

# DAWN Informs

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## Feminists in the streets and thinking

### by Working Group on Social Movements in Latin America\*

The International Women's Strike (IWS) 8 March 2017 was a moment of culmination in a long process of struggle for women's rights. It was preceded by joint actions held on International Day for the Elimination of Violence against Women on 25 November 2016 and on 21 January 2017 in solidarity with the March of Women in Washington DC.

The IWS, as a grassroots movement with international coordination, managed to bring together thousands of women from 57 countries, including Kurdistan and Saharawi women.

Under the motto "solidarity is our weapon", this call for an international strike was driven by a group of women from different countries in the framework of "a world that has become increasingly fierce" (Sen and Durano, 2015) and found its echoes in the women who took to the streets in different parts of the planet<sup>1</sup>.

We agree with Claudia Laudano<sup>2</sup> in understanding it as an unprecedented experience in the world.

To understand how a mobilization of such magnitude is achieved, it is necessary to look back at the genealogy of our feminist struggles. In recent decades we can identify several milestones in these struggles, such as the 45,000 women gathered in Beijing in 1995 who confirmed the existence of an international women's movement; the 2000 World March of Women against hunger, poverty and violence held in more than 150 countries; the mobilization of Polish women in repetition of the experience of Iceland in 1975, who went on strike on 3 October 2016 against the restrictive measures of the ultra-Catholic government that attempted to criminalize voluntary and involuntary abortion; or the women of South Korea, who at that time also mobilized for similar reasons.

\* This article takes up collective reflections of this group, composed of: Celia Eccher, Flora Partenio, María Noel Avas, Alejandra Scampini, Marcela Mazzei, Fernanda Carrizo, Claudia Ferreira y Yandira Álvarez. It also had contributions from Gita Sen and Sofía Valdivielso.

Likewise, in Latin America and the Caribbean, the IWS was not an isolated incident, but was based on long-standing action. We have met for 36 years in the Feminist Encounters of Latin America and the Caribbean (EFLAC), born in Bogotá, Colombia, as "the first experience of that gigantic sense of women being together. It was the first time that expectations were exceeded"<sup>3</sup>.

The IWS was created "between assemblies and social networks"<sup>4</sup>, generating a unique building process linked to that history of national and regional meetings of more than 30 years. Also significant was the context created by the strikes and demonstrations of Argentine women, linked to the experience of the collective "Ni una menos", which in October 2016 became a national strike in reaction to the rape and murder of a 16 year old girl and the police repression against the National Encounter of Women of that country. As feminist activist Celina Rodríguez states, "there are no magic facts in the history of women, the IWS was the product of a struggle where two elements stand out: strike as a tool, used by social and political sectors but not as traditional strike (...) and internationalism"<sup>5</sup>.

While the protection of human rights goes backwards, the criminalization of protest and political persecution of activists advances.

In the case of Latin America, after a long decade of progressive governments we can ask ourselves: what happened to the proposals of Buen Vivir (Good Living)? And with the ideas of other modes of production, such as agroecology, rural and agricultural reforms? What real space has there been for the new solidarity economies that would open the way to development centered on people, justice, human rights and the planet? What have more than 10 years of supposed transitions towards alternative development for a better world left us with? How do we guarantee that the flaws and debts of progressive governments do not become the defeat of the movements that contributed to processes of enlargement of rights? What role has the feminist movement in this process?

In short, the current global and regional crises and the offensive action of conservative, fundamentalist and antidemocratic forces, call us to continue resisting.

“ ... the offensive action of fundamentalist and antidemocratic forces call us to continue resisting ”

#### A feminist look at the global scenario

Beyond its historical roots, another necessary element to understand the IWS is the current global scenario that women face. It is an increasingly fierce world crossed by multidimensional crises and by militarization in contexts of conflict, war and terrorism, where the powerful war industry generates its impacts amidst climate change and extractive policies.

We see the increase of the power of transnationals and other companies in development agendas and in the decision-making of our states and, as a consequence, the exacerbation of inequalities.

Above all, the advance of illiberal democracies and of politically democratic but socially fascist societies evidences the closure of spaces for participation, even in "democratic" contexts. Under this new scenario, xenophobic and racist discourses are re-issued and walls are built that expel and condemn migrants.

#### Back to the roots: the promise of feminism

In this context and in the framework of the IWS, we find that it is vitally important to return to the most powerful proposals that feminism put forward, drawing links between social injustices, gender injustices and economic and environmental injustices.

Since the late 1960s and early 1970s, leftist feminisms highlighted the tension between the world of production and that of (social and sexual) reproduction, and the provision of unpaid domestic work of women as a vital point for the sustainability of the economic system. Notions such as invisible work and sexual division of labor became tools that allowed us to analyze the economic value of the tasks performed by women every day in their homes. To build a bridge between these issues, the IWS had amid its main slogans the centrality of paid and unpaid work that women do.



It was these feminisms that asked the more structural questions about the foundations of patriarchy. It is true that 40 years of efforts to address gender issues have enabled us to achieve equality agendas in different areas, such as the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) and equality plans at the level of many countries. However, structural analysis shows that we never reached a position of real equality. It is for this reason that, in the current global scenario, we must return to those basic ideas of feminism.

As Sofia Valdivielso puts it, "we need to get back to the roots" in order to unravel the structural causes of violence. According to Valdivielso, it is necessary to review this dilemma between "egalitarianism vs. equality", for behind the illusion of equality there are still deeply entrenched inequalities. For example, while women's insertion in the labor market continues to be precarious and lacking in labor rights and social protection, unemployment continues to show gender-differentiated figures – such as data on female youth unemployment that accessed the university – we are educated and we are over-qualified, however very few occupy high positions in university or in scientific-technological systems. So we wonder if perhaps this trap of equality led us to leave behind the more structural questions about the bases that support the systemic functioning of capitalism and patriarchy, a discussion that was present in feminisms of the 1970s but was later diluted in the feminist agenda. Today, in the heat of the IWS, we have the opportunity to take back that discussion, recovering the debates and historical agendas of feminisms, and combating the co-optation of key feminist concepts, such as gender and equality.

In the same vein, one of the key issues of confrontation and debate within the movement since the 1980s, still unresolved, has been the participation of feminists in the State. While some believe that one must participate in political parties and in the mechanisms of government, others believe that the space of feminists is in movements. What neither can deny is the effect of the State on the transformation of society, through laws and affirmative actions. Regarding the role of states, Monica Novillo<sup>6</sup> argues that they must be affirmed as guarantors of rights in the face of the persistence of religious, economic and political fundamentalisms, which threaten the enjoyment of human

rights and express themselves in the emergence of neoconservative positions. In other words, we need states that balance the rules of the game, that govern for the majorities. However, Novillo also identifies the challenges for states to assume accountability, develop mechanisms for transparency and advance in greater autonomy with respect to the interests of transnational economic elites which impose their developmental visions.

