

ISSUE 3

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This WIDE+ newsletter includes news about the current situation of WIDE+, its activities at the international level and news and reports from members.

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All articles reflect the author’s personal view and do not represent WIDE+.

Announcement: WIDE+ Comeback meeting, 4-5 July 2013, Madrid, Spain

WIDE-E (WIDE Spain) is organizing a WIDE + meeting in Madrid (Spain) on 4 and 5 of July, 2013. During the past half year members of WIDE+ have worked on writing down the vision, mission, governance structure and strategies for the new network WIDE+. In the upcoming meeting members will take decisions on these issues, and further discuss the course of strategic and operational actions.

Provisional agenda:

**Day 1. Open Conference “Conversatorios”:
framing actual debates**

Day 2. Internal WIDE+ meeting

Further information on the meeting will be provided in the coming months. One can find it on the website of WIDE+ (wideplusnetwork.wordpress.com) or contact [info \(at\)wide-network.org](mailto:info@wide-network.org).

About WIDE+

WIDE+ is currently an informal European feminist network of gender specialists, women's rights advocates and activists, women's rights organizations and development NGOs. WIDE+ aims to fill the gap in advocacy on a European level in which these organizations and individuals can collectively strive for gender equality, women's rights and social justice in development, gender, trade and macroeconomic policies and practices, both in European and global decision-making arenas.

WIDE+ stems from the WIDE network, which harbours experiences of more than 25 years in advocacy and movement-building in transforming development, macro-economic and women's rights policies at the European and international level. With the dissolution of WIDE in December 2011, WIDE+ was set up to enable individuals and organizations to continue to push together for the feminist perspective in developmental, international and macro-economic policies at the EU and international level

WIDE+ is currently steered by a Task Force of

around 30 individuals and platform representatives, which is opened for all members to join. There is also a group of members open for people and organizations to join. The Task Force works jointly with diverse working groups. One of the main goals for WIDE+ in 2013 is to re-establish the network into a formal structure, with a new governance structure, incorporating lessons learned from the previous network and an agenda that is widely shared among the members.

WIDE+ milestones in 2012

WIDE+ network's milestones in 2012 were:

- WIDE+ members strategized together at the 56th UN CSW in 2012, held from Monday 27 February to Friday 9 March in New York, USA.
- WIDE+ organized a session during the AWID Forum, April 2012, entitled 'Transforming Economic Power to Advance Women's Rights and Justice'. The report of that session is published online as a publication at WIDE+ website.
- WIDE+ was represented at the Vienna Dialogue organized by the UN, in December 2012, and at Asia Europe People's Forum (AEPF) in Laos, October 2012.
- WIDE+ members are (and were in 2012) part of the post15 MDG process, the national and global processes around CEDAW and the Rio+20 process.
- WIDE+ is (and was in 2012) represented in Europe and international in the CSO Development effectiveness process. WIDE+ continues the work of previous WIDE, and serves as the coordination hub for the feminist groups in Europe in the new Global Civil Society Partnership for Development Effectiveness (CPDE) that emerged to engage with the outcomes of *The Fourth High Level Forum on Aid Effectiveness* in Busan, Korea (December 2011).
- WIDE+ published two newsletters and a new website was set up that includes previous WIDE resources.

CSW: Optimism in spite of Challenges and Results – Yes, We Could!

By Janice G Førde

The UN Commission on the Status of Women's (CSW) 57th Session took place the first two weeks of March. These annual sessions of the CSW are used to monitor progress on the implementation of women's rights and gender equality, focus on selected priority issues, and flag up and coming issues.

Since 2008 it has taken each year an increasingly longer time for member states to agree on a final consensus document, the Agreed Conclusions. This culminated in not being able to reach consensus at all on the final document last year. This year - in spite of the challenges and the suspense until the last moment - the CSW produced a useful Agreed Conclusions (AC).

Women's rights and gender equality has been progressively rolled back in the ACs at the previous 5 CSW sessions due to conservative and fundamentalist UN member states and observers, also called the 'unholy alliance'. They have been fighting women's rights and concepts that were established almost 20 years ago at the World Conference on Women in Beijing in 1995. It has even been difficult to reach consensus on otherwise straight-forward topics such as fighting maternal mortality.

This year's priority topic was: *"fighting violence against women and girls"* (VAW/G), which should have been an easy topic for consensus – especially in light of some of the horrific cases of VAW/G which attracted international notoriety in India and elsewhere before the CSW session started this year.

In the Danish Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Ministry of Equality, expectations and hopes for the 57th Session were cautiously positive before the CSW because of the comprehensive preparatory work done together with like-minded and progressive members of the EU, OECD, at the Danish UN Mission in NY, and with CSOs (Civil Society Or-

ganizations) like KULU-Women and Development. This preparatory work contributed to an initial zero draft of the Agreed Conclusions that raised the bar for the starting point of the negotiations, and finally resulted in Agreed Conclusions that can be used as a good tool for further work on fighting VAW/G.

Immediately prior to the CSW session, the annual NGO CSW Forum on March 3, which gathered a record number of CSOs, focused on the VAW/G theme as an introduction and final preparation for the following two weeks of parallel activities and negotiations. The atmosphere here was also positive and hopeful. This CSW 2013 was the largest ever with 6000 registered government delegations, UN organizations and CSOs. At the NGO Forum, the UN Women's executive director Michelle Bachelet, her next-in-command Lakshmi Pure, and CSW vice-chair Carlos Garcia Gonzalez (El Salvador) were optimistic because of the large CSO support and participation. Their message was: *"Women's rights-CSOs are characterized by cooperation, coordination and sharing and are critical actors in the work to stop all forms of violence against women and girls and include men and boys in the solutions"*.

In spite of many hot and sticky points during the two weeks of side events and negotiations, optimism turned out to be the right call. The controversial issues such as sexual and reproductive rights and health, the concepts of gender and gender equality, gender roles, stereotypes and sexual orientation were questioned and debated. The 'unholy alliance' was also well-prepared through networking and training conservative and fundamentalist representatives and groups in stopping progress in women's rights, and they have access to many more resources than women's rights CSOs have had. However, progressive women's rights CSOs and governments took up the challenges. Starting negotiations with a stronger zero draft of the Agreed Conclusions helped to shift the lobby focus of the conservative opposition from concepts such as 'gender' or 'stereotypes' to other issues like 'sexual orientation', which did not make it into the final AC draft.

It was a battle all the way to the finish line. A final draft of the AC was presented as a "chair's text" in

the evening of the last day, not long before the session should have officially closed. A 'chair's text' means, that the AC text must be agreed as it is or no agreement; no more negotiations. Libya was the last member state to withhold its support to the consensus document but finally gave in. Thereafter a number of conservative members recorded their 'reservations' with the Holy See presenting a really long list of reservations, but the majority in the plenary supported the ACs' adoption and cheered the positive result. There were many closing statements and thanks. Among them, Michele Bachelet concluded "Yes, we could".

We did manage to reach consensus on an acceptable final document this time – after long and hard negotiations. No one was happy about everything in the AC, but many good things

were maintained in the document. Opposition remains to controversial issues that are important for realizing women's rights and gender equality. Sexual orientation did not make it into the text. But the AC can be a good tool in advocacy and monitoring. So the task now is to continue cooperating and sharing with progressive forces in using the AC in advocacy to achieve the implementation of measures to stop violence against women and girls.

*Janice G Førde, international development consultant, KULU chairperson, d. 20.4.13;
KULU – Women and Development, www.kulu.dk &
KULU on FaceBook, KULU is a WIDE+ platform*

Announcement: Feminism in NGO Conference “Vienna+20“, 25-26 June 2013

The Second World Conference on Human Rights was held in Vienna, Austria, on 14 to 25 June 1993. It came up with the Vienna Declaration and Program of Action emphasizing the primacy of human rights, underlining the indivisibility and universality of human rights, strengthening the rights of women, children, and indigenous peoples and recommending action towards a High Commissioner on Human Rights and towards the right to complain against violations of the ICESCR.

Now, 20 years after this UN Conference on Human Rights, no states' conference will take place. Nevertheless, organizations and persons interested in human rights in the middle of multiple crises have reason to revive the consensus reached in 1993, to rebuild it where necessary and to face the new challenges. FIAN International and ETO Consortium in cooperation with Austrian NGOs are therefore convening an NGO Conference on 25 and 26 June in Vienna, in order to strengthen the Human Rights movement globally. Central aim of the NGO conference is to formulate a strong **NGO declaration “Vienna+20”**.

The next two days (27 and 28 June) after the NCO event, a conference hosted by the Austrian government will take place, bringing together high-level representatives of governments, inter-

national organizations, UN special rapporteurs, and (invited) civil society speakers.

“Women's rights are human rights” was the main NGO slogan at the UN conference in Vienna twenty years ago, where an impressive parallel NGO forum was organised, bringing violence against women into the human rights discourse and the legal framework.

Due to this context, WIDE Austria, a WIDE+ platform, is actively supporting the NGO conference. Together with other CSOs they are preparing the women's rights panel and they are part of the draft preparation for the NGO Declaration.

WIDE Austria also organizes a special event “Vienna+20: Women's rights at stake – Voices of international women's rights activists” to be held on 25th June 19.00h in the Austrian Women's Ministry (will be soon announced at: www.wide-netzwerk.at).

More info about Vienna+20: <http://viennaplus20.wordpress.com/>

Gender, Development and New Aid Architecture post 2015: Architects or Pawns in Development Engineering?

By Rosabel Agirregomezkorta

Women rights activists have gained in the current international governments processes around development, but also lost a lot in the processes. Reviewing the effects, together with a decrease in recourses because of multiple crises, it calls upon feminists to be very strategic in their resistance to mainstream neo-liberal policies. At the same time 'now' is the moment even more to resist and stand for our alternatives.

