

Regions Refocus 2015

Fostering Regional and Feminist Solidarities for Justice

A report of nine regional workshops
between policy-makers and civil society,
held from June 2014 through January 2015



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Introduction

In 2015 the world's governments will define a global agenda for sustainable development, amidst global trends of rising inequality, declining economic growth rates, and mega public-private partnerships that accelerate the scramble for resources, assets, and markets. This report presents regionally situated experiences and feminist analysis of transformational policies and issues that have been insufficiently addressed in the process to define this post-2015 framework, as led by the United Nations (UN).

An initiative housed at Dag Hammarskjöld Foundation, Regions Refocus 2015 fosters regional and feminist solidarities for justice through policy dialogue among civil society, governments, sub-regional alliances, and the UN. Through its innovative perspective on transformational regional to global policies, Regions Refocus presents a unique intervention into the post-2015 and Financing for Development intergovernmental spaces. It refocuses the conversation of the new development agenda and changes the terms of the debate, challenging the hegemonic privileging of the global over the discourse and policies of the regions.

Regions Refocus 2015 has been co-constructed among a diverse array of autonomous, South-based networks that focus a significant portion of their work regionally or sub-regionally. The initiative features feminist, LGBT, and youth-led perspectives in the design and debates of each workshop. Regions Refocus 2015 collaborated with these organizations in convening nine workshops addressing regionally-defined policy priorities in eight regions or sub-regions of the world, between June 2014 and January 2015. This collective process has created possibilities for new articulations rooted in regional realities and territorial integrities, and strengthened political alliances within and across regions.

This report includes nine regional chapters, for each of the regional workshops convened. As a contribution to each of these workshops, Regions Refocus 2015 compiled an analytical resource - the UN Language Map. This vast resource compares language agreed at various UN fora to proposals on development priorities made by governments of each region. To inform ongoing advocacy and policy processes, each UN Language Map is accompanied by a traffic light exercise to assess how progressive each proposal is. Progressive proposals are marked green; insufficiently progressive proposals that would benefit from greater specificity or clarity are marked yellow; and regressive proposals (favoring corporate influence or disregarding human rights and/or environmental agreements) is marked red. These UN Language Maps are available at bit.ly/LanguageMaps. This report concludes with an analysis of emerging cross-regional trends, speaking to possibilities of future work at global and regional levels and beyond. *See page 83 for the cross-regional section.*

In Johannesburg, South Africa, from 25-26 August 2014, the Southern Africa regional workshop was held on **Infrastructure Development in Africa: High Ambitions, High Risks**. Along with the conveners – Centre for the Study of Governance Innovation at the University of Pretoria (GovInn), the South African Institute of International Affairs (SAIIA), and Heinrich Böll Stiftung (HBS) – sixty representatives of civil society organizations, labor unions, international organizations, foundations, development finance institutions, academics, governments, and the UN Economic Commission for Africa (UNECA) participated in this workshop. Together, participants shared information and engaged in critical reflection on the Programme for Infrastructure Development in Africa (PIDA) and its implications regarding the roles of various stakeholders – particularly states, civil society organizations, the private sector, and

development finance institutions – in economic development on the African continent. As an outcome, the workshop is advocating for greater transparency and inclusion in the PIDA process, as a concrete step towards ensuring its projects support structural transformation in the region. *See the Southern Africa chapter, page 9.*

A West Africa regional workshop was convened by Third World Network-Africa in Accra, Ghana, from 3-7 November. Entitled **Accelerating Implementation of the African Mining Vision (AMV) and ECOWAS Minerals Development Policy (EMDP)**, this collaborative meeting of West African policy makers, civil society, trade unions, and UNECA examined the national implementation of both continental and regional frameworks on extractivism, as a mode of achieving broader structural transformation in their respective countries as well as regionally. Regions Refocus 2015 brought a feminist caucus to this meeting, which put together a statement on the links between gender, extractivism, and financial flows in an African context. Examining and contesting national experiences of mining and foreign investment, the workshop framed recommendations related to mining and other forms of extraction – including applying a gender perspective to the country implementation of the AMV – within the context of a desired paradigm shift towards broad-based, inclusive development. *See the West Africa chapter, page 13.*

The Pacific workshop, held in Nadi, Fiji, from 9-13 June 2014, launched a new initiative on **Pacific Partnerships on Gender, Climate Change and Sustainable Development**. The five-day dialogue was convened by Diverse Voices and Action for Equality (DIVA) and the Secretariat of the Pacific Community (SPC), with the United Nations Entity for Gender Equality and the Empowerment of Women (UN Women) and Dag Hammarskjöld Foundation. Sixty representatives of Pacific civil society

organizations, regional technical bodies, and national women's machineries from a dozen Pacific countries brought together their expertise to identify joint priorities and construct collective analysis and strategy. The outcome of the workshop, the historic first joint civil society and national women's machineries statement in the region, has been an invaluable advocacy tool in subsequent regional and intergovernmental processes, including the Small Islands Developing States conference, the UN Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC), and the post-2015 sustainable development negotiations. *See the Pacific chapter, page 21.*

From 6-7 December in New Delhi, India, the South Asia regional workshop on **Sexuality Policy for Structural Change** was convened by The YP Foundation with Regions Refocus 2015. This first South Asia meeting on sexuality policy in the region brought together queer*, trans*, youth, feminist, and sexuality activists from Bangladesh, India, Nepal, Pakistan, and Sri Lanka to share advocacy experiences and strategize around public policy. The workshop explored challenges, shifting policy scenarios, and cutting edge sexuality issues, through an important regional effort to decentralize the debate and enable greater regional specificity on an issue typically neglected in the global sphere. Setting the stage for concrete advocacy and follow-up in the region, the workshop addressed the regional policy landscape for LGBT and broader sexuality issues in South Asia: transgender rights, lesbian identities, and comprehensive sexuality education. *See the South Asia chapter, page 29.*

The Caribbean workshop, **Caribbean Partnerships for Economic Justice and Sustainability**, was convened by the Institute for Gender and Development Studies: Nita Barrow Unit at the University of the West Indies – Cave Hill and Catchafyah Caribbean Feminist Network, with Regions Refocus 2015. Held in Bridgetown, Barbados, from 6-7 January 2015, the workshop brought

together activists, academics, and officials from CARICOM and UN Women. Together, participants analyzed various facets of Caribbean development including participatory fiscal policy and planning; social protection; renewable energy and climate finance; and creating inclusive and equitable partnerships. The workshop engendered structures for follow-up on legislative and policy advocacy (including freedom of information, domestic violence legislation, and fiscal planning and development); public education and information sharing (to lead critical work on gender sensitivity and awareness-raising); and citizen security (including gender-based violence). *See the Caribbean chapter, page 39.*

From 14-16 June 2014, the Arab States regional workshop was held in Beirut, Lebanon, on the subject of **Addressing Social and Economic Inequalities: The Need for a New Paradigm**. Convened by the Arab NGO Network for Development (ANND), the Arab Administrative Development Organization (ARADO), and the United Nations Economic Commission for Western Asia (UN-ESCWA) with Dag Hammarskjöld Foundation, the meeting brought together over 100 participants from civil society organizations, labor unions, international organizations, media, and academia from all the Arab States. Over the two and a half days of the workshop, participants engaged in strategic and structured debate on relevant issues of investment for development, taxation and redistribution, social protection, and addressing inequalities including gender inequality. These recommendations will inform the upcoming economic and social summit of the League of Arab States, where participants have been invited to engage. *See the Arab States chapter, page 51.*

Two Latin America regional workshops were organized in Lima, Peru, in October 2014. The first, **Hidden Money, Hidden Resources: Financing Development with**

Transparency, was co-convened by the Latin American Network on Debt, Development and Rights (Latindadd) and the Financial Transparency Coalition (FTC). Constructed as a two-day conference bookended by a smaller orientation and strategy session for journalists and civil society, the workshop addressed regional issues of illicit financial flows in relation to development policy, extractive industries, taxation, governance, and accountability. Approximately 130 participants, representing governments, civil society organizations, media, and other experts, engaged in collective analysis of the regional context of illicit financial flows and outlined specific proposals to curb this trend. These included a feminist caucus, facilitated by DAWN and Regions Refocus 2015, which produced a statement on the links between taxation and gender equality in Latin America that has been taken forward in several policy contexts, including Financing for Development. *See the Latin America: Financial Transparency chapter, page 59.*

The second Latin America regional workshop, **Education to Guarantee Rights: For A World of Dignity**, was the Eighth Assembly of the Latin American Campaign for the Right to Education. Approximately sixty representatives of national coalitions and regional networks on education, international NGOs and cooperation agencies, and UNESCO came together to examine structural barriers to the realization of the human right to public, free, secular, and lifelong education for all. The CLADE Assembly shaped the outcomes of a UNESCO meeting with many representatives of Latin American Ministries of Education, held the same week. To influence the definition of a new global education agenda in 2015, these meetings identified joint priorities and developed strategic political analysis for strengthening public education systems and deepening democracies in the region. *See the Latin America: Education chapter, page 67.*

Finally, the Europe regional meeting, **Toward a Just Development Architecture: Policy Discussions with European Governments**, was convened amongst European civil society and government missions in New York, from 8-10 December. Along the margins of the second substantive informal sessions of the preparatory process towards the Third Conference on Financing for Development (FfD3), these dialogues were organized by the European Network on Debt and Development (Eurodad) and Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung – New York Office, with Regions Refocus 2015. Entitled “Towards a Just Development Architecture: Policy Dialogues with European Governments,” the workshop consisted of two fulcrum meetings: a dialogue between South and European civil society

participants to share priorities and strategize towards FfD3, and a meeting on the FfD agenda hosted by the European Union Delegation to the United Nations. This workshop provided a concrete opportunity to share perspectives on the Financing for Development agenda and its intersections with both the ongoing processes toward the Post-2015 Summit and the UNFCCC COP21 in 2015. *See the Europe chapter, page 75.*



Infrastructure Development in Africa: High Ambitions, High Risks

Southern Africa ● Johannesburg, South Africa ● August 25-26, 2014



Political Pairings

The South African Institute of International Affairs

Centre for the Study of Governance Innovation,
University of Pretoria

Heinrich Böll Foundation

Economic Commission for Africa



Initiatives

Criteria for infrastructure development

Demanding PIDA transparency and accountability



UN Language Map

bit.ly/RR2015safrica

Southern Africa

Two workshops were held on the African continent as part of Regions Refocus 2015, encompassing a broad range of sub-regional specificity and political analysis that questioned the dominant paradigm of development, aid, and private investment in the region. This chapter addresses the first, a Southern Africa regional workshop on infrastructure development; the subsequent chapter addresses the second, convened by Third World Network – Africa on the Africa Mining Vision and ECOWAS Minerals Development Policy. A chart comparing agreed language to the proposals of both workshops can be found at the end of the West Africa chapter.

In Johannesburg, South Africa, from August 25-26, 2014, a Southern Africa regional workshop on the Programme for Infrastructure Development in Africa was anchored by two regional networks, Centre for the Study of Governance Innovation at the University of Pretoria (GovInn), the South African Institute of International Affairs (SAIIA), with support from Heinrich Böll Stiftung (HBS). This meeting brought together civil society organizations, labor unions, international organizations, foundations, development finance institutions, academics, and governments, in addition to regional representatives from UNECA.

Examining the Programme on Infrastructure Development in Africa (PIDA) as a particular embodiment of both the trendiness of infrastructure in development planning and the preponderance of PPPs, the Southern Africa regional workshop analyzed the implications of PIDA for both structural transformation and economic development on the continent.

A project of the African Development Bank (AfDB) and the New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD) Agency, and the African Union Commission, PIDA aims to mobilize financing from a variety of sources (mostly private) to cover the estimated “infrastructure gap” on the African continent of US \$360 billion. It includes a first tranche of 51 priority infrastructure projects to be

implemented throughout Africa; of these, 15 are energy projects scheduled to be implemented as part of PIDA's Priority Action Plan (PAP). These include nine hydropower projects, four power transmission corridors, and one gas and oil pipeline, according to the new PIDA Virtual Information Centre. By 2020, PIDA aims to dedicate US \$40 billion to these large-scale energy projects; comparatively, the project earmarks US \$0.5 billion to ICT and \$2 billion to water resource projects.

To mobilize funding for PIDA, the three governing agencies seek to create a large “pipeline” of bankable projects, particularly through creating an enabling environment for public-private partnerships (PPPs). As several workshop participants noted with concern, the criteria for PIDA project selection neglect both the connection between infrastructure and sustainable industrialization and states' human rights and environmental obligations (including low/no carbon development).

The discussions at the Southern Africa workshop questioned PIDA's prioritization of mega energy projects in particular; Rudo Sanyanga, Africa Program Director at International Rivers, presented research showing correlation between large hydropower projects and increased poverty. Questioning the decisions made about PIDA PAP projects and their relationship to national and regionally articulated development priorities, participants emphasized the need for greater transparency of information and public debate surrounding PIDA itself. PIDA's apparent bias towards PPPs and a “colonial model of exporting energy” (particularly visible in its planned Nigeria-Algeria pipeline, which would serve European markets instead of West African people) was analyzed with concern by participants, as evidence of the increased domination of the privatization and financialization of infrastructure endorsed by the G20, the World Bank, WEF, Power Africa, and a number of additional multilateral and bilateral initiatives.