Thinking about struggles within institutional spaces in different contexts, one of the challenges to answer is: How do we learn from experiences where institutional advances have been lost with the neoliberal setback? How to prevent public policies from becoming instruments of legitimation for capital accumulation?<sup>7</sup>

### Final Thoughts

When we speak of resistance we refer to the history of mobilizations, and in this current context, as Gita Sen<sup>8</sup> says, we have no choice but to RESIST.

The historical overview presented in this article is an attempt to reconstruct the feminist genealogies, bridging the struggles. To speak of genealogy is to recognize that in the struggles of the women of the South and of the North, protest formats are reissued, the claims go viral and real spaces of learning for all are opened. We return to the words of activist Angela Davis during the Women's March last January in Washington, when she warned: "History cannot be erased like web pages."

We are feminists, we are on the streets and we are thinking. We walk abreast and learn from the history of struggles against inequalities of gender, class and race. We believe that the compass that guides our path has to recover the strength of the feminist political project on the material conditions of life. ✎



Photo by Colectiva La Revuelta

### End notes:

<sup>1</sup> See: Flora Partenio "Reflexiones en el camino a la huelga internacional", La Diaria, marzo 2017, available from: <https://ladiaria.com.uy/articulo/2017/3/reflexiones-en-el-camino-a-la-huelga-internacional/>

<sup>2</sup> Researcher in gender and TICS, interview in July 2017, Argentina.

<sup>3</sup> Words of the Chilean feminist Julieta Kirkwood en 1986.

<sup>4</sup> See: Claudia Laudano (2017) <http://www.marcha.org.ar/paro-internacional-de-mujeres-entre-asambleas-y-redes-sociales/>

<sup>5</sup> Interview with Celina Rodríguez in July 2017, a militant of the Popular Front Darío Santillán Corriente Nacional, a multi-sectoral and autonomous political-social movement, composed of territorial organizations, piqueteras, student, union and rural groups of Argentina.

<sup>6</sup> In this regard consult the opinion column "Desde el cuarto propio" published by Mónica Novillo under the title "El mundo feroz" on the site: <http://www.opinion.com.bo/opinion/articulos/2017/0816/noticias.php?id=227570>

<sup>7</sup> Following in this proposal the reflections of Corina Rodríguez Enríquez in the public panel "Gender Social Contracts: Struggles for Equality and the Human Rights of Women" in Lima, Peru, June 2, 2017.

<sup>8</sup> Doctor in Economics and General Coordinator of DAWN.

# Feminist mobilizing and intense advocacy from Rio +20 to the SDGs...

by Gita Sen (India)

Feminist organizing entered the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) period with a bang, through its effectiveness in advocating for the creation of UN Women. But harsh realities soon came to the fore. Nowhere was this so clear as in the difficulties that UN Women itself had in getting donor governments to keep the funding promises they had made. The recessionary aftermath of the US housing crisis and financial crash of 2008 was the preeminent global economic concern as Rio +20 processes began circa 2010.

Space for civil society had also begun closing in many countries. Instead of the military coups that had marked the 1960s and 1970s, there emerged the new phenomenon of autocratic leaders coming to power through democratic elections, and then proceeding to undermine key pillars of democracy such as open media and rights to free speech, assembly, mobilization and protest. Hostility to human rights defenders was growing. This climate spread into UN negotiations, making it ever harder for civil society organizations to be present in negotiation rooms or to be heard in the way they had been during the 1990s. South versus North mistrust and disagreements were worsened by the weakening of the Kyoto Protocol on climate change as the US and other rich countries demanded that its underlying principle of common but differentiated responsibility be dropped. Despite this, a sense of crisis on multiple ecological fronts lent urgency and momentum to the preparations for Rio +20.

Feminist organizations that were present at Rio +20<sup>1</sup> in 2012 began using the umbrella of the Women's Major Group (WMG) for advocacy. This was an important move, strategically and tactically, as the different Major Groups had an established place in official meetings and negotiations ever since the UN Conference on Environment and Development, Rio Earth Summit 1992 (UNCED). In the growing illiberal climate

inside and outside the UN, laying claim to the institutional space of the WMG was critical to feminist ability to participate effectively in Rio +20 and in the SDGs processes that followed.

Feminists from women's organizations and within environmental and other organizations mobilized and advocated on a broad range of the issues that became part of the SDGs and their targets. They focused on gender equality and women's human rights including SRHR, but also addressed the connections to broader systemic issues such as the weakening of agreed UNCED language, the excessive push to favour the private corporate sector, weaknesses in addressing the harmful ecological and human effects of 'extractivism', and the importance of financing<sup>2</sup>.

The period following Rio +20 was a confusing one in terms of processes and mandates. Rio +20 had mandated setting up an Open Working Group (OWG) of 30 UN Member States to negotiate specific goals, targets and indicators. But the UN Secretary General also appointed a High-Level Panel (HLP) with 27 members drawn from governments, civil society and the private sector to provide advice on the post-2015 agenda. Civil society organizations could not afford to ignore either the OWG or the HLP.

From Rio+20 in 2012 through all of 2013, the WMG was intensively engaged in multiple ways at both global and regional levels in the parallel and extremely busy HLP and OWG processes.

“ More and more women's organizations began to join in these processes at both regional and global levels as their importance became clear ”

More and more women's organizations began to join in these processes at both regional and global levels as their importance became clear.

In March 2013, WMG members attended a civil society meeting of over 300 participants in Bonn, and then went on to the HLP meeting in Bali. They issued a statement in Bonn that cautioned "...against developing another set of reductive goals, targets and indicators that ignore the transformational changes required to address the failure of the current development model rooted in unsustainable production and consumption patterns exacerbating gender, race and class inequities. We do

not want to be mainstreamed into a polluted stream. We call for deep and structural changes to existing global systems of power, decision-making and resource sharing. This includes enacting policies that recognize and redistribute the unequal and unfair burdens of gender, race and class inequities. We do not want to be mainstreamed into a polluted stream. We call for deep and structural changes to existing global systems of power, decision-making and resource sharing. This includes enacting policies that recognize and redistribute the unequal and unfair burdens of women and girls in sustaining societal wellbeing and economies, intensified in times of economic and ecological crises..."<sup>3</sup>

The WMG had articulated an early critique of the excessive slant towards the private sector in the Rio +20 outcome, and the challenge of securing the means of implementation for the SDGs, especially financing. As preparations for the 3rd International Conference on Financing for Development to be held in Addis Ababa in July 2015 gathered steam, the Women's Working Group on Financing for Development (WWG/FfD) that DAWN had been instrumental in forming back in 2008, began supporting feminist mobilization and advocacy<sup>4</sup>. The FfD negotiations were taking place in a context of weakening multilateralism as well as attempts by some governments to roll back women's human rights and gender equality in the discussions of the SDGs, their targets and indicators.

