

# DAWN INFORMS

Development Alternatives with Women for a New Era

DAWN's Panel for Durban

## Unmarking Bodies

DAWN will hold a panel on the theme *Unmarking Bodies* at the NGO Forum for the World Conference Against Racism, Racial Discrimination, Xenophobia and Related Intolerance (WCAR) when it meets in South Africa, 31 August - 7 September 2001. The panel will contribute to refining a feminist analysis of the complex issues arising from racism, racial discrimination and all forms of intolerance, working from within a framework of the political economy of globalisation. The political economy of globalisation involves structures and processes but these work through human beings who have their own historicity. DAWN's work links economic justice, gender justice and democracy in the belief that all social structures, processes and institutions have both an objective logic and a subjective embodiment. The implication of this approach is that while critically understanding the logic of structures is necessary and important, equally critical is acknowledging and positively enhancing the agency of human subjects who are "marked" by gender, race, nation, ethnicity, caste, sexual orientation and so on.

DAWN has been preparing for the WCAR for several months. In March, DAWN's Joint Coordinator for Sustainable Livelihoods, Yvonne Underhill-Sem, was in New York for a meeting of the Women's International Coalition for Economic Justice (WICEJ) to plan an analysis of the intersection of race and gender for the WCAR. Also in New York in March, Cecilia Millan represented DAWN and REPEM at the Commission on the Status of Women meeting which focused on two thematic issues: gender and race; gender and HIV/AIDS. She presented a Statement of Common Concerns from African, Asia-Pacific and Latin American and Caribbean Women to the meeting.

To P4

### Unmarking Bodies

A DAWN Panel Event to be held at the Mandela Room, Durban Hall, WCAR/NGO Forum in Durban, August 29, 2001, 3pm-5pm

#### Chairs:

*Dr Bene Madunagu (DAWN Regional Co-ordinator, Anglophone Africa)*

*Celita Eccher (DAWN Regional Co-ordinator, Latin America)*

#### Panel:

*Cecilia Millan, Latin America*

To what extent does "talking about the body" create disjunctions in racial and gender systems? How does non-discriminatory education "unmark" bodily boundaries?

*Raijeli Drodrolagi Nicole, Pacific*

What is the state of contestation among indigenous rights, democracy, racial discrimination and women-led civil society groups?

*Darini Rajasingham, South Asia*

What is the state of contestation among the state, market, culture and religion in defining and disciplining women citizens?

*Keturab Cecilia Babb, Caribbean*

What are the possibilities for women's agency within the racialising processes of economically privileging cultural-religious systems?

*Vanita Nayar Mukherjee, South Asia*

How much do current trade and market forces impact on ethnic, cultural and religious minorities within black nation states?

*Cesnabmibilo Dorothy Aken'Ova, Africa*

To what extent are the current debates and actions surrounding HIV/AIDS dealing with racism in the context of global economic politics around women's bodies?



### August 2001

#### WCAR News

DAWN's Panel for Durban.....P1-3

The Long Walk to Durban.....P2

Racing for Rights.....P2

From CSW to WCAR: Emerging Issues for Women.....P3

Africans and African Descendants: Excerpts from the Vienna Declaration and Plan of Action.....P5

Asia Pacific NGO Networking in Nepal.....P5

#### FfD News

Focus on Financing for Development.....P7

Women's Priorities on FfD.....P8

What Women Want from the FfD.....P9

A Sample of Women's Consultation Recommendations.....P9

The Official Word on the FfD.....P10

The Zedillo Report.....P11

Cartagena Seminar for FfD.....P12

WTO News & Issues.....P13-16

Campaigns supported by DAWN.....P17-18

Steering Committee Notes.....P18

# WCAR: The Long Walk to Durban

*Preparatory Committees, Regional Conferences and Special Interest Groups continue to meet in the lead up to the UN World Conference Against Racism, Racial Discrimination, Xenophobia and Related Intolerance (WCAR) to be held in Durban, South Africa (31 August – 7 September 2001). This issue of Dawn Informs provides feedback on some of them. First, here is a summary of Yvonne Underbill-Sem's reports on the 2nd WCAR PrepCom which she attended for DAWN in Geneva in May 2001, plus extracts from her WCAR-inspired opinion piece entitled Racing for Rights. Yvonne is DAWN's Joint Coordinator for Sustainable Livelihoods.*

The main challenge of the meeting was to arrive at consensus on the language for the draft Declaration and Programme of Action for Durban. Frustrations felt by both NGOs and government delegations over the absence of an effective methodology for this process were eased somewhat when 20 countries (4 from each regional group; chaired by South Africa) were picked to work on "condensing paragraphs, deleting repetition and merging text" to get a more streamlined draft ready for substantive discussion by the plenary. The plenary was then divided into two working groups: one to discuss the Declaration, the other to deal with the Programme of Action. Apart from providing alternative language, NGO possibilities for interventions were seen to revolve around getting reference to Beijing + 5, CEDAW and Optional Protocols.

In the interim, NGOs used the time purposefully to form coalitions and alliances, draft language themselves and identify sympathetic and non-sympathetic delegations. The NGO Forum held its own caucuses and completed a draft of preferred language.

(see: [www.hri.ca/racism/major/ngodec.htm](http://www.hri.ca/racism/major/ngodec.htm))

Unfortunately, divisive politics continued to sidetrack some otherwise useful meetings from the basis of mutual respect and political solidarity needed for productive action on issues of common concern. But fruitful discussions were maintained in the South-South Initiative Forum which continued to claim its contested space: the main concern was to show indigenous and Afro-descent sisters that there are genuine reasons to have South-South conversations in addition to participation in the substantive discussions.

Hopefully, this necessary special space to talk and share can be nurtured through to Durban and beyond.

Once the substantive business of the meeting had resumed, lack of progress on agreed language was such that it became clear there would have to be a 3rd PrepCom (30 July - 10 August) before Durban. The Group of 21 working on the draft had its term extended until 29 June; its subsequent report included an extensive note by its Chair on the status of various proposals still lacking agreement and on numerous provisions on which views of Governments still differ substantially. Major stumbling blocks included no agreement that colonialism was a cause of racism (eg. Africa became increasingly exasperated at the EU's refusal to accept colonialism in the document) and problematic clauses relating to the controversial "list" of victims and axes/compounding factors of discrimination (eg. how to negotiate key issues for Africa and India like the slave trade and caste discrimination).

In conclusion, it is obvious that the process of arriving at some sort of text for Durban continues to be very drawn out – a reminder of the contested nature of many issues in the Declaration. It remains to be seen which governments will actively persist in negotiating this document and, more importantly, how successful the smaller number of NGOs will be in making effective interventions at the 3rd PrepCom.

## Racing for Rights



In the 21st Century, attaining human rights for everyone requires more than just universal expressions of goodwill. Despite the advances written into many international conventions, signed by many governments and lifted into passages of many national constitutions, a hierarchy of rights persists. The World Conference against Racism, Racial Discrimination, Xenophobia and Related Intolerance is inadvertently drawing attention to this hierarchy. While Governments are busily jockeying to avoid any historical and contemporary complicity with racism in its broadest sense, there is the beginning of a scramble for the position of 'ultimate victimhood'. One wonders what would be the value of the prize "won" by the most unfortunate victim(s)...

For poor women in the South, these manoeuvrings fail to capture the fact that, in general, they are left with weak voices: they are still disembodied as a political group while simultaneously being the bodies used as stepping stones to "progress". So this wordplay and conciliatory attention to civil society at the global level do little to improve their lot. For many of them, not only is their position at the bottom of the hierarchy compounded by poverty, gender, race, culture and/or religion, but also their life is far too short to reap any benefits of international conventions.

Women activists will carry these concerns all the way to WCAR in Durban and beyond. Because they have championed women's rights so consistently and skilfully for years, they understand the importance of introducing new concepts to help people rethink different degrees of "rights". The concept of "intersectionality" is one such attempt. Some interest groups have embraced this term to underline the need to think about the processes leading to racism, discrimination and other forms of intolerance from the many and shifting dimensions these disorders themselves manifest. This is a critical step towards working outside hierarchical ordering of rights and towards working as fluid coalitions with strategically shifting alliances. The urgency that movement-based NGOs face, however, means they rarely have the luxury of stepping back from the frontline to support conceptual thinking. Clearly there is a need to link both and, in this regard, feminist thinking around women's agency has much to offer.

# From CSW to WCAR: Emerging Issues for Women

*Cecilia Millan, of Red de Educacion Popular Entre Mujeres (REPEM), represented DAWN and REPEM at the 45th Session of the UN Commission on the Status of Women (CSW) held in New York, 6–16 March, 2001 and at the NGO consultation on gender mainstreaming which preceded it. REPEM, one of DAWN's institutional partners in Latin America, has been working towards the WCAR with a campaign on Education for Non-discrimination, production of a popular guide for women's participation in the process and more. The CSW meeting focused on two main thematic issues: gender and race and gender and HIV/AIDS. Cecilia filed a special report of the meeting for DAWN; she also presented a Statement of Common Concerns from African, Asia-Pacific, Latin American and Caribbean Women to the meeting. Here we have a summary of her report and excerpts from the Statement.*

At the opening session of the CSW, the speakers reaffirmed the following: that the continuing challenge was to get into motion all the commitments agreed by Governments, while flagging regional collaboration on implementation; that discussions on racism gave the global community a chance to better understand the relationship between different forms of discrimination, including gender-based discrimination; that the focus on HIV/AIDS provided the chance to stress rights related to the issue and ensure gender mainstreaming in future UN meetings on it; and that the need to tackle the issue of trafficking, especially in relation to sexual exploitation, remained urgent.

Later discussions ranged from placing true emphasis on the double/multiple discriminations suffered by women to ensuring gender mainstreaming of the entire document in the WCAR, while recognising the increase in global poverty and its eradication, especially given the feminisation of poverty. Trafficking of women and girls was also part of the discussions. An important event was the panel addressing women, human rights and the WCAR organised by UNIFEM, the Office of the High Commission on Human Rights (which acts as the Secretariat for the CSW) and several other organisations. "The interesting thing about this panel was the emphasis put on the relation between racism and gender, while insisting on the fact that women's rights are human rights."