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The large number of PIDA projects aimed at facilitating the extraction of natural resources or the movement of minerals or oil presents an inherent contradiction, participants stressed, between the paradigm of PIDA and the concrete measures towards structural transformation as advanced in the AMV. Charles Abugre Akelyira, head of the Savannah Accelerated Development Authority (SADA) in Ghana, questioned the contradiction between public policies that would reduce "the dominance of natural resource extraction in the economy and focus on structural transformation and diversification, on the one hand, while making huge investments based on forms of indebtedness that reinforce the extractive model" on the other. Are these two visions compatible? The relative speed with which PIDA is being implemented in comparison to the Africa Mining Vision raises concerns that the dominant global economic powers will continue to privilege the invitation of private investment on the African continent under the guise of development, further imperiling regional and continental initiatives towards changing the dominant paradigm.

At the Southern Africa workshop, participants also highlighted diversions between PIDA's narrative of regional integration (linking markets through infrastructure to boost commodity-led industrialization) and the classic African Union/Organization of African Unity approach and emphasis of intra-African trade.¹ Civil society and

government officials stressed regional integration to lessen commodity dependency and enable structural transformation – as opposed to the promotion of mega projects that primarily benefit transnational corporations seeking greater efficiency for their investments in Africa, particularly in the extractive sector – should be prioritized, civil society and government officials stressed.

Pointing to the contradictions between PIDA's conception of regional economic integration and the kind of integration that would actually advance structural transformation, civil society representatives in particular raised concerns about PIDA's privileging of the investment priorities of private corporations. Dereje Alemayehu of [Tax Justice Network – Africa](#) and [Christian Aid](#) warned that the promotion of private corporations based in the North as the primary actor to solve underdevelopment serves as "the ideological preparation to bring about the re-colonization of the whole globe," particularly the still undercapitalized sectors of the economy, for private companies in the North. The market-led, private-sector focused development model entrenched in PIDA is actually a contradiction, participants stressed, of the kind of regional collaborative initiative along the lines of the African Mining Vision needed to further the necessary structural transformation of the African continent.

Towards Structural Change for Justice in the Post-2015 Arena

Within the context of the ongoing post-2015 sustainable development process, these two Africa regional workshops highlighted concrete recommendations for the positioning of African governments in the global arena. Participants focused in particular on the need to transform the paradigm encompassing extractive industries and infrastructure, towards essential development objectives of reducing inequalities and eradicating poverty.

¹ HBS's Nancy Alexander illustrated that the amount of intra-Africa trade as a percent of total trade declined by almost 50% from 1997 to 2011. She emphasized the necessity to boost intraregional trade as part of the structural transformation model for the continent.

To advance structural transformation, the Southern Africa regional meeting refined criteria for infrastructure projects on the continent. This document lists priorities for project selection and design and conditions for governance of projects; recommends state regulation of relationships with investors including PPPs; calls for the fostering of sustainable industrialization (through secondary/tertiary processing of raw materials and crops); and provides guidelines to ensure developmental impact and the fulfillment of human rights – including through the creation of decent jobs, particularly for youth and women.

Strategies and Next Steps

The Southern Africa regional workshop identified potential follow-up measures including further regional meetings to share information and build collaborative strategies around PIDA and infrastructure development for structural transformation in Africa. With support from HBS, [Society for International Development](#) leads a project surrounding the Central Corridor in Tanzania, a pilot for WEF-guided project acceleration. [Alternative Information Development Centre](#), based in Cape Town, is creating communications tools to popularize information about PIDA with a specific focus on affected communities, while International Rivers is working on an analysis of the hydroelectric dams listed as PIDA priority projects, proposing alternative

solutions to achieve more inclusive development impacts. Finally, [WoMin](#), an Africa regional project on women, gender and extractivism, plans to hold a follow-up meeting on PIDA in early 2015, on the margins of the [Alternative Mining Indaba](#) in Cape Town. Civil society participants at the workshop agreed that continued collaboration, including through a mailing list or other forms of information-sharing as well as targeted research, would be useful to contribute towards a clearer picture of PIDA's structure as well as of infrastructure development in Africa more broadly, in the context of financing flows and regional trends of extractivism.

As an outcome of the Southern Africa workshop, two letters were sent to NEPAD and [UNECA](#), requesting the opportunity to forge a collaborative engagement. A key aspect of those letters focused on the need for additional openness and information regarding the parameters of PIDA, including the Virtual PIDA Information Centre. The co-conveners urged UNECA to “help ensure that each of these costly, high-profile projects offers transformational potential for African economies and citizens,” including by supporting an open, transparent engagement between PIDA decision-makers and civil society groups.



Africa Mining Vision and ECOWAS Minerals Development Policy

West Africa ● Accra, Ghana ● November 3 - 7, 2014



Political Pairings

Third World Network-Africa

Economic Community Of West African States

Economic Commission for Africa



Initiatives

Gender Justice in Mining and Licit/Illicit Financial Flows in Africa



UN Language Map

bit.ly/RR2015wafrica

West Africa

Third World Network – Africa convened a collaborative meeting of West African policy makers and civil society in Accra, Ghana from 3-7 November 2014, on **Accelerating the Africa Mining Vision (AMV) and the ECOWAS Minerals Development Policy (EMDP)**.¹ Policy-makers from nine members of the Economic Commission for West African States (ECOWAS): Burkina Faso, Cote d'Ivoire, Ghana, Guinea, Liberia, Nigeria, Sierra Leone, Senegal, and Togo, joined together with civil society and trade unions, as well as officials from the UN Economic Commission for Africa (UNECA), a Special Unit on Commodities from the UN Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD) and the newly-constituted Africa Minerals Development Centre (AMDC). Regions Refocus 2015 facilitated a feminist caucus at this meeting, inclusive of five feminist organizers from across the continent, who were then joined by interested participants at the workshop. The caucus collaboratively put together and disseminated a statement on the links between gender, extractivism, and financial flows (see Annex).

At both the West Africa and Southern Africa regional workshops, PPPs and state-investor relations more broadly emerged as essential factors in extractive industries and the related sector of infrastructure.

¹ Immediately following this meeting, TWN-Africa convened a policy strategy workshop on illicit financial flows and Africa's development transformation. The discussions at this meeting overlapped with the two themes of the regional workshops, and informed the author's understanding of the issues and their conception amongst policy makers and civil society on the continent.

Both workshops framed their discussions and ongoing initiatives as interventions towards a broader structural transformation of the economic, social, and environmental relations on the African continent. Participants collaboratively envisioned their contemporary position within the historical trajectory from colonization to post-independence nationalism to the structural adjustment era retreat of the state. Is the next stage the wholesale mobilization of African resources (including taxes, pensions, and raw materials) to attract primarily foreign transnational investors and state-owned banks and enterprises? Or will “the return of the state” signify the enactment of policies – at national, regional, and global levels – that shift the paradigm towards meaningful and sustainable structural transformation

Is the next stage the wholesale mobilization of African resources (including taxes, pensions, and raw materials) to attract primarily foreign transnational investors and state-owned banks and enterprises? Or will “the return of the state” signify the enactment of policies – at national, regional, and global levels – that shift the paradigm towards meaningful and sustainable structural transformation?

Managing Resource Extraction for Structural Transformation in West Africa

Collectively, participants at the West Africa regional workshop envisioned the domestication of both continental (AMV) and sub-regional (EMDP) policy frameworks, as a mode of achieving broader structural transformation in their respective countries as well as regionally. Examining and contesting national experiences of mining and foreign investment, the workshop framed questions

related to mining and other forms of extraction within the context of a paradigm shift towards broad-based, inclusive development. This conception reaffirms the primacy of the state and communities with a vital focus on gender justice, the regulation of private investors, multi-stakeholder engagement, embedded local accountability mechanisms, and ongoing processes of contract (re)negotiations and fiscal reform. Two narratives of structural transformation emerged: an emphasis on economic diversification, increasing the contributions of mining to domestic resource mobilization for development, transparency, increased local value addition and beneficiation, and incorporation into national and global value chains; and a more expansive vision of the reconfiguration of the global economic situation and relations between African states, multinational corporations, and “industrialized” countries of the global North.

The workshop upheld the concept of the “reentry” of African governments as “developmental states,” in a reversal of structural-adjustment era retreat and relinquishment to market fundamentalism and the “fetish” of foreign direct investment (FDI).

A major focus of the workshop and its radical understanding of structural transformation relates to the role of the state. In national and local spaces, participants called for a restructuring and reaffirmation of state responsibility, particularly in providing oversight of mining agreements, contracts, operations, and follow-up (e.g., ensuring cleanup of discontinued mines and reparations for communities affected by environmental damage). Participants upheld the concept of the “reentry” of African governments as “developmental states,” in a reversal of structural-adjustment era retreat and relinquishment to market fundamentalism and the “fetish” of foreign direct investment

(FDI). After decades of policies set in place to attract FDI in the hopes of attracting revenue through, for example, limited taxation and regulation and low wages, policy-makers and civil society illustrated the more recent questioning of this paradigm in the AMV and elsewhere.

The feminist caucus connected two important strands of analysis: the long-term focus of African economies on the export of raw materials and the import of processed goods, on the one hand, and the direct negative impacts on the wellbeing and livelihoods of African women and communities, on the other. The statement produced by the caucus calls for support to African states “to provide laws and policies to redistribute surplus, reinvest in the productive sector, and protect human and women’s rights.” The caucus argued that this should include the recognition of care work in mining communities and the resultant provision of social services and compensation; strong laws and policies to investigate and prosecute gender violence cases; and the ensuring of support to women including fulfillment of their sexual and reproductive health and rights. These points echoed a substantial discussion during the workshop:

- i) the need to end the marginalization of women by alleviating the social cost placed on their shoulders by extractive industries, while ensuring that they share the revenue generated by these industries; and
- ii) as part of the national implementation of the AMV, to ensure that stronger policy and regulation promotes women’s involvement in development decision-making and natural resource governance in the region.

Along these lines, participants raised the evident need for states to take on more proactive roles not only in regulation of the mining sector but in ownership of mining activities, through active policy to stimulate profit-sharing and development linkages of

extractive industries in national and local production and knowledge systems. An essential element of the [Country Mining Vision](#) guidelines (currently under construction by the AMDC) is the process of maximizing resource rents to ensure that states receive as much as possible of the surplus generated by extractive industries operating in their countries.

In addition to the fulfillment of the AMV within countries and communities, the workshop envisaged collective action at sub-regional and continental levels, as a counterweight to the clout of multinational corporations. Participants called for multilateral and continental initiatives to move beyond (voluntary) corporate social responsibility and transparency measures towards meaningful corporate accountability, especially in the context of foreign corporations' dominance over the mining sector and the proliferation of public-private partnerships (PPPs). The workshop also pointed out that creating strategic and long-term local content policy to ensure FDI benefits the national economy, is a potential solution to the problem of extractive industries functioning as enclaves. Such enclaves often benefit the foreign host companies and countries much more than the local communities in which they operate. Finally, policy makers and civil society emphasized that regional integration – including intra-African trade, the construction or bolstering of regional value chains, and neighbor country collaboration on price setting of valuable minerals – is crucial in order to stem excessive capital flight and bolster the economies of the region.

Towards Structural Change for Justice in the Post-2015 Arena

The West Africa regional meeting identified concrete recommendations surrounding the dynamics between states and private investors. When negotiating PPPs, participants requested states to include a clause that requires foreign investors to promote beneficiation in the communities where they operate, along with local content policies that empower citizens. Regarding the global level, policy makers and civil society organizations called for an accountability framework that covers the activities of multinational corporations wherever they operate – including the acquisition of vast tracts of land – along with a mechanism for redress for human rights abuses when they occur within extractive industries.

Domestic resource mobilization, including taxes and pensions, and corporate contributions to development including through “blended finance” and PPPs have emerged as a new emphasis in UN discussions around financing for development. In this context, the West Africa meeting emphasized the need to connect this ongoing discussion to the role of extractive industries, mega infrastructure projects, and foreign private investment in African economies. Participants stressed that the UN and the global multilateral arena in its totality should address transfer pricing and tax avoidance and evasion, participants stressed, which are of particular relevance in the context of multinational corporations active in mining and other forms of natural resource extraction on the African continent. Additionally, the West Africa workshop called for specific language on policy coherence at the global level, to combat the current contradictions between international trade, investment, and development policy.

Participants indicated that a renegotiation or avoidance of bilateral investment treaties (BITs) and free trade agreements (FTAs) is necessary to allow African states the space to regulate transnational corporations and thereby take steps to ensure structural transformation on the continent.

The workshop emphasized the inherent problematic between the ability of African states to enact policies that stimulate local content and profit sharing on the one hand, and their bilateral investment treaties (BITs) with powerful states and the stipulations of the WTO on the other. As lessons to the African continent, policy makers and civil society cited the experience of several Latin American countries facing suits under investor-state dispute settlement mechanisms inherent to their BITs or Free Trade Agreements (FTAs). Participants indicated that a renegotiation or avoidance of these investment agreements is necessary to allow African states the space to regulate transnational corporations and thereby take steps to ensure structural transformation on the continent. The harmonization of multilateral economic and trade arrangements is necessary, the workshop indicated,

accompanied by a democratization of global governance to expand space for African states' decision-making.

Strategies and Next Steps

The feminist caucus of the West Africa workshop decided to target the CMV process, as the mode for the domestication of the AMV, for continued advocacy. The feminist caucus and other participants in the West Africa meeting will seek to incorporate a broader gender justice focus into the ongoing work of the CMV Guidelines. Policy-makers, led by the delegation from Cote d'Ivoire, suggested that a diagnostic study be developed as a basis for national policy reform and regional institutional change, identifying specific steps that need to be taken to implement the AMV and EMDP at country level. Working together to identify advocacy opportunities in the post-2015 agenda, representatives of government, civil society, and trade unions identified the need to use the Common Africa Position (CAP) to make linkages between infrastructure and extractives in African government positions in the post-2015 and FfD3 negotiation processes.