Focused advocacy built on expertise and targeted networks was therefore essential.

But the terrain was extremely difficult. The FfD conference was beset with South versus North battles, and was criticized by many in both civil society and governments as not having fulfilled its promise. The WWG/FfD produced the Women's Working Group's reaction to the Outcome Document and contributed to the CSO Response to the Addis Ababa Action Agenda. Both documents reflect a critical analysis of the FfD outcome, especially its death-knell for the long unfulfilled 0.7% ODA



the private corporate sector as a privileged development actor. Greater acknowledgement of gender equality and women's human rights in this context appeared instrumental, and seemed to be precisely the "polluted stream" into which feminists did not want to be mainstreamed. A major loss at Addis, due to the North's intransigence, was the possibility of an independent global tax body that could regulate tax systems, close loopholes, and begin to address the problems of tax avoidance and of illicit financial flows. A fairer tax system could garner more than adequate resources to fund the SDGs, but this was vehemently opposed by the powerful countries that promote and serve as tax havens. Feminist groups present at the preparatory meetings for Addis and at Addis itself worked closely with other organizations. The trial by fire at Addis highlighted the fact that good and effective advocacy does not automatically advance the feminist agenda in the short term. But it is essential to be resilient for the longer haul, and to continually learn from difficult experiences. ✎

## End notes:

<sup>1</sup> Women in Europe for a Common Future (WECF) and DAWN, the Operating Partners of the WMG, joined with feminist colleagues from WEDO, the Global Forest Coalition, RESURJ, Energia, ICADE, the Feminist Task Force, APWLD and around 200 women's organizations (national, regional and global) in making common cause. See <http://www.wecf.eu/download/2012/August/ReportGIzgeneralRio24July.pdf>; accessed 10 January 2017.

<sup>2</sup> WMG focal points for the Rio +20 negotiations focused on different parts of the draft text such as forests and biodiversity, food security, energy, trade technology, chemicals, mining, water, SRHR, and systemic issues (REF: WMG Report). Also, see <http://www.dawnnet.org/feminist-resources/content/dawn-informs-july-2012>

<sup>3</sup> [http://www.wecf.eu/download/2013/March/final\\_WomenStatements\\_Endorsements-2-4.pdf](http://www.wecf.eu/download/2013/March/final_WomenStatements_Endorsements-2-4.pdf); accessed 10 January 2017.

<sup>4</sup> See the Special Issue on FfD of the DAWN newsletter REF ([http://www.dawnnet.org/feminist-resources/sites/default/files/articles/dawn\\_informs\\_20150903.pdf](http://www.dawnnet.org/feminist-resources/sites/default/files/articles/dawn_informs_20150903.pdf)).



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## Interlinkages for effective implementation of SDGs

by M. Graciela Cuervo (Dominican Republic)

Since its beginnings DAWN has aimed to address the complex interplay among the economic, ecological, political and social challenges with a unified and comprehensive analytical framework. For example, the processes of globalization and financialization are implicated in the increase of flexible work and precarious labour conditions, which come hand-in-hand with increasing gender-based discrimination and segregation; or, the impact of trade agreements in reducing availability and affordability of medicines, affecting women and girls not only as patients, but also as health care-givers in the home as a

consequence of the gendered division of care work<sup>1</sup>. DAWN's interlinkages approach to gender, economic and ecological justice addresses structural causes behind inequality and human right violations and demands a framework of development to do the same. This is why during the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) negotiations some of us saw with skepticism the creation of yet another list of goals, targets and indicators that perpetuate "development siloes". Still, we recognized how the 2030 Agenda and its SDGs comprehensively address major global problems and the three dimensions of sustainable development: the economic, social and environmental. The SDGs and targets are set to realize the human rights of all and to achieve gender equality and the empowerment of all women and girls; they are claimed to be integrated and indivisible. In this way the 2030 Agenda recognizes interlinked nature of the challenges we faced. However, it's still weak in tackling some of the economic structural obstacles for the full realization of women and girls' rights, such as the economic and financial volatility, the role of the private sector and the issue of domestic resource mobilization<sup>2</sup>. This year meeting of the High-Level

Political Forum on Sustainable Development (HLPF) dedicated a session to discuss "Leveraging interlinkages for effective implementation of SDGs". The session, consisting of two panels and facilitated by a diverse group of experts and policymakers, demonstrate that there is still confusion regarding what an interlinkages' approach to the implementation of the SDGs would look like. As noted by Dr. Debapriya Bhattacharya, chair of the Southern Voices and Distinguished Fellow at the Center for Policy Dialogue, to a great extent the confusion lies in thinking that addressing interlinkages is only a matter of coordination [among national institutions, for example]; and partly by using the concept as opposed to prioritization<sup>3</sup>. For such an ambitious agenda with 17 universal goals and their associated 169 targets that must be integrated into national policies frameworks, it is almost unavoidable to speak about the implications of prioritization of actions and their effectiveness. Policy coherence is one of the first issues that comes to mind, something which has been refer to in the HLPFs - although not with the necessary depth of analysis and not enough in the Voluntary National Reviews (VNRs). Despite many efforts that seek to conceptualize and assess interaction amongst the SDGs,





during the HLPFs there has been relatively limited analysis on how exactly goals and targets interact with each other and of the targets systemic impacts in achieving the SDGs overall<sup>4</sup>.

By considering how a target interacts with another target and how that target in turn interacts with others, results in providing a more robust basis for priority setting of SDG efforts<sup>5</sup>. These kinds of analyses need to take into consideration the correlations between all targets and dimension (social, economic and environmental) and should include a qualitative approach to understand gender power dynamics and discrimination.

At the HLPFs, countries are supposed to present national voluntary reviews of the implementation of the SDGs, including how they have been incorporated in national frameworks and how they integrate the three dimensions of sustainable development. However, VNRs implicitly reference only the challenges faced by the countries in integrating the SDGs in the national plans, and insufficiently address interlinkages. An interlinkages approach also implies efforts to transform the way in which the State operates and implements public policy -- something hard to achieve during the first year or two of the 2030 agenda. Nevertheless, if the HLPF wants to address interlinkages they need to revise the guidelines of the VNRs in a way that encourages governments to make a deeper analysis on how implementation of the goals and targets can be really integrated and indivisible.

