spending and financial volatility increase the burden on women and overstretch the buffer function of the care economy. The new 'progressive' civilising discourses of feminism and ecology, captured and remade into ecological modernisation and gender mainstreaming have gained in virtual reality, at the same time as material livelihoods and human security worldwide are deteriorating under the pressures of hyper-liberal definitions of the market. For citizens' projects, what is at stake is to show alternatives in market governance and demonstrate that markets can work differently for women and for the environment.

A double movement in the post-Rio decade is represented by new polarisations: North versus the South and new/old alliances along the frameworks of Davos (World Economic Forum) and Porto Alegre (World Social Forum).

One may wonder, however, about organisational memory. Is the WSF a global supermarket of progressive ideas? Is the work of citizens' organisations in the global mobilisation for Rio (as illustrated with Agenda Ya Wananchi, Women's Action Agenda) now forgotten in response to the new challenges of hyperliberalism of the WTO? Women's Action Agenda and Planeta Femea, women's gatherings in Rio, attracted hardly any men. But the contributions of women to Agenda 21 resulted in the role of women in sustainable development being visible on almost every page.

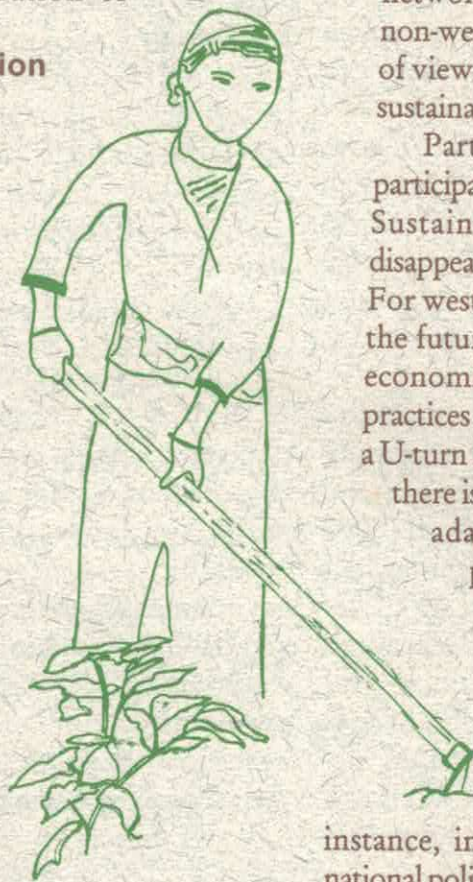


On the road from Rio to Johannesburg we need new travel partners: caring ecological men — that is men who have liberated themselves from patriarchal prejudice and the dominant prescriptions for masculinities that pressure them into individualistic, competitive moulds. Porto Alegre Men care about redistributive justice, environmental sustainability and a more fair world, but as long as gender justice is of concern to women alone, all new alternative projects will reproduce old gendered patterns of violence and exclusion as learnt in the '50s by the current generation of decision makers.

### Sustainable Consumption and Production

One of the biggest achievements of the Rio process was the governments' recognition that sustainable development depends on reducing poverty in the South and changing consumption patterns in the North. The Rio Principles and chapter 4 of Agenda 21 provide a political resource to challenge dominant ideologies of economic growth in terms of business as usual. The proposals and practice that emerge under the umbrella of sustainable production and consumption tell us that markets can function differently. However, the debate is not without shortcomings. In the follow-up after Rio it was institutionalised at various fora such as the work programs on sustainable consumption at the Commission on Social Development, in the Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development and foremost in the UN Environment Programme. But the debate has so far developed in a truncated way.

Firstly, after Rio the focus on the role of technology, environmental management, and the gains for business in terms of eco-efficiency captured the attention. The limits to eco-efficiency (the boomerang effect when gains in eco-efficiency are cancelled by the overall increase in the volumes of production and



consumption) have not received adequate consideration. As well as this, the ecological rationale of addressing environmental limits to growth prevailed over addressing social costs of growth. Along with defending the debate, the development of a social framework for changing consumption and production patterns is one of the key challenges for the Johannesburg process. Little is known about how priorities in the debate would look if, apart from environmentalists, it was defined from the perspective of other stakeholders (feminist networks, trade unions, small businesses), from non-western regional perspectives, from the point of view of health, and from the point of view of sustainable livelihoods.

Part and parcel of the dominant western participation in the debate is its futurist orientation. Sustainable practices have by now almost disappeared from collective memories in the West. For western countries what is at stake is to green the future. For many transition and developing economies, protection of existing sustainable practices is at stake. While it is unrealistic to assume a U-turn in history, back to pre-modern tradition, there is certainly much at stake in protecting and adapting existing pro-local sustainable production-consumption systems and fair trade schemes as ways out of poverty and insurance for local communities against the volatility of the global economy.

Chapter 4 of Agenda 21 includes resources to do this. For instance, in Rio governments agreed to develop national policy frameworks for changing consumption and production patterns. This has not yet been accomplished by any country in the world, even though some governments have made more progress than others. Governments have also recognised that more research is needed on links between cultural, social, environmental and economic dimensions of changing consumption and production patterns. In this respect the underlying drivers of unsustainable production and consumption require thinking through, in particular how a global economic system and profit-making capacities of corporations are based on the control over speed (acceleration) of production and consumption, on externalising social and environmental costs, and on generating symbolic and material obsolescence (constantly replacing old products, ideas and symbols by new ones).



## Reproductive health and the environment

Human and environmental health are global public goods and should be protected. One of the threats to human and environmental health relates to the introduction of toxic substances into the environment. Toxic materials that have not been subjected to comprehensive eco-toxicological studies are dispersed into the environment, are migrating via food chains, air, and water into wildlife and human bodies, and are affecting human and environmental health. The burden of proof is on society, and not on business. Governance of chemicals is based on obsolete methodologies of risk assessment which cannot properly estimate the full scope of risk to human and environmental health.

Exposure to toxic substances leads to disease and loss of health (cancer, reproductive health problems, neurological and developmental disorders), the ability to learn, to make a living, and to personal tragedies. Exposure to some chemicals, for instance lead, causes emotional imbalance and accounts for some of the rise of violence.

In less than one hundred years, humans and wildlife have been exposed to new and previously unknown quantities and mixtures of chemicals, and to xenobiotics. There are now over 100,000 substances that were previously unknown throughout the millions of years of evolution of life on Earth. Each person on Earth carries a load of such chemicals in her/his body. Some of these chemicals (for instance DDT and many other pesticides, additives to PVC, and flame-retardants) are persistent and bio-accumulate in the body which 'recognises' them as if they were hormones. That is why these substances have been named as endocrine-disrupting chemicals. They pose a threat not only to people directly exposed, but also to their offspring. Chemicals are not only spread through the growth of the chemical industry for the market, but also through militarisation.

The second problem is the velocity of chemical exposure in the environment. New technologies and new chemicals are speeding up and changing the terms of reproduction, eg. use of the bovine growth hormone, new reproductive technologies, genetically

modified organisms and new techno-growth, which ultimately makes women and nature redundant.

The governance of chemicals and new technologies should be based on the precautionary

principle. But there are struggles over the meaning of the precautionary principle. WTO defines it as more time needed for risk assessments. In the Rio Principles, Agenda 21 and in the Biosafety Protocol to the Climate Convention, it is the recognition of threats to human and environmental health that justifies precautionary measures.

## Engendering Corporate Social Responsibility

At the second WSSD PrepCom in New York 28 January - 8 February 2002, the NGO group presented a paper on governance of transnational corporations, seeking a binding framework covering corporate duties and obligations, citizen and community rights, support of socially and environmentally responsible government initiatives, and liability and implementation mechanisms. It sought an equal playing field for companies that would prevent them from competing with each other by racing for the bottom, lowering wages and decreasing their environmental standards.

Companies currently make profits and compete with each other by speeding up consumption and production through symbolic and material product obsolescence. They maximise product/service prices wherever they can take advantage of asymmetries in the market, and by externalising unaccounted-for social and environmental costs of production and consumption to women, communities, public budgets and future generations. Women's unpaid reproductive work and polluted and damaged environments are externalities in current models of market governance.

Unless competition is changed so that companies compete over quality and durability of products, corporations will continue to make profits





by speeding through-put and externalising social and environmental costs.

Economic growth and generation of rent and profit is now based on velocity — the speeding up of production of goods and services, and speeding up the flow of money. The new profit-making sector is finance, which makes money out of virtual products, e.g. the sale of debts several times over, currency transactions, and creative accounting.

Dirty growth based on velocity, over-production, and superseding the material economy by a virtual economy, contributes to volatility; it stretches the buffer function of the care economy, undermines the regenerative capacities of the environment, uproots communities, and affects the sustainability of business. Even the hypermasculine alliance of the World Bank/IMF/WTO is unable to control global volatility while it continues to undermine social and environmental reproduction.

New research and a new thinking through of the relationship between gender, the environment and development is required to be able to come up with ideas for a new social contract.

**The pillars of a new social contract should include the following:**

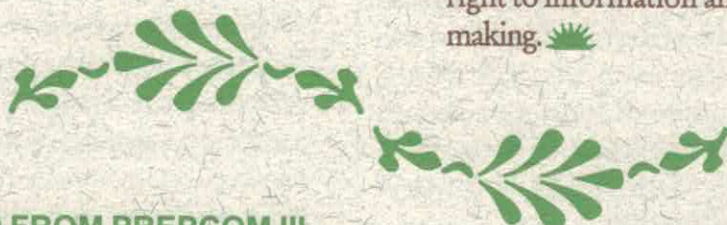
1. There must be a focus on protecting social

reproduction. The care/reproductive economy is the domain of women due to unequal gender relations and division of labour, asymmetries in voice, access to resources, rights and responsibilities. The costs and time burden of social reproduction should be shared by men, women, households and public funds. One of the elementary conditions for safeguarding social reproduction is providing a living income or wage;

2. There must be a focus on environmental reproduction — nature's economy, the carrying and regenerative capacity of the environment, environmental space or the environmental footprints concept are resources to address the impacts on environmental reproduction;

3. In order to safeguard social and environmental reproduction, the precautionary principle should be integrated in all areas of governance (including areas such as toxics, policy projects such as PRSPs, health sector reforms, infrastructure and other development projects). The precautionary principle represents the old medical oath: *primum non nocere* – foremost do no harm; and

4. There must be participatory, accountable and transparent democracy at all levels — a follow-up on the Agenda 21 obligation to institutionalise the right to information and participation in decision-making. 🌱



### MOVING FORWARD FROM PREPCOM III

*From Arlene Griffen, who represented DAWN at the meeting.*

Civil society representatives left PrepCom III in New York, 25 March- 5 April 2002, depressed but forward-looking. Participants recognised the crucial position of the World Summit on Sustainable Development as the battleground for all the issues that have concerned civil society in recent international meetings. PrepCom IV was recognised as the vital moment for final negotiation on the 'consensus' document being prepared for the Johannesburg Summit. There was a strong feeling that the machinations of those who want to maintain the status quo and dilute the document would end with WSSD lying 'dead in the water.'

Nonetheless, NGOs intended to work on strategies to continue the struggle to Bali. Suggestions include a People's Charter or Declaration to parallel the political declaration being prepared for Johannesburg, that will reflect civil society's proposals for achieving a sustainable world. There are also plans to have public hearings on peace and conflict situations, both at the meetings in Bali and Johannesburg, and in other locations.\*

More information is available at <http://www.sdissues.net>

*\* Since then, the Indonesian People's Forum has organised parallel events including a Ministerial Roundtable discussion and a series of dialogues on crucial themes that are intended to be a key platform for discussion between officials and grassroots who would otherwise not be heard. IPF will present the outcomes of the civil society activities with concrete recommendations for what comes out of PrepCom IV.*



See Page 30 for comment on the leaked G8 proposed WSSD Statement, for Johannesburg.



## WOMEN'S CAUCUS PRIORITY CHALLENGES AND ACTIONS

**T**he Women's Caucus coordinated by WEDO during WSSD PrepCom III, New York, 25 March - 5 April 2002, noted that women are critical actors in achieving and maintaining sustainable development and that gender equality is a prerequisite. The Caucus made a statement on what women wanted to see reflected in the Chairman's paper. DAWN representative Arlene Griffen was involved in the work of the women's caucus, including the drafting. The bold print shows the rationale for the recommended actions, that are in italic type.

