

# DAWN INFORMS

## *Progressive Politics in Latin America through DAWN's Inter-linkages Lens*

by Gigi Francisco, DAWN

Public Forum, March 21, 2011, Municipality of Montevideo

Signs of hope are springing out of the Latin American political landscape that point to positive departures from a global environment of a "fierce new world." The perspectives of Latin American countries have become more influential in the making of global rules within the multilateral system; unprecedented political reforms are talked about and undertaken by progressive Latin American governments; and the vibrancy of the region's public and social mobilizations and debates among citizens and peoples have been carried across national even regional boundaries. We particularly acknowledge positive developments in recent public-social compacts that had led to the incorporation of new ethical principles and concepts in Constitutions of a few Latin American countries, such as those linked to Buen Vivir or to valuation of unpaid domestic work.

Nevertheless, ambiguities and real dangers lurk. We know, for instance, that underpinning universal social protection of left governments in Latin American is taxation that had been generated within a growth model where extractive industries destroy natural habitat & livelihoods. And despite their progressive rhetoric, south governments including from Latin America that sit in global institutions continue to resist reforms in global finance, monetary and trade rules. Domestic policies and programs continue to fall below expectation on reform generated by official pronouncement at the global level. Moreover, lofty ethical values in governance need clear policies and focused efforts in regular monitoring, predictable resource mobilization, not to

mention harmonization with other parts of government policies and programs.

Indeed from an inter-linkages perspective and scorecard of economic, gender and ecological justice, the record of progressive governments in Latin America is peppered with mixed results. There seems to be decent scores on the social front, fragile positive results in the economic front, and dismal scores in the ecological front. Ambiguities in gender policies, especially on sexual and reproductive rights, have also arisen. How long can we have these incoherence and inconsistencies?

I now share with you some reflections coming out of our just concluded DAWN debates involving Latin American feminists, mostly young women.

### **Autonomy and SRHR**

Feminists from the economic south had long advocated for autonomy, empowerment and self-choice as a response to the web of patriarchal, national, class and racial domination. While we recognize the need to co-exist in a complementary way with men (as valorized in the concept of Buen Vivir), we also insist that women are autonomous subjects on our own right. How such complementary will take shape and be defined in new and more sustainable inter-connections will have to be negotiated democratically in everyday relationship with men.

Our struggle for equality have led to examining how structural and cultural domination in the public and private domains of relationships had worked to exclude and de-humanize women and our

bodies into constructed and dominated subjects and second class citizens. These forces emanate from both capitalist and pre-capitalist societies throughout the economic south, and may disappear and re-appear in various points of social and political life. Examples include what happened to the March 08 manifestation in Egypt where those celebrating IWD were booed and molested by the same citizens they struggled alongside with in ousting Mubarak, or how governments are now pulling back on hard-won sexual and reproductive rights. Equally appalling are resurgent calls for population control in the economic south as a decisive response to the environmental crisis, or the use of rape as a systematic tool in "correcting and disciplining lesbian women."

Modernity had paved the way for certain international human rights and national constitutional guarantees of equality, to be adopted as universal points of reference for a more equal and diverse humanity. This is one tool, albeit an imperfect and contested one, women and men of varied gender identities and sexual orientations have used to assert ourselves as autonomous subjects. It was important to articulate this because this is a crucial starting point for any debate on feminist perspectives on pathways to the future.

Autonomy and empowerment are important for women and certain excluded men to be able to negotiate for spaces, voice our issues and visions, and co-determine ethical references and political, economic and socio-cultural relationships and outcomes.

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by GEEJ Latin America Training Institute participants*

# Young Feminists @ DAWN-GEEJ Panel, 55th CSW, New York

The DAWN CSW 55 Panel on 'Gender, Economic and Ecological Justice (GEEJ)- Perspectives of Young Women in the Economic South' took place on 28 February 2011 in New York. Read the article by Hibbist Kassa, the fourth DAWN panelist in the CSW 55, on African feminist resistances and climate change politics on page 8.

## Women's Status and Free Trade in the Pacific

by Lice Cokanasiga, DAWN GEEJ Pacific  
Training Institute Alumna Pacific Network  
on Globalisation (PANG), Fiji

There are 14 independent Pacific Island countries that include some of the world's microstates. Three Pacific Island Nations (Marshall Islands, Kiribati, and Tuvalu) consist entirely of coral atolls with a maximum height of only a few meters above sea level, and are consequently at extreme risk from any rise in the ocean level. Climate change is our biggest threat yet.

The Pacific Island Countries negotiated in 2001 a free trade agreement known as the Pacific Island Countries Trade Agreement (PICTA). Seeing that they were not part of this agreement and anxious with the commencement of free trade talks between PICTA countries and the European Union in 2004, Australia and New Zealand negotiated PACER or Pacific Agreement on Closer Economic Relations (Kelsey, 2004).

### Pacific women and free trade

As elsewhere, trade and economics are male-dominated areas. Naameh Khan, a young activist with the Fiji Women Rights Movement pointed out during the DAWN GEEJ Pacific Training Institute in 2010: "Within the governments, the Ministries for Women, Welfare, Health, Education and those who provide social services are not included in the formulation of (trade) policy." Women also have very low representation in national legislations excluding territories; a mere 6.4% of legislative seats (Houng Lee, G. SPC 2010). Jane Kelsey, a resource person in the same workshop challenged participants, "We have to start asserting that trade is not just men's stuff. It is treated conceptually as something that men do because women perceive the world differently. Are there ways that

we can think about trade from a feminist perspective that bridge the economic and the social and also hope to bridge the local to the regional to the global?"

Pacific women are subjected to market asymmetries that work against them. For instance, according to a 2008 scoping study by AusAid entitled "Women in Business in the Solomon Islands," anecdotal evidence suggests that, even when women meet the eligibility criteria, they are perceived as too great a credit risk. As a result, they undergo inexplicably long delays in their loan application process; or are asked to identify male guarantors.

In Fiji, 4,500-5,000 women are currently employed in the textile industry. Their income is estimated to positively benefit as many as 25,000 people (Rowland, 2009). The proposed reduction of tariffs through PACER Plus and the influx of cheaper Australian and New Zealand products will likely result in factory closures and job losses, most of which will be jobs currently held by women.