To really move beyond the reductionist goal's approach 'MDGs-style' the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development must find ways to move beyond development silos, competing priorities and limited budgets, towards effective implementation of the agenda as a whole. This will require greater contextual analysis; strong focus on structural and policy obstacles and institutional settings to deal with multi-sectoral, multi-scale, multi-actor issues such as the SDGs. ✎

## End notes:

<sup>1</sup> Sen, Gita, and Marina Durano (2014) 'The remaking of social contracts: the promise of human rights', in *The Remaking of Social Contracts: Feminists in a Fierce New World*, London: Zed Books, pp. 3-32

<sup>2</sup> Nicole Bidegain Ponte & Corina Rodríguez Enríquez (2016) *Agenda 2030: A bold enough framework towards sustainable, gender-just development?*, *Gender & Development*, 24:1, 83-98

<sup>3</sup> 9th session of High-level Political Forum on Sustainable Development (HLPF 2017) - Economic and Social Council, 2017. Panel on "Leveraging interlinkages for effective implementation of Sustainable Development Goals". Available at: <http://webtv.un.org/watch/9th-meeting-high-level-political-forum-on-sustainable-development-hlpf-2017-economic-and-social-council-2017-session/5508294924001> (last checked 28 September 2017).

<sup>4</sup> Weitz et al (2017) *Towards systemic and contextual priority setting for implementing the 2030 Agenda*. Published online: 12 September 2017.

<sup>5</sup> Idem.



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# DAWN Alumnae

DAWN's training institutes and meetings have provided tools to many young feminist around the world to apply feminist and interlinkage analysis in their everyday work, which takes place at local, national, regional and global level.

## Feminist Voices at HLPF 2017: Interview with Viva Tatawaqa by Mereoni Chung (Fiji)

Viva Tatawaqa is member of Diverse Voices and Action for Equality (DIVA) in Fiji, a member of RESURJ, and an alumna of DAWN's 5th DTI<sup>1</sup> held in Sri Lanka 2016. She is a young Pacific feminist grassroots community facilitator and mobilizer and works at local, national, regional and global levels on issues of universal human rights and social, economic, ecological and climate justice.

At this year's High-Level Political Forum on Sustainable Development (HLPF), Viva was invited to make the Opening Statement on behalf of the Women's Major Group, which represent many feminist and women-led organizations, networks and coalitions. Viva's statement carried many important messages about global injustices and barriers to addressing these<sup>2</sup>. She called for real solutions that are political and available to us all. She emphasised the role of HLPF as a space where political will is needed to make genuine and effective decisions.

This interview captures some of her reflections on HLPF 2017 as a Fijian feminist, reiterating some of her key messages and her views on sites of influence and advocacy for young women feminists.

### What are some highlights and learning from your HLPF experience?

The biggest highlight was the opportunity to deliver the Civil Society

1 DAWN Training Institutes (DTIs) have been organized since 2003 as a space to share DAWN's accumulated knowledge, analyzed, debates and experiences. During the DTIs younger feminists from the South are exposed to theory, discussions and inter-active processes related to feminism, feminist movements, women's rights, and local and global strategies to achieve social justice.

2 To read Viva's statement go to: [http://www.womenmajorgroup.org/wp-content/uploads/2017/07/VivaT\\_Opening\\_Session\\_Intervention\\_HLPF2017FINAL.pdf](http://www.womenmajorgroup.org/wp-content/uploads/2017/07/VivaT_Opening_Session_Intervention_HLPF2017FINAL.pdf)



Photo by IISD/ENB | Kiara Worth.

Organizations (CSOs)' statement at the High Level Political Forum 2017. I thank those who pushed for my participation. I consider this as another step forward in my advocacy work at a very personal level. Even though I was nervous as hell, I pushed myself to use this platform to represent the women that I have advocated with and for on different issues. We all have experienced how hard it is to have our voices heard at such a high level meeting. Another highlight was the accompaniment and support from women's organisations and networks from different parts of the world and being part of the Women's Major Group, working together to put this statement together - starting here at home in Fiji then off to the broader group. The fact that many felt the statement was inclusive of what they were fighting for back in their countries and they had been heard was a highlight in itself. Some lessons learnt in understanding how important processes are when collating such a statement was also a highlight. People worked hard to ensure the right text was used and the flow of the statement was clear. I thank all those who worked tirelessly to make it a strong statement.

### How do spaces like HLPF help Southern feminists like yourself with advocacy?

I know that CSO's are going through tough times right now with the shrinking of spaces. The strategic thing to do right now for me, as a Pacific women, is to keep engaging in this kind of space. As long as we can still access such spaces there is a chance we can make change. As South feminists organising, engaging in this kind of spaces can be very challenging for we always have to fight our battles twice as hard to ensure we don't get caught up under the same voice or strategies as the Northern countries as we do not share the

same contexts and realities. Speaking about intersectionality and differences will help us move forward towards how we can work better together as North and South feminists without harming each other and how we as the feminist movement can demonstrate that better in these kinds of high level meetings. It helps by creating spaces where we can directly share the work, challenges and achievements of the work we are doing on the ground and regionally and globally and this also can be a space where we build relationships and allies. Ensuring not too only speak as an individual voice but as an activist that represents a constituency community and movement will then add value to your advocacy work.

### As a Pacific Woman, you made mention the urgency of Ocean justice in your HLPF statement. What are some key messages on Ocean Justice for your feminist sisters?

As someone that lives on an island, which is actually surrounded by Oceans, which is at a high risk of losing everything it is important to raise the IMPORTANCE OF TAKING ACTIONS NOW ON CLIMATE JUSTICE. The urgency of taking action needs to be raised more and more in all spaces we want to talk about simple human rights issues because Climate Justice is about the right to healthy and stable livelihoods. Let's keep raising our voices louder and support the work that most organisations, communities and networks are already doing to demand urgent action now to save and protect our marine environment. ✨



Mereoni Chung is the Programme Officer at DAWN Secretariat in Fiji. She holds a Masters of Applied Anthropology and Participatory Development from the Australian National University.

# Defending Seeds, Land and Life: Reflections from the Southern Africa Peoples Summit

by **Hibist Kassa**  
(Ethiopia)

The Second Southern Africa Peoples Summit, a gathering of about 500 delegates from civil society across the sub-region, was held in South Africa on 17-18 August.

The day before the summit, a convoy of delegates went to Rustenburg to mark the fifth anniversary of the Marikana massacre on August 16<sup>1</sup>. The massacre occurred during one of the most remarkable chapters in global labour history. After killing 34 mineworkers and seriously injuring 78, the women in Marikana informal settlement and the miners decided to continue to strike for a living wage. It is in this spirit that the Peoples Summit was held.

There was consensus at the Summit that Southern African Development Community (SADC) governments no longer provide meaningful concessions. Securitisation of social problems in liberal democracies and hardening of authoritarianism in the face of popular protests has rendered irrelevant attempts to engage with intergovernmental processes.

