

## Shifting the Terms of the Debate Around Discussions on Development Agenda Post 2015\*

*A general reflection on the process of debates so far taking place around the Development Agenda Post 2015 was written by DAWN Executive Committee member and a member of the Global Advisory Group on Inequalities, Nicole Bidegain. She and Gita Sen, DAWN Executive Committee Member and a member of the High Level Task Force on ICPD, drew from this article as well as from other DAWN consultations and reflection, to intervene in the debate during the Global Thematic Consultation on Addressing Inequalities in the Post-2015 Development Agenda. The event, led by UNICEF and UN Women with support from the Governments of Denmark and Ghana, was held in Copenhagen on February 18-19 2013. Read Nicole's remarks at the Public Dialogue at <http://dawnnet.org/advocacy-co.php?id=279>. Watch Nicole's intervention at [http://www.livestream.com/unicef/video?clipId=pla\\_fcbabab8-d85a-4e5a-a142-4687c6750553](http://www.livestream.com/unicef/video?clipId=pla_fcbabab8-d85a-4e5a-a142-4687c6750553).*

\*DAWN wishes to thank Ms. Luz Martinez of ISIS & Miriam College for translating this article from Spanish to English



Nicole Bidegain

### An Agenda Set in a Conservative Context

A basic question is- what is the fundamental agenda that is being propelled to elaborate a framework for the Post 2015 Agenda? What issues do they touch on? At present, different UN agencies and civil society organizations are proposing their own agendas, focusing primarily on sectoral objectives and precise indicators. However, I believe that the Post 2015 Development Agenda has to integrate and encompass the structural challenges that impair the realizations of human rights, economic justice, environmental sustainability and gender-sexual equality and diversity.

An integrated development agenda should look at the realization of human rights of all persons based on conditions of equality and equity, avoiding the pitfalls of competing themes where one tends to look at what theme or issue or social group has more importance (or is more marginalized). The agreed conclusions by member states in the cycle of United Nations conferences on Sustainable Development, Human Rights, Population and Development, Women, Development Finance, as well as, various human rights instruments, included themes like

formal universalization of human rights with the understanding of the subversive mechanisms of intersectionality and mutually reinforcing inequalities based on income, race/ethnicity, gender, age, location, and sexual orientation.

The previous compromises mentioned earlier, proposed more ambitious targets than those found in the Millennium Development Goals. Some proposals that were beginning to emerge were never fully implemented due to diverse factors of structural nature. Among them we can consider lack of political will and public financing, verticalization of

policies, neglect of institutional resistance to trans-sectional politics, imposition of loan conditionalities and so-called cooperation, free market commercial and financial systems, growth models without employment and with high costs to the environment.

The resistance to evaluate the lack of implementation of these earlier commitments were clearly reflected in the Rio+20 Sustainable Development (2012) negotiations where the G77 attempted to address the obstacles of implementation including the finance debate, transfer of technology and common but differentiated responsibilities, in the midst of European Union, United States and Japan insistence of a "new framework" and set of objectives that aims to be "aspirational and communicable."

But, how it is possible to achieve the goals if economic structures remain unquestioned? Are we able to achieve any development target within a model that perpetuates inequality, weakens national states, and promotes corporate rights instead of human and collective rights? Any development agenda should tackle the global economic imbalances within Northern and Southern countries and between states and multinational corporations (MNC's).

### The Role of States at a Global and Local Level

Thus, major actions should happen at the global and national levels in order to achieve a transformative development agenda. At the global level, multilateralism and especially the UN should be reinforced. The UN has to lead the necessary rights-based pro-development economic and financial reforms, in particular responding to issues of global macroeconomic policy including its social and ecological dimensions. Also, a multilateral mechanism should be put in place in order to subject donor governments, private philanthropy organizations, investors and transnational corporations to human rights and environmental sustainability norms and standards. Moreover, it is necessary to break down the division between United Nations headquarters in New York and Geneva. This is a challenge in a context where agencies are competing for funds.

At the same time state capacity to deliver on commitments to respect, protect and fulfill human rights needs to be strengthened. For instance, macroeconomic policies and trade and investment agreements should be in compliance with human rights obligations. Progressive income taxation and effective taxation of MNC's are fundamental to expand fiscal space and mobilize public source of financing. It is alarming how public financial systems are being eroded under the concept of "public-private partnerships", another element that was quite potent at the Rio+20 conference. But there is also need to change the way in which national policies are implemented through vertical interventions and separate budget lines. New policy measures need to be taken to overcome institutional-structural resistance to cross-cutting policies and approaches.

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# Violence and Militarisation: The Continuum from Bodies to States in the Pacific

*In the last quarter of 2012, DAWN and PANG, the Pacific Network on Globalisation, facilitated a civil society consultation in Fiji to map and discuss how to influence national, regional and global development agendas in the Pacific and globally, and begin advocating for viable 'south-south' alternatives that reflected the intersections of human rights, democracy, freedom from personal and structural violence, and respect for diversity. There were 25 activists in the room, with two DAWN women coming as speakers from outside of the Pacific. The countries represented in the region were Aotearoa (NZ), Fiji, Hawaii (USA), Kiribati, Papua New Guinea, Rapa Nui, Samoa, and Vanuatu. This article presents the general flow of discussions that took place under agreed discreteness and anonymity in a region where CSOs may be subjected to open violence and state militarism.*



Kumi Samuel

Violence and militarisation across the continuum from bodies to states was an important session at the consultation. The conversation was set in the context of historic and continuing militarised and military governments in the Pacific as well as inter- and intra-state conflicts experienced by countries such as Tonga, Fiji, Vanuatu, Solomon Islands, West-Papua/Indonesia, Bougainville/PNG.

Illustrative was the discussion on the ravages in the highland regions of PNG wracked by past and present internal tribal conflicts and war. Participants from PNG noted that the 'violence in the extractive industries, in the political environment and in conflict and its continuing impact on women was invisible and not paid sufficient attention'.

## Women, Poverty and Violence

The range and scope of violence in various times, settings and its manifestations and intensity in scale from wife beating to witch hunting, were examined and compared. The link between gender and class was prominently discussed in relation to structural violence due to enforced poverty; the military dimensions of capitalism and its current form of neo-liberalism; the violence of state as it provides legitimacy and security to corporate extractive industries; and the violence of discrimination, marginalisation and statelessness especially the very poor.