Land is sacred for the indigenous population in the Pacific but how precious it is to women is often overlooked. There has been too much emphasis on commercial agriculture under a free trade model that women end up being marginalized not just from economic benefits but from their traditional roots, status and authority. For instance, women in matrilineal societies inhabiting the Solomon Islands had become mere advisors to men who now control decision-making over customary land management systems. Making matters worse are foreign investors that prefer to deal with male chiefs when negotiating for corporate rights over land and forests.

### Resisting more free trade

What kind of trade policies should countries put in place? Today there are calls to negotiate a PACER Plus agreement. Is more free trade the solution? Or is PACER Plus "all about the political priorities for Australia and has nothing to do with the Pacific?" (Quoted from Maureen Penjueli, Coordinator, Pacific Network on Globalisation).

I say "No" to PACER Plus and urge governments to find alternatives to free

trade in the Pacific. Learn from other regional models of economic integration that are working on more cooperative and solidarity orientations. We need trade but we also need to protect the domestic industries where there is more value-added, more employment and which are key to women's participation.

Before negotiating yet another trade agreement, governments need to involve the NGO/CSOs, especially women's organizations, to provide a systematic gender analysis on the balance of costs and gains, and how governments may be able to address trade-related issues in ways that also promote gender, economic and ecological justice.

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Lice Cokanasiga

## *LBT Rights & Militarization in Post Conflict Context*

*by Jayanthi Kuru-Utumpala, Women and Media Collective and Women's Support Group on LBT Rights in Relation to Militarization and the Post-Conflict Context, Sri Lanka*

Sri Lanka is an island in the Indian Ocean about 28 kilometers off the south-eastern coast of India with a population of about 20 million. For the past 30 years (my entire lifetime), the Government of Sri Lanka (GOSL) has been engaged in a civil war with the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE) that have been fighting for a separate state in the North and the East of the island. This conflict has claimed approximately 70,000 lives and displaced thousands. In May 2009, the GOSL militarily defeated the LTTE after a brutal attack where an additional 40,000 Tamils were killed and nearly 60,000 were injured.<sup>1</sup>

The country criminalizes adult consensual same sex relationships. There are two key legal provisions which allow for this. Firstly, under Section 365A of the Penal Code of 1883, consensual adult same sex relationships are criminalized as per

the archaic British Sodomy Law. Second, under the Vagrants Ordinance of 1842, anyone 'deemed to be loitering in public' can be arbitrarily arrested. Under the latter provision therefore, sex workers, especially transgender sex workers and non-stereotypically feminine women are harassed by the police and other state authorities.

### **Hierarchy of rights**

One of the key challenges faced by sexual rights advocates is the argument that the violation of rights relating to Sexual Orientation or Gender Identity (SOGI) are never as important as larger human rights violations that occur during conflict or post conflict situations. As such, there is a hierarchy of rights that is created between social and cultural rights on the one hand, and economic and political rights on the other. During the conflict, it was impossible to speak about SOGI-related rights as this was considered only a trivial matter when compared with larger more 'serious' human rights violations. If and when issues of sexuality have been raised, it has only been within a heteronormative framework dealing with violence against women, rape, and reproductive health services for women affected by the conflict. By working within a heteronormative framework, not only are the lesbians, bisexual women and transgender people excluded, but also adolescents and single women as well as all other women who choose to live outside the heterosexual matrix.

### **Post conflict nature of the victorious state**

Immediately after the military defeat of the LTTE by the GOSL, the government adopted a victorious attitude underpinned by Sinhala Buddhist nationalism. Cultural values leading to institutional limitations and increasing control of women's sexual autonomy became more strongly manifest. To illustrate: In July 2010, nearly 300 heterosexual couples were arrested by police for holding hands on the grounds of 'public indecency'; In March 2010, a University Vice Chancellor demanded that two young girls be tested for their virginity at a government run hospital because they had been found to be 'misbehaving' with their boyfriends within university premises.

The post conflict period has also given rise to an increasing number of television advertisements which are used to valorize and revere militarized masculinity. The armed forces were portrayed in advertisements as heroes and as ideal 'husbands' for unmarried young women. Here we have, therefore, only one particular type of masculinity that is allowed – masculinity that is reserved only for biological males. I find it interesting to recall the concept of 'female masculinity'<sup>2</sup> as defined by Judith Halberstam where she looks at masculinity that is separate from men. If this can be achieved, it provides women with the option of 'performing' masculinity while at the same time retaining their femininity. However, within such context where military masculinity has been valorized, the space available for women to perform masculinity or express themselves in non-feminine ways has been limited.

### **Entrenched militarization**

During the conflict, entrenched militarization led to a number of check points being located island-wide. While women were the most vulnerable, Tamil women were particularly harassed due to their ethnicity, which was often identifiable through one's family name on their Identity Card. Additionally, trans-men and trans-women also faced harassment as their chosen gender identity and expression differed from their biological sex.

Due to fewer Tamil men (many have died, been disabled, abducted or had left their wives), military personnel have been able to impose severe restrictions on Tamil women, particularly on the latter's mobility and access to basic resources. As a result, some women have been forced to barter sexual favors in return for financial aid and/or food rations.



Jayanthi Kuru-Utumpala



Nicole Bidegain Ponte

*[continued on p.11]*

## *Growth and Persistent Inequality Under Latin American Progressive Governments*

By Nicole Bidegain Ponte, International Council on Adult Education (ICAE), Uruguay  
DAWN GEEJ Latin America Training Institute Alumna

In a world that is increasingly becoming multi-polar, Latin America and the Caribbean is increasingly seen as an “emerging region” that are moving toward regional integration through the process of constructing its own institutions (regional economic blocs, Bank of the South, etc.). So far, the región has seen sustained reduction of poverty, mostly explained by increases in social expenditure and the implementation of social policies. While 221 million of people lived in poverty in 2002, by 2010 the number was reduced to 180 million. This downward trend, however, slowed in 2009 due to the global crisis.

Though the region has learnt to protect its members’ economies from external volatility, it still has strong weaknesses in regard to long-term structural challenges. For one, countries continue to rely on a development model based on commodities’ exports. We in Latin America call this a “primarization” because growth remains heavily dependent on the export of primary products. Prevailing high global commodities’ prices lead to favorable terms of trade for regional exports but it also discourages diversification effort and stalls the advance of knowledge intensive sectors.

