

## POST-BEIJING: RECONNECTING, MOVING FORWARD

The 10th year of any organization's life is a significant milestone. And, so it was for the DAWN network — meeting seven months post-Beijing (April 5-7), in Fiji for the first time, to reconnect; reflect on past achievements, strengths and weaknesses; and plan for the challenges ahead.

Preparations for the meeting started months before as Steering Committee members shared their thoughts via

e-mail and fax (see pages 6-11). Participants arriving from Latin America, the Caribbean, Africa and Asia were in high spirits and received a warm Fiji welcome from old partners and friends, hotel staff, and the media.

DAWN members expressed their continuing commitment to the network and were unanimous in their view that post-

*Cont. on p. 12*



**In High Spirits and Ready for Business:** Participants who arrived early caught in happy mood following interviews with the Fiji Times. From left to right (seated) Regional Coordinator for the Pacific and meeting host, **Claire Slatter (Fiji)**; Former Coordinator, **Neuma Aguiar (Brazil)**; General Coordinator, **Peggy Antrobus (Barbados)**; Africa's Regional Research Focal Point for Reproductive Rights/Population, **Bene Madunagu (Nigeria)**; (standing) Pacific Regional Research Focal Point, **Vanessa Griffin (Fiji)**; Asia's Regional Research Focal Point for Alternative Economic Frameworks, **Gigi Francisco (Philippines)**; Regional Coordinator Africa/francophone, **Fatou Sow (Senegal)**; Caribbean Regional Research Focal Point for Alternative Economic Frameworks, **Eudine Barriteau (Barbados)**; Regional Coordinator for Latin America, **Celeste Cambria (Peru)**; Regional Coordinator Africa/anglophone, **Patricia MacFadden (Zimbabwe)**.

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alternative development processes that emphasize the  
survival needs of the majority of the world's peoples,  
particularly South women and their children.  
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# STRENGTHENING

*Strengthening the regions to meet future challenges was a major focus of the DAWN Steering Committee Meeting. Regional commonalities were identified including the problem of how few feminist researchers were working on the themes and the fact that in the last ten years more issue networks had become active at regional level. While it was agreed that flexibility on regional structures was necessary, a basic process of selection and action will remain common to all. Some of the regions were more advanced in defining their structures because of specific situations. Reports from regional groupings were as follows:*

## AFRICA

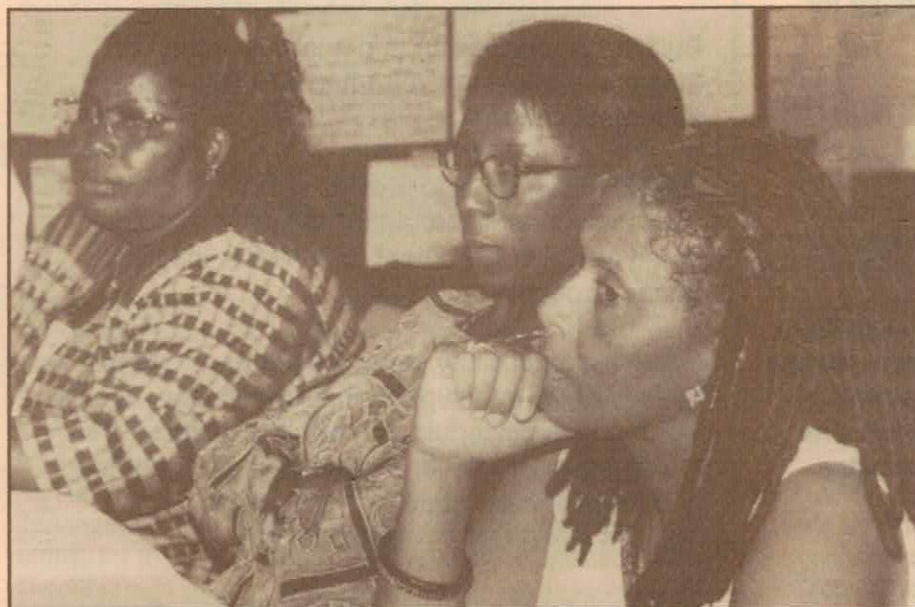
The DAWN Africa group met before the 1995 DAWN Caribbean meeting and had formulated a structure that, although complex, will meet the challenges posed by particular regional characteristics, most notably size and language diversity. The DAWN Africa team comprises: Fatou Sow (francophone West Africa), co-Regional Coordinator and research; Bene Madunagu (anglophone West Africa), research and global networking; Amal el Hadi (North Africa), global networking; Dina Nfon Priso (Central Africa), networking; Fatma Alloo (East Africa), information and communications; Pat MacFadden (Southern Africa), co-Regional Coordinator, administration and fund-raising; Vivian Taylor (South Africa), research; Maria José Arthur (Iusophone Africa), research.

