



The Financing for Development
Process in the United Nations:
a Gender Perspective



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SERIES **WORKING PAPERS**

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By Diana Aguiar
IGTN Global Secretariat

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The Financing for Development Process in the United Nations: a Gender Perspective

Masters in International Relations

Global Project Coordinator

IGTN Global Secretariat

Rua da Lapa 180. 908-909

Rio de Janeiro - Brazil

CEP: 20021-180

diana@igtn.org

IGTN Secretariat

EQUIT Institute - Gender, Economy and Global Citizenship

Rua da Lapa 180. 908-909

Rio de Janeiro - Brazil

CEP: 20021-180

www.igtn.org | www.equit.org.br

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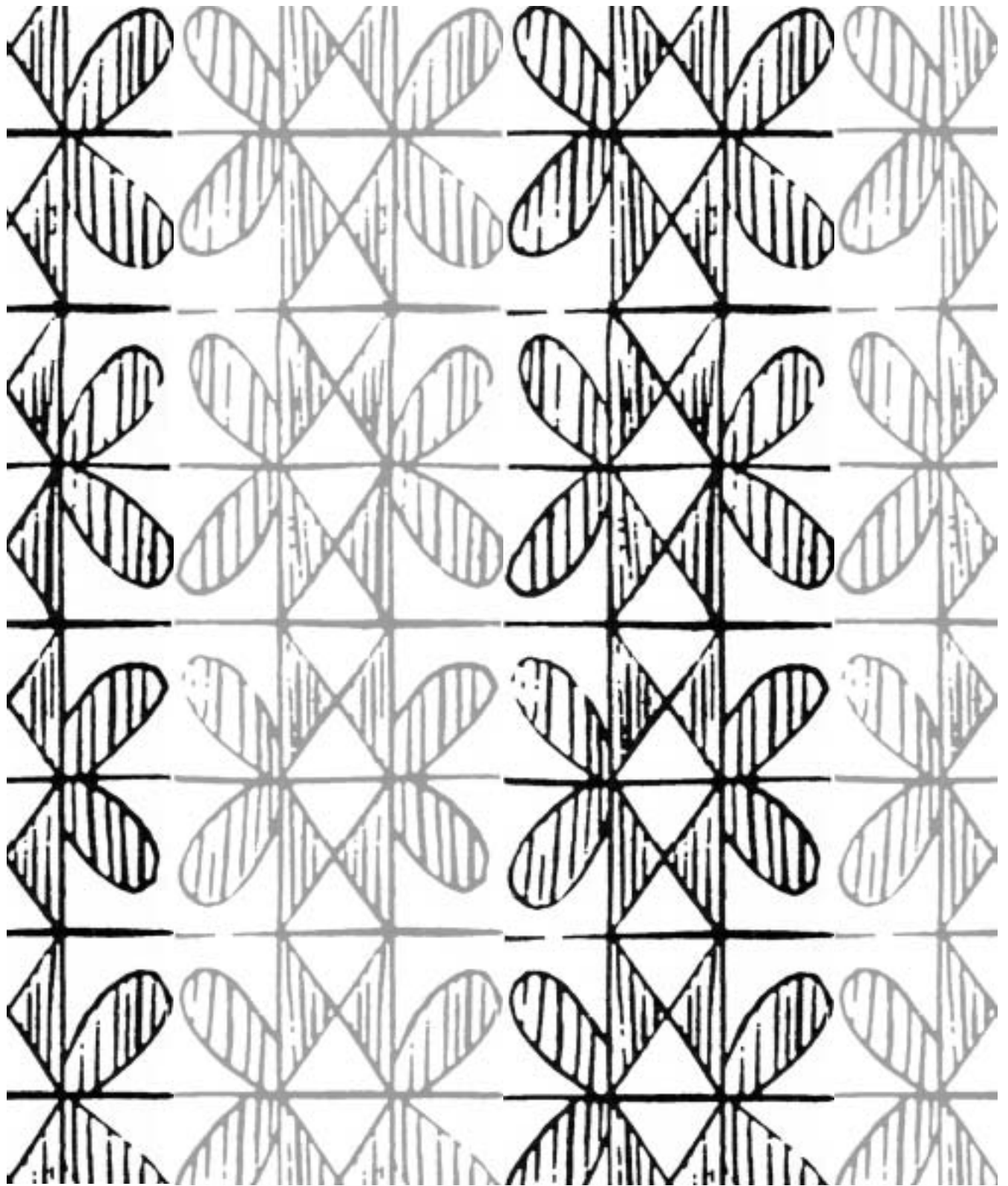
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List of Abbreviations

CLADEM	Consejo Latinoamericano por los Derechos de las Mujeres
DAWN	Development Alternatives with Women for a New Era
FIC	Feminist Initiative of Cartagena
FfD	Financing for Development
GAD	Gender and Development
IGTN	International Gender and Trade Network
IMF	International Monetary Fund
LDCs	Least Developed Countries
MEIs	Multilateral Economic Institutions
NGOs	Non-Governmental Organizations
ODA	Official Development Assistance
REMTE	Red Latinoamericana Mujeres Transformando la Economía
REPEM	Red de Educación Popular Entre Mujeres
UN	United Nations
UNIFEM	United Nations Development Fund for Women
WSF	World Social Forum
WTO	World Trade Organization





I. Introduction

After almost seven years the Monterrey Conference took place in March 2002, the United Nations is convening the review of the Monterrey Consensus, the Financing for Development's (FfD) final document. The review conference will take place in Doha, Qatar from 29 November to 2 December 2008.

FfD was a process consistently called for by Southern countries inside the UN until the General Assembly finally launched it at the end of 1997. It was initially received with expectation by social movements, networks and organizations that saw it as an opportunity for discussing the highly political issue of financing for development. The questions of where the sources to fund development would come from – and hence what type of development model it implied – was of central concern for networks such as International Gender and Trade Network (IGTN).