At the same time, Latin America and the Caribbean is still the most unequal region in the world. Besides being high, inequality is persistent over time and reproduces itself in a context of low socioeconomic mobility. Advances in human development and poverty reduction are evident in many Latin American and Caribbean countries, but aggregate numbers hide important inequalities regarding territory, gender, and ethnicity and race (UNDP, 2010).

When I was in Dakar at the WSF, I heard Brazil’s former President Lula giving a speech. It was a kind of paternalist discourse addressed to Africa, talking about “the benefits” of the agro export model in Latin America. In short, he was trying to export this model to Africa.

### **Environment or development?**

Many times, representatives of our governments say that when they have to choose between environment and development (understood as economic growth), they would choose development. It is interesting to discuss whether that dilemma really exists or if it is possible to build societies with general well-being without growth or with little growth that is based on low carbon sectors.

Latin America’s pattern of productive specialization in natural resources entails a growing demand for energy, which implies an increase in the emission of greenhouse gases. Production and consumption systems within the region are highly dependent on fossil energies (ECLAC, 2010, 21). As per 2007 data, Latin America was responsible for 8% of global emissions (recent data raises the figure to 12%), but it has the lowest participation of the energy sector in the total of greenhouse gases emissions (the highest percentage comes from deforestation and agricultural and livestock activity). Given the central role of agricultural and livestock activity in the economies of many countries within the region, there is a significant political resistance to discussing possible changes in this sector (Honty, 2007).

The agro-export model promoted by some countries in the region encourage the expansion of monoculture (soy, sugarcane and palm oil crops), the increase in land concentration and foreign ownership, deforestation and the replacement of smaller more productive family farms for urban areas. For instance, Uruguay production of agrofuels is currently focused on ethanol from sugarcane, soybeans for biodiesel, and tree plantations to produce cellulose and ethanol. When the Argentinian government increased export taxes to agro export sector, soy investors came to Uruguay and started buying and leasing productive lands. Small farmers and rural workers feel they are being forced out as a result of the expanding foreign ownership of land.

### **Need for new paradigms**

Climate change makes more evident the need for new paradigms. This implies thinking about new forms of production, consumption, redistribution, generation and use of energy, as well as about the kind of energy. It is necessary to look for a sustainable model of economic recovery, growth, and development. Strategies based mainly on commodities’ exports turn economies vulnerable to the fluctuations of trade and international prices. It is important to move to an

economic growth model based on low carbon and cleaner sectors. The service sector can be an option.

An important element to consider is the right to education and its potential role in the reduction of social gaps and elimination of intergenerational reproduction of poverty in Latin America. Access to education has an impact in the reduction of inequality. To achieve this, it is essential to broaden preschool education coverage and guarantee the entrance of boys, girls and teenagers to the education system. There is a need to promote the permanence of education by guaranteeing access to lifelong learning and updating opportunities throughout life.

Latin America should improve participation in global negotiations related to Climate Change with its own regional agenda, in order to take on coordinated initiatives of economic-environmental improvement. This requires, in turn, that each country has a defined political commitment regarding the policies needed to deal with climate change in general and with the negotiations in particular. But also it is important for young feminist, for ecological and economic justice movements to advocate for a transformative agenda.

Finally it is important to combine economic justice debates with ecological justice and gender justice movements. It is important to discuss economic and gender implications of Latin America alternatives such as “Sumak Kawsay” (“Living well”). The LAC consultation on GEEJ provides a space for communication and mutual understanding among policy makers, feminists, and ecological and economic justice movements in the region.

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# DAWN Training Institute 2011

The fourth global DAWN Training Institute (DTI) will be held in Siem Reap, Kingdom of Cambodia on 10-28 October 2011. Thirty young gender justice advocates from the economic south have been selected to participate from a pool of over 190 applicants. The fourth global DTI succeeds three previous DAWN Training Institutes held in Bangalore, India in 2003; Montevideo, Uruguay in 2005, and; Cape Town, South Africa in 2007. The DAWN Analysis Team is led by DTI Training Coordinator Zo Randriamaro, a human rights and feminist activist from Madagascar.

DTI 2011 participants share how they expect the DAWN Training Institute will impact their activism and advocacies.

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## **PATRICIA ANNAN** *Ghana, AFRICA*

"I expect to get deeper insights in DAWN's feminist analysis which interlinks issues under the themes of Political Economy of Globalisation including Gender and Trade; Political Ecology and Sustainability; Sexual and Reproductive Health and Rights; and, Political Restructuring and Social Transformation. This is necessary because the factors responsible for gender inequality that exist in Ghana are inherent to the socio-cultural position of women as it pertains to the traditional matrilineal and patrilineal inheritance systems, which may severely limit a woman's right to inheritance and other rights in the social and economic spheres. Additionally, I look forward to gain insight in the intersectional analytical tool, which is a tool for analysis, advocacy and policy development that addresses multiple discrimination and help us understand how different sets of identities, impact on access to justice and opportunities. It also has a critical role in work for human rights and development."

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## **HAFIZA YAZDANY** *Afghanistan, ASIA*

"Afghanistan is still a country where male privilege is supported by political dynamics and traditional customs. I would like for the DAWN Training Institute to develop and build my capacities towards challenging this paradigm as well as equip me with advocacy tools to forward women's rights in conflict situations."

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## **TONYA HAYNES** *Barbados, CARIBBEAN*

"I welcome the opportunity to participate in the DAWN training programme in order to understand how other young feminists from across the globe are defining the issues which are most important to them, their strategies for change at the community, national and global level and the challenges which they face. I want to be part of a global feminist network in order to use my varied skills and talents to working for change in people's everyday lives. Caribbean feminists have played key roles in DAWN's history and I wish to honour that legacy of Caribbean feminist leadership on national and international issues by committing myself to a life of public service. This DAWN training programme would prove invaluable in complementing the skills and experiences I already have, particularly in Gender & Development, working with emerging businesses and new media. I expect that at the end of the training, I would be better equipped with creative ways for expanding outreach, building a movement and tackling global inequalities."

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## **LUCIANA MÉNDEZ** *Uruguay, LATIN AMERICA*

"I expect that DAWN Training Institute will provide a good combination of theory, research and activism. In this sense, I think that strong capacity building in relation to feminism, women rights and different experiences at local, regional and national level will be exposed. Finally, I think that the added value of being in touch with people from different parts of the world is invaluable. The possibility to learn and to exchange different experiences and to be part of a real network of people concerned about similar issues is really important, not only for me to improve as an economist and researcher, but also and most importantly, as a human being."