Chart: Comparison of West and Southern Africa Regional Proposals to Intergovernmentally-Agreed Language

Issue	Proposals - Africa Regional Workshops	Agreed Language
Domestic Resource Mobilization	- Implement progressive tax systems that shift the burden from people living in poverty to those with higher incomes, especially corporations (<u>Feminist Statement</u>)	- International support to developing countries to improve domestic capacity for tax and other revenue collection (<u>OWG</u>)

Issue	Proposals - Africa Regional Workshops	Agreed Language
Extractive Industries	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Set targets of the share of revenues for mining communities, especially women, with clear mechanisms and guidelines on receipts and accountability systems (<u>Feminist Statement</u>) - Create and strengthen policies and regulation to stimulate profit-sharing and development linkages of extractive industries in national and local production and knowledge systems (<u>W. Africa</u>) - Maximize resource rents to ensure states receive as much as possible of the surplus generated by extractive industries (<u>W. Africa</u>) - Rearrange or reconstitute agreements between states and mining companies, to ensure more equal distribution of the benefits of resource exploitation, in accordance with the AMV (<u>W. Africa</u>) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Fiscal rules governing the extractive industries should ensure that the public interest is appropriately compensated. (<u>ICESDF</u>) - Additional capacity building efforts should target institutional capacities to collect adequate revenues from extractive industries (<u>ICESDF</u>)
Natural Resource Governance	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Human rights and environmental impact assessments must be a precondition to any mining activity, with transparency and free public access to information (<u>Feminist Statement</u>) - Companies must have closure bonds and closure plans as part of their contracts, to ensure adequate funds for cleaning and remediation of mining sites, safe disposal of wastes, and the establishment of perpetual monitoring and remediation processes that include accountability and grievance mechanisms, with women involved and provided throughout (<u>Feminist Statement</u>) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Improve progressively through 2030 global resource efficiency in consumption and production, and endeavour to decouple economic growth from environmental degradation in accordance with the 10-year framework of programmes on sustainable consumption and production with developed countries taking the lead (<u>OWG</u>) - Governments can also design policies to ensure that a share of resource earnings are saved and invested for the benefit of future generations, as in sovereign wealth funds (SWFs) (<u>ICESDF</u>)
Illicit Financial Flows	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Strengthen state legislation and institutions to challenge multinational corporations that use trade mispricing, mis-invoicing, tax havens, and other tax evading tactics (<u>Feminist Statement</u>) - Locate the complexity of the transfer of capital out of African economies and the resulting effects on development as part of a broad examination of the political economy of resource generation and distribution in Africa (<u>Africa IFFs</u>) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - By 2030 significantly reduce illicit financial and arms flows, strengthen recovery and return of stolen assets, and combat all forms of organized crime (<u>OWG</u>) - Domestic actions aimed at minimizing the flow of funds to secrecy jurisdictions and international cooperation to increase financial transparency, including exchange of information, country-by-country reporting and publicly available company beneficial ownership registers, effective implementation of the Financial Action Task Force (FATF) standards and asset recovery (<u>ICESDF</u>)

Issue	Proposals - Africa Regional Workshops	Agreed Language
Investment and PPPs	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Publicly disclose PPP contracts (<u>S. Africa</u>) - Create strategic and long-term local content policy, to ensure that FDI benefits the national economy (<u>W. Africa</u>) - Develop local capital to eventually lessen dependence on FDI (<u>W. Africa</u>) - Ensure that trade and investment agreements and PPP contracts are made public and are adjusted to allow the state to regulate foreign investors in ways that protect the public interest (<u>S. Africa</u>) - Review BITs and investment policies to protect the natural environment (<u>Feminist Statement</u>) - Create continental and multilateral corporate accountability frameworks and mechanism for redress for human rights abuses in extractive industries (<u>W. Africa</u>) - Ensure accountability structures and institutional oversight, with community and civil society participation, of infrastructure projects (<u>S. Africa</u>) - PPP agreements should include a clause that requires foreign investors to promote beneficiation in the communities where they operate, along with local content policies that empower citizens (<u>W. Africa</u>) - Ensure that the public sector does not incur unsustainable debts and fiscal commitments (including contingent liabilities) that compromise its national development strategy, including its capacity to serve diverse needs of the citizenry (<u>S. Africa</u>) - Ensure fair and appropriate sharing of risks between the public and private sector and disclose such risk-sharing arrangements to elected officials and the public (<u>S. Africa</u>) - Require corporate disclosure of payments to governments (including taxes) and government disclosure of payments received and subsidies provided (<u>S. Africa</u>) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Adopt and implement investment promotion regimes for LDCs (<u>OWG</u>) - Encourage and promote effective public, public-private, and civil society partnerships, building on the experience and resourcing strategies of partnerships (<u>OWG</u>) - Enhance the global partnership for sustainable development complemented by multi-stakeholder partnerships that mobilize and share knowledge, expertise, technologies and financial resources to support the achievement of sustainable development goals in all countries, particularly developing countries (<u>OWG</u>) - Institutional investors, particularly those with long-term liabilities, such as pension funds, life insurance companies, endowments, and SWFs are particularly well-suited to provide long-term finance (though international institutional investors have tended to invest with a short term time horizon in recent decades.) To nurture the development of an institutional investor base, policymakers need to develop an institutional, legal and regulatory framework (<u>ICESDF</u>)



Pacific Partnerships on Gender, Climate Change and Sustainable Development

Pacific • Nadi, Fiji • June 9 - 13, 2014



Political Pairings

Diverse Voices and Action for Equality

Secretariat of The Pacific Community

UN Women



Initiatives

Joint Civil Society-Government Statement

Feminist Civil Society Statement



UN Language Map

bit.ly/RR2015pacific

The Pacific

The initial convening of a new initiative, **Pacific Partnerships to Strengthen Gender, Climate Change and Sustainable Development** was organized by the Secretariat of the Pacific Community (SPC) and Diverse Voices and Action for Equality (DIVA),¹ in Nadi, Fiji, from 9-13 June 2014. Sixty representatives of Pacific civil society organizations, regional technical bodies, and national women's machineries from a dozen Pacific countries² brought together their expertise to identify joint priorities and construct collective analysis and strategy. Collaboratively, the group addressed policy gaps and specific measures to fill them, tailoring their messages towards upcoming regional and global processes including the Pacific Islands Forum, the Small Islands Developing States (SIDS) preparatory process and conference, the COP of the UN Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC), and the post-2015 negotiations.

Within this ongoing myriad of development policy processes and bearing in mind the special circumstances of Pacific SIDS, the organizers decided to bring representatives of civil society organizations (CSOs) together with governments to address the interlinkages between gender, climate change, disaster risk reduction, and sustainable development. Acknowledging the fundamental importance of reflecting the concerns and aspirations of Pacific women in these agenda-setting arenas,

the initiative further articulates that sustainable development is not possible without core changes to gender relations in societies and States in the Pacific, as elsewhere. The workshop was initially developed through a coalition of Pacific CSOs and networks (DIVA for Equality and Pacific Youth Council), with the active engagement of a regional development agency (SPC). Its unique construction staged CSO and government engagement, with groups moving between national and thematic breakout sessions and interspersing collective brainstorming with informative presentations on key issues. This format cultivated profound collaboration between representatives of governments, regional technical bodies, and civil society, youth, and feminist organizations.

Participants challenged the Trans-Pacific Partnership Agreement and insist that trade agreements must not supersede national legislation or allow infringement by corporations on human rights or national policy space.

Together, civil society and national women's machineries produced a historic first joint statement on gender, climate change, and sustainable development in the Pacific region. This outcome includes strong, progressive language on infusing gender analysis into the mainstream policy discussions on implementation, on climate change mitigation and adaptation, on climate finance, and on disaster risk reduction. The statement addresses structural issues of trade and corporate accountability (challenging the Trans-Pacific Partnership Agreement and insisting that trade agreements must not supersede national legislation or allow infringement by corporations on human rights or national policy space), as well as sovereign debt,

¹ The workshop was organized by SPC and DIVA for Equality in partnership with the United Nations Entity for Gender Equality and the Empowerment of Women (UN Women), Development Alternatives with Women for a New Era (DAWN), Pacific Youth Council (PYC), Fiji Women's Rights Movement (FWRM), and the Women's Major Group (WMG).

² Countries represented included Cook Islands, Fiji, Kiribati, Nauru, Palau, Republic of Marshall Islands, Samoa, Solomon Islands, Tonga, Tuvalu, and Vanuatu.

official development assistance, and “a stable, multilateral and equitable financial system.” The statement also calls for “the full realisation of women’s human rights, including sexual and reproductive health and rights” in the Pacific context.

A Gender Perspective on Climate Change and Disaster Risk Reduction

The rationale for incorporating a focus on gender analysis into regional discussions related to climate change and the implementation of sustainable development in the Pacific derived from the need to fill national and regional gaps continually cited by both government and civil society representatives. Climate change intrinsically affects human rights, articulated SPC’s Brigitte Leduc, and gender inequality and other types of structural disadvantage are crucial factors of vulnerability to the effects of climate change. Adaptive capacity must therefore consider gender differences as well as relative access to resources, information, and assets, family networks and social capital, mobility, training, and technologies, participants stressed, and collective advocacy must acknowledge women’s experience, power, and potential.

“Advancing South feminist analysis at a regional level and extending this analysis into global spheres is key in ensuring that Pacific women lead their own change.”

As women are fourteen times more likely than men to die during disasters, participants articulated the rationale for including a gender perspective in disaster risk reduction (DRR) and climate change policy that acknowledges the particular vulnerabilities and contributions of women and girls. Moia Tetoa of Aia Mwaea Ainen emphasized the need to promote women’s participation in decision-

making, towards both ensuring a gender-balanced perspective in constructing policy, and in carrying an interlinkage perspective of gender, climate change, and sustainable development.

The PPGCCSD meeting was guided by this interlinkage approach, through a shared understanding of the connections between gender equality and women’s human rights, climate change response, and DRR, towards the transformation of both the development agenda and its apparatus based on human rights, justice, and equality. A networked, solidarity-based response is necessary to address the challenges of climate change and sustainable development, asserted Noelene Nabulivou of DIVA for Equality. Noelene introduced the concept of gender, social, economic, and ecological justice (GEEJ) that has been articulated through a longer process of work since Rio+20 by South feminists including through DAWN networks, where interlinkage approaches are a requisite frame for constructing progressive policy on regional development priorities.

Examples of projects and approaches reflecting these interlinkages were raised by representatives of national women’s machineries and diverse Pacific civil society, including Milikini Failautusi of Tuvalu National Youth Council, who articulated the connections between sexual and reproductive rights and climate change. Negative impacts of disasters on social development and health services specifically affect young women’s ability to fulfill their sexual and reproductive health and rights, a point also made by Brianna Fruen of 350.org, who illustrated the particular situation of girls who lack access to health services and subsequently education in the case of pregnancy, thereby losing opportunities to both prepare for and contribute to climate change response. Sustainability initiatives at national level are far more successful when they involve women and youth, articulated Louisa Apelu (Assistant

CEO of the Ministry of Women, Community, and Social Development of Samoa) and Esrom Vano (Climate Change and DRM Focal Point in the Department of Women of Vanuatu), who shared national examples of projects that connect issues of climate change, energy, and political participation. Throughout the discussions, participants expressed that the moral authority and long-term commitment of Pacific states – already reflected in their regional and global stances on climate change – should be extended to include gender equality and women’s human rights and sustainable development. Further, participants stressed the need for more consolidated effort to broaden the leadership role of Pacific governments through each of these key arenas and in making active linkages between them.

Towards Structural Change for Justice in the Post-2015 Arena

The PPGCCSD meeting also resulted in concrete policy positions to be used in advocacy as the process towards defining the post-2015 agenda concludes at the UN. Through a shared analysis of proposals by the Pacific SIDS in the [Open Working Group](#) and [ICESDF](#) processes, participants identified progressive statements, identified sensitive and problematic positions, and useful language that should be amended or further contextualized for various upcoming advocacy and negotiation spaces where Pacific States and CSOs will be active. This “[traffic light exercise](#)” (marking each proposal with a red, yellow, or green dot based on the above criteria) informed collective agreement on the outcome statement of the workshop, particularly on SDG proposals related to gender, climate change, disaster risk reduction, and oceans.

On climate change, oceans, and disaster risk reduction, the group marked many of the OWG proposals as insufficiently detailed and

overly open to interpretation (i.e. through the inclusion of the word “appropriate” as a qualifier attached to specific climate actions), especially with regards to means of implementation. Helen Beck, Counsel at the Permanent Mission of the Solomon Islands to the UN, raised her government’s concern that levels of ambition in intergovernmental processes do not match the urgency of climate change, and that the separate intergovernmental tracks will not ensure a meaningful and coherent outcome for women and girls and their communities in the region.³ Similarly, the group challenged the lack of timebound or measurable targets put forward on gender equality, calling for more detail on mainstreamed gender targets as well as much more strategic focus by PPGCCSD on better access to gender-responsive climate finance for women-led civil society groups including feminist and women’s human rights-focused groups and national women’s machineries, especially in the areas of social adaptation funding. This should include better access to the [GEF](#) and [Green Climate Fund](#), and increased allocation from State budgets, donors and other funding sources, participants elaborated.

The levels of ambition in the intergovernmental processes do not match the urgency of climate change, and so far will not ensure a meaningful and coherent outcome for women and girls and their communities in the Pacific.