Overlaying economic marginalisation was the lack of economic resources particularly for women. The main avenue of economic survival for poor women in the Pacific islands is the informal sector where marketplaces are full of risks and threats. Very poor women spent half their week in the markets, prey to middlemen who robbed and exploited them and forced to spend days and nights in open and insecure spaces with no protection and subject to all manner of violence and abuse, including robbery, rape and murder. Thus the continuum of economic violence was played out on their bodies in inhuman and brutal ways and women in the informal sector and markets are rarely if ever taken into consideration in mainstream planning and policy interventions.

Participants interrogated the impact of the larger cash economy on women particularly in remote areas where commoditization of peoples has had terrible repercussions on communities. Cash economies they noted, favored male patterns of behaviour. Men were mobile, became migrant workers had disposable cash income that often led increased practice of polygamy and the trafficking of girls. A recent practice had men buying wives with royalties from the extractive industries and later abandoning them, where abandoned wives had to resort to the dangers of illegal mining and be prey to men for survival. These, in turn, had resulted to new forms of control over women and the increased use of violence in interpersonal relations. In considering alternatives, participants discussed their attempts to educate communities about the distortions that cash can bring; how this intersects with many aspects of culture that are harmful to community folks, especially to women; and how the government and the people must be wise and prudent in protecting their common resources and their wellbeing as a people.

Participants also spoke of the torture and extrajudicial killings of women charged with the practice of sorcery and chanting based on the belief that women have the power to cast spells, exacerbated by the existence of a Sorcery Act in Papua New Guinea. In times of crisis, women become more and more marginalised and are driven out of their land, robbed of their resources and targeted and killed as witches.

## Violence Against Boys and Transgender People

The group noted that militarised sexual and gender based violence was not experienced solely by women but that men and boys and transgender people were also targets of such violence. Discussing sexuality, bodies and citizenship the group looked at how bodies act with groups of bodies and noted that gender was not merely about empowerment and equality but also about what is transformative about gender and sexual identities and about power and representation.

Central to this interrogation were concepts of citizenship, democracy and social justice and in particular the mediated citizen. Exploration of the language of social contracts governing states and corporations (or lack thereof) led to questions about gender orders and social orders and who had voice and representation and who occupied the margins.

## Neglect in Offshore Refugee Facilities

Another example of the continuum between militarisation, the state and subject bodies was the travesty of justice in the form of offshore refugee

facilities set up by the Australian state in Nauru. The island has no fresh food or adequate facilities for the refugees. Here refugees are forced to live a bare life with few rights where the Nauruan government is obviously only concerned about short term monetary benefit rather than long term refuge for those fleeing political prosecution and human rights violations.

## Internalized Militarism the Privatization of Security

In discussing militarism in the region participants spoke of complicity when societies begin to internalise the values of a military culture. It was agreed that there was a need to explore what is meant by militarism and militarisation in its every day manifestations and our complicity with it – citizens, including women as well as civil society organizations and social movements. The Pacific has seen a significant increase in militarised spaces as well as the privatisation of security, where security was now a commodity in the contractual space with governments and the corporate sector, and a mechanism for the creation of jobs. In some countries security was a money spinner with the military corporatized into privatized security establishments taking over the functions of war and repression. More public discussions and open critical debate must be undertaken, for instance, on questions such as women's recruitment into the military, how the military privatises violence and with it the notion of what kind of body comes into play in what kind of space.

## Resisting Militarism and Violence

The women advocates who were part of the panel, and the other participants at the GEEJ Pacific consultation attempted to conceptualise the changing contexts of militarisation, and to explore the phenomenon of militarised neoliberalism, as seen from an inter-linkages lens of political economy, gender and sexuality, and of conflict and violence in the Pacific. They formulated tentative plans for alternate strategies of collective engagement between CSOs as well as how best to use national and regional spaces of resistance to be both 'visible, but also to work within the shadows' of activism and advocacy.

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# Neo-extractive Realities, Post-extractivist Futures: Pacific Women and Feminist Development Alternatives

*One key area of work for many GEEJ-Pacific meeting participants is resistance against extractivist industries. But are post-extractivist alternatives possible in the Pacific? And what are alternatives?*

## Post-Extractivism in the Pacific: Development Possibility or Myth?

In some South states, there is already policy discussion on a post-extractivist development. Latin American States, for example, have already moved to official counter-positions on extractivism with their new constitutions. Such are the cases of Ecuador, Bolivia and Venezuela. However, the extent to which post-extractivism is fully conceptualised in States and realised in policy and practice, is debatable. Indeed, some south ecologists and feminists point to such shifts as yet 'neo' rather than post-extractivist, with major negative impacts on local communities and now state defended as 'anti-neocolonialist' and 'people-oriented development'.<sup>[1]</sup>



*GEEJ Pacific Panel, with the writer of the article, DAWN's Noelene Nabulivou*

In the Pacific, despite strong political presence in climate change meetings and rhetoric in Rio+20 sustainable development tracks, regional policy language is still firmly fixed on 'green' growth - and while the reality on the ground, decidedly 'extractivist brown'. Policy-wise, there is not that much that is yet transformative. Of late, there had been recent increased references to 'caution', 'balance' and 'regulatory preparations'. Unfortunately, thus far this had meant EEZ Marine Parks and MPAs as offsets to ocean mining sites, deep-sea mining regulatory frameworks, and post Rio+20 references to commitments to 'blue-green economies' and 'sustainable mining'.

While it is somewhat curious that the 2011 Pacific Leaders Waiheke Declaration on Sustainable Development is entirely silent on mining <sup>[2]</sup> in this Pacific boom period, it is also understandable. Mining has historically been present through Pacific colonial, postcolonial and neo-colonial eras, and the environmental and social impact has been significant.<sup>[3]</sup> It has become standard fare to blame State governance, corruption and militarism for the chaotic, dirty and exclusionary state conditions of extractive development. But transnational corporations (TNCs), north states and donors,

Pacific elite and other development cowboys and dysfunctional regional politics, are as much at play in the mess that is today's Pacific mining.

Nor is mining the only extractivist industry in the region. The recent Western and Central Pacific Commission (WCPFC) meeting in December 2012 ended with a temporary measure that allowed big fishing nations to continue to overfish bigeye tuna at 40% above sustainable levels. So the extent to which Parties to the Nauru Agreement <sup>[4]</sup> will be politically and technically supported to defend regional fisheries is shaping up as a major test for Pacific and global sustainable development. Will Pacific fisheries continue in an extractive and unsustainable way, or can the largest fishing nations be made to reduce quotas, for long-term good?