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## **ROSHNI NUGGEHALLI** *India, ASIA*

"I am particularly drawn to DAWN's thematic areas on political economy of globalisation and political restructuring. Most of my advocacy work thus far has been related to these issues, and I am very eager to learn about DAWN's analyses in these areas. I feel the training program will be the perfect platform to gain a formal initiation into the complex, inter-linked analyses and debates on these issues. I hope to begin to deepen my understanding and situate my experiences within researched, theoretical frames of gender justice in the face of global trends of change. I aim to use this training to begin to interlink gender justice with some of the advocacy I am involved in already. Although I have participated in different forms of India-specific activism and advocacy, my global exposure and experience is limited, particularly in the area of gender justice. I feel that it will be an exciting challenge to view some of my experiences as an activist-researcher in India within a normative activist frame reflecting the global trends which impinge on the idea and nature of justice. Also, at a practical level, the training will expose and introduce me to new sites and processes of 'doing' – information and skills which will directly benefit my activism in India, and especially enable me to engage with my work through a gender lens. In particular, I hope to begin an exploration of how to incorporate the frameworks of globally situated gender justice concepts into my work with children."

# *DAWN on Global Analyses and Advocacies for Feminist Economists*

**IAFFE 2011 Annual Conference 24-26 June 2011 Hangzhou, China**

by Marina Durano, DAWN

“Reorienting economic theory, policies, and institutions: Feminist perspectives in the aftermath of the global economic crisis” was the theme of the 2011 Annual Conference of the International Association for Feminist Economics. DAWN participated in the conference, which was hosted by the Zhejiang Gongshang University.

At the opening plenary, Marina Durano read Gigi Francisco’s speech on “Economic Governance Challenges for Asian Women: What to do?” Gigi spoke of the growth in the Asia-Pacific region, pulled up by India and China, and the dilemma of continuing development challenges despite this growth. The big three countries in Asia—China, India, and Indonesia—create opportunities for fair development outcomes in platforms and arenas of global economic governance, particularly through these countries’ participation in the Group of 20.

Gigi said that “it is important to continue working to rescue policy studies, futures-thinking and analyses from the neoliberal frame, given that the market-based global model of development in the last 20 years did not provide evidence to reinforce Asian market efficiencies with redistribution, gender equality, rights and sustainable development.” She also spoke of the “need to take a hard look at the corporate foothold and the development model it has entrenched in global, regional and national economies.” Finally, Gigi said that “this region has yet to come together for social security in a more definitive way. Regional cooperation tends to favor economic and political security. Social security is typically a strategic opportunity for women—in national machineries or in civil society organizations—to raise issues related to rights, social reproduction and care, and natural resource use.”

At the closing plenary, Gita Sen discussed some of the dilemmas and issues associated with social protection in the region. She proposed enlarging the scope of social protection “to include not only measures to mitigate the income shocks of temporary unemployment or specific protections for old age, but may require

support against chronic hunger, inadequacy of income from work, and other anti-poverty programmes such as social insurance. A broader definition would include programmes that focus not on mitigation of vulnerability but on prevention, by addressing basic human development through guarantees for universal coverage of health and education. The broadest definition, and one that I support, addresses the consequences of social inequality and injustice due to factors such as gender, ethnicity, caste, disability and religion by specifically focusing on the needs of groups rendered vulnerable by such factors, through, inter alia, reservations and quotas, child care, and support for domestic work and the care economy more generally.”

DAWN, at the request of IAFFE, organized a panel entitled “Activist Scholarship and its Contributions to Deliberative Democracy in Global Economic Governance”. A segment of development theorizing looks into the use of ideas as a basis for and as embodied in organizations and institutions. There are references to ‘meta-ideas’ that permeate governance mechanisms and, themselves, influence the characteristics of incentive structures for the production of new ideas. Meanwhile, the capability approach emphasizes the role of deliberative decision-making institutions in determining the desired ends of development. Indeed, Peter Evans has argued that the ability of communities and societies to define their goals can be considered a form of institutional technology.

The DAWN panel presented some real world applications using the experience of Trade-Finance Linkages, the Third World Network, and DAWN as case studies of organizations and networks and their use of ideas in pursuit of reforms in global economic governance structures.

Aldo Caliari, coordinator of Trade-Finance Linkages, presented a paper on “Networking and Advocacy for Alternative Responses to the Global Crisis.” Aldo first presented a history of the International Working Group on Trade-Finance Linkages, “with the purpose of bridging trade and



Marina Durano reading Gigi Francisco’s speech on “Economic Governance Challenges for Asian Women: What to do?” at the opening plenary

finance and leveraging the opportunities that the integrated consideration offers for social justice advocates”, in light of the parallel rise of governance regimes for trade and for finance. In particular, there is the Marrakesh Declaration on Policy Coherence and debates ensued on how this idea of policy coherence is to be realized.

The experience of the network offered an opportunity to appreciate the role of the capacity of communities and their organizing institutions to solve development problems as well as identifying development goals. CSOs have approached trade and finance from their respective silos targeting and mirroring specialized institutions so that policy advocacy on trade and finance developed in separate compartments. The concern then is that an “increased coordination the Bretton Woods Institutions and the WTO, under an agenda termed ‘coherence’ was placing under a new threat the policy space of developing countries to tailor management of trade and financial policies in support of a nationally-designed development strategies.”

The network at its initial stages provided a “platform for linking the



Gita Sen speaking on social protection at the closing plenary



Plenary session speakers on "Activist Scholarship and its Contributions to Deliberative Democracy in Global Economic Governance". L-R: Zo Randriamaro (DAWN), Aldo Caliari (Trade-Finance Linkages), Chee Yoke Ling (Third World Network)

expertise of groups working on trade and on finance." The next stage of the network's development involved shifting its focus away from the coherence (or lack of it) among the Bretton Woods Institutions and towards the ways that national governments have been (or not) drawing on the connections between trade and finance. The notion of "trade-finance linkages" was further elaborated. As part of this process, the plurality of policy connections in the countries or regions could then be defined by the CSOs in the network instead of working with a presumption that there is a "universally-understood, uniformly shared content" as implied in the BWI coherence agenda. As such, the possibility of "change and evolution" was raised as opposed to "rigidity and sense of permanence." In other words, the trade-finance linkages promote participatory knowledge-building and ownership of the outcomes of knowledge-building. In this sense, therefore, linkages "open up policy space for alternatives." Indeed, this experience has possibilities for how national governments might use this institutional technology for designing responses to the global financial crisis.