However, from the moment in which the process was launched in 1997 until the final conference took place in Monterrey, Mexico in March 2002, several changes had shaped the environment leading to movements' changing perspectives about FfD's opportunities to set a new financing for development framework.

Feminist networks such as IGTN that stayed in the process until the end realized with great disappointment that the FfD process provided much less than it originally promised. The current context of financial crisis may represent a historic opportunity for change and feminist networks need to be there to challenge established forces that are again intending to define development in terms of trade and capital flows liberalization and state reduction.

This working paper will provide an overview of FfD process to date from a gender perspective as well as providing inputs for feminist mobilization towards Doha. By doing so, it may be used as an advocacy tool for women's movements and networks to build a perspective to FfD agenda as well as feed into FfD gender-sensitive policy proposals.



Section II provides an overview of the environment that led to FfD agenda, while section III discusses the changes in this environment. Regarding this agenda, section IV debates specific gender contributions to FfD from feminist networks, while section V analyses Monterrey Consensus from a critical feminist perspective. Finally, section VI provides inputs for feminist mobilization towards Doha.



II. On the Road to Monterrey – FfD 2002

In the 90s, feminist activists participated in the various UN conferences. Although they established recommendations on development, the conferences did not deal with the question of the sources of funds for achieving the proposed targets and commitments. That problem was the background for Financing for Development (FfD) process, launched by the UN General Assembly at the end of 1997 (A/RES/52/179), with the official vision of “creating a broader-based partnership for development.” According to a 1999 UN report:

“Development financing has historically been a highly political topic. Poorer Southern countries consider financing the key development issue and have consistently called for a UN conference, while Northern donor countries have resisted such a conference and prefer to focus on issues of domestic resource mobilization and good governance.” (Clarke, Rich, Heninger, 1999: 14).

According to Marina Durano, IGTN/DAWN representative to the processes:

“Speaking from a South perspective (a developing country perspective), FfD process really offered a potential to make visible developing countries issues.” (Durano, 2007).

Graciela Rodriguez, IGTN Global Coordinator, identifies what she considers to be the factors that led to an unprecedented involvement of different International Organizations in the process:

“Other UN conferences were highly sectoral. Those who were involved in each were UN and social movements sectors more connected with each agenda. Differently, on FfD, as the issue was the funding of the entire agenda, what was important was to mainstream this debate with all sectors, including donor agen-



cies. Moreover, FfD process coincided with a period in which the WTO agenda was growing and influencing other agendas, getting on top of other agendas. And both the World Bank and the IMF were already realizing the flaws, the criticism ... and there was a lack of credibility. This was going on along several years, 1998, 1999 ... and there was lot of talk on policy coherence... then that was the difference. Different because of the turning point of the model that was starting to fall, increasingly questioned.” (Rodriguez, 2007).

FfD Preparatory Committee met five times in four “PrepComs” (preparation meetings) (May-June 2000, February and May / October 2001 and January 2002, two months before the conference). Box 1 provides a timeline of these and other important events to the process leading up to the Monterrey Conference.

However, the world in which this process was launched in 1997, surrounded by expectations, was radically different from the world in which the conference took place in March 2002. The first half of the 90s was marked by broad belief in development and in the role of human rights. A few years later, a feminist perception of the limitation of this agenda in relation to trade and international financial institutions agenda led to IGTN establishment. The world post-Seattle and post-September 11 was no longer the same and this change may be perceived in FfD process. The following section explores this change.

Box 1

FfD Timeline up to Monterrey Conference

8 December 1997

UN General Assembly Resolution launches FfD process (A/RES/52/179)

22 December 1999

UN General Assembly Resolution creates FfD Preparatory Committee (A/RES/54/196)

3 May 2000 - 2 June 2000

Resumed organizational session and first substantive session of the Preparatory Committee (PrepCom I) establishes preliminary agenda

2-5 August 2000

ESCAP (Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific) regional consultations, Jakarta, Indonesia

6-7 November 2000

Hearings with NGO representatives, New York

9-10 November 2000

ECLAC (Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean) regional consultations, Bogota, Colombia

15-22 November 2000

ECA (Economic Commission for Africa) regional consultations, Addis Ababa, Ethiopia



23-24 November 2000

ESCWA (Economic and Social Commission for Western Asia) regional consultations, Beirut, Lebanon

6-7 December 2000

ECE (Economic Commission for Europe) regional consultations, Geneva, Switzerland

11-12 December 2000

Hearings with business community, New York

12-13 February 2001

PrepCom II:

- Women's Caucus
- Women's Consultation (WEDO/UNIFEM)

2-8 May 2001

PrepCom III (part I):

- Women's Caucus Strategy Session

24 May 2001

UN General Assembly Resolution establishes conference date (A/55/L.82)

15-17 July 2001

DAWN/REPEM Seminar on FfD in Cartagena de Indias, Colombia, when Feminist Initiative of Cartagena is established.

October

Women's Strategy Session

15-19 October 2001

PrepCom III (part II)

14-27 January 2002

PrepCom IV

31 January 2002 - 7 February 2002

World Social Forum II: Feminist Networks articulation on FfD

25 February 2002

Taskforce: Day of dialogue on Gender and Financing for Development, in New York

14-16 March 2002

NGO Global Forum—Financing the Right for Sustainable and Equitable Development

18-22 March 2002

International Conference on Financing for Development, Monterrey, Mexico



III. Changes in the Road: UN Conferences and the Financial and Trade Agenda

With the end of the Cold War and its militarist polarization, the beginning of the 90s was marked by optimism also fueled by the wave of democratization and the possibility of renewed international cooperation. The United Nations embraced a rights-based multilateralist agenda, with the major conferences being its most obvious face. But the agenda could not be sustained for long surrounded by the great expectations created within transnational civil society while the multilateral economic and financial architecture was so detrimental to it.