Assessment of the new aid: light and dark

The so-called 'New' Aid Architecture effectiveness agenda calls for an assessment that is light and dark. Two aspects in particular point to this: participation and contents.

Among the positive in terms of participation is that this process has contributed to capacity building, strengthened alliances and joint advocacy among civil society (CS). At the same time, there are many dark sides. The process has decreased the spaces of women's CS participation in official processes together with a trend of having fewer resources for participating. What is more important, the official governmental process has had a harmful impact on feminist participation and pedagogy, which is based on an alternative, a more horizontal approach. Feminists have worked hard to be more included and heard in the formal process of the new aid architecture agenda, thus becoming more part of the formal CSO spaces in this process. This increased participation encourages erosion in the feminist approach of participation.

This is a trend that can be seen over a long time. Wendy Harcourt wrote in 2006 about feminist joining the formal processes: *"(R)evolving those years, it is possible to see how women's groups entered into a dominant set of biopolitical practices, and in doing so reinforced many of the oppressive techniques they were challenging in the*

first place. ...It was a strategic choice, but one that misjudged the way in which power and knowledge work through bureaucracies, negotiations and the infinitesimal mechanisms that are continually renewing and reinvesting power in procedures determining "green rooms", pass systems, invited guests and lobbying procedures, among others." (paper number 25, published by UNRISD, August 2006).

Regarding contents, the new development agenda recognizes the neo-liberal development failure. It takes into account some CSOs' demands such as the need for policy coherence aligned with Human Rights (right to development, women's rights...), a Development Results focused management, accountability and the need to address UN reform. However in the implementation process, those elements were relegated by other more "technical" issues of the ODA flows. In the end, development is and remains reduced to poverty eradication, and poverty to a technical problem to be solved by technical and procedural means. This approach is far from the development approach we defend in WIDE+, as it is unfair, exploitative and gender blind.

Also in terms of contents, I think we should consider the poor results for gender equality and women's empowerment. I mean the scarce achievements for the enormous effort and dedication of women's groups. How else to call a single mention of gender in policy documents, or the permanent unfulfilment on equality commitments?

Architectures of renewed social orders

In my view, these post-development or new development agendas update well-known ideas and means, thus showing us **little advance on the development's imaginary and discourses**. It remains aimed to perpetuate and to legitimize a concrete global social order, based on a white, neoliberal and speculative patriarchy. This social reconfiguration has been reinforced by the speculative-financial crisis of the West.

Main elements in this process of reinforcing the existing order are:

- The failure of the most recent long term Development Agenda and how it is explained. The failure of the MDGs now is explained by the cuts in ODA, ignoring the fact that already in 2005 the World Bank predicted the failure of its achievement. When taking into account that the MDGs are considered by many women's groups and feminists as a very limited framework, the failure is even greater. In fact, Ban Ki Moon himself stated in Beijing +15 (2010): "*the progress made in relation to women and girls (...) have been very uneven, with poor results (...) The multiple global crises (...) economic and financial, food and energy and climate change, have adversely affected the development goals agreed at the international level (...) and **have put into question current approaches to development.***" So, he believes that it about time: "*to rethink and modify the approaches, strategies and policy measures to ensure a pattern of growth and equitable development, equal and sustainable*".

- The failure of the UN agenda supporting the Human Rights framework. After the 11 September attacks there was the subsequent return to a militarized Security agenda based on U.S. military hegemony. It has mortally wounded UN.

- Against all odds, the speculative crisis has further strengthened the neoliberal thesis based on the Washington Consensus. Adjustment policies are imposed in Europe, many welfare states are being cut and European democracies are 'kidnapped' by technocrats pushing for financial reforms that come about outside the common democratic processes. The wave of privatization has taken a major boost and reached development cooperation, with corporations being framed as saviors of the ODA flows. In political agendas, no mention to the multiple crises (food, care and environmental) and no responses are given.

- We are experiencing more neo-conservative and neo-machist attacks. These are not new but are gaining visibility and they are very active in attacking the rights of women, equal policies, and Feminism ('*feminazis*' as they call us). These attacks contain the usual mechanisms used in other contexts of crisis (for instance armed conflict and/or humanitarian crisis) where social re-configuration is done manipulating women's roles and bodies.

Thus, at least in Spain, we see that all these elements are contributing to set up a renewed power distribution that is more concentrated, where social organizations, and especially feminists, are heavily attacked and criminalized. As the CONGDE's president, Merche Ruiz Jimenez, states: "*The cuts are not caused only by the current economic situation, the crisis, the so-called crisis, rather I consider it embezzlement. We also observed a change in the pattern of development cooperation that had been articulated and built in the last 10 years*"[1]. CONGDE is the main network of development organizations in Spain.

I believe that not just the development Cooperation is being reshaped but a *Global Social Order*. It calls for our action: we need to strengthen *continuums*, the links between local, domestic and foreign dynamics, and to reinforce creative alliances among diverse movements and discourses.

What to do? Priorities and Challenges for feminists

Contrary to market logic, feminist organizations continue to advocate alternative models based on the values of social justice, equity, participation and solidarity, even though we suffered severe cuts which affect our functioning. Our demands remain the same and we keep on claiming and defending alternatives (Good Living, Care, Degrowth, Commoning,...). And certainly I am quite optimistic about the opportunities created. Thus, now is the *momentum* to put ourselves, in front of the other side of the mirror, checking our proposals and ways with our peers, as, I would say that for the very first time, we are now equals to African, Asian and Latin American women. We are all victims of the same model. Moreover, we have much to learn from them and we need them for our own survival. The balance of power has been reversed. It is a good opportunity for a *feminist pedagogy*.

Former WIDE has been very active in the Effectiveness agenda and its processes, participating in the CSO platforms of Better Aid and the Open Forum. Now WIDE+ is part, but less actively, of the CSO Partnership for Development Effectiveness (CPDE) created in Nairobi, Kenya, 2012. There are also many battles to fight in other processes aligned to formal governments processes, but also in those among social movements, pro-

testing on the streets, direct political action, etc. Thus, the question is how to deal with participating and positioning in the CPDE space and other current development processes? Roughly there are two main positions to be distinguished:

An approach calling for continuity:

- Keep ensuring the presence of feminists in the processes;
- Mainstreaming women's right agenda;
- Demanding the policy coherence aligned to human rights and equality commitments.

A breaking approach or vision, passed through social mobilizations:

- A radical position and social mobilization;
- The need of re-politicizing and re-appropriation of our own agendas and priorities;
- Considering participation as a political weapon to develop, and prioritizing agendas and spaces where to participate. I believe that non-participation is a form of advocacy and political participation we should to explore.

Of course, there are intermediate pathways WIDE+ should explore. Both approaches share the fatigue that we are feminist experience: we are supposed to be everywhere defending women's rights and a gender approach. Now that we have less resources, our strength has weakened (but not our will) while there are more battles to fight. So, we are requesting clear commitments to our allies and partners, especially CSOs, as it was seeing in the Nairobi Summit, December 2012, where by the first time a CSO Statement took into consideration feminist demands for equality and the rights of women, committing it to *feminist approaches and mechanisms*. However, strong resistance coexists, especially in Europe[2].

The need to choose strategically our partners is a key challenge. Shall we collaborate with everyone who ask us, or only with those really committed to

equality? The former could help us implement and propose innovative experiences and practices.

What is clear to me is that we, as feminist, have to respond to one question: 'what are these multiple crises for?'. Is it a momentum for survival and resistance? Or it is the time for transformation? I believe this is time to promote alternative practices. And these alternatives are not that new. We are demanding and defending them for decades. It is time to act and to place our alternatives and proposals in the forefront of social movements in Europe, working on the dissemination and practical experimentation *glocally* (global and locally).

It is time for a feminist resistance which responds and gives hope to global outrage, and generate alternative architectures based on Justice, Peace, Equality and Environmental respect. Time for *Buen Vivir*.

End Notes:

- [1] Interview. 29 January 2013. At: <http://via52.com/2013/01/29/%E2%80%9Cse-esta-desarticulando-la-politica-de-cooperacion%E2%80%9D/>
- [2] "The feminist approach is not appreciated by the European group. We prefer to speak of gender equality and equity and the rights of women and girls, as well as the rights of all minorities and repressed groups, maintaining consistency with other external documents, such as the Istanbul Principles". Comments of the European Group for the Document, CEPD, 2012.

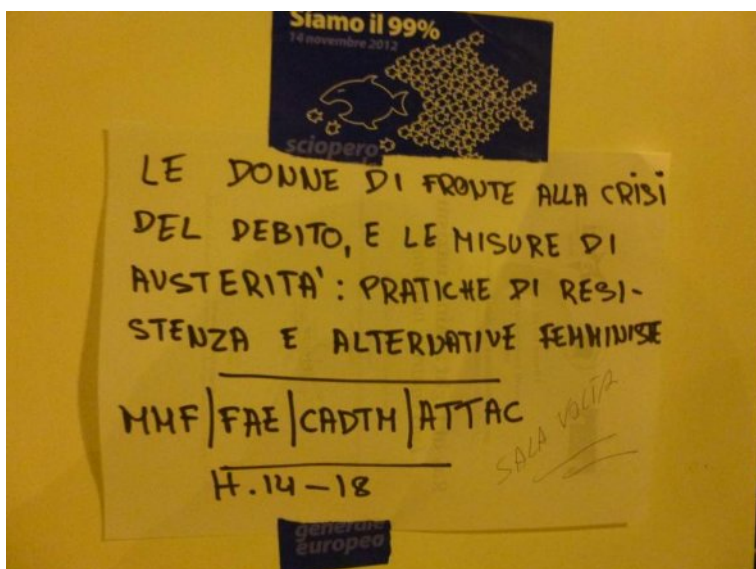
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Feminists at the forefront of European struggles for justice

By Virginia López Calvo

The seventh European Social Forum (ESF) took place in Florence, Italy, between 8 and 11 November 2012. The 'Women facing debt and austerity: resistance and feminist alternatives' session, organized by a loose conglomerate of feminist collectives, was a feminist oasis in an otherwise gender-blind event. The result was a crowded room too small to accommodate us all: I counted more than 300 hundred participants, in a forum where the average participation in each workshop did not seem to exceed 100 people

Feminists from different parts of the continent highlighted the gendered impact the so-called crises have in European countries. Sonia Mitrailia from the *Women's Initiative against Debt and Austerity* stirred us with a testimony of rage and desperation from Greece: "Before the crisis the female unemployment rate was 12%, but it now stands at 30% and at 61% for those younger than 25". Sonia remembered the times when feminists fought against forced maternity whereas today Greek women are refused the right to have children. "As healthcare is privatised, so increases the price of giving birth. Midwife assistance used to be free, but it costs between €800 and €1,600 today. Greek doctors are warning of rising maternal morbidity as many women can't afford those fees."