Chee Yoke Ling of the Third World Network presented their work on "The Use of Scholarship in Inter-Governmental Negotiations on Climate Change." In her presentation, Yoke Ling emphasized

that "[a]lthough global warming and the ensuing climate changes are an environmental crisis, it is one born of a dominant and unsustainable economic development model that depends on fossil fuels. To rise to the challenges of stabilising the planet's climate is to fundamentally change the dominant mindset of a development model that arose from the fossil fuel based industrial revolution." Three principles enter into the global negotiations on climate change.

A first is on equity and justice whose expression is found in various forms. Among these are "common but differentiated responsibilities", "inter-generational justice", "climate justice", "equitable sharing of atmospheric space" and "carbon budgeting" and a challenge has been to embed gender justice needs within these expressions.

There is also the principle of environmental integrity "expressed by the urgent need to drastically reduce emissions of greenhouse gases and to have countries and societies shift to sustainable development pathways."

Finally, Yoke Ling spoke of the "issue of global economic governance that is necessary to tackle climate change. At the centre of structural economic governance reforms is the role of the state vis-à-vis an increasingly concentrated corporate sector and the expanding role of civil society

groups and networks, all of which shape the inter-governmental institutions that are critical to solving global challenges."

Zo Randriamaro of DAWN spoke of "DAWN DDD and GEEJ Process: Mobilizing and Catalyzing Young Women Through Training and Consultation." Zo spoke of how "global governance institutions have failed to recognize the inter-linkages between the systemic and multiple global crises, and their core underlying cause, which is the unsustainability of the capitalist model of production and consumption." The search for solutions always raises questions of power and politics in any response to challenges that crises bring.

In addition to power and politics, the approach that needs to be taken to enable the design of adequate responses to the crises demands inter-disciplinary approaches linking economics, sociology, political and ecological sciences. This is another layer of linkages that is helpful in understanding the nature and causes of crises.

From this perspective, Zo presented that "DAWN training and consultations aim to create social agents and political processes with capacity to (1) understand the issues at stake and their inter-linkages, and (2) generate institutional change towards gender, economic, and ecological justice." Therefore, DAWN's DDD and GEEJ processes are part of twin and inter-linked political projects, namely the project of democratic development and the project of a new social contract.

It follows, therefore, that contributing to the strengthening of deliberative decision-making institutions, which from a capabilities approach, is "the only means of adequately defining what the desired ends of development might be" using the words of Prof. Peter Evans who has been writing on the role of institutions in development. Thus, as Zo explained, "consultations and inclusion of young feminists from the different regions of the global South is required for defining legitimate political agendas, goals and strategies in the fierce new world."



# Voices

from DAWN Regional Events

## *Pacific CSOs activisms on Earth Summit/Rio + 20*

by Noelene Nabulivou, DAWN



In the midst of the white noise of numerous marketized, repackaged and often confusingly contradictory climate finance and adaptation assistance advanced by numerous north and south actors heavily targeting the region (with Clean Development Mechanisms, Pilot Program for Climate Resilience' (PPCR)/ Climate loans, REDD and REDD+ readiness projects, Carbon Swap Projects, SID and LDC initiatives, Green Economy, Blue Economy and other initiatives), diverse Pacific civil society groups that are concerned about the nature and future of sustainable development continue to refine their mobilization.

This growing CSO to Rio+20 movement includes many feminist and women's rights activists involved in the GEEJ process including The Cook Islands Women's Counselling Centre, Te Punanga Tauturu Inc (PTI); Women's Action for Change (Fiji), Bismarck Ramu Group (PNG), and Fiji Women's Rights Movement, among others. It also includes trade and development advocates such as Pacific Network on Globalisation, Pacific Conference of Churches; and youth networks such as Econesians and Nesians 350; Project Survival Pacific; Pacific Climate Change Leadership Alumni Group, Pacific Gender and Climate Coalition, Young Peoples' Concerned Network and others.

Pacific CSOs had signed on to the joint statement from civil society groups in countries chosen as recipients to the World Bank's 'Pilot Program for Climate Resilience' (PPCR). There are deep concerns that financing of programmes and activities related to climate change adaptation and mitigation must not violate human rights and social justice, and therefore must never take the form of climate loans. In the Pacific, countries that are already part of the PPCR include Papua New Guinea, Samoa and Tonga.

Recent examples of CSO solidarity include the DAWN GEEJ Pacific NGO input into the UNCSD Sub-Regional

Preparatory Meeting for the Pacific, held in Samoa on 20-21 July, 2011, with intensive governmental and institutional lobbying by The Cook Islands Women's Counselling Centre, Te Punanga Tauturu Inc (PTI), WAC, DAWN, PANG, Econesia and others, and online media and listserv info-communication strategies used.

There has been active regional media monitoring, and also expert position papers and reports shared with more Pacific government and CSO contacts. This has included, for example, an important appeal from a Global Reflection Group on Sustainable Development, and analysis from DAWN Global Coordinator Josefa 'Gigi' Francisco at the reflection group dialogue on alternative development framework and indicators, held on July 17, 2011 in Manila.

Two young Pacific women leaders Sainimere Veitata and Mere Nailatikau were also recently keynote speakers at the recent New Zealand UN Youth Congress, at an event called, 'Our Pacific, Our Future'. Mere provided event participants with copies of the DAWN GEEJ statements by young women in the Pacific, Africa and Latin America.