1. **Recognize the role that women play in Sustainable Development and raise awareness about the necessity of gender equality in Sustainable Development policies.**
  - i *Ensure gender equality and empowerment of women, as the effective way to combat poverty, hunger and disease and to stimulate Sustainable Development.*
  - ii *Promote equitable gender sensitive development, by ensuring participation of women in all spheres of public life particularly education, health care, employment, access to productive resources, and political decision making processes.*
  - iii *Implement the commitments made at the Cairo, Copenhagen and Beijing conferences.*
2. **Governance is not gender-neutral. Therefore, we must have equal representation of women in decision making, as stated in Chapter 24 of Agenda 21. We must create strategies to ensure women's participation in formulating, planning and implementing Sustainable Development.**
  - i *Develop numerical goals and timetables to ensure at least 30% representation of women in all decision making bodies as spelled out in the Beijing Platform for Action and reiterated generally in the Millennium Development Goals.*
3. **Statistics concerning male and female populations must be disaggregated and protocols for research and resulting actions must frame the issues to account for gender differences.**
  - i *Develop and disseminate gender specific data and indicators in all areas of Sustainable Development (economic, environmental and social).*
  - ii *Incorporate gender impact analysis in formulating policies and programs, to ensure access to services that meet the needs of women and their families.*
  - iii *Adopt gender budgets as an effective tool towards mainstreaming gender.*
4. **Access to education is essential for sustainable development. Women and girls comprise 65% of the world's non-literate.**
  - i *Implement programs to achieve 100% literacy.*
  - ii *Promote gender sensitive education for sustainability, ensuring that rural and urban people, especially the poor, benefit from basic education that is relevant to their needs.*
  - iii *Improve the level of education, and the management, science, and technical skills of women.*
5. **Women have the right of access to land and other natural resources and to sufficient financial and human resources for sustainable livelihoods. This is a prerequisite in creating sustainable community livelihoods and reducing rural poverty.**
  - i *Enact legislative and administrative reforms to guarantee women full and equal access to productive resources, including the right to access to land and water, inheritance rights, ownership and management of land, access to credit and appropriate technology.*
6. **Women's health, the state of physical, mental and social well-being throughout the lifespan, is not only a human right, but also a basic requirement for poverty reduction and sustainable development. The Millennium Development Goals of reducing maternal and child mortality, and of reversing the spread, and halting the incidence of HIV/AIDS must be implemented by 2015. Furthermore we need to combat malnutrition, TB, malaria, and other major infectious, communicable and respiratory diseases.**
  - i *Ensure recommitment to the 1994 International Conference on Population and Development (ICPD) Programme of Action. i.e. universal access to education, information and primary health care which includes comprehensive sexual and reproductive health services (family planning, Sexually Transmitted Infections/HIV/AIDS prevention and treatment and safe motherhood).*
  - ii *Allocation, by donor countries of 0.7% GNP towards official development assistance (ODA) to developing countries by 2010, 20% of this ODA and 20% of national budgets respectively towards basic social programs; gradually increasing the budget for population, sexual and reproductive health.*
7. **Sustainable Development can only exist in a peaceful world.**
  - i *Implement Security Council Resolution 1325.*
  - ii *Reallocate funds from military expenditures to budgets for peace-building, human security and to counter environmental devastation.*
8. **Current economic policies of market liberalization and trade have increased poverty in the North and the South, particularly for women, and have increased environmental destruction. Multi-stakeholder participation and equitable partnerships are critical to good economic governance.**

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## PERILOUS PARTNERSHIPS - with whom, for whom

**W**omen at PrepCom III in New York, 25 March - 5 April 2002, shared concerns about how the issue of Partnerships/Initiatives is proceeding in preparation for the World Summit on Sustainable Development.

There was an insistence that national governments should continue to be held accountable to Agenda 21. Governments should demonstrate their political will to fulfil their obligations and commitments to ratify and implement the international agreements from Rio to Johannesburg.

### From previous page

- i Replace the current neo-liberal economic paradigm with a Sustainable Development paradigm.
  - ii Create a new international regulatory framework promoting and protecting Sustainable Development as an alternative to the Washington Consensus.
  - iii Halve the proportion of the world's population living in extreme poverty by 2015, as agreed to in the Millennium Development Goals.
9. Over time, women have developed specific expertise in traditional, indigenous and folk knowledge.
- i Integrate and protect these forms of knowledge in education, policy and decision-making.
  - ii Revise WTO's TRIPS to guarantee traditional skills and knowledge as the peoples' intellectual property rights, and to ensure rightful and just compensation.
  - iii Include in the WSSD Chairman's paper a new section on Indigenous Peoples which recognizes their right to self-determination and participation in national legislation and policy making, particularly in relation to management of indigenous land and natural resources.
10. The UN must be recognized as the primary international governing body.
- i Urge member States to ratify immediately the international instruments relating to Sustainable Development, in particular the UN Framework Convention on Climate Change (Kyoto Protocol), the Convention on Biological Diversity, the Convention on Desertification, and the Basel Convention.
  - ii Ensure that the UN and its related agencies play the lead role in coordinating the work of the Bretton Woods Institutions and the World Trade Organization, to achieve greater coherence in promotion of the principles of the UN Declaration of Human Rights (UNDHR), and of Sustainable Development.
  - iii Support the primacy of the General Assembly as stated in Sustainable Development Governance, paragraph 5, on issues relating to Sustainable Development.
  - iv. Ensure the continuation of the CSD multi-stakeholder dialogue process. 🌱

~ There was also a strong concern that the current process of defining, implementing and monitoring partnerships/initiatives remains unclear and until these are well-defined, involvement in partnerships should be avoided.

~ There were reservations about partnerships/initiatives involving Trans-National Corporations (TNCs), and the international trade and financial institutions. These institutions need to demonstrate transparency, accountability, and sustainable policies and actions.

**T**o overcome these problems, there were a number of suggestions made. They required a bottom-up, participatory and democratic partnerships/initiatives based on:

~ Gender balance and gender justice in decision-making at all levels and in all areas of economic, social, environmental, and development policies.

~ The principles of human rights which are at the core of sustainable development and offer guidance on international cooperation. These principles are also powerful tools for people, particularly women, to escape from poverty, racism and marginalisation.

~ A selection process which disallows partners who do not clearly commit to the implementation of Agenda 21 and the globally agreed outcomes of the WSSD. Member states that have failed to ratify international agreements such as the UN Framework Convention on Climate Change (the Kyoto Protocol), the Convention on Biological Diversity, the Convention to Combat Desertification, the Basel Convention on the Control of Transboundary Movements of Hazardous Wastes and their Disposal, fall into this category.

~ Genuine equitable consultation and dialogue with civil society in policy and decision-making. This requires the formulation of a code of conduct respected by all partners, and enforced by a UN body such as the Commission for Sustainable Development.

~ Provision of financial and capacity building resources for real participation and equal partnerships.

~ Gender disaggregated data and gender auditing of the process, including monitoring and evaluation of results, impacts, and benefits. 🌱

More concerns see next page



# WAA2015 INITIATIVE NEEDS TO BE BOLD

DAWN South East Asia Regional Coordinator, Gigi Francisco, minced no words at the International Forum on Women's Action Agenda 2015 organised by CRINALI/WEDO/REDEH in Venice, 17-18 May 2002.

**D**AWN considers the Women's Action Agenda 21 as an important document that came out of the womb of the world-wide women's movement. Furthermore, we laud the current effort to review and revise the document toward an updated version to be called the Women's Action Agenda for a Peaceful and Healthy Planet 2015 (WAA2015).

The original document was given birth to during a brief period of global optimism and hopefulness about the promise of globalization and multilateralism - and indeed

the possible contribution these could make to sustainable development. Its revision, on the other hand, is taking place amidst two inter-twined crises - that of globalization and of multilateralism - and indeed the heightened level of global insecurity about our world's future that arises from today's geopolitics.

Once again, humanity is faced with a critical need to reverse a downside trend and to move away from a destructive path so that we and generations to come may still have a future on earth. Right now the world needs

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## MORE CONCERNS ABOUT PARTNERSHIPS/INITIATIVES FROM DAWN

The Partnerships/Initiatives lock NGOs into a very difficult position. On the one hand, they provide opportunity to engage in a dialogue, which is important. On the other hand, they represent a strategy of control and deliberately gloss over the inequalities in power and capacity of different actors (NGOs and TNCs), and use NGO participation to legitimize the claims to democracy in the neo-liberal models of governance.

At the ICDS Workshop on TNCs at which the core agenda was the issue of partnerships and the UN Global Compact with corporations, it was pointed out that if companies truly complied with the human rights, labor rights, and the environmental principles of the Compact, they would go bankrupt because the logic of the market and the competition regime that pits companies against each other to generate profit, is based on their ability to externalise social and environmental costs, speed up production/consumption/reproduction, and control technologies and access to capital. These, for example, have social costs in the light of impacts on the care economy.

In subsequent discussions, the consensus that developed was that the issues of human security and the critiques of the economic growth models to challenge the supremacy of the growth model are crucial to transformative projects, be they from the ecological, labor, or feminist movement. Men need to liberate themselves to claim the identity of the caring man. Much more homework needs to be done to popularize the concept of care/reproductive economy and the vocabulary of the social costs of growth and on how to avoid the traps of security becoming a new global concept of control. 🌱

## A DAWN critique of the Chairman's Text for WSSD PrepCom III

The Chairman's Draft for PrepCom III is a very bad document. It resembles a fragmented shopping list of issues, some of which are currently relevant for global debates, and may appear politically contingent but they are a very inappropriate replacement for evaluating and discussing implementation of Agenda 21.

The framework of the document represents eco-technocratic environmentalism, and responds to the business case for efficiency improvements in the management of resources - but it certainly defaults on the Rio consensus on the sustainable development agenda as comprising social needs, poverty eradication and protection of the environment. Participatory development, people driven agenda for sustainability, sustainable production and consumption, sustainable livelihoods, health and reproductive health issues are not addressed at all; gender is either absent, or addressed in the manner of old WID debates of the 80s.

The document has a pronounced western environmental bias - it completely ignores the sustainability measures from non-western cultures of governance or traditions, sustainable consumption - production practices that have evolved all over the world in the past, and now are obliterated under the pressures of accelerating globalisation.

According to eco-technocrats, environmental improvements depend on new measures, new technologies for the future. The protection of local economies and sustainable livelihoods is not on their agenda. Furthermore, they select one eco-technocratic tradition in environmentalism and ignore the history of the debates and policy processes on gender and sustainable development, and sustainable production and consumption. 🌱



women's unequivocal and powerful voices to save it from the destructive path of crass commercialism, war and hysteria. In this context, the WAA2015 document has the potential to serve as a strong, definitive and firm set of demands from the women of the world for decisive, timely and comprehensive life-saving action between now and 2015. For this to happen, however, the document needs to be BOLD in its analysis and STRATEGIC in its recommendations. Taking stock of trends and shifts that we failed to anticipate or insufficiently account for is a good starting point for this to happen. For this brief presentation, I will focus on only one of these inadequacies - that of political analysis and action.

Historically, women came out of invisibility and exclusion, and sought protection from personal violence and oppression at the hands of men, through political recognition, rights and protection provided by the modern state system and its institutions. It is also true that many aspects of women's rights and entitlements were recently won at the global level and multilateral institutions have used their resources and power over governments to demand women's participation and women's projects. We were particularly optimistic about the ability of the United Nations to protect the interests of women and to be supportive of the participation of NGOs and women's organizations. At the local-national level we have placed our energies on lobbying for the entry of an increasing number of women in political and administrative positions, as well as on establishing mechanisms and budgets for women's rights and welfare. With all these, it comes as no surprise that women would be in the forefront of those insisting on, first and foremost, the re-energization of political leadership, discerning governance, the rule of law and the reign of human rights at all levels but particularly at the global level.

One of the major lessons for us, in the last few years, is that while we were busy putting in place *de jure* rights, formal programmes and mechanisms for women, we failed to adequately take stock of how new trends of marketisation and backlash arising from the tensions and ruptures created by globalisation had systematically eroded the opportunities that allow women, especially the poor, to enjoy those *de jure* rights and freedoms. Relatedly, we had been too cautious about being effective watchdogs over women we had put in public office but who had compromised the feminist transformative agenda that will benefit all women. Moreover, it is important to question ourselves at this time about what we have done to more directly confront hysteria-whipping propaganda around terrorism, and the enemy under the banner of self-serving and unilateral agenda of mis-information, war and fear. Relatedly, what do we mean when we invoke democracy? Do we really believe that in these times some necessary limits to personal freedoms, racial profiling and military occupation of sovereign states need to take place in order to preserve

or secure democracy and peace? How much have we done to safeguard substantive democracy as against merely procedural democracy?

Another major lesson is that while we were busy jumping from one UN negotiation and review to the next, we had failed to focus enough attention on the kind of negotiations taking place around economic rules and agreements at all levels. Over at the WTO, for instance, there is widespread arm twisting, bribery and the use of other dirty tactics on developing countries by developed countries. The same thing happens in bilateral trade and investment negotiations. We went on to believe that the standards of transparency, positive balancing out and upholding of higher and fundamental rights for all that we witnessed in the conferences of the 1990's remain sacrosanct in the UN. It is disturbing that our response to the Global Compact has not been sharp or critical enough. Furthermore, while there is clearly a need to celebrate and secure the gains we have enshrined as language in UN documents by repeatedly invoking these and monitoring government compliance, we might also have forgotten, quite conveniently, important proposals that we passionately fought for but were defeated on. Has realism finally caught the imagination and energies of the world-wide women's movement?