Poster signposting participants to new room allocated for feminist session at the ESF

To our joy, we were moved to the biggest room available in the Forum's venue after the introduction by the World March of Women and the speech of the first speaker. The session lasted more than four hours and it featured an assembly-like format, with participants sitting in semi-circle in a rather horizontal arrangement, reflecting well feminist views of power distribution. After the three speakers had delivered their presentations, tens of women grabbed the microphone, having first patiently waited in a long queue for their turn.

Christine van den Daelen from the *Committee for the Abolition of Debt in the Third World (CADTM)* spoke about the precarization of female employment in Europe with an increase of part-time jobs and of informal employment among women which will lead to further impoverishment after retirement, as these women will be entitled to significantly lower pensions than men. In Poland women receive pensions below the minimum wage, which is already very precarious. She pointed out that: "in Spain the Ministry for Equalities has simply been removed, while in Italy the budget allocated to work-life balance has de facto forced women to retreat to their traditional carer role." Christine denounced that what we are witnessing

in Europe is a further feminization of poverty and the destruction of past feminist achievements.

Later, Nina Sankari from Poland reminded us that Polish and other Eastern European women have endured the effects of this so-called crisis, merely the usual workings of neo-liberal capitalism, long before they hit the rest in Europe in 2009.

We dedicated the last hour of our meeting to shar-



Soon after the session's start it is obvious the room is too small

ing ideas for feminist mobilization to challenge the dictatorship of debt and austerity. Numerous calls for transnational collaboration were heard. Remaining grassroots and autonomous were popular proposals as well as the call to join forces with other movements that also oppose debt and austerity. The World March of Women presented their campaign calling for a feminist audit of debts with its motto: 'Governments' debt is with women, not with banks.'

It was agreed that in 2013 International Women's Day actions should denounce the gendered impact of neo-liberal policies and visibilize feminist action against them. This proposal was included in the Forum's final statement, which also called for supporting the coordinated strike in several European

countries on 14 November 2012 (14N).

Concerning the 14N, feminists in Spain indeed called for women – unemployed, precarious workers, housewives, domestic workers, undocumented workers, etc. – to join the 14N strike. Later, on the 8th of



March, women marched in Madrid with banners that read: 'We continue to struggle against the plunder of our lives and our bodies' as well as 'Women in the fight for a public and free health-care'. Regrettably, feminist actions in other main European cities like London failed to articulate clearly the connections between neo-liberal attacks and women's oppression.

One important, and feminist, initiative launched at the ESF was the [Alter Summit](#), to be held in Athens on 7 and 8 June. This forum will be the next stepping stone in the building of convergence between movements opposed to anti-people and anti-planet policies promoted by European governments and institutions. Gladly, its manifesto incorporates and clearly articulates feminist views and demands.

Such statement is an improvement which I hope will also be reflected in how the Alter Summit's sessions are organized. I agree with Stanislas Jourdan that a 'key problem with social forums' methodology is that everyone tend to attend workshops she is the most passionate about' and I'd also like to see more participants who don't

openly call themselves 'feminists' join the struggle for gender justice. Stanislas makes the case for [transversal workshops and sortition \(random allotment\) in his post.](#)

It is heartening to see feminists at the forefront of European struggles for justice and I am positive the Alter Summit will overcome some of the weaknesses, from a feminist perspective, of the European Social Forum.

Virginia López Calvo, project coordinator at CAWN (Central America Women's Network), and WIDE+ task force member.

Women's Rights in Development: Feminist and Social Alternatives to the Development Agenda

By Rosabel Agirregomezkorta

The workshop '*Women's Rights in Development: Feminist and Social Alternatives to the Development Agenda*' was held during the XXII Latin-American Prime Minister's and Government's Summit, in Cádiz, Spain. The workshop, which was held on 17 November 2012, was organized by the Spanish WIDE Platform (WIDE-E), the NGO for Development Network (CONGDE), the regional and national gender group's network (GGEA network) and the feminist network Marea Violeta -Málaga.

Why did we meet in Cádiz?

We publicly wanted to express our voices to the Heads of Governments from Latin America who were celebrating a Summit that centred exclusively on strengthening economic growth and productivity based on a model that does not support democracy or civil participation, weakens the rights of its citizens and nullifies women's rights.

What are our objectives?

We brought together a variety of organizations, collectives and networks. We were with participants from international cooperations, feminist organizations, migrant worker organizations, etc. as well as independently organized activists from Spain and Latin America so that we could meet each other, debate our ideas and propose alternatives and feminist resistances to the crises.

What conclusions and key points we reached?

The debate was focus on the following 3 issues/axis: Developmental models; Patriarchal Offensive: Sexual and Reproductive Rights; and

patriarchal Offensive: VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN.

Axis 1: Developmental model:

» Many concepts and paradigms are now questioned, such as Development, Democracy, and the Welfare State.

» We face the **return of the idea that development means economic growth**. This comes with the push to consolidate the private sector as a key participant in development.

» It is unacceptable that gender has a small role in the development agendas: women's rights are an essential element when we are considering development.

» We cannot return to revise our feminist agendas and start again from zero. We must fight for the minimums that we agreed upon and continue forward: **without Women's Rights there are no Human Rights**.

» We continue to believe in cooperation based on women's empowerment and the transformation of gender roles.

» We must **decolonize our imaginations and begin to create strategic alternatives** such as political action among different collectives.

» **There are alternatives to this development model**, like the "Buen Vivir" model which puts people and their relationship with the environment at the centre of politics. From a feminist perspective, we defend those alternative models.

» **There are financial alternatives** such as the Women's Funds that allow us to have less involvement with bureaucracy and national politics.

Axis 2: Patriarchal Offensive: Sexual and Reproductive Rights

» The patriarchal offensive is again focused on the **control of women's bodies** through restrictions on sexual and reproductive rights.

» The advance made by the Sexual and Reproductive Law in Spain is being threatened by a reform in the law that is led by government who wants to reduce the scope of the law, thus going against women's rights to access and their decision rights over abortion. It is also under threat from social changes in which maternity is idealized as being the greatest goal for women. This is a worldwide phenomena favoured mostly by conser-

vative governments, but also a trend seen in progressive governments such as in Nicaragua.

» The interference of **religious fundamentalists** threatens the impartiality of government in terms of secularism and the very meaning of democracy.

» In the majority of Latin American countries, women are still controlled through the control of their bodies.

» Women are more or less affected by attacks on their sexual and reproductive rights depending their on social status, class, ethnicity, and nationality.

» The debate is being focused on the rights of non-born children and the idea of maternity as ideal state for women (so they are going to protect it), and forget other aspects of the law such as using it as instrument to legitimize the freedom of sexual choice and the state's duty to protect **sexually pleasurable and independent lives for women** (gays, lesbians, trans....). The political debate on sexual rights narrows it to just maternity.

Axis 3: Patriarchal Offensive: VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN

» Violence is a **manifestation of patriarchal offensives** and has a multitude of cultural forms, from the use of sexist language to a multitude of sexist narratives including images, cultural values, etc.

» The **lack of government commitment** in its supposed role of protecting Women's Rights is also a manifestation of violence towards women.

» The Spanish Law against Gender Violence displays a **reductionist perspective** on violence by equating all gender violence to domestic violence, thus excluding other types of gender violence.

» The **practical usage of the law is insufficient** and minimally effective, as is demonstrated by the high number of mis-estimations (e.g. when the denunciation or complaint made by women is not taken further by prosecutors in the legal procedure) and the requirement for physical proof which makes it hard as well.

» Migrant women involved in organized sex-trade denounce the **violence that they encounter because of** their sex, ethnicity, nationality, and administrative reasons linked to their status that causes them to be even more vulnerable when threatened with deportation from Spain.

» In Latin America, the high rates of inequality hide **economic violence** against women, which transcends from salary inequality, and which

builds an economy based on the unpaid labour of caretakers.

» Empowerment and the use of networks are **strategies to subvert** these problems, and are also a way to counter the hegemonic discourse that denies women's independence.

» We need to promote collective alliances between migrant women and feminists with the common goal of **political action and vindication** of the fulfilment of Women's Rights.

Collective Conclusions

The crisis has raised doubt on the currently accepted paradigms, such as Development, Democracy and the Welfare State. All these (almost) universally accepted paradigms are being confronted and put in question. For example democracy is proven to be not a real democracy: citizens do not decide and take decisions as we thought before. All these myths are falling before our eyes.