The team gave the following example of how they would tackle research: Vivian will be responsible for reporting on DAWN research activities. Responsibility for the global research issues and inter-DAWN network research activities will be divided between Vivian, Fatou and Maria. Individual Focal Point members can prepare research proposals from their regional networks and submit them to Research Coordinators. Final reports would then be submitted to the Publications Coordinator, the Information/Communication and Networking Coordinators and finally to DAWN for international distribution.

A number of networks had been identified in the region with which DAWN Africa will work closely, namely: TAMWA, APAC/FAMW (media); SWAA (AIDS); AAWORD (research); WLSA, AFJ/FIDA, WILDAF (law); FEMNET, WIN (advocacy); ALVF (violence); CONNOPH (Health / population); MEWA (health); TWN Africa (Information); TGNP (networking / information); ISIS-WICCE (publications)

Coordination of all activities will be undertaken by two offices - one in Southern Africa and the other in Western Africa. The focal points will meet within the next few months to decide on how to ensure the relationship is maintained between the region and the DAWN Secretariat.

# THE REGIONS



## **Taking Matters Seriously:**

*Members of the DAWN Africa Team at the Steering Committee Meeting taking in the discussion. From left to right: **Bene Madunagu**, Research focal point and Regional Coordinator, **Fatou Sow**, francophone Africa and **Patricia MacFadden**, anglophone Africa.*

## **SOUTH ASIA & SOUTH-EAST ASIA**

Although not yet as detailed as Africa on the distribution of tasks, the Asia team presented the following general framework for an overall structure and guiding principles to move the structure:

- ✓ Regional coordination will be undertaken by a group rather than an individual. The group will initially comprise four women - three Focal Points and a Research Coordinator - who should be DAWN members. The Networking Coordinator will be one of the Focal Points.
- ✓ The team's institutional base will be located with the Network Coordinator. While the Research Focal Point doesn't need an office or desk, to be effective, the Network Coordinator should have effective backup.
- ✓ Fund-raising will be shared by the four members of the Coordinating Team.
- ✓ The Network Coordinator should be the lead person responsible for Administration and answerable to the General Coordinator.
- ✓ To enable this model — since the four team members are based in different countries — they should be linked electronically to facilitate swift and effective consultations.
- ✓ Network Building: The Coordinating Team will broaden its base by relating to an advisory group of one or two women per country similar to the model adopted by Isis International. These women will be nominated by the Regional Coordinating Team. Participation will be based on contribution of work for which there should be clear indicators and accountability.
- ✓ Network Coordinators will be limited to serving a maximum of three years, and Research Focal Points, five years. The process of selecting a new Coordinator will be worked out when the membership issue is clarified.
- ✓ The Network Coordinator should be responsible for developing and maintaining linkages with other like-minded networks.

*Please turn over*

Gigi Francisco (Philippines), the Regional Research Focal Point for Alternative Economic Frameworks, was selected as the new Regional Coordinator for South East Asia.

## CARIBBEAN

The meeting approved selection of Eudine Barriteau (Barbados) as the new Regional Coordinator. Eudine is also regional research focal point on Alternative Economic Frameworks. DAWN Caribbean will propose its structure at the next Steering Committee meeting.

## LATIN AMERICA

As in other regions, two different groups of women participate in DAWN Latin America - those who are actively involved in panels and research and those who receive **DAWN Informs**. Efforts are being made to identify those who are actively involved and those with the potential to be actively involved.

DAWN Latin America attracts involvement through its theoretical analysis, which is produced by core groups set up according to research themes. Each research theme has a Working Group and a Focal Point. The Focal Points together with the Regional Coordinator form the Coordinating Group.