## Gender, Economic and Ecological Justice (GEEJ): Pacific Feminists Leading Regional Change

In all regions of the economic South - Asia, Arica, Latin America and Pacific, DAWN and its allied women advocates assert that State prioritisation of extractive industries promotes an agri-business focus, and resultant neglect of subsistence agriculture. They are demanding more sustainable economic development policies and programs. In a recent declaration, Asia Pacific women point out that this underscores the fallacy of automatic links between economic growth and improved development outcomes.<sup>[5]</sup> Many at the GEEJ-Pacific meeting agreed, and showed particular resistance to Pacific aid and development assistance models that they say, enable these externally-focused economic paradigms which only serve the geo-political agendas of north states. These include the ubiquitous fly-in youth volunteer and intern schemes, leadership programmes, steady stream of development experts, and all connected through international consultancies and aid agencies that paid vast sums to advise local communities, including in mining, forestry and agricultural districts. Relatedly, since the 2007-8 global financial crisis, activists noted that ODA is increasingly channelled through origin-country 'boomerang' private contracts, so that benefits to receiving states in effect are far less than their stipulated dollar value. This blurring of private and public development regimes brings slippery and contradictory State policies, as Island states and CSOs weave their way through these complicated landscapes.

As part of a response, Pacific feminists are more explicitly situating bodies into all structural arguments and policy options. They insist that individual and community rights cannot ever be bargained away when states negotiate wider economic, trade and environmental agreements in guaranteeing social reproduction such as health,

education, water, and livelihoods. The conceptual seeds of post-extractivist development are here, but bringing these futures into reality will be more fraught and slower than hoped, when considering the stressed state of the earth and its ecosystems.

They are increasingly demanding that states must protect and promote the rights of women, men and transpeople to control their bodily autonomy and integrity, gender identities and sexualities, and sexual and reproductive health and rights. They point to the very poor regional performance on rates of women in national legislature at a static 2.5% since 1995, and that an alarming seven in 10 Pacific women report experiencing intimate partner violence. A less acknowledged form of state and societal violence is against Pacific women and trans\*people with non-heteronormative sexual orientation and gender identity, demonstrating urgent need for more interlinkage work on gender, economic, ecological and erotic justice.<sup>[6]</sup>

Most of all, Pacific feminists and women's rights advocates are now challenging labels such as 'anti-development', 'anti-indigenous' or 'anti tradition and culture'. They are no longer shying away from raising the sensitive issues linked to their human rights, nor anymore prepared to work in siloes. Rather, they are carefully and pragmatically building ties with other social movements, and looking for transformative levers to move work on gender equality, economic, ecological and erotic justice - in global spaces, and especially in the Pacific.

## End-Notes:

[1] Gudynas, E. Quoted in Marrero, C.R. 'The New Latin American "Progresismo" and the Extractivism of the 21st Century' <http://www.cipamericas.org/archives/4025>

[2] <http://www.forumsec.org/pages.cfm/newsroom/press-statements/2012/femm-to-lead-implementation-of-waiheke-declaration.html>

[3] Phosphate (Nauru, French Polynesia and Banaba); Gold (Fiji); nickel (New Caledonia); copper (Bougainville - where the mining tensions resulted in a PNG/Bougainville civil war that killed tens of thousands), and manganese (Vanuatu). In Solomon Islands there was gold until the forced mine closure in 2000. In Papua New Guinea the size and diversity of mining is regionally unmatched with 50% of export value, perhaps more today. There is also mining in Indonesian-governed West Papua, where resistance groups carry out a 40-year struggle for independence of this Melanesian society. Primary causes for continued presence of Indonesia are richness of mines, and Pacific and other global political silence due to Indonesia's geo-political role in the region. The UN has been muted in response, perhaps due to the ironically named, 'Act of Free Choice' UN facilitated Referendum (1969) handing control to Indonesia.

[4] PNA Members are Federated States of Micronesia, Kiribati, Marshall Islands, Nauru, Palau, Papua New Guinea, Solomon Islands and Tuvalu. PNA controls around 30% of the global tuna supply.

[5] The Future Asia Pacific Women Want: Outcome Statement from women's and civil society networks and organizations present at the Regional Dialogue on Sustainable Development and the Post-2015 Development Agenda. Convened by DAWN and APGEM in collaboration with UNWomen Regional Office for Asia and the Pacific. 3-5 November 2012, Bangkok.

[6] Nabulivou, N, Spence, R, Tuitoga, A and Tagi, S. Diverse Voices and Action for Equality (DIVA) Collective - Fiji Constitutional Submission. 2012. Suva, Fiji.

# Pacific Feminists and Activists: Re-framing, Re-articulating and Re-energizing Sexual and Reproductive Health and Rights!

An inaugural gathering of women and trans\* people from key Pacific civil society organisations (CSOs), networks and alliances was held in Nadi, Fiji from the 12-15 February 2013, to take stock of the progress in SRHR made over the past 20 years by State and non-State actors. Thirty two participants from Chuuk Federated States of Micronesia, Cook Islands, Fiji, Papua New Guinea, Samoa, Solomon Islands, Tonga, Tuvalu and Vanuatu critically analyzed, mapped and strategised towards more effective advancement of SRHR in the Pacific region. They then met with key allies from UN agencies, regional and global development and human rights institutions, to strategise on ways to take this Call forward. This regional meeting was co-convened by Development Alternatives with Women for a New Era (DAWN); Fiji Women's Rights Movement (FWRM); Diverse Voices and Action (DIVA), for Equality; and Pacific Youth Council (PYC). We acknowledge the global feminist solidarity work that has informed this process, including from those of us working on the Women's Rallying Call on ICPD@20, 'Our Rights, Our Lives: Women's Call to Action Toward Cairo+20'.  
Excerpted from full statement found at <http://www.dawnnet.org/advocacy-cso.php?id=277>