The report presented by the Secretariat was analysed and revised. It addressed the need to incorporate a gender perspective in all UN organisms, proposals for a pluri-annual working programme (2002-2006) for the CSW, recommendations to increase the efficacy of working methods, plus the two thematic issues (women, girls and HIV/AIDS; gender and all forms of discrimination, particularly racism).

Cecelia says: "It is important to highlight that the document presented by the Secretariat is much stronger and more committed than the one approved by the Commission. Given this, it underlines the importance of working on language and proposed amendments and of lobbying delegations to have more comprehensive and inclusive language. It is clear that everything will not be achieved so we have to keep on negotiating on the language that does not satisfy us and does not translate the essence. But at least we can say that the awareness of the need to include gender in the agenda of racial and other forms of discrimination is a great step forward.

Especially if the multiple forms of discrimination are recognised. Without a gender-oriented analysis we cannot transcend the obstacles that separate the public and private world."

Discriminatory experiences have not been sufficiently analysed. This emphasises the need for new approaches to be employed. The term "intersectionality" refers to discrimination and violation of human rights based not only on gender but also on race, age, sexual orientation, ethnicity, class, national origin and so on. These discriminatory systems create disparities and shape the position of women, ethnicities, classes etc. Moreover, "intersection" defines the way in which actions and specific policies operate together to create more disempowerment. For example, there are situations where the unacceptable conditions faced by women of a specific group are vindicated as a "women's concern". Instead, if they are treated as a problem of intersection, the results would be different and not only in terms of gender. Not considering intersectional discrimination in the analysis means the probability that racism or any other forms of discrimination contributed to the particular circumstance is ignored and the analysis is incomplete. There are many problems that result from two or more kinds of discrimination (gender-race-class, gender-class-age-nationality, gender-race-sexual orientation and so on) that have lacked effective, comprehensive analysis so that efforts to solve them can only be inadequate. But intersectional discrimination is especially hard to identify when man-made dimensions of social, cultural or economic life are taken as "natural" and unalterable facts, such as in the case of caste, for example.

We need governments and agencies to use this kind of analysis so that both the understanding and the solution of the problem will be adequate. "The resistance lies in the incomprehension of the subject, in the non-visibility of some kinds of discrimination accepted as 'natural' or 'cultural', and in the refusal to accept that this is a question of rights. The approval of this analysis and its methodology is of key importance for the CSW because it serves as an adequate backup for the WCAR, and obviously goes beyond this."

## **On working together:**

*"Women from Africa and Asia-Pacific have been working on a different type of preparatory process for the WCAR and they have proved to be very interesting and inclusive. They are good evidence of how the women's movements and the feminist movement can work together, and they have focused on training women's organisations not only on lobby issues but also on the understanding of the concepts of interlink between gender and race."*

## Unmarking Bodies

The statement highlighted the negative legacy of colonialism and slavery, indigenous peoples' rights to self-determination, protection for migrant workers, redress for refugees and the intersectionality of gender and race in matters relating to the negative impacts of international finance, global trade and investment agreements and Structural Adjustment Programmes (SAPs) on women of the South. In April, DAWN's Regional Coordinator for South Asia, Vanita Mukherjee, went to Kathmandu, Nepal, for the Asia-Pacific NGO Networking Meeting for the WCAR. This meeting included a workshop on engendering advocacy against racism. It also strengthened the Asia-Pacific NGO Declaration developed at the February 2001 regional PrepCom in Teheran, produced specific alternative language for input into the WCAR Declaration and Programme of Action and developed the Kathmandu Programme of Action for strategies and campaigns to take Asia-Pacific NGOs through to WCAR and beyond. (see story on p. 5-6)

The planned *Unmarking Bodies* panel will continue this work on the spot in Durban. It aims to highlight the impact of concealed human agency in critical structures and to revive the possibilities of women's agency as a factor for "making a difference". For instance, although much effort is given to close analysis of the policies and practices of particular structures like the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund and the World Trade Organisation, the analysis often leaves out a critical consideration. Like nation states, these Bretton Woods institutions are not disembodied or without human agency, they are run by people. And it is precisely because of the kind of people asserting their will on such institutions that they can become, among other things, racist, intolerant and masculinist and impact negatively on women's lives, particularly in the South.

Women's agency refers to women's capability to do things that make a difference. For poor women in the South, it is generally an uphill battle to build on the little power they have in order to change their daily family lives for the better. Yet the possibilities for change are increasing. Thus, critical feminist work must go beyond analysis of structures dominating the global economy and pay equal attention to ensuring sustainable livelihoods can be possible for poor women in the South.

The panellists will address questions on the extent to which women's agency creates disjunctions in relation to particular racialised gender systems in the context of the ongoing dynamic tensions caused by globalisation. It will be co-chaired by DAWN's Anglophone Africa Regional Coordinator, Bene Madunagu and Latin American Coordinator Celita Eccher and the panellists are representatives from the regions of the South in which DAWN operates.

## Women's views from the CSW

"Most recognise the efforts made by the CSW in mainstreaming gender in its working programme and in the implementation of the Platform for Action, in the UN system, while proposing innovative working methods (high level round tables, keynote speakers etc.). However, it should also strive to ensure a methodology that includes the collection of disaggregated data by race, ethnicity, descendency status of citizenship etc. Besides, most believe that recommendations made to governments should be more solid and should examine the interlink between race and gender. There is a need to establish legal mechanisms and rules against all forms of racism and its gender specific manifestations. Governments should increase resources for health, education and other social services and have policies that address indigenous, minority and migrant women, too. ... **Also, to plan new follow-up mechanisms and even some form of sanction for those governments that do not comply with the international agreements...**"



Extracts from the  
**Statement of Common Concerns from African,  
 Asia-Pacific and Latin American and Caribbean  
 Women**

Contemporary situations of ethnic-, religious-, gender-, caste-, and race-based conflict in the nations of the South are (at least in part) the result of: the legacy of slavery ... and indentured labour; the deliberate politics of divide and rule under colonialism; the pitting of different ethnic, religious and racial communities against each other under colonialism; ... the arbitrary creation of nation-states based on colonial boundaries.

Women of the South have always been the trade-off in colonial and post-colonial discussions and debate on racism ... cultural and religious nationalism developed in response to colonialism and its legacy continues to use women of the South to assert that nationalism.

We therefore make a strong call on all UN Member States to:

With respect to the International Community:

- Recognise the intersectionality of gender and race in matters relating to the negative impact of international finance, trade and investment law (including international law on the nationalisation of property) on women of the South by supporting calls for debt cancellation instead of the highly indebted poor countries (HIPC) initiative; ...

With respect to Indigenous peoples, including Hunter-Gatherers and Pastoralists:

- Recognise and respect the diversity of human cultures and livelihoods, develop legislative and policy mechanisms that encourage the flourishing and sustainability of these diversities rather than their curtailment in the name of development or national unity; ...

With respect to Migrants and Trafficked Persons:

- Recognise the positive economic, political and social roles and contributions of migrant workers from the South, and ensure their full cultural, economic, political and social participation as an essential element in the elimination of all forms of discrimination; ...

With respect to Internally Displaced Persons and Refugees:

- Ensure the equal access of internally displaced women as well as refugee women in transit and resettlement countries to safe housing, culturally appropriate health services, legal counsel, education, social security and other services as an integral step in the elimination of racial and gender-based discrimination; ...

We thank you.

# Africans and African Descendants: Excerpts from the Vienna Declaration and Plan of Action (28-29 April 2001)

## PREAMBLE

African and African descendants share a common historical and cultural heritage.... All over the world, Africans continue to be subjected to racism, discrimination and intolerance. It is the complexity of these common roots and experiences that binds us together as a community committed to:

1. having the world recognize and provide reparation for the Black Holocausts (slavery and colonization);
2. eliminating anti-black racism everywhere it occurs, in any part of the World; and
3. restoring our motherland, Africa, to its full glory.

WHEREAS, After the Slave Trade, Africa was subjected to another form of enslavement, namely, Colonization in which the exploitation of Africa's rich natural resource heritage continued unabated by the European powers; and,

WHEREAS, Anti-Black racism (both past and present) is fundamentally rooted in white supremacist ideology and the economic profits of the colonial and neo-colonial oppressors; and,

WHEREAS, Africans and African descendants have significantly contributed to world history, their achievements need to be reassessed within the context of the significant positive contributions made by African culture, Africans and African descendants; and

NOW, THEREFORE,

Africans and African descendants from across the world, gathered in Vienna, Austria, in unity and solidarity born of the common African root, recognition of sharing a common history – that of the African Slave Trade, Slavery, and Colonialization – and a continuing common experience of anti-Black racism, which root, history and experience bind us as a unique community; and,

In fraternity with all peoples imbued with a sense of genuine respect for the rights of people of all races, ethnicities and creeds;

BE IT RESOLVED that this Assembly:

Demand that States eliminate racial disparities in education, housing, economic development, health and health care, environment, civil and criminal justice; and,

Call on Africans and African descendants to recognise that the struggle against anti-Black racism is inevitably linked with the struggle against poverty, racism against others, imperialism, globalization and war ... and express solidarity with other peoples similarly exploited and oppressed; and,

Urge the debt-holding countries to take practical steps towards the cancellation of the "debt" of African States; and,

Call on Africans and African descendants to urgently free themselves from slave and colonial mentality and attitudes. The rich African cultural heritage at our disposal serves as the first step in a real liberation and renaissance of Africa and its people all over the World.

## Asia Pacific NGO Networking in Nepal

*The Asia Pacific NGO Networking Meeting in preparation for the WCAR was held in Kathmandu, Nepal, 27-29 April 2001. DAWN Regional Coordinator for South Asia, Vanita Mukberjee, attended the meeting and below are the main points from her report on it. Over 200 regional and national NGO and grassroots activists from the Asia Pacific region were there. The meeting was designed to create opportunities for deepening analyses and understanding of some of the key identified WCAR issues and themes for the region and to build solidarity amongst activists across different sectors and issue-based groups, raising awareness of each other's issues and campaigns.*

An early event which helped to set the tone but also the commitment of the whole meeting was a session on personal testimonies of people who had been humiliated or raped or whose family and friends had been murdered because of their caste, race or ethnicity. "Everyone in the room was very disturbed... a young woman gave her account of being trafficked and forced into prostitution. Another woman spoke of her suffering as a migrant domestic worker. The other issue addressed in this session was caste." Caste continued to be kept high on the agenda of the meeting, which resolved to lobby hard for it to be included in the PFA of the WCAR.