The main focus of the DAWN Latin America team is research and communications, which includes networking inside the region and with other global networks.

The team is seeking to resolve the issue of geographical spread by connecting to the sub-regional focal points set up for Beijing, and consideration of a second Regional Coordinator.

# REFRAMING DAWN'S MISSION STATEMENT

Building on discussion and analysis in the Fiji meeting, participants reframed DAWN's mission statement as follows:

DAWN'S mission is to provide a forum for feminists from the economic South for research and analysis of the global environment as it affects the livelihoods of people.

DAWN is particularly concerned to generate processes which can support the mobilization of women as a powerful force within civil society, to change gender relations, challenge globalization and transform the state.

## PACIFIC

The main problem identified by DAWN Pacific was the very small number of activist groups engaged in research and analysis. As a result, DAWN Pacific is focused around the Regional Coordinator, Claire Slatter and the Regional Researcher Focal Point for Reproductive Rights/Population, Vanessa Griffen. Others have connected at different stages but there has been no continuity.

The team proposed replicating the structure of DAWN/global — a Steering Committee with an annual meeting convened by the Regional Coordinator. Members would have responsibilities and report to the annual meeting. DAWN Pacific will keep looking for individuals who are committed activists or have potential in this direction. Five women have been identified so far. In the region there are traditional women's clubs but very few development organizations so choices are limited to university researchers doing field programmes.

The regional research focus is on violence against women but political analysis is lacking. ♦

# A GENERAL COORDINATOR FOR THE FUTURE

DAWN has started its search for a new, full-time General Coordinator to replace Peggy Antrobus by year-end. Peggy, who recently retired from the Women and Development Unit of the University of the West Indies, is looking forward to having the time (at last!) to complete her PhD dissertation in 1997.

The meeting took some time to develop criteria for the new General Coordinator. When Peggy had taken the post in 1991, DAWN needed to regain its visibility and plan for the upcoming global conferences for which the network was preparing its major analysis. A high profile and leadership role was required — for fund-raising, finding Research Coordinators, and putting DAWN on the map.

For the coming period more work will be done at the regional level and there will be an absence of global conferences. In addition, the landscape has changed dramatically in the last five years. There now exists a wider network of women with the capacity and confidence to do advocacy; they have the skills and they have the analysis that was absent in 1990.

In keeping with this new scenario, the new DAWN General Coordinator will therefore be required to:

- ✓ Help define and take responsibility for a global work-plan.

- ✓ Place emphasis on coordinating and linking work at national and regional levels.
- ✓ Continue to raise funds and represent DAWN in various fora.
- ✓ Maintain regional network linkages and develop new ones.
- ✓ Clarify the content of DAWN's major research themes (see accompanying box).
- ✓ Set up a system of electronic communications for the network.

The successful applicant will have had some level of active involvement with DAWN, preferably at Steering Committee level, and proven skills in effective leadership, fund-raising, communication and writing, advocacy and analysis. She should be committed to the development of South-South linkages and to the feminist movement, as well as being willing and able to travel extensively in different cultural settings. Experience with, and enthusiasm for, electronic communications, and an outgoing personality for reaching out to other networks, are added pluses.

A suitable contract will be negotiated between DAWN and the successful applicant.

Interested women should contact their DAWN Regional Coordinator (see contact list on page 2) through whom applications to the Steering Committee will be made. ♦

## SETTING STRATEGIC DIRECTIONS

A major aspect of the DAWN Steering Committee was the identification of research themes for the upcoming period. Six themes were chosen following extensive discussion and debate:

- ✓ Political Economy of the Global Environment
- ✓ Social Reproduction/Gender Justice
- ✓ Environment and Sustainable Livelihoods
- ✓ Political Restructuring and Transformation
- ✓ Culture, Society and Gender Relations
- ✓ Securing Our Gains: Analysing the Implementation of the UN Conference Commitments

The Research Coordinators, Gita Sen (Alternative Economic Frameworks), Sonia Correa (Population/Reproductive Rights) and Vivienne Wee (Environment) have the

responsibility of framing those themes which have been developed from their previous areas of expertise — Political Economy of the Global Environment, Social Reproduction/Gender Justice, and Environment and Sustainable Livelihoods. South East Asia Regional Coordinator Gigi Francisco will frame the theme of Culture, Society and Gender Relations. The General Coordinator is to identify researchers to frame the others. The Research Coordinators were also asked to make proposals on DAWN's role in the follow-up to the UN Conferences.

