

## Forging Ahead From FfD to WSSD

BY JUNE ZEITLIN AND NADIA JOHNSON

For years women's organizations and other non-governmental organizations have monitored trends in the six critical aspects of development finance—mobilizing domestic resources; mobilizing international resources for FDI; trade; official development assistance (ODA); debt; systemic issues—and advocated for systemic reform in the international financial architecture.

In the FfD process, these efforts have met with disappointment, as there has been a steady erosion of the political will to reform the international financial and economic system. Governments elected to continue with the failed policies of the Washington Consensus—deregulation, privatization, and trade and financial liberalization—that have swelled the ranks of the poor, particularly

women, and led to growing global inequality.

To our dismay as the Fourth and final Preparatory Committee drew to a close last January the draft Monterrey Consensus outcome document failed to challenge the current macroeconomic framework that perpetuates global imbalances, inequality and suffering.

The Women's Caucus and others did, however, accomplish a number of hard fought gender-sensitive references within the draft outcome document.

The Preamble made reference to "sustainable, gender-sensitive, people-centered development" (para 5). There were several references to women in the section on Domestic Resources: "...the right to development and the rule

of law, gender equity" (para 8), "empowering women" (para 9), "social services and social protection...which take special care of children and older persons and are gender sensitive" (para 13), "micro finance... particularly for women" (para 16), and "capacity building...in areas such as social and gender budget policies..." (para 17). For the first time, gender is mentioned in the Mobilizing International Resources section, where businesses are urged "to take into account...the developmental, social, gender and environmental implications of their undertakings" (para 21).

There are other areas that fail to address the need for inclusion of gender equality. Though the Systemic Issues section includes a call to "mainstream the gender perspective into development policies at all levels and in all sectors" (para 58), this was watered down from an earlier and more specific call for gender mainstreaming in international financial and development institutions. The other three sections—Trade, ODA, and Debt—make no

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### Reviving the Spirit of Rio

Women at the World Social Summit revived the spirit of Rio with another vibrant Women's Tent, also known as *Planeta FEMEA*, a space where women's organizations mounted activities in support of their various campaigns. Above, women from a global campaign against fundamentalism express it in music. (More on page 5)

# News&Views

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WEDO is an international advocacy organization that seeks to increase the power of women worldwide as policymakers at all levels in governments, institutions and forums to achieve economic and social justice, a healthy and peaceful planet, and human rights for all.

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# INSIDE WE DO

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**Not For Sale: With a strong message that women can't be traded, Women's Caucus members (clockwise from top left): Chief Bisi Ogunleye (Nigeria); June Zeitlin (USA); Cecilia Lopez (Colombia); Marta Benavides (El Salvador); Litha Musyimi-Ogana (Kenya).**

### FORGING AHEAD

*Continued from page 1*

mention of the needs or concerns of women.

As significant as the gender references made in the document are, the Women's Caucus identified that they alone do not sufficiently address the needs of women in the development framework.

In failing to systematically address gender and other social concerns, the FfD process will likely fall short in achieving its purpose: poverty eradication. The final outcome document will include references to the social and environmental components of economic development without mainstreaming them, in effect sprinkling phrases like "human rights" and "gender equity", without ensuring that these concerns are addressed equally with those of economic growth.

Another disappointment is the ambiguity of the draft outcome document, which makes very few commitments. The weaknesses of the documents can, in part, be attributed to a lack of consensus on the role of the UN in the international financial architecture. In the end governments were not willing to give the UN the authority to challenge the mandates of the international financial, monetary, and trade institutions.

Though women celebrate the gains made in the process thus far, they recognize the challenges ahead in the follow-up process, particularly since there remains a lack of commitment to systemic analyses, in the context

of both gender and the governing macroeconomic framework.

**T**he FfD process has provided women with an opportunity to bring a gender analysis and feminist perspectives to the macroeconomic policy discussion. While WEDO, DAWN, the World Council of Churches/Ecumenical Team, the

International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU), and a number of women activists have sought to provide these analyses and perspectives, overall women's participation has been limited.

This is partly due to the objective limitations of financial and human resources among women's NGOs. Furthermore a major problem lies in the lack of women in both economic decision-making and in the larger civil society movement against financial globalization.