The workshop day on the following nine issues constituted the highpoint of the meeting. They were: engendering racism; globalisation and racism; migrants facing racism and xenophobia; trafficked persons as victims of racism; rights of indigenous peoples; caste as racial discrimination on the basis of descent and occupation; racist treatment of ethnic minorities; religious intolerance; racist treatment of refugees. The workshop on "engendering racism", for example, worked on the intersectionality of race, gender, caste, class, ethnicity and so on.

One day was spent usefully "educating" participants on the UN system and the nitty-gritty of how the system functions. There was an excellent session on *Lobbying Strategies from Now to Durban* followed by another informative session on *Language for the UN*. These were very basic and simple but very useful for many who were new to a UN conference. Two panel discussions (caste and dalits; media and racism) on challenges for Durban were also worthwhile. In the first, women from India, Nepal and Japan spoke on the operational caste systems in their countries and the second included a media training session organised by ISIS on how to make the media work for us.

The three-day meeting was "extremely meaningful and rich and useful also in terms of networking... In terms of organisational issues, there was much transparency." When it was over, groups took an action plan away with them: "fairly long, but giving an idea of the depth and breadth [of the meeting] and the serious, intense and hectic activities towards WCAR and beyond!"

To P6



# A small sample of tasks from the Kathmandu Action Plan: To Durban and Beyond

From page 5

## Asia Pacific NGO Networking in Nepal

### *National level action:*

- disseminate Asia Pacific NGO declaration; translate Declaration into national languages; distribute Declaration to national media; use it to network with other NGOs; ...
- identify NGOs with ECOSOC status to facilitate WCAR participation under their accreditation; ...

### *sector-specific:*

- lobby on caste; ...
- create awareness on situation of refugees and refugees' rights; ...

### *country-specific:*

- Kyrgyzstan: workshops and training on refugees, poverty and youth; ...
- Thailand: workshops on gender-based violence for Burmese refugee groups; ...
- Malaysia: campaign for ratification of UN Migrant Convention and bilateral agreements, standard contracts for foreign domestic workers and multi-agency approach (police, NGOs) to deal with abuse of foreign domestic workers ...

### *Regional level:*

- campaign on Palestine, militarization and poverty; ...
- prepare comprehensive analysis of religious intolerance in the Asia-Pacific region; ...
- prepare media pack on gender and racism; ...
- signature campaign for the declaration; ...

### *International level:*

- link with other South NGOs on developing coordination for Durban; ...
- prepare lobby document on migrant workers' rights for meetings with government delegations; ...

### *For NGO Forum at Durban:*

- cultural event to show the links between racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and other forms of intolerance and militarization and neo-colonialism; ...
- launch website on rights of ethnic minorities and of persons living in occupied territories (SIRA); ...
- panel on *Unmarking Bodies (DAWN)*; ...
- special forum: Personal Testimonies (APWLD/Int'l Human Rights Law Group)
- August 29: Day of Solidarity with Refugees (WILPF, SAFHR, Forum-Asia); ...

### *Post-Durban :*

- Push for national implementation of Declaration and PFA;
- Asia Pacific meeting to evaluate Durban and plan followup;
- maintain e-mail/website clearing house for information.

### *A note on caste in India:*

In the Hindu society in India, caste is a system of hierarchical ordering of people, designated by birth and occupation. Broadly, there are four castes in descending order of hierarchy: Brahmin, Kshatriya, Vaishya and Shudra. The Shudras are the "untouchables" or "dalits". There are more than 240 million dalits, a number equal to the entire population of the US or the whole of Europe. Unlike race, caste has no biological origins, but is sanctioned by Hinduism in the way rights and duties are defined; therefore, it has a strong religious and ideological justification... Castes are divided into the binary of polluting/purifying categories, the dalits being designated the "polluting" caste. This is operationalised by segregating them both geographically and symbolically in multiple ways: segregated housing and cemeteries, denial of access to common drinking water, restaurants, temples, tea stalls ("two-cup" system, meaning one cup for everyone else, a separate cup for dalits) and restrictions on marriage. The whole structure of the caste system is designed to prevent social interaction outside one's specific caste group and restrict both physical and social mobility. ... Any attempt to struggle against casteism is met with extreme violence and heinous crimes such as burning homes, stripping and parading individuals, rape, murder and social/economic boycott. Often, perpetrators enjoy police impunity while their victims, mostly women, get falsely accused and imprisoned. **Despite India's constitution guaranteeing equal rights to all irrespective of caste, the ground reality for dalits is a series of violations of their basic human rights. And in the context of the WCAR, the Indian Government refuses to accept caste as a form of racial discrimination.**

### **CWGL Panel at WCAR NGO Forum**

A Human Rights Hearing on "**Women at the Intersection of Racism and Other Oppressions**" will be held at the WCAR NGO Forum on Friday August 31, 2001, from 2.00-6.00pm (Location: ML Sultan Technikon, 41/43 Centenary Road, Durban). The Hearing is being organized by the **Centre for Women's Global Leadership** and DAWN is a co-sponsor of the event. For more information, email [cwgl@igc.org](mailto:cwgl@igc.org) or visit their website: <http://www.cwgl.rutgers.edu>



# Focus on Financing for Development

*The United Nations International Conference on Financing for Development (FfD) will be held in Monterrey, Mexico, 18–22 March 2002. The FfD process was spurred into being after WSSD + 5 and NGO pressure at Seattle forced unprecedented collaboration between the UN and world finance and trade institutions to find better ways to finance development and fully implement the agreed action plans of the major UN conferences of the last decade. The focus is on six central areas: mobilising domestic resources; mobilising international resources; trade and investment; official development assistance (ODA); debt; and systemic issues. Under pressure from NGOs and other stakeholders, another area on interlinkages has recently been added. Since the December 1999 agreement, several preparatory meetings and events have been held in the leadup to Monterrey, one being the first of two sessions of the 3rd Preparatory Committee held in New York, 2–8 May 2001. The second session is scheduled for 15–19 October 2001. Here we have several pieces on the FfD process.*

DAWN was one of the few women's organisations interested in the FfD process from the outset. DAWN's involvement stems mainly from its concern over the global trend towards the privatisation of social goods and from an interest in seeing Currency Transaction Tax (CCT) or Tobin Tax introduced and its income mobilised for development. Continuing to influence the outcomes of FfD remains important because of their impact on the status of global poverty, gender justice and economic justice. Sonia Correa, DAWN Research Coordinator on Reproductive Health and Rights and Steering Committee member, who went to the 3rd PrepCom in May (Marina Durano and Gigi Francisco also represented DAWN) shared her impressions of the progress made in it and the implications for DAWN's future work. The FfD Facilitator, Mauricio Escanero, opened the meeting by introducing his working paper prepared for the high-level summit to take place in March 2002. Participants used this text during the week as a guide to focus on the six main headings of the FfD.

Sonia Correa reported that the wish to create a climate that would keep all stakeholders on board was correct but had its drawbacks. For example, too much emphasis on the presence of the private sector was a problem ("suffice to remember the weight of private creditors in the composition of debt...") and potentially controversial issues like CCT were cautiously kept at bay. Nevertheless, heated debates on especially trade and debt took place with the St. Lucia delegate emphasising global imbalances in trade and reminding everyone that "development" was about health, education and employment. UNCTAD elaborated on global trade imbalances and stressed that what was being lost in trade represented six times Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) transfers and almost ten times Official Development Assistance (ODA) volumes. While the World Bank and others defended the Heavily Indebted Poor Countries (HIPC) initiative and especially the Poverty Reduction Strategy Papers (PRSPs), HIPC's themselves complained about the slowness and distortions of existing programmes. Most importantly, many voices called for a "debt standstill" or debt cancellation and strong arguments were made to recognise the great diversity that exists across countries in relation to the FfD issues. The good thing about acknowledgement of diversity is that it implies that there is not just the one "model" to follow to implement development, attract FDI, optimise trade, alleviate debt and so on.

## Other Relevant Issues

The Facilitator's text had the additional focus on interlinkages between issues (economic and social development, UN-BWIs etc.); how policies and institutions can best work together. The major topics in the Domestic Resources discussions were fiscal and tax policies and, principally, corruption. If nothing else, at least the FfD process will lead to an international agreement on corruption and a global conversation on tax systems. Participatory and gender budgets received some mention as critical tools to ensure fair distribution and accountability. FDI discussion turned on its concentration in certain countries only and on the lack of capacity of most developing countries to attract it. There was a timely reminder that FDIs should comply with ILO conventions and other ethical standards. The ODA debate, which reiterated the "usual mantra on reaching the 0.7% GDP target", was exciting for the references in the Facilitator's text to Global Public Goods (GPGs) and for the support this concept received from financial institutions like the World Bank. GPGs is another Inge Kaul/UNDP conceptualization that proposes what is good to be funded by public resources because of the impact on the global public: prevention and treatment of communicable diseases, the management of the seabed, financial stability itself etc. (See more on GPGs on p. 12). No major debate took place on Systemic Issues. While there seemed to be a fair measure of fragmentation in the G77 camp in the informal discussions, as soon as the formal negotiations on the Facilitator's text started, the countries clustered traditionally and G77 became a solid bloc again.

As expected, gender was hardly mentioned in the document, and then mainly in relation to women and micro-finance. DAWN was forthcoming in identifying the gender missing pieces in the debate in the plenary and in getting its suggestion taken up that governments should start a dialogue on FfD with existing women's affairs offices and include women and social sector representatives in their delegations. Efforts were made to include gender in all NGO statements and the new UN Interagency Gender Task Force on FfD plans to hold a Day of Dialogue for stakeholder representatives later this year. UNIFEM continues to work steadily on participatory and gender budgets. The Women's Environment and Development Organisation (WEDO) distributed a lobbying document and held a panel. (See DAWN's panel input, made by Marina Durano, overleaf) But clearly there is a lot more to do in the project of engendering the FfD process and DAWN will continue to make its critical contribution to the task.