The themes will be developed further at the next Steering Committee meeting later this year. DAWN members and affiliates are invited to make contributions through their Regional Coordinators or the DAWN Secretariat.

# PREPARATORY REFLECTIONS

*In the lead up to the DAWN Steering Committee Meeting, members prepared by sharing their thoughts on the network's past experiences, the current situation and mapping future structures, themes and goals via e-mail and fax. We invite your feedback on the questions raised in the following extracts on pages 6-11:*

## LOOKING FORWARD FROM PAST REMINDERS

by Gita Sen, Research Coordinator Alternative Economic Frameworks

### ORIGINS

When we formalized DAWN in 1986, the year after Nairobi, we were clear there was a great need for an organization that would speak from South women's perspectives at the global level and that would make the analytical links between micro and macro levels. But we were vague about the actual methods for achieving this general goal, the organizational structure was cumbersome and the division of responsibilities was unclear. Furthermore, the links between the large numbers of women who wanted to be a part of DAWN and the small number of core members was not clarified.

Beginning in this way meant we were forced to experiment with both organizational structures and work methods at the same time as we came under pressure to deal with substantive issues. The result? We have not had time to think through issues of structure and process.

### ISSUES ARISING... AGAIN & AGAIN

This constrained form of functioning has been particularly true during the last five years. After its inter-regional meeting in May 1990, DAWN changed its organizational structure while, at the same time, becoming intensely involved in preparations for four major world conferences — on Environment (UNCED); on Population (ICPD); the Social Summit (WSSD) and the Fourth World Conference on Women. In the period, various issues have surfaced at each meeting of the Steering Committee, but we have not really had time until now to reflect on them systematically. These issues include:

- The relationship between global advocacy/mobilizing and local level work. Substantively: How are local and global issues connected? With increasing and new forms of globalization, the connections are becoming clearer and clearer. However, there are disjunctures in time — a critical issue at the local level does not always draw global attention (and therefore a global space for discussion) at the same time, and vice versa. Structurally: How do the Research Coordinators — who have worked

mainly at the global level — link up with Regional Coordinators? While Research Coordinators have had the natural impetus of producing documents for the global conferences, the Regional Coordinators have not had such a catalyzing force.

- As DAWN's global profile has grown in the last five years, more and more people have wanted to be involved in the work. To some extent, this need has been fulfilled through the regional and inter-regional meetings for producing documents, but in the end only a small number of people can actually be a part of this process. What about the rest? It is a difficult issue and I know of no global network that has solved the problem of how participation and the responsibility that ought to go with participation can be combined.

- Can DAWN combine analysis and advocacy on the one hand and grassroots mobilizing on the other? In the past 10 years we have mostly done the former and done it reasonably well, but the issue keeps coming up.

- Another issue that keeps resurfacing without adequate resolution: What should be our links with other Southern or Northern organizations?

### ON-GOING WEAKNESSES

We have produced some excellent newsletters in the last five years but they have not reached many people, and we still don't have a proper roster of DAWN members and affiliates despite categories being clarified some four years ago. We should therefore think of how we can use new communications technologies more effectively.

### THE FUTURE - WITHOUT GLOBAL CONFERENCES

DAWN has functioned well when there has been the catalyst of a global conference. We are now going into a period when there will be no global conferences. It will therefore be difficult to generate momentum and be effective advocates unless we re-think our strategies and put in place appropriate structures for making these strategies work. ♦

# DILEMMAS AND CHALLENGES

by *Sonia Correa*, Research Coordinator Population and Reproductive Rights

There are striking similarities as well as clear differences which can be identified in institutions undergoing fundamental changes — or the pain of restructuring. Organizationally, all these institutions have been affected by:

- lack of clear rules in respect of power structures and strategic definitions leading to 'family inspired patterns' of functioning and decision-making. In its extreme manifestation, this distortion makes it difficult to acknowledge the public nature of the institution (and easier to treat it as private property), and hinders power and generational transition;
- the current crisis affecting the international cooperation system, which confronts these institutions with the need to adjust their size and infrastructure. Most importantly, they are being urged to constantly and consistently assess their impact — often in terms of narrow cost/benefit analysis;
- the overburdened agenda of the last five years which has meant these institutions are also required to establish a clearer division of labour both internally and in their relations with others. This exercise has often been conflictual and incomplete, particularly in the case of women's organizations because of the 'familiar mode' of functioning which tends to avoid the objective sharing of responsibilities;
- their origins which have been strongly linked with grassroots or direct political action. The result has been that these institutions are unclear about the roles of activism and professional skill as the basic criteria for selecting/defining their membership.

In the last five years, all of these institutions have also been facing harsh dilemmas regarding strategies and vision:

- They have been involved in a recurrent debate about their previous theoretical approaches, which suddenly proved to be outdated.
- They have had to deal with a new context of visibility, legitimacy and responsibility in policy arenas, which

has been predominantly reflected in conflicts of positions between those advocating a 'radical critique agenda' and those opting for 'political and concrete strategies aimed at incremental change'.

- They have found it difficult to define, or redefine, their connections with the grassroots. In fact the very notion of 'grassroots' seems to be undergoing deep changes. In the case of more national or global oriented organizations, this particular difficulty has been more dramatic and intense.

DAWN is not exempt from any of these problems — although I would say DAWN has been positive and effective in respect to internal and external divisions of labour and has even contributed to a better division of labour in its interaction with other global networks.

Recognizing the universal NGO syndrome described above may help us to move forward with strength and serenity; the experiences of others tells us that the dilemmas — although disruptive and paralyzing — can be processed and solved. However, this leap requires:

- The courage to openly face and consistently review previous patterns of functioning as well as theoretical approaches.
- A calm steady will to rebuild internal trust and consensus.
- The ability to reshape or perfect the organization's image which has obviously been frozen in the hearts and minds of partners and adversaries in the public arena.

There are circumstances in which institutions may disappear. Often they have played a positive role, but — for many different reasons — they no longer have the *elan* to transform themselves to seize the future. The only criteria, which I perceive as ethical and valuable, to struggle for the continuity of any organization would be its clear will and ability to fundamentally change when and if necessary.

*Please turn over*

## STRATEGIES & VISIONS

The DAWN triptych — Strengthening Civil Society; Transforming the State and Global Regulatory Apparatus; Challenging Markets — may not be perfect but it is embedded in process and reflects a certain level of consensus among ourselves.

**Strengthening Civil Society:** DAWN was one of the first global networks to explicitly address local/global linkages in processes of change and it did so from a southern-based perspective in a period when the notion of civil society was not in use. DAWN therefore has the advantage of having witnessed and analyzed the contradictions in the emergence of the concept and related societal processes in the South. Together with a few other networks, DAWN has developed a strong interpersonal basis for global operations in the context of some acknowledged analysts identifying the general absence of such relationships in current transnational processes as a problem of globalization.

On the other hand, DAWN has not yet consistently explored the different qualities, in terms of political identity and agendas, that would be part of a global society — if it ever exists. Moreover, the strengthening of civil society will require a review of the southern-based perspective which inspired DAWN's inception, since we cannot be global without a non-conflictual and unambiguous connection in the North and without connecting to the economies in transition. Furthermore, uneven historical processes often make it difficult for civil societies in distinct countries and regions to grasp and explore what may be their minimal global oriented political consensus.

The challenge is to better define, from a gender perspective, what a global civil society, which does not simply homogenize differences, may be.

**Transforming the State/Global Regulatory Apparatus:** The strategic direction is provided by the outcomes of the recent series of UN conferences, but there are multiple points of entry — the UN itself, International Development Bank and World Bank, regional based apparatus, bilateral development institutions, and national states. DAWN should primarily focus on implementation processes taking place at the global level and use existing regional and national linkages to inform and catalyze political action — with the clear understanding that up until now the global apparatus of management has been predominantly North based, particularly in the USA. The problem with concentrating on regional based apparatus is that they are under the impetus of global institutional actors. Exclusive intervention in national processes would be difficult since

DAWN is not in every country and given the amount of work this would entail may lead to erosion of the network's original global profile.