## Pacific Women Immediately Call for the Following:

- Papua New Guinea State to repeal the Sorcery Act and investigate and prosecute all criminal cases to prevent further torture and extrajudicial killing of women and girls under the guise of eliminating witchcraft and sorcery. There must also be concerted efforts by States and regional and global institutions to ensure that the seriousness and frequency of these crimes are acknowledged and that these responses are immediate, strong and effective;
- Rights to legal and safe abortion for all Pacific women and girls;
- Address the alarming levels of sexually transmitted infections (STIs) amongst Pacific women and girls;
- Recognition that lesbian, bisexual and trans\* rights



32 participants from the Pacific Islands critically analyzed, mapped and strategised towards more effective advancement of SRHR in the Pacific region.

are women's rights and human rights, and to fulfill those rights;

- Repeal of all laws and policies in Pacific island states that criminalise same-sex relationships, and recognise all people with non-heteronormative sexual orientation and gender identity as full and equal rights-holders;
- Decriminalisation of sex work and elimination of the unjust application of noncriminal laws and regulations against sex workers;
- The immediate ratification of CEDAW by Palau, and Tonga;
- Regional leaders to prioritise an immediate end to small arms trade and trafficking and the militarization of states that serve to perpetuate and reinforce patriarchal forms of power and control

# Philippines' RH Bill Matters to All of Us

In December 2012, a historic vote for women was made in the Philippine legislature when both the Philippine House of Representatives and Senate successfully passed the Reproductive Health (RH) Bill, after 14 years since its first version. Prior to this historic vote, DAWN, Forum for Family Planning and Development, Inc., Linangan ng Kababaihan (Likhaan) and the Family Planning Organization of the Philippines co-sponsored a public forum entitled, A Local-Global Conversation on the Philippines' Reproductive Health Bill held on 16 November 2012 in Makati City, Philippines.



Gita Sen commenting on the RH Bill

I think this is a conversation that has needed to happen for quite some time because in a way the Philippines has been written off the global arena on SRHR issues as a power base of the anti-SRHR forces. So it's really fantastic this is changing, and hopefully changing really fast. I'm going to make three very quick sets of remarks, so that we can go to the open discussion.

The first is - as many of you would have picked up on the flyer - is the creation by UNFPA of a High Level Task Force for ICPD a couple of months ago. It is co-chaired by the former president of Mozambique, President Chissano, and the former president of Finland, President Halonen. Its goal is to galvanize political support for sexual and reproductive health and rights, and to ensure that international development efforts prioritize investments that are needed to do so, and this includes programs and policies that promote gender equality, women's empowerment, and the health and rights of young people worldwide. So we encourage and look forward to collaborating and cooperating with friends, colleagues and partners in the Philippines in this effort.

Secondly, if one looks at the Philippines in the context of the rest of Asia, for its level of per capita GDP and its level of girls education, the Philippines

could be doing much better in terms of the levels of maternal mortality, the levels of teen pregnancy, and a number of sexual and reproductive health indicators. Yet it is a classic statistical outlier. Everywhere else, for most of the other countries, either women's education or per capita GDP and the sexual and reproductive health indicators cluster together nicely. And then you'll find the Philippines off somewhere by itself, and it is very clear where that is coming from - the absence of a systematic policy affirmation and access and availability of sexual and reproductive health and rights.

An earlier speaker asked: who is it that suffers the most as a result of this? As is the case everywhere, where reproductive and sexual health and rights are not backed up strongly by law and through policies, it's the poor and especially poor women who suffer. Those who can afford it make their own way, in whichever way they can. But those who really suffer are the poor, and it is poor women who suffer badly.

So the absence of an RH Bill in the Philippines is not only anti-life. It is also anti-equality, anti-economic equality and anti-social equality.

There was one thing though that I wasn't aware of before, and that I've learned just from your presentations today, and that is the importance of having an overarching RH law without which you are at the mercy of random administrative ups and downs. You have experienced a bad time for RH in the recent past under a female president and that, of course, is a real irony.

My final point is about the critical importance of the Philippines at this moment globally. I think that we're all aware, and particularly in the context of this

most recent terrible case of the Indian woman who died in Ireland after being refused an abortion when she was already going through a life-threatening miscarriage, that RH issues and reproductive and sexual rights issues, transcend borders at this point. The Indian couple were probably in Ireland because the husband is part of India's IT industry, and the woman who died was a dentist. You couldn't ask for a couple who were better placed to be able to have a safe delivery, miscarriage, abortion, whatever it was. And the atrocity that this 31-year old woman was allowed to die because the doctors did not obey the law - the Irish law which says that if a woman's life is in danger, doctors can actually perform an abortion - or maybe they were confused about the law, or perhaps because they were so brainwashed by the Church, that they allowed her to continue to suffer as long as that fetal heartbeat was there. And she suffered, and finally died of a septic condition brought on by the prolonged miscarriage. That is an atrocity, but it's also a pointer that globalization makes us very quickly aware across the globe of such cases. Globally at this point the Philippines is crucial. It is a critical battleground because it has been seen for too many years as a stronghold of anti-SRHR forces.

Therefore winning the RH Bill in the Philippines is a big dream, not just for the Philippines, but for women and their partners the world over. It will be a big, big win. This is a globalized world and the Philippines' RH Bill matters to all of us. We look forward to being with you, supporting you in any way that you feel we can; keeping quiet, if that's what you want us to do; speaking up, if that's what you want us to do, in whichever way you would like us to partner with you. We are here with you, and more power to you. Thank you!

# Excerpts from the Outcome Document of the CSOs Monrovia Consultation for the Post 2015 Development Agenda

*On the occasion of the High-Level Panel's meeting in Monrovia, Liberia during January 30-February 1, 2013, members of global, regional and national civil society welcome the commitment of the High Level Panel on ICPD and of the host government to outreach and engagement with civil society organisations. Building on the previous CSO engagement with HLP processes, as well as a number of regional and national consultations on the post-2015 development framework, CSOs have met in Liberia to discuss our perspectives on and approaches to the HLP meeting's theme of 'national building blocks for sustained prosperity – economic transformation'. DAWN's Gita Sen was a member of the drafting committee for this statement. See full statement at <http://www.dawnnet.org/advocacy-appeals.php?signon=275&id=275>*

- We urge the HLP to promote inclusive and sustainable growth and human development, underpinned by a rights-based approach that strengthens citizenship, participation and empowerment, and guarantees decent employment and universal social protection.

- We call on the HLP to become champions for increases in pro-poor and gender-responsive budgets for human development and human rights; to support making governments, multilateral and bilateral agencies accountable through well-resourced and effective institutions for participatory monitoring and evaluation; and to promote the implementation of existing conventions and protocols on the rights of people.