What we know from other fields is that unless women are present in critical numbers and unless they are

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## Women Mobilize at Regional Workshops

**T**hroughout the FfD process women policymakers and activists have recognized the isolation of grassroots women organizers from the official process. To address this critical problem, WEDO and UNIFEM sponsored a joint initiative to help facilitate gender-sensitive policy and decision-making in the FfD process. As part of this partnership, regional workshops for Africa, Central and Eastern Europe/Newly Independent States, and Asia/Pacific were organized. These workshops brought together government officials, grassroots women activists, and feminist economists to share experiences, strategize, and network around FfD issues in their regions. The workshops aimed to attract regional attention to the FfD process and catalyze further advocacy efforts at the national, regional, and global levels.

The Africa regional workshop, organized by the African Women's Economic Policy Network (AWEPON), was held in Kampala, Uganda and covered the regional dimensions of economic and social governance, gender and trade, external debt, security and peace, HIV/AIDS, technical aid, food security, and domestic resource mobilization. The Central and Eastern Europe/Newly Independent States regional workshop in Kiev, Ukraine was organized by the Liberal Society Institute. Issues of concern included corruption, access to micro-finance, domestic resource mobilization, social protection, new forms of violence against women, sex trafficking, and the recent emergence of external debt. The Asia/Pacific workshop was organized by South Asia Watch and held in Kathmandu, Nepal. The need to decentralize power and increase state autonomy was highlighted at the meeting. Regional and sub-regional issues identified were the external debt crisis, high illiteracy rates among women, lack of food security, the supply and demand side of corruption, sex trafficking, and the exploitative labor of women and children fostered by current neo-liberal FDI and trade frameworks.

These workshops provided an arena to inform and strengthen networks while developing strategies for future activities such as information sharing, research and education, training, lobbying and advocacy, publishing, and participation. Connections were made between FfD and the World Summit on Sustainable Development—recognition of the need to form linkages between development financing and economic, social, and environmental sustainability. The discussions were both informative and inspiring, and the combined networks of the participants demonstrated the potential for women's advocacy around the impact of macroeconomic issues at the national, regional, and global levels, especially at the Monterrey Conference and beyond. For more information, contact [nadia@wedo.org](mailto:nadia@wedo.org).

# Mainstreaming Gender on the Road to Johannesburg

BY REBECCA PEARL

**D**uring PrepCom II for the World Summit on Sustainable Development in New York last February, women from every region of the world gathered each morning at the Women's Caucus to network and strategize.

The idea of a Women's Caucus was born at the 1992 Earth Summit in Rio de Janeiro and emerged as an avenue for all civil society actors to participate in the proceedings. Women's advocacy at Rio resulted in 172 references to women and the recognition of women as one of the Major Groups in Agenda 21, the official document of the conference.

Ten years later women are using the Caucus to challenge the effects of heightened globalization and a system of economic imbalances that perpetuate poverty and environmental degradation in both developing and developed countries.

Women are now asking why the Rio commitments have not been implemented, and what can be done to ensure progress on all aspects of sustainable development. Responding to the Secretary General's report, the Women's Caucus called on the Summit to "recognize that the full range of human rights—civil, political, social, economic, cultural and environmental—with specific attention to women, are fundamental and necessary pre-conditions to sustainable development, and must be promoted and protected."

Women also sought to create their own vision

using the priorities outlined in their platform "Women's Action Agenda for a Healthy and Peaceful Planet 2015" and in the official Women's Major Group Dialogue Paper facilitated by WEDO for the CSD.

*It is critical that women partner with other major groups to engender the WSSD outcomes.*

Paramount to this vision is gender mainstreaming in all institutions, the development of viable alternative economic models for poverty eradication, greater corporate accountability, and production and consumption processes that are sustainable. In the WSSD process, women are demanding gender budget initiatives, and gender balance in political decision-making through the 50/50 global campaign. Other key demands include education and training for all, particularly women and girls, political and public awareness-building on the inequitable distribution of resources, demilitarization and redistribution of military

funds, and equal access and rights to land and other global public goods. They also want guaranteed access to micro-finance and employment for low income

women, ratification and implementation of the Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of

Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) and the Optional Protocol, and

mechanisms for monitoring and evaluation within the UN, particularly in those areas that impact women.

Galvanized by the work done at PrepCom II, women are already gearing up for what lies ahead. Dissatisfied with the Chair's final PrepCom II report, which lacked a comprehensive gender perspective, women are finding ways to ensure that the implementation measures outlined by the Women's Major Group during the Multi-Stakeholder Dialogue (see box on page 5) are not forgotten at upcoming WSSD meetings. This means mobilizing con-

stituencies at home to keep women on national and regional agendas.