Increasing the availability of useful data, particularly as disaggregated by sex and gender, echoed throughout the workshop as another priority for the post-2015 agenda, to ensure that policies and programs for climate change and DRR take social impacts into consideration. The joint outcome statement

³ Helen reminded the group that any climate deal achieved in 2015 will take five years to come into force, and will not be legally binding until ratified by two thirds of States Parties, while Pacific islands are already being submerged.

calls for “increased research and data, disaggregated and analysed on the basis of gender, sex, age, sexual orientation, race, ethnicity, cultural background and health status.” Participants recommended that the Asia Pacific Forum on Sustainable Development (APFSD), set up by UN-ESCAP as the regional preparatory body for the annual global-level meeting of the [High-Level Political Forum](#), take on the coordination and collection of this regional and gender-specific information. Translating regional commitments into global government positions – and vice versa – was also mentioned as a specific advocacy objective for PPGCCSD participants, emphasizing both CSO and state roles in advancing regional implementation and coordination and building strategic connections between policy processes at grassroots, national, regional, and global levels moving forward.⁴

Translating regional commitments into global government positions – and vice versa – is a specific advocacy objective for the PPGCCSD initiative, which emphasizes building strategic connections between policy processes at grassroots, national, regional, and global levels moving forward.

The Pacific workshop both addressed and modeled the kind of partnerships that advance equality and justice. Intrinsic to the post-2015 agenda, these partnerships relate to gender equality and sexual orientation and gender identity; intra-state and regional redistribution; and the arenas of development, trade, aid, finance, economics, environment, human rights, and peace and security. By linking CSOs, regional development

institutions, and mechanisms tasked with promoting gender equality in a range of spaces, this initiative builds capacity and connections to bolster advocacy on gender equality, climate change, and sustainable development. More defined, transparent and accountable partnerships between governments, civil society, regional organizations, the private sector, and donor agencies will enable essential mobilization and the creation of relevant policies, PPGCCSD emphasized. These partnerships work towards climate change mitigation, adaptation, and DRR projects that preserve heterodox Pacific gendered cultural knowledge and skills, and that are affirming of, responsive to, and inclusive of the knowledge, skills, and experiences of Pacific women, and persons with disabilities.

The meeting modeled partnerships on climate change mitigation, adaptation, and DRR projects that preserve heterodox Pacific gendered cultural knowledge and skills.

As voiced by both CSOs and government representatives present, this progressive and interlinked policy work necessitates collective action and partnership involving every sector and every social group. For this reason, the workshop specifically enabled the voice and participation of feminist, women-led groups, LGBTI groups, and youth-led organizations in articulating and amplifying regional issues, sharing broad analytical, advocacy, movement-building and policy development expertise, and building relationships within and across sectors. Advancing South feminist analysis at a regional level and extending this analysis into global spheres was also seen as key in ensuring that Pacific women lead their own change. Cementing linkages between diverse civil society, between activism and academics, and between young people in rural, remote, and urban areas as students,

⁴ As a successful example of these kinds of connections, Honorable Minister Charmaine Scotty of Nauru highlighted that fisheries and agriculture – Pacific priorities – were mentioned for the first time at the most recent session of the Commission on the Status of Women (CSW58), where a strong and connected group of women-led CSOs and States worked together prior and during the Commission to advance Pacific priorities.

climate change activists, and key mobilizers, is crucial in moving forward joint advocacy around gender equality and women's human rights, responses to climate change, and sustainable development – through relevant regional processes and throughout the broader global UN-led negotiations.

Advancing South feminist analysis at a regional level and extending this analysis into global spheres is key in ensuring that Pacific women lead their own change.

Strategies and Next Steps

The political statement and bridges built by the PPGCCSD meeting have already been carried forward into the Small Island Developing States (SIDS) process, in both its final PrepCom in New York in June 2014 and the conference itself (September 2014). Based on the workshop's efforts to identify gaps in the then-draft report of the SIDS conference, PPGCCSD members who participated in the process advocated that the intergovernmental agreement should acknowledge the interconnections between gender equality and women's human rights; be clearer and explicit on links between human rights and development; and promote the operationalization of the new loss and damage mechanism of the UNFCCC and other climate-related means of implementation. Additionally, PPGCCSD called for the SIDS agreement to mobilize funding for regional work on sustainable development and gender equality, to ensure that work on gender and human rights, social adaptation and addressing persistent inequalities are as much part of climate change adaptation for the

Pacific as infrastructure, energy focused and other economically and environmentally focused climate change work. Similarly, participants pushed for SIDS to ensure that economic and environmental policy advancements related to climate change and development have a strong core of gender equality, human rights, and social justice.

Beyond the SIDS process, connecting to larger regional and international movements while strengthening the alliances between Pacific governments and civil society are ongoing objectives of the PPGCCSD initiative. Representatives will continue the joint political advancement of gender, climate change, and sustainable development issues, in both regional and global policy arenas, including by building the influence of national women's machineries, climate change and environmental ministries, and strengthening input in spaces facilitated by other ministries. Key upcoming regional and global spaces in which members of the PPGCCSD initiative intend to engage are the Commission on the Status of Women/Beijing review meeting, the Forum Economic Ministers' Meeting (FEMM) of the Pacific Islands Forum Secretariat (PIFS), the Third Conference on Financing for Development, the post-2015 negotiations, and the UNFCCC COP21 track. Civil society collaborates with various relevant government sectors, including national women's machineries, foreign affairs and planning ministries, government embassies and high commissions, regional development agencies, UN bodies, and a range of allies to positively influence governmental, intergovernmental and civil society spaces, while building relationships that further progressive advocacy on these policies.

Chart: Comparison of PPGCCSD Proposals to Intergovernmentally-Agreed Language

Issue	Proposals by PPGCCSD Joint Statement	Agreed Language
Gender Equality	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - We call for gender equality to be crosscutting across all sustainable development goals, strategies and objectives, as well as enshrined in a stand-alone goal to achieve gender equality, women's empowerment, and the full realisation of women's human rights, including sexual and reproductive health and rights - We call for an end to all forms of gender-based violence including early and forced marriages, further torture and extrajudicial killing of women and girls under the guise of eliminating witchcraft and sorcery, and sexual violence, especially during and after conflict and natural disasters 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - End all forms of discrimination against all women and girls everywhere (OWG) - Eliminate all forms of violence against all women and girls in public and private spheres, including trafficking and sexual and other types of exploitation (OWG) - Eliminate all harmful practices, such as child, early and forced marriage and female genital mutilations (OWG) - Ensure universal access to sexual and reproductive health and reproductive rights as agreed in accordance with the Programme of Action of the ICPD and the Beijing Platform for Action and the outcome documents of their review conferences (OWG)
Climate Finance	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Climate finance must be gender-responsive, as climate change is not gender-neutral. The financial measures that address climate action must take into account social development priorities and ensure adequate budget allocation for both national women's machineries and civil society 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Implement the commitment undertaken by developed country Parties to the UNFCCC to a goal of mobilizing jointly USD100 billion annually by 2020 from all sources to address the needs of developing countries in the context of meaningful mitigation actions and transparency on implementation and fully operationalize the Green Climate Fund through its capitalization as soon as possible (OWG) - A significant share of new multilateral funding for climate change adaptation should flow through the Green Climate Fund, as agreed at UNFCCC COP 16 (ICESDF)
Partnerships	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - We call for the recognition, strengthening and institutionalisation of partnerships between governments and civil society, particularly with regard to priority-setting for effective partnerships founded on full transparency, meaningful accountability, and respect for human rights 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Enhance the global partnership for sustainable development complemented by multi-stakeholder partnerships that mobilize and share knowledge, expertise, technologies and financial resources to support the achievement of sustainable development goals in all countries, particularly developing countries - Encourage and promote effective public, public-private, and civil society partnerships, building on the experience and resourcing strategies of partnerships (OWG) - Adopt a multi-stakeholder, people-centered and inclusive approach to achieve tangible results on the ground (ICESDF)

	Proposals by PPGCCSD Joint Statement	Agreed Language
Data	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - We reiterate the call for increased research and data, disaggregated and analysed on the basis of gender, sex, age, sexual orientation, race, ethnicity, cultural background and health status 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - By 2020, enhance capacity building support to developing countries, including for LDCs and SIDS, to increase significantly the availability of high-quality, timely and reliable data disaggregated by income, gender, age, race, ethnicity, migratory status, disability, geographic location and other characteristics relevant in national contexts (OWG)
Trade	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Trade agreements must not supersede national constitutions and legislation, and must not allow infringement by corporate actors on human rights or on national policy space. Multilateral mechanisms must subject investors and transnational corporations to legally binding norms and standards 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Promote a universal, rules-based, open, non-discriminatory and equitable multilateral trading system under the WTO including through the conclusion of negotiations within its Doha Development Agenda (OWG) - Increase significantly the exports of developing countries, in particular with a view to doubling the LDC share of global exports by 2020 (OWG) - Realize timely implementation of duty-free, quota-free market access on a lasting basis for all least developed countries consistent with WTO decisions, including through ensuring that preferential rules of origin applicable to imports from LDCs are transparent and simple, and contribute to facilitating market access (OWG)
Inter-linkage Approach	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - The mainstreaming of gender as a crosscutting issue for strong action on climate change is key to sustainable development - To urgently address life-threatening crises, we call for an inter-linkage approach that analyses the political, physical, ecological, economic, and social dimensions of these overlapping challenges through one holistic frame. The bringing together of different sectors, alliances, and government ministries will be necessary to ensure a truly transformative agenda for gender, social, ecological, and economic justice in the Pacific and globally 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - The goals and targets integrate economic, social and environmental aspects and recognize their interlinkages in achieving sustainable development in all its dimensions. (OWG)



Sexuality Policy for Structural Change

South Asia • New Delhi, India • December 6 - 7, 2014



Political Pairings

The YP Foundation



Initiatives

Regional Sexuality Policy Matrix



UN Language Map

bit.ly/RR2015southasia

South Asia

From 6-7 December in New Delhi, India, the first South Asia meeting of individuals working on issues of sexuality policy and sexual rights was convened by [The YP Foundation](#), to share advocacy experiences and strategize around public policy on sexuality in the region. Bringing together queer*, trans*, youth, feminist, and sexuality activists from Bangladesh, India, Nepal, Pakistan, and Sri Lanka, the workshop explored challenges, shifting policy scenarios, and cutting edge sexuality issues.¹ As an important regional effort to decentralize the debate and enable greater regional specificity on an issue typically neglected in the global sphere, this meeting set the stage for concrete advocacy and follow-up in the region. The workshop addressed the regional policy and political landscape for LGBT and broader sexuality issues and examined the dichotomies between law and policy, between human rights and development, and between rights and justice. Participants also analyzed specificities of sexuality in South Asia: transgender rights, lesbian identities, and comprehensive sexuality education. During the final session, the workshop envisioned global and regional linkages between sexuality policy, development, and human rights debates, through a comparative analysis of various facets of the multilateral arena.

Sexuality in the Political Economy of International Development

A major thread of the workshop focused on the need to redefine sexuality at national levels, within South Asia as a whole, and through the global development space. Rather than conceptualizing sexuality as i) a problem

for development, the market, and/or technology to solve; ii) a difficulty to be addressed by the development apparatus primarily in developing countries; or iii) a site of appropriation by other politics, participants envisioned various modes of understanding sexuality through rights-based, open self-definition. The framing of “non-normative” sexualities in regional and national histories, identities, and understandings of anti-colonial and anti-capital resistance was positioned as a mode of obliterating North-South binaries and owning both a myriad of self-definitions and their manifestations in global development.

Gaps between UN consultation processes within the post-2015 framework and the realities of regional understandings of and engagement with global spaces should be rectified, through the inclusion of South and South Asian perspectives on the interlinkages between sexuality and development.

Firstly, Sunil Babu Pant, the first openly gay Member of Parliament in Nepal and founder of [Blue Diamond Society](#), articulated the need to challenge the positioning of sexuality as a problem of underdevelopment – linked with violence, infection, and disease – and the related push towards criminalization in many countries. Participants from Bangladesh and India agreed, calling for a conception of development inclusive of sexuality, that recognizes the contributions of colonialism, capitalism, and development to repression and the marginalization of women as well as LGBT people. The pervasive neoliberal thinking, as expressed by Bishakha Datta, Executive Director of [Point of View](#), that in addition to the market, technology will serve as the solution (embodied in, for example, apps to crowd-source gender-based violence

¹ The labels queer* and trans* with asterisks refer to a range of identities. Queer* includes lesbian, gay, bisexual, queer, questioning, or simply non-heterosexual. Trans* refers to transgender, gender-queer, intersex, two-spirit, third gender, and others.

and women's safety in urban settings) must be reconceptualized towards a holistic framing of sexuality encompassed in development.

The framing of “non-normative” sexualities in regional and national histories, identities, and understandings of anti-colonial and anti-capital resistance was positioned as a mode of obliterating North-South binaries and owning both a myriad of self-definitions and their manifestations in global development.

The workshop also pointed to the problematic modes in which LGBT sexuality in the global South has been incorporated, through both posturing and conditionality of aid, into a new signification of development, protectionism, and modernity. Drawing comparisons between the recent enactments of anti-homosexuality legislation in India and Uganda, activist and academic Akshay Khanna and Ishita Chaudhry, Executive Director of the YP Foundation, illustrated the ways in which these governments in national and global spaces reposition themselves as guardians of an anti-imperial nationhood, while global North countries threaten or undertake the withholding of aid. Simultaneously, Akshay cited the example of [DfID](#) allocating GBP 1 million towards policy work on sexuality in the global South, as a replay of what Gayatri Spivak called “white men saving brown women from brown men,” where “development” enacted by global North actors targets the protection of global South LGBT people. Participants cited the cynical appropriation of LGBT rights, in shifting geopolitical contexts of homonationalism, Islamophobia, and political-economic strategies of imperialism, as a crucial trend to be countered in sexuality work in South Asia and globally.