As diverse organizations, we have a common agenda and approach in which the sexual and reproductive rights of women are non-negotiable. We have a common demand to call upon governments to fulfil their commitments to support Women's Rights through the real implementation of laws.

Facing waves of conservatism, multiple and diverse resistance movements are arising. We are taking back these spaces by proposing developmental models that put Women's Rights at the centre and ensure compliance. By using feminist pedagogy and creativity, we are able to go far on at all levels and are capable of creating alternatives.

Finally, empowerment and collective action are fundamental ways to advance our self-recognition and the enforcement of our rights.

Video of the Reading of the feminist Manifesto:
http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=7mpplI_83Vg

Full report: <http://wideplusnetwork.wordpress.com/womens-rights-in-development-feminist-and-social-alternatives-to-the-development-agenda/>

Rosabel Agirregomezkorta, Director at Centro de Estudios e Investigación sobre Mujeres (CEIM), WIDE-E platform Coordinator, WIDE+ Task Force

Impressions from the World Social Forum 2013 in Tunis

By Ilse Hanak

The World Social Forum this year took place in Tunis from 26 to 30 March at the campus of El Manar University. Expectations were high by Tunisians and other participants from the Maghreb and Mashrek[1] region. Civil society organisations from all over the world, about 60.000 participants from 135 countries, responded with a huge wave of solidarity. Still the majority came from Arab countries. The key word of the endeavour was DIGNITY, as many here so far had lived a downtrodden life of powerlessness, poverty and disrespect. But women rights' issues in this context were not among the most prominent ones.

Those who had experienced the "Arab Spring" were keen on spreading the message of their struggles against political and economic repression by dictators, by the financial markets and neo-liberal capitalism. And they hoped to benefit from exchange with social movements from other parts of the world struggling for similar aims. They hoped for "deepening of revolutionary and decolonizing processes", to restore "self-determination and sovereignty over their resources", to fight domination of debt regimes, free trade agreements, the grabbing of riches and submission to transnational companies.

Of course all the other burning questions of global concern were present: preservation of the planet and sustainable energy sources; equality of all human beings regardless of genders, cultures, religions, sexual orientation, etc. as well as their freedom of movement; rights of migrants, asylum seekers and minorities; social, fiscal and tax justice; end of wars, militarism, violence and discrimination, to name but a few.

Countless groups and initiatives had registered and offered almost 1.500 workshops, seminars and lectures. Even two events on the same subject (for instance on "*Migration and Development*") could be held at the same time at two different places by two different organisations: *Caritas internationalis* and *FORIM* based in Paris (*Forum des Organisations de Solidarité Internationale issues des Migrations*). To gain

an overview on general trends and main statements of the Forum was therefore difficult! If those two had joined into one single meeting the situation could have been more transparent. This happened likewise with other topics. To read through the programme of a single day took a long time, it was too crowded. Press releases that could have helped were issued only at the end of the Forum.

Due to this situation my remarks will give my personal impressions and not a general evaluation. The big 'Women's Tent' shown in the map of El Manar was not erected. Several events announced in the programme were not realized. For one workshop on: "*Feminism between Universalism and Cultural Relativism*", announced by *UniEs-vers-elles / Association Tunisienne Des Femmes* and others, the speakers did not appear, but one feminist from France and one from Tunis finally held it by calling for questions from the audience. The theoretical question whether women's rights existed as universal rights or not, remained in the centre of discussion. The statement of a sturdy Muslim woman clad in a 'veil' (actually a tight head scarf), who said she was Islamic but not Islamistic (that would be political), revealed that the most important right for her and her sisters was the **right to work**, while she would not need the right of abortion.

The same tendency could be derived from the well attended lecture on: "*Women in the workplace and union*" organized by *ATFD (Association Tunisiennes des femmes Démocrates)*. Statements were to the tune that it was generally hard for women to find jobs. It was especially difficult to attain positions of higher level, even within the unions. It was deplored that many women themselves see men as stronger and more suitable as women for certain tasks - in all a situation that we know from our own past in Europe.

The Palestinian cause was very present in many events, marches, demonstrations, flags, loud public discussions and spontaneous actions. However, hostile acts like stepping on an Israeli flag placed on the ground, or burning it openly, were not appreciated by most witnesses - they felt it was not in the spirit of the Forum. In that

spirit of tolerance the statement of a young volunteer who expressed the wish that the next forum should be again in Tunis, because they had had no chance to attend the lectures, was accepted readily although the speaker was a member of a Muslim brotherhood.

World Social Forums do not issue concluding (and binding) statements. Only the 'Social Movements Assembly of the Forum' held on March 29 issued a lengthy Declaration that was put on the Forum's website afterwards, see: <http://www.fsm2013.org/en/node/12972>. It contains a paragraph on violence against women. Likewise there is a Declaration of 'La Dynamique femmes internationale', see: <http://openfsm.net/projects/dynamique-femmes>, produced on March 30 with a valuable analysis of women's situations and very justified demands (for the English version: <http://cadtm.org/Declaration-of-the-International>).

In a concluding meeting only recommendations or regretful remarks were collected. They confirmed some of the weaknesses of this Forum: too many offers to get an overview, at the other hand too

little possibility for small discussion groups that should have created personal relations and acquaintances between people of different backgrounds. Locations were difficult to find, no signs were put up on the many buildings. However, we must appreciate that all the deficiencies were somehow compensated by a host of truly committed Tunisian volunteers, female and male, that would never lose patience and tried to help in any possible way, even if they did not know the answer. This can be said generally of most people in Tunisia, they are friendly and patient. Thus I would like to finish off with a great "Thank you" to this brave and enduring country.

Endnote:

[1]Maghreb comprises states west of Egypt in Northern Africa as far as Mauretania. Mashrek are the states east of Egypt and north of Arabia as far as Irak, Kuwait and Syria, including Israel and Jordan.

Ilse Hanak, Salzburg, WIDE Austria.

9th Asia Europe People's Forum

By Christa Wichterich

The 9th Asia Europe People's Forum (AEPF9) took place with 1000 participants -most of them from South East Asia - in October 2012 in Vientiane, Laos. The AEPF seemed to be a symbol that Laos is not only opening up for the market and investors but for civil society as well.

The small country had never before hosted such a big civil society event and such a high ranking governmental meeting like the ASEM (Asia-Europe Meeting) which took place beginning of November 2012.

ASEM is organised every second year, alternating from Europe to Asia. AEPF is a kind of people's forum preceding the ASEM. In the end, the participants always adopt a declaration which is handed over to ASEM in order to make civil society discourses and positions visible. WIDE had been involved with the AEPF – sometimes in cooperation with DAWN[1] - since 2004 in Hanoi, then 2008 in

Beijing and 2010 in Brussels, mostly in workshops on labour, trade and an alternative trade mandate.

For the Lao government and administration the hosting of the AEPF was a tremendous democratic challenge and a learning process. Initially they had planned to "protect" the event by at least 500 soldiers. But after long negotiations with the international AEPF-organisation committee they seemed to open up for new ideas, curious to learn about innovations from civil societies (different from the hosts 2004 in Vietnam and 2008 in China).

Preparatory meetings were organised in each of the Lao provinces to find out about the problems and needs of the people and to introduce the four main topics of AEPF to them, namely universal social security, sustainable energy supply, food sovereignty, and decent work/sustainable livelihoods. The whole process in Laos was facilitated by Sombath Somphone, a crucial figure in Lao civil society, who in 2005 was awarded the prestigious Magsaysay prize for community leader-

ship. Earlier he/his NGO had done together with UNDP a nationwide survey of “happiness” and “suffering” of the people – an exercise the Lao government strongly disliked.

Though not a majority, women prominently shaped the AEPF discourses as they shape the profiles of civil society organisations in South East Asia. Starting from a livelihood perspective they were key to the debates about food, land, water and social security. It is already a tradition of the AEPF that male trade unions dominate the labour debates. However, in Vientiane for the first time an additional focus was laid on care work which could easily be linked to the debates on livelihoods, food, and social security. It is striking that presently women from all over Asia (and Europe) demand recognition for their work, including women workers’ organisations, like domestic workers, garbage collectors and petty traders. Migrant workers claim civic and identity rights, they want integration without assimilation. The recent case of the convention on domestic labour which was adopted by the ILO in 2011 was applauded as big step forward in terms of acknowledgement.

The ongoing liberalisation of investments makes South-East-Asia suffer from a deep crisis of livelihoods and resources, and from widespread and unfettered land and water grabbing. As usual, at the macroeconomic level of investment and trade policies, women’s voices are weak. But when it comes to the microlevel where the adverse impact of macroeconomics is felt, women are outspoken and courageously struggling to defend their livelihoods.

Investment leading to GDP-growth regularly asks a high price from local people in terms of loss of land and livelihoods and of being forced to explore new survival strategies and securities without being assured rights. Even Asian countries with high GDP-growth-rates did not succeed in securing livelihood rights and introducing the planned social security nets. Also the concepts of food security and measures against the price hike of food announced by governments and international finance and development agencies primarily serve the commercial interests of transnational industrialised food chains, and not the needs and rights of the poor.

A critique of trade, investment and resource extractivism from a North-South-perspective alone is no more sufficient in a multipolar world. Its true that the EU launches new trade, investment and resource strategies as a way out of the cri-

sis. E.g. in October 2012 FTA-negotiations (Free Trade Negotiations) between the EU and Vietnam started. However, at the same time a large number of FTA’s and economic partnership pacts are launched between Asian countries and between Asia and the Americas. Investors from all over use the EU-trade initiative „everything but arms“ which was supposed to give trade preference to LDCs (Least Developed Countries), for profit maximisation. For example a Thai company is busy grabbing land in Cambodia to plant sugar for the export into the EU. Thus economic power structures have become increasingly complex. At the same time, this is a new starting point for transcontinental solidarity, networking and the linking up of struggles.