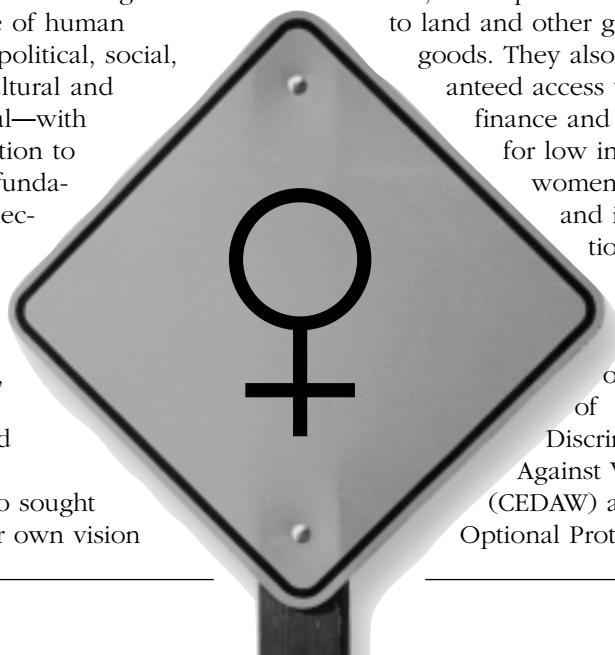
There is still room for creativity in the WSSD process, but activists will have to move fast in the six months left before Johannesburg. It is critical that women work with the other Major Groups—especially NGOs, governments, youth, indigenous peoples, scientists and trade unions—to develop a gender perspective.

In addition, small working groups that emerged from the Women's Caucus on issues of peace, food production and land, HIV/AIDS, and energy and water can propose concrete partnerships between governments, NGOs and UN agencies.

The Chair of the PrepCom, Professor Emil Salim agrees that women must be central in discussions of sustainable development.

At a panel organized by WEDO and the Network for Human Development (REDEH) in Brazil, on the Women's Action Agenda 2015, Salim emphasized the importance of women in sustainable development decision-making. He also urged women to expand the gender dimension in all areas through partnerships with other Major Groups.

In upcoming preparatory meetings there will be further opportunities to explore ways of implementing gender



sensitive sustainable development policies, including in broad discussions on the Women's Action Agenda 2015, which will be available for endorsement at PrepCom IV in Indonesia.

With 65,000 participants expected, the Johannesburg Summit will be the largest conference ever held in Africa. Women are organizing a Women's Tent in the spirit of *Planeta Femea* held in 1992 (see sidebar). Other plans include developing tools for gender mainstreaming, integrating gender at the local level, and organizing a women's peace train from Uganda to South Africa.

For updates on WSSD Women's Caucus activities, send a blank email message to: WEDOSustDev2002-subscribe@yahoo.com. ■

*Rebecca Pearl is WEDO's Sustainable Development Program Associate*

## Planet Earth, Meet *Planeta Femea*

Imagine a space where diversity is celebrated, where many different kinds of groups—political, religious and feminist—can converge. Welcome to *Planeta Femea*, where the message is in its theme, “Peace is Water For All.” First organized by WEDO and REDEH at the 1992 Earth Summit in Rio de Janeiro, *Planeta Femea*, also known as the Women's Tent, was revived by women's organizations at the World Social Forum in Porto Alegre, Brazil (Jan. 31-Feb. 5).

The Tent created a space where groups could meet informally, discuss strategies, and mount various activities including the launch of an international campaign against fundamentalism. Using an open mouth as its symbol, the campaign emphasizes the need to speak up against fundamentalism, be it religious, economic or political.

The on-going initiative “Women's Action Agenda for a Peaceful and Healthy Planet 2015,” an updated and comprehensive women's agenda to be launched at WSSD in Johannesburg, was also promoted at the Tent.

The idea to bring back *Planeta Femea* emerged from a consultation meeting for Women's Action Agenda 2015 organized by WEDO and REDEH in Rio de Janeiro in October 2001. Ten years ago the message of *Planeta Femea* was that women were out in full force on the stage of global policy-making. This time the message is that women are the messengers of peace.