## Women's Priorities and FfD

*Main points from Marina Durano's DAWN presentation to the WEDO panel (7 May 2001)*

It is important to keep in mind what our view of "development" is and what we mean by "poverty reduction" because these terms have been used but there is little discussion of their specifics. We would like to see an expanded treatment of development and poverty reduction. We see poverty as capability deprivation and lack of agency. That is, the inability of some people to "actually be able to do and be" – be able to laugh and play and be healthy, be educated, to "live a life that is worthy of the dignity of the human being." As well as developing capabilities, we need to remove gender gaps or inequalities in each of the characteristics associated with these capabilities. We need to assess the success of the FfD for women in terms of how well it is able to reduce the capability deprivation of peoples and the gender gaps in capability deprivation.

*On domestic resource mobilisation:* Public finance has two sides: taxation (revenue generation) and budgeting (expenditure). Civil society organisations focus on gender and participatory budgets and governments focus on revenue generation but both groups need to discuss both sides of public finance: raising revenue and its appropriation. We also need to fill the research gaps in tax incidence analysis, to know who bears the tax burden between men and women, and between rich and poor. We need to check whether all tax structures are progressive or regressive. Domestic capital market development should aim to help women out of the "microfinance ghetto" by creating financial instruments (savings/lending, insurance, pension schemes) that poor women can access and that respond to their specific needs. Financial sector reforms dealing with social security institutions must remember that the primary concern of such institutions should be to maximise benefits for the members. And we fully support the emerging consensus on an international agreement on combating corruption.

*On trade and investment:* Developing countries must match their demands for openness and equity in the global trade system with national social development commitments that safeguard food security and women's livelihoods and enterprises. How do we get an "enabling environment" for local entrepreneurs, including small- and medium-scale enterprises, many of which are women-owned and led? On FDI, we need to work out whether this is necessarily better than domestic investment. Better to ask what we expect from both kinds of investors: what kind of work do they offer? We have to go beyond wanting the living and social wage and find out if the kind of work on offer also reduces the gender gap in skills, in wages and so forth.

*On Global Public Goods:* There are many possibilities in GPGs. We need to identify which GPGs are most important in terms of gender equality. Women should consider which GPGs should be supplied and financed (eg. protection of the global commons) and which Global Public Bads (eg. trafficking in women) should be eradicated or regulated.

So it is debatable whether women would automatically benefit from successful outcomes of the FfD in the current global market climate. DAWN has talked about the need to link economic policy and social policy given that women's work straddles both the productive and socially reproductive spheres. To complete the picture, institutional barriers must also be broken down. To the extent that gender gaps in capability deprivation can be traced to these considerations, the expectation that women compete on a level playing field is not realistic. Gender-biased deprivation, especially in food and health care, effectively excludes women from availing of the benefits that the FfD hopes to offer.

## More on FfD from WEDO

\*Two panels specifically addressed the need for the systematic inclusion of gender analyses in the FfD process: the UNIFEM panel (4 May), "The Gender Dimensions of the Financing for Development Agenda" of leading feminist economists; and the WEDO (7 May) panel, "Women's Priorities and FfD" where panelists presented regional women's issues relevant to FfD.

\*Angela King (Assistant Secretary-General and Special Advisor to the SG on Gender Issues) speaking on the gender perspectives of the FfD, called for the linkage of past UN gender commitments to the overall FfD process. She identified gender inequalities that impede women from achieving sustainable economic development, including "imbalances in economic power-sharing; unequal distribution of unremunerated work between men and women; unequal access to and control over capital and resources such as land and credit; and inequalities in access to labour markets." (For further details, contact DAW at [daw@un.org](mailto:daw@un.org) or [www.un.org/womenwatch/daw](http://www.un.org/womenwatch/daw). For information on plans for Monterrey from the NGO Forum Steering Committee, contact Laura Frade of Women's Eyes on the Multilaterals at [alcadeco@infosel.net.mx](mailto:alcadeco@infosel.net.mx).

## Notes from ICFTU on the FfD May session

\*In the Business Sector Dialogue Segment, the ICFTU called for a social partnership framework for this type of dialogue involving business and labour, along the lines of the ILO Tripartite machinery, for example. Many delegates supported the ICFTU's proposals for a recognised voice for labour alongside industry on issues like investment policy, enterprise development, the role of FDI and other private flows.

\*The private sector will hold a series of business roundtables on FfD before and during the Monterrey Conference.

\*References to labour standards continued to be unsatisfactory in the Facilitator's paper.

\*Gender as a cross-cutting issue: Angela King's presentation illustrated how gender inequality was a major hindrance to people-centred development and the elimination of poverty. She announced the establishment of the UN Interagency taskforce to work on engendering the FfD process.

In summary, the critical cross-cutting issues which will serve to link the financing debate to sustainable development continue to be sidelined with little discussion in the plenary on gender mainstreaming, environmental and labour standards, despite specific interventions on these issues. There was no focus on employment and labour market policies as important distributive instruments for equitable development, no serious debate on the need for a workers' rights framework, but a push for greater private sector involvement in the FfD process in some kind of advisory capacity. With this kind of policy environment, there is urgent need for concerted lobbying on the social dimensions of FfD from here to Monterrey.





# What Women Want From the FfD

*Can be found in the Women's Lobbying Document*

At the 2nd Preparatory Committee meeting on Financing for Development in February 2001, the Women's Consultation workshop convened by the Women's Economic and Development Organisation (WEDO) and UNIFEM identified the lack of gender representation in the Secretary General's Report on FfD and agreed to prepare a women's lobbying document focusing on a gender analysis of the Report. The aim was for a concise text providing specific recommendations corresponding to the six main headings in the agreed FfD agenda. The preparation of recommendations was divided among a half-dozen NGO representatives, the paper was reviewed over the Women's Consultation listserv, then WEDO compiled it into the *Women's Consultation Recommendations* document and distributed it at the 3rd PrepCom in May. The Recommendations are open for further revision by the contributors and Women's Caucus participants over the next few months.

The six contributors who saw the document through to completion for the May PrepCom were Rajyashri Waghay of WEDO; Mariama Williams of Gender and Trade Network; and DAWN's Joanne Kerr of Association for Women's Rights in Development (AWID); Gail Lerner of World Council of Churches Ecumenical Team (WCC/ET); Laura Frade of Women's eyes on the Multilaterals (ALCADECO); and Rebecca Desiree Lozada of Freedom from Debt Coalition. Mariama Williams also represented DAWN at the February PrepCom, together with Marina Durano.

At the 3rd PrepCom in New York, references to gender aspects of FfD were more notable in the official sessions than they had been in previous meetings. The women's lobbying document was instrumental in this increased gender profile as a wide audience used it as a point of reference to convey the gender components of each of the FfD issue areas. **Join the FfD listserv** [ffdnogcaucus@yahoo.com](mailto:ffdnogcaucus@yahoo.com)



## A Sample of the Women's Consultation Recommendations

***We recommend that governments/international organisations/international community:***

- Recognise that to mitigate poverty, domestically and globally, policies and actions must focus on the economic conditions of women, who are the majority of the world's poor.
- Develop economic reforms that increase women's access to financial services, assets and resources including land ownership, property rights, and informational, educational and technological resources.
- Develop an enabling environment for financial sector growth in a way that promotes sustainable development and gender equality.
- Enact a regulatory framework to govern and monitor global capital flows and regulate employment practices of global corporations to make them gender and environmentally sensitive.
- Promote the participation of civil society, including citizens' and women's organisations, in evaluating FDI to ensure responsibility, accountability and transparency.
- Develop gender-sensitive programs that protect the longevity and well being of agricultural workers and local enterprises affected by globalization.
- Protect women farmers and smallholders, to avoid unemployment, poverty and food insecurity. A clear distinction between the production of staple crops for domestic consumption and the production of other crops for export should be drawn.
- Internationally guarantee access to essential medicine, especially for HIV/AIDS and other prevalent diseases that impair the lives of poor women and men.
- Internationally recognise and guarantee the right of access to affordable essential services such as health care, education, water and energy.
- Cancel external debt to help developing countries reduce budget constraints and liberate resources developing supply-side capacities.
- Integrate gender and social analysis in all ODA planning, design, implementation and evaluation.
- Implement a currency transaction tax that would be charged on all international financial transactions that would both deter excessive destabilising speculation and create new innovative sources of funding for equitable development and poverty eradication.
- Establish an independent, transparent arbitration process for debt cancellation and an ethical lending and borrowing mechanism to prevent future recurrence of the debt crisis.
- Promote legal reforms that guarantee social participation, transparency and accountability – both economic and political – at all levels: local, national and international.
- Calculate women's contributions to the economy in the national accounts, including hours of free domestic, community and family care work, gender differentials in salary received for comparable duties, the negative gender impacts of economic processes etc.











# The Official Word on the FfD

*Thus far we have had reports on Financing for Development from the perspective of women's and civil society groups. Here we have views from the official side of the table. At the end of the May 2001 session of the 3rd Preparatory Committee meeting on FfD, the co-Chairmen (Ambassador Jorgen Bojer of Denmark and Ambassador Jayanama of Thailand) issued a statement outlining the policy priorities towards which they believed the Committee was heading. Then, on 23 June 2001, the Report of the High-Level Panel on Financing for Development was launched at UN Headquarters by Panel Chair and former President of Mexico, Ernesto Zedillo. Some focal points of the joint statement appear below plus a summary of the Zedillo Report. The full Report can be found at <http://www.un.org/reports/financing>.*

From the Joint Statement of the Co-Chairmen

## Towards Policy Priorities of the FfD

"The ambition of FfD has always been to stimulate political motivation founded on shared analysis and common views, and act on questions on which the UN can have a real impact."