The need to re-instill a consciousness of rights – and further, justice – into the framing of sexuality debates within and outside of

development discourse in South Asia was framed by the workshop as part of a necessary ideological exercise. Recognizing the relationships between larger political processes and specific instances of the negation of rights and justice – for LGBT people, women, and others – formed a key thread of the discussion. Chayanika Shah of Lesbians and Bisexuals in Action ([LABIA](#)) drew parallels between the experiences of women's movements and LGBT movements in the region, speaking to the colonizing attempt by global North-based development discourse to “liberate” South Asian women, which was then transformed by women's movements on the ground in the fight against realities of violence and discrimination. Arvind Narrain, Director of [Alternative Law Forum](#), and Akshay engaged in a contestation of the centrality of law and the formal juridical register in movements related to sexuality and gender. In particular, Akshay emphasized the need to recognize the diversity of experiences vis-à-vis the law, and the peculiar conditions under which laws (and policies) become the central site for struggle.

The pervasive neoliberal thinking that in addition to the market, technology will serve as the solution must be reconceptualized towards a holistic framing of sexuality encompassed in development.

Additionally, Gulnar Tabassum of [Shirkat Gah](#) highlighted the disconnect between the intellectual discourses of development and people's actual lived experience. Manjula Pradeep, Executive Director of [Navsarjan](#), illustrated the intersections of caste and religion in limiting women's freedom to decide their sexuality, and the need to discuss and conceptualize sexuality rooted in the multifaceted range of South Asian experiences. Speaking of Sri Lanka, Rosanna Flamer-Caldera of [Equal Ground](#) called for the institution of rights-based education in the context of a politically repressive

environment. While increasing the visibility of a diversity of experiences and identities, participants also called for the recognition of these issues through a lens of justice, in national and regional discourses.

Language and Identity in South Asian Realities

Through its focus on sexuality policy, the workshop also pointed to the spaces in which diverse sexualities are *not* present – speaking to the invisibilizing of lesbians and transgender people in particular, in law and policy. Addressing conceptions of identity in South Asia, particularly that of “third gender,” participants debated the positive and negative implications of both exclusion and inclusion of LGBT identities in national policy. Additionally, the workshop examined the resignification of terminologies around violence against women/gender-based violence, and conceptualized the digital sphere as a realm for new forms of self-actualization – particularly for those occupying the “margins” of society.

While “queer*” provides increased space for conceptualizing fluidities of gender and sexuality, the particular experiences of women identified as lesbian tend to get lost in the still-patriarchal discourse of rights and sexuality in the region.

The adoption of policies recognizing the identity of third or other genders has spread throughout South Asia, with India, Nepal, Pakistan, and Bangladesh enacting laws that recognize, to varying degrees, a diversity of gender expression and identity. The workshop analyzed this step as a mode of incorporating indigenous conceptions of sexuality and gender into law and policy, while recognizing a broad range of diversity in a more expansive manner than under the “transgender” label, itself sometimes envisioned as a global North

import. Simultaneously, Anindiya Hajra of the [Pratyay Gender Trust](#) and Gurukiran Kamath, Executive Director of [Sangama](#), pointed to the continual invisibilizing of trans men in third gender identities and policies, which tend to focus on hijras or male-born people with third gender identity (with the potential exception of Nepal). Additionally, participants raised concern that the identity of third gender provides space for differing identities of gender to a much greater extent than sexuality, while potentially closing down discussion of a variety of overlapping gender and sexual diversities.

The illustration of the unique situation of Sri Lanka, where gender definition policy is subject to shifting and mostly expedient significations of law related to sexuality, coincided with an analysis of the experiences of lesbian and bisexual women in the region. Shermal Wijewardene of the [University of Colombo](#) drew parallels between the invisibilizing of women’s politics and that of lesbian politics in South Asia, particularly because of their destabilizing effect on patriarchal hegemonies. Building on this point, Bishakha raised the question of the cost of exclusion from official policy to the lives of queer women in South Asia, wondering what the effects of increased recognition in policy would be. Chayanika illustrated the ongoing search for terminology – lesbian vs. queer* in particular – that both visibilizes and invisibilizes different identities. While “queer*” provides increased space for conceptualizing fluidities of gender and sexuality, participants raised the concern that the particular experiences of women identified as lesbian tend to get lost in the still-patriarchal discourse of rights and sexuality in the region.

Regarding violence in particular, the workshop included a thematic discussion of the terminology of gender-based violence (GBV), as a problematic but preferred alternative to “violence against women” or

“violence against women and girls.” Participants analyzed the implications of the now widely-used terminology of GBV, as a catch-all for the experiences of violence of various social groups that potentially blurs diverse experiences and their policy implications, as articulated by Sheena Hadi, Executive Director of [AAHUNG](#). While potentially problematic, particularly in its obscuring of the recognition of the gendered nature of all violence, the term is useful in the message it conveys, asserted Prabha Nagaraja, Executive Director of [TARSHI](#). The expansion of the definition of “women” to include lesbians, sex workers, etc., through the notion of GBV is useful, argued YP Foundation board member Pramada Menon, as it pushes the dialogue of sexuality into new spaces. How can the term simultaneously allow for the specificity of women’s particular experiences of violence, while encompassing a broader variety of realities than “VAW”?

A similar contestation is ongoing, the discussion continued, in digital spaces. Bishakha outlined the ways in which the increased space made available by the Internet and smartphones provide a locus of both empowerment and exploitation for women, persons with disabilities, LGBT people, sex workers, and a range of others throughout South Asia and beyond. The power and dangers of anonymity – bringing both increased opportunity to present opinions while also new forms of threats and stigma – has reconfigured relationships between individuals and their communities and societies, participants discussed. The digital space encompassing gender and sexuality would benefit from a greater diversity of global South participation, particularly from South Asia, the workshop agreed, discussing the potential of building collaboration across digital rights groups and sexuality activists in the region.

South Asian Conceptions of Sexuality in the Multilateral Arena

In relating South Asian discussions of sexuality to the global context, participants emphasized the need for regional and national understandings and experiences to be reflected in the multilateral setting. Vivek Divan, an independent lawyer, spoke of the obstacles at the global level to articulate nuances and complexity in the rights agenda, a problem that Akshay and others tied to the political organization of civil society participation in New York and Geneva. Gaps between UN consultation processes within the post-2015 framework and the realities of regional understandings of and engagement with global spaces were highlighted by participants from India, Nepal, and Bangladesh. The workshop emphasized the need to include these regional conversations on the interlinkages between sexuality and development in the post-2015 context. Broadening this point, Arvind emphasized the need to support cross-thematic work on sexuality and economic justice, so that groups working on both issues speak to an interconnected and holistic agenda for rights and development.

Regarding the ongoing [ICPD](#) and Beijing review processes and current work in the [Human Rights Council](#), Ishita and Pooja Badarinath of [CREA](#) spoke of the need to challenge regional dynamics and the current context of a South Asia-wide push towards curbing civil society space in the multilateral arena. Discussing strategies for engaging in these spaces, participants shared their efforts to navigate issues of sexual rights and human rights in general in the face of shifting and consolidating conservative geopolitical alliances. Building constituencies among various groups of civil society is important to address the dynamics of South Asian states’ positions in these global spaces, with India as a member of the BRICS, Nepal as a “silent

champion” on issues of sexual orientation and gender identity, and Pakistan and Bangladesh participating in the [Organisation of Islamic Cooperation](#), the workshop articulated. Ishita shared her perspectives on the importance of leveraging global level agreements at the country level, and the potential positive gains of “naming and shaming” in global and national spaces.

The workshop presented the shared consensus that more dialogue is required between intergovernmental and local spaces, emphasizing the importance of regional positioning in particular. Notwithstanding the difficulties of imagining a particularly South Asian politics within the context of polarization and diversity of perspectives in the region, participants illustrated the need for practical measures towards intersectionality and work across constituencies. Dr. Kaosar Afsana of [BRAC](#) asserted that mainstreaming sexual and reproductive health and rights in South Asian country interventions at the global level is essential; Akshay positioned the importance of a political economy perspective in tying sexual orientation and gender identity to economic justice, in post-2015 and beyond.

Within this context, Anita Nayar introduced the cross-regional dimension of the initiative. As donors realign their funding priorities by the end of 2015, she said it will be important for sexual rights activists to build new cross-thematic and cross-constituency politics with various groups, to support advocacy with governments at regional and global levels. Workshop participants agreed on the need to outline clear strategies around the political economy of sexuality rights, including financing, and the importance of regional collaboration on sexuality policy within the development frame.

Strategies and Next Steps

Emerging from this meeting, participants agreed that further collaboration at the South Asia level would be useful. Potential outcomes were identified, including a listserv, information sharing repository, and regional hub for research and advocacy. The YP Foundation affirmed its readiness to convene a follow-up meeting in the first half of 2015, inclusive of broader constituencies within the region, including sex workers and others invited to this workshop but unable to attend, to lay the groundwork necessary for the next step of engaging policy-makers in the debate. Participants also discussed the possibility of writing a statement as a group, to use in advocacy at local, national, regional, and global levels – including through the potential targeting of UN Special Rapporteurs, and/or the bolstering of regional campaigns on legal recognition of LGBT rights. The creation of additional opportunities to collaborate on an interlinked and diverse range of issues related to sexuality was highlighted as a priority, bringing movements together at the South Asia level.

Clear strategies must be outlined around the political economy of sexuality rights, including financing, and the importance of regional collaboration on sexuality policy within the development frame.

The cross-regional and global spaces as opportunities to advance regionally-grounded work on sexuality will be pivotal, participants agreed, including to counter the hegemonic narratives of international mainstream NGOs. Within Regions Refocus 2015, South Asia is one of several regions addressing sexuality, but the only region to lead on the analysis of sexuality policy within international development. The initiative should bolster and build upon this work, participants asserted, at national as well as at regional level. As another concrete outcome from the meeting,

Bishakha invited participants and the broader gender and sexuality constituency to comment on the ongoing process of India's [Center for Internet and Society](#) in drafting a bill on the right to privacy.

Entry points to address sexuality policy in regional and global discussions were identified by the workshop, as opportunities to stimulate progressive thinking and action on sexual orientation and gender identity. The first is gender-based violence and sexual harassment, as a lens where the possibility of protecting the rights of all people to be free from violence could open a broader discussion of rights and non-discrimination. This works particularly well, Vivek testified, in the UN development system, particularly in field work in contexts where sexual rights are threatened or otherwise unaccepted. Sheena raised the concern, however, that framing the discussion of sexuality within the violence discourse reinforces a protectionist perspective (along the lines of UN Women's [He for She campaign](#)) rather than espousing the rights-based notion that women and/or queer people can take charge of their own lives and choices.

On comprehensive sexuality education (CSE), Sheena, Ishita, Rosanna and others pointed to the possibilities arising from the high proportion of adolescents in South Asian societies and the resultant willingness of governments to work with civil society organizations on youth/adolescent

programming and policy. Pointing to commonalities in the current political and economic landscape in Pakistan, India, Sri Lanka, and Bangladesh, participants described the positive impacts of CSE frameworks in creating positive economic, social and cultural assets that empower adolescents and young people in the region. Participants cited Bangladesh's unique Menstrual Regulation policy and India's Rashtriya Kishor Swasthya Karyakram or National Adolescent Strategy on Health as examples of existing policy frameworks that enable access to sexual and reproductive health and rights services and information. Kaosar spoke of the need to further broaden the development discussion to include concerns of adolescents' health, including sexual and reproductive health and rights, and to develop capacity amongst governments and civil society to fully engage this potential opening.

Along similar lines, Chayanika referred to the new willingness of governments to recognize transgender or third gender identities, which should open the door to a broader discussion of sexuality and gender and their intersectionalities. This intersectional approach was emphasized by nearly all participants as a significant contribution of the workshop and of the work it has begun in the region, enabling political mobilization and movements founded on the recognition and building of interlinkages amongst caste, class, gender, and sexuality.