This is reflected in the rise of the youth movement against inequality and authoritarianism in the Democratic Republic of Congo, one of the most resource rich countries in the world.

Now is a time of resilience and reflection, experimentation and renewal of hope for potentialities that exist. In this moment, the importance of going beyond critique and thinking through alternatives cannot be overemphasised.

The Peoples Summit heard that in a step forward, Zimbabwe Diamond Workers Union has gone beyond traditional trade union concerns. It also explicitly addresses unequal employment for women, environmental violations and supports artisanal miners and mining affected communities.

The Rural Women's Assembly<sup>2</sup> (RWA) took a clear stance to reject corporate takeover of seeds which has led to the destruction



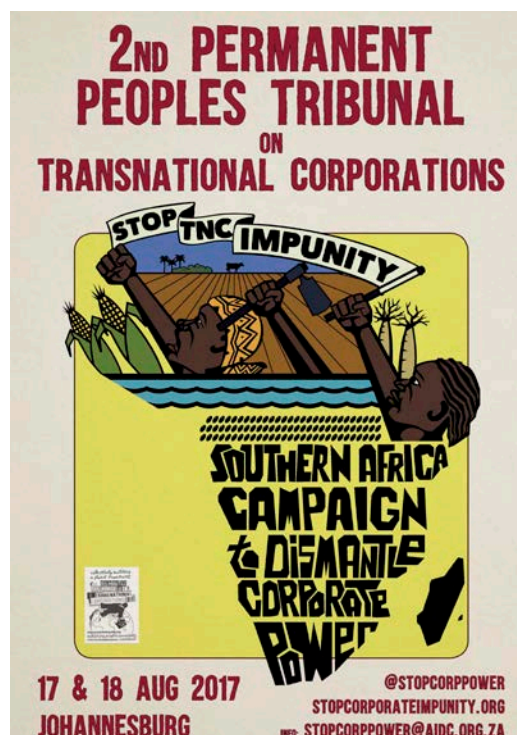
of seed variety. A common thread was critique of the farmer input subsidy program<sup>3</sup>. Activists, who are also smallholder women farmers, cited how farmer input subsidy programs have facilitated the entry of agribusinesses further down the value chain. They also called for locally owned seed banks and support for smallholder farmer controlled markets to keep multinational corporations out.

One of the most striking deliberations at the Summit was a session held by RWA on violence against all women, including queer bodies. The analysis gave insight into the great strides being made on confronting violence against women in the sub-region. Dispossession was understood as violence to a person's being and identity. There was a clear position on making linkages between violence on an interpersonal, epistemic, structural and

system wide level. These processes were linked to the extractive nature of the economy and complicity of the state in this process. This is becoming entrenched and threatening livelihoods and food sovereignty, and is escalating in the face of climate change.

At the Permanent Peoples Tribunal, charges were laid against transnational corporations. One case was brought by Amadiba Crisis Committee (ACC), which was formed in 2007 by the Xolobeni community in South Africa to resist a titanium mine, Minerals Commodity, a subsidiary of an Australian corporation. It is expected a mineral separation plant and smelter could provide about 300 permanent jobs. However ACC views the environmental damage and dispossession as part of a global existential crisis. In September 2016, the Minister of the Department of Mineral Resources (DMR) took a unilateral decision to cancel the license of the Australian listed mine for 18 months. In some quarters, this was understood as a victory. ACC rejected this and continues to call for a permanent cancellation of the mining license, even though their then chairperson, Sikhossphi Rhadebe, has been assassinated.

Justica Ambiental presented on the case against Pro-Savana<sup>4</sup>, a public private partnership in the Nacala Development Corridor (NDC) of Mozambique. NDC covers an area of 14 million hectares with a population of about 10 million. Pro-Savana seeks to transform NDC from being dominated by smallholder production to plantation farms. Brazil provides technical expertise from the Brazilian Agriculture Research Corporation (Embrapa) and Japan provides finance, while the government of Mozambique secures access to land. The project is export oriented for countries such as Japan and China. This project has led to land grabbing, a pattern that intensified after the 2008 food crisis<sup>5</sup> and has raised serious alarm<sup>6</sup>.





“ The scale of the unevenness between corporations on one hand, and communities and activists on the other, appears to be overwhelming ”

The Peoples Summit provided a space for convergence and debate between diverse movements and struggles in Southern Africa and beyond in the spirit of internationalism. The articulation of interlinkages between structural, epistemic and systemic factors was also very clear. It opened the space for accountability of states captured by corporate interests. The Peoples Permanent Tribunal offered an example of an important mechanism which can be replicated elsewhere. Nonetheless, the scale of the unevenness between corporations on one hand, and communities and activists on the other, appears to be overwhelming.

Yet the recent collapse of one of the biggest land grab deals in the world in the Horn of Africa has raised hope. After a decade long struggle in Gambela region of Ethiopia over a deal covering an area of 300 000 hectares, Karuturi, a flower grower based in India has had its trade and investment license revoked. Land is to be returned to smallholder farmers. This is a victory indeed<sup>7</sup>. ✨



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## End notes

<sup>1</sup> Platinum mine workers led by rock drill operators were on an unprotected strike for a week for a living wage. The strike before and after the massacre was sustained by women in the Marikana mine community who also were part of decision making, even on the day of the massacre. Just before the massacre, Joseph Mutunjwa, President of the Allied Mining Construction Union (AMCU) famously went on his knees and begged the men and women to end the strike. The mineworkers were shot in the head and the back as they attempted to flee. See more information on women of Marikana from the Centre for Applied Legal Studies at

<https://www.wits.ac.za/media/wits-university/faculties-and-schools/commerce-law-and-management/research-office-documents/pdf-documents/CALS%20Vignette%20on%20the%20Women%20of%20Marikana.pdf>

<sup>2</sup> RWA was launched in 2003 and is a self-organised network or alliance of national rural women's movements, assemblies, grassroots organisations and chapters of mixed peasant unions, federations and movements across nine countries in the SADC region. RWA focus is to reclaim indigenous seeds and eject agribusinesses like Monsanto.

<sup>3</sup> In the 2003 Maputo Declaration, African governments agreed to allocate 10% of the national budget to agriculture. Not only has this not been achieved, but allocation of resources has tended to benefit big farmers and agribusinesses instead of smallholder farmers, especially women.