## Multi-Stakeholder Dialogue

The first multi-stakeholder dialogue (MSD) session leading up to WSSD took place at PrepCom II, bringing together the nine stakeholder groups—women, youth, NGOs, farmers, businesses, the scientific community, indigenous peoples, trade unions and local authorities—with government representatives and representatives of international organizations to share concerns, experiences and proposals with the aim of making the process more participatory.

The MSD was divided into two parallel sessions: one on cross-sectoral approaches and the other on multi-stakeholder participation. Each session began with the stakeholder groups delivering their prepared statements. The Chair then invited responses from the government representatives and representatives of international organizations.

While Major Groups welcomed the dialogue session as an opportunity to meet with governments, the format relied on the presentation of official statements and did not provide room for an interactive discussion.

The Women's Major Group charged that governments and other stakehold-

ers have not mainstreamed gender in sustainable development processes. The Secretary General's report, Implementing Agenda 21, and other PrepCom documents are gender neutral they said, and do not follow the spirit of Agenda 21.

Key concerns raised by the women's group included economic justice, gender-disaggregated data for improved monitoring, the establishment of an International Sustainable Energy Fund, corporate accountability, and the need for women's participation in decision-making.

The Women's Major Group dialogue team for PrepCom II included 6 women representing the South and 4 representing the North—Jocelyn Dow from Guyana, Thais Corral from Brazil, Haddas Giorgis from Ethiopia, Prabha Khosla from Canada, Oksana Kisselyova from

Ukraine, Esther Muiru from Kenya, Chief Bisi Ogunleye from Nigeria, Daphne Roxas from the Philippines, Shanthi

Sachithanandam from Sri Lanka, and June Zeitlin from the U. S. Dialogue sessions will be held at PrepCom IV in Indonesia, May 27-June 7, and at Johannesburg. The Women's Major Group is



Women's groups reps Giorgis (left) and Corral with facilitator Irene Dankelman (center)

providing input to the WSSD Secretariat on ensuring that more concrete partnerships emerge from the interaction of governments and major groups during these dialogues.

### RESOURCES

**UN SITE FOR WORLD SUMMIT:**  
[www.johannesburgsummit.org](http://www.johannesburgsummit.org)

**JAKARTA PEOPLE'S FORUM:**  
[www.jakartapeoplesforum.org](http://www.jakartapeoplesforum.org)

**SOUTH AFRICA'S PREPARATIONS:**  
[www.joburgsummit2002.com](http://www.joburgsummit2002.com)

# The Proof is in the Numbers, The Power is in the Women

BY DORIS MPOUMOU

**W**omen are glaringly absent from the elite group running the financial and trade institutions that call the shots in today's global economy. Thus it should come as no surprise that women comprise a staggering 70 percent of the world's poor.

As globalization radically alters the landscape of women's lives, activists have, in recent years, focused their attention on the international financial institutions that promote trade liberalization, the opening-up of markets and the deregulation of industry—policies that have a largely negative impact on women's livelihoods, health and well being, particularly poor women.

As part of its ongoing campaign to promote gender balance in decision-making, based on a belief that women make a difference in the policy outcomes, WEDO undertook a review of women's representation in the major global financial institutions—the World Bank, the World Trade Organization (WTO) and the International Monetary Fund (IMF).

We knew that women were severely under-represented at the top levels of these institutions, but even we were shocked by the magnitude of this under-representation.

At the IMF only 2.2 percent of the governors are women and women occupy only two of the 24 Board of Director seats. The World Bank hardly fares any better at the top levels with women comprising 5.5 percent of the governors but occupying none of the 24 Board of Director seats.

Despite repeated inquiries, the WTO could not provide any comparable data. What we do know is that the 159 trade policy experts selected in 1998 for the WTO roster of dispute—the body that settles trade related disagreements—147 were men and only 12 were women.

In political decision-making—where worldwide, women currently hold a 13 percent combined average of seats in national legislatures—women have been slowly gaining ground in national parliaments and increasing their numbers in local government. This is the result of very systematic and targeted structural reforms such as political party and government quotas, and NGO training programs and workshops on politics. All of these developments have been effective in bringing more women into governments.

But despite these gains women continue to be largely absent from the economic decision-making positions of their governments. Worldwide there are only 28 female ministers holding

*Male dominated monetary, trade and financial policies are gender blind, resulting in serious costs to all.*

economy-related portfolios—Finance, Economics, Trade, Development, Industry and Agriculture. Women are more likely to be concentrated in the so-called soft domains such as Education and Health, Social Affairs, and Human Resources.