Chart: Comparison of South Asia Workshop Proposals to Agreed Language

Issue	Workshop Proposals	Agreed Language
Sexual Orientation and Gender Identity	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - People with various gender orientations and sexual identity, as a first step towards inclusion in policy, must be counted and acknowledged by official state measures such as the census and changes in law - Building on the experiences of Nepal, allocate funding within national budgets towards support for LGBT people - Include acknowledgements of diversity of experiences and gender identities in national policies - Create a social environment where the discussions around sexuality and sexual rights do not only look at judicial reform; simultaneously work closely with the judiciary, where relevant, to build support for LGBT rights in law and eventually policy 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Expressing grave concern at acts of violence and discrimination committed against individuals on the grounds of their sexual orientation and gender identity (ESCAP) - Work to reduce vulnerability and eliminate discrimination based on sex, gender, age, race, caste, class, migrant status, disability, HIV status and sexual orientation and gender identity, or other status (ESCAP) - We reaffirm our commitment to gender equality and to protect the rights of women, men and youth to have control over and decide freely and responsibly on matters related to their sexuality, including access to sexual and reproductive health, free from coercion, discrimination and violence (Rio+20)
Comprehensive Sexuality Education	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Need for increased data in the region on long-term impacts of sexuality education, on sexual behaviors and beyond - Important to frame CSE as involving empowerment, not just education; part of raising a critical consciousness and enabling people to utilize the information they receive - The post-2015 agenda should encourage funding of CSE and sexual health programs in South Asia 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - By 2030 ensure universal access to sexual and reproductive health care services, including for family planning, information and education, and the integration of reproductive health into national strategies and programmes (OWG) - Remove legal, regulatory and social barriers to youth-friendly sexual and reproductive health services (ESCAP) - Design, ensure sufficient resources and implement comprehensive sexuality education programmes that are consistent with evolving capacities and are age appropriate, and provide accurate information on human sexuality, gender equality, human rights, relationships, and sexual and reproductive health, while recognizing the role and responsibilities of parents (ESCAP)
Non-Discrimination	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - End institutionalized discrimination through the abolition of discriminatory laws - Ensure meaningful non-discrimination policy measures related to a host of identities (gender, sexual orientation, caste, etc) - In light of growing privatization, policy measures should be instituted to ensure non-discrimination by the private sector as well as the public - Implement existing non-discrimination policy in South Asian countries 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - End all forms of discrimination against all women and girls everywhere (OWG) - By 2030 empower and promote the social, economic and political inclusion of all irrespective of age, sex, disability, race, ethnicity, origin, religion or economic or other status (OWG) - Respect, protect and promote human rights and fundamental freedoms for all without distinction of any kind, such as race, colour, sex, language, religion, political or other opinion, national or social origin, property, birth, disability or other status (ESCAP)

Issue	Workshop Proposals	Agreed Language
Sexual and Reproductive Health and Rights (SRHR)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Include sexual health in all reproductive health policies and programmes - Mainstream SRHR in all South Asian government positions in intergovernmental arenas (HRC, ICPD+20, Beijing+20, post-2015) - Support evidence-building towards greater inclusivity of sexual and reproductive health services, capturing the needs of adolescent girls and boys in policies - Address nutrition, mental health, and adolescent-friendly sexual and reproductive health services as a holistic package - Support partnerships and the involvement of communities in mobilization and campaigns around sexual health, to break down taboos, potentially also through the use of ICT 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Ensure universal access to sexual and reproductive health and reproductive rights as agreed in accordance with the Programme of Action of the ICPD and the Beijing Platform for Action and the outcome documents of their review conferences (<u>OWG</u>) - We are committed to promote... addressing women's sexual and reproductive health, and ensuring universal access to safe, effective, affordable and acceptable modern methods of family planning... [and commit] to implement the Programme of Action of the ICPD and the key actions for its further implementation (<u>Rio+20</u>)
Violence against Women and Girls	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Shift to terminology of gender-based violence, while incorporating diversities of experiences this term encompasses - Ensure that discussion of violence includes different kinds of women, breaking down purity discourse to include sex workers, LGBT people, etc. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Eliminate all forms of violence against all women and girls in public and private spheres, including trafficking and sexual and other types of exploitation (<u>OWG</u>) - Also recognizing that a number of forms of violence against women and girls throughout the life cycle derive from harmful cultural practices, in particular the effects of certain traditional or customary practices, and that all acts of violence against women and girls linked to race, ethnicity, age, sex, language or religion perpetuate the lower status accorded to women and girls (<u>ESCAP</u>)
Harmful Practices	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Challenge the compulsiveness of marriage for all women, and the contingency of life choices on marriage status. Formulate ways to actualize the rights of education and autonomy of all, including within discussion on early and forced marriage 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Eliminate all harmful practices, such as child, early and forced marriage and female genital mutilations (<u>OWG</u>) - End abuse, exploitation, trafficking and all forms of violence and torture against children (<u>OWG</u>)



Caribbean Partnerships for Economic Justice and Sustainability

Caribbean • Bridgetown, Barbados • January 6-7, 2014



Political Pairings

Institute for Gender and Development Studies:
Nita Barrow Unit, UWI Cave Hill

CARICOM – Gender Justice

Caribbean Development Bank – Gender and Economics



Initiatives

Dialogue on Heterodox Feminist Economic Policies

Regional Working Group on Gender and Macroeconomics



UN Language Map

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The Caribbean

The Caribbean regional workshop, **Caribbean Partnerships for Economic Justice and Sustainability**, was convened by the Institute for Gender and Development Studies: Nita Barrow Unit (IGDS:NBUS), University of West Indies (UWI) at Cave Hill, Barbados. Held 6-7 January, this meeting brought together forty representatives of finance, economic affairs, planning, and gender ministries, regional organizations, UN agencies and international organizations, civil society, and academia, to build relationships and catalyze action towards progressive, gender-sensitive economic and environmental policy initiatives. Over the two days of the workshop, participants analyzed a range of economic and environmental issues related to Caribbean priorities surrounding the post-2015 sustainable development agenda and development more broadly, including fiscal policy and planning; work, employment, and innovation; social protection and citizen security; environment and sustainability; and governance and accountability.

In the context of rapid onset climate change and precarious growth characterizing the period following the economic and financial crisis of 2007-8, participants engaged in detailed discussions and envisioned concrete recommendations around specific policies to improve human, ecological, and economic wellbeing in the Caribbean. The workshop illustrated and contested the narrative of the “new global normal,” exemplified by a recent talk given by IMF Director Christine Lagarde, who encouraged the Caribbean to adjust and to undertake innovative measures including a Citizenship-by-Investment program. Referring instead to the “new global abnormal,” CARICOM’s Rosina Wiltshire described jobless growth, increasing poverty and inequality, growing rates of violence including gender-based violence, concerns of environmental degradation and scarcity.

Mariama Williams of South Centre highlighted that current global trajectories will lead to catastrophic levels of climate change, with a projected global temperature increase of 4-5 degrees Celsius, which has significant implications for the Caribbean if trends continue. Even less extreme climate change has direct policy implications for the Caribbean, as sea level rise and food insecurity will affect the entire region, illustrated Adrian Cashman of UWI’s Centre for Resource Management and Environmental Studies.

Until fiscal decision-making is decentralized and inclusive of civil society, trade unions, and micro, small, and medium enterprises (MSMEs), the unequal power structures that perpetuate economic problems in the Caribbean will continue.

Added to the global economic and environmental dimensions of the “new global normal” are conditions specific to small island developing states (SIDS) and the Caribbean in particular. Don Marshall, acting director of the Sir Arthur Lewis Institute of Social and Economic Studies (SALISES) at UWI Cave Hill, described the “island paradox” whereby the contributions to Caribbean economies of tourism and offshore financial services have led to a level of prosperity just high enough to preempt concessionary financing while leaving SIDS vulnerable to shocks. Compounding this problem are increasing levels of narcotics trade and resulting criminality, illustrated Guyanese entrepreneur and activist Jocelyn Dow; as well as high rates of non-communicable diseases (NCDs), of crucial concern to the economies of the Caribbean. To address these regional and global conditions, participants envisioned progressive policies and regional partnerships towards achieving regional and global objectives for sustainable development along with economic and gender justice and human rights.

Gender, Economic, and Environmental Justice as Guiding Principles for Caribbean Policies

Gender justice, economic justice, and a human rights perspective are three critical principles to advance, participants agreed, particularly in the current environment of austerity and rampant accumulation by small cohorts of persons and institutions. To that end, Charmaine Crawford, head of IGDS:NBU, proposed an expansive notion of gender justice – one that takes into consideration how gender intersects with class, employment status, age, the environment, and citizen security in determining how individuals are equipped to secure their own livelihoods and enable opportunities for a better quality of life. A joint statement on gender equality by Caribbean gender ministers and the main regional gender-focused NGOs might be the way forward, suggested Vanda Radzik of [Red Thread](#), as well as a useful tool for lobbying around gender equality in the post-2015 sustainable development agenda. A recent tendency in the region to exclude LGBT rights from the gender and women's rights agendas was highly criticized both by Richie Maitland, from [Groundation Grenada](#), and Michele Irving, from [Productive Organisation for Women in Action](#). Richie evinced the falsity of the distinction between LGBT and gender issues, explaining the shared cause of objections to both LGBT and women's rights as rooted in a perception of supposed transgression of gender norms.

The workshop focused on a notion of gender justice that takes into consideration how gender intersects with class, employment status, age, the environment, and citizen security.

In analyzing gender-based violence (GBV) in the Caribbean, Christine Arab of [UN Women](#) identified impunity as one of its systemic causes, together with police and magistrates'

lack of training in gender responsiveness. Although most countries in the region have progressive legislation to fight GBV, this proves futile in a context where protective services discretionally apply their judgment (and cultural perceptions, biases, and prejudices) to determine what is or is not a gender-based crime, Christine said. Richie specified that those biases work to the disadvantage of minors and LGBT people in particular and highlighted the need for an open discussion on gender that unveils the cultural understandings of what it means to be a man or woman.

Participants engaged in a thorough discussion of social protection, including of sectors whose rights are not yet recognized by some Caribbean states, such as domestic workers. Through a historical analysis of social protection mechanisms in the region, sociologist Alana Griffith showed that the old question persists of whether social protection policies can effectively act not only as a safety net but also as a springboard for development, as well as the related question of the degree of state responsibility in its provision. Elsa Webster, of the Barbados Association of Retired Persons ([BARP](#)), emphasized the role of the state in reducing inequalities and protecting the most vulnerable, including persons with disabilities and the elderly, who face discrimination in terms of health and employment in the region. In this sense, social transfers for the elderly are effective but not enough, Elsa said, highlighting that social policies must aim at maintaining the dignity of older persons and persons with disabilities. Ida Le Blanc, General Secretary of Trinidad and Tobago's National Union of Domestic Employees ([NUDE](#)), stressed the need for national legislation to recognize domestic workers, a pending issue in many Caribbean countries, including their right to move freely and the right to a minimum wage for decent employment.

The Caribbean Partnerships workshop emphasized economic justice as a guide for economic policy-making in Caribbean countries and the region as a whole. Introduced in Mariama's keynote address, economic justice includes the voice and participation of all citizens; economic rights, dignity, and security; and accountability and monitoring of fiscal, monetary, and trade policies to ensure an adequate level of social welfare and protection for all citizens. To advance economic justice in the region, the context, content, and process of managing economies has to change, Mariama continued, to deconstruct old business models that idealize unrestrained growth while ignoring environmental costs and impacts. A key mode of achieving economic justice is through a renewed effort towards economic determination in the Caribbean, added Anita Nayar in her overview of regional government positions. The language of development economics and economic governance must be strengthened, against the continued emphasis on foreign direct investment and a deliberate blindness regarding global structural inequalities that prevent adequate mobilization of domestic resources in global South countries.

In the face of extreme levels of sovereign debt in the region, participants analyzed potential ways forward for economic policy that balances an emphasis on growth and servicing debt on the one hand, and ensuring social and environmental progress on the other. As the average rate of debt in the Caribbean is 80% of GDP (with Jamaica as high as 139% of GDP), most countries dedicate a large part of their budget towards debt repayments, as outlined by UWI economist Winston Moore. This shrinks the availability of resources directed towards social services while simultaneously prohibiting sufficient economic growth, a problematic cycle that Judith Wedderburn of Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung (FES) and Institute for Law and Economics (ILE) framed as essential to address. Mariama recommended that civil society direct their

advocacy towards encouraging a debt audit, to identify the nature and accumulation of debt over time and to explore possibilities for writing off or seeking cancellations for particular aspects of the debt. Articulating this regional priority at the global level with regard to the push for a sovereign debt workout mechanism at the United Nations also emerged as a recommendation to formulate Caribbean collective positions on debt.

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Regarding fiscal policy in the Caribbean, several participants focused on recommendations to decentralize decision-making and increase participation in the formulation of fiscal policy. Introducing this workshop session, Peggy Antrobus, founding member of DAWN, posed the question of the extent to which present fiscal policies in the region reflect a contribution towards the goals of economic justice and sustainable development. Despite the significance of payments to service debt, both governmental and non-governmental participants positioned fiscal policy as an area where Caribbean governments do have some space to enact pro-development measures. Melissa Hippolyte of the Ministry of Finance of St. Lucia highlighted that Caribbean governments should target policies towards increasing the progressivity of tax structures and creating fiscal incentives towards environmental and social process. Rosalea Hamilton, founder of ILE, presented specific recommendations on improving citizen participation in fiscal policy, participatory budgeting, and the improvement of representative democracy in Jamaica and throughout the Caribbean. Until fiscal decision-making is decentralized and inclusive of trade unions, micro, small, and medium enterprises (MSMEs), and other members of

civil society, the unequal power structures that perpetuate economic problems in the Caribbean will continue, Rosalea asserted.

Global questions of power and structures that limit the policy space and economic determination of Caribbean countries also featured in the discussions and recommendations at the workshop. Don Marshall highlighted the particular injustice of regulations around offshore financial services, where many Caribbean countries are competitive. Within the discourse of illicit financial flows, a disparate amount of focus is placed on Caribbean international financial centers, Don explained, meaning that these countries implement required reforms and regulations at prohibitive costs to their economies. Further, the extralegal jurisdictional reach by governments including the US and Canada targets Caribbean financial centers disproportionately, without statistical evidence proving that Caribbean countries are particularly vulnerable to money laundering. The Caribbean should therefore address this issue in the global sphere as a region, Don concluded, and global governance must include Caribbean states in any decisions regarding financial regulation and reform. Similarly, Senator Jepter Ince of the Barbados Ministry of Finance called for a reformulation of trade regulations, to amend global rule-setting that favors major trading countries to the detriment of economic policy and development in the Caribbean and elsewhere.

