The identification of women and armed conflict as a critical area of concern in the Beijing Platform for Action (BPFA) has led to a growing awareness of the gender differentiated experience and impact of armed conflict on women and men. In particular, the BPFA sought to increase the participation of women in conflict resolution at decision-making levels; reduce military expenditures and control availability of armaments; reduce human rights abuses in conflict situations; promote women’s contributions in support of a culture of peace; and protect displaced and refugee women.

Five years later, the United Nations Security Council adopted a resolution on peace and security in October 2000. UNSCR 1325 mandates member states, inter alia, to involve women at decision-making level in all aspects of peace building, peace making and security concerns.

Building on the gains of the 1992 UN World Conference on Human Rights in Vienna, women’s advocacy post-Beijing also helped to highlight the atrocities of rape and sexual violence in war time following the brutal conflicts in Rwanda and Bosnia. This led to the establishment of International Criminal Tribunals and paved the way for the creation of the International Criminal Court based on the Rome Statutes. The Statutes inter alia recognized systematic rape as a war crime and a crime against humanity.

Subsequently, UN Security Council Resolution 1820 linked sexual violence as a tactic of war with the threat to international peace and security. It also demanded a comprehensive report from the UN Secretary General on implementation. UNSCR 1820 also called for improved information flow to the Security Council and the adoption of concrete protection and prevention measures to end sexual violence.

A big challenge is integrating messy social issues—gender, caste, ethnicity—into analysis, policies, and programming in health or, on this occasion, the Millennium Development Goals 4, 5, 6. These issues do not lend themselves easily to resolution with technological fixes. These issues also make the necessary act of prioritization difficult. The ICPD Program of Action shows us ways of integrating these messy social issues but along the way, its implementation got lost. There was fragmentation of approaches and initiatives; lack of focused leadership or resources. Follow-through was not institutionalized in the process of implementation. The inability to integrate “messy social issues” has meant that there is a default component to health care provision and it is that women become the default health care system.

Some of these messy social issues have to do with discrimination, stigma and criminalization. The human rights framework is especially helpful in dealing with these. There are a lot of work being done here by SRHR activists. Paying attention to the “messy social issues” has meant that there is a default component to health care provision and it is that women become the default health care system.

Overall, it is important to look at the continuum of health care services provision within health care systems. The health care system is part of an even broader set of institutions for development—improving well-being. One set of development institutions is financing, both from external sources or through domestic resource mobilization. According to my colleague in DAWN, Gita Sen, “many developing countries depend on external funding from donors. She noted that the extent of this dependence varies widely but is especially marked in respect of health in sub-Saharan Africa. Recent estimates suggest that health accounts for about one-seventh of total official development assistance (ODA), and about half of the health assistance goes to Africa. Vertical programs account for 15-20% of health aid, although this varies from year to year. However, a substantial proportion of the expenditure is off budget, or even excluded from the balance of payments, despite the Paris Declaration on Aid Effectiveness. Where this happens, the recipient country’s Ministry of Finance has little, if any, control over how the money is allocated and spent. The positive side of money being excluded from balance of payments and budget is that the International Monetary Fund (IMF) cannot ‘get their hands on it’.” This was a major point of debate around 2004 - 2005, when there was a strong demand.

On the Importance of Gender in All MDGs

by Marina Durano* & Gita Sen

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Although the countries of the Andean Community - Bolivia, Peru, Ecuador and Colombia - emit very low levels of greenhouse gases into the atmosphere in relation to developed countries, these countries are the ones predicted to suffer more severe climate change impacts. Characterized as a mega-diverse region, not only for the high biodiversity levels found in its wide territory, but also because of their ethnic and cultural diversity, the area is currently threatened by the impacts that have already been recorded due to climate change.

Almost 10% of freshwater reserves in the world are within the Andean region; it is the second reservoir of freshwater on the planet. Much of this fresh water is in the form of glaciers crowning the mountain tops. A 1º C increase in global temperature has already led to the loss of permafrost in several summits. This was the case of the Chacaltaya glacier located at 5,200 meters above sea level that in 2009 became the first tropical glacier monitored to disappear, despite calculations that the glaciers will exist until 2015. This alarming fact has alerted the people who depend on water from snow-ice melting for domestic supply, productive activities and in many cases power supply.