**Challenging Markets:** The substance of this third axis is not matured enough to provide future guidance. In practice we have not gone much further than spreading a consistent critique of structural adjustment and market oriented development policies.

## DAWN'S ORGANIZATIONAL STRUCTURE

One of the major problems is based in the conflicts concerning DAWN's role and mission. Is DAWN a movement that is therefore required to follow rules of representation (country, region, ethnic identity)? Is DAWN's mission related to grassroots-oriented political action or to prioritize the intervention in policy arenas? Is DAWN primarily a Think Tank or is it mainly a networking, information-sharing organization?

My own view is that DAWN's fundamental contribution to the women's movement and to societal change has been its analysis, but a good part of our political legitimacy has come from being seen as a large South-led network. In Latin America, people look to DAWN for political analysis and not as a movement since they are already involved in many movements. We should be clearer about the expectations people in different institutional settings and regions have of DAWN. We should also consider the following elements:

- The need for gender-based, qualified and visionary analysis in the international women's movement.
- The task the movement now faces goes far beyond political pressure to get the conference outcomes implemented, since this throws up a whole new set of challenges in terms of analysis, such as budget, design of macro policies, and so on.
- The need to restructure in order to simplify modes of operation, reduce infrastructure requirements and lower operating costs.
- The positions occupied by most DAWN members at high policy or academic levels present a strategic opportunity but also a concrete problem in terms of time and agendas. ♦



## STICKING WITH THE SOUTH

by Devaki Jain, India

### EMPHASISING THE SOUTH

South generated thought and action has been identified as necessary and critical; potentially the most important force for not only facilitating the South itself but also for creating a better world.

Countries such as Japan which belong to the Group of Seven (G-7) have started to work with other countries in Asia to revive a sense of both cultural identity as well as political innovation. A recent example is the exchange and mutually reinforcing efforts of women from Japan and some women from India. The Japanese Women's Organization for Health was founded because of the exposure of a Japanese women's network to the Indian preparatory efforts for the International Conference on Population and Development (ICPD). Its members now visit India regularly for assistance in defining their own platform for bringing a more feminist perspective to Japan's health policy. They also have an interest in local self government and positive discrimination in reserving local government seats for women. There are similar interests in the frameworks developing countries are using for understanding gender inequity.

DAWN's first priority, therefore, should be to recast itself as a strong catalytic agent for building, responding to and connecting efforts by women in the South in various ways — theoretical, analytical as well as programmatic.

How to do this? We can take time off to participate in conferences in the South whether they are academic, issue-based or grassroots, which would require a conscious turning away from North-based meetings, even of the United Nations. In terms of structures, the regional focal points should be more energetic and visible, and the international secretariat should support their efforts at regional involvement and building inter-regional connections. There should also be sufficient literature available about what DAWN is and what it means to belong to DAWN, for the regional focal points to disseminate with an unqualified invitation to engage. DAWN needs to play a role and not be too self-effacing in doing so. In fact, it needs to command attention as a political forum post-Beijing.

In Beijing, women were increasingly aware of the need to engage at the macro level. They were also clear that

*Cont. on p. 10*

## WHITHER DAWN: NORTH OR SOUTH?

by Hameeda Hossain, Bangladesh

### THE DAWN ANALYSIS

- Questions of political democracy remain unanswered by the development dialogue because of our theoretical approach and analytical locations. The notion of 'global civil society' masks the reality in South Asia where there is a growing divisiveness evidenced in communalism, identity politics, religion based politics, militarization and violent populism in the name of democratization. These concerns are pushed under the carpet in international development dialogues and only emerge in the more serious writings.
- DAWN's analysis appears reformatory which is useful if we are strategizing for United Nations conferences, implementation and so on — but this can be only a tactic. The analysis itself needs to be grounded in certain values such as human rights and democratic principles.
- DAWN has played an important role through women's caucuses, but it has yet to make itself visible in the main debating arena, where voices of Third World Network and others predominate. This again raises questions of our ability to represent a political consensus in the South.
- DAWN's position papers were less effective for conference advocacy than they should have been because they often reached the regions too late to start fresh debates; *DAWN Informs* is good but it needs to provide a mix of analytical substance as well as regional news and to reach the regions in a more timely manner if it is to act as a catalyst or even an information tool.
- DAWN needs to engage in ongoing debates and discussions. We must therefore be more visible in the regions and sub-regions on local concerns which are emerging. Single inter-regional meetings raise questions about who DAWN represents, who was there, who was left out. We need to establish regional core working groups around particular thematic concerns and then feed the research and ideas to wider networks in the region as well as into our international synthesis.
- The stress on research coordinators at the global level