The Monterrey conference, in 2002, was one of the last major UN conferences and happened in a period of great dismay among civil society regarding the process of meetings in the 90s. Understanding this shift in perspective is essential to understand feminist expectations to this conference and the contradictions involved.

After half a decade of discussions pervaded by the belief in human rights and development, and with some documents signed, social movements began to perceive limits to UN institutional debate. The constraints, rather than the structural opportunities for activism, became more evident. It was increasingly clear to movements that the economic policies of states and multilateral economic institutions, during the 90s, had taken contrary direction in regards to the normative commitments discussed at UN conferences.

While governments were setting targets and commitments to women's human rights and gender equality, for example, it was not clear from where funds would come to create programs to meet those standards. Instead of providing answers to that issue, multilateral financial and economic architecture was moving deeper into liberalization and reduction of the role of the state, leaving little room for consistent public policies for rights and development promotion to unfold.

Since UN fora in the 90s had a limited impact on macroeconomic policies while important issues, such as the impact of structural adjustment policies and other Multilateral Economic Institutions (MEIs)

policies were central to movements' agenda, some feminist networks increased their efforts dedicated to challenge MEIs.

The creation of the World Trade Organization (WTO) in 1995 was the ultimate pillar to this financial and economic architecture, set while the majority of feminist networks were focused on preparations for the Beijing Conference. It did not take long, however, for feminist activists – such as those who decided to found IGTN in 1999 – to realize the centrality of the WTO agenda to gender and development issues. Following the now historic protests against Third WTO Ministerial meeting in Seattle in 1999 that showed the power of movements worldwide to mobilize and impact the agenda, a group of feminist activists then decided to create IGTN, a feminist network working at the crossroads of gender, development and trade.

However, while the UN bases its framework on values of tolerance and respect for human rights and is more accessible to feminist network demands, MEIs base their cognitive frameworks on neoclassical economics, which is much less permeable for feminist activism (O ' Brien et al, 2000). Despite such difficulties, activists, like those who founded IGTN, increasingly perceive MEIs as essential targets of feminist activism. That was one reason, moreover, for FfD process visibility to some networks, since the World Bank, WTO (World Trade Organization) and International Monetary Fund (IMF) were involved in the process in an unprecedented way in UN conferences history.

Even before Monterrey, a growing number of civil society groups engaged in the wave of protests against the MEIs which they perceived as key actors and guardians of a development agenda often viewed as imperialistic. Protests, such as the Zapatista movement in Mexico in 1994, public protest events alongside major MEIs events, such as Seattle during the WTO meeting in 1999, or the World Social Forums parallel to the Economic Forum in Davos since 2001, were part of a process of criticism of neoliberal globalization and the associated development project promoted by MEIs.

During the second half of the 90s, activism opposing neoliberal globalization and the MEIs was focused on street protests and boycotts to official meetings. As Gigi Francisco, IGTN Asia coordinator and one of the founders of IGTN, says:

“The fight in the WTO has become the most prominent. Because social movements were there, women's movement had to be there. [...] We claimed our place in the struggle, because it was the most controversial place. [...] It was a historic moment in which we could not not take part.” (Francisco, 2006).

As those processes were unfolding, FfD conference preparation process was already surrounded by relative skepticism. Still, given the historic role played by the UN on development issues and the opportunities offered by the possibility of a broad discussion on financing for development that included MEIs and civil society in an unprecedented manner, feminist networks such as IGTN joined the debate.

However, IGTN, as part of Feminist Initiative of Cartagena coalition, have kept the central concern of “what type of development should be financed?” It seemed at some point that the process could provide room for such a fundamental discussion, since its agenda included broad areas such as: mobilizing domestic resources, mobilizing international resources (foreign direct investment and other private flows), international trade as an engine for development, official development assistance, external debt and systemic issues.

The turning point was probably the 9/11 terrorist attacks and American foreign policy direction from then on. At the PrepComs (Preparatory Committee meetings) that preceded the tragic events, U.S. participation at FfD agenda had not been intense, thus allowing developing countries to set the debate. But at the first PrepCom after 9/11 – PrepCom III Part II – the rumors of U.S. possibly withdrawing from the process, combined with the growing polarization among countries that threatened the dialogue, led the Women’s Caucus to issue a statement of concern (Women’s Caucus, 2001), signed by 40 organizations. In it, signatories asked for the continued commitment of all stakeholders and with all six subject areas of FfD, without privileging some over others. However, the chapters of domestic resources mobilization and private international resources mobilization were emphasized in the final document, in an attempt to establish developing countries responsibility for their own development. Narrow principles of “good governance” were emphasized, thus reinforcing Washington Consensus framework.

These changes marked the environment in which the conference took place, leading to a vague final document without explicit commitments. Feminist networks who remained in the process until the end did so in an attempt to obtain a last minute change or at least to represent a dissident voice in the process, saying that there was much dissent with the Monterrey “Consensus”.



IV. Feminist Networks at FfD Process

(A) FEMINIST ANALYSIS TO DEVELOPMENT

Development is a field of analysis and a highly debated and contested practice. It is a project of intellectual and practical social change aimed at a vision of progress, be it understood as economic growth, freedom of choice, individual opportunities, individual and collective empowerment... The definitions are as diverse as are the discussions on the feasibility of this project. Having emerged in post-World War II as a project of intervention in the fates of people from what then began to be called the Third World, development has a disputed history. At the intersection of the articulation of multiple actors with different agendas – such as developed and developing countries, International Organizations, academia, field experts and civil society organizations – development is constituted by apparently insoluble debates.

At the heart of the dispute is often the role of the state, what developing a country means, and, more recently, the social function of development speech in the maintenance of an industry with Western values, permeated by political disputes and detrimental to traditional forms of knowledge. Different schools of thought promise solutions using a language that justifies the use of certain tools of economic intervention on the basis of rationality that is rarely questioned.