The crisis situation in Europe works as another framework for transcontinental exchange and cooperation. It shows how the global South has gone North: nowadays debt management and proposed solutions like structural adjustment, conditionalities and austerity inform EU policies. The debt crisis is becoming permanent in Europe. So are austerity policies that dismantle the famous European social welfare model. They cause everywhere a precarisation of labour and social security going along with social disintegration. Thus informal and precarious, outsourced and contract labour is spreading in Europe – forms which are dominant since ever in Asia.

There is a multitude of struggles all over the two continents. In Asia they start from the grassroots, they are place-based, needs- and rights-driven: people are afraid of the risks in access to affordable drugs, protest against the eviction of petty traders and street vendors because of supermarkets like Metro und Carrefour, and demand decision making power vis-à-vis encroaching TNCs (Trans National Companies) and investors from tourism to mining.

In some cases, resistance strategies pay out: in Jakarta, the campaign „reclaiming public water“ forced the French multi utility firm Suez to withdraw from urban water supply. Everywhere in Asia and Europe people are concerned about food sovereignty. Social movements like Via Campesina coin this a struggle concept because it calls for a change of paradigm in agriculture. After the disaster in Fukushima, people, in particular women, are extremely worried about nuclear power plants and the fact that many are under construction in Asia. Therefore they launched an anti-nuclear network of women at the AEPF.

The AEPF9 opened a discursive platform between radical and moderate social-democratic positions,

e.g. between fair participation in decisions about investments and a claim for complete sovereignty and autonomy with regard to local resources, between corporate social responsibility and a change of paradigm.

Despite the broad range of topics discussed, some burning issues were missing. Pablo Solon, the new director of Focus on the Global South, criticised the absence of environmental problems and the externalisation of ecological discourses from the economic discourses. Referring to the concept of *buen-vivir* from Bolivia, he asks for an „alternative to development“, because development always implies growth and resource extractivism. But most activists from Asia prefer to continue to work in their countries with a critical development approach. Thus, debates about de-growth and critique of consumerism, about a caring economy or an economy of solidarity and about a socio-ecological transformation remained at the margins.

The civil society topography of critical discourses and the struggles still have a number of blind spots, and they are fragmented. Both, a gender mainstreaming and a feminist perspective are not overwhelmingly strong. One even gets the impression that a decade ago they were stronger. Linking up discourses and struggles, reconnect issues and people, build strategic alliances, strengthen a holistic and simultaneously differentiated view – these are the main tasks of AEPF which have to

be followed up again in 2014 in Brussels.

PS: During the AEPF the Lao government got scared to loose control. It planted administrators and ministry employees in workshops where the Lao government was criticised. They defended and praised official policies with regard to investments, land, resources and dam construction.

On December 15th, Sombath Somphone was abducted and did not re-appear till today despite of international protests and wide coverage in international media. The international NGO-community is very worried about his disappearance and a possible link to his important role for the AEPF. As said in the beginning, the Lao government has a long way to go to democracy and respect for civil society.

End note:

1. Unfortunately, a workshop WIDE+ proposed to DAWN on alternative development concepts and practices from a feminist perspective did not materialise.

Christa Wichterich, Guest Professor at University Kassel, WIDE+ taskforce member.

WIDE+ member in the spotlight: GADN network UK

By Francesca Rhodes

GADN, a network of 70 of the UK's leading development NGOs and gender experts, effectively lobby and provide expert advice to government and international bodies on gender and development issues. This goes alongside our continuing work to build the capacity and knowledge of our members. In the past year we have been working to influence key areas of policy such as the post-2015 framework, violence against women and sexual and reproductive health rights. We have another exciting time ahead, and look forward to working with colleagues across and outside of the network.

Highlights of 2012-2013 and plans for the coming year include:

- **Engaging with the UK Department for International Development (DFID):** GADN was recently invited to co-host a keynote speech by Rt. Hon Justine Greening, UK Secretary of State for International Development, on putting girls and women at the heart of development. We plan to follow this up with discussions on the department's strategic framework, political participation, violence against women and girls (VAW/G), post-2015 and economic empowerment. You can watch the speech on [DFID's web-site](#).

- Sexual and Reproductive Health Rights:** As the last WIDE+ newsletter reported, GADN and the UK SRHR Network met with Rt Hon. Andrew Mitchell (MP) in 2012 to discuss concerns that had been raised in the run up to the Family Planning Summit. GADN also produced a briefing on [embedding women's rights into the agenda](#).
- Violence against women and girls:** GADN co-hosted an event in the UK Parliament titled 'Saving lives: preventing & responding to violence against women and girls in emergencies' in November. The event saw the launch of a new DFID fund for research and innovation on VAWG, and featured the Rt Hon Justine Greening MP, Secretary of State for International Development, as keynote speaker.
- Influencing the post-2015 framework:** GADN has promoted the need for a standalone goal on gender equality and mainstreaming throughout the framework through various forums and consultations. In January, we released the report, '[Achieving Gender Equality and Women's Empowerment in the Post-2015 Framework](#)'. The Rt. Hon Justine Greening and the Prime Ministers' Special Envoy on the High Level Panel have both confirmed their support for our proposals. The report, and our previous briefing paper, have been cited by a wide range of actors as an important contribution to the process.
- The **Gender Mainstreaming** Working Group contributed to the creation of a special issue of the Gender & Development Journal: "[Beyond Gender Mainstreaming](#)." The articles bring together gender and development policymakers, practitioners, and feminist activists to debate the progress of gender mainstreaming in development institutions and the state. The group will continue to provide a valuable source of shared learning for practitioners in the sector.
- Women's Rights Campaigners:** GADN and Womankind Worldwide held a training day for 20 individuals involved in campaigns, fundraising and communications departments at UK INGOs in 2012. The aim of the day was to help everyone get to grips with these issues and discuss the challenges people face in putting women's rights at the heart of their campaigning. The group will continue to provide support for campaigners in the coming year.
- Feminist Alternatives to Development:** In December, GADN held an online discussion on feminist alternatives to development, bringing together researchers, feminist activists, gender and development advocates, programme staff and community workers, from the Global South and North. This was as the first step in what will become a long-term project aimed at bridging the gap between current donor thinking and ways of developing policy and programmes on the one hand, and feminist visions of transformative change on the other.
- New research:** Economic empowerment (including unpaid care) and the impact on women and girls of the privatisation of aid are new areas of work planned for the coming year.
- A new working group on Girls' Education in International Development** became hosted by GADN this year. The group is comprised of UK-based experts on gender and education from NGOs and academia who aim to share, develop and promote knowledge and learning on programming and policy for girls' education rights in international development contexts. The group is planning to hold a fringe event at the UK-FIET conference in September.

Francesca Rhodes, GADN Coordinator, WIDE+ platform.

For more information about GADN: <http://www.gadnetwork.org.uk/>

KARAT Coalition Birthday Fundraiser event



On January 31, 2013, the Birthday Fundraiser event was held in Warsaw, Poland to celebrate 16th birthday of KARAT Coalition and its work in the field of women's human and economic rights in the Region. The event also aimed at expanding KARAT's constituency of supporters including the business community.

It was attended by more 100 guests who had a chance to find out more about KARAT's work, see the exhibition of photographs of women and by women from Central & Eastern Europe, and support our work by donating small amounts to KARAT in exchange for magnets and badges. The birthday celebration was a great opportunity for our team to meet old friends of KARAT and make a new ones, and we are very grateful for all the support that our guests gave us. We hope that the links established and strengthened at the event will last for many years.

See the photos from the Birthday Fundraiser event on KARAT's Facebook fanpage (<https://www.facebook.com/KARATCoalition>). Photographer: Ewa Dąbrowska-Szulc

Read more about KARAT's herstory: <http://www.karat.org/about-us/mission-and-her-story/>

For more information please contact Agnieszka at: [agnieszka.mazurek\(at\)karat.org.pl](mailto:agnieszka.mazurek(at)karat.org.pl)

DCF Vienna Policy pre-dialogue meeting on Gender Equality, December 2012

In December 2012 The United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs, in collaboration with UNWOMEN and the Government of Austria, organized the first dialogue in a series of multi-stakeholder consultations in preparation for the 2014 United Nations Development Cooperation Forum (DCF). The meeting's participants tried to answer the question how gender equality and the empowerment of women could be firmly placed at the centre of a post 2015 development agenda in light of a changing development landscape with emerging challenges.

The dialogue became an opportunity for feminists to express their opinions on gender in a new UN development agenda. Some of the discussion focused on the issues brought up by Wendy Harcourt who cooperated with WIDE for many years and is currently part of the WIDE+. She talked about the underlying problems that are causing the increasing inequalities and the crises we are facing. She stressed that the world has changed in these last 15 years in ways that the old MDG framework cannot address. We have to take a novel approach to gender equality and start from asking 'why gender inequalities are replicated in so many institutions such as UN, the office, the factory, the village or the home?'

Ireen Dubel who represented Hivos, concluded the discussion by talking about the importance of validating past time achievements. She stressed that the women's human rights need to be centre stage in the future development agenda, not as one goal, not mainstreamed with a few indicators here and there, but in each and every sustainable development domain. It will not be possible, however, without a broad participation of women's rights activists and organisations in the processes of formulating and shaping this agenda. Key drivers of this agenda, however, need to be resourced, adequately and in a sustainable manner, within civil society but also within the other domains of governments, the donor community, private sector, etc.

Both presentations can be find in full below. This introduction is taken over from the KARAT February issue:

http://www.karat.org/wp-content/uploads/2013/03/KARAT_News_February_20132.pdf.