*Cont. on p. 10*

in the past few years has meant that certain regional manifestations of current political and development debates did not feature in the DAWN analysis. Some important omissions were identity politics (religion, ethnicity, fundamentalism), representation, and accountability.

### STRATEGIES

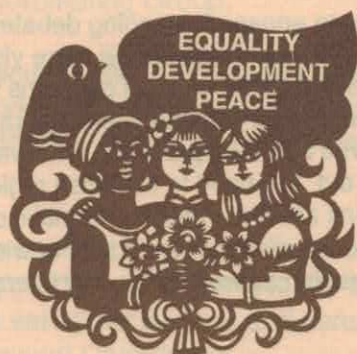
DAWN's main strategies — input to conference debates leading to action plan, post conference monitoring with a view to influencing incremental changes — remain valid. However, we also need to consider whether DAWN's role is to educate the South on international debates or to evolve a South position and project this in the North. Our international strategies need to be strengthened through regional lobbies and by contributions to national machineries that are still locked in rhetoric, but equally important is mobilizing opinion in the South.

### STRUCTURE

In this post conference phase the network can be strengthened through decentralized planning and more regional autonomy in respect to finances, strategizing and research; efficient use of electronic communications; and increased participation through collective research, lobbying and so on, at regional and international levels. DAWN also needs more literature in the market — even reprints of papers by members.

### LINKAGES: SOUTH-SOUTH, NORTH-NORTH

How do we relate to, and who do we talk to, in the North? Are we able to establish a South position? Obviously one section of the movement in the North is better organized, more visible and with more resources, but what about other sectors? We need to reach out to the disenfranchised in the North — the migrants, minorities, poor. In the South too: while research limits our communication to academic and middle-class networks, there is a powerful movement outside that we should be aware of.



## DAWN'S CHINA FORTUNE

*Over the Chinese New Year, Vivienne Wee, DAWN Research Coordinator for Environment/Sustainable Development, visited her aunt's temple — actually a women's vegetarian home — and divined this fortune for DAWN:*

### The Main Message

This fish is meant to swim in the open sea, but is caught in a small pool. It is crashing against nets on all four sides. However it tries, it has not found the way out. Up to now, it is not certain what will happen...

### Explanatory Note

It is best to stay within the present dwelling. Disaster will come if exposed to the sky. You should be prepared. So as to avoid harm.

### Summary

This is the fortune of a fish caught in a net. In all matters, be prepared for the worst even when things appear easy. This is the specific message with regards to personal well-being: In spring and summer, there is an absence of energy (qi) so it is better to be calm and keep to the old. In autumn and winter, there will be a great auspiciousness. Then wealth and happiness will come.

### STICKING WITH THE SOUTH... cont. from p. 9

analysis in the North is as important as South analysis and that a great deal of feminist consciousness-building needs to be done. Feminist consciousness-raising requires literature. An urgent research project should be the establishment of DAWN archives and publications on DAWN's evolution — its culture, ethics and so forth. A second research theme: feminist consciousness in different contexts — methodologies, institution building, governance, leadership, its importance in creating platforms of political identity for women. Related to this is the detailing of women's leadership — particularly in respect of organizational structures — and its significance in efforts to transform current mainstream leadership. A fourth area could be a very detailed search for and identification of South-based networks and their programmes. ♦

# GLOBAL/LOCAL DIVISIONS

by *Claire Slatter*, Pacific Regional Coordinator

The involvement in, and perhaps commitment to, the global conference processes of the past five years has been uneven within DAWN. While most of us acknowledge and respect the considerable investment of time, energy and faith that participation in these processes entailed, some have certainly felt disconnected from it all. Within the women's movement generally, there did emerge a division between those who were committed to engaging governments/states and those whose primary commitment was to non-state actors. As we move to decide future priorities, we should be mindful of the divisions that conference-oriented work created.