- We call on the HLP to support increased resources to build people's capabilities through quality education, skills development and training, access to finances and information, and health including sexual and reproductive health especially of adolescents; to insist on the collection of disaggregated data including by age and sex to strengthen the implementation of laws, policies and programs; to ensure strengthened infrastructure and technology for improved production, communication and exchange among people, better access to markets and innovation and access to all social services; to ensure that the challenge of rising violence against girls and women, especially sexual violence, is prioritised and addressed; and to recognise through strengthened policies and programs the central role of women's unpaid work in caring for people and supporting human development.

We call on the HLP to address the following specific needs of particular groups:

- the causes of structural poverty among children in various contexts; good governance and accountability around child rights and protection; and enabling children to participate in economic transformation through initiatives that promote quality education for girls and boys, health care, sexual health, information, adequate nutrition, and services for children including those with disabilities or HIV, and protection of children from all forms of violence and exploitation including early and forced marriage;

- realize the potential of the demographic dividend through comprehensive youth policies that include provision of more and better education, support for young people to obtain decent and well-paid jobs, access to finance and knowledge to become innovators and entrepreneurs, as well as the ability of all young people, especially adolescents to obtain comprehensive sexuality education, and sexual and reproductive services, and to empower and resource

girls to prevent teenage pregnancies and violence, and provide sensitisation and training for boys to promote gender equality and prevent violence;

- the achievement of gender equality, the protection of women's human rights including sexual and reproductive rights and support for women's empowerment are critical to the success of the entire post 2015 development agenda; the post 2015 development agenda should include a reinforced stand-alone gender equality goal and expanded gender targets and indicators across the entire framework. Failure to do so would reverse the gains of the last 20 years;

- full and equal participation of people with disabilities and older people in all stages of the economic process including decision making, to strengthen focus on disability as a cross-cutting theme across all the goals including through the collection of accurate and comprehensive data, prevent and redress the effects of discrimination and exclusion, and ensure access to services for effective participation in economic and social transformation; and to pay special attention to girls and women with disabilities and the needs and rights of widows;

- support local farmers and small agricultural producers to produce affordable food for all through access to improved marketing, technology and credit; to ensure that agricultural and trade policies in high income countries do not militate against agricultural production in low and middle income countries; to prevent the loss of land to local farmers through land grabbing and secure their rights to land; to protect farmers' intellectual property in seeds and local agricultural varieties; to strengthen farmers' cooperatives for production and marketing; to particularly address the problems that women farmers have in securing land rights, accessing credit, technology and labour; and to urgently address the need to mitigate the impact of climate change on agricultural production;

- reform labour laws and policies to ensure full and decent employment for all and that all workers including disabled workers obtain a living wage, and support for freedom of association, collective bargaining and social dialogue for decent work; to urgently address the human rights of women workers to equal wages, maternity leave, child care, safe and decent working conditions including clean toilets, private spaces for breast-feeding, adequate rest breaks, the prevention of practices such as virginity tests, and protection from sexual violence in the workplace;

- small producers in the informal sector particularly called for fair trade and support for access to technology, credit and knowledge

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People face multiple discriminations which is why policies should have a comprehensive and inter-linkage approach. For instance, in terms of sexual and reproductive rights, states should provide universal access to quality, comprehensive, integrated sexual and reproductive health services with an emphasis on equity and respect for diversity. In order to achieve universality there is a need to focus on groups that face intersecting inequalities, hence, services should be tailored to ensure access of adolescents, LGBTIQ people, rural women, and tackle the social determinants of health including gender power relations and inequality. Concepts like "comprehensive" should also be unpacked. In this sense, comprehensive services include all forms of safe and effective contraception, safe abortion and post abortion care, maternity care, and prevention, timely diagnosis and treatment of sexually transmitted infections including HIV, breast and reproductive cancers, and infertility.

Moreover, political dialogue among economic and social ministries should be enhanced in order to implement a coherent development strategy. Social policies should no longer be conceived as a tool to compensate the negative impacts of orthodox economic policies.

Lastly, I consider this type of discussion relevant at this stage. If at the United Nations and its member states are not able to discuss in an integrated way the obstacles at the global and local level for the implementation of a just economic, ecological and gender agenda; and if the debates remain centered on how to distribute dwindling available aid funds or how to incorporate more effectively the private sector, we will fail to respond to the multiple crises that affect millions of people, particularly in the global South. DAWN will continue to demand for political coherence, adding in each time more voices to the critical debate of the south.

# Asia Pacific Women Places Demands on Post 2015 Development Agenda



Asia Pacific Forum on Women, Law and Development (APWLD), Asia Pacific Gender and Macroeconomic Network (APGEM), Asia Pacific Women's Watch (APWW), Asian Forum of Parliamentarians on Population and Development, Development Alternatives with Women for a New Era (DAWN), Fiji Women's Rights Movement - Fiji, FORUM-ASIA, Institute for Women's Empowerment, International Domestic Workers Network-Asia, International Women's Rights Action Watch-Asia Pacific, Migrant Forum Asia - Sri Lanka, Naripokkho - Bangladesh, National Alliance of Women (NAWO) - India, Pacific Disability Forum - Fiji, Social Action for Change - Cambodia.

- We urge governments and agencies to support the passing and implementation of laws to give women equal rights to land ownership, control and use; access to productivity enhancing technology and resources; and to support building their capacity for negotiations over prices and products.
- Governments and non-state actors must respect the principle of 'prior informed consent' allowing indigenous peoples to approve development activities that impact their territories thereby regaining land rights and reducing gender-based violence that often accompanies militarized development. Special attention is also needed for women workers discriminated on the basis of caste and disability.



- Women workers must not only be viewed as a convenient instrument of rapid growth, but must be guaranteed legal protection, social security and social protection, fair contracts, access to social and sexual health services and insurance, occupational health safety and living wages. These rights must be legally guaranteed and strictly implemented for both women in the formal and for the overwhelming majority who work in the informal sector.
- Labour and environmental regulations should not become a barrier for women to enter the labour market. The establishment of a corporate accountability mechanism needs to be in consultation with most affected peoples, and include human rights lawyers and feminists advocates.