DCF Vienna Policy Dialogue: New dynamics for gender equality in a changing context

By Wendy Harcourt (Keynote Address)

Thank you for the invitation and the challenge to speak off the cuff, and be provocative. Among many proposals about what I could speak about 'off the cuff' was 'the major threats of discussion on gender equality and development cooperation and the post 2015 UN development agenda'.

I suspect the word should have been 'threads', however to start my provocation I will choose to look at the threats to our discussion. But then, turn from those threats to points of a strategic narrative that I hope participants can 'thread' together themselves in their discussions of this policy dialogue.

So to begin with threats to our discussion. The biggest threat is that we ourselves go on with business as usual.

Quite frankly we cannot afford to do so. We need to put to one side all those professional, technical issues, all the debates about indicators, targets, goals, gender mainstreaming, that we keep saying are not working and need to be refined and rethought and replanned ...This would be our business as usual.

It is not longer enough to say we have to be more efficient in our planning, more accountable to the people, more strict in our measurements, more careful in our spending money, more appealing to our targets, more in tune with our beneficiaries, more clever in our advocacy ...

We need to look at the underlying problems that are causing the increasing inequalities and the crises we are facing. We need to recognize the world has changed in these last 15 years in ways that the old MDG framework cannot address. That all our tools and analysis cannot capture that yet.

Challenges in our changed world

The world has changed in ways that challenges our business as usual. We need to look them in the face, we need to take them on board, we need to engage them in our business, and if we do so, our business is going to change. Let me name just three:

First, there are different actors on the scene: the new players, the BRICS. These powerful countries are made up of governments and business that are not caught in the same colonial narrative and history that has formed the OECD development agenda of today.

OECD, particularly old Europe, is as a result also a very different player now on the global stage – it is dealing with its own internal crises – the faltering financial system, the strains of governance, the increasing precarity of work, youth unemployment, care crisis with the crumbling of the welfare state, uncertainty, rise of racism, violence and protest.

So as new players come onto the global scene, we need to consider ‘what would a post colonial decolonialised development look like?’. Are these new players in 2015 going to create a new culture for development? What does that look like? Where is gender equality in these new cultures? What will be these new narratives of development?

Second, we are all aware of the power of **social media, cyber space escapism, cyber organising flash mobs, getting people on the streets** in the Arab spring in the UK looting, mobilising people on the streets, everywhere – of all ages, the unemployed, the pensioners, the marginalised, the school children, the sex workers.

So, where are all those different social movements the social networks, those who say they don’t believe in TINA (There Is No Alternative)? These are not the old organised labour, these are new types of political citizens, netizens, holding out a promise of new forms of governance, citizenship and democracy not wanting to be beholden to the state. How are they to be engaged in the development agenda? What kind of gender equality is informing their efforts to organise in

new ways?

Third, the reality of the climate crisis, the energy crisis, the food crisis, the financial crisis, the care crisis. It seems there is general agreement that we need to revisit the sustainable development debate, go back to the future. Two decades after the Earth Summit, people recognize that that sustainability has to be at the core of the post 2015 agenda.

What are these sustainable production models, how can we ensure energy efficiency and green technologies, and most importantly how are we to change consumption patterns?

Are we, in our search for sustainability issues, going to turn to big business, to technologies? Or are we going to listen to non western knowledges – indigenous knowledges about ‘buen vivir’ ‘ubuntu’ caring for the Earth, acknowledging its limitations, and the dangers if we ignore it in our pursuit of what is now being called ‘inclusive growth’ resilience and green economy? What will be the role of indigenous women, of peasant women and rural women farmers? Can we learn from those knowledges about the limits to growth (rather than inclusive growth).

Are we going to acknowledge that sustainability is not about resources as such? It is about systemic change, institutional change, it is about building capacities and new systems from peoples’ knowledge and experience of nature and culture, and recognizing the damage and violence of development.

It means listening and respecting other cultures and knowledges and not imposing our predefined models, prescription. It means taking responsibility for the damage to the environment and cultures.

Can we finally recognize that sustainability means that the post 2015 agenda is as much about the realities of a woman in Italy as a woman in Kenya? Can we talk about development universally, not about those that know and those that don’t? Can we instead of talking about voices of marginalized women, listen to them?

Gender equality in this changed world

So given these challenges to our business as usual, where is gender equality to be in this fierce new world? Is it to be about getting more poorly paid jobs for women in factories making shoes and jeans, or flowers and bananas to be flown across the world for other women to buy? Is it about better rights for domestic workers living for years

away from their family and communities to clean the toilets of rich women? Is it about ensuring more condoms for sex workers women to service tourists in exotic locations? Do we want 50% women in the Forbes 500?

Is this what 'investment' in gender equality means? It would be if we go about business as usual.

But let us stay with that uncomfortable thought, that we do not want to do business as usual, so how do we stay with the troubles and difficulties we face and build new narratives from them? What are the threads then for our discussion here?

We could, for a start, ask why gender inequalities are replicated in so many institutions, such as the UN, the office, the factory, the village, the home. Patriarchy is alive and well, and we need to be able to call it in different political, economic, social and cultural arenas much more forcibly. We need to look at masculinity in development as part of our gender equality agenda.

Then, whatever happened to all the work we have done? Agenda 21, CEDAW, Beijing, Cairo, there are gender norms, negotiated principles of human rights that can be built on, worked on and used put into action. We have agreed frameworks, why is it we cannot make them stick? When we look at the MDGs we might get one answer in their reductionism which missed the insights of those agreed norms.

Another thread is the human rights agenda. Why is that human rights, though so well documented, so talked about, is seen as an optional extra when it comes to economic and social rights? How can it become something that every Finance Minister, every Planning Commission, every Minister for Trade, Industry and Agriculture, every Central Bank, must pay attention? And what about the rights of the planet? And what rights do businesses feel accountable to? Is fair trade the answer? What would gender responsive budgeting look like if those in power understood the care work continuum?

And business - how can we include businesses in the post-2015 agenda? We all hold our suspicions about Nike campaigns for girls but these

are the players who are with us now. We know that the private sector, if not held accountable lead to inequality, precarious work, tax avoidance and evasion, systemic financial risk, environmental degradation and failure to realize human rights. Is there here a strong role for civil society? What type of democracy do we envisage for netizens, and what about accountability to future citizens?

Finally, what is the gender perspective on the Global Commons, or Mother Earth? Where do women, other cultures, fit in this sense, now of nature once something we felt we could tame, is taking its revenge? Is that the right narrative? – how do we work with our naturecultures moving away from the modern development framework with its fixation on the economic to include the ecological and social needs of people and the planet?

Wendy Harcourt, researcher/lecturer at the International Institute of Social Studies and WIDE+ task force member.

DCF Vienna Policy concluding statement on behalf of CSO's present

By Ireen Dubel (Concluding Remarks)

I have been asked by the conference organizers to give you an off-the-cuff message, responding to our deliberations, and yet representing the main issues on behalf of the CSO's present at this meeting. An impossible task as I can not do justice to the richness of the CSO inputs during the past two days as they are all relevant. Yet as my time is limited, I do not want to waist time in repeating critical issues said already.

Let me share a few sticky points that I take away from our deliberations that we all should take notice of in the process towards the post-2015 development agenda.

1. The importance of respect for history in two ways: the importance of time frames/long term perspectives and the importance of validating of past time achievements.

In the Netherlands both my grandmothers were born without the right to vote or stand as a political candidate. As adult women they lost their jobs as civil servants once they got married. My mother's destiny, being a PhD graduate in chemistry, was full-time motherhood after marriage and loads of unpaid voluntary community and care work. I belong to the first generation of Dutch women that combined work, care, community activism and having the choice to have children or not and enjoy a same sex relationship openly.

Expansion of the range of strategic choices open for women (and men) to decide about the pathways of their lives now and in the future, as Naila Kabeer has conceptualised so well, that is what the agenda of women's rights and gender equality is about, and that is a long long-term agenda, which is not linear and subject to setbacks, which we have seen in particular in the form of the backlash against sexual and reproductive rights since the turn of the century.

We need to acknowledge past time achievements, being in Vienna especially. History was made almost 20 years ago at the World Conference on Human Rights in 1993: women's rights being acknowledged as universal, unalienable and indivisible human rights and with violence against women recognised as a violation of human rights with states have the responsibility to prevent, to provide support and protection, to ensure access to justice in relation to all forms of violence including violence committed by non-state actors.

We need to build on these historic achievements: the Universal Declaration on Human Rights, CEDAW, Vienna, the Cairo Programme of Action, the Beijing Platform for Action, the five UNCSR on women in conflict, the ILO Conventions and the instruments of special rapporteurs and Universal Periodic Reviews. Women's human rights or rather human rights for all need to be centre stage on the future development agenda: not as one goal, not as being mainstreamed with a few indicators here and there, no in each and every sustainable development domain. Nothing less than that. Lydia, Cecilia, Wendy, Andrea, so many here present in the room have emphasized the importance of this. So we need a combination of respect for our long-term agenda that is not silver-lined with linear progress with the urgency to put this agenda centre stage given its crucial role for humanity and human kind now and in the future.

2. I am getting older but not forgetful. I am seriously concerned about the **institutional amnesia** in the UN, in governments, in parliaments, and also among CSOs **about the importance and**

relevance of gender equality and gender justice, inclusivity and social justice for a sustainable planet and human development and well being for all. Why do we have to start from scratch all over again when concepts such as the global public goods are being introduced. Why can't these embrace the Universal Declaration on Human Rights as a global public good that deserves protection and adherence to in order to sustain our planet, our lives and the lives of future generations. So can we refrain from reinventing wheels.

So many of you said over the past few days and I was happy to hear you saying that: "we should have included violence against women, we have neglected the critical importance of sexual and reproductive rights, we went for a too narrow, countable and measurable, universal results/ indicators agenda."