Despite the fact that development is not solely a concern of economics, feminist economists are among those who have most influenced the feminist debate on development. Feminist economics is a project of knowledge toward a feminist transformation of economics, concerned primarily with the situation of women (Barker, 2005).

But feminist economics is made up of various contradictions because it finds itself at the intersection of gender studies and economics, two fields of study apparently – and for a long time – contradictory. Feminist economics uses “gender” as an analytical category for working hierarchies that are defined by economics but suffers from contradictions because the situation of women has to do as much with class,

race and nation as with gender. Further, it advocates for improving the situation of poor women, but does so from positions of relative power and privilege of those who are in academia. It benefits from the scientific prestige of economics, while questioning methodologies that gave economics its status as science. Therefore, it suffers dilemmas typical of feminism's interdisciplinary character and the instability of categories such as "women" and "gender" (Barker, 2005). IGTN may overcome some of these dilemmas by building bridges between feminist economics as an academic field of research and the public international debate on development which takes place in policy-making spheres. As a network of researchers and activists, IGTN is in the privileged intersection between academic knowledge and the knowledge and practices of civil society. Thus it promotes the Gender and Development – GAD perspective, from a South-North cooperative standpoint.

The focus on debating the interdependence and intrinsic relation of public and private spheres – production and reproduction – is prominent in GAD analysis. Therefore, GAD perspective advocates for the valorization of social reproductive sphere, but not at the expense of productive sphere. In contrast, it argues that both spheres are interdependent and equally important to the economy and development. Feminist economists have addressed debates from feminist political theory in order to theorize that work done in families as well as in markets involve both altruistic and self-interested reasons (England, 2003).

Following this analysis, GAD critique to development process starts from considerations of women's reproductive work, which is generally invisible to conventional economic theory, although such work sustains the care economy, on which depend the economy that is visible in economic theory. The basis of GAD analysis is the concept of gender that stratifies social life on a fundamental division of labor in most societies: the division between productive and social reproductive activities (Çatagay, Elson and Grown, 1995). This analysis is central to the feminist economics critique that argues that every economy needs productive and reproductive work.

Throughout Post-Industrial Revolution history, in most cultures, the responsibility for reproductive activities has been mostly that of women, who often at the same time contribute in productive activities. However, in some industrialized economies, governments took over some of the responsibility of social reproductive activities, such as education and health.

Despite the importance of reproductive work, a good part of it is invisible to conventional economic analysis that only considers income-generating activities. A large portion of reproductive work is not paid, as it consists of the production of goods and services for family consumption, and is thus not considered as work for economics. A large proportion of these activities is performed by women, resulting in statistical and political underestimation of women's work.

GAD seeks to clarify that the relations between reproductive work and women is not due to their propensity to this type of work, but to a process of social construction around the roles of men and women in the economy and society. So, it calls attention to the problem of focusing on the roles of peaceful love and care by women, based on the false assumption about what is essentially the role of women, which

ultimately enhance this maternalist trap (Moghadam, 2005). The division of labor in a gender perspective is based on socially constructed dichotomies on what consists male / female, public / private, for profit / for love, formal / informal work (Peterson and Runyan, 1999). It is clear that these categories are not homogeneous across the world but depend on cultural factors and in the organization of production.

Feminist critiques aim to challenge the conventional economic perspectives and seek to integrate the private sphere in economic analysis. In addition, they propose a rereading of development, by making visible: gender power relations; different economic opportunities for members of the same family on grounds of their gender; and the reproductive labor of women that occurs in the private space of home but has value zero for conventional economics. Box 2 provides a comparison of these two frameworks of analysis and illustrates their inherent contradictions pointing to the need to overcome the neoliberal paradigm in order to promote a vision of development with gender justice, as proposed by IGTN.

Box 2

Neoliberal cognitive framework	GAD/IGTN framework
Analysis begins in macroeconomic level	Analysis begins in microeconomics and in the politics of decision-making between women and men at home
Central objective is to improve market efficiency, so that when optimized there is fair resources allocation. To create market efficiency, trade should be liberalized and state should be privatized and have its intervention role limited.	Central objective is gender justice, by intervening in problems such as the value of women's work and women's unequal access to education, jobs and positions in government. Thus, state interventionist role is essential to challenge patriarchal tyrannies in private sphere and mitigate distortions caused by gender ideologies in institutions such as home, markets and state bureaucracies.
Expectations about individuals' response to economic signs is based on assumptions about individuals' rationality seeking to maximize personal advantages.	It analyses gender politics in economics for the recognition of constraints to individual choices that are created by social structures, systems of beliefs and ideologies.

Source: O'Brien et al (2000: 47 e 48)



(B) FEMINIST NETWORKS ON THE ROAD TO MONTERREY

Shortly before 9/11 and the second part of the PrepCom III (October/2001), a meeting took place and gave rise to an important feminist coalition. From 15 to 17 July 2001, a seminar on FfD took place in Cartagena de Indias, Colombia, at which the Feminist Initiative of Cartagena (FIC) was established, a feminist coalition with the initial goal of advancing a Latin American gender perspective in the FfD process.

IGTN, DAWN (Development Alternatives with Women for a New Era), REPEM (Red de Educación Popular Entre Mujeres), CLADEM (Consejo Latinoamericano por los Derechos de las Mujeres), REMTE (Red Latinoamericana Mujeres Transformando la Economía), Social Watch, Coalición MARCOSUR, Women and Habitat Network, Women's Eyes on the Multilaterals, Milenio Feminista and Group of Feminist Economists were present and participated in the coalition.