- Governments and international agencies as duty bearers have a responsibility to protect and fulfil the rights of migrant workers rather than just trying to control them instrumentally as a source of remittances.
- All countries should therefore work toward decriminalization of sex work and elimination of the unjust application of non-criminal laws and regulations against sex workers.
- We insist that it is essential for governments to collect sex disaggregated data and to ensure its use for analysis, planning and interventions in support of women workers.

## Women Workers' Rights

*Excerpted from "The Future Asia Pacific Women Want," Outcome statement from women's and civil society networks present at the Regional Dialogue on Sustainable Development and Post 2015 Development Agenda. The meeting was convened by DAWN, Asia Pacific Gender and Macroeconomic Network, in collaboration with UN Women - Bangkok Office on 3-5 November 2012. For full statement, please go to the link on the DAWN website:*  
<http://www.dawnnet.org/advocacy-cso.php?id=268>

- We call on governments, agencies and other actors to develop cohesive local, national and international strategies that would promote convergence between all available laws and standards (on universality, non-retrogression, substantive equality and non-discrimination) for the support of the rights of women in situations of conflict and transition, including CEDAW and other International Human Rights Law, International Humanitarian Law, relevant Security Council Resolutions, especially 1325, 1820, 1888, 1889 and 1960, and other relevant international mechanisms and sources of law.
- All parties have a responsibility to ensure the participation of women during all facets of reconstruction and transformation in post-conflict strategies that are the traditional preserve of men – early warning systems, in peace talks and political decisions that forge resolutions to conflict, on power-sharing, demobilization and reintegration of the armed forces and cadres, constitutional reforms, formulation of development paradigms, infrastructure development and other such critical policy matters.

- Female combatants and ex-combatants must be integrated by including a gendered dimension to disarmament, demobilization and reintegration programmes (DDR).
- There is an urgent need to examine how such diverse actors and processes (including multi and bi-lateral trade and aid) can be linked to the obligations of States parties, including their extra-territorial obligations to protect women's human rights under CEDAW and other international human rights treaties and humanitarian laws.

- Monitoring and accountability of mechanisms (transition, interim and long term) affecting the administration of justice and rule of law must be strengthened through a strong gendered approach to transitional mechanisms for accountability.
- Non-judicial mechanisms like truth commissions, civil society-led truth processes, or a reparations programme, that includes reconciliation and rehabilitation measures, are critical to change attitudes and provide urgent care to those who most need it, and to continue to conduct advocacy on the plight of victims, with a focus on women's experiences.



- Specific violence against women, including sexual and gender based violence and safe abortion for rape victims must be addressed by excluding sexual violence crimes from amnesty as required under SCR 1325; effective support for women victims; and protecting women human rights defenders during times of conflict as well as post- conflict.
- We call on governments and agencies to adopt an integrated and coordinated approach to the application of regional human rights mechanisms

## Women in Conflict and Transition to Peace

# S

- Governments and regional and international agencies should work together with women's rights organizations to urgently address the unmet need not only for family planning but for comprehensive and integrated SRH services especially for the most marginalized and disadvantaged groups such as women and girls at risk of or living with HIV/AIDS, women with disabilities, sex workers, women using drugs, transwomen and migrant women, among others. There is an urgent need therefore for adequate financing for the comprehensive SRHR agenda.
- We call on governments and agencies in the context of the post 2015 development agenda to address the unfinished human rights agenda for women and girls by ensuring access to safe abortion services, upgrading significant the quality of SRH services, abjure the recurrent threat of coercion, and strengthen governmental monitoring and evaluation systems so that they are based on human rights principles.

- We insist on the importance of young people's access to SRH information and services; to comprehensive sexuality education and education for gender equality; recognition of the needs and rights of younger adolescents (10-14 years) who are often excluded; and effective participation and representation by young people.
- Ensure, particularly in view of the growing momentum in favour of Universal Health Care (UHC) in the post 2015 development agenda that SRHR be included as a fundamental aspect.

# R

# H

- Indicators need to be developed and adapted to implement and to monitor and evaluate the rights-based approach, drawing on the work by OHCHR, WHO and other bodies; data and qualitative evidence must document the SRHR gaps and needs of the most vulnerable and the marginalized (women with disabilities, women living with HIV/AIDS, migrant women's access to the information and SRH services, adolescent sexuality); and this should include both quantitative and qualitative data.
- Ensure effective participation of women's advocates, particularly from marginalized groups, and support capacity building of key parties including of government delegations on SRHR at upcoming CSW, CPD, UNESCAP and other critical events particularly in 2013 and 2014.

# R

- Regional bodies, national governments, national UN system bodies and CSO's (especially women's and young people's organizations) should work together to integrate and secure SRHR as a central and coherent element of Post-2015 development agenda, so as to ensure convergence of the currently parallel global processes of ICPD+20 review, SDGs and MDGs in the post-2015 development agenda. In particular, ensure that SRHR is included in goals, targets and indicators on health, population dynamics, and inequalities.

## Sexual and Reproductive Health and Rights

- Removal of laws that discriminate on the basis of sex, and adoption of measures to counter discriminatory practices.
- Adoption of Temporary Special Measures to accelerate women's representation in local bodies as well as in Parliament or National Assemblies. These can be through Reservations of Seats and/or through setting quotas for women.

- Continue putting in place progressively effective mechanisms and institutions to advance gender equality in the different sectors of government.
- Continue implementing measures such as on-going programmes for both women and men in elected positions to create champions of women's rights and gender equality in parliament & local government bodies.

- Provide encouragement and support for programmes for to better working relations between women in elected positions and women's rights organisations to build women's political agendas.
- Developing and introducing well defined terms of reference and powers for women's reserved positions in local government bodies.



- Introducing codes of conduct for public representatives in local bodies and parliament in order to encourage positive working relations between women and men.
- Ensure the meaningful participation in policy making and program planning of autonomous women's groups particularly from marginalised communities and those most affected by development policies and programmes.