Well, women's rights activists said so in 2000, they demanded gender repair work, culminating in 2005 with the Taskforce on MDG3, with unfortunately extremely limited success in terms of the official MDG agenda and its indicators. Tell me something: we do not want to do gender repair work once more as damage control is a bad practice. It is an unsustainable aftermath strategy, with very limited impact. So really we can not buy into another process of a gender blind post-2015 development agenda, be it post MDGs, be it the new SDGs. The post-2015 development agenda should have substantive gender equality at the centre and this applies across the board for all countries in the world. This requires meaningful participation of women's rights activists and organisations in the processes of formulating and shaping this agenda.

3. Acknowledgement of the drivers of the agenda of gender equality, women's rights and gender justice. **CSOs demand a sincere acknowledgement of the driving role** that women's civil society activists, as individuals, citizens, netizens, social media activists, as women's organisations and movements play in upholding and promoting this agenda. Some of you in this room might not like it, but CSOs have sincere doubts about the role that the MDGs have played in driving the MDG3 and MDG5 agenda. Hasn't that been pushed for and driven by CSOs by demanding national and local level implementation of CEDAW and the Cairo PoA and the Beijing PfA?

It reminds me of the Dutch government four yearly, compulsory reports on CEDAW. These are full with results and achievements claimed by the Dutch government, but in actual fact these results have been driven by civil society actors and citi-

zens and often were countervailed and achieved in spite of the government. In this era of results based management, governments and development agencies claim contributions or attributions that are highly questionable. We might need a proper audit on the contributions to achieving the MDGs.

Accountability is a critical notion but it should entail multiple accountability from all stakeholders be it governments, civil society, private sector, parliamentarians, trade unions, individual citizens.

4. A final sticky point concerns resources.

Given who have been the drivers of the agenda on the table during the past two days, key drivers of this agenda need to be resourced, adequately and in a sustainable manner, within civil society but also within the other domains of governments, the donor community, private sector etc.

In a time of increased scarcity of resources, especially in terms of official ODA – taking the Dutch as a very current example not sticking to 0.7% obligation – I want to challenge all of us gathered here, about the costs of processes like the one we are currently in, and the paper work or virtual reality of our work. I now face the difficulty of having to make choices, for instance to invest our scarce resources into an organisation that is fighting for decent working conditions in the Kenyan flower farms or into attendance by a

Kenyan women's rights organisation into our conference deliberations of the past two days. What would be your response to the question what investment would yield more impact for the agenda of women's rights and gender equality? These are real dilemmas in our work today – so let us not be complacent and not refrain from difficult choices. Whilst making these choices the overarching guidance will be, should be not to trade-off the core objectives and values of upholding women's rights, human rights, gender and social justice in a sustainable manner.

Ireen Dubel is Senior Advisor Women's Rights at Humanistic Institute for Co-operation with Developing Countries

Other News

European Parliament calls EU to address the double punishment for women due to crisis

On 19 February, 2013, the Committee on Women's Rights and Gender Equality (FEMM) of the European Parliament adopted a draft report on [the impact of the economic crisis on gender equality and women's rights](#). Rapporteur Elisabeth Morin-Chartier (EPP, France) believes the long-term impact of the crisis on women is underestimated, and [calls](#) for a limitation of budgetary cuts which could increase the feminisation of poverty, and for the development of gender-based indicators. She said: *"Women are facing a silent crisis which worsens and weakens their condition. Before the economic crisis unemployment, precarious work, part-time work, low salaries and slow career paths already affected women more than men. Today, with the effects of austerity policies, they are suffering a double punishment"*.

Cuts in education, childcare and care services have pushed women to work shorter hours or part-time, thereby reducing not only their income but their pensions as well. In the report, the MEPs are calling the EU Member States and the European Commission to implement a set of measures to address the "double punishment" women suffer since the beginning of the crisis.

In March, the European Parliament Plenary Session adopted this non-binding resolution on the impact of the crisis on gender equality and women's rights. It was passed by 495 votes to 96, with 69 abstentions. MEPs say that to restore growth and to reverse the effects of the crisis, member states must invest in lifelong training, re-skilling policies, teleworking and new jobs, promote female entrepreneurship and develop childcare facilities. They must also include women in decision-making and promote gender balance on company boards.

EU-wide civil law protection for victims of gender violence

On March 19, 2013, the committees Legal Affairs and Women's Rights of the European Parliament approved a law saying that the victims of stalking, harassment or gender-based violence who

are granted protection in one EU member state would get fully equivalent protection if they freely move to another EU state.

The new EU law would add civil law protection to the criminal law protection already enforced under the European Protection Order (EPO) Directive. This law would eliminate all the formalities currently required to ensure recognition and enforcement of civil protection measures for people under threat who cross the EU's internal borders. The committees recognized that the continuity of specialist support services to victims of gender-based violence as well as specialist training for officials likely to deal with cases of violence against women are the important part of the victims' protection system of EU. This regulation will apply to cross-border cases with effect from January 2015.

This is a news item taken over from the March issue of KARAT News: (<http://karat.us4.list-manage.com/track/click?u=a88b012a6dab0a7a254c9274b&id=fcc634ccc9&e=1139c973d1>)

EWL 50/50 CAMPAIGN: more gender equality on the road to the 2014 European elections

The EWL (European Women's Lobby) launched for the 2014 European Parliament Elections its 50/50 Campaign. The campaign aims to achieve gender balance in all European institutions. In the lead up to the 2014 elections, some actions and seminars throughout the campaign will be supported by representatives of the five political groups in the European Parliament.

The start with, EWL calls on national political parties, in preparation of the European elections in 2014 to compose their electoral lists in a way that will ensure gender parity results. And they call on political parties to fully include issues of women's rights and gender equality in preparation for the European elections in 2014. <http://womenlobby.org/spip.php?article4710>

Feminist Statement on advancing the

Post-2015 Sustainable development

The international NGO conference "Advancing the Post-2015 Sustainable Development Agenda" brought together about 250 civil society activists and representatives from key stakeholders in order to draw together civil society inputs into the Sustainable Development and Post-2015 discussions. It took place on 20 – 22 March, 2013, in Bonn, Germany. One statement was formulated on women's rights. People can undersign the statement online: <http://www.worldwewant2015.org/node/332171>

The statement 'structural transformations for women's rights and gender justice' starts with: "we will not be mainstreamed into a polluted stream: feminist visions..." The statement calls: "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".

Synthesis Report of Global Public Consultation for the Post-2015 Development Agenda on addressing inequalities

The *Global Thematic Consultation* was held publicly online at: www.worldwewant2015.org/inequalities in the second part of 2012, added by contributions from a diverse advisory group. The Consultation process was co-led and facilitated by UNICEF and UN Women and was supported by the Government of Denmark and the Government of Ghana. The report focused on gender equality in combination with other inequalities.

Among the key messages are the following: Firstly, "Equality was identified as a fundamental value in the Millennium Declaration, adopted by the Member States of the United Nations at the turn of the century in 2000....Inequalities harm us all. Addressing inequalities is not only the right thing in principle, but also vital in ensuring that we have a sustainable and peaceful world.

Since the Millennium Declaration was adopted, many types of inequalities have worsened....There is no "level playing field" either within or between countries. Market economies and all that they influence are asymmetric, favouring the interests of those who already have an advantage". The neo-liberal approach has also influenced government policies, further disadvantaging the most marginalized people to use healthcare, water, etc. And policies that target these groups do not address the root causes; instead they focus on dealing with the symptoms of poverty and inequality.

"On gender-based discrimination -- including the denial of the rights of women and girls, and their disempowerment to take control of their lives and bodies. It remains the single most widespread driver of inequalities in today's world. Gender-based violence, taking many forms, is a major element of this massive and continuing failure of human rights. This and other harmful practices such as female genital mutilation and child and forced marriage continue to perpetuate the subordination of girls and women to men, and act as a barrier in allowing them to develop their full potential. Thus, a self-standing global goal on inequalities should be included in the post-2015 development framework. This should not be limited to economic inequalities but should also address other key dimensions, with particular focus on gender inequalities and gender-related discrimination."

Publications

European Equal Pay day

The European Commission marked on 28 February 2013 the third European Equal Pay Day. The European Equal Pay Day is held annually and raises awareness of the fact that women have to work longer than men to earn the same. A new brochure: '*Tackling the gender pay gap in the European Union*', which explains the gender pay gap, its causes and the benefits of closing it. It also shows examples of national good practices to tackle the gender pay gap. The brochure is available in English but will be available in the 22 EU languages soon. You can download it here: http://ec.europa.eu/justice/gender-equality/files/gender_pay_gap/130227_gpg_brochure_en.pdf.

The gender pay gap website has been updated with the latest developments on equal pay issues, including new statistical data and the new brochure. To learn more, visit: <http://ec.europa.eu/equalpay>.

World Bank Report on Norms & Agency: conversations about gender equality in 20 countries

Social norms, gender roles, beliefs about one's own capacity and assets, etc. determine the opportunities available to women and men - and their ability to take advantage of them. This study covered 20 countries in all world regions, where over 4,000 women and men living in remote and traditional villages and dense urban neighbourhoods, in around 500 focus groups, discussed the effects of gender differences and inequalities on their lives. Despite diverse social and cultural settings, the traits and expectations of the ideal "good" woman and "good" man were remarkably similar across all sample urban and rural communities. Participants acknowledged that women are actively seeking equal power and freedom, but must constantly negotiate and resist traditional expectations about what they are to do and who they are to be. When women achieve the freedom to work for pay or get more education, they must still accommodate their gains to these expectations, especially on household responsibilities.