UNIFEM supported the initiative that generated a report and panel in the second part of PrepCom III, whose title posed a question at the heart of the debate: "What kind of development should be financed?" In an article after the conference, Alma Espino – co-coordinator of IGTN Latin America and part of FIC – describes the coalition's expectation around FfD process as "a need to mount a concrete challenge to the existing development model" (FIC/Espino, 2003: 53.). Thus, it was a more critical perspective and one that brought an issue that, although central to feminist activism, has been largely neglected during FfD process.

Surprisingly, given the meeting's environment, but not so surprising considering the lack of alternatives to the established framework, FIC panel in the PrepCom III was crowded, although other important events were happening at the same time. The initiative's paper of October 2001 stated that

"Solidarity, so scarce between rich and poor, should rise swiftly and with force to prompt policies of redistribution. It should not only be a response to an ethical commitment, but what it is at stake is the survival of humanity. . . . Let solidarity replace retaliation, is today's wish for most of the world as it is an agreement for a new international order. Under this new premise, financing for development issue must be part of the ongoing discussion of the economic model." (Lopez, Espino, Todaro and Leon, 2001)

Unfortunately, expectations that such an important and fundamental debate could be promoted were largely reduced at this time due to U.S. strong intervention in the process. IGTN and other networks that remained in the process sought a last minute change. This choice is clear in the statement of concern (Statement of Concern – NGOs silenced, Hopes Dashed) issued by IGTN, DAWN, FIC and REPEM on the second day of the conference, in which they state:

"Despite our extreme disappointment over the Monterrey Consensus document, we have come to Monterrey in the spirit of sustaining the constructive engagement that the United Nations has worked hard on around the FFD process. We came hoping to lobby and support our government leaders and ministers in order that they would intervene in a last minute effort and, with enough political will, achieve breakthroughs binding time-bound commitments in certain critical areas, such as debt reprieve and reform of the multilaterals." (IGTN et al, 2002.).



However, the statement ends on a pessimistic note that the choice of staying engaged in the process leads to deep disappointment:

“There is a need to ensure that the voices and aspirations of civil society organizations are respected and not buried under the weight of whatever new compromises and consensus can still be worked out at this late stage. If this is not realised, **civil society organizations would come out of this process deeply frustrated, with nothing more than hard lessons learned in the process of staying engaged.**” (IGTN et al, 2002.).

Thus, staying engaged represented the presence of dissent and otherness. IGTN and other feminist networks affirmed that the more fundamental debate did not take place: “What kind of development should be financed?”



V. Monterrey Consensus

Besides the unprecedented MEIs participation, official instruments for involvement of civil society were also different from other UN conferences. Specific consultations with civil society and participation in round tables turned the FfD process into a new model of multilateral forum. However, many civil society organizations, mainly from PrepCom IV on, complained that their speeches at round tables were almost eliminated from tables' final reports and that often they were scheduled to speak at the end of the day, when many delegates had already left the room. These problems showed that access to presenting ideas does not imply they will necessarily be considered. Power relations also pervade the lack of consideration of NGO speeches.

Due to this frustration, enthusiasm was giving place to rejection throughout the process. Throughout Preparatory Committee meetings, draft versions of the Monterrey Consensus had shrunk until important proposals vanished entirely.

The path to which the process was leading was already clear before the conference itself, especially in the official document. Unlike other UN conferences that are devoted to negotiating the final document, FfD offered one more innovation: the Monterrey Consensus was ready at PrepCom IV in January 2002. According to Aldo Caliarì from Center of Concern – USGTN focal point – a crucial factor for the consensus dissemination six weeks before the conference was the failure of the World Conference against Racism, from which the U.S. withdrew, and conflicts between countries not been solved until the last minute. The paradoxical consequence was that in order to have a consensus, the substantive result was almost insignificant (Caliari, 2002: 1).

Without a document to discuss, the Monterrey conference was a spectacle of Washington Consensus reaffirmation, silencing dissident voices. A false consensus document was, then, the basic tone at Monterrey. Given this context, gender was particularly marginalized. Box 3 systematizes the few and inadequate references to gender in the Consensus.

Box 3

References to “women” and “gender” in the Monterrey Consensus

I. Confronting the challenges of financing for development: a global response

Para. 8: In the increasingly globalizing interdependent world economy, a holistic approach to the interconnected national, international and systemic challenges of financing for development – sustainable, **gender-sensitive**, people-centered development – in all parts of the globe is essential.

II. Leading actions

A. Mobilizing domestic financial resources for development

Para. 11: Good governance is essential for sustainable development. ... Freedom, peace and security, domestic stability, respect for human rights, including the right to development, and the rule of law, **gender equality**, market-oriented policies, and an overall commitment to just and democratic societies are also essential and mutually reinforcing.

Para. 12: We will pursue appropriate policy and regulatory frameworks ... in a manner consistent with national laws to encourage public and private initiatives, including at the local level, and foster a dynamic and well functioning business sector, while improving income growth and distribution, raising productivity, **empowering women** and protecting labour rights and the environment.

Para. 16: Investments in basic economic and social infrastructure, social services and social protection ... which take special care of children and older persons and are **gender sensitive** and fully inclusive of the rural sector and all disadvantaged communities, are vital for enabling people, especially people living in poverty, to better adapt to and benefit from changing economic conditions and opportunities.

Para. 18: Microfinance and credit for micro-,small and medium-sized enterprises, including in rural areas, **particularly for women** ... are important for enhancing the social and economic impact of the financial sector.

Para. 19: It is critical to reinforce national efforts in capacity-building in developing countries and countries with economies in transition in such areas as ... social and **gender budget policies** ...

B. Mobilizing international resources for development: foreign direct investment and other private flows

Para. 23: We urge businesses to take into account not only the economic and financial but also the developmental, social, **gender** and environmental implications of their undertakings.