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-  Critical issues in the mobilization of domestic resources were identified: good governance, a sound macro-economic framework, formulation of a medium-term fiscal framework, development of an efficient and equitable tax system and of a well-functioning financial system, financial innovations to widen access of finance and involvement of civil society and the private sector in the provision of infrastructure, social services and ensuring access to financing for those groups usually excluded from the formal financial sector.
  -  Assessments of the comprehensive impact of FDI on development in developing countries should be carried out and implications should be drawn for devising codes of conduct, particularly regarding socially and environmentally responsible investment activities, and an inventory of best practices.
  -  Involve the business sector more deeply.
  -  Link international trade negotiations to development goals; develop appropriate arrangements for capacity building in trade matters; devise mechanisms for managing risks in international trade; proceed with the built-in agenda of the WTO.
  -  Seek to generate strong political will in all countries to mobilize necessary ODA resources and ensure their effective use. Work towards greater flexibility in aid provision including untying aid. On GPGs: agree on defining GPGs and on mobilizing international cooperation to generate additional resources that are not diverted from ODA; recognise the existence of not just global but also regional public goods.
  -  The need to focus on prevention of external debt problems in future; reach debt obligations that are within the capacity of countries to service in the long term.
  -  Increase coherence between development, trade and finance; examine the conditions for a more enabling international environment in support of domestic resource mobilisation, including market access for developing country exports, the stability of international commodity prices and the global financial system governing international financial flows.
  -  Improve consistency, coherence, coordination and cooperation in financial, trade and development spheres.
  -  Strengthen systems of social protection in developing countries and better integrate social and financial issues; explore ways to strengthen multilateral support so that countries may better withstand economic and financial crises and adjust in a more growth and employment-oriented manner.

# The Zedillo Report

The world has seen faster human and economic development during the past half century than during any previous comparable period in history. Almost everywhere, literacy rates are up, infant mortality is down and people are living longer. But much as there is to celebrate, there is more to deplore. Almost half of the world's people are still living in abject poverty. The 2.5 billion people who live in the world's low-income countries still have an infant mortality rate of over 100 for every 1,000 live births compared with just 6 per 1,000 among the 9 million people in high-income countries. Illiteracy still averages 40 percent in low income countries and population growth, although slowing, remains high.

Sadly, increasing polarization between the haves and have-nots has become a feature of our world. Reversing this shameful trend is the preeminent moral and humanitarian challenge of our age. For people in the rich world, elementary self-interest is also at stake. In the global village, someone else's poverty very soon becomes one's own problem: of lack of markets for one's products, illegal immigration, pollution, contagious disease, insecurity, fanaticism, terrorism.

The international community has begun to acknowledge this reality with the adoption of the Millennium Declaration to free the world of extreme poverty. The Declaration set International Development Goals for 2015 and highlighted the task of mobilizing the financial resources to achieve the goals and to finance the development process of developing countries. The Goals for 2015 are: to cut in half the proportion of people living in extreme poverty, of those who are hungry, and of those who lack access to safe drinking water; to achieve universal primary education and gender equality in education; to accomplish a three-fourths decline in maternal mortality and a two-thirds decline in mortality among children under five; to halt and reverse the spread of HIV/AIDS and to provide special assistance to AIDS orphans; and to improve the lives of 100 million slum dwellers. The upcoming 2002 Financing for Development Conference and summit will be a key event in agreeing a strategy for better resource mobilization to achieve these goals and in general finance development in developing countries.

On domestic resource mobilization, the Report maintains that the primary responsibility for achieving growth and equitable development lies with developing countries themselves: "A sound fiscal policy, responsible social spending, and a well-functioning, competitive financial system are crucial to economic and social development. Finally, a good pension scheme is essential." On private capital flows, while private capital cannot alleviate poverty by itself, it can play a significant role in promoting growth, but its provision needs to be organised in a way that reduces vulnerability to crises.

On trade, the Report endorses a new round of multilateral trade negotiations and a new round of trade liberalization at the next WTO ministerial meeting set for Qatar next November; the implementation of the Uruguay Round; liberalization in agriculture and total elimination of remaining trade barriers in manufacturing. International development cooperation still has four vital roles: helping to initiate development, coping with humanitarian crises, providing/preserving the supply of global public goods and confronting and accelerating recovery from financial crises. Therefore, industrial countries are urged anew to commit to implement the aid target of 0.7 of GNP.

On systemic issues, the challenges of globalization require new systems to accommodate them. The issues of labour and environmental standards need a stronger focus in the international arena. On the convenience and feasibility of the Tobin tax, the Panel believes that further rigorous study is needed. There may be more promise in a carbon tax at rates that reflect the contribution of these fuels to carbon dioxide emissions. Governments need to work together to develop forms of international cooperation to optimize collectively the benefits of the movement of labour across national borders.

Principal recommendations of the Report include:

- Launching a global campaign for the Millennium Goals to raise ODA levels and reach the internationally agreed development objectives (the Report contains an appendix on Costing Global Policy Objectives);
- Convening a Global Economic Governance Summit by the UN with the possibility of establishing an Economic Security Council;
- Initiating a Development Round of multilateral trade negotiations at the Qatar WTO Ministerial meetings in November 2001;
- Establishing a multilateral Commodity Risk Management Scheme for less developed countries;
- Shifting aid voluntarily to a "common pool" that would finance the recipient's announced development strategy;
- Exploring the desirability of securing an adequate tax source to finance the supply of global public goods (GPGs);
- Studying further the feasibility and convenience of a Tobin style tax;
- Considering a tax on carbon emissions to reduce greenhouse gases and raise revenue;
- Consolidating environmental institutions into a Global Environment Organization;
- Strengthening the ILO and its ability to enforce labour standards;
- Creating an International Tax Organization.

# Cartagena Seminar on FfD: Building a Feminist Position

A seminar for Latin America on 'Financing for Development: New tendencies, new exclusions, and new strategies from women's perspectives in the region' was held in Cartagena de Indias July 15-17, 2001.

It was organised on the initiative of REPEM/DAWN in coordination with the DES Programme of UNIFEM as a contribution towards the forthcoming UN Conference on Financing for Development to be held in Monterrey, Mexico in 2002.

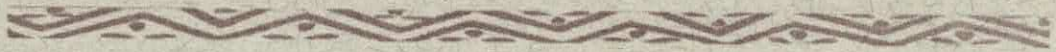
The objectives were to open a space for reflection and generation of proposals from women's perspectives through a dialogue between feminist activists and experts, to define priorities for the region and develop strategies towards the world conference while analysing the situation in Latin America.

The participating representatives from other networks and experts were to start the debate and define a political position for the region from a gender perspective in order to ensure that the process of resources mobilisation and their allocation are in line with the overall development goals, including social development goals and gender equality.

As part of the briefing on the FfD process, participants shared their views that it seemed that the secretariat and the UN at large are doing their best to create a climate to ensure that all stakeholders remain on board, including UN agencies such as UNCTAD, UNDP and ILO and Bretton Woods institutions as well as civil society.

Although all the themes of the Conference were considered important, the Seminar paid special attention to systemic issues, global public goods, and domestic resources (particularly budget issues and reproductive economy). Economic and social rights, labour rights, and the environment were also debated. The emerging issue of migration was also a key issue. Gender was considered as a perspective and not as a theme.

This seminar can claim a number of achievements. It enabled collective reflection at macro level; it was a political meeting, with participants working not only on advocacy but also lobbying strategies. There was a fruitful discussion on the need to build an alternative feminist position on this theme. New modes and channels of communication and exchange were enhanced which will impact the group position towards the Conference. The seminar opened a space (not least for economists to apply their expertise on these issues and demonstrate their commitment as feminists) to connect themes, spaces, and develop strategies that are now being carried out.



Marina Fe B. Durano

## Understanding Global Public Goods (GPGs)

*Private Goods and Public Goods:* Private goods are all goods and services bought and sold by individuals/private firms: eg. pizza, house. Public goods have properties that make them undersupplied or overused so costly collective action is needed to organise their supply. Governments usually organise supply of public goods: eg. police force, forest preservation.

*Properties and supply problems of Public Goods:* There is *non-rivalry* in the consumption of a public good. This means that my consumption/use of it does not stop another from consuming/using it. The only thing that stops collective consumption/use is congestion, as in a traffic jam on a road used by all. There is *non-excludability* in the consumption of a public good. This means that it is very hard to stop people from using it. Consumption of a private good, on the other hand, can be excluded: eg. sellers make their goods available only to customers/buyers. However, *non-rivalry and non-excludability cause problems* in the supply of public goods: supply of the good is costly but consumption/use of it is not so consumers tend to become free-riders on the providers of a public good. If everyone does this, the goods will not be adequately supplied. Also, to sustain a common resource requires collective control of its use: individuals may refuse to control their use of the common resource so it becomes overused. Such problems mean that it is hard and costly to meet the demand for public goods so usually only governments can try to supply them.

*National Public Goods and Publicly Provided Goods:* A national police force is a public good but a water service is not: this is because the water service does not meet the non-rivalry and non-excludability criteria of a public good.

(For more on the subject, see: Kaul, Inge, Isabelle Grunberg and Marc A. Stern, eds. (1999). *Global Public Goods: International Cooperation in the 21st Century*. New York: United Nations Development Programme.)

*Global Public Goods:* GPGs extend the idea of national public goods to involve more than one nation/country, socio-economic group or generation. The supply problem for GPGs is that there is no present global government in existence to provide them. Hence global cooperation on GPGs becomes essential. The criteria of non-rivalry and non-exclusion still apply to classify what is taken as a GPG or not and there will continue to be debate over what qualifies. For example, a classic GPG is the natural global commons, the world's natural resources that will be overused to the detriment of all unless there is global cooperation to conserve them. GPGs should be seen as an *additional reason* for international cooperation and funding: they should not be pushed under the ODA umbrella.

*Summary:* Public goods have a specific meaning and application and cannot be confused with publicly provided services or the common good. To try to extend the meaning of public goods to include certain desired social objectives or outcomes only confuses the issue. To do this places the efficiency standard above equity and social justice considerations. Rules governing behaviour are not public goods.

*Implications for FfD discussions:* The concept of GPGs is a stable anchor for reform efforts in the major international institutions. The hidden trap in this is that economic efficiency may be taken as the only standard by which good governance is judged. Social goals need not be classified as GPGs in order to be deemed acceptable or desirable for financing. Financing for GPGs should involve new money.