<sup>4</sup> Programme of Triangular Co-operation for Agricultural Development of the Tropical Savannahs of Mozambique

<sup>5</sup> The Land Grabbers of the Nacala Corridor: A New Era of Struggle Against Colonial Plantations in Northern Mozambique, National Farmers Union and Grain, February 19, 2015,

<https://www.grain.org/article/entries/5137-the-land-grabbers-of-the-nacala-corridor>

<sup>6</sup> Land Grabbing for Agribusiness in Mozambique: UNAC statement on Pro-Savana Programme, October 11, 2012, <http://www.unac.org.mz/english/index.php/our-position-documents/8-unac-statement-on-the-prosavana-programme>

<sup>7</sup> Anywaa Survival Organisation and GRAIN, Turono Karuturi ("Bye-bye Karuturi" in Anuak), 22 September 2017, <https://www.grain.org/article/entries/5803-turono-karuturi-bye-bye-karuturi-in-anuak>

# Self-management as a practice and alternative: building feminist bridges

by **Florencia Partenio (Argentina)**

A new International Workers' Economy Meeting was held from 30 August to 2 September at the sites of 'recovered' companies in Argentina<sup>1</sup>. The four days of intense discussion brought together workers from self-managed and recovered companies<sup>2</sup>, social organizations and trade unions, researchers and university students committed to self-management practices and the alternative project of a new economy.

More than 500 representatives from 25 countries attended this meeting, including delegates from Croatia, South Africa, Canada, Turkey, China, Bangladesh, France, Spain, Greece, Italy, Mexico, Colombia, Cuba, Venezuela, Brazil, Peru, Chile, Uruguay and Bolivia as well as Argentina.

This initiative was an invitation to consider economic systems from a 'workers' economy' perspective; meaning an economy generated and sustained by sectors dealing with the engendering of their own salaries, either individually as informal workers or collectively, in cooperatives or other type of self-managed organizations, in rural or urban areas. This economy is in permanent confrontation with capital, even if unnoticed, due to the absence of 'employers' at worker managed operations<sup>3</sup>.

Different core themes that comprise the economy from and for workers perspectives were debated on panels, in workshops and working groups. The topics included political and economic analysis of the global capitalism crisis; self-management as an alternative project; the challenges of unionism and other forms of worker organization; the precariousness and informalization of labor; the ways in which the economy is integrated and connected; the role of the State; and popular education and knowledge production. Based on those core themes, a gathering space on 'the workers' economy and issues relating to gender' was organized, which drew a the

strong participation of women, migrants, cooperative supporters, students, trade unionists, teachers, GLTTBI activists and feminists who gathered to debate and design proposals aimed at building a workers' economy.

This article seeks to trace the origins of this agenda of self-managing women workers coordinating in global and regional spaces. It will also expose the different aspects and challenges that feminist agendas reveal in spaces where self-managed and cooperative workers organize themselves.

## Women workers at the international economy meetings

Ten years after the first 'International Workers' Economy Meeting'<sup>4</sup> held in Buenos Aires in 2007, the organizers were able to gather workers from recovered companies, cooperatives, social organizations, trade unions, teachers and scholars from across the world. The careful planning was carried out by activists from North and South who gave shape to the global meetings, from the first in 2007 and second in 2009 in Buenos Aires, in Mexico (2011), Brazil (Joao Pessoa, 2013) and Venezuela (Punto Fijo, 2015). Since 2014 the gatherings have been held back to back with regional meetings in South America, Europe and North and Central America.

In a context where neoliberal policies are reinforced and governments have made a shift towards the right, several questions arise about the feasibility of an economy project that serves the interests of workers. One of the biggest challenges raised at the 'VI International

'women workers' in the announcements. On the other hand, self managed women workers' presentations aimed at the core discussion of themes, mainstreaming and contexts that shaped each meeting. It is possible to trace some milestones along the meetings' trajectory. The first one goes back to the 2009 'International Workers' Economy Meeting' in the debate during the panel on 'Informal, precarious and menial work: social exclusion or reshaping the ways of working in global capitalism?' At that time, female picketers<sup>5</sup> and transvestites of textile cooperatives challenged the male representatives of popular economics on the need to recognize the diversity of protagonists in self-management and their experiences. The second milestone goes back to the 'V International Workers' Economy Meeting' in Venezuela in 2015, where self-managed workers expressed, in different workshops, the need to incorporate 'gender issues' in future meetings.

In 2016, we continued along this path at the 'South American Workers' Economy Meeting' in Uruguay. Preparatory activities were organized on a theme that focused on gender issues, as well as a workshop on 'Production and reproduction for life' on the care economy. This was the first workshop to embrace the ideas of social organization of care in self-managed projects, which was starting to gain support from different countries through networks and cooperatives<sup>6</sup>. Although most of the participants were women, proposals and conclusions enabled the design of a feminist work agenda and the

## Feminist approaches towards self-management help us rethink alternatives to the model of accumulation”

Workers' Economy Meeting' concerns progressing towards a 'movement' that could coordinate the different approaches that have emerged during the past ten years. In my opinion, another significant challenge has been the one raised by women workers within the organization in the creation of an alternative project of the so-called 'workers' economy'.

To shape this agenda, self-managed women workers took their own steps in each of the global and regional meeting spaces. On one hand, we can point to affirmative action dealing with communication strategies, securing speaking slots in panels, etc. Inclusive language began being used in communication activity and even in the name of the meeting, also referring to

questioning of male cooperatives activists who did not attend the workshop.

### Without feminism, the struggle is halfway

Within the framework of the 'VI International Workers' Economy Meeting', under the theme 'The workers' economy and issues relating to gender', commissions were organized with submission of papers, a panel and a workshop where scholars and workers from Uruguay, Mexico, France, Chile, Peru, Brazil, Kurdistan and Argentina made presentations. These spaces not only relied on the coordinated efforts of different organizations<sup>7</sup> but also became a source of global solidarity





among workers. It promoted the development of proposals within the Organizing Committee for the meetings and encouraged becoming more geared towards labor organizations that could bring together these experiences and concepts.

In this context, the workshop on 'Challenges and strategies of self-managed women workers' was organized, addressing cooperatives related to the sector, trade unions, teachers and researchers working on this issue. Based on workers' practice, the idea was to reflect on the conflicts related to the sexual division of work experienced daily in different areas of self-managed work. The place women occupy in collective work spaces was discussed and also considered the activities women do at home, in the neighborhood and in the community. Reflections were held in small workshops on the role that these forms of segregation, gaps and asymmetries play in the workers' economy, what challenges lie ahead and what strategies could be collectively built.

Proposals included calling on the self-managed workers' movement to coordinate public policy demands that reflect women's needs (for example, provision of care services); encouragement for workers to draft changes in the regulations of cooperatives and federations to transform unequal gender relations; the inclusion of the social security issue from a gender perspective, taking workers into account (formal, informal, with disabilities); the creation of care spaces for boys and girls at International Workers' Economy Meetings; the coordination of migrants' struggles with the workers' economy; and the implementation of democratic ways of taking the floor at plenary sessions and assemblies of the organizations.