A large number of urban centers in the region including capital cities and big towns like the cities of La Paz, El Alto and Quito are threatened, unless urgent action is taken that would preserve and make available the resource.

Climate change impacts and women's role in the Andean Community

Despite efforts to raise joint global and regional strategies to protect water sources, it is a fact that if the global temperature increases at the current pace, the loss of fresh water may become irreversible in a short time. When this happens, the poorest populations that are vulnerable to extreme events will be most affected. Moreover, the big impact will be felt by the poor women in the region. Andean women, often victims of illiteracy, low income and lack of access to resources, already face a complex of challenges in performing their household and community function of water provisioning in their differentiated geographical contexts.

In the Andean highlands, agriculture is the most important productive system and irrigation one of the main activities. Nevertheless, the participation of women is low mainly due to the fact that harnessing irrigation waters from melting glaciers is both tedious and harsh. Water usually reach very low temperatures, often just above freezing point. In the tropical lowlands where the Amazon is found, the wet seasons bring extreme levels of rainfall, producing floods in some of the main cities. When this happens, it becomes very hard to access drinking water as all kinds of waste mix with water sources. Whereas, during the dry season, water sources may dry up and water access points may get clogged with forest wastes.

The driest ecosystem found within the Andean Community is the Chaco region, southwest of Bolivia. Chaco is the territory of the Guarani People. The Guarani People's Assembly (GPA) comprised of senior officials, is one of the most important decision-making spaces in the area. Early on in its 4th meeting, women have succeeded in gaining increased participation as delegates to the GPA’s Council of Captains. Despite this, women’s leadership in irrigation systems projects that require technical knowhow remains insignificant. Today a number of water projects are being implemented in the Andean region where water-filled canals are built around the field ridges. These climate adaptation projects are utilizing women, showing good results in water use and reducing the amount of crops lost to floods. As shown in the graph, women’s participation in micro-irrigation system depends on the complexity of the design. The participation of women is high in more simple irrigation projects but dramatically drops in more complex project systems.

**Women in the WPCCC**

In April 2010, the World People’s Conference on Climate Change and Mother Earth’s Rights took place in Tiquipaya City of Cochabamba, Bolivia. People from all corners of the planet gathered around to participate in the 18 working controversy tables that were set up to find solutions to the emerging problems brought by climate change. Despite the fact that women were one of the main social groups affected by any environmental change, the conclusions of the WPCCC absolutely glossed over this fact. In this regard, the conclusions of the Conference were weak because these did not capture the real problems that poor women faced due to global warming. While it is important to create and open new spaces where women could participate, especially in decision-making, it is equally important to address capacity issues in relation to building new strategies to confront the climate change.

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The European Union is the second most important trade and investment partner of Central America (CA), after the United States. The EU has been seeking for a bilateral agreement with the region for over a decade. In April 2010, Europeans pushed for the conclusion of the negotiations amidst their own internal crisis. Nicaragua is facing this new trade agenda in this period when the country has embraced the Bolivarian Alternative for the Americas (ALBA) and has committed to the right to food. ALBA has allowed Nicaragua to move forward to food sovereignty, whereas, deeper free trade rules will negatively impact the majority.