## Women's Political Agency

# DAWN GEEJ Asia Activists

*In the last three years, DAWN has been holding capacity building workshops and consultations in various regions in the economic south to help build the women's movement from the ground and prepare activists for undertaking inter-linkages global advocacy. The initiative called Gender, Economic and Ecological Justice (GEEJ) was launched in the lead-up to Rio + 20 and was meant to support the longer running Global DAWN Training Institute (DTI). Two activists from Asia speak about their work on advocacy and how DAWN has contributed to their advocacies and struggles.*

## 1. What issue-based advocacy have you been involved in since you were in the GEEJ-Asia workshop?

Sun Jing: My responsibility in Eco-Women is to contribute to the reduction of highly hazardous pesticide use and its risks. I do this through education, policy advocacy, as well as, actively promoting ecologically sound agriculture. Women and children are considered as high-risk groups as far as the ill effects of pesticide use in China is concerned. This is so because they have now become the principal labor force in the rural areas, as men increasingly migrate especially in the cities. I particularly target women's knowledge and skills to improve their participation in the reduction of pesticide use, using a framework of sustainable and equitable development. We partner with them in understanding the risks on their health and well-being, as well as on their economic empowerment



Sun Jing is Deputy Director of Pesticide Eco-Alternative Center and member of Eco Women. She is based in Yunnan Province, China.

Sophea: ASEAN Grassroots People's Assembly (AGPA) is a platform from where we, the communities' activists and feminists, demonstrate our human rights violation and demand real democracy in the ASEAN nation. "Making Human Rights and Democracy Real in ASEAN" was the main slogan we all are fighting for. We also demand to place "People's Over Profit". This slogan is designed to emphasize our feeling toward the current development agenda, which works in favors of private corporations and only a few powerful people. We are fighting to bring back our rights to livelihood, housing, access healthcare and education, to name just a few.

## 2. Have you been contact with any of the DAWN women or participants in a DAWN training? Or even in contact with some DAWN materials and resources, like the website? Has this been helpful to your continuing advocacy? In what ways?

Sun Jing: By participating in the DAWN GEEJ-Asia training in April 2012, I met young activists from China and other parts of Asia. Since then I continue to keep close contact with the DAWN women via DAWN GEEJ-Asia listserv, through which we share information and updates on analysis and advocacy. We also continuously receive DAWN publications and informaton. As GEEJ-Asia alumina, I was also invited to speak at a DAWN panel "Gender, Economic Ecological Justice in a Fierce New World: Perspectives of Young Women from the South" at the AWID Forum 2012. The above activities and exposure help me and my colleagues at Eco-Women to understand the dynamics of the international women's movement and link us with more feminist groups and partners.

Sophea: I have communicated with some DAWN participants, mostly through facebook and email. I feel personally close to some of them. Yes, I had visited DAWN websites several times. It is helpful, especially with the training preparation on women and globalization and campaigning at the global level.

## 3. Have you been involved at all in regional or global advocacy even outside of DAWN? How did DAWN help you achieve an understanding of local-global understanding of issues?

Sun Jing: I contribute to policy advocacy on reduction of use of highly hazardous pesticide both at the international and national levels. For example, I share research results with the Pesticide Action Network and conducting awareness raising training on the issue in the rural communities, and etc. Engaging in the DAWN training and advocacy helped me to better understand the inter-linkage of gender, economic and ecological justice in the global context and establish the contacts with the feminist activists across global South.

Sophea: I had been involved with a few regional alliances such as Focus on the Global South and the People's Health Movement (PHM). With Focus on the Global South, the collaboration has been strong because of the AGPA network. Participation with DAWN provided me an opportunity to engage in the broader political discussions and negotiations. My first experience was getting involved in the global negotiation on Sustainable Development Conference or Rio + 20 in June 2012 and the Post 2015 Development Agenda Asia Pacific regional consultation in Bangkok in November 2012 that was convened by DAWN and APGEM.



Sophea Chrek is a founding member of the ASEAN Grassroots People's Assembly (AGPA) which is a Cambodian multi-sector network of marginalized and discriminated people.

# Political Transitions Not Always a Positive Experience for Women

*This piece features excerpts from the report entitled Women, Gender Equality and Political Transitions: Lessons Learned from Asia, 1980s - 2000s / Summary of Proceedings from the Regional Expert Meeting Seoul 4-5 December 2012 (www.dawnnet.org). The report was based on a meeting titled Women, Gender Equality and Political Transitions: What Can We Learn from the Past Three Decades in Asia? was convened by Kamala Chandrakirana, Chair of the UN Working Group on Discrimination Against Women in Law and in Practice, in collaboration with The Korean Women's Development Institute (KDWI) on the 4th and 5th of December 2012 in Seoul, Korea. It was attended by 14 feminist advocates and activists from South Korea, Thailand, Cambodia, Myanmar, Indonesia, Philippines, Kyrgyzstan, Nepal and Sri Lanka - all Asian countries that have undergone political transitions in the past three decades. Kumi Samuel, DAWN Executive Committee member and Senior Research and Programme Associate, Women and Media Collective, Sri Lanka, attended the meeting. For the full report go to: <http://www.dawnnet.org/advocacy-appeals.php?signon=280&id=280>*



*Kamala Chandrakirana, Chair of the UN Working Group on Discrimination Against Women in Law and Practice*

## Understanding 'Political Transition'

While appreciating that the Working Group “understands political transition in the widest sense of the term, including transitions that involve fundamental change of the political regime and/or of the legal system”, participants noted at the outset that political transition does not necessarily mean “...a positive progression from authoritarian to more democratic political systems” but did often “give rise to other forms of authoritarianism.”

Also questioned was the perception that political transitions meant an inevitable progression to liberal democracy which was considered as the ideal state for achieving gender equality. Instead participants noted that “the experiences of many countries in Asia and elsewhere however demonstrate that even in representative forms of government, gender equality has lost significance over time and women's voices have become less privileged.”

This was a paradox in a world where women currently average 20% in national parliaments and while countries emerging from conflict have achieved averages higher than 30%. These countries have also “achieved most changes in terms of legislative and constitutional reform”. Yet, post conflict constitution reform, despite inclusive processes and a high degree of participation, it was noted could not sustain the promise of gender equality and was often insufficient to prevent discriminatory laws and policies.

In addition, “while global trends suggest that women's political representation generally increase in countries in transition, political transitions that have failed to replace authoritarian political systems yielded limited opportunities for women.”

A major challenge in the context of political transitions therefore was how to sustain progressive gains made particularly in the adoption of gender sensitive laws and policies and prevent setbacks in implementation. Participants were convinced that

the activism of autonomous women's movements was crucial for this purpose since it was this concerted activism rather than women in parliaments that “are key to producing enduring progressive policy changes for women”.