A final caution. Proposals for boosting social change between now and 2015 are still skewed in favor of multilateral institutions and initiatives. Our acknowledgement of the critical importance of local-national initiatives and alternatives appears as mere icing on the cake - evidences to be presented at the global level to remind multilateral institutions of what is working, not working and what is missing. It is a truism that women have a problematic relationship with our states and national leaders, and that the global sphere has been kinder to us and supportive of our empowerment. However this should not distract us from a clear analysis of the role that states and national leaders could and must play when we confront crises of global proportions - the crisis of war, crisis of poverty, crisis of social welfare, crisis of unsustainability.

The current human rights approach to development enshrines the duties and obligations of states to their citizens. Thus we need to be straight-forward and definite about what we expect from states. In relation to that, we also need to be clear on what we will support and not support in the global environment in order to ensure that ALL states are enabled to be more socially responsive, democratic and have real choices in terms of policy options for spurring development and peace. For this, we need to confront more squarely the question of global inequity and the lack of an equal playing field among states.

The global society is in crisis and needs immediate and decisive action. I congratulate those who are behind the the WAA2015 initiative and hope that the final document will prove to be a truly historic document. 🌱



## A REGIONAL VIEW

from the Asia-Pacific meeting, Phnom Penh, Cambodia, 27-29 November 2001

*From the report of Arlene Griffen*

Points to note from regional meetings:

- Sustainable development should be founded on values and lifestyles
- Collective ownership of sustainable development and public involvement in decision-making should be fostered
- Matters of the spirit are as important as material matters.

Points from NGO discussion on the draft platform document:

- Text gives no space to alternatives
- No reference to time-honoured traditional sustainable development practices and systems
- The economic system is exclusivist and political and economic roots of sustainable development problems are ignored
- Globalisation exacerbates poverty but is promoted unreformed
- Need to refocus attention on women made poor by globalisation
- Gender equality should be included as a cross-cutting issue at WSSD
- Militarism is a major driving force in taking resources away from sustainable development
- There is a need to create sustainable production and consumption patterns
- Doha (4<sup>th</sup> WTO Ministerial meeting) was a shocking example of unequal power relations, with no transparency

## JOHANNESBURG 2002:

### SUMMIT OR SABOTAGE?

*From Michael Strauss, Earthmedia, at WSSD PrepCom III, held in New York 25 March - 5 April.*

Leaders of international environment and development NGO coalitions at the third WSSD PrepCom challenged governments' indecision in failing to protect the political accomplishments of the 1992 Earth Summit. And they attacked several Northern governments for attempting to undermine the carefully-structured consensus of Rio.

NGOs cited a serious lack of progress in the negotiations on all issues. With the current compilation text running over 100 pages, and the negotiations in varying stages of inertia or disarray, talk has increasingly focused on whether additional PrepCom sessions would be required. NGOs said that the inability of the PrepCom to hold evening negotiating sessions during most of the first week due to U.N. budget restrictions also seriously limited efforts to achieve a workable text. Even more critical, said NGOs, were attempts to strike references, from all parts of the text, to phrases that represented fundamental elements of Agenda 21. Efforts to remove one such phrase — 'common, but differentiated, responsibilities' — were made repeatedly by the U.S.

Combined with its renegeing on an earlier commitment to not interfere with other nations' ratification of the Kyoto Protocol on Climate Change, the United States' actions at the PrepCom have led some to wonder whether the US wants there to be a Johannesburg Summit at all.

### Resources and contacts for the World Summit on Sustainable Development Johannesburg, South Africa, 2-11 September 2002.

- The UN Summit site is [www.johannesburgsummit.org](http://www.johannesburgsummit.org)
- Network 2002 is produced by the Stakeholder Forum, an international multi-stakeholder organisation preparing for Earth Summit 2002, and is available at [www.earthsummit2002.org](http://www.earthsummit2002.org)
- The International Institute for Sustainable Development, [www.iisd.ca/](http://www.iisd.ca/), provides information about and from meetings and organisations related to environment and development policy and those connected with the WSSD process. It has a Linkages site with a comprehensive listing of WSSD web sites linked to a WSSD portal, [www.iisd.ca/wssd/portal.html](http://www.iisd.ca/wssd/portal.html). This site also publishes the Earth Negotiations Bulletin.
- UNED Forum is a multi-stakeholder NGO promoting global sustainable development through facilitating involvement of major groups in the policy work of the UN and other inter-governmental institutions. It has a WSSD project, Towards Earth Summit 2002, and is available on [www.unedforum.org](http://www.unedforum.org)
- Asia Pacific focal point for PrepCom IV in Indonesia, [www.jakartapeoplesforum.org](http://www.jakartapeoplesforum.org)
- For women's group activities, subscribe to WEDO's Sustainable Development list serve, [WEDOSustDev2002-subscribe@yahoogroups.com](mailto:WEDOSustDev2002-subscribe@yahoogroups.com), or to [women-esd@yahoogroups.com](mailto:women-esd@yahoogroups.com) listserve



## Statement of Concern -- NGOs silenced, hopes dashed

*By the second day of the UN Financing for Development conference in Monterrey, Mexico, 18-22 March 2002, DAWN, with the International Gender and Trade Network, Cartagena Feminist Initiative, and Red de Educacion Popular Entre Mujeres, felt compelled to make a statement expressing their deep concern and disappointment about the experiences of civil society organisations at the conference.*

"Despite our extreme disappointment over the Monterrey Consensus document, we have come to Monterrey in the spirit of sustaining the constructive engagement that the United Nations has worked hard on around the FFD process. We came hoping to lobby and support our government leaders and ministers in order that they would intervene in a last minute effort and, with enough political will, achieve breakthroughs binding time-bound commitments in certain critical areas, such as debt reprieve and reform of the multilaterals.

But what have we experienced and witnessed?

- In the two days that we have been here, civil society organisations have been severely restricted in our access to the formal plenary.
- The roundtable discussions thus far have been badly managed such that some speakers from the NGOs were unable to give their scheduled intervention due to lack of time.
- As well, we noticed in the line-up of speakers on the first day of the formal plenary that priority time had been given to speakers from the multilaterals, regional banks, trade and finance focused subgroups and networks while speakers from the UN agencies that worked on social development, particularly women and labor, had their chance to speak only toward the end of the session when many delegates had already left.
- Moreover, the list of side events strongly project dialogues among representatives of government, institutions, multilaterals, and the business sector, with only a few sessions featuring a presenter from the NGO sector.

After having been given our own Global Forum that ended a day before the FFD conference, it appears that the pathway of communication between NGOs and the formal conference has now become narrower and more regulated.

As we issue this statement of concern, we are aware that some representatives from civil society organisations gathered in front of the plenary hall to demonstrate their disappointment by standing together and covering their mouths with tape, to signify how NGOs have been silenced in this conference, similarly to what happened in Doha (at the 4<sup>th</sup> World Trade Organisation Ministerial meeting.)

All of us who have been involved in the preparatory process know only too well that time has almost run out for this conference to make a real difference in realising the millenium development goals within a human rights framework.

There is a need to ensure that the voices and aspirations of civil society organisations are respected and not buried under the weight of whatever new compromises and consensus can still be worked out at this late stage.

If this is not realised, civil society organizations would come out of this process deeply frustrated, with nothing more than hard lessons learned in the process of staying engaged." 🌱

### A FESTIVAL OF WORDS

*"The UN Financing for Development process heralds a disaster for development. The Monterrey Conference is a festival of words that in no way brings the FfD process closer to its original goal of ensuring that sufficient and appropriate financial resources are made available to achieve the commitments made in landmark UN conferences and summits in the 1990s, including radically reducing poverty.*

*"...the FfD process continues to divorce poverty as a national fact from impoverishment as a global process.*

*"...it fails to address the key issues of global economic governance and systemic injustice that are at the root of poverty and the financing gap.*

*"...FfD is squarely and deliberately framed in the process of corporate globalisation with increasing power for the transnational private sector and their State and institutional supporters. In essence, FfD marks the official acceptance of the privatisation of development financing." Statement of Jubilee South.* 🌱



# Washington Consensus in a sombrero\*

The Monterrey Consensus document placed great emphasis on the responsibility of countries for generating their own economic and social development. But the fact that there exists no liberty in choosing the path toward building one's own destiny remains un-emphasised. The strategies promoted in the Monterrey Declaration are precisely those that have failed the developing world, particularly in Latin America. If the true purpose were to

promote development in poor countries, the evidence would not be ignored. But the true objective is to preserve a model that has benefited the super powers, particularly the North American economy. It is no coincidence that the '90s, a period of great expansion, coincides with the toughest decade for Latin America.

Although it is recognised that the world economy has decelerated significantly, the declaration ignores completely the causes of this situation that are undoubtedly closely linked to the applied economic policies. How can it be ignored that the current model is not generating growth? If the world is not creating wealth, where will those additional resources come from to stimulate poor economies?

While the current economic model is being debated and economists are talking about the 'implosion of American capitalism', people should not wait for discussion on a new paradigm to be brought forward by the industrialised world through its international institutions. It is absolutely clear that macroeconomic adjustments have affected women and men differently, so it is incomprehensible how gender could be so superficially addressed in the Monterrey document. This oversight is one of the greatest in the document.

The document clearly holds a pro-current economic model position. The possibility of initiating a new dialogue on financing issues and economic policies, with a more critical examination of the current development model, has been closed. The first step is to make significant adjustments to permit the United Nations to play its expected role in favour of equitable development and a less hegemonic form of globalisation. It is also up to civil society to play a more active role. A new political profile needs to emerge, one

that is more universal, polyglot, transparent, pluralistic, illustrated, non-patriarchal, and committed to the required changes. It is the role of civil society to illustrate these new

needs to its respective people.

Cecilia Lopez Montano




The FfD looked at six themes covering domestic and international resource mobilisation. Under the fourth theme, on official

*The Cartagena Feminist Initiative, with UNIFEM support, held a panel on Economic Justice and Gender Equity on 16 March 2002 for the UN Conference on Financing for Development in Monterrey, Mexico. Panelists were Marina Durano speaking on global public goods, Cecilia Lopez speaking on for whom the financing for development was intended, Gigi Francisco on systemic issues, and Sonia Correa on financial transaction taxes. The case studies for Sonia Correa's paper were researched by members of the Cartagena Initiative: Fanny Marques, Colombia; Magdalena Leon, Ecuador; and Norma Sanchis, Argentina. Sonia Correa prepared the data on Brazil, with support from Sergio Piola for the collection of information on CPMF (national bank transaction tax). UNIFEM supported the work and the material was first presented at a panel organised by the Cartagena Initiative at the 4th FfD PrepCom. The panelists and the members of the Cartagena Feminist Initiative brought with them to the Monterrey event the perspectives they developed throughout the FfD process and some of the debate from World Social Forum II.*

development assistance, the concept of global public goods arose as a result of the opening of national economic borders that expanded the scope of public goods beyond the national and into the global. Examples include narcotics control, disease management and clean air. The plea was for donor countries to provide additional allocations in their official development assistance that will finance global public goods and to ensure that these funds are separate from their traditional allocations of aid. The concept was met with scepticism and resistance. Global public goods are contentious on two counts. Firstly, the concept is vague, and secondly, it will change the nature of development assistance. Both hope and fear stem from the theoretical foundation on which global public goods stands. GPGs provide the hope that market-orientation could be tempered by a desire to meet social outcomes. At the same time, GPGs can potentially become a bind on social outcomes if efficiency remains the superior standard.

Given the possibilities and impossibilities of global public goods, the proposal to define GPGs in a participatory manner is like mixing an explosive cocktail. A vague concept thrown into an arena of political inequities can be easily captured by well-organised interests. Already the United States has won the battle to exclude it from the possibilities for exploring new avenues for financing development. The urgency of finding solutions to poverty eradication does not entail throwing caution to the wind. Clarifying the concept will ensure that global public goods serves the good intentions behind its driving force. *The full paper is available at <http://www.dawn.org/fj/global/unconferences/ffd/ffdindex.html>*

Marina Durano 



**S**onia Correa identifies the real winners at Monterrey in the DAWN statement at the FFD Roundtable Discussion on Looking Ahead, 21 March 2002.

"In many multilateral negotiating arenas, one often hears of the need to have a "level playing field" in order to procure fairness in outcomes. FFD once again demonstrates the absence of this field in global politics. The one trade-off that could have contributed to fairness was the offer of free trade by developing countries in exchange for debt cancellation. But in a game with winners and losers, beggars can't be choosers.

Monterrey, which is taking place between Doha and Johannesburg, is seeing the second stage in the global coherence around the Post-Washington Consensus. Doha secured the development round in free trade. Monterrey secures efficiency in development assistance. And Johannesburg will manage the global commons alongside the promotion of environmental services.

The real winners in Monterrey are the actors in the gift economy. The non-profit agencies. The UN and other development agencies. Even the Bretton Woods Institutions. They have been facing a decline in official financial support over the past decade. Therefore, it is not any wonder that they are the only ones with cause to celebrate the side announcements of about 25% increase in aid by 2006 from the current levels. Meanwhile, the achievement of the Millenium Development Goals by 2015 remains grossly under financed despite the centrality of MDGs in the language of the Monterrey "Consensus".