An evident benefit to DAWN from involvement in the processes must be the inter-organizational linkages and alliances forged with other networks. In this context, important questions arise about DAWN's priorities and orientation: North-based or South-based alliances? North-centered or South-centered meetings, events and initiatives? A voice of the South in the North or working simultaneously to sharpen our analysis of issues which challenge the South? Whether to strengthen social movements in the South?

There is no question in my mind that DAWN continues to have an important role to play in providing clear and insightful analyses of the complex forces which constrain or impede development in the South and, on the basis of such analyses, to challenge these forces. We should seek to connect more closely with regional struggles, as DAWN rather than as individual activists, and give some priority to regional work in the next programme phase.

DAWN also needs to investigate and analyze more closely from a South feminist perspective, the political dimensions of the development problem which pose significant constraints or challenges — forms of the state, systems of law and of political representation, traditional political culture and hierarchies, communalism and the politicization of ethnicity, religious fundamentalism, human rights, among others. Regional level work that investigates the specifics is really important.

We should seek to extend to others, and especially to the younger generation, the experiences we have had as members of the DAWN group. Even as we in the core group have been deeply enriched over the last ten years by the processes of collective reflection and analysis in which we have engaged, there has been no continuity for large numbers of women who were engaged at one time or

another in regional meetings. In the future, thought needs to be given to how we may facilitate and support on-going regional processes. ♦

## ENABLING NEW LEADERSHIP

by *Neuma Aguiar*, Former DAWN General Coordinator

Processes of democratization do not emerge easily. They have to be constantly fought for. A good part of the process of making democracy work has to do with communications; providing the opportunity for ideas and solutions to problems to be circulated and discussed not only by those in power, but also by emerging leadership. How to organize things so that a successor — or several possible successors — will emerge in the not too distant future, new ideas can come forward, new regions have the opportunity to hold the Secretariat, and new programmes can be proposed?

A strategy of redistribution could allow regions which need to be strengthened and have potential leadership, the chance to develop their capacities and to start producing action on DAWN's behalf, as well as a way of improving the conditions in these regions. We must allow enough time to spread the word, particularly to those parts of the world which have not previously had the chance to establish the DAWN headquarters. Active regional participation means the emergence of able persons who can be the future carriers of DAWN ideas and messages.

For this to take place, the current leadership must be actively engaged in opening possibilities for new leadership to emerge. It would be desirable for as many people as possible to come forward with new ideas for DAWN, but we should guarantee that they benefit from our accumulated organizational experience in order to minimize errors.

The more discussions and the more issues that we can facilitate, the better it will be for DAWN.

Beijing, it still had an important role to play. The business meetings were marked by serious debates and a distinctive cordiality with participants giving each other space to express themselves. A detailed environmental analysis of past, present and future trends at the global level and within the international women's movement formed the core of the strategic planning exercise. Participants anticipated, among other developments: fragmentation due to greater globalization; an increased apolitical stance by young women and men; further conflict between states over resources; continued domination of the poor by the rich; the emergence of megastates; and a continuing search for alternatives.

Many questions were raised. Among them: How would these trends impact on Southern initiatives? How could global visions be linked more effectively to local and regional initiatives? In what ways could feminist networks and feminist analyses be emphasized? Also identified: the need to examine local experiences as the basis for building new strategies and the continued strengthening of social movements based on ever broader and wider alliances and coalitions.

Emerging from this exercise in brainstorming and analysis, the Steering Committee meeting reframed the DAWN Mission statement (see page 4) and identified six new research themes (see page 5). The meeting also reached consensus on increasing regional autonomy within the DAWN network, and each of the regions proposed structures to suit their own particular conditions (see pages 2-4). Many of the roles within these structures were defined, as well as that of the General Coordinator who is being sought to take over from Peggy Antrobus by year end (see page 5).

We are devoting this issue of DAWN Informs to the debates and outcomes of the meeting, because the issues are general ones shared by many of the networks and organizations which travelled the road to Beijing these past five years and, like DAWN, are now involved in exercises aimed at clearing the mists that have made the road ahead less clear. We hope you will add your views in coming issues of the newsletter and keep the debates going. ♦

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