# Gender Impacts of Trade Liberalisation: Regional and Sectoral Similarities and Differences

*This is an extract from Mariama Williams' paper prepared for the Cartagena Seminar in Columbia in July on 'Financing for Development: New Tendencies, new Exclusions and New Strategies for Women'. For a fuller exposition of the main points of the paper, see Working for Gender Justice in the Multilateral Trading System and An Overview of the Literature on Gender and Trade - Gender and Trade Monograph Series, The International Gender and Trade Network (IGTN) [www.genderandtrade.net](http://www.genderandtrade.net)*

There are serious questions being raised about whether the South, in particular, the Least Developed Countries (LDCs) have been able to increase their exports as much as or in proportion to the degree to which their markets have been swamped by cheap imports from the North. There is a clearly pronounced impact from trade liberalisation on the survival strategies of different groups within the economies of the South. For example, increased exports may mean more employment for some women but increased imports mean more cheap goods entering the economy. This has particular implications for women in import competing sectors such as agriculture, vegetable production etc. In Jamaica, lowering tariffs may have helped to improve and promote informal women's markets and expansion of women in trade in the island and among the islands. But it has had severe negative impacts on farmers, many of whom are women (small farmers or farm labourers).

**Agriculture.** Examples of negative impacts of trade liberalisation on women's livelihood strategies are particularly pervasive in the domain of traditional agriculture. Senegalese women activists report that local Senegalese women farmers are facing stiff competition in tomatoes, garlic and onions from cheap, heavily government-subsidised imports from the European Union (reported by women activists at a WTO Symposium, Geneva 1998). Similar scenarios are reported for the Philippines where women activists argue that the country's commitments to the WTO have led to reductions in tariffs and free entry of all agricultural products into the country, which are threatening the "traditional products of peasants such as onions, garlic and potatoes (which) were earlier protected by law," Oliveros 1997). In the Caribbean, the most widely known fall-out from trade liberalization has been the Banana industry which is a significant employer of women, especially in the Windward Islands.

Alternatively, in Latin America women seem to have gained in terms of the opening up of employment in non-traditional, commercial agriculture in areas such as horticulture, fruits, ornamental plants, shellfish etc. The consequent modernization of agriculture with new technological features 'have created a large demand for female labour in activities such as reaping, harvesting, processing and packing' (Bifani-Richard, 1999, p.83). In the Chilean fruit sector women comprise 52% of the 84% workers in the sector; in Costa Rica women workers constitute 36% of those in non-traditional agricultural production. Many observers note that these new export activities have engendered expansion of trade in these areas and dynamised the rural economy. However, jobs are contingent and low paying.

**Manufacturing.** Manufacturing used to be the area that was most dependent on female labour. For many developing countries such as Dominican Republic and Bangladesh there is a strong link between the rising share of exports in manufacturing and the share of women in the manufacturing work force. This is particularly the case in clothing, light electronics etc where women have gained increased employment opportunities, especially in export processing zones. But it must also be noted that in some countries women workers have been dislocated by the process of trade liberalisation. Overall, women are vulnerable to temporary, part-time work without proper health and safety safeguards or trade union rights.

**Services.** It is well recognized that women have been incorporated into traditional services such as the public sector, social welfare sector and government administration in most countries. With regard to modern services, women tend to dominate in the information processing sector. Research in the Caribbean and elsewhere shows that women in these countries almost exclusively dominate the data entry segment. Women provide data entry for the processing and coding of information on credit cards, airlines, mail orders, and rail systems. This industry is also characterized by low wages. Women are not yet in significant numbers in the higher-paying software and programming end of the industry.

**Informal sector.** The informal sector is multidimensional with links to agriculture, manufacturing and service sectors. Subcontracting, particularly, in the garment industry-through outsourcing and homeworking-is the primary way that the informal sector and the manufacturing sector interface. This is a common feature within the garment industry where there is a high percentage of homeworkers (38% in Thailand, 25-39% in Philippines, 30% in Mexico and 30-60% in Chile and 45% in Venezuela). The major service sector related activities to be found in the informal sector are small-scale commerce and catering. The agricultural link is the informal cross-border and domestic trading in vegetables etc.

The gender dimension of the informal sector is very stark. In most countries women account for a large percentage of participants, 53% in Tanzania, 40% of the labour force in the informal sector in Peru (Bifani-Richard 1999). Research on the gender dimension of informal sector activities in African and Latin America point to women's heavy concentration in trade and service sector activities while men 'tend to undertake transformation process and create small industries in the context of small-scale labour intensive and low profile skill enterprises' (Bifani-Richard 1999) such as 'patch and mend' repair shop activities.

In general, research results are inconclusive vis a vis the impact of trade liberalisation on women. This is so for at least three reasons: 1) The twin sides of liberalisation: export promotion and increase imports (via decreased tariffs etc) [In theory, liberalisation should be a simultaneous process of increasing exports as well as increasing imports]; 2) intersectoral shifts in export composition; 3) the nature and extent of global competition between women.

Items one and two which represent intra-country gender dynamics are discussed in an earlier section of the full paper (see below on where to access this). We consider below the third item, inter country or global gender dynamics

Trade liberalization has intensified competition between women within the local economy, regionally and globally. In the first instance, while it was the case that opportunities in the manufacturing sector accommodated all women and especially created employment for poor women with little education, opportunities in the newly emerging modern service sector would seem to privilege educated and middle class women over their not so educated, poorer sisters.

Regionally, the operations of trade blocks that liberalize trade may lead to trade diversion from one country or region to another, resulting in loss of income in the country from which the business entity has shifted operations. Meanwhile in the receiving country the resulting process of trade creation creates employment for women. This is certainly been the case with the NAFTA agreement which has significantly impacted on Caribbean women workers in the textile and clothing sector. This has been accompanied by intensive intra-regional competition within the Caribbean Basin rim, as between Jamaica, El Salvador and Honduras. A striking case is between Jamaica and Mexico. Though causation has not been accurately established, there is a clear correlation between access losses and gains from one country to another.

To P14

The 4th Ministerial Conference of the World Trade Organisation is scheduled for November 2001 in Doha, Qatar. DAWN is seeking accreditation for this meeting and is sending two representatives to Doha. Mariama Williams and Marina Durano are preparing a paper on gender, trade in services and TRIPs (trade related intellectual property rights) for the meeting. The International Gender and Trade Network, which two DAWN Screening Committee members are involved in, is also preparing a document for Doha. A planning meeting on the paper's substantive content will be held in South Africa in August 2001, after two regional consultations in June and July.

## Discussions on the Agenda for Doha

At the WTO Informal General Council meeting in Geneva (25-26 June 2001), the United States and the European Union joined forces to push for a New Round of comprehensive negotiations at Doha. However, developing countries at the meeting rejected this move, arguing against any further expansion of an agenda for Doha that included investment, competition, government procurement, biotechnology and accelerated tariff liberalisation and unanimously stressing the need to address the outstanding issues of the Uruguay Round. The US and the EU have launched an aggressive capital-based initiative over the next few months of engaging Ministers directly in their capitals to gain consensus on launching a new Round.

Member states hope to have the draft of the Ministerial Text for Doha by the beginning of August. The developing countries hope TRIPs will be included in it. The draft Ministerial Text could have the following form:

1. Preamble – Ministers' views/statements on current issues (state of the world economy and role of WTO; need to combat protectionism, development dimensions of WTO work; global economic coherence; relationship between regionalism and multilateralism; accessions; sustainable development; other issues, including TRIPs).
2. Implementation issues.
3. Ongoing negotiations/reviews – agriculture, services, reviews (TRIPs).
4. New issues – Singapore issues (investment, competition, government procurement); other issues (industrial tariffs, e-commerce).
5. Organisation and management of work program/technical cooperation/capacity building.

From Page 13

## Gender Impacts of Trade Liberalisation: Regional and Sectoral Similarities and Differences

In 1995 Jamaica was the largest exporter of underwear to the US (40% of US imports, however by the third quarter of 1996 (approximately two years after NAFTA came into force), Jamaica's exports to the US had declined by 12% while Mexico's NAFTA access had grown by 40% with 10% share of the US market (King 1996, cited in Wedderburn 1998). In September of 1997 the industry lost close to 16,000 jobs due flight of factories (the Observer, Sept. 16, 1997, cited in Wedderburn 1998). Yet another example is the re-location of South African clothing enterprises into other areas in southern Africa to take advantage of cheaper labour.

Globally, it is been now becoming clear that women in Africa are losing local textile and clothing markets due to competition from cheap clothing in Asia. Likewise, there is inter-regional competition as some garment firms move out of the Caribbean region altogether to relocate in, say, Bangladesh. With the gradual phase out of the Multifibre Agreement and full liberalization of clothing and textiles, many countries now benefiting from MFA will be at a severe disadvantage. As noted by Bhattacharya (1999), there may be 'skewed welfare gains' for the South in the sense that China, Indonesia and South Asian countries will gain more compared to Latin America and the Caribbean and Sub-Saharan Africa. But even within Asia there will be differential impacts as it is hypothesized, based on current trends, that 'higher cost exporting nations, such as Hong Kong, South Korea and Taiwan which control the largest share of the market will cede ground to lower cost suppliers (such as China and India), Bhattacharya (1999). In the final analysis, new and low cost countries (Bangladesh and Sri Lanka) may be squeezed out of the market due to small size, lack of product diversification, and low productivity (Bhattacharya 1999).

## WTO Ignores Developing Countries Again

The first phase of the year-long agricultural negotiations concluded with the Agriculture Special Session (22-23 March 2001). This was followed by a stocktaking session to set the work program for the second phase of the negotiations. The meeting was plagued by secretive, close-ended informal consultations, with the result that, once again, developing countries have found themselves and their concerns marginalised by the WTO system in the agenda-setting for the second phase. Ten issues have been listed for preliminary discussion: tariff quota administration, tariffs, amber box, export subsidies, state trading enterprises, export restrictions, food security, food safety and rural development.