From this perspective, we can only look ahead with cautious optimism. The motivation to eradicate poverty is clearly present but the gains of the Conference have been very little. Monterrey has breathed new life to the Post Washington Consensus and this model must now prove itself under a strengthened United Nations. The debate continues. The challenge remains."

## ABSENCES AND DISAPPOINTMENTS

*At the Roundtable on Looking Ahead in Financing Development, DAWN made this statement on the disappointing absence of strong references to human rights.*

"The improvement and enforcement of human rights instruments is a core mandate of the United Nations and, as affirmed in Article 1 of the Vienna Declaration and Program of Action, the protection and promotion of human rights is the first obligation of governments. DAWN views the human rights frame as a systemic dimension of financing for development. Human rights are more than the rule of law applying to contracts and property. The commitment to human rights is more than telling others they should comply with existing instruments. Social and economic rights requirements must guide domestic and ODA investments. Labor rights, including the right to association and collective bargaining and non-discrimination principles, are crucial parameters to assess the quality and effectiveness of foreign direct investment and trade. The right to development comprises, among other goals, the sustainable solution of debt of both low and middle-income countries. The right to health and biodiversity must frame TRIPS negotiations. Safety of the person and the right to move freely are fundamental principles to address migration issues and to eradicate trade in human beings, particularly of women and children.

We are, therefore, clearly disappointed with the absence of strong references to human rights and fundamental freedoms in the document that will be adopted in this Monterrey Conference. Looking forward, we demand that consistent steps be taken by all stakeholders in order to ensure coherence between the financing for development goals and human rights obligations as follows:

- Additional resources are urgently required to expand the capacity of existing international human rights bodies and instruments as well as to reform national judicial systems in order to ensure access to all, transparency and accountability;
- Human Rights Treaty bodies and Special Rapporteurs must be fully integrated in the follow-up to Monterrey, including the Spring ECOSOC high level segment meetings and the General Assembly;
- Policies that will evolve from Monterrey in accordance with Millennium Development Goals must be assessed through the parameters of existing treaty bodies, such as CEDAW.

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## Adjusting our lenses for looking ahead

*Civil society participants in the Roundtable Discussions on Looking Ahead expressed concern about the character of the Monterrey 'consensus' in this statement:*

The Millennium Development Goals, modest as they are, were originally hailed as concrete, attainable time-bound targets in support of the global response to poverty eradication and financial crises. On the heels of the financial crises in Mexico and East Asia, the International Conference on Financing for Development was launched to ensure that resources were guaranteed for the achievement of these goals. Two years of discussion, exchange and engagement over financing issues have brought to the fore the complex and divergent interests of multiple stakeholders. Consequently, the resistance and lack of political will on the part of Northern Governments and the Multilaterals make the achievement of MDGs now appear to be unrealistic, unfeasible, and unattainable. Even less achievable is the fulfilment of the lofty commitments in past UN conferences.

Despite the diversity of governmental and non-governmental voices for change, the Monterrey "Consensus" continues to reinforce the fundamentals of the Post-Washington Consensus.

The Post-Washington Consensus is a package conceived by dominant economic and political stakeholders to manage an increasingly globalised liberalised trade, finance and monetary system. This package includes: the creation of enforceable codes and standards, trade and investment rules, concessions to social welfare through targeted social

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- Particularly in relation to ODA, compacts between donors and recipient governments should be established along the lines proposed by the Independent Expert on the Right to Development;
  - Countries should be invited to establish national level human rights bodies and systems of reporting whose agenda must include the monitoring of impacts deriving from internal and external policy decision making in financing, trade and anti-poverty programs;
  - To enhance and ensure the meaningful participation of civil society, and most principally groups and communities directly affected by financing and economic decision making, in these various instances and processes. 🌱

safety nets, coherence of policies vertically and horizontally, the inclusion of business and firms in the Global Compact for development, and Poverty Reduction Strategy Papers.

This global project of the Post-Washington Consensus systematically overlooks the fundamental flaws in its economic model that produce contradictory results, the anachronistic nature of the Bretton Wood Institutions, as well as the rootedness of poverty in a global accumulation system that perpetuates inequity and plunder.

How do we move forward? The Post-Washington Consensus as it is manifested in the Monterrey Consensus will not take us far on the road to achieving the MDGs. Its prescriptions preserve rather than transform the global economic system, with all of its embedded risks and constraints that result in crises and poverty. We need a more determined set of responses to address long running systemic and institutional issues that are inter-woven into the globalised market.

The time has come for a new development paradigm that will allow each country to find its own path to solve its problems and to find its place in the globalised world. The human being must be the center of economic efforts directed to generate and accumulate wealth under the principle of economic democracy as stated in the Copenhagen Declaration agreed upon by the heads of state.

The United Nations must reassert its primary responsibility for economic governance and social development that has been hijacked by Bretton Woods Institutions and the World Trade Organisation, through a strengthened ECOSOC.

It is our understanding that the Monterrey "Consensus" includes civil society when it sets out the instruments of follow-up mechanisms. Civil society organisations are major stakeholders in this process of partnership and inclusion that we expect to be continually improved upon. Linked to this is the need to ensure the voices of women are sufficiently heard.

Finally, in the implementation of these commitments on financing for development, we should recognise that local governments, communities and poor women and men are in the forefront in the fight against poverty and should therefore be assisted and included in the processes of defining and implementing anti-poverty programs. 🌱



A Global Forum for civil society was held in Monterrey to coincide with the UN Conference on Financing for Development. Thematic debates with NGO and institutional representatives that were held in different tents produced a final document issued at the end of the first week. Cecilia Lopez, Fanny Gomez and Lourdes Angulo were on the REPEM/Cartagena Feminist Initiative forum team. Alejandra Scampini prepared this report.



## VAGUE ANSWERS AND FARCICAL PARTICIPATION

### Debt Tent:

Discussion centred on the emphasis given the creation of a commission, while it was felt an ad hoc North-South arrangement could develop general action guidelines in terms of debt management from a perspective of co-responsibility. There was too much insistence on debt as a consequence of a deformed development model and not as a product of underdevelopment or incorrect governance of states. An alternate proposal on debt cancellation called for the cancellation of the debt only if the resources went to social investments, to be designed, applied and monitored with citizenship participation.

### Systemic Issues Tent:

Discussion focused on the lack of human rights framework in the Monterrey Consensus document. The World Bank representative reacted by saying that there was one paragraph on human rights on the first page, and the same for gender.

Sonia Correa analysed the IMF/World Bank debate in which UN Secretary Barry Herman, Prakash Loungani of the IMF, Jaime Bilderman of the World Bank, Paul Nerhru Tennessee from the Guyana trade union movement, Frank Schroeder of the Ebert Foundation of Germany and Aldo Calgiari from the Center of Concern in Argentina participated.

From the start the issue of governance was put on the table from the point of view of the roles, mandates and positions of the IMF, World Bank and UN. When the IMF has control on financial stability and the World Bank on reduction of poverty, there are difficult intersections. For example, the adjustment programmes of the IMF can raise poverty. This indicates a clear lack of coherence in these institutions. Trade union representative Paul Tennessee stressed the need to condemn the debt and the need for a Tobin Tax. The debate was held in a critical atmosphere, a great deal being said about participation of South countries in financial decision-making and participation of parliamentarians, civil society and NGOs in national debates on the programmes of the finance institutions.

There was much talk about the concept of participation and how this is understood differently by the WB and IMF. The participation they propose is

seen as farcical and their participation in the Global Forum viewed as simply an attempt to find support. It seems that there is an attempt to restrain the role of the IMF in terms of those operations intended as safeguards in moments of crisis, so that the governments have to appeal to the private financial market to solve their problems.

Sonia Correa queried the UN position in terms of human rights, given the weakness of the Monterrey Consensus in this regard. She suggested the UN should have a stronger role in the next round of negotiations. The UN representative insisted there was language on human rights and also on gender mainstreaming, but the NGOs had not pushed much on the subject. The atmosphere was marked by an anti-IMF/WB feeling and concern over the weak role the UN was playing in the process. It was felt also that there was a need for more information, analysis and data and to improve the capacity of the Forum participants to be able to react and address the issues more efficiently.

\* \* \* \* \*  
Cecilia Lopez outlined some of the contradictions of the FfD debate as follows:

1. While more financial resources and stability in macroeconomic policies were desired, these policies were the ones that gave disastrous results and 0% growth in Latin America in the year 2002. Why?
2. Domestic savings were desired but current policies have been unable to generate these resources and countries have been given no freedom of choice to achieve this goal. Why?
3. Concerning international trade as the lever for development, it is developing countries that have removed trade barriers, yet their imports grow more than exports. Meanwhile, developed countries are increasing trade barriers. Why?
4. Foreign Direct Investment is regarded as the key for technological transformation, but in South America it has bought only old assets. Four-fifths of the flow goes to the European Community, only one fifth to the developing world. Why?

To these and other questions the institutional representatives gave vague answers and unclear responses. 🌿



# CHILDREN & WOMEN TRIUMPH AT UNGASS

The UN General Assembly Special Session on Children held in New York, May 2002, was attended by DAWN Anglophone Africa Regional Coordinator, Bene Madunagu. Here the Summit is assessed through an interview with Françoise Girard of IWHC. Her words give an impression of what an amazing success it was in the context of the current UN scenario, and highlight the strength of the constituency — women's and youth organisations. More information on [www.iwhc.org](http://www.iwhc.org)

## 1. What have been the major obstacles of the UNGASS?

The major obstacle was the Bush administration, and its regressive positions on the sexual and reproductive health and rights of adolescents and women. They basically sought to overturn ICPD, and they tried to intimidate other countries into supporting them. They played a very rough game. Another huge obstacle was the non-participation of Africa and most of Asia throughout the process - which meant that the Latin American bloc and the Muslim countries were the only ones speaking for the developing world.

## 2. What have been the major gains and major losses, having Vienna, Cairo and Beijing as references?

The outcome was good, because the final agreement re-affirmed ICPD, Beijing and the Plus Fives. So, no rollback. We also managed to keep out of the document all the retrograde content that the USA wanted to put in. The USA wanted "abstinence-only until marriage" sex education - that did not go in. They wanted to redefine "reproductive health services" to exclude abortion - that failed too. They wanted to redefine the "family" in terms of marriage between a man and a woman - that did not happen. They were pushing for a paragraph on giving couples and individuals information on family planning, but no contraceptives! That paragraph was deleted. In fact, after the adoption of the text, the USA read a very long "Explanation of Position" with all these elements - obviously because they felt they had lost on all these points! In order to achieve this result, however, we had to delete several paragraphs with detailed content (like the paragraph on sexuality education). So we were only left with two paragraphs, but they are good paragraphs. If people want details about what sexuality education should cover, they'll have to look in ICPD and Beijing and the Plus Fives.

## 3. How did the countries and regions behave? How was SLAC's

performance and most particularly Brazil's role?

The USA worked extremely closely with the Holy See (John Klink, the Holy See's strategist at ICPD, Beijing, and ICPD Plus Five, was on the US delegation this time!), and with Sudan, Libya, Iraq and company. Progressive positions were supported by the Latin American countries (the Rio group - all 19 of them, except Cuba), the "Like-Minded

### Sexual and reproductive health

35. To achieve these goals and targets, taking into account the best interests of the child, consistent with national laws, religious and ethical values and cultural backgrounds of people, and in conformity with all human rights and fundamental freedoms, we will carry out the following strategies and actions: (i) Ensure that the reduction of maternal and neonatal morbidity and mortality is a health sector priority and that women, in particular adolescent expectant mothers, have ready and affordable access to essential obstetric care, well-equipped and adequately staffed maternal health-care services, skilled attendance at delivery, emergency obstetric care, effective referral and transport to higher levels of care when necessary, post-partum care and family planning in order to, inter alia, promote safe motherhood.

(xviii) (reordered) Provide access to appropriate, user-friendly and high quality health care services, education and information to all children. (i) Address effectively, for all individuals of appropriate age, the promotion of their healthy lives, including sexual and reproductive health, consistent with the commitments and outcomes of recent UN conferences and summits, including the World Summit for Children, the United Nations Conference on Environment and Development, the International Conference on Population and Development, the World Summit for Social Development and the Fourth World Conference on Women, their five year reviews and their reports.

Group" (Canada, Australia, New Zealand, Liechtenstein, Iceland, Norway, Switzerland, Japan) and the European Union. The Rio Group was under incredible pressure from the USA, but they resisted to the end and did not break up. Only after the adoption of the text did El Salvador, Honduras, Costa Rica, Argentina and Nicaragua state their reservations about life beginning at conception. Brazil was part of the "troika" leading the Rio Group (with Peru and

Bolivia). Brazil played a very positive role in this negotiation. Under the circumstances, the Rio group was heroic. Canada was also extremely good. The European Union held progressive positions throughout. However they never worked closely with the Latin Americans or the "Like-Minded," in spite of efforts by those groups to work with them. Then, on the last day, the EU moved to make a deal with the US. In this deal, the EU ended up compromising on the death penalty for crimes committed by minors (the final result is that the USA can continue to execute individuals who committed crimes as minors!). The solution they agreed with the USA on sexual and reproductive health was not good (pre-Cairo language on family planning was included!), but the Rio group and the "Like-Minded" group held firm.