True to the principles of the ALBA, Nicaragua is committed to the promotion of complementarities, as an alternative to competition; solidarity, in front of domination; cooperation, as a substitute of exploitation; and respect for sovereignty, rather than corporate norms. Although there had been positive effects of ALBA sponsored programs, the country continues to face high levels of poverty, food insecurity and malnourishment. According to the Latin America and Caribbean Economic Commission, it will take 22 years for Nicaragua to eliminate malnourishment and diminish chronic poverty. Moreover, Nicaragua also has signed the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (ICESCR), that obliges national governments to recognize the right to food (Art. 11). As a step forward, its National Constitution entitles citizens to the right to food (Art 63). Furthermore, Nicaragua parliamentarians had recently approved the Law for Food Sovereignty and Food Security and Nutrition (SISAN, May 2009). In the last two years, as part of the social programs of the Sandinista government with the support of ALBA and other donors, ‘Zero Hunger’ was adopted as the national program that aims to alleviate poverty in rural areas, benefiting primarily women. The impact has been the increase of food production reflected in the reduction of the internal inflation that went from 13.6 per cent in 2006 to 0.46 percent in 2009 (Nicaraguan Central Bank, August 2009).

The integration that EU has pursued in Central America is leading to doubts and concerns, including fears that the EU trade agreement will lead to violations of the right to adequate food in Nicaragua and the region.

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**Financing Market-based Agriculture and Rural Development in the South**

*by Natividad Bernardino*

In the 50’s, agricultural development was subsumed by the emphasis on state-led industrialization and the bias for import-competing industries. Although agrarian reform was high in the agenda, it was seen only as vital in the direction of supporting industrialization and containing communist insurgency. It was in the 60’s and 70’s that public investments in agriculture reached its peak, prompted by the Asian food crisis of the late 60’s and the subsequent introduction of the Green Revolution technology. The need to propagate the adoption of high yielding varieties necessitated massive public investments in irrigation infrastructure as well as in support and extension services for farmers in the form of credit subsidy and price support. By the 1980’s, this trend was reversed as countries embarked on structural adjustment programs and economic liberalization. As a result, national public resources and ODA allocated to the sector declined for the past 25 years. ODA for agriculture, forestry and fishing, in particular, plummeted from 28% of total ODA in 1983 to only 2.9% in 2006. (See graph)

The recent food crisis drew attention once again to the agricultural sector, with food security becoming the buzzword in policy circles. In July 2009, the G-8 countries launched the L’Aquila Food Security Initiative and promised to give USD 20 billion over the next three years to support primarily African countries with agriculture. The increased flow of public financial resources into the sector appears to be one of the short-run countercyclical responses to the global financial downturn that accompanied the food crisis.

The International Financial Institutions (IFIs) continue to push for “market-oriented land reform” and market-driven approaches to irrigation infrastructure development.

Such fixation with the market-oriented approach has the tendency to subvert the redistributive goal of land reform and negate the potential positive spillovers of agricultural development.

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The DAWN Development Debates that took place in Mauritius from 18-20 January 2010 is an unusual DAWN meeting in two ways. It is the first time that DAWN had invited men. It is also the first meeting since the very early beginning where DAWN invited friends from the North. Interestingly, both of these had been part of DAWN’s intensive organizational debates in the past. The opportunity presented by the DDD may have to do with a number of things: DAWN’s own ‘coming of age,’ the evolution of movements, the creation of new spaces for debates and engagement. The meeting provided DAWN a moment to be able to pause and reflect. Through the debates, DAWN wanted to push the boundaries of its own thinking, to open up to new and challenging issues, or to revisit with friends tensions that DAWN women have met in the course of its two decades of political advocacy.

Global Apartheid:

“What I see emerging, sadly, is a new regime of global apartheid, which is highly marketized, militarized and sexualized… I also understood from our exchanges that a possible alternative to this regime would be, perhaps, more localized forms of production and governance, based on what Ros Petchesky (2010) had called trans-ethics principles and universal citizenship rights that would transcend the gaps in existing Human Rights frameworks.” - Zo Randriamaro

Social movements:

“I would like to pick up the notion of social civility that our DTI alumna Carmen Capriles brought to our debates. She spoke of a social civility, which is not formalized and occidentalized, but one born out of simultaneous struggles against big powers, inequalities, discrimination and massive poverty. The global social movement of which we are a part must reflect and take positions on whether and how the mobilization and resistances are enhancing social civility in ways that individuals, whatever their identities and whatever their just claims, are not further dichotomized, polarized or hierarchized.” - Gigi Francisco
Developmental states:
“There’s a sense of idealism about the developmental states, despite the Asian tigers that manifest clear weaknesses… The developmental state is interventionist. Following Rodrik (2007), if the developmental state is interested in growth, health and development, that state must, in fact, intervene to change the incentive structures to ensure profit-generation. But is this what we want? That is not the sense that I gathered in the last 2 days so there’s a tension here between what is being idealized and what our development aspirations are.” - Marina Durano