PANG and PCC were also recently participants at the 14th Annual Meeting of the Pacific Islands Roundtable for Nature Conservation (PIRNC), where participants have pointed out that "our way of 'doing business' failed since the first Rio Earth Summit in 1992" and that the current hegemonic economic approach involving extraction and degradation of limited

natural resources, does not provide a sustainable future for the Pacific.<sup>1</sup>

1 PINA/PACNEWS. 'Pacific Islands green/blue economic future must challenge global economic models' Online Editor - 1:53 pm GMT+12, 03/08/2011, Fiji <http://www.pina.com.fj/index.php?p=pacnews&m=read&o=20301500834e38aa112ada67df7fdb>

## *African feminist resistances & climate change politics*

by Hibist Kassa, Student Worker Solidarity Society, Ghana DAWN GEEJ Africa Training Institute Alumna

DAWN GEEJ Panel in the 55th CSW, New York



At the recent climate change talks in Cancun, Africa was betrayed by its own 'leadership'. Melez Zenawi, the Ethiopian Prime Minister who was the spokesperson of the African Union at the talks, is reported to have argued for the discredited Copenhagen Accord to be the basis for negotiations. This betrayal was buttressed by Raila Odinga, Prime Minister of Kenya, who argued that \$100 billion offered by the advanced capitalist states for all developing countries was sufficient. This was despite the fact that Africa had demanded \$600 billion.<sup>1</sup>

In this respect it is significant to note that struggles being waged by the youth, workers and feminist groups, seeking social, political and economic justice, are integrally linked to the pursuit of Gender, Economic and Ecological Justice (GEEJ). This is emphasized when one reflects on the nature of the Melez regime. This authoritarian regime successfully killed over 190 women and men, some

of whom had actively participated in 2 days of struggle in 2005 after Ethiopia's controversial general elections. Soon after the bloodbath Melez was 'honored' with an invitation to the G-8 summit. Against this context, it is important to acknowledge that the failure of that popular uprising came at the cost of placing a western backed regime in a position to betray Africa's pursuit of climate justice.

### **Where are women resisting?**

In 2008, the world was confronted with a global food crisis. According to the World Bank, FAO and the International Food Policy Research Institute (IFPRI) food prices rose by 83% between 2005 and 2008 (181% for wheat) and by 130% between January 2002 and June 2008.<sup>2</sup> Several African countries were faced with food protests. In Cameroon over 20 people were killed in the food protests of 2008. Women who were severely affected in the food crisis were part of these struggles. This pattern was repeated in the Gambia, Senegal, Burkina Faso, Egypt, Algeria, Sierra Leone and Liberia. It is important to understand that the protests were not triggered by a fear of starvation, but out of a sense of exploitation.<sup>3</sup> In other words, this was the struggle for justice!

The World Bank further states that 12 million people fell below the poverty line as a result of the food price increases.<sup>4</sup> Currently, the Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO) and UNCTAD have noted that food prices have risen to almost 2008 levels. As a result, about 40 million people have sunk into poverty.

Against this context, where do young women stand? Today's generation of young people in Africa were born in a period of an intensifying economic crisis. Young women in particular have been faced with living in an increasingly hostile world. They have not only had to come to terms with their multilayered identities (gender, ethnicity, sexual orientation and class), but also, confront a world which has produced interlinked and multiple crises. It is significant not to view these personal and global issues as separate. In this regard, Majorie Mbilinyi has described how African women have been identified by global capital as being potentially important allies and sources of resistance to the status quo.<sup>5</sup>

In my view this is made possible because women play an important role in ensuring the stability of the current system through their care work in the communities. However, it is precisely because women engage the system at the level of

securing the survival of their communities that they are also a dynamic source of resistance. In these times of deepening multiple crises, the battle lines have already been drawn.

In recent weeks, the Tunisian and Egyptian examples have illustrated how the bottled up frustrations of young people can ignite revolutions. The current food crisis and high unemployment rates were the triggers of the protests. Young women in these countries have organized and participated in these struggles. Women's voices were heard as housewives, the unemployed, factory workers, skilled and the unskilled workers and as students on the streets in online social networks and through traditional media outlets. The message they carry is a multilayered one. The issues of concern to them stem from their daily battles of survival. That process of struggle would ensure that the dream of equality in diversity is a real possibility. However, this can only occur if women boldly own their struggles. Nowhere is such ownership desperately needed than in Africa. Young women must be part of such political projects.

### **Reflection**

Ultimately, the core problem is to identify the values which will guide our society. To what needs shall public policy respond? How shall we confront and unravel the existing capitalist system? How can we best strategise to create conditions which will ensure our world is redefined so that our world is fairer and just? Is this a search for a utopian world or does the extreme nature of the multiple crises give us no real alternative? I think that this is the time which offers an opportunity for genuinely revolutionary political projects to be executed.

Hope lies in the fact that social movements are already confronting the crises in its many facets and levels. Therefore, building the capacity of activists to deepen our understanding of the problems, and their manifestations in the different regions of the global south is a beginning. GEEJ, therefore, offers an important platform where dialogue and reflection can ensure regional perspectives and experiences can be incorporated into building a knowledge base. This process should enable activists to gain critical insights which must be translated into less fragmentation within movements and an elimination of the 'false' separation between the global and local. The nature of the crises facing the world demands such an approach. In addition, it is my hope that the meaningful participation of young

women will become integral to activism in Africa. It is important to trust that it is only through struggle that genuine social transformation can occur. As Leon Trotsky says '...ideas that enter the mind under fire remain there securely and forever'.<sup>6</sup>

1 Editorial (2010), "Cancun Climate Talks saved but Climate not Saved", African Agenda, Vol. 13 No. 6, p 4

2 Golay, C., The Food Crisis and Food Security: Towards a New World Food Order? Graduate Institute for International Development Studies, Geneva, 22nd February 2011 available at <http://poldev.revues.org/145>

3 Foreign Affairs, The Psychology of Food Riots, When Do Price Spikes Lead to Unrest?, Evan Fraser and Andrew Rimas, Council of Foreign Affairs, January 30, 2011 <http://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/67338/evan-fraser-and-andrew-rimas/the-psychology-of-food-riots>

4 Okonjo-Iweala, N., Remarks to the African Union Summit, 3 February 2011 available at <http://web.worldbank.org/WBSITE/EXTERNAL/NEWS/0,,contentMDK:22820130~pagePK:34370~piPK:34424~theSitePK:4607,00.html>

5 Mbilinyi M., "Gender and Class in the Political Economy of Africa", TGNP, Presentation to African Activists School on Global Financial Crisis, Accra, August, 2010.

6 Leon Trotsky, My Life, Microsoft Encarta 2008, Microsoft Corporation, 1993-2007.

## ***The "Good Living" as an alternative to development***

*by Eduardo Gudynas, CLAES, Uruguay  
DAWN GEEJ Consultation in Latin America,  
18-21 March 2011, Montevideo*



The current development models have problems: a strong base in consumption and a Eurocentric culture while social and environmental impacts are minimized. The Latin American left has been very tough on its European Marxist tradition of linear progress. There were environmental alliances with feminists and other social movements against right-wing governments in past decades, but these alliances are not currently active. In South America, there are fractures between the indigenous people, women and environmentalists.