It was noted however both as a set back and challenge to the women's movements that “while it was easier to enact rather than repeal laws particularly regarding family, overall there is no change in discriminatory personal law caught in the difficult dynamics of identity politics. Even gender-neutral laws have not been spared from backlash amidst growing conservatism.”

In addition participants emphasized that political will was essential to implementation and the insufficient allocation of resources, establishment of adequate infrastructure and increasing bureaucratization were major obstacle to realizing gender equality in law and practice. Continuing patriarchal norms and practices within the political environments, despite ratification of international instruments protecting women's rights also contributed to the resistance to change.

“In political transitions, there is room to define politics as rule making and to empower women to build consensus on rules affecting their lives. This is not about how many laws were passed or the number of women in politics, but concerns active participation of women in the process, with new information shared and new spaces created. Capacity building is crucial; new tools need to be developed based on lessons learned.”

## Lessons Learned and Ways Forward:

The participants offered the following insights based on lessons learned as possible ways forward in creating alternatives to advance women's political participation:

- Identity politics and re-imagining citizenship to recognize diversity

“The political transitions in the region offer women in Asia opportunities to participate in the construction of a nation-state that values diversity as a cornerstone of citizenship. The theoretical and practical advances of the women's movements in looking at issues of sexuality, sexual rights, racism and xenophobia have presented new language and tools to initiate a different concept of citizenship that acknowledges the centrality of diversity to the survival of the democratic ideal.”

- Coalitional politics crucial for successful law reform

While long-term political goals from a very

patriarchal sense are dependent on long-term identity formations (e.g., women capitalizing on such identity for a political platform and voice), coalition politics brings to fore the politics of identities in a constructive manner that facilitates a shared agenda behind temporary alliances of identities and interests. Rather than stamping permanence, coalitional politics acknowledges multiple and shifting identities as a reality and builds on the prevailing interests represented around the political platform at a particular moment in time.

Coalitional politics points to other feasible forms of relationships between and among women as well as the ‘others’. It challenges the women's movements to redefine relationships: between women from the autonomous movements, those that have remained ‘outside’ and ‘unsullied’ by the politics of co-optation and working with the State, and those that have joined the mainstream political arena.”

- Rise of religious fundamentalisms and the necessity of the secular state

“The establishment of secularism following political transitions in several countries in Asia appears to be a missed opportunity and this has transformed into a threat with the disturbing rise of religious fundamentalisms in the region.”

- The challenges of sustainability through institution-building

“Institution-building has been one of the strategies employed by the women's movements in the contestations over power and resources following the opening of democratic spaces in political transitions... These institutions have added legitimacy to women's human rights advocacy and facilitated women's direct access to the state, mobilizing resources and support. But as they navigate their dual nature as a state agency and an entity that relates its accountability to the women's movements, these institutions have become precarious and vulnerable to contestations, within the government and outside.

As ‘para-statal’ institutions caught between political forces beyond their control, such women's institutions have to walk the tightrope of working with government and engaging in ‘state-speak’ to secure funding and resources essential to sustain the discursive spaces necessary to advance a feminist agenda; at the same time sustain constituents in the women's movements necessary to defend the institutions amidst threats of closure from political forces in power that do not find value in their existence.

*Continued on Page 12*

## Recommendations: Pathways for Future Agenda

In the course of the two-day discussions, participants identified critical issues and possible ways forward to influence future agendas.

There were:

- Continue to convene collective stocktaking within the women's movements
- Develop a methodology and process for documenting good practices
- Review the architecture of the human rights system as a monitoring mechanism for women's human rights
- Strengthen women's funds as an intermediary to funding women's initiatives
- Promote an ethical regime on development cooperation to encompass new donors

.....  
The UN Working Group on Discrimination against Women in Law and Practice is scheduled to hold a Side Event at the CSW on how the Mechanism works and how it can be used. This will be at the UN Conference Room D on 13th March from 10.00 a.m. to 11.15 am.

### DAWN CSW 57 SIDE EVENT

#### Expert Panel: Key Gender Equality Issues to Be Reflected in the Post-2015 Development Framework

Convened by UN Women  
March 7, 2013  
15:00-18:00  
Conference Room 2, UN North Lawn Building

Panelists: Irina Velichko (Belarus) {CHAIR}; Caren Grown (USAID); John Hendra (UNW); Amina Mohammed (HLP Post-2015); Anita Nayar (India/USA)

## DAWN NGO PARALLEL PANELS CSW 57

### Interrupting the Continuum of Gender & Sexual Based Violence in the Pacific

Co-Convened with Fiji's Women's Rights Movement  
March 5, 2013  
16:30-18:00  
Guild Hall, Armenian Convention Center, 630 2nd Avenue, New York, 10016

Panelists: Virisila Buadromo (Fiji) {CHAIR}; Leentje Besoer (Papua New Guinea); Noelene Nabulivou (Fiji); Lucille Sain (Federal States of Micronesia); Dorosday Kenneth Watson (Vanuatu)

### Countering Conservative Economic and Religious Forces at the UN

Co-Convened with Global Fund for Women (GFW)  
March 8, 2013  
18:30-19:45  
1st Floor Church Center for the UN, 777 United Nations Plaza New York, 10017

Panelists: Ros Petchesky (USA) {CHAIR}; Eugenia Lopez (Mexico); Bhumika Muchhala (Indonesia/US); Noelene Nabulivou (Fiji); Gita Sen (India)

### Violence, Ecologies, Livelihoods- Feminists Confronting Unsustainable Development

Co-convened with Women Environment Development Organization (WEDO); Women in Europe for a Common Future (WECF) International; Global Forest Coalition (GFC)  
March 7, 2013  
10:30-12:30  
1st Floor Church Center for the UN, 777 United Nations Plaza New York, 10017

Panelists: Sascha Gabizon (Netherlands); {CHAIR}; Norma Maldonado (Guatemala); Isis Alvarez (Colombia); Elina Doszhanova (Kazakhstan); Noelene Nabulivou (Fiji); Tsuge Azumi (Japan); Caroline Usikpedo (Nigeria)

### Feminist Activism Against Gender-Based Violence in China

Co-Convened with Women's Groups in China  
March 7, 2013  
12:30-14:00  
Guild Hall, Armenian Convention Center, 630 2nd Avenue, New York, 10016

Panelists: Cai Yiping (China) {CHAIR}; Feng Yuan; Lu Pin; Zhao Hongju; Wang Guohong; Li Huiying



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