In a moment when socio-labor rights have gone backwards and neo-conservative governments have advanced, organizing the field of the self-managed economy faces challenges such as the strengthening of neoliberal and extractive policies that

reduce the margin of self-managed work; the advance of militarization and wars in territories where the reorganization of the economy is in the hands of women<sup>8</sup>; and the de-patriarchalization of workers' organizations and cooperatives. In this sense, the challenge of coordinating a feminist proposal with self-management practices will allow us to rethink the alternatives to the model of accumulation that has proved to be seriously limited. Here we find increasingly strong bonds when thinking from a perspective that considers the *sustainability of life*<sup>9</sup>. During the workshop of women workers the exchanges revealed that it is essential to think about the conditions that enable the *sustainability of our own struggles*. At this point, the reflection on praxis goes beyond the cooperative space. This perspective could be raised in other organizational spaces such as trade unions, territorial and environmental organizations, where more visibility can be given to the care work that sustains daily life, productive work and political activism. ✎



Florencia Partenio is a member of DAWN's Executive Committee. Flora's work interests include: labor studies, industrial relations and job skills. She is an alumna of DAWN's Latin American Gender, Ecological, and Economic Justice training course held in Montevideo in 2011.

## End notes:

<sup>1</sup> Such as Cooperativa Textiles Pigüé and Hotel BAUEN

<sup>2</sup> Since the mid-nineties and the beginning of the XXI century in Argentina, the recovery of companies was a common way of demanding employment in a context where the industrial production system was breaking down. This was reproduced in other countries of Latin America, with a few differences in terms of the possibilities and limitations of the legal framework (in most cases, the "worker cooperative" became a legal umbrella).

<sup>3</sup> Ruggeri, Andrés (2016) "Los distintos caminos de la economía de los trabajadores", self-management.

<sup>4</sup> The host of the first meeting was the Open University Program of the University of Buenos Aires. For more information: Ruggeri, Andrés (2015) "El Encuentro Internacional 'La Economía de los Trabajadores', un espacio de debate sobre la autogestión", *Idelcoop Magazine*, 216: 115-127.

<sup>5</sup> Mobilizations and roadblocks were typical actions of the "picketing movement," held for an indefinite period, sometimes days and even weeks. "Demand for work" was the slogan of these movements and those who participated in the mobilizations identified themselves as "unemployed workers." These mobilizations were in response to the increased unemployment and work precariousness experienced throughout the decade in Argentina.

<sup>6</sup> Among them, Cooperativa Caminos from Uruguay, Cooperativa 19 de diciembre from Argentina and the Inter-University Network to provide visibility on gender issues in social economy (CIET-UNR, FFyL-ICA-UBA, RT-UNAJ, UNLPam, UDELAR, UCE).

<sup>7</sup> It was organized by trade unions (PIT-CNT), Centro de Formación y Documentación en Procesos Autogestionarios [Center of Training and Documentation of Self-Managed Processes] (Uruguay); Espacio de Economía Feminista de la Sociedad de Economía Crítica [Feminist Economy Space of the Society of Critical Economy]; cooperativist women from Textiles Pigüé, Cooperativa 19 de diciembre (Argentina) and Caminos (Uruguay) and the aforementioned Inter-University Network of social economy and gender.

<sup>8</sup> For example, the experience of the Kurdish Women's Liberation Movement <https://cooperativa.cat/es/autogobierno-economico-en-la-autonomia-democratica-el-ejemplo-de-bakur-kurdistan-turco/>

<sup>9</sup> See: Carrasco, Cristina (2014) "Con voz propia. La economía feminista como apuesta teórica y política", *La Oveja Roja / Viento Sur*.

## Corporate power: a looming threat to the fulfilment of women's human rights\*

by Corina Rodríguez Enríquez (Argentina)

There are a number of reasons to believe that the 2030 Agenda and the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) are a step forward for the realization of women's human rights<sup>1</sup>. Not only are there several interrelated targets under the stand alone goal to achieve gender equality and empower all women and girls (SDG 5), there are also specific targets under 11 other goals that link women's rights to the three dimensions of sustainable development (social, economic and environmental). However, the SDGs do not explicitly recognize the links between women's human rights, gender equality, and needed structural reforms in global economic governance and policies. One of the dimensions of global economic dynamics that must be urgently addressed is the role of the private sector, in particular the limits to corporate power that need to be established.

The SDGs, by failing to include either a stand alone goal or specific targets in each of the goals on private sector regulation, reinforce the assumption that there are automatic positive synergies between private sector activities and development; and in a linear way of thinking, between development and women's human rights fulfilment. However, there are threats posed by corporate power to the realization of women's human rights, including in the following key dimensions, among many:

- the negative impact of the drive towards competitiveness and rising productivity on women's working conditions;
- the impact of corporate lobbying and tax dodging in limiting public revenues as well as policy space;
- the spread of the belief that corporations are (or may be) gender sensitive, and of the ambiguous discourse on corporate social responsibility.

### Negative impact of the drive towards competitiveness

Feminist economics literature has contributed empirical analysis that questions the mainstream assumption that liberalization of the economy, with its pressure for competitiveness and rising productivity, will produce a levelling of wages across the world and will reduce poverty and inequality<sup>2</sup>. For example, in the 1980s, the development strategy implemented in many countries in Latin America (mostly Mexico and Central America) based on export-led manufacturing factories (known as 'maquilas'), failed to reach the synergies they were supposed to, and instead they have proved to produce little improvement in employment, a limited contribution to economic growth and no gain in technology transfer to local productive systems. While the maquilas have opened economic opportunities for some

“ The SDGs reinforce the assumption that there are automatic positive synergies between private sector activities and development ”

women who otherwise would have none, these have been characterized by precarious working conditions and overall low wages. Also the strategy itself proved to be unsustainable, since much foreign investment allocated to the maquilas ended up migrating to other regions in the world (South Asia and China) once economic incentives (e.g., labour standards, labour force capacities, available infrastructure, tax breaks) in those places were more attractive.



In brief, within this development strategy, women's lower wages and poorer labor conditions worked as a major advantage for corporations. While experiences and results vary among countries, economic structures, labour market characteristics and groups of women and men, the main conclusion is that the less negative experiences of this type of economic strategy (or the most successful ones) were those where the regulation of private sector investment was more robust and/or was accompanied by public policies in the area of social services, social infrastructure and income maintenance policies.