## 4. Has abortion been taken out of the contents of reproductive health services? If so, what are the long term implications of that?

No, reproductive health services were not redefined to exclude abortion. This was perhaps the No. 1 objective of the Bush administration, but it did not happen. 🌱



*DAWN has for a long time made the connection between globalisation and fundamentalism. In November 2001 a special issue of DAWN Informs on fundamentalism highlighted the threats to gender justice and economic justice from the poorly regulated processes of globalisation on one side, and the strengthening of national, religion-based, ethnic and other identities that assert 'traditional' gender roles and systems of authority on the other. Articles exposed the link between the structures that stunt the lives and livelihoods of people and that produce and perpetuate destructiveness, and those that subordinate women. Following World Social Forum II, this article on anti-globalisation/anti-fundamentalism by a former president of the National Action Committee on the Status of Women in Canada, Judy Rebick, was published on ZNet.*

## CATCHING UP WITH THE CALL

Last month, a caller to a Winnipeg CBC radio phone-in show where I was a guest berated me for not supporting United States President George Bush's attack on Afghanistan. "As a feminist," he said, "you must admit that, without the bombing, women would still be enslaved there."

### WSF Council Meeting

*Gigi Francisco represented DAWN at the World Social Forum International Council Meeting in Barcelona, Spain, 28-30 April 2002. DAWN Latin America Regional Coordinator Celita Eccher and Marina Durano, who works with DAWN in the area of trade, also attended the meeting.*

DAWN supported the internationalisation of the World Social Forum, both in structure and processes. The process is to be based on the Charter of Principles, which was reaffirmed at the meeting. WSF 2003 will, however, still be held in Porto Alegre, while India is the proposed site for the 2004 WSF. India will be able to assess its possibilities for 2004 following the organising of a regional WSF there in December 2002.

From a political perspective, the internationalisation of WSF has come to be inevitable and necessary, given the dynamism that its spirit was able to generate in different parts of the world. To truly live out the principles of diversity and democracy embodied by WSF, it needs to be enriched with the experiences of multiple cultures and regions. An internationalised WSF means also that the burden of engagement and participation will be shared across the regions.

FOCUS was proposed to host the next International Council Meeting in Bangkok in August 2002. Asian groups will also discuss WSF at the WSSD meeting to be held in Bali, Indonesia, 27 May - 7 June 2002. Gigi Francisco is a member of the Working Group on Internal Codes, that deals with membership, decision-making and the relationship between the international council and regional and thematic initiatives. Celita Eccher is a member of the working group on themes for WSF 2003.

The Pan-Amazonian Social Forum is being held 24-26 May 2002, the Americas WSF is being held in Quito, Ecuador, in May 2002, the European WSF will be held in Florence in November 2002; and the Mediterranean region is planning for the end of 2003. An International Solidarity Conference against Militarism and Neoliberalism will be held in Manila in 2003. 🌱

Whether or not women will be better off after the war against Afghanistan is an open question. But the claim that the United States is some kind of liberator is contradicted by the role that U.S.-led corporate globalisation plays in creating the conditions that enable fundamentalists like the Taliban to gain power in the first place.

The structural adjustment policies imposed by global organisations like the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund resulted in an increased poverty that hit women hardest. More importantly, the suffering and cultural dislocation strengthen fundamentalism—whether Moslem, Hindu or Christian—which has been the strongest opposition to the monoculture imposed by U.S. multinational corporations.

Highest on the fundamentalist agenda is a rejection of the rights of women in the name of protecting local culture and tradition. Women from developing countries quickly drew attention to this devastating combination.

I first heard these arguments in 1995, during the Beijing United Nations Conference on the Rights of Women. At the time — and even as recently as the conference on race in Durban, South Africa — UN meetings allowed the Vatican, the North American social right and Moslem fundamentalists to work together in an effort to turn back any attempt to guarantee sexual and reproductive rights.

In Beijing, feminist leaders from around the world warned that there were two paths emerging for humanity — corporate globalisation and fundamentalism. They argued that both were devastating for women. Feminist leaders from around the world were calling for a third path, based on equality, democracy and respect for diversity.

Fast-forward seven years, when a worldwide youth movement in the developed world

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has finally made opposition to corporate globalisation visible in the belly of the beast. And, at the World Social Forum (WSF) in Porto Alegre Brazil this February, 60,000 people from all over the world — more than 40 per cent women — met to discuss the alternative agenda that was called for years before by the women's movement. Yet, with all the hope in Porto Alegre, there was little gender analysis during most of the panels.

Even so, it was apparently an improvement. "I thought it was great this year," said Sonia Correa, a prominent Brazilian feminist and DAWN Research Coordinator for Sexual and Reproductive Health and Rights. "Last year, feminists had to mount a formal protest about how male-dominated the panels were. This year, there were women on almost all the panels, and we even had a couple of workshops on abortion. Next year we're going to try for a bigger meeting on reproductive rights."

The global women's movement is a full participant in the "movement of movements" represented at the WSF. Yet discussion of fundamentalism was curiously absent in the hundreds of seminars and workshops. Instead, women were vocal in the corridors of the conference, through demonstrations, theatre pieces and individual testimonials.

I found out about a worldwide campaign called "Speak out against fundamentalism." Big lips were used as the campaign's symbol. I was inspired to see the World March of Women contingent, comprised primarily of Brazilian women. Yet, outside of explicitly feminist groups, the movements at the forum have yet to integrate a gender perspective.

Women in South America are linking the anti-female fundamentalism of the Taliban to the fundamentalism of the Catholic Church and social conservatives, which deny women sexual and reproductive freedom. This provocative approach is a real challenge to the left in South America, which, under pressure from the Catholic Church, tends to ignore the abortion issue.

DAWN's research shows that everywhere in the South, anti-feminist reactionaries draw strength from the opposition to neoliberalism. If the anti-globalisation movement fails to recognise the twin dangers of neoliberalism on the one side and fundamentalism on the other, it will not address the concerns of half of humanity. If the choice were between the Republican Party in the U.S. and Afghanistan's Taliban, as a woman, I would take my chances with the Republicans.



In the Americas, where women's rights have made tremendous gains over the past decades, a ferocious backlash against feminism has accompanied the rise of neoliberalism. As feminists have always argued for stronger social programmes, marginalising and blaming feminism is an important ideological adjunct to neo-liberalism.

In Canada, for example, the National Action Committee on the Status of Women (NAC) — once a powerful social force in the country — has been increasingly marginalised over the last ten years. For an example of this backlash, one only has to look at the unprecedented, ferocious media attack against Sunera Thobani — a former NAC president — when she criticised U.S. foreign policy just after September 11. The vitriol aimed against Thobani was a sign of how dangerous an anti-fundamentalist, anti-neoliberal women's movement, integrated with the anti-globalisation movement, is for the powers that be.

In a statement published after the World Social Forum, DAWN challenged the annual event to take up gender issues. As the women's group says: "A final word to other development NGOs and networks. Unfortunately, there are still far too many at global and other levels whose commitment to gender equality is weak, and whose beliefs and political practice are fraught with patriarchy. But for too long, the tendency among even the more progressive development NGOs is to leave gender equality to be struggled over by women's organisations alone.

It is high time they recognised that women's struggles for gender justice, economic justice and participatory democracy are central and may be key to the energy, strategic thinking and innovative wisdom of this era of globalisation." 🌱



*DAWN identified critical gender gaps and absences in World Social Forum I, outlined in the supplement produced for WSF II. In World Social Forum II women made a stronger impact, particularly through the efforts of Latin American feminists who worked hard to get feminist issues onto the main agenda and feminists into the main debates. DAWN warmly welcomes IBASE Director Cândido Grzybowski's response to these efforts with this honest reflection:*

## Is a more feminine world possible?

This is not really an analysis, it's more a way of expressing my feelings, a testimony. For sure, I can't get rid of "sociological" jargon, forged throughout my 56 well-lived years. But I will try. Perhaps worse than an outlook borrowed from a given social science is the macho lens in which I was trained, or rather, domesticated and educated. Here begins my testimony. We are few, very few, who recognize the relevance of the mental structure, of the ways for reflecting on reality that have been created in our culture by unequal gender relations. They make up our way of being. I'll take the World Social Forum (WSF) as an example for my testimony. It coincides with my most conscious and militant phase as a man who begins to realize the complexity of how gender relations get to shape unequal social structures. Although other men and women don't know my feelings about this, I sense that my role in IBASE leadership and in the WSF Organizing Committee confronts me with a huge internal (intellectual, political, and ethical) challenge: to use my position for enhancing women's presence and perspective in those spaces where I have influence. Look out, this is not easy! The traps set up by the macho culture, our daily bread, are much worse than we think.

Let me start with the most simple aspect: the presence of women in the WSF closing ceremony. I was in charge of the preparation of the event. I'm not talking about style. We had opted for a celebration in diversity, for more emotion than speeches. Judging from what I hear from everyone it was a success. But I want to highlight what perhaps many didn't notice: the effort to involve women in everything. The fumbling moves of a quasi-feminist (male) were evident. There were many women playing different roles in the event. One woman animated the whole celebration. Many women spoke on behalf of different social groups participating in the Forum, women who were not necessarily delegates. After all, women were just 43 percent of the WSF delegates, although they make up over 50 percent of the world population! It's sad to acknowledge, but WSF was still limited in terms of its social female face. No one in the closing ceremony so brilliantly closed by a woman, Lia Itamaracá, can hide this reality.

But many women were in the WSF. They were probably the majority attending the events, even if not all of them were delegates. They also made lots of noise, especially through the Campaign Against all Forms of Fundamentalism. Also in the Female Planet (Planeta Fêmea), where their presence had to be noticed. No doubt, this meant great progress in comparison to WSF 2001. However, much yet remains to be done!!! There is a structural bias that hinders women from exercising leadership roles, starting with us in the Organizing Committee. We thought we were doing it right when we assigned to a woman the leading of the January 30 press conference, prior to the Forum's official opening. But the scene was pathetic: one single woman surrounded by seven men representing the Organizing Committee's entities and movements, and two other men - the state governor and the mayor. This was, in fact, the worst solution. As one woman journalist wisely said: "This is so boring!! It happens everywhere. She's the only woman but she is the one doing all the work!"

In the WSF, I'm learning something fundamental, that will certainly change my role in the Forum and at IBASE. Women are a "minority" created by ourselves within civil society. With respect to that, there is no point in blaming capitalism, neoliberalism, globalization, exclusionary states, etc. This is a major problem that is engendered, developed, and maintained in the culture of civil society itself. In fact, a Jurassic macho culture still finds fertile ground and, like a virus, permeates the entire social fabric, taking us hostage. We must change this culture, turning rights into ethical principles that will become an essential part of all social relations, of man and woman, husband and wife, father and daughter, boss and woman employee. In sum, we need to realize that social structures result from multiple determinations. Beyond doubt, gender relations play an essential role in shaping these determinations, although this is rarely admitted.

"Another world is possible" is the Forum's motto. From women's perspective, the task is much vaster than it looks. Undoubtedly, we are disturbing the dominant thought mode of those who act like they are the unique owners of the truth. However, we should also ask ourselves if we are as well disturbing ourselves, our machismo, our racism, our intolerance? The specificity of the WSF is to establish dialogues within diversity. This gives the Forum its originality and strength to build global citizenships across the planet. But the road is long and has many a hurdle. I hope that women make us yet more radical, by continuing to do what they have been doing: calling our fouls and disturbing us. 🌱

*Translated by Jones de Freitas; edited by Phil Courneyeur*



World Social Forum

# A SPACE OF OUR OWN

*While the World Social Forum International Council met in Barcelona, Spain, 28-30 April 2002, Virginia Vargas reflected on WSF II as the space global civil society has claimed for its own, and the purpose behind it. This is an extract from her article in La República de las Mujeres, Montevideo, Uruguay.*

Wide diversity gave richness and strength to World Social Forum II, while the hopes, ideals and questioning of the diverse social movements about globalisation and the growing process of citizen exclusion nourished an 'alternative globalisation'.

As Souza Santos pointed out so insistently during the Forum in Porto Alegre, Brazil, 31 January - 7 February 2002, the only way to respond to neoliberal globalisation is by creating an 'other' globalisation. WSF I, held in January 2001, and WSF II were connected by the political decision to nourish this 'other' globalisation, linking the efforts of global civil society's search for a democratic alternative to hegemonic and exclusive globalisation. WSF globalised hopes that "another world is possible" and that civil society can build not from isolated ideas but from multiple democratic identities and visions.