During a dedicated panel on climate change and sustainability, the Caribbean workshop analyzed the policy implications of the effects of climate change and potential regional responses. Tying the concept of gender equality, participation, and access to information into the discussion, Adrian Cashman outlined the conception of environmental justice as a requisite underlying principle for regional policy-making towards sustainable development. Given that the target of 1.5 degrees Celsius temperature rise has potentially already been passed, Adrian

warned that the effects of climate change will likely affect the more vulnerable members of the population to a greater extent than others and that therefore equitable participation in policy making is essential. In a similar vein, Michele Irving illustrated the gendered impacts of climate change, including on access to water and sanitation, grounded in her work in Belize. Environmental justice, Adrian explained, includes guaranteeing the fair treatment and meaningful involvement of all people.

Caribbean governments must address climate change and manage natural resources coherently with existing systems of measurement of economic performance, Mariama recommended. Providing an overview of climate finance in the Caribbean context, she explained that governments in the region should advocate for additional, adequate, appropriate, equitable, and predictable financing to mitigate and adapt to climate change, in accordance with the climate debt owed to Caribbean and other countries who suffer the damages without the benefits of rich countries' industrialization processes. Given the small percentages of climate finance currently being accessed by Caribbean countries, Mariama recommended increased attention and work in this sector by Caribbean governments and civil society organizations.

Caribbean governments should advocate for additional, adequate, appropriate, equitable, and predictable financing to mitigate and adapt to climate change, in accordance with the climate debt owed to Caribbean and other countries who suffer the damages without the benefits of rich countries' industrialization processes.

A series of proposals around renewable energy in the region emerged from the workshop. Winston Moore presented an overview of the economic dependence on fossil fuels of Caribbean states and societies, sharing case studies from Jamaica, Barbados, and Aruba that

detailed the potential of renewable energy to significantly reduce the import expenses of Caribbean countries and to create jobs. Participants discussed the requirements for the enabling framework of renewable energy policy to combat vested interests and governmental roadblocks preventing the facilitation of renewable energy in the Caribbean. An energy system driven by renewables would transform a current constraint of the Caribbean – the cost of energy – into a competitive advantage, including for export and in attracting business, Winston illustrated.

Rosina emphasized the importance of collective, rather than splintered, regional initiatives to acquire funding and promote renewable energy projects. Jocelyn mentioned her position on the [UN Secretary-Generals' Advisory Board on Water and Sanitation](#) as a potential venue for workshop recommendations, and Mariama referred to CARICOM's [Caribbean Renewable Energy Development Programme](#) as an example of an ongoing regional approach which could be a possible source of financing and support. Elsa stressed the need for education and awareness campaigns around renewable energy, which BARP is prepared to spearhead. Broader recommendations were raised by Adrian, who articulated the need for national-level conversations to create institutional mechanisms to mainstream climate change into various policies, along with participation mechanisms and specific attention to gender.

Partnerships and Participatory Governance for Progress

The notion of public-private partnerships (PPPs) as proposed by the post-2015 process was rejected by civil society and government representatives alike. Marsha Caddle of the Caribbean Development Bank redefined “private” in the context of PPPs to mean not large corporations but small businesses, as well as the NGO sector, which also plays a productive role. Mariama and Elsa contributed to this redefinition of PPPs by

highlighting they should have at the table community groups, indigenous people, the elderly, people with disabilities, women's groups, and youth and that “the business sector must begin to change the way it does business.” In rethinking PPPs, Judith called for meaningful partnerships and enabling spaces for legitimate interventions in the political system, as a precondition for impacting power relations in the construction of partnerships between government, civil society, and the private sector at the global level.

Emphasizing the need for Caribbean countries to engage in partnerships for the long-term benefit of the region, Senator Ince pointed that “every effort must be made to bridge development gaps by building new financing partnerships and strengthening existing ones.” In advancing regional integration, he said, the Caribbean Growth Forum and the Caribbean Single Market and Economy (CSME) strategy provide the framework for partnerships to address the macroeconomic challenges caused by globalization: to increase economic leverage and effectiveness, expand trade business and economic relationships with other Caribbean and international countries, and strengthen capacity building within the region.

In rethinking PPPs, the workshop called for meaningful partnerships and enabling spaces for legitimate interventions in the political system, as a precondition for impacting power relations in the construction of partnerships.

Nadine Brown of the Planning Institute of Jamaica called for greater civil society participation in decision-making processes, to address the lack of confidence in government strategies that the region experiences. She shared citizen participation best practices, such as the creation of a charter for civil society; the development of local committees of civil society, government, churches, and other non-state actors working together to

monitor, manage, and implement development plans; and the sanction of an access to information act, which constitutes a powerful redress mechanism for civil society, since it has been heavily used in Jamaica to take government to court. Melissa shared successful open data and participation initiatives undertaken in St. Lucia, such as participatory budgeting at the national level and an accountability mechanism by which the community monitors the implementation of fiscal policy. Proposals for greater citizen participation were also contributed by civil society, including strengthening advocacy efforts with hard facts-based, evidence-based arguments; engaging non-traditional actors in development processes through meaningful capacity building; and creating primers on relevant thematic issues, along the lines of the work done by WEDO in the 1990s.

The need to imbue long-term thinking into this structure was referenced throughout the workshop, through trainings of parliamentarians and a return to planning for industrial and service development, beyond the five-year political cycle.

Governance and the political leadership required to usher in a truly sustainable and just future for the Caribbean region was emphasized throughout the workshop. Marsha called for access to free, quality information as a factor in competitiveness, public services and policymaking, and the capacity of individuals to evaluate state performance. Promoting access to data, including through observatories housed at Caribbean universities, was emphasized by participants along with a concrete recommendation to collaborate on a participatory audit of sustainable development initiatives by government and civil society. Jocelyn and Vanda suggested creating a mechanism of inclusive community monitoring of budgets; this should also track government commitments including to international conventions such as CEDAW, added Shari Innis-Grant of IGDS:NBU. Rosalea introduced a new civil society

initiative, Participatory Governance and Fiscal Policy Dialogue in the Caribbean (PGFFD), to “address the participation and confidence deficit” in fiscal policy by improving participatory governance and promoting the establishment of a platform for dialogue between citizens and their governments.

Eventually, these kinds of initiatives should lead to constitutional reform in a region characterized by a colonial, Westminster model of parliament and two party tracks, participants stressed. The need to imbue long-term thinking into this structure was referenced throughout the workshop: Rosina called for training of parliamentarians in transformational leadership and gender, while Mariama advocated a return to planning for agricultural, industrial, and service development, beyond the five-year political cycle. On a regional level, Shantal Munro-Knight of Caribbean Policy Development Centre (CPDC) advocated for greater integration and a strengthened CARICOM, with more significant influence in intergovernmental spaces. Along the lines of the European Parliament, Vanda wondered whether a Caribbean Parliament could be created, with a People’s Parliament element.

Towards Structural Change for Justice in the Post-2015 Arena

A significant thread in the workshop discussions focused on the decline of Caribbean participation, both governmental and of civil society, in intergovernmental spaces over the past several decades. For a region that depends on the outcome of some of these processes – UNFCCC and Financing for Development in particular – presence in political negotiations has not been significantly strong, participants illustrated. Vast differences exist, Shantal explained, between regional discourses on development and ongoing conversations occurring as part of the UN-led process to define the post-2015 sustainable development agenda. To avoid repeating an oft-cited mistake of the

Millennium Development Goals: a lack of sufficient ownership in the regions and countries in which the goals were to be implemented, Shantal emphasized the need for the post-2015 process to become integrated into development planning in the Caribbean. A key factor in that domestication of international policy is political leadership at the regional level, Jocelyn added, referring to the political savvy and influence of CARICOM in its previous iterations.

Civil society representation plays a key role in these efforts to bolster Caribbean participation in global spaces. The responsibilities of CPCD, as one of the most globally active networks and the sole representative of civil society with CARICOM, were emphasized by several participants; Jocelyn suggested the creation of national bodies of CPDC, to build influence of the network and its members in intergovernmental spaces.

Given the preeminence of economic issues of debt, domestic resource mobilization, and climate finance in the Caribbean, the process towards the Third Conference on Financing for Development (FfD) arose as a key political opportunity for Caribbean influence. Mariama and Rosalea in particular stated their interest in working with other Caribbean groups to strengthen advocacy around FfD, as a foundational policy discussion in which both civil society and governments should engage.

Strategies and Next Steps

Tonya Haynes of IGDS:NBU and [CatchAfyah](#) Caribbean Feminist Network emphasized that this workshop represents the initiation of a new process in the region, rather than a one-off meeting. The bringing together of policy makers with civil society groups, both political heavyweights in the region and newer, youth-based organizations such as Groundation and Catchafyah, is an ongoing priority for IGDS:NBU and Regions Refocus 2015.

Senator Ince also indicated his desire to keep working on these topics with these groups and others, as well as his willingness to carry forward the outcomes of this meeting with his colleagues in the Barbados government. Participants agreed that further policy dialogues should follow building on this workshop, focused on and inclusive of broader constituencies unable to attend this initial convening, particularly indigenous peoples' groups, grassroots organizations, and LGBT networks. Peggy pointed out the “stark difference” between this workshop and recent regional consultations, positioning this work as a “point of departure” ushering in a new paradigm for regional work.

Follow-up will include a workshop on heterodox economics, including feminist economics, to examine issues of domestic work, care, and national gender policies with economists and activists.

Several sub-groups were suggested by various participants to follow up different pieces of the thematic work outlined by the meeting. Richie proposed the creation of a contact group on legislative and policy advocacy, to work on freedom of information, domestic violence legislation, and physical planning and development. Additionally, Richie recommended creating a group on public education and information sharing, to lead critical work on gender sensitivity and awareness-raising, perhaps in partnership with Caribbean Male Action Network ([CariMAN](#)).

Halimah Deshong of IGDS:NBU suggested further work on citizen security, potentially also through a sub-group. Continued collaboration on gender and macroeconomics emerged several times as a suggested outcome, with Marsha and Mariama offering to connect this work to an existing international working group with which they both engage. Peggy recommended the convening of a seminar and follow-up

workshop on heterodox economics, including feminist economics, to examine issues of domestic work, care, and national gender policies inclusive of economists and activists within and beyond this initial workshop. On fiscal policy in particular, Rosalea suggested that activists working in different Caribbean countries should collaboratively document civil society engagement in fiscal policy dialogue, as an advocacy tool that can be shared in various fora.

Rosina also emphasized the need to document and build on regional good practices,

including Jamaica's strategies for sustained civil society and government dialogue and charter for civil society; St. Lucia's participatory fiscal policy dialogue; and Barbados subsidies to solar energy. Vanda suggested revising the CARICOM charter for civil society to incorporate greater references to gender rights and equality. In closing, Rosina emphasized the need for sharing and reinforcing regional partnerships, to support the Caribbean in arriving at a "new, healthy, caring, and just norm."

Chart: Comparison of Caribbean Workshop Proposals to Intergovernmentally-Agreed Language

Issue	Regional Workshop Proposals	Agreed Language
Social protection	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Guide policy according to a concept of social sustainability, inclusive of: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> i) the maintenance of the social fabric of society, including social reproduction and care ii) the guarantee of "human security," by which gender-based, ethnic, and other forms of violence and social conflict are confronted iii) participation and democracy, encompassing the active involvement of every citizen in all aspects of political life 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Implement nationally appropriate social protection systems and measures for all, including floors, and by 2030 achieve substantial coverage of the poor and the vulnerable (OWG) - Recognize and value unpaid care and domestic work through the provision of public services, infrastructure and social protection policies, and the promotion of shared responsibility within the household and the family as nationally appropriate (OWG)
Environment and sustainability	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - An overarching ecological focus should be employed, that brings into perspective the work and role of women and indigenous peoples in promoting sustainable agriculture - Caribbean countries should set up green bonds to finance environmental protection - An enabling framework for renewable energy in the region should include public sector leadership; targeted incentives for households and the private sector; private sector investment; transparency; certainty in the regulatory environment 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Implement the 10-Year Framework of Programmes on sustainable consumption and production (10YFP), all countries taking action, with developed countries taking the lead, taking into account the development and capabilities of developing countries (OWG) - We encourage each country to consider the implementation of green economy policies in the context of sustainable development and poverty eradication, in a manner that endeavours to drive sustained, inclusive and equitable economic growth and job creation, particularly for women, youth and the poor (Rio+20)

Issue	Regional Workshop Proposals	Agreed Language
Fiscal policy and Debt	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - In a post-crisis context, finance must be relinked back to household production, productive employment, and the provision of resources good for people - Caribbean representatives on the Bank for International Settlements should more effectively advocate on behalf of developing countries - Caribbean countries must be included in all global governance frameworks and networks on financial regulation and reform - Direct the tax receipt to finance human social development innovation and change to meet social as well as production goals - Support Caribbean governments in their global level positions for a strong sovereign debt workout mechanism and broader frameworks for debt sustainability - Target policies towards increasing the progressivity of tax structures and creating fiscal incentives towards environmental and social process - Civil society should push for an audit of debt, to enable the classification of some portions of Caribbean debt as illegitimate 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - By 2030 significantly reduce illicit financial and arms flows, strengthen recovery and return of stolen assets, and combat all forms of organized crime (OWG) - Assist developing countries in attaining long-term debt sustainability through coordinated policies aimed at fostering debt financing, debt relief and debt restructuring, as appropriate, and address the external debt of highly indebted poor countries (HIPC) to reduce debt distress (OWG) - Adopt policies especially fiscal, wage, and social protection policies and progressively achieve greater equality (OWG) - Debt financing can represent a viable option to provide funding for public spending on sustainable development. At the same time, debt needs to be effectively managed, with the goal of ensuring that debt obligations can be serviced under a wide range of circumstances (ICESDE) - We recognize the need to assist developing countries in ensuring long-term debt sustainability through coordinated policies aimed at fostering debt financing, debt relief and debt restructuring, as appropriate (Rio+20)
Employment	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Clear legislation and national standards related to domestic work must be developed in all Caribbean countries. Domestic workers must be guaranteed their rights to move freely, and must receive an adequate minimum wage 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - By 2030 achieve full and productive employment and decent work for all women and men, including for young people and persons with disabilities, and equal pay for work of equal value (OWG)