Economic development & Rights
“One key concern would be how to bring production and consumption to economic discussions that are heavily only about distribution. In addition, who is the subject of rights? Are they persons, communities, or nations? What are Rights vis-à-vis Human Rights? The right to development defined as the right of persons but politically argued as right of states – how do we reclaim the discourse back as the right of persons but at the same time, address the issue of inequalities among states? What systems produce or do not produce justice?” - Gita Sen

Militarization & Development:
“If I look at some important frames of analysis that have come out of these debates, obviously, these are found in the nexus of neo-liberal economy and militarism as a mode of capitalist existence, particularly, the business of wars. War, violence, conflict and militarization create conditions in which local, regional and global political and economic interests are embedded… It is almost impossible to separate the myths of de-colonization, militarization of globalization, illicit economies, political economy of conflict and militarization. The question is how to bring this into DAWN’s political economy framework and analysis.” - Kumudini Samuel
Reflections About Feminist Activist Strategy in a Fierce New World:

Are we playing their game?

by Nicole Bidegain*

Common understanding

At the DAWN Development Debates, the majority of us agreed that we are living in a period of multiple crises; that those crises are interlinked and are a consequence of an unsustainable economic model which produces and reproduces inequality and exclusion. We also shared the analysis that we are moving to a multi-polar world, with new players such as some middle-income countries that claim their space in the global governance complex. Furthermore, the decline of nation state power and the United Nation’s role at the global governance was also noticed. In this sense, a hidden governance composed by the OECD, World Bank and IMF was identified. These institutions have, of course, enormous power as well as very little legitimacy, and they are complemented with the leadership of a club of countries called Group of 20 (G20) that is willing to replace G192 (UN country members).

This analysis makes me ask some questions. What is the role of feminists in this context? Which are the global advocacy spaces we need to prioritize? Are we contributing to social transformation or are we playing their game?

Naming the contradictions

Since I started to engage with global UN advocacy for women’s rights, I began to realize that civil society activists and specially feminists, professionalize themselves in some issues and jump from one UN site or Conference to another bringing the agenda on the floor. In most of the cases this is a reactive advocacy strategy that depends on what issues are being reviewed or the commitments that are not being accomplished by governments in the agreed deadlines. In my view, it is most important to realize that we, as civil society organizations and movements, interact with the same players in different arenas and we should make them aware about the contradictions in their engagements and actions. For instance, while the EU is promoting human rights and women’s empowerment and pushing commitments on Official Development Assistance (ODA) at the UN, it also advocates for free trade agreements, criminalizes migration and refuses to cut farm subsidies that affect the global south. In addition to that, according to Global Financial Integrity, for every dollar sent by Western countries to Africa in ODA, 10 dollars are coming back as illicit capital flows to Western countries.¹ I firmly believe that it is our role to challenge double discourses and name these contradictions when we advocate in different global spaces.

Focusing our energies

At the DDD I asked a participant, “Why do we continue to advocate in the United Nations?” She responded: “Because we have a voice there”. I was astonished because I expected a different answer. In my view, we should continue to work at the UN level because we believe it is the most legitimate space where global decisions on economics should be taken, or because we want to strengthen UN to recover its power but not because civil society have an expertise there and a recognized voice. We should refocus and question ourselves: Where are the real political decisions taking place at the global level and how can we influence those decisions?

To conclude, in a world where Federacion Internacional de Football Association (FIFA) has more members than the United Nations and transnational corporations have more power than many countries, I strongly believe that the feminist movement should extend the global advocacy from the UN to other spaces such as the Bretton Wood Institutions, World Trade Organizations and regional bodies where decisions that affect women’s lives are being taken without accountability mechanisms.