What are the consequences of male domination in the economic arena? Women's interests, experiences and concerns are often rendered invisible or inadequately voiced in decision making, effectively excluding them from key decisions that effect their lives and the lives of their families and communities. It also means that the majority of the monetary, financial and trade policies being implemented worldwide—including Structural Adjustment Programs—are gender blind, resulting in serious economic costs to society as a whole.

**B**ut even though women are marginalized from economic decision-making processes they have still found ways to influence global economic policy and processes. Within the United Nations arenas women have won important commitments in key documents.

Articles 7 and 8 of the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW), a legally binding instrument adopted in 1979 and currently ratified by over 168 countries, stipulate that States Parties shall take all appropriate measures to ensure that women are on equal terms with men. This includes the right to equal representation and participation at all levels and in all spheres of public and political life.

Article 13 of the same document calls for measures to eliminate discrimination against women in economic and social arenas, including equal right to family benefits, bank loans and other forms of financial credit. Article 14 focuses on the particular problems of rural women and

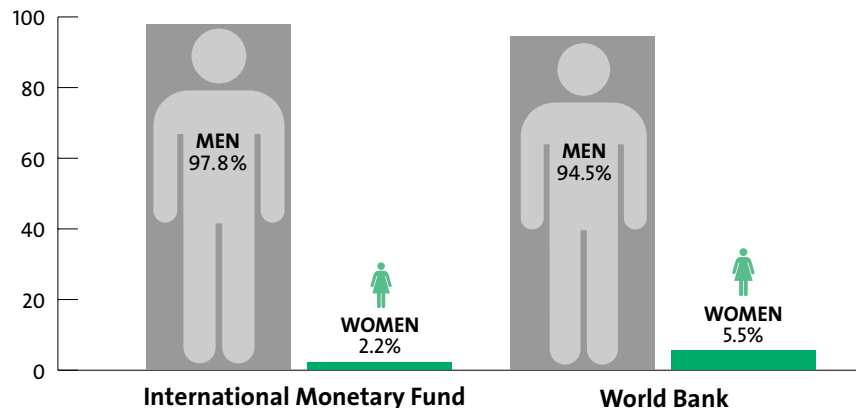
the significant roles they play in the economic survival of their families.

The Beijing Platform for Action, adopted in 1995 by 189 countries, calls for the involvement of women in both economic and social development, and the full and equal participation of women and men as agents and beneficiaries of people-centered sustainable development.

At the UN review of the Beijing platform five years later, governments agreed that all economic policies and institutions should adopt a gender perspective (para 53) and pledged to mainstream a gender perspective into key macro economic and social development policies and national development programs (para 73a).

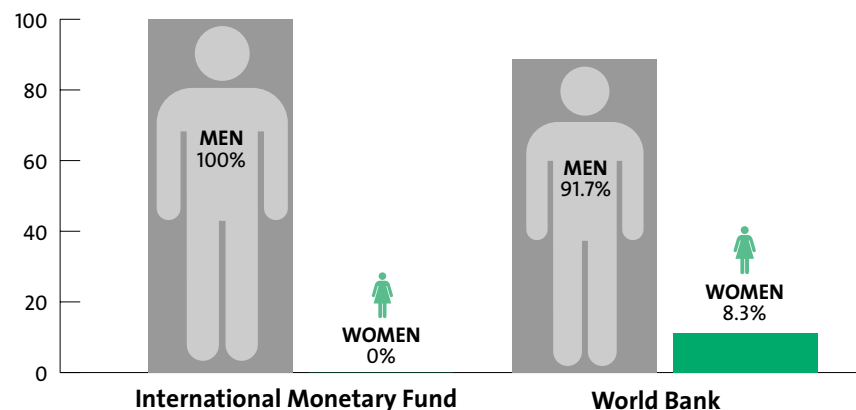
They also committed "to take effective measures to address the chal-