The second WSF also brought forth new dynamics and directions. The most significant of these, because of its flexibility and reach, was the statement of principles that included an interpretation of the global context and a transformative approach to globalisation. The declaration describes the WSF not as an event but as a

process, the achievement of which is a collective involvement of networks, coalitions, campaigns, alliances and movements that represent a presence in and ability to forward debates in a global space. It is the building of a diverse, plural, non-governmental, non-denominational, decentralised, movement-oriented global space. At a time when the crisis of global capitalist legitimacy is being expressed in many ways, not only affecting people's lives but also the actual survival of states (as in Argentina's case), the WSF is opening new places for a multitude of national and regional initiatives.

Nourishing this collective will, WSF II has also brought in a new format through which to understand different ideas from an organic perspective involving the knowledge and skills of global networks, rather than from the perspective of certain personalities. Four

themes - Wealth and Social Reproduction; Access to Wealth and Sustainability; Affirmation of Civil Society and Public Spaces; and Political and Ethical Power in the New Society have been developed by social movements whose ideals and actions fit within the ample parameters.

A particularly important event was the Diversity Roundtable within the Affirmation of Civil Society and Public Spaces theme held by the Marcosur Feminist Articulation. Lilian Celiberti was able to include multi-racial, pluralistic and sexual organisations that are profoundly affected by exclusion, such as the Afro-Latin-Caribbean movement, the movements for homosexual and other sexual minorities, and the Human Rights Campaign for Untouchables in India, which were able to place at centre stage issues of intolerance and the deceptive 'exclusive universality'.

More than 3000 people coming from 48 countries participated in panels. There were 51,000 people, 57% of whom were men and 43% women, and another 15,320 delegates from 131 countries, representing 5000 organisations, plus 15,000 young people gathered for the dynamic and creative Youth Camp. Approximately 1000 workshops, 24 seminars, and daily sessions of testimonies, marches and demonstrations helped exchange knowledge and express the multiple aims of the social movements.

Women used this opportunity to become more organised and visible, as in the Campaign Against Fundamentalism organised by the Marcosur Feminist Articulation, the Campaign September 28th that supports legalising abortion, the Women in Black which gathered feminists from the Middle East and the former Yugoslavia who have been fighting constantly and tirelessly for peace, as well as the World Women's March, and regional initiatives and networks such as the Feminist Initiative of Cartagena and REPEM. Feminism also mainstreamed in several panels and workshops on trade, financing for development, global reforms, migration, peace and much more..

There wasn't, as in the previous year, a direct

*To next page*

DAWN INFORMS



## DAWN Campaign Support

*In April DAWN added its voice to the growing volume of concern about the situation in Palestine. The following letter, DAWN's second, was sent to the UN Secretary General Kofi Annan, United States President George Bush, US Secretary of State Colin Powell, UK Prime Minister Tony Blair, the European Parliament, and Israel leader Ariel Sharon, the Attorney-General Elyakim Rubinstein, and Foreign Affairs Minister Shimon Peres.*

"Development Alternatives with Women for a New Era (DAWN) is an international network that encompasses Anglophone Africa, Francophone Africa, the Caribbean, Latin America, the Pacific, South Asia and South East Asia.

We too are horrified at the Israeli incursion into and occupation of the West Bank, the excessive use of force and the ensuing destruction and loss of lives, the breaches of international law, and the sheer denial of any humanitarian treatment of the Palestinians.

We welcome the agreement that a United Nations fact-finding mission will be sent to Jenin and that the Government of Israel has assured its cooperation and ask that this mission be undertaken urgently and comprehensively.

We add our voices to those in the international community who have condemned this State-sponsored terrorism and called for:

- the immediate and total withdrawal of the Israeli military from the West Bank, including the lifting of its siege of President Arafat's compound in Ramallah and the Church of the Nativity in Bethlehem,
- the urgent provision of water, food, medicines, clothing and shelter, the reconnection of electricity, water and telecommunications services, and all necessary assistance with making good the damage done,
- the release of all who, in contravention of the rule of law, have been arrested on merest suspicion owing to their ethnicity, gender and age,
- the urgent deployment of a multinational peacekeeping force with sufficient resources and mandate to enforce the peace,
- the resumption of negotiations between the Government of Israel and the Palestinian Authority with the full participation of President Arafat until a permanent and peaceful solution is agreed.

We ask this out of our common humanity and need for peace.

*From previous page*

confrontation with the World Economic Forum; but UN Secretary General Kofi Annan explicitly referred to the grave issues of exclusion and economic justice raised by the Forum. However, as long as declarations and recommendations of UN conferences are not linked together and are not made binding on states or the great multilateral and bilateral agencies, they will be just gestures even if politically significant. Several world leaders preferred to be present at the Forum, including the UN Human Rights High Commissioner Mary Robinson, former president of Portugal Mario Soares, ILO Secretary General Juan Somavia, and ECLAC Secretary General José Antonio Ocampo (on behalf of Kofi Annan). It is yet to be seen how the presence of these people will impact on democratising dynamics of the United Nations and on the UN's capacity to control the up-to-now uncontrollable power of transnational companies and Bretton Woods institutions. 🌱

### Some of the other campaigns DAWN supported:

- ◆ Querying the design of the Global Compact and seeking openness and information on who is involved and its effectiveness on corporate responsibility and accountability.
- ◆ Asking the Holy See to take the opportunity of the UN Special Session on Children to show the world that it is taking seriously the sexual abuse and exploitation of children by Roman Catholic clergy and is committed to correcting such failures.
- ◆ Welcoming the successful appeal of Safiya Hussein against a death sentence by stoning and asking the Nigerian Government to reprieve Ameneh Lava, also sentenced to stoning for adultery under Sharia law.
- ◆ Supporting the Assembly of Indigenous and Tribal Peoples in Thailand in their struggle for the rights of local communities to participate in the management of their natural resources; and for Thai citizenship and residential rights for tribal and indigenous peoples in Northern Thailand.
- ◆ Seeking a strong United Nations that holds commercial interests subservient to human rights. 🌱



## WOMEN'S AGENCY FOR GENDER JUSTICE: EXPERIENCES OF AFRICAN WOMEN

by Bene E. Madunagu,

DAWN Anglophone Africa Regional Coordinator, and available in full on the DAWN website, [www.dawn.org/publications/docs/beneneveva.doc](http://www.dawn.org/publications/docs/beneneveva.doc)



### Globalisation and Gender: women and social structures in Africa

Since colonial times, African political and socio-economic structures have been built on the exclusion of women from the public sphere and the African family system provides the framework for male dominance and discriminating gender roles. Even legal systems, while recognising human rights, sanction male leadership.

Women in the traditional African context live and work on multiple levels of domestic activity, caring for male family members. These domestic engagements leave women no room for recreation or vacation, with serious implications for their health and status.

Male control of women's sexuality is seen as culturally normal and is further reinforced by religion. The free-market global capitalism and the policies of privatisation, deregulation, trade and financial liberalisation that foster globalisation have led to massive retrenchments. These retrenched workers have fallen back on families for social protection. Women and girls largely bear the burden of sustaining such families. It also means that women come under greater family and community control, and with increased control comes greater gender-based violence.

Globalisation reduces the capacity of the state to provide social services on account of the high costs of these services - the latter resulting from economic liberalisation and privatisation. This has serious implications on the sexual and reproductive health and rights of women and girls.

When the State abandons its functions of providing social services, religious and quasi-religious institutions step in. In some situations, the ascendancy

of religion has been seen to have serious adverse effects. It places greater control on women and constitutes a sell-out of women's health and rights. It is even alleged that in some African communities, religious organisations go into shops to buy out condoms and burn them. This is said to be happening where the HIV/AIDS pandemic is taking its highest toll on women.

✦ *At a workshop in Calabar, Nigeria, early in 2001, participants were asked to describe the term 'globalisation.' All responses conveyed the feeling of irresistibility, something ordained by divine inspiration, something invincible, inevitable and unstoppable. Many ordinary people assume that globalisation refers to what they understand by the global village, to the ages-long communal life of traditional African families. At the end of discussions on the politics that sustain globalisation, there was a turnaround: an understanding of the realities of their lives as against the slogans of globalisation.* ✦

women at risk of sexually transmitted infections including HIV/AIDS.

As poverty deepens as a result of policies that sustain globalisation, the phenomenon of female sexual exploitation for material and financial returns has also increased. Furthermore, increasing unemployment and underemployment occasioned by globalisation has led to movements of cheap labour across borders, leading in turn to increasing sex trade and hence increasing risks of HIV/AIDS infection.

Free trade, a strong conditionality of globalisation, brought the dumping of weapons in Africa, providing the tools for settling communal and ethnic conflicts by going to war. The large number of displaced people and refugees resulting from such conflict situations are mostly women and children. This again is another reason for the increased spread of HIV/AIDS in Africa, as girls and women get raped by both warriors and peace-keeping forces.



## Gender, globalisation and women's employment

The internalised notion in most African communities is that the primary function of African women is human reproduction and domestic responsibilities, while men are the income earners, even where the relative contribution of women to the labour force and hence to the family income has increased markedly. But while it is argued that globalisation has encouraged women's participation in the market economy by creating new job opportunities, in poor rural communities in Africa there are structural barriers to women's access to education, so they lack the training and skills for employment that could raise their status.

Women also lack access to land and other productive resources and must remain largely peasant farmers on land they do not own, producing for household needs. They have no access to fertiliser as the distribution is controlled by macro-economic policies aligned with WTO agreements on agriculture. Hence, globalisation deprives women of access to modern techniques in agriculture and continues to limit them to subsistence farming, while men have access to fertiliser to produce cash crops for export. More and more women are leaving overworked lands to buy harvested crops from other communities to re-sell. This process releases many women from the household that tradition regards as women's sector and many become the major income-earner in poorer households.

Up to 80% of women, particularly in West Africa, combine paid employment with trading and are competing with men in the informal sector of petty-trading. Here again, women have been the agents of change in providing household and community sustenance, becoming more involved in different forms of income-earning and less dependent on male partners, often providing the major income. The response of the World Bank to poverty in Africa has been to provide micro-credit to women through government poverty-alleviation programmes —

✕ *Many African states have passed through different phases of economic restructuring programmes. From the 1970s to the mid-1980s, many of the African states adopted import-substitution and export-oriented production programmes. From the late 1980s, many of these countries opened their doors to the machinations of the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and therefore started the implementation of structural adjustment programmes (SAPs). From the early 1990s they started endorsing trade liberalisation. This led to the breakdown of trade barriers, turning these countries into dumping grounds for all sorts of foreign goods. Local industries could no longer compete with the "globalised" multinational companies, most of them became distressed and folded up; victims include millions of workers - the first to be affected are women.* ✕

another dimension of gender discrimination and marginalisation. If society is now convinced about the capabilities of women as good managers and is willing to trust them with loans, why should they be limited to micro credits? Who controls the macro credits?

## The gains of globalisation

There is a persistent lack of gender analysis in government policies and failure to analyse the likely impacts of policy implementation and changes in public expenditure on women. For instance, prior to the introduction of Structural Adjustment Policies (SAPs), most African countries' health services for school children, maternity health services and family planning services were free for women and low-income groups. With the removal of subsidies from social services, as a SAP condition, free social benefits have gone and with them the

conditions that support the physical and mental health needs of women. The advent of the new forms of globalisation further compounded the situation with the introduction of privatisation.

Even where more women entering the labour market is seen as a gain of globalisation, it can be questioned whether more women would be in paid employment anyway, given their increasing educational advancement as an aspect of social development. And how gainful are these gains in the light of the jobs available to women? How much have service-level gender-stereotypical jobs increased women's economic status, particularly in the context of high expenditure occasioned by inflation, currency devaluation and privatisation?

Other gains of globalisation are seen in the opportunities that women and girls have to travel beyond local, regional and international boundaries. Many of these travellers are poor, with little or no education or legal literacy and are vulnerable as cheap labour in the globalised world. How can travelling of unskilled persons become gains when their labour gets exploited and their bodies violated? Yes, there are gains but we also need the gender lens to examine the gains more closely. 🌿



# SAFIYA AND THE BRAZIL CONNECTION

*Magaly Pazello, of DAWN Brazil who is based in IBASE, Rio de Janeiro, wrote an article in late March about the connections between a Nigerian woman sentenced to death, pressure against a further term for the UN High Commissioner for Human Rights, and the 'sacking' of the Brazilian diplomat Mauricio Bustani. Here are some extracts from the document that can be found on [www.dawn.org/fj/publications/](http://www.dawn.org/fj/publications/)*

What could possibly be the connection between recent news stories about a Nigerian woman sentenced to death by stoning; strong pressure from the United States against the reappointment of Mary Robinson as the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights; and the removal of Brazilian diplomat Mauricio Bustani from OPAQ, the United Nations Commission that controls chemical weapons inspections?

The three news items actually expose serious contradictions at play in global politics relating to human rights and in the atmosphere of the United Nations after the terrorist attacks in the USA on 11 September 2001.

Safiya Hussaini was accused of having sexual relationships outside of marriage, and her one-year-old girl baby was considered proof. The accusation was based on the Islamic code of Sharia, which prescribes the death sentence for women found guilty of adultery. Men who commit adultery, however, are apparently not penalised if they publicly repent the act.