## Viva Porto Alegre! Viva World Social Forum!

The international advisory committee formation meeting of the WSF took place in Sao Paulo, Brazil, 9-11 June 2001. Celita Ecches, DAWN's Regional Coordinator Latin America and Director of REPEY attended it. This planning meeting worked on four areas: evaluation of the first WSF; agreement on guiding principles; the establishment of an international mechanism; and the outline of an agenda and methodology for the next meeting. There was open and constructive debate throughout, with constant reference to class, gender and race as central elements of analysis. The WSF Charter of Principles was accepted. Themes for next year's WSF at Porto Alegre were proposed: rebuilding and recreating society, nature, economies and cultures. Already it is clear that the 2002 WSF will be much bigger and better organised, with youth, women and people of colour, and the regions of Africa and Asia better represented. For more information on plans for Porto Alegre 2002 see the WSF website: [www.forumsocialmundial.org](http://www.forumsocialmundial.org).

# Endangering Democratic Rights and Development in Africa: WTO, The Cotonou Agreement and the US-Africa Growth and Opportunity Act

From the 24 - 29 of May, 2001, a large number of civil society organisations from West, Eastern, Southern, Northern Africa, and the Middle East met in Accra, Ghana to discuss the pressing challenges facing the people of Africa and other developing countries in the global economic system, and to develop a framework of activities for civil society organisations to confront these challenges. Particular attention was paid to the World Trade Organisation, the Cotonou Agreement, and the US -Africa Growth and Opportunity Act, and the dangers they pose to the democratic rights and development of African economies and the equitable needs of their peoples.

The following is an extract from the Declaration they issued:

"The World Trade Organisation Agreements, processes and the institution of the World Trade Organisation (WTO) are imbalanced against African and other developing countries. In essence, the agreements (in particular on agriculture, TRIMS, TRIPS, services) serve principally to prise open markets for the benefit of transnational corporations at the expense of national economies, workers, farmers, women and other groups in the developing world, and the environment. The WTO system, rules and procedures are undemocratic, untransparent and non-accountable and have operated to marginalize the majority of the people of Africa and the world's people.

Those governments that dominate the WTO, and that, together with the transnational corporations have benefited from the WTO system, have refused to recognise and address these problems. Instead, they have been pushing for further liberalisation through the introduction of new issues for adoption in the WTO.

Thousands of civil society groups from Africa and all over the world have continued to campaign against the inequities of the WTO system, and the system of global economic regulation represented by it. Before and during the failed Ministerial Conference of the WTO in Seattle, African civil society groups joined thousands of civil society groups the world over to oppose the use of the Ministerial Conference to launch a new round of comprehensive liberalisation, demanding instead, a turnaround of the global system. Since Seattle, civil society organisations the world over have continued to campaign to take out of the WTO issues that do not belong to its sphere, as well as to revise existing agreements, in order to protect livelihoods and peoples' right to development.



Civil society groups have not been alone in making these demands. African and other developing countries governments also sought redress for the imbalances and inequities of the existing WTO agreements, which have damaged their economies and threatened the livelihoods of their peoples. At the same time, they opposed the introduction of new issues in the WTO, and demanded an end to the undemocratic processes of the WTO that marginalized them. Since Seattle, these governments have continued to exert strenuous efforts to keep their demands alive in the WTO.

However, the concerns of civil society and the demands by developing country governments have been ignored by the major powers in the WTO. Negotiations on the concrete proposals put forward by developing countries for the review of the agreements in such areas as Agriculture, TRIPS, TRIMS and services have been frustrated by the highly industrialised countries. At the same time, the latter have used negotiations in areas such as services to exert pressure for further liberalisation, ignoring the concerns of civil society for the protection of social services and needs.

The US, EU, Canada, and Japan have continued to put pressure on developing countries for the launch of a new round to begin negotiating new agreements, in such areas as investment, competition policy, government procurement, and labour standards. In furtherance of this, and as part of their determination to launch a new round at the next WTO Ministerial Conference in Doha, Qatar, these countries have resorted to the same undemocratic and non-transparent processes, as well as the blatant bullying and divisive tactics that were in evidence in Seattle.

At the recently concluded United Nations Conference on LDCs, governments of the developed countries as well the WTO secretariat attempted unsuccessfully to use the desperate needs of LDCs (35 of the 49 of which are in Africa) to force them to agree to a new round.

Earlier, in November 2000, the US and the EU colluded with the WTO secretariat to use the Ministerial Workshop in Libreville, Gabon as an attempt to force African ministers to support the launching of a new round. This was in utter disregard of the Africa's own decisions, taken by their collective decision-making structures, opposing the new round and calling for the review of existing WTO agreements.

## Cotonou; AGOA

Regional and bilateral agreements with African countries have also been utilised by the highly industrialised countries to introduce issues that they have difficulty introducing in the WTO. Through a domestic law enacted by the US, the so-called African Growth and Opportunity Act (AGO), African countries are pressured to adopt WTO-like, and even WTO-plus, provisions relating to intellectual property rights protection, investment and financial liberalisation in exchange for illusory benefits. AGOA is being used to trap African governments into giving up their legitimate rights under the WTO, and to secure opportunities for US businesses to the detriment of African domestic economic development



## **Endangering Democratic Rights and Development in Africa: WTO, The Cotonou Agreement and the US-Africa Growth and Opportunity Act**

The Cotonou Agreement is similar. It sustains existing aid relationships between Europe and ACP countries but the trade component of the agreement contains provisions that require African governments' compliance with a range of measures contained in WTO agreements. It calls for full compliance with the TRIPS Agreement of the WTO. It requires African governments to negotiate for adoption of provisions on competition and investor protection that the European Union is seeking in the WTO, where they are being opposed by African governments. In addition, it provides for the negotiation of reciprocal free trade agreements between the EU and African countries, separately or in regional groupings, which will prejudice agricultural production and industrial development.

Both the Cotonou Agreement and AGOA will pressure African countries to continue implementation of structural adjustment policies, while dividing them and undermining Africa's efforts at regional integration.

### **Underlying Economic Problems**

The pressing problems of economic development facing African countries have grown worse. The highly industrialised countries, and international financial institutions dominated by them, IMF and the World Bank have refused to seriously consider the means of resolving Africa's debt problem. Instead, the debt burden continues to be utilised as an instrument to force African governments to continue - through so-called HIPC programme and Poverty Reduction Strategy Programmes (PRSPs) - with structural adjustment policies that severely damage our economies, harm our people and aggravate the debt crisis.

**Women are disproportionately affected by these problems. The current trade regime exacerbates their subordination, in particular the exploitation of women's labour which underpins the free market system, and enables the perpetuation of gender, class and national inequities in the global system.**

### **OUR DEMANDS AND COMMITMENTS**

In the light of all this, we will strengthen our efforts in the on-going campaigns, actions and alliances in Africa and the world, to change the unfair and oppressive multilateral trade system embodied in the WTO and other trade agreements, to reverse the destructive effects of the current global economic order, as part of the processes and efforts for an equitable, balanced and sustainable economic development based on the needs of African people and their priorities. To these ends we make the following commitments.

#### **In Relation to the WTO**

• We are opposed to the launch, at the forthcoming WTO Ministerial Conference in Doha, Qatar of a new round of comprehensive negotiations.

• For a gender-sensitive, sustainable, equitable and democratically accountable system of international economic relations, we endorse and reiterate the demands in the global civil society platform statement, **Our World is not for Sale: WTO, Shrink or Sink**, in particular:

- there must be no further expansion of WTO, by bringing in new issues, such as investment, competition, government procurement, biotechnology, and accelerated tariff liberalisation;
- social rights and-services should be protected; therefore health, education, energy environmental and other rights and services must not be subject to liberalisation under the General Agreement on Services (GATS);
- patenting of life forms must be prohibited, and furthermore, the TRIPS Agreement, a protectionist instrument which promotes corporate monopoly, restricts developing countries' access to technology, and denies the poor access to essential medicines, should be removed from the WTO;
- measures taken to promote and protect food security, food sovereignty and small-scale agriculture and enterprise must be exempt from WTO trade disciplines; we also emphasise that, the highly industrialised countries must eradicate the subsidy of their agricultural export which damage developing country domestic producers, as well as remove obstacles in their own markets to developing country products;
- the effective operationalisation and expansion of special and differential rights for third world countries, that recognise fully the weak position of developing countries in the international trading system and that provides them space to participate in the global economy according their own needs; and
- the decision-making processes and the dispute settlement system of the WTO must be reformed to be democratic, transparent and equitable.

#### **In Relation to Labour Issues**

- we recognise the need to promote and protect the rights of workers in international trade; nevertheless the overwhelming view of the meeting is that the WTO is not the appropriate forum for promoting those rights;
- we recognise the need for further consultation among ourselves and other civil society organisations to develop consensus in appropriate forums and means for promoting these rights.

#### **In relation to Cotonou**

- We oppose the free trade pressures within the Cotonou Agreement; and
- We call for effective and coordinated negotiating strategies among ACP countries and civil society in order to develop alternative trade arrangements that support nationally and regionally defined priorities for development.

#### **In relation to AGOA**

- The anti-African aims and interests propelling AGOA and the forthcoming Bush summit must be resisted by African governments and their peoples;
- African governments must desist from taking measures intended to satisfy the eligibility requirements under the anti-Africa Act;
- African governments must accelerate their efforts at regional integration as a basis for responding effectively with the inequities of the global system and for strengthening their options in the global order.

As part of the global social movements for alternatives, we are committed to pursuit of gender-sensitive, equitable and sustainable alternatives to the current global system.

(Contact [twnafrica@ghana.com](mailto:twnafrica@ghana.com) for more information)



## DAWN Co-launches Video Documentary on Women in the Fishing Industry in Fiji

DAWN and the Fiji Women's Rights Movement (FWRM) recently launched a ground-breaking new video documentary, *In the Name of Growth*, made by UNESCO gold medal award winner, Atu Emberson-Bain. The documentary highlights the struggle of women workers at the PAFCO fish cannery in Levuka, Fiji, in the clash between "growth"-driven development in the style of the World Bank and the traditional values of a needs-based subsistence economy. It tells in their own voices the story of indigenous women working for an indigenous company, trapped in the interweaving webs of the global economy, their own traditions and local politics. It also exposes the reality behind the rhetoric of indigenous rights in Fiji: an indigenous, state-owned company like PAFCO becomes increasingly intolerant of "culture" because it is deemed inimical to profitable operations and penalises its workers accordingly. The women who skin, clean, cut and can the Pacific tuna for the export markets of Europe and Canada intimately detail the social and environmental impacts of such development on themselves, their families and their traditional island community.