### **Economy vs. nature**

How nature is valued depends on whether it can be sold on the market or not. The latest version of the "Green Economy" is akin to economic reductionism because it consists of reducing nature to a commodity in order to solve the financial

crisis. In the South American region, there has not been much discussion of the crisis.

South America continues to accumulate the most diverse environmental impacts, ranging from pollution; deforestation; deterioration of environmental quality in cities; to the disappearance of indigenous species. These trends have not changed substantially in recent years. With the advent of progressive governments, there has been progress in international politics and poverty reduction programs. Yet in almost all countries, sectors such as mining have remained, exacerbating extractives. Environmental policy is very weak and is becoming an important area of dispute.

There is a tendency to address the environmental issues as an opposition between economy and ecology, and as obstacles to both development and social policies. This is a setback. Ecological limits must be recognized and it is not possible to continue with the defense of unlimited output. Right now this debate is essential to renewing policies based on a commitment to justice. In the 21st century, no matter if you are progressive, socialist, revolutionary or conservative; we all must stop destroying nature now--today. There are no excuses.

### **Rejecting development**

The “Good Living” concept, which has been on a widespread diffusion in recent years, allows for a discussion of development without explicitly mentioning development. It represents both the dissatisfaction with the progress of conventional development, and the search for substantive changes under new commitments to the quality of life and protection of nature.

Before becoming a finished concept, the “Good Living” expresses a process involving a gradual construction wherein a wide variety of voices intervene. So there are different versions, each one with its specific emphasis, and responding to specific situations. No one can claim obedience to a single ideology and there is still a long way to go.

The Constitution of Ecuador recognizes the rights of nature and provides it with a territoriality dimension, which is a new and important component. With this, extractive industries may be challenged as being unconstitutional. Bolivia, on the other hand, has a global rhetoric of extreme radicalism, but which is not effectively applied within its borders. This country has one of the weakest mitigation programs in Latin America. The region, in general, has to change agricultural policy and address deforestation and land reform issues. In Brazil or Uruguay, for instance, there is nothing like that. Progressive governments use slogans, but

their actions are different. Now, we need to be much more rigorous in the debate, and provide more details on the situation on the ground.

There is a difference between the ‘90s and this century. The global crisis has left in doubt what was taken as a dogma. Now there is an open forum for discussion that did not exist in the ‘90s. The most important thing is to make positive proposals, and also to keep in mind that the left never included these issues in its agenda, nor cared about them.

Note: In addition to the author, the consultation contributors were Cecilia Lopez (Agenda Foundation, Colombia); Alma Espino of (CIEDRU/IGTN Uruguay); Masaya Llaveneras (Venezuela); Alicia Torres (CEFIR Uruguay); Federico Ferla (UNDP Uruguay); Moema Viezzer (COMSOL Brazil); and Martha Rico (Flora Tristan Peru).

## *Maximum available resources for human rights*

*by Aldo Caliarì, Argentina/USA*

*DAWN Workshop on Engendering Human Rights in Economic Policy in Asia, 26-27 January, 2011, Philippines*

The obligation of the state is to take steps towards the progressive realization of human rights. That progressive realization also entails the duty to not reverse, where the concept of non-retrogression enters. If a certain level of rights has been achieved, it should not be reversed.

The idea behind the concept of maximum available resources is that the states need to show that they are actually mobilizing the utmost economic resources that could be obtained toward realizing rights. This idea is a very powerful one. For example, are they raising the revenue they could raise through all the means they have? Are they taxing the financial sector? What is the deficit? We can demand that the state utilize all available tools. To what extent is the state really pushing the mechanisms internationally, allowing it to raise more resources? To what extent is the state seeking cooperation to address transfer pricing? To what extent is the state seeking ODA? There are many ways by which the state can generate resources. We should further look into our options.

If progressive realization means that the state needs to undertake all measures that it has at its disposal to ensure the respect, protection and fulfillment of human rights, then, the moment that the state does not/fails to utilize an economic tool that it could otherwise use, a violation is being committed by the state. On the

other hand, whenever the state utilizes a tool that actually carries a retrogression effect on an existing right then this, too, is a violation. In other words, when the state implements an economic policy tool that is detrimental to human rights, then the basis of the violation is an act of commission, as against an act of omission in the previous instance.

Economic policy tools are such that they are neutral. They could be favorable or not for the promotion of human rights. It depends on how you mix them and how intensively you will use them. This is where the country context will enter. The reason why we are concerned with certain loans from the IMF or the EU-ASEAN free trade agreement is because these agreements curtail the state’s ability to utilize a number of economic policy tools to protect, respect and fulfill human rights. Whether these tools are related to import tariffs, import quotas, subsidies, export taxes, exchange rates, financing requirements, investment requirements, price controls, price stability, capital controls, all of these are at the state’s disposal.

Economists claim that human rights advocates are so idealistic and they often remind us that economics is the science of fulfilling unlimited needs out of limited resources. Eventually, we are told, trade-offs need to be made as to whose rights can be fulfilled. Indeed, there are situations when the state would need to arbitrate the rights of different groups. In those cases, it is not like the state has free license to actually reverse any of the existing rights. Rather, the state still has the obligation to show that in consideration of all things – the alternatives, the totality of economic, social and cultural rights of the population, maximum available resources, etc. – the best way to fulfill all human rights obligations might be to reverse one or another existing right. It must be pointed out that such trade-off has to be within the context of human rights and a framework of justice, non-discrimination, participation, to ensure that the policy decision is not just an arbitrary trade-off.

Human rights advocates do not usually feel comfortable with demanding certain economic policies. We have to be able to take that extra step to mobilize people to say with confidence that the state has the obligation to implement these economic policy tools in ways that protect and promote human rights. This involves challenging power structures and facing reaction. All our struggles, in one way or another, are power struggles.

What do we gain from human rights? We actually gain the higher ground!

## *Progressive Politics in Latin America through DAWN's Inter-linkages Lens*

[continued from p.1]

### **Compassion, care & redistribution**

At the same time, there are feminist conceptions of compassion and care that run alongside affirmations of individual human rights and autonomy. Poor women, who traverse both the productive and social reproductive spheres, know only too well the need to ensure that every person in the community is fed and cared for.

Individual autonomy as embodied in rights, care and compassion provide the principles that have grounded south feminist propositions or support for ideas and proposals that were generated in our regional discussion. I share them with you in the hope that these may help to move us forward from the dilemma posed by the triangle of economic, gender and environmental justice.