Intense international pressure was brought to bear on Nigeria to save Safiya's life. For instance, the Brazilian government not only called for the suspension of Safiya's sentence but went as far as offering her political asylum based on grounds of gender violence. The international support strengthened the legal arguments and her conviction and sentence were overturned on appeal.

Religious fundamentalism in its various forms systematically restrains people's rights to sexual and reproductive self-determination, particularly when women's lives and bodies are involved. In this highly controversial area, UN Human Rights High Commissioner Mary Robinson has frequently played a critical role in reminding governments and others that human rights include sexual and reproductive rights. Since last year the High

Commissioner's stance on sexual and reproductive self-determination has clashed with the anti-choice (anti-abortion) position of the new US administration.

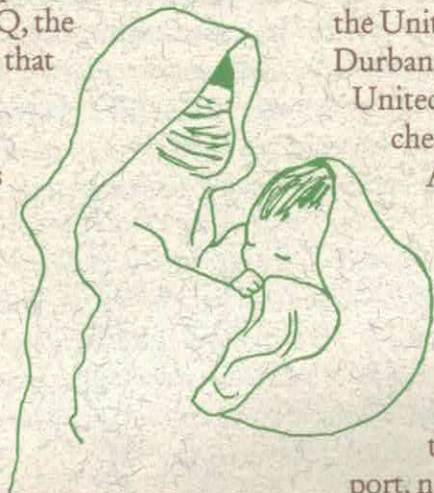
In April 2001 the USA was voted out of the Human Rights Commission that she heads, although it contrived a return this past April. She also chaired the United Nations Conference against Racism in Durban, South Africa, in August 2001, which the United States decided to abandon; she also checked conditions under which America's Afghan prisoners are being kept, and has confronted other members of the UN Security Council, for instance criticising Russia for cruel treatment of rebels in Chechnya.

As a result, for Mary Robinson to retain the post of High Commissioner for the next three years she needs strong support, not just from human rights and women's organisations but also from the European Union and countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America. This has not happened. (DAWN has sent her a letter of support.)

Meanwhile the US appears to be doing its best to further divide what may remain of any strong commitments to human rights South of the Equator. And here is the unexpected connection with Brazil.

An ultimately successful American call for the removal of Brazil's Ambassador Bustani from OPAQ is seen as a result of his resistance to doing what the United States wants. One of the 48 votes against him (to 46 abstentions) came from Kiribati, a member that never shows up in OPAQ. The Brazilian media has hinted at manipulation by US chequebook diplomacy.

On the surface the Americans had accused the Brazilian diplomat of financial mismanagement, but the core of the conflict is believed to lie in US disagreements with the diplomatic approach adopted by Bustani to deal with Iraq. OPAQ is responsible for the inspection of chemical weapons and has been negotiating with Iraq about the membership of a mission to check its compliance. If the





## WOMEN'S GROUPS WELCOME THE NEW INTERNATIONAL CRIMINAL COURT A NEW ERA OF ACCOUNTABILITY FOR CRIMES AGAINST WOMEN

*From the Women's Caucus for Gender Justice through the IWTC Women's Globalnet*


The number of ratifications necessary to bring the Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court into force was passed on 11 April 2002. Women's groups have applauded this historic development as the Rome Statute codifies crimes of sexual and gender violence, which had historically not been addressed in humanitarian law.

The Women's Caucus for Gender Justice was formed in 1997 to advocate for gender mainstreaming in the negotiations. As a result, rape, sexual slavery, enforced prostitution, forced pregnancy, enforced sterilization and sexual violence were included in the Rome Statute as war crimes and crimes against humanity. Prior codifications of humanitarian law, e.g. the Geneva and Hague Conventions, had failed to fully address this range of crimes and recognize them as among grave violations. In addition, trafficking and gender-based persecution were included as crimes against humanity. The statute also contains progressive provisions relating to the participation and protection of victims and witnesses in the process, and women in the Court as judges, prosecutors and staff.

The Rome Statute will enter into force on 1 July 2002 at which time the Court's jurisdiction will take effect. It is anticipated that the first meeting of the Assembly of States Parties will convene in September 2002.

There are already serious threats to the independence, impartiality and effectiveness of the new Court. A major stumbling block is the fact that the US has not ratified the Rome Statute and may even 'unsign' the treaty - something that has never been done before. Currently, there are two laws in effect in the US which prohibit any support or assistance to the future Court as well as the ongoing process toward its establishment. The US hostility towards the Court stems largely from the fact that the ICC will not be dependent on the UN Security Council for cases that can come before it and the US was not successful in achieving exemptions for U.S. nationals.

*Non-governmental organizations and civil society present during the negotiations for the International Criminal Court at the United Nations are part of the Coalition for the International Criminal Court, an international network of individuals and organizations from all over the world which was formed in 1995. For information on CICC, contact: Adele Waugaman, Communications and Development Associate, c/o WFM, 777 United Nations Plaza, New York, NY 10017. Tel: (1-212) 687-2863 ext. 17. Fax: (1-212) 599-1332. E-mail: <ciccmelia@iccnw.org>. Web: <<http://www.iccnw.org>>*


*For further information on the Women's Caucus for Gender Justice, contact: Pam Spees, Women's Caucus for Gender Justice, 33-53 Vernon Blvd, Ste 1. Long Island City, NY 11106. USA. Tel: (1-718) 626-2681. Fax: (1-718) 626-3528. Web: <http://www.iccwomen.org>. Email: [caucus@iccwomen.org](mailto:caucus@iccwomen.org)* 

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Bush administration got rid of Bustani, it could use the impasse on the inspection mission membership to better move forward their own agenda to carry the war against terrorism into Iraq. And they especially want to avoid an OPAQ inspection on US territory.

According to the Brazilian media, information circulating amongst diplomats suggests that the US has been crafting a smart trade-off to get rid of Bustani by offering Brazil Mary Robinson's post as

compensation. The potential candidate is Sérgio Vieira de Mello, whose assignment as the Timor UNCTAED administrator is ending.

Getting back to Safiya, the suspension of her death penalty is a striking example of how a strong human rights platform — to which Ms. Robinson has greatly contributed — can have an effective impact on nations and save women's lives. But the Bustani-Robinson trade-off proposal suggests that this favorable situation may change. 



## From Rio to Johannesburg: What's Good for Women is Good for the World

by Danielle Nierenberg, of the WorldWatch Institute. For more information, look at the web site, <<http://www.worldwatch.org/bios/nierenberg.html>>

Throughout the 1990s, several major United Nations conferences stressed the importance of including women in sustainable development. But despite these commitments on paper, there has been far too little action. True and meaningful equity between women and men will take much more than inserting a paragraph here and there in the documents issued at a United Nations convention or in national laws. Gender myopia - or blindness to women's issues - still distorts environmental, economic, and health policies. Today, a full decade after the United Nations Conference on Environment and Development in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, governments, development agencies, and even some NGOs remain resolutely patriarchal. Despite the widespread belief that women "have come a long way" in achieving improved social and economic status, they continue to face many of the same obstacles they did ten years ago. And in some cases, these problems have become even more formidable.

At the Rio Earth Summit in 1992, women came together as never before and presented their vision of a world in which all women are educated, free from violence, and able to make their own reproductive choices. As a result

of this mobilization, the Rio Declaration and Agenda 21 called for women's full participation in sustainable development and improvement in their status in all levels of society.

**T**hese statistics are reported by the United Nations and other health and environment organizations:

- More than 350 million women worldwide lack any access to family planning services.
- Over 500,000 women die each year from complications during pregnancy and childbirth.
- Population growth is still rapid in the world's 48 least developed nations - roughly 80 million people are added to the planet each year. Many of them are born in places where lack of infrastructure and public services shorten the lives of both the young and old.
- The largest generation of young people in human history - 1.7 billion people aged 10 to 24 - are about to enter their reproductive years. This wave of youth is occurring at the same time that international funding, especially from the United States, for family planning and contraceptives has been cut. As a result, many of the world's young are left without guidance and the tools to protect themselves from unwanted pregnancies, violent relationships, and sexually transmitted diseases.
- In most of the developing world, the majority of new HIV/AIDS infections occur in young people, with young women especially vulnerable. In sub-Saharan Africa, where AIDS is spreading faster than anywhere else on the planet, women account for 55 percent of all new cases of HIV. Most of these women lack the sexual autonomy to refuse sex or to demand that their "partners" use condoms. *To next page*

The work that began at the Earth Summit did not end in Rio. Because of the efforts made by women's NGOs there, women's health and human rights have made their way into the international agenda. Rio's Agenda 21 set the stage for the International Conference on Population and Development (ICPD) in Cairo, Egypt in 1994. The Cairo Programme of Action reaffirmed women's rights.

The World Summit on Sustainable Development in South Africa is an opportunity for world leaders to eliminate inequities (see box) by recognizing that what is good for women is good for the world. In addition to enhancing human rights, improving women's lives has a whole range of side benefits - from lower population growth and reduced child mortality to better management of natural resources and healthier economies. For real change on gender and population to take place, nations should take the following steps:

- ◆ Meet or beat the goals set out at Cairo and remove barriers to comprehensive and reproductive health care at the national level. At Cairo, governments agreed to spend \$17 billion a year (in 1993 dollars) by 2000 to achieve universal access to basic reproductive health services



for all by 2015. Ironically, the world's poorest nations are closer to meeting the goals of Cairo than the world's wealthy countries - spending close to 70 percent of their committed levels. Wealthy nations, in contrast, have yet to reach even 40 percent of their Cairo commitment.

- ◆ Lobby the United States to remove the barriers to funding for international family planning. The global gag rule, which prohibits U.S. funding to international agencies that even talk about abortion with their clients, should be immediately rescinded by President Bush. The administration should also deliver on its promise of \$34 million in funding for the United Nations Population Fund.

- ◆ Increase the number of women holding public office. The Women's Environment and Development Organisation (WEDO) and other groups have called for 50/50 representation at all levels - from local village councils to the highest offices in national parliaments. In South Africa - where a quota system was initiated in 2000 - women are steadily making their way into seats in the National Assembly and now hold 8 of the 29 cabinet positions.

- ◆ Remove obstacles that prevent girls from going to and staying in school. Study after study shows that girls with more years of education not only have fewer children, but their health and the health of the children they do have is much better. In Egypt, only 5 percent of women who stayed in school past the primary level had children while still in their teens, while over half of women without schooling became teenage mothers.

- ◆ Educate men and boys about the importance of gender equity and shared responsibility. Stereotypes

and cultural expectations about masculinity prevent many men from taking responsibility for reproductive health and childcare. Some feel threatened by women's independence and express their manhood through violence or withholding money from their families. As men's roles change, the effort to include them in family planning and reproductive health is gaining momentum. In Nicaragua, workshops for unlearning machismo and improving communication

skills have led to less domestic violence. And in Mali, male volunteers have been trained to provide information about reproductive health and family planning and distribute contraceptives.

- ◆ Increase youth awareness about reproductive health issues, including HIV/AIDS and other sexually transmitted diseases. In places like Uganda and Senegal, government commitment to AIDS education at both the national and village level has helped bring the epidemic in those nations under control. In Mexico, peer counseling programs allow young people to talk to and be educated by their peers about sexual health, improving communication between generations about sexuality and family planning.

- ◆ Enact and enforce strong laws that protect women from violence. Many national laws entrap women in violent relationships or make it impossible to prosecute men for beatings, rape, and other forms of abuse.

Some countries - Mexico and the Philippines, for instance - have revised their rape laws, making the act a "crime against one's freedom." In Belize and Malaysia, laws and penal codes have been reformed to criminalize domestic violence. 🌿

*From previous page*

- Gender based violence takes many forms and plagues girls and women throughout their lives. One in three women worldwide has been beaten, coerced into sex, or otherwise abused in her lifetime. An estimated sixty million girls are considered "missing" in China and India because of sex-selective abortions, female infanticide, and neglect. More than 2 million women undergo female genital mutilation each year, which leads to a lifetime of suffering and psychological trauma.

- Despite advances in education for both girls and boys, two thirds of the world's 876 million illiterate people are female. In 22 African and nine Asian nations, school enrollment for girls is less than 80 percent that for boys, and only about half of girls in the least developed nations stay in school after grade 4.

- In most parts of the world, single-mother households are home to a disproportionate number of the children living in poverty.

- Globally women earn on average two thirds to three fourths as much as men for the same work. In addition, women perform most of the invisible work - housekeeping, cooking, collecting firewood and water, childcare, gardening - that sustains households from day to day. Most official economic accounting measures do not account for the value of invisible work. If these services were "counted," they would be valued at about one-third of the world's economic production.

- Women are vastly underrepresented in all levels of government and in international institutions. In 2000, women held only 14 percent of seats in parliaments worldwide.