Issue	Regional Workshop Proposals	Agreed Language
Gender equality	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Caribbean civil society should enact a powerful joint declaration on gender equality, to accompany post-2015 lobbying - Networks should assess ongoing and previous work on gender equality, gender-based violence, culture, and gender norms, to determine effectiveness and guide future work - Economic, environmental, and the care economy should be collectively addressed; Gender and rights-based social content should be embedded in finance, investment, trade, macroeconomic, fiscal, and monetary policy 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - End all forms of discrimination against all women and girls everywhere (OWG) - Eliminate all forms of violence against all women and girls in public and private spheres, including trafficking and sexual and other types of exploitation (OWG) - Recognize and value unpaid care and domestic work through the provision of public services, infrastructure and social protection policies, and the promotion of shared responsibility within the household and the family as nationally appropriate (OWG)
Partnership(s) and governance	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Promote partnerships that include community groups, indigenous peoples, women's groups, youth, the elderly, persons with disabilities, and the LGBT community in planning, monitoring, decision-making, and policy dialogues - Partnerships with the private sector should emphasize MSMEs, to counter the dominance of big business - Governments should return to development planning, to enable long-term development beyond the five-year political cycle - Create a Caribbean Parliament, with a People's Parliament component, to promote participation and regional integration - Document and build on good practices in participatory governance in the region - Train Parliamentarians in transformational leadership and gender, to build capacity at governance level 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - A renewed and strengthened global partnership for sustainable development, defining a compact of commitments by Member States of the United Nations, while providing space and flexibility for engagement with a wide range of stakeholders (ICESDF) - Ongoing efforts to strengthen the global partnership for sustainable development cooperation should be based, inter alia, on the principles of country ownership, focus on results, delivery through inclusive partnerships, transparency and accountability to one another (ICESDF) - Encourage and promote effective public, public-private, and civil society partnerships, building on the experience and resourcing strategies of partnerships (OWG) - Enhance the global partnership for sustainable development complemented by multi-stakeholder partnerships that mobilize and share knowledge, expertise, technologies and financial resources to support the achievement of sustainable development goals in all countries, particularly developing countries (OWG)



Addressing Social and Economic Inequalities: The Need for a New Paradigm

Arab States • Beirut, Lebanon • June 14 - 16, 2014



Political Pairings

Arab Network for NGO Development

Arab Administrative Development Organization

Economic and Social Commission for Western Asia



Initiatives

Policy proposals for a new development paradigm for the Arab region
(Joint Civil Society-Government Outcome)



UN Language Map

bit.ly/RR2015arabstates

Arab States

The Arab States Regional Workshop, **Addressing Social and Economic Inequality: The Need for a New Development Paradigm**, was convened by the Arab NGO Network for Development (ANND), the Arab Administrative Development Organization (ARADO), and the United Nations Economic Commission for Western Asia (UN-ESCWA), in Beirut, Lebanon, from 14-16 June 2014. The meeting brought together over 100 participants from civil society organizations, labor unions, international organizations, media, and academia from all over the Arab States, in addition to regional representatives from ESCWA and the League of Arab States. Over the two and a half days of the workshop, participants raised concrete proposals regarding investment for development, taxation and redistribution, social protection, and addressing inequalities including gender inequality.

Taxation for Social Transformation: The Role of the Arab State

A large number of concrete proposals emanating from the workshop focused on the need for a strengthened developmental role of the State. This issue was continually framed within the context of high levels of inequality in the Arab region, which causes an estimated 25% loss in Human Development Index (HDI) value, according to Amr Nour, Director of the UN Regional Commissions office in New York. Participants called for addressing these manifold inequalities through two primary methods: reforming taxation and fiscal policy towards redistribution, and implementing effective social protection measures that benefit all groups and strata of society.

Amr cited the Arab regions' rates of taxation as ranging from 10-17% of GDP, significantly

lower than the ratio in OECD countries. Attributing this to deficiencies in tax administration in combination with “rampant tax evasion” and discretionary tax incentives, the workshop identified concrete recommendations to raise the tax proportion. These include the shifting of indirect and consumption-based taxes to progressive taxation of income and capital, based on an analysis of the implications of taxation on equity and the disproportionate burden borne by people living in poverty. “The new development model should include an improved taxation system with tax equity at its center and as a core component to address inequalities,” the outcome statement of the workshop asserts.

Participants call for addressing the manifold inequalities present in the Arab region through two primary methods: reforming taxation and fiscal policy towards redistribution, and implementing effective social protection measures that benefit all groups and strata of society.

As tax collection from individuals greatly exceeds corporate taxation in the Arab states, participants called for the reversal in this trend, towards increased progressivity in tax rates. Participants expressed the urgency of addressing corporate tax evasion through a resurgence of state responsibility towards regulation and taxation rather than policies that spur competitiveness in global markets regardless of social cost. Addressing illicit financial flows – which, according to Heba Khalil of the [Egyptian Center for Economic and Social Rights](#), amount to around 1% of GDP in Tunisia, 2.5% in Lebanon, and 3.5% in Syria – in tandem with increased fiscal transparency and access to information was also cited as a priority action on the regional level.

Pointing to the weakness of public institutions in Arab countries, participants warned of the dangers of public-private partnerships (PPPs) and their potential to strain public budgets while simultaneously threatening peoples' rights to access to public services due to high cost and low quality.

The connections between revenue collection through taxation and expenditure for social services were consistently mentioned in discussions around the role of the state. Pointing to the weakness of public institutions in Arab countries, participants warned of the dangers of public-private partnerships (PPPs) and their potential to strain public budgets while simultaneously threatening peoples' rights to access public services due to high cost and low quality. Additionally, participants called for state-led popular education campaigns to inform citizens about the significance of their tax systems, and – more importantly – for states to provide better quality services so citizens understand it is in their interest to pay taxes. Abdel Jalil Badoui of the Tunisian Platform for Economic and Social Rights emphasized that taxation is an entry point for social justice but does not automatically lead to it – concrete linkages should be made, therefore, to ensure connections between taxes, development, and social justice.

Addressing Inequalities through Universal Social Protection

Fostering a reinvigorated social contract between people and their states was referenced often at the workshop, where participants called for effective social protection measures and quality public services. State-provided (rather than privatized), inclusive, universal social services are necessary to ensure people's economic and social rights, civil society representatives

stressed, as an intrinsic element of social justice. Along these lines, Frederico Neto, Director of the Social Development Division of ESCWA, illustrated social justice as a four-dimensional concept, consisting of human rights, equity, equality, and participation. Azzam Mahjoub of Tunisia's University el Manar illustrated that only three Arab countries have put in place broad social protection policies, and that throughout the region the quality and efficiency of services are weak or non-existent – a problem that tends to affect women more than men. Professor Mahjoub recommended that Arab countries institutionalize these rights in their constitutions, and former minister and Member of Parliament of Palestine Majida El Masri added that the state must shepherd strategies for cooperation with different stakeholders in ensuring a foundation of social protection.

Adequate social protection is necessary in upholding self-determination and promoting the ability of Arab citizens to resist occupation.

Participants noted that all governments have signed [ILO Recommendation 202](#) on universal social protection floors, and called on their governments to fully implement this commitment. In his opening remarks, Ziad Abdel Samad of ANND emphasized that the cost of funding universal social protection in Arab countries is affordable, especially as the cost is often lower than current government expenditure on subsidies. Additionally, the workshop emphasized the importance of a human rights-based approach to social protection, universally applicable to all groups of the population.

Adequate social protection is also necessary, Majida continued, in upholding self-determination and promoting the ability of Arab citizens to resist occupation. “The new development model must be based on a new

social contract,” asserts the workshop’s statement,” with legally-defined and sufficiently-financed social protection “at the heart of the development process,” in accordance with the legal obligations of states under the human rights regime.

Within the context of the structural transformation necessary in the Arab region, the workshop proposed addressing issues of peace, gender equality, and development through an interlinkage approach. This holistic approach to fundamental development challenges is essential, Egyptian journalist Wael Gamal stated, to end inequality and transform the development process. In a dedicated session at the Beirut workshop, participants from government and civil society analyzed the social, political, legislative, and economic changes necessary to promote gender equality. Saida Rached of Association Tunisienne des Femmes Democrate cited that women in the Arab region have the lowest rates of labor force participation in the world – only 29%, and as low as 12% in Yemen and 15% in Syria, despite advances in women’s education. Political participation is also low, hovering around 20% in most Arab States with only 2% in Yemen. Saida also called for Arab States’ universal implementation to CEDAW (signed by all Arab countries) and its optional protocol, to hold governments accountable to their commitments and reinforce the relationships between the global and regional levels. The workshop outcome summarizes the recommendations regarding gender equality that emerged during this session: the adoption of social policies that eradicate discrimination and abolish the de jure and de facto gaps between women and men; special measures to promote women’s civil, political, economic, social, and cultural rights; and a systematic approach to gender equality in all aspects of development.

The workshop highlighted the active participation and leadership of Arab women in the social movements and revolutions that have toppled several regimes in recent years; these constituted resistance towards the political situation, including the adoption of International Monetary Fund (IMF) and World Bank policy prescriptions. “Arab women sustain their struggle for participatory national economic and social public policies based on the principles of sovereignty, equality and justice and the right to development,” proclaims the statement, while adding that these struggles themselves contribute to the prevention of the fulfillment of the human rights of women and all people in the Arab region.

Arab women have actively participated in the social movements and revolutions that have toppled several regimes in recent years, sustaining their struggle on principles of sovereignty, equality and justice and the right to development.

In addition to limiting states capacities vis-à-vis the economic and social rights of their citizens, conflicts “have led to the focus on narrow security agendas and rehabilitation related to immediate needs [...] instead of building comprehensive human security approaches that integrate long-term development policies,” the statement explains. “The new development model should foster gender equity, peace and the right to self-determination,” the workshop advocated, and Arab governments should shift spending on militarization towards social services. The post-2015 sustainable development agenda must effectively address issues of peaceful societies, participants stressed, including the right to self-determination.

Towards Structural Change for Justice in the Post-2015 Arena

Regarding the post-2015 process, the workshop emphasized the need for the global

debate to take a rights-based approach, in the context of regional uprisings and activism towards democracy. Analyzing Arab governments' positions as articulated in recent UN development spaces, including the Open Working Group on Sustainable Development Goals and the Arab States regional preparatory meeting for the High Level Political Forum, panelists and participants interrogated critical issues in the Arab region. Based on their examination of the proposed SDGs as of June 2014, the workshop recommended the creation of a joint position, particularly regarding goals 16 (peace and security) and 17 (means of implementation) as particularly relevant for the region. Quantitative and time-bound parameters should be included in each of these areas, the workshop articulated, and means of implementation should be specified for each goal in addition to a standalone goal.

Consensus emerged on the need for the post-2015 agenda to stimulate structural change through increased regional integration, democratization of global governance, and an interlinkage approach to issues of peace and gender equality. According to the workshop outcome, this entails “a deep reconsideration of the development model to enhance development-oriented trade and investment policies,” including to finance the estimated US \$27 to \$100 billion per year necessary to achieve development objectives in agriculture, infrastructure, and energy in the Arab States.

Reform of the international financial architecture, to bring the Bretton Woods Institutions back under the oversight of the UN and thereby address financial volatility, debt, and the austerity policies in the aftermath of the recession, was framed as essential by workshop participants. The workshop statement criticizes the IMF's policies and advice to Arab States, “always colored by the goal of improving ‘the business environment’ and increasing market flexibilities based on the Washington

consensus, i.e. phasing out subsidies, dismantling tariffs, broadening the value-added taxes, resuming privatization, and increasing public-private partnerships as means for increasing infrastructure investments.” These recommendations, the statement continues, neglect “the proven inadequacy of such choices in addressing development challenges that Arab countries have been facing.” For example, austerity-based policies to remove or minimize subsidies, especially in the energy sector, have been implemented in Egypt, Morocco, Tunisia, and Jordan under the direction of the IMF. Popular protests in Sudan prevented the government from instituting similar measures, indicating the ways in which policies intended to garner economic stability and foreign investment may backfire while contributing to social and political unrest.

The post-2015 agenda must stimulate structural change through increased regional integration, democratization of global governance, and an interlinkage approach to issues of peace and gender equality.

In combination, trade agreements that promote a North-facing export-led growth model are being prioritized over structural change for development in the region. The [Deauville partnership](#) initiative of the G-8, for example, includes proposed Deep and Comprehensive Free Trade Agreements between the European Union, the US, the UK, and several Arab countries including Egypt, Libya, Jordan, Morocco, and Tunisia, which will further liberalize trade in the agriculture, manufacturing, services, procurement, and investment sectors. Rather than shifting towards the open market, the workshop stressed that Arab governments should advance regional “strategic integration” in trade agreements.

Strategies and Next Steps

Regional and multilateral