¹“Every year the developing world loses as much as $1 trillion to secrecy jurisdictions via government corruption, criminal activity, and commercial tax evasion”, Global Financial Integrity (GFI): www.gfi.org.

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for scaling up of resources. I raise this in the context of MDG 8. We also need to integrate messy social issues in macroeconomics, if we are to make decisions around generating and distributing resources or conversely cutting down and re-allocating resources, whether these are for HIV/AIDS or for other health concerns.

There is a small caveat on the strategy of arguing that promoting gender equality will enhance performance of all MDGs. We need to be careful in the sense that the burden of proof might fall on us to demonstrate this exactly. That's quite a heavy burden when causalities are debated upon on a regular basis. Causalities are fairly complex when it comes to messy social issues. It would be nice if we valued gender equality because it will improve our well being—full stop.

Financing Market-based Agriculture and Rural Development in the South

and rural development on poverty reduction. With the food crisis being far from over, there is an urgent need to rethink market-oriented approaches in land reform and agricultural development and adopt more gender-informed sustainable agricultural production models to ensure food security, social equity and ecological balance.

“Excerpted from a presentation at the DAWN panel on the “Global Economy and Financing Development: Feminist Perspectives”, organized as part of the UNDP Asia-Pacific First Intensive Course on Gender and Macroeconomic Issues, held on June 18, 2010 at Miriam College, Quezon City, Philippines.

Sources:
Langenkamp, Christoph, Daniel Gerecke and Shaughn McArthur (2009) Sufficient investment in agriculture: an effective means to reach the world’s poor? in A. Sgro’ and A. Naerstad (eds.) Good or Bad Aid for Agriculture and Rural Development? Case studies and overview of support for agriculture and rural development, Rome: More and Better Campaign.

Women in the WPCCC

challenge, as well as, to engage in participatory approaches toward water management strategies.

The 14th point of the declaration of the World People’s Conference on Climate Change and Mother Earth’s Rights says:

“14. We urge States and international organizations making decisions about climate change, particularly the UNFCCC, establish formal structures and mechanisms that include the full and effective participation of Indigenous Peoples, local communities and vulnerable groups including women, without discrimination as the key to obtain a fair and equitable outcome of the negotiations on climate change.” (WPCCC declaration, April, 2010)

On the Importance of Gender in All MDGs

[ continued from page 1 ]

A further resolution 1888, calls on the Secretary-General to appoint a Special Representative to intensify efforts to end sexual violence against women and children in conflict situations and engage on a high level with military and civilian leaders. It also calls for the increased participation of women in peace-building and other post-conflict processes.

However, the systematic inclusion of gender concerns in Security Council resolutions as well as the inclusion of a gendered analysis in Security Council deliberations falls far short of the spirit of Resolution 1325, with only a third referring in some form to women or gender (Resolution Watch). In addition there is no monitoring mechanism to ensure implementation reinforcing the lack of political will to respect the principles enshrined in the resolution. Furthermore, the Security Council privileges sovereignty and non interference; its resolutions and interventions are politicized and often partisan and the geo political interests of member states are paramount.

The international human rights regime does offer a comprehensive set of norms and a moral authority, despite its procedural weaknesses. It also offers hope and sustains struggles in local, national and international arenas which strive to protect and promote human rights and legitimizes our engagement from local to the global and the global to the local. The challenge remains on how we hold the United Nations accountable as well as how we ‘defend and expand our rights as well as re-claim the UN as our rightful space’ and an arena of struggle, in this fierce new world.

1 In Sexualities and reproductive: Strengthening the quality of global research and advocacy, Report on Ford Foundation Convening Global Sexuality Research and Advocacy Portfolio, 14-15 April 2009
*Intervention made at Achieving Interdependent MDGs: Creating Synergies Amongst Advocates Side Event sponsored by UNAIDS, 14 June 2010

BPFA & UNSCR 1325, 1820 & 1888