# FOLLOWING UP ON FfD

*From John W. Foster of the North-South Institute/Social Watch - Canada, who was an NGO representative at the fifth high-level session. It was the first to include civil society organisations and business representatives as participants in its roundtables, four from each sector. NGO participation in the informal sessions was sought by the organisers of the FfD Global Forum with the support of the International Support Committee who are continuing to function in an ad hoc manner post-Monterrey. Participants were given about three minutes each to make statements in roundtable discussions. John Foster spoke about process, substance and governance.*

Following up FfD

Despite positive experiences in roundtables at Monterrey, a number of NGOs have expressed concern that there was little evidence of their comments, proposals and critiques in the written record of their sessions. If participation is to be at all meaningful, there needs to be some concrete evidence that contributions were noted, whether or not they were accepted or implemented. Although many speakers have been celebratory about the results of Monterrey and the 'consensus', for participants in the Global NGO Forum and many of the NGOs at the FfD Conference, this was not a consensus which included them. It had many limitations and disappointments.

## Areas of concern:

There is a fundamental contradiction between the repeated rhetoric of 'domestic ownership' of development and the continuing removal of large areas of public policy from domestic democratic control by actions of the WTO and the Bretton Woods Institutions.

New pledges of resources are more than welcome, but with them has come a new round of complicating conditionalities often moralistically couched.

Considerable attention is being given to the issue of monitoring progress on implementation of Millennium Development Goals and the Monterrey Consensus. NGO networks have considerable experience in monitoring state compliance with international commitments and obligations. Women's, environmental, and labour groups have much to contribute.

The United Nations must be at the core of the ongoing process. NGOs have a considerable investment in and affection for the normative

So where does the road from Monterrey lead? There are a few paths, by no means exclusive to each other.

One is to pursue, with vigour and rigour, proposals that are still on the table that are worth promoting, such as the campaign around the currency transaction tax.

Second is to monitor the fresh aid commitments, particularly from the US and EU, to try to make sure that these countries, at the minimum, deliver what they promised.

Third, and most importantly, is to consolidate a national FfD agenda.

*Ma. Victoria Raquiza, Philippine Rural Reconstruction Movement.*

frameworks that have been developed through the history of the UN, particularly through human rights treaties and agreements, including those dealing with gender and labour conventions. These frameworks provide the starting point for monitoring and measuring progress.

There are also conflicts between human rights obligations and elements in the trade and investment agenda, for example the conflict between the right to health and the TRIPS regime, in the case of access to essential

medicines in the HIV/AIDS pandemic. Some progress has been made but much remains to be done and the question is urgent.

ECOSOC can be a place where the normative frameworks become frameworks for evaluation of progress and social and economic objectives and policy directions can be brought together. NGOs are prepared to work with the ECOSOC to strengthen its capacity to do so. The Monterrey consensus and speakers have made reference to enhancing the participation of developing countries in the Bretton Woods Institutions, the WTO and other bodies, but many statements are vague and lacking specifics. Changes need to be and can be made in the operation of these institutions. For example we cannot continue with the situation in which women are hardly represented in the governing bodies and management of these major institutions.

But change has to go beyond these steps and may involve change in mandates and in the relationship of these institutions. It may mean ideas like those already raised for something like an Economic and Social Security Council, bringing economic policies fully into the service of social priorities. 🌱



# Poverty Eradication and Disaster Mitigation

From Anne Walker, IWTC Women's GlobalNet

The CSW met in New York from March 4-15, 2002 and adopted draft resolutions on its two themes for the session — incorporating the gender perspective in the mitigation of natural disasters; and the eradication of poverty, including through women's empowerment. The Commission also adopted without vote a draft resolution on women and children hostages in armed conflicts. It was unable to complete the remainder of its work, the adoption of a draft resolution on women and girls in Afghanistan, by the 6pm meeting deadline recently set by the Secretariat.

On environmental management and the mitigation of natural disasters, the CSW recognised that women played a vital role in disaster reduction, response and recovery and in natural resources management, and that some women faced particular vulnerabilities during disaster situations.

Recalling that the 1995 Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action recognised that environmental degradation and disasters often have a more direct impact on women, the Commission invited governments, the United Nations system, civil society and the private sector to take action on 22 issues to accelerate implementation of strategic objectives to address the needs of all women, such as: To pursue gender equality and gender-sensitive environmental management and disaster reduction, response and recovery as an integral part of sustainable development.

Global actors were further urged to develop and implement gender sensitive laws, policies and programmes, including on land-use, environmental management and integrated water resources management, to provide opportunities to prevent and mitigate damage; and to include, at the design stage of all relevant development programmes and projects, gender analysis and methods of mapping hazards and vulnerabilities in order to improve the effectiveness of disaster risk management, involving women and men equally.

On the eradication of poverty, the CSW recognised that globalisation had left many women marginalised and deprived of basic social protections, so special attention must be given to women and children who often bore the greatest burden of extreme poverty. It

affirmed gender equality and women's empowerment as important strategies to eradicate poverty. Governments and relevant UN funds and programmes, civil society, international financial institutions, and the private sector were urged to take action to accelerate implementation of strategic objectives to address the needs of all women. Those actions included taking all appropriate measures to address obstacles to the empowerment of women and to the full enjoyment of their human rights and fundamental freedoms throughout their life cycle, with a view to eradicating poverty. Global actors and other stakeholders were further urged to ensure that both women and men are involved in decision-making, political agenda-setting and in allocation of resources.

Further, the Commission urged governments and relevant UN funds and programmes, civil society, international financial institutions, and the private sector to undertake socio-economic policies that promote sustainable development and support and ensure

poverty eradication programmes — especially for women — by providing, among other things, skill training, equal access to and control over resources, credit including micro-credit, information and technology, and equal access to markets to benefit women of all ages, in particular those living in poverty and marginalised women, including rural women, indigenous women and female-headed households.

In a final resolution, the CSW requested that ECOSOC condemn violent acts in contravention of international humanitarian law against civilian populations and called for an effective response to such acts, in particular, the immediate release of women and children taken hostage or subsequently imprisoned. ECOSOC was also requested to condemn the consequences of hostage-taking, in particular torture and other cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment, as well as rape, slavery and trafficking in women and children for the purpose of their sexual exploitation, forced labour or services.

For the full text of the Agreed Conclusions, go to the web-site of the Division for the Advancement of Women at <http://www.un.org/womenwatch/daw/csw/46sess.htm>





# SQUEEZING THE POOR —

**Maybe Castro's right. Maybe that's all globalisation really is about.**

*Extracts from an article by William E. Rees, professor at the University of British Columbia.*

On April 12, the Council of Canadians released a leaked copy of the G8 environment ministers' proposed final statement on the World Summit on Sustainable Development to be held in Johannesburg in September. Not surprisingly, the environment ministers from the eight leading industrialised countries will again support the corporate trade agenda of the WTO, this time by linking globalisation to the ever-elusive concept of 'sustainable development.'

As the leaked document proclaims, "(the WSSD) should be a point of convergence for the positive outcomes achieved at the Millennium Summit in New York, World Trade Organisation negotiations in Doha and (the) Financing for Development Conference in Monterrey."

But the G8 Ministers can hardly view all the outcomes of these meetings as positive.

For example, Cuban President Fidel Castro informed the UN's March 2002 conference in Monterrey, Mexico, that "the existing world economic order constitutes a system of plundering and exploitation like no other in history" - not exactly a ringing endorsement of globalisation-as-sustainable-development. He then stormed from the meeting, lingering barely long enough to enjoy a standing ovation.

It would be easy to dismiss Castro's antics as just another loser's rant.

But what about that standing ovation? Castro's words must have resonated with some of the delegates. The fact is there is more than a little evidence that Castro had a point. The question is, why has most of the developed world ignored the evidence for so long?

The answer is that over the past 25 years, the governments of market democracies, abetted by the mainstream media, have all but programmed their citizens to ignore it.

All major national governments and mainstream international agencies are united in a vision of global

development and poverty alleviation centred on unlimited economic expansion fuelled by open markets and more liberalised trade.

For the first time, the world seems to be converging on a common development ideology, one that promises ever-increasing wealth for everyone, everywhere.

Constant repetition of the myth has so conditioned the population that the majority seems incapable of applying basic rules of evidence to the growing cascade of data. Meanwhile, living the myth is depleting the world's ecosystems, rending our social fabric and ultimately undermining world security.

The structure of the real-world global financial system ensures that the benefits of global growth accrue mainly to the already wealthy, those who designed and promote the globalisation agenda and who mostly live in the G8 nations.

The data cannot be readily dismissed: for example, in the 1960s 'only' three dollars flowed North for every dollar flowing South. By the late 1990s, after 30 years of unprecedented growth and increasing globalisation, the ratio had grown to seven to one.

Is it possible the conventional myth merely serves as a cover for a hidden parallel agenda?

A US presidential policy advisor, George F. Kennan, gave these views in 1948 that seem coldly resonant today: "We have about 50 per cent of the world's wealth, but only six per cent of its population. In this situation we cannot fail to be the object of envy and resentment. Our real task is to maintain this position of disparity without detriment to our national security. We should cease to talk about vague and unrea objectives such as human rights, the raising of living standards and democratisation. The day is not far off when we are going to have to deal in straight power concepts." Perhaps we should keep this in mind as Canada prepares to host the G8 meeting in Kananaskis in June. 🌱

A publication by the Population Reference Bureau on women, men and environment was used by women ministers of the environment from 36 countries in an unprecedented meeting in preparation for the World Summit on Sustainable Development hosted in Finland by the Minister for Environment, the World Conservation Union, and the Council for Women Leaders from Harvard University in March. "Women, Men and Environmental Change: The Gender Dimensions of Environmental Policies and Programs" is the second in a series on emerging policy issues in population, health and environment. It examines the gender dimensions of environmental policies and programmes, highlighting how gender differences play a part in natural resource use. For more information, [PHE@prb.org](mailto:PHE@prb.org) or [www.prb.org](http://www.prb.org)



Passed at the United Nations Commission on Human Rights:

## Resolutions on the human rights of women

From Lisa Clarke, Center for Women's Global Leadership, Douglas College, Rutgers, through Anne Walker.

**T**he 58<sup>th</sup> session of the UN Commission on Human Rights adopted a number of resolutions specifically on the human rights of women.

In a resolution on integrating the human rights of women throughout the United Nations system, adopted without a vote, the Commission emphasised that the goal of mainstreaming a gender perspective was to achieve gender equality and that this included ensuring that all United Nations activities integrated the human rights of women.

It recognised the importance of examining the intersection of multiple forms of discrimination, including their root causes from a gender perspective, and their impact on the advancement of women and the enjoyment by women of their human rights in order to develop and implement strategies, policies and programmes aimed at the elimination of all forms of discrimination against women.

It also recognised the important role of women in the prevention and resolution of conflicts and in peacebuilding, and the importance of their equal participation and full involvement in all efforts for the maintenance and promotion of peace and security.


In a resolution on traffic in women and girls, adopted by consensus, the commission urged governments as well as donors, the Office of the UN High Commissioner for Human Rights, and international, regional and non-governmental organisations to consider the need for comprehensive anti-trafficking strategies, greater allocation of resources and better coordination of programmes and

activities in tackling the problem of trafficking in persons, particularly women and girls.

It urged governments to take appropriate measures to address the root factors that encouraged trafficking in women and children, in particular girls, for prostitution and other forms of commercialised sex, forced marriages and forced labour. It called on governments to criminalise trafficking in women and children and to penalise traffickers and intermediaries, while giving protection and help to the victims.

In a resolution on the elimination of violence against women, adopted without a vote, the Commission strongly condemned all acts of violence against women and girls. In accordance with the Declaration on the Elimination of Violence against Women, the Commission called for the elimination of all forms of gender-based violence in the family, in the general community, and where perpetrated or condoned by the State.

The resolution stressed that States had an affirmative duty to promote and protect the human rights of women and had to exercise due diligence to prevent, investigate and punish acts of violence against women.

The Commission urged states to provide gender-sensitive training as appropriate to those involved in peacekeeping missions in their dealing with victims, particularly women and girls, of violence, including sexual violence.  <http://www.unhcr.ch/>

### NOTES FROM THE SECRETARIAT

- On 22 March, DAWN emailed a message of support and appreciation to Mary Robinson, UN High Commissioner for Human Rights.
- The DAWN video *Marketisation of Governance* was shown at the 4<sup>th</sup> Women's Festival in Seoul, April 4-12, organised by the Feminist Artist Network, an organization of professionals working in the field of art and culture and sharing a feminist point of view. Under the direction of DAWN Francophone Africa Regional Coordinator, Fatou Sow, a French translation of the book, *Marketisation of Governance*, has been completed and the publication is forthcoming.
- In April, DAWN was pleased to grant the permission sought by Meghan McCleary, Deputy Director of Women & Philanthropy, which works with the philanthropic community to promote gender equity, to quote the DAWN Mission Statement to close the video celebrating their 25<sup>th</sup> anniversary.
- A DAWN Research Coordinators' Meeting and an interim mini Steering Committee Meeting were held in New York, April 26 - 28. The full Steering Committee Meeting is proposed to be held 5 -12 September.
- On 9 May, DAWN wrote to congratulate HE Ms Mignonette Patricia Durrant, Permanent Representative of Jamaica at the UN on her appointment as the UN Ombudswoman.



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