C. International trade as an engine for development

No references to “gender” or “women”

D. Increasing international financial and technical cooperation for development

No references to “gender” or “women”

E. External debt

No references to “gender” or “women”

F. Addressing systemic issues: enhancing the coherence and consistency of the international monetary, financial and trading systems in support of development

Para. 64: To strengthen the effectiveness of the global economic system’s support for development ... Mainstream the **gender perspective** into development policies at all levels and in all sectors.



Gigi Francisco, IGTN Asia/DAWN, spoke at FIC/Social Watch seminar on the weaknesses of FfD document, which she attributed largely to North-South different positions in the discussions. (Francisco, 2002). Gigi argues that developed countries avoided language that could mean that the UN had a mandate covering the mandates of the IMF, World Bank and WTO, insisting on language on the coordination between the UN and these institutions. Developed countries also were mobilized to delete any language that would imply the understanding that the global economic system is uneven and that there is need for action so that it becomes fairer. Finally, G77 concerns with democratization of decision-making within IMF and the establishment of new policies were rejected by developed countries (Francisco, 2002: 6). The attempt to prevent structural changes was clear.

IGTN, DAWN, FIC and REPEM, in a joint statement (IGTN et al, 2002) exposed their critiques of the organization of the conference:

- “- In the two days that we have been here, civil society organizations have been severely restricted in our access to the formal plenary.
- The roundtable discussions thus far have been badly managed such that some speakers from the NGOs were unable to give their scheduled intervention due to lack of time.
- As well, we noticed in the line-up of speakers on the first day of the formal plenary that priority time had been given to speakers from the multilaterals, regional banks, trade and finance focused subgroups and networks while speakers from the UN agencies that worked on social development, particularly women and labor, had their chance to speak only toward the end of the session when many delegates had already left.
- Moreover, the list of side events strongly project dialogues among representatives of government, institutions, multilaterals, and the business sector, with only a few sessions featuring a presenter from the NGO sector.
- After having been given our own Global Forum that ended a day before the FfD conference, it appears that the pathway of communication between NGOs and the formal conference has now become narrower and more regulated.”

Further, on the second day of the conference, a statement from the Women’s Caucus with the title “An equal world is possible and necessary, women at FfD declare” was issued. In this statement, it was argued that FfD was been used to subvert development in support of militarist objectives of American war on terror. And that, because of this, women suffer doubly:

“women are being hemmed in by two forces of fundamentalism: the fundamentalism of the market and religious fundamentalism that have brought the world to a dangerous juncture. The Monterrey Consensus assumes that the global economic and financial system is functioning well and working for all” (Women’s Caucus, 2002: 1).

The Monterrey Consensus preserves the neoliberal model, though including references to human rights, environmental sustainability and gender. And in this case, gender is marginalized:

“It is absolutely clear that macroeconomic adjustments have affected women and men differently, so it is incomprehensible how gender could be so superficially addressed in the Monterrey document. This oversight is one of the greatest in the document.” (Lopez, 2002: 12).

It is clear that not only feminist networks’ perspectives were silenced in the Consensus. Developing countries’ voices were present in many early versions of the document, but were diluted in the final text. These countries’ demands to a focus on international sources of financing for development have encountered resistance from the North – especially the unbeatable American pressure – which highlighted the importance of domestic resources.

In addition to the unequal weight given to domestic and private sources, the document emphasizes themes such as inclusion, partnership, gender equality and poverty reduction, but only does so to reinvent neoliberalism in terms of common values. Monterrey Consensus is the successor of Washington Consensus with a new face, but the same focus: financial and trade liberalization, with state privatization and reduction (Soederberg, 2005).

Furthermore, one of the most controversial issues for civil society in Monterrey, the inclusion of transnational private capital as a source of important resources for development, is viewed as the legitimization of this capital’s power, while minimizing their volatility and easy transit as causes of instability.

In addition, Monterrey Consensus emphasizes the responsibility of Southern countries in their own development through the establishment of an environment of “good governance” to attract foreign capital (Lopez, 2002). The structural obstacles to development are neglected in the document, due to the efforts of the North to withdraw any language that made reference to the systemic inequalities and the need to address the injustices through directed actions.

Jubilee South statement at the second day of the conference summarizes the general feeling of civil society at the meeting:

“The Monterrey Conference is a festival of words that in no way brings the FfD process closer to its original goal of ensuring that sufficient and appropriate financial resources are made available to achieve the commitments made in landmark UN conferences and summits in the 1990s, including radically reducing poverty. . . . In essence, FfD marks the official acceptance of the privatization of development financing.” (Jubilee South, 2002: 1 e 2).

Almost seven years later, governments have a historic opportunity with Monterrey Consensus review at the conference in Doha, Qatar in December 2008. The following section seeks precisely to understand the new context in which Doha conference will take place and examine opportunities for feminist networks.



VI. On the Road to Doha – FfD 2008

During 2008, many events took place in preparation for Doha Conference (see Box 4) and feminist networks have engaged with these activities.

For IGTN, the current international context offers a unique historical opportunity for a change to take place. The challenge to neoliberal model is no longer coming only from the margins and civil society voices. With a financial crisis of great proportions at the center of the debate, even mainstream conservative voices in politics are now claiming that there may have been too much liberalization in the global economy as we face greater instabilities and inequalities.

With the neoclassical model called into question as it has not been in many years and with governments and civil society calling for a high-level discussion on the financial and monetary architecture – what is been informally called Bretton Woods II – the FfD review conference in Doha this year has been consistently referred to as an opportunity to set the initial framework for such a discussion.

IGTN is engaged in this process with a critical view of Multilateral Economic Institutions that have failed to prevent the financial crisis, by untying the financial market from the real economy. IGTN is also critical of the multilateral trade agenda that has promoted an agriculture that has failed to ensure food sovereignty. Trade agenda has also allowed for financialization of agricultural commodities that have also created a conducive environment to current food crisis. In fact, production and development model as currently framed has led to financial, food, energy and climate crisis and therefore, this model needs to be consistently challenged.