Feminists will support redistribution of wealth, ensuring that women just like men become direct beneficiaries of any scheme of redistribution. We would also support calls for various regulations in the economic realm, particularly of run-away parts of the global market such as over the counter trading of speculative

financial instruments. Struggles to protect policy space and proposals to regulate large parts of the domestic market, including the operations of transnational corporations, as part of a mix of economic policies, also fall within this area.

We had feminist discussions on the need to re-examine the mantra of high growth. Why can't we have instead in predictable and regular fashion, slow to moderate growth, rather than focusing on high growth targets? Calls to modulate consumption especially in the North have been strongly endorsed by feminists from the economic south. In addition, we in DAWN think that we need to further feminist and inter-movement discussions on the need for production systems and practices to be re-examined. For instance, how transnational corporations involved in manufacturing have utilized built-in obsolescence, or promoted harmful biotechnology as tools for accumulation and market share concentration, have to be included in the agenda. When will governments begin talking seriously about shifting from high-energy

production to low energy systems, or moving away from extractive to more sustainable production systems that are led, for instance, by self-sufficient small-scale farm land agriculture?

Gender budgeting, we agreed, need to be supported with more efficient and effective surveillance and monitoring systems. At the same time, however, there is a need for feminists to begin critically examining where the government gets the funds for its budget. It was raised that the resource generation strategies of government may be creating outcomes that over-turn gains in social protection, as it may be contributing to further ecological instabilities and financial uncertainties.

### **Feminist politics**

Finally, women's participation in politics and political discussions that go beyond calls for institutionality, need to be continuously pursued by all feminists and progressives that seek social transformation.

## *LBT Rights & Militarization in Post Conflict Context*

[continued from p.3] Increased militarization has also resulted in restrictions to freedom of association and organization. Non-governmental organizations working within a rights-based framework have called for international states to investigate human rights violations and are now viewed by government as a threat. This in turn has resulted in increased scrutiny of NGOs and their sources of funding. It is a challenge for organizations working on sexuality rights to function openly in an atmosphere created from the convergence of anti-NGO sentiments with criminalization of homosexuality. As LBT activists, we have been compelled to use HIV, health, reproductive rights and sex work as entry points to working on sexuality.

### **Economic and ecological justice**

Sri Lanka functions primarily on an agricultural economy. In the post conflict scenario, lands that were used for paddy cultivation were ravaged and destroyed. Lands have also yet to be cleared of landmines before they are redistributed to internally displaced persons (IDPs). In the light of this situation, economic justice becomes a challenge, especially for lower economic income groups. Since government assistance and compensation

is also only linked to the heteronormative family unit, land redistribution is only accessible to families that fit the "normal" family unit. Within such context, LBT women are especially vulnerable because their relationships are not recognized by the state.

### **Action for LBT rights**

As LBT rights activists it is impossible to work in isolation. We find it important to make links with the women's movement and look to them for support and solidarity. A case in point is our recent experience with the CEDAW Reporting process. In October 2010, the CEDAW Committee adopted General Recommendation No. 28 which defined Article 2 to specifically include discrimination based on sexual orientation and gender identity. For the first time, the Women Support Group (WSG) decided to actively engage with the CEDAW Reporting process, when the CEDAW Committee was due to review Sri Lanka in February 2011. The WSG submitted a separate NGO Shadow Report to the CEDAW Committee that specifically dealt on the status of Lesbian, Bisexual and Transgender People in Sri Lanka. As lesbians, feminists and women's rights activists, we were also

keen to adopt a two-pronged approach in our advocacy strategy within the CEDAW process. As such, not only did we submit a separate Shadow Report on the Status of LBT Persons, but we also lobbied with mainstream women's NGOs to include our key concerns in the larger Sri Lanka NGO Shadow Report prepared by the Women and Media Collective in consultation with over 60 women's organizations in Sri Lanka. A positive outcome of our engagement with the CEDAW process is reflected in the CEDAW Concluding Comments which urges the State party to "decriminalize sexual relationships between consenting adults of same sex, and abide by the obligation of non-discrimination under the Convention" (Para.25g).

Just as women's rights are human rights, it is important for LBT rights activists to advocate for sexuality rights as women's rights. In order to do this however, we need to work together with the women's movement to move forward and grow stronger.

1 Demographic data has been taken from the Government of Sri Lanka, Official Web Portal [online] Available at: [http://www.gov.lk/gov/index.php?option=com\\_content&view=article&id=58&language=en](http://www.gov.lk/gov/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=58&language=en) (accessed on 24/06/2011).

2 Halberstam, J. (1998a) *Female Masculinity*. Durham and London: Duke University Press.

# DAWN in Brief

Responding to a request from the Ford Foundation, DAWN provided substantive and logistical leadership to the Workshop on Advancing a Progressive Agenda for Asian Women. The meeting, which was held in Bangkok, Thailand on 11 – 13 June 2011, was attended by 35 women activists from South Asia, Southeast Asia and East Asia. The women activists in Asia valued the conversations surrounding geopolitical considerations and key policy platforms at the global and regional spheres that affect realizations of human rights, gender justice and sustainability in their local and national contexts. Present from DAWN were Gita Sen, Kumudini Samuel, Anita Nayar, Cai Yiping, Marina Durano, and Gigi Francisco.

Gita Sen was a keynote speaker at the opening of the VIII World Assembly of the International Council on Adult Education (ICAE) held in Malmo, Sweden on 14 – 17 June 2011. Her speech entitled “Intellectuals and Intellect Workers: The Role of

Educators in Today’s Fierce World” was enthusiastically applauded by adult educators and learners present in the global assembly. Gigi Francisco also served as moderator in the panel organized by the Gender Education Office (GEO) of the ICAE. Listen to the webcast of Gita Sen’s speech at: <http://bit.ly/nm4fdr>.

Gigi Francisco represented DAWN at the Social Watch 5th Global Assembly held on 13-15 July 2011 in Manila, Philippines. She was a member of the panel which spoke in the Workshop on Gender and Social Movements that was organized by the BRIDGE Team of the Institute for Development Studies. The BRIDGE TEAM will produce a Cutting Edge Pack on the same topic. In the strategy paper produced by the Assembly, Social Watch particularly cited DAWN as a network to strengthen its alliance with in advancing their goals and activities toward social and gender justice.



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