Atu is a member of DAWN and served as a Fiji Government Senator before the Chaudhry Government was ousted by a coup in May 2000. She is an independent consultant, researcher and documentary film-maker and this latest documentary continues her important work of archiving for the record and for activism, the struggles of workers in Fiji. More information on *In the Name of Growth* and Atu's earlier films can be got from: [fonumelino@is.com.fj](mailto:fonumelino@is.com.fj) and copies of the video are available for US\$40.

## NB: Bad News for Women's Reproductive Rights

The White House recently overruled Secretary of State Colin Powell on his choice of candidate to run the Population, Refugees and Migration Bureau at the State Department, insisting instead on the nomination of John Klink, who represents the Vatican's diplomatic mission at the UN. This has been taken as a setback for General Powell, who, unlike Mr. Klink, supports abortion rights. Klink's nomination is seen as a continuation of the White House's assiduous wooing of Roman Catholic voters, a group President Bush's political advisers believe may be pivotal in the next election.

It also marks the second time the White House has taken an anti-abortion stance in the area of foreign policy and international population efforts. Shortly after taking office, Bush issued an executive order banning American aid to international organisations that use their own money to provide or promote abortions in any way.

The nomination is expected to please conservatives who have been concerned about the distribution of what are known as emergency contraceptive pills to some women in refugee camps. The availability of such pills has been vehemently opposed by right-to-life advocates. But refugee specialists and women's reproductive rights activists are especially concerned because of Klink's background as an advocate for the Vatican's positions against family planning and against the use of condoms for protection against HIV infection. This nomination is seen by some US feminists as yet another instance of the country living out the effects of a quiet coup d'etat with a president who was not elected but who is pushing forward the most conservative agenda in recent US history, none of it boding well for women.



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## SUBSCRIPTION UPDATE

**For current subscribers and new subscribers  
who have not yet responded**

The triannual newsletter of the DAWN network, DAWN Informs, is available at the DAWN website, [www.dawn.org.fj](http://www.dawn.org.fj), and can be downloaded for free. If you wish to be notified by email with the web site address of each new issue, send us an email at [dawn@is.com.fj](mailto:dawn@is.com.fj).

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**Thankyou to  
subscribers  
who have  
responded.**

**If we do not receive this update, we will assume you no longer wish to receive the print version.** Printed copies of DAWN Informs are available free of charge to women based in the South. Friends based in the North are asked to make an annual minimum contribution of US\$20.00, payable by bank cheque only to DAWN at our new address: Unit 7, 9 Forster Street, Suva, Fiji.

# Campaigns supported by DAWN

## No NAFTA for the Americas

CSOs have joined forces in a ten-point plan to fight the proposed new corporate globalisation agreement, the Free Trade Area of the Americas (FTAA). The FTAA aims to impose the NAFTA (North American Free Trade Agreement) model of corporate investment and patent protections, trade liberalization, deregulation and privatisation throughout the western hemisphere. In real terms, a FTAA would significantly increase the power of international corporations over governments' national decision-making. The CSOs pledged their support instead for new visions for the Americas and the Caribbean based on democratic and transparent decision-making, equitable and sustainable development and protection of the public interest over corporate profit.

## Stop the GATS Attack Now!

DAWN continues to support the civil society organisation (CSO) fight against the WTO GATS (General Agreement on Trade in Services) 2000 negotiations which could allow corporate service providers to turn public services into private markets all over the world. This corporate GATS agenda amounts to a frontal attack on the UN Declaration of Human Rights, its covenants and charters. Under it, foreign-based, for-profit organisations could access public funds to take over public hospitals, schools, childcare, social security and prison systems and much more in any WTO member country. As well, health and education standards regulations would be undermined by global trade rules under the WTO. CSOs have called upon governments to invoke a moratorium on the GATS 2000 negotiations.

## Special Discussion Day on Patents and Access to Medicines

The TRIPs (Trade Related Intellectual Property Rights) Council of the WTO held a Special Discussion Day on patents and access to medicines in Geneva on 20 June 2001. This was welcomed by CSOs working on the negative impacts of the TRIPs Agreement on health and access to medicines. The CSO statement maintains that WTO discussions should be guided by the key principle that access to essential medicines is a fundamental human right far more important than strict protection of intellectual property and the gross profits of drug companies. It asserted that governments need a permanent guarantee that they can put their peoples' health before patents without having to endure the threats of legal pressure or trade sanctions that enlightened countries like South Africa and Brasil experienced on this issue recently.

## CSO Draft Treaty to Share the Genetic Commons

A draft treaty on sharing the genetic commons is being prepared by civil society for adoption at the Rio+10 Conference in South Africa in 2002. This initiative aims to establish the earth's gene pool in all its biological forms and manifestations as a global commons to be jointly shared by all peoples.

It prohibits all patents on plant, microorganism, animal and human life including patents on genes and the products they code for in their natural, purified or synthesised form, as well as chromosomes, cells, tissues, organs and organisms including cloned, transgenic and chimeric organisms. The proposed treaty aims to establish appropriate statutory mechanisms to ensure both national sovereignty and open access to the flow of genetic information in the spirit of collective responsibility for the world's shared evolutionary legacy.

## Letter on SAP Transparency

The World Bank's structural adjustment programmes (SAPs) have for years generated huge controversy over their impact on people, the environment, local institutions and national economies. CSOs responded to WTO plans to revise its operational policy on SAP lending with a letter calling for a broad, accountable and transparent consultation process to be used in future, including the involvement of an external advisory group.

## Civil Society Calls on the EU to Drop WTO New Round Proposal

On the eve of the EU summit in Gothenborg in June, over 60 CSOs launched a statement calling for withdrawal of the EU proposal for a new and comprehensive round of WTO trade talks because it would continue to ignore developing country concerns and undermine their development needs. Instead, CSOs urged the EU to take the lead in fundamentally changing the world's trading system and to commission an independent review of global trade and the WTO itself.



# Campaigns supported by DAWN

## CSO Calls for a Ban on Human Cloning

The US Congress will vote on human cloning legislation by the beginning of August 2001. CSOs have responded by supporting a strong statement calling for a ban on human cloning because it opens the door to treatment of human beings as interchangeable manufactured commodities and objects, violates deeply and widely held values concerning human individuality and dignity, paves the way for unprecedented new forms of eugenics and serves no justifiable purpose. Supporters of women's health and reproductive rights also oppose human cloning because it cannot be developed without unethical mass experimentation on women and children. The statement calls for a 5 year moratorium on the use of cloning to create human embryos for research purposes.

## Draft Protocol to Strengthen the Biological and Toxic Weapons Convention 1975

The BTWC outlaws the development and possession of all biological weapons but has no mechanism to monitor compliance. Negotiations on a protocol to strengthen the BTWC on compliance are working for completion before the 5th Review Conference of the BTWC convenes in Geneva in November 2001. CSOs have lobbied for a strong protocol to include broad criteria for facility declarations, random visits to all declared facilities, clarification procedures, challenge investigations and an export monitoring system. They also urge that the Final Declaration allows no exemption in the BTWC for law enforcement.

## Steering Committee Notes

The DAWN Steering Committee met in Trivandrum, India 2-6 April 2001 following a three-day research meeting in Bangalore on the inter-linkages project.

In Bangalore there was substantive discussion on developing a framework for linking DAWN's themes, to pull together fragmented discourses on gender.

Steering Committee members then travelled on to Trivandrum where, on the night before the meeting began, South Asia Regional Coordinator Vanita Mukherjee arranged for a meeting with some of the leading feminist activists of Kerala. A lively discussion touched frequently on sexuality and the silence that surrounds it, the political denial of sexuality, pressures on political women's groups, and the conflict of roles inside and outside the family for educated women.

This successful event prompted discussion within the regional reports section of the SC meeting about how regional coordinators work and organise on a daily basis and make connections. Regional coordinators emphasised that nothing succeeds like hard work on the ground and making available materials with substantive analysis.

Joint Research Coordinators were appointed for the Sustainable Livelihoods theme. They are the former Pacific Regional Coordinator Yvonne Underhill-Sem and Ewa Charkiewicz, who is currently working in The Hague. Yvonne is a Pacific feminist population and development geographer currently working as an independent scholar in Europe. She has a special interest in working with theories of poststructuralism, postcolonialism and embodiment within the work of emancipatory feminist movements. Ewa is Polish and served on the External Gender Consultative Group of the World Bank while Research Coordinator Gita Sen was Chair. She is an environmentalist working on production and consumption systems and is looking to link the Sustainable Livelihoods theme directly to trade and globalisation, as well as Political Restructuring and Social Transformation and Sexual and Reproductive Health and Rights. She is particularly concerned about the effects of persistent organic pollutants.

The Steering Committee confirmed Elizabeth (Sabet) Cox of Papua New Guinea as the new Pacific Regional Coordinator. Sabet has 27 years of intensive, applied experience in community education and gender and development training in Papua New Guinea and the Pacific, and her training manuals are widely used. She has worked in agriculture, health, nutrition, environment, formal and non-formal education, anti-violence and human rights with gender perspectives. She is currently with a HIV/AIDS project.



**D**AWN *Informis* is published three times a year by Development Alternatives with Women for a New Era (DAWN) as a networking tool for its members. DAWN is an autonomous inter-regional organisation of the South which acts as a network and catalyst advocating alternative development processes that emphasise the basic survival needs of the world's people, particularly Third World women and their children.

Subscriptions for printed version: Free to women based in the South. Friends based in the North are asked to make an annual minimum contribution of US\$20.00. Please notify any change of address by contacting [dawn@is.com.fj](mailto:dawn@is.com.fj) or fax (679) 314 770. Now available also on email, pdf or Word document, by sending your email address to [dawn@is.com.fj](mailto:dawn@is.com.fj)

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