When only a few women manage to break with established norms - without a critical mass - traditional norms are not contested and may be

reinforced. The process of gender norm change thus appears to be uneven and challenging, lagging behind topical conditions. The easy co-existence of new and old norms means that households in the same community can vary markedly in how much agency women can exercise, and women feel less empowered when opinions and values of families and communities stay with traditional norms.

Direct Link to Full 160-Page World Bank Report:

<http://siteresources.worldbank.org/EXTSOCIALDEVELOPMENT/Resources/244362-1164107274725/On-Norms-Agency-Book.pdf>

Assessing the gender dimension in World Bank Investments

Although it is widely acknowledged that increasing the gender sensitivity of development aid increases its effectiveness, gender issues are usually inadequately addressed in World Bank investments and policy and strategy mechanisms. This is highlighted in a new Gender Action - United Nations University World Institute for Development Economics Research (UNU-WIDER) working paper entitled, "[Assessing the Effectiveness of World Bank Investments: The Gender Dimension.](#)"

In this paper, Gender Action's Claire Lauterbach and Elaine Zuckerman evaluate the extent to which the World Bank integrates gender concerns in three sectors - 'agriculture and rural development'; 'sexual and reproductive health and HIV/AIDS'; and 'conflict prevention and post-conflict reconstruction' - and in several policy and strategy mechanisms. The paper concludes that the Bank only superficially includes women's concerns in its investments and policy and strategy mechanisms. It provides recommendations for making Bank investments and policy and strategy mechanisms responsive to women's needs and rights.

The price of austerity: the impact on women's rights and gender equality in Europe

This European Women's Lobby (EWL) report considers the evidence on the impact of austerity measures on women's rights and gender equality in Europe. Based on data from EWL member organisations in 13 countries and recent research

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This European Women's Lobby (EWL) report considers the evidence on the impact of austerity measures on women's rights and gender equality in Europe. Based on data from EWL member organisations in 13 countries and recent research from a range of sources, it reveals that austerity policies in Europe undermine women's rights, perpetuate existing gender inequalities and create new ones, and hamper the prospects of sustainable and equal economic progress in Europe. The recent cuts in public spending in European Union (EU) Member States, sanctioned by the European Commission, have the most impact on those who have little voice in economic decision-making: women, children, and the elderly.

To read the publication: <http://womenlobby.org/spip.php?rubrique60&lang=en>

Empowering the Third Billion: Women and the World of Work in 2012

Booz & Company created the Third Billion Index, a ranking of 128 countries worldwide that is based on how effectively leaders are empowering women as economic agents in the marketplace. The index is a composite of established data on women's economic and social status. The Third Billion Index is unique in that it focuses specifically on women in the world of work. In their recent publication they analysed the scores of countries: http://www.booz.com/media/uploads/BoozCo_Empowering-the-Third-Billion_Full-Report.pdf

Quantifying the impact of women's participation in post-conflict economic recovery

The purpose of this empirical analysis is to provide a better understanding of how changes in women's roles and activities may contribute towards processes of economic recovery in post-conflict societies; whether existing interventions are able to support these new roles (if positive) or to help women overcome negative outcomes; and what interventions the international community and local governments need to encourage in order to support the role of women in economic recovery and peacebuilding processes.

Reproductive rights: a tool for monitoring state obligation

The "future we want" is a future that thinks of gender justice as inseparable from ecological and social sustainability – one that discusses and strives for new models of prosperity, quality of life, and the social dimension of global restructuring in terms that take account of gender. Feminist ecological and economic models and utopias are regaining ground. For the Heinrich Böll Foundation it is crucial to make these ideas heard and to give them greater prominence within the larger discourse on a post-growth, equitable world. The publication is written by Christa Wichterich and published by the Heinrich Böll Foundation this publication.

A Feminist Perspective On the last High Level Forum On Aid Effectiveness

A renewed development cooperation framework emerged from the 4th High Level Forum on Aid Effectiveness (HLF-4) that took place in Busan, Korea, in 2011. What does it mean for the advancement of women's rights? The recent AWID's publication provides a critical assessment of the gains and setbacks for women's rights after HLF-4 by providing a comparative analysis between the demands of women's rights groups and gender equality advocates and what was finally agreed with the Global Partnership for Effective Development Cooperation. Several women's rights organizations with whom we had mobilized to influence the HLF-4 outcomes also provide their regional perspectives: <http://awid.org/Library/Primer-11-A-Feminist-Perspective-on-the-Busan-4th-High-Level-Forum-on-Aid-Effectiveness-and-its-Outcomes> (in English and Spanish).

ILO Report: Global Employment Trends for Women 2012

Women face higher unemployment rates than men globally, with no improvements likely in the coming years, according to an ILO report. The gender gap in global labour markets showed some convergence in the earlier part of the last decade but increased after the crisis erupted in 2007, according to an ILO report produced in collaboration with UN Women. The picture varies considerably among regions. The ILO's Global Employment Trends for Women 2012 looks at

the gender gap in unemployment, employment, labour force participation, vulnerability, and segregation in jobs and economic sectors.

IDLO report 'Accessing Justice: Models, Strategies and Best Practices on Women's Empowerment'

This report challenges traditional development approaches and argues that the law has let women down. Heavy investment in laws and courts by governments, aid actors and multilaterals has had little effect on women's access to justice in poorer countries. It advocates that all barriers across the "justice chain" - legal, political, social, cultural and economic, whether in the formal or informal legal systems - need to be tackled to meet women's demands for justice.

It points out that in most of the developing world women eschew remote, unresponsive or corrupt court systems, settling for village justice instead. In so doing, they expose themselves to ingrained prejudice and further marginalization. Accessing Justice challenges conventional wisdom of favouring formal justice and shows that informal justice systems can change. Far from being static, custom responds to sensitive intervention and women's empowerment. With adequate strategies in place, tradition can be put to work in women's favour: <http://www.idlo.int/Publications/Women-AccessToJustice.pdf>.

Gender & Development Special Issue on Working with Men on Gender Equality

This issue of Gender & Development is an exciting collection of new articles examining men's roles in promoting gender equality and women's rights. A follow-up to our 1997 Men & Masculinity issue, and with working with men on gender equality now much more widespread, this issue sees practitioners, policy makers and researchers sharing their experience of feminist work with men in the context of continuing debates over how pro-feminist men are working in partnership with women's rights, agendas and organisations.

Gender & Development provides free access to individual articles via: <http://www.genderanddevelopment.org/>

Gender Equality in the post-2015 Development Agenda: where does it stand?

This paper analyses the role gender equality plays in the post-Rio+20 process for a new development agenda centred on a set of SDGs (Sustainable Development Goals). It looks at proposals and efforts to integrate gender equality and women's rights into efforts to define the SDGs and argues that a new global women's coalition of committed advocates and women's rights activists to focus more aggressively on governance and policy reform in the post-2015 development agenda, particularly on macro-economic policy reform: <http://www.boell.org/downloads/Spiel-doch-Gender-and-Sustainable-Development.pdf>

Integration of Gender and Human Rights into the Post-2015 Development Framework

This report is based on the discussion that took place at the "Post-2015 Expert Group Meeting" held at the Center for Women's Global Leadership (CWGL) from December 13-14, 2012. This meeting was convened to try to integrate issues of gender and human rights into the development of a post-2015 framework for social and economic development that is applicable to all countries. This report is also an attempt to identify critical components of a post-2015 framework that fill gaps associated with the MDGs and promote economic and social rights, and gender equality: http://cwgl.rutgers.edu/component/docman/doc_download/576-integrationgenderpost-2015report

Economic crises and women's work: Exploring progressive strategies in a rapidly changing global environment

This publication examines issues of women's employment and decent work in the context of the on-going global financial and economic crisis. Analysis of some specific regional crises shows how crisis response strategies can have different impacts depending on how gender sensitive they are. Additionally, it shows how policy responses that take into account the differentiated impact on women workers are more likely to result in sustained and equitable recovery: <http://www.unwomen.org/wp-content/uploads/2013/01/Economic-crises-and-womens-work.pdf>.

Women's economic opportunity Index 2012

The Economist Intelligence Unit, The Economist's sister company, has published its second Women's Economic Opportunity Index, assessing the environment for female employees and entrepreneurs across 128 countries. Nearly half the world's women of working-age are not currently active in the formal labour market. As governments seek to revive ailing economies, welcoming these 1.5 billion women into formal employment will become ever more important. The EIU's index brings together 29 indicators measuring access to finance, education and training, legal and social status, and the general business environment. The chart below shows how a selection of countries have scored this year and where conditions have improved or declined: http://www.eiu.com/Handlers/WhitepaperHandler.ashx?fi=WEO_full_report_final.pdf&mode=wp&campaignid=weoindex2012.

Missing Women: The G20, Gender Equality and Global Economic Gov- ernance

This report examines the G20's strategies and their effects on gender equality. It finds that the G20 has not seriously considered the consequences for women and men when formulating policies and setting its agenda. There are indications that this situation has changed somewhat, with a commitment to gender equality made at the 2012 Los Cabos Summit in Mexico. Nevertheless, questions remain over whether gender equality will be taken seriously: http://www.boell.org/downloads/Heintz_Missing_Women.pdf

EU Report on Development 2013

The European Report on Development (ERD) 2013: "*Post 2015: Global Action for an Inclusive and Sustainable Future*" seeks to contribute to the global reflection on the post-2015 development agenda by providing independent research-based analysis, stimulating debate and building common ground among key stakeholders. The ERD is an independent report, supported by the European Commission and seven EU Member States (Finland, France, Germany, Luxembourg, Spain, Sweden, United Kingdom) in the framework of the "Mobilising European Research for Development Policies" initiative: http://www.erd-report.eu/erd/report_2012/report.html.