IGTN believes that there is great potential to change in such a debate and that the UN is the most appropriate venue for it, as it is used to holding events with broad intergovernmental as well as civil society participation. It is fundamental, however, that this historical opportunity is not missed once again. Box 5 summarizes Women’s Working Group on FfD main recommendations, decided in July 2008 in New York. It represents basic and clear recommendations from women’s perspective.

Box 4

FfD Timeline up to Doha Conference (Source: Women's Working Group on FfD)

14 February 2008

Review Session on Chapter I of the Monterrey Consensus, "Mobilizing domestic financial resources for development" (UN Headquarters)

15 February 2008

Review session on Chapter II, "Mobilizing international resources for development: foreign direct investment and other private flows" (UN Headquarters)

25 February - 7 March 2008

Fifty-first session of the Commission on the Status of Women (CSW) on the theme "Financing for Gender Equality and the Empowerment of Women" (UN Headquarters)

10 March 2008 - 11 March 2008 (morning)

Review session on Chapter V, "External Debt" (UN Headquarters)

11 March 2008 (afternoon) - 12 March 2008

Review Session on Chapter VI, "Addressing systemic issues: enhancing the coherence and consistency of the international monetary, financial and trading systems in support of development" (UN Headquarters)

1-2 April 2008

Thematic debate of the General Assembly on "Recognizing the achievements, addressing the challenges and getting back on track to achieve the Millennium Development Goals by 2015." (UN Headquarters)

14 April 2008

Spring Meeting of ECOSOC with BWIs, WTO and UNCTAD (UN Headquarters)

15-16 April 2008

Review session on Chapter IV, "Increasing international financial and technical cooperation for development" (UN Headquarters)

20-25 April 2008

UNCTAD XII on the theme "Addressing opportunities and challenges of globalization for development" (Accra, Ghana)

19-20 May 2008

Review Session on Chapter III, "International trade as an engine for development" (UN Headquarters)

18 June 2008

Hearings of Civil Society and the Business Sector (UN Headquarters)

30 June - 25 July 2008

ECOSOC annual session, including Development Cooperation Forum and Annual Ministerial Review (UN Headquarters)



July (second week)

Secretary-General's FfD report is issued

July (last week)

Draft outcome document circulated by President of GA

8 September

Discussions begin on draft outcome document until end of GA 62nd session

October

Discussions continue on draft outcome document after conclusion of General Debate

November-December

Conclusion of discussions on outcome document

26-27 November

Civil Society Forum (Doha, Qatar)

29 November - 2 December

Doha Review Conference (Doha, Qatar)

**Box 5****Women's Working Group on Financing for Development Key Recommendations****Chapter 1: Domestic Resources Mobilization**

1. Promote participatory and gender responsive budgets.
2. Enforcement of Decent Work.
3. Progressive and fair taxation schemes including tax rebates and tax reliefs for the poor and women.

Chapter 2: Foreign Direct Investments and Private Flows

1. Put forward a multilateral mechanism that would subject investors and transnational corporations to more lawfully binding norms and standards.
2. Convene within the UN a meeting addressed to how governments can efficiently and in an effective way manage their competition for FDI and other capital flows.
3. Strengthen rule of law and citizen's access to information and legal system to compel investors and traders to behave as "good citizens".

Chapter 3: Trade

1. Trade is not an end in itself – it must serve pro-people and inclusive development.
2. Trade affects gender equality through employment and income opportunities or losses, as well as shifts in the costs of basic goods and services.
3. Actively apply special and differential treatment and less-than-full reciprocity as principles for trade negotiations.
4. Support and strengthen women's meaningful involvement in multi-stakeholder oversight processes and mechanisms related to trade agreement and reforms at all levels.

Chapter 4: International Financial and Technical Cooperation

1. Ensure additionality and predictability of aid flows.
2. Remove conditionalities and strengthen mutual responsibility, accountability and transparency of donors and recipient countries.
3. Develop gender-sensitive indicators, tools and methodologies for the evaluation of the quality and development effectiveness of aid.

Chapter 5: Debt

1. Undertake a more critical round of review and redefinition of the Debt Sustainability Framework, including women's rights organizations.
2. Loans and debt cancellation must be de-linked from conditionalities.
3. In the UN, a political dialogue must be initiated to deal with the question of odious/illegitimate debt.

Chapter 6: Systemic Issues

1. Gender disparities reflect and are related to the structural imbalances in the global economic system.
2. Continue to ensure that FfD follow-up mechanisms are effective spaces for consistent and regular inputs on gender equality.

Chapter 7: Emerging issues

1. Financing to address the food and climate crises should not be in the forms of loans.



Below, FfD chapters are analyzed from IGTN perspective on the crossroads of gender, development and trade.

MOBILIZING DOMESTIC RESOURCES

In the Monterrey Consensus, much weight was given to this chapter, stressing what developing countries should do for their own development. It is positive that developing countries do mobilize their own resources towards development because it could imply a country's autonomy, even to determine their own development agenda and practices. However, in the Consensus this is not the actual case, since development as stated there means a neoliberal state that carries austere economic policies, thus leaving little room for alternative development agendas.

At the same time, the focus on this chapter depoliticize the debate as it takes out of the picture the need to address structural inequalities that diminishes countries' possibilities for development. Further, it does not take into account the fact that for so many developing countries, especially Least Developed Countries (LDCs), mobilizing domestic resources are difficult even to fulfill basic needs, let alone promoting sustainable and equal development.

Besides, from a gender perspective, the use and availability of domestic resources to development does not necessarily mean an increase of gender equality and women's empowerment. Specific policies,

including gender equality impact assessments of broad development policies, must be designed and carried forward to that very end.