### Impact of corporate lobbying and tax dodging

Currently, the paradigm of public-private partnerships (PPPs) is being promoted not only at the national level but also by the UN development system as the best way to advance investment in areas of special relevance for women's lives and human rights. As, for example, social infrastructure and social services. PPPs are promoted on the assumption that

\* Excerpt of chapter 5 of the civil society report Spotlight on Sustainable Development 2017



governments are unable or unwilling to invest in expanding access to basic public goods. It is believed that the private sector can introduce technology and innovation to make public service delivery more efficient.

This perspective is questionable from the point of view of the ability of PPPs to actually contribute to narrowing gender gaps and improving women's lives. Most of the existing evaluations of PPPs are restricted to assessment of their efficiency and effectiveness in management, their capacity to transfer technology and knowledge, their contribution to financing the delivery of social services. The results of the assessments are not at all conclusive on these subjects<sup>3</sup>. On the contrary, there is evidence of the negative effects of PPPs, especially in terms of the fiscal risks (overcharges and fiscal unsustainability) that should be taken into account when analysing the net effects.

The promotion of the private sector as a rescuer of the public sector's weak financing capacity hides the real root of the limitations of many governments in generating revenue. Corporations are in fact the most responsible for the lack of fiscal space for national governments, due to their tax evasion and avoidance. The failure of corporations to pay taxes in the countries where they operate is a major reason for governments' lack of fiscal space to implement policies that would protect and promote women's human rights.

The need of many governments to give favourable tax treatment to multinational companies as a way to attract foreign direct investment, together with corporate tax-dodging, implies that considerable public revenue is forgone. When a State does not mobilize sufficient resources, and has repeated budget shortfalls, it can only provide insufficient and low-quality services (e.g., in education, health, sanitation, public transport, social infrastructure, care services). When fiscal space is limited in this way, evidence shows that gender inequalities are perpetuated or even exacerbated, which in turn limits improvement in women's lives and the narrowing of gender gaps<sup>4</sup>.

### Misleading discourse on corporate social responsibility

Corporations have also developed their own understanding of the positive relationship between women's empowerment, gender equity and development. Their view can be seen at the least as a double standard, if not simply as hypocrisy. For one thing,

“Corporations are in fact the most responsible for the lack of fiscal space for national governments, due to their tax evasion and avoidance”

corporate social responsibility initiatives designed to improve women's lives are all too often rooted in the narrow belief that women's economic empowerment amounts essentially to women's entrepreneurship.

On the other hand, corporate social responsibility initiatives are not held accountable for their unwillingness to tackle the roots of inequality. For example, the UN Global Compact outlined the initiatives undertaken by multinational corporations to addressing poverty, including moves to equalize opportunities for women<sup>5</sup>. However, many of the Global Compact signatories are often reluctant to pay a living wage to their employees or to eliminate tax evasion and tax avoidance practices.

In order for women's human rights to be fulfilled, gender gaps to be closed, and SDG 5 to be achieved, the time has come for private corporations and governments to stop using symbolic policies and practices with limited impacts as a substitute for the real political and economic commitment that is needed to overcome the structural barriers to women's and girls' empowerment and gender equality. ✎



Corina Rodríguez Enríquez is a member of DAWN's Executive Committee and is on DAWN's Political Economy of Globalization (PEG) team.

### End notes

<sup>1</sup> See DAWN (2016): Overcoming Global Structural Obstacles and Preventing Negative Spill-over Effects for Realizing Women's Human Rights. In: Reflection Group on the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development (2016): Spotlight on Sustainable Development 2016. Beirut/Bonn/Montevideo/New York/Penang/Suva. [www.2030spotlight.org/en/book/ji11-towards-new-urban-agenda](http://www.2030spotlight.org/en/book/ji11-towards-new-urban-agenda)

<sup>2</sup> For the case of Latin America, see Ciedur (2014): Comercio, género y equidad en América Latina: generando conocimiento para la acción política. Montevideo: Ciedur; Giosa Zuazúa, Noemí/ Rodríguez Enríquez, Corina (2010): Estrategias de desarrollo y equidad de género en América Latina y el Caribe: Una propuesta de abordaje y una aplicación al caso de la IMANE en México y Centroamérica. Santiago; CepSeguino, Stephanie/Braustein, Elisa (2012): The impact of economic policy and structural change on gender employment inequality in Latin America, 1990-2010. Munich: Munich Personal RePEc Archive. [https://mpra.ub.uni-muenchen.de/43261/1/MPRA\\_paper\\_43261.pdf](https://mpra.ub.uni-muenchen.de/43261/1/MPRA_paper_43261.pdf)

<sup>3</sup> Serafini, V. (forthcoming): Justicia de Género y Financiamiento privado para el Desarrollo. Una mirada crítica a las Alianzas Público-Privadas. DAWN.

<sup>4</sup> Grondona, V./Bidegain, Nicole/ Rodríguez Enríquez, Corina (2016): Illicit Financial Flows Undermining Gender Justice. Berlin: FES and DAWN. <http://library.fes.de/pdf-files/iez/12984.pdf>

<sup>5</sup> The UN Global Compact is a voluntary corporate responsibility initiative designed to 'mainstream' a set of ten principles related to human rights, labour, the environment and anti corruption in corporate activities. It also promotes the Women's Empowerment Principles, a partnership initiative that provides "an established roadmap for business on how to empower women in the workplace, marketplace and community" ([www.wepinciples.org/](http://www.wepinciples.org/)).



## On DAWN's Website

[www.dawnnet.org](http://www.dawnnet.org)

### Global Call to Women, Trans and Lesbians: United against the WTO

From December 10 to 13, the World Trade Organization (WTO) will meet in the city of Buenos Aires, where measures will be agreed to delve into the "free" trade agenda. DAWN has joined the Global Call to participate in a Great Assembly of women, trans, transvestites, lesbians, migrants, refugees, indigenous, transsexual, afro-descendant and displaced women, on December 12, to feel and think strategies to face the trade liberalization agenda.

<http://dawnnet.org/feminist-resources/article/global-call-women-united-against-wto>

### Cuadernillo: El gran debate detrás de la Organización Mundial del Comercio (OMC)

¿Qué es el "libre comercio" y por qué es un tema importante? ¿Cuándo nació la OMC y cómo ha funcionado? ¿Cuáles son los efectos del libre comercio sobre la vida de las mujeres? Estas son algunas de las preguntas que explora el cuadernillo informativo publicado por la Asamblea "Argentina Mejor sin TLC", en ocasión de la próxima reunión de la OMC que tendrá lugar del 10 al 13 de diciembre de este 2017, en Buenos Aires. Florencia Partenio, del Comité Ejecutivo de DAWN, fue coautora de la sección que explica cómo el libre comercio afecta a las mujeres.

<http://dawnnet.org/feminist-resources/article/derechos-sociales-vs-libre-comercio-gu%C3%ADa-para-el-debate>



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