### Gender Breakdown of Boards of Governors at World Financial Institutions\*



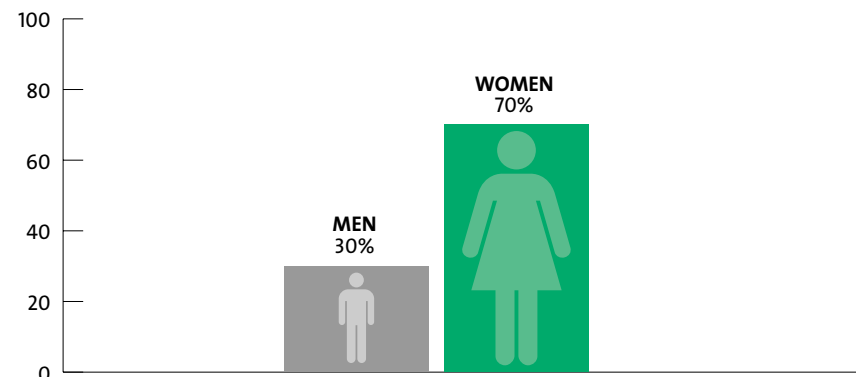
\*Despite repeated enquiries, the WTO could not provide any comparable data.

### Gender Breakdown of Boards of Directors at World Financial Institutions\*



\*Despite repeated enquiries, the WTO could not provide any comparable data.

### Gender Breakdown of The World's Poor



allenges of globalization, including through the enhanced and effective participation of developing countries in the international economic policy decision making process in order to guarantee the equal participation of women" (para 101a).

More recently, in the process leading up to the Financing for Development conference to be held in March 2002, women have been working together to ensure women's concerns are made visible in the negotiations. (See story page 1).

Women's groups are also applying pressure to the international financial institutions from the outside. For example, Women's Eyes on the World Bank, a global network of gender advocates created at the Fourth World Conference on Women in Beijing, has pushed the World Bank to incorporate gender equity goals and strategies into its lending program.

One positive result has been the establishment of an External Gender Consultative Group to assist in the design and implementation of gender policies. And recently the World Bank has elevated gender to the level of Sector Board, placing it on par with issues such as finance, energy, health, poverty and environment.

But much more needs to be done. In the same way feminist activists have promoted quotas to increase the number of women in political decision-making, many are now advocating for a similar approach to ensure that women occupy enough economic decision-making positions to be able to make a difference.

Where quotas have brought more women into government the results have been positive for the entire community. In India, for example, in the seven years since a 33 percent quota was applied at local level the human side of development has been emphasized more strongly. As Margaret Alva points out in *The First Step: Getting in the Door* (WEDO, March 2001): "Women are asking for drinking water, health centers and primary schools... not municipality buildings or big roads." ■

*Doris Mpoumou is WEDO's Gender and Governance Program Associate.*

## FORGING AHEAD

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empowered to share their different experiences, perspectives, and needs, their concerns will go unrecognized in the policy debate. This is true not only in governmental and inter-governmental institutions but also among civil society organizations. Thus, women activists need to increase their visibility to organize around globalization issues, and seek to influence the agendas of both governments and NGOs. (See story page 6)

**A**t the UN it will be crucial to carry forward the FfD discussions and outcomes into the preparations for the World Summit on Sustainable Development, to be held in Johannesburg in August 2002. The vision and reach of WSSD will rest in part on the financing possibilities and commitments made in Monterrey.

WSSD presents an opportunity to apply a broader gender lens to the Millennium Development Goals,

which include combating violence against women and addressing the issues of women's equality and empowerment in eradicating poverty. To successfully attain the Millennium goals of eradicating poverty and hunger, achieving universal primary education, reducing child mortality, improving maternal health and combating HIV/AIDS, it is critical to document and understand the different positions of men and women, girls and boys in society.

In addition to the social and economic indicators in the Millennium Development Goals, commitments for achieving environmental sustainability and "protecting our common environment" are also given prominence. Thus WSSD is an opportunity to unify the social, economic, and environmental components of sustainability within the context of the Millennium goals and UN agreements of the past decade, which has so far been lacking in the FfD process, and to set explicit bench-

marks and timetables to achieve this.

As the Monterrey Conference draws to a close, women will build on the commitments to gender sensitivity, analyses, and mainstreaming, environmental sustainability, social justice, and labor rights contained in the final outcome document, linking them to the commitments made over the past decade at the UN.

With the follow-up process under way, women will continue their collective work to implement commitments, mainstream gender in all economic policy decision-making and representation, strengthen the movement's network of women at grassroots, academic, and governmental levels (See Box), and build linkages between FfD and WSSD that truly and systemically work to improve financing for sustainable development. ■

*June Zeitlin is WEDO's Executive Director, Nadia Johnson is the Economic and Social Justice Associate.*

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