MOBILIZING INTERNATIONAL RESOURCES (FOREIGN DIRECT INVESTMENT AND OTHER PRIVATE FLOWS)

This chapter has also received much weight in the Monterrey Consensus, which ends up legitimizing transnational private capital's role in determining development goals. It also expresses little concern on instabilities caused by liberalization of capital flows. Current financial crisis is the ultimate example of how private capital with no specific framework to prevent speculation may cause further instabilities and inequalities, instead of development. More than only financial, current crisis refers to an unsustainable development model that needs to be replaced by an alternative that is people-centered.

Furthermore, private capital invests in initiatives seeking primarily profit and not development goals. Therefore, the economic activities private capital chooses to invest in may not benefit women equally to men and may even mean greater gender inequalities. The market is not gender neutral, and thus private capital reflects unjust gender norms that need to be specifically addressed by consistent policies. It should not be up to transnational private capital to determine what type of development should be financed. Private investment should be encouraged to promote development but this must be accompanied by specific directives that set the framework in which capital flows.

INTERNATIONAL TRADE AS AN ENGINE FOR DEVELOPMENT

Recent deadlock in Doha Round negotiations shows that governments are challenging the benefits of trade liberalization per se for development. This is not new for IGTN who has over the last nine years claimed that trade should be seen through development lenses and not the other way around. Further, IGTN's broad research has sought to provide consistent evidence that "trade liberalization impacts gender differentiated roles, gender-based constraints, men's and women's time and control of and access to resources. It impacts women and men differently in terms of social and reproductive responsibilities, employment, wage level and the nature and process of pauperization of men and women as well as their overall economic and social well-being." (Williams and Riley, 2001)

Multilateral trade agenda is part of and enhances the impact of a production and development model that is unsustainable and inequitable. IGTN is critical of how the multilateral trade agenda has diminished food sovereignty, undermined small agriculture producers and basic livelihoods. Further, the liberalization of basic services threatens people's basic needs and should be stopped. Women, as the main pro-

viders of care work and as the majority of the poor worldwide, are specially affected as they are implicitly expected to carry the burdens of state reduction.

Therefore, IGTN has consistently called for the reduction of WTO scope in order to leave non-trade areas such as food security, public health and public services out of its agenda (Williams and Riley, 2001), since these issues refer to development concerns and as such are disregarded within multilateral trade agenda. There is clearly a lack of development concern in the WTO Doha “development” round. FfD agenda should affirm the limits of trade liberalization to development promotion and gender equality.¹

OFFICIAL DEVELOPMENT ASSISTANCE (ODA)

The review process of the Paris Declaration this year in Accra brought ODA to the center of the debate. The disappointing results of the Aid Effectiveness agenda makes clear that talking about effectiveness depoliticizes the debate by reducing development to a technical issue to be successfully managed. Further, the use of “aid” language is already problematic because it implies a power relation with those been aided placed at the bottom of the political spectrum. This is not a semantics issue but a political issue.

ODA is of extreme importance to poverty reduction, crisis alleviation and gender equality promotion, if approached in a fair and sustained manner. But focus should not be placed on ODA without the clear purpose of regarding aid with a vision of a future when it will no longer be needed, except in specific crisis situations.

Furthermore, there is a clear inconsistency between aid and other agendas, such as trade. Northern governments’ subsidies to agriculture are creating trade distortions that undermine local production in Southern countries, thus increasing food insecurity among the most vulnerable population, the majority of which are women. Therefore, ODA ends up alleviating the harmful externalities of unfair trade rather than addressing development needs. In order for ODA to be carried with a vision of a future when it will no longer be needed, a consistent trade and financial framework should be put in place based on development concerns.

EXTERNAL DEBT

As the Women’s Working Group on FfD Recommendations state “the concrete agreements [on debt] centered on a limited debt write-off mechanisms through the HIPC whose underlying weakness may be

¹ For more on Trade-Finance issues as a cross-cutting issue, see the Working Group on Trade-Finance Linkages document from June 2008.



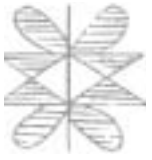
found in the unbalanced emphasis on financing and on required policy conditionalities rather than on the development dimension of external debt.”

Debt burdens are a historical problem to many developing countries, with development resources been lost to debt servicing. The impact on women’s empowerment and gender equality promotion is felt also as governments have fewer resources for public services provisioning. Women carry the majority of the burdens of this shortfall because care work is disregarded in economic policies, which implicitly assume women’s work time is more elastic and can be called upon to replace lack of some public services. Therefore, debt cancellation and an end to illegitimate and odious debts should be put in place to ensure development efforts will not fail.

SYSTEMIC ISSUES

The analysis of each of FfD chapters makes it clear that while an unjust and unequal structure persists, sectoral development efforts will not be enough to promote sustained development. In the FfD process, systemic issues were consistently pushed aside in the agenda, thus creating a weak document that does not addresses crucial issues. The current context provides a historic opportunity since so many are calling for a reassessment of financial architecture in face of financial crisis. Governments should not miss the opportunity of carrying such a debate inside the UN which is the most appropriate and inclusive venue for this purpose. Social movements are joining efforts on a global call for an inclusive and open debate on a new financial architecture. In such a process the question of “What type of development should be financed?” is more than ever at the center of the agenda. Women’s contribution to such a debate is crucial if we indeed shall see a new development model put in place.





VII. Concluding Remarks

As it is always the case when it comes to multilateral processes, women's movements and other civil society organizations join FfD debate hoping that the results will be indeed the establishment of a just development framework. For that, pushing for development alternatives into the agenda is movements aim in such an engagement.

This working paper provided an overview of women's movements engagement in FfD process in order to serve as an analytical resource to gender inputs to FfD. It is however fundamental to keep in mind that to avoid disappointing results such as those found at Monterrey Consensus, multistakeholder dialogue should be sought, with a clear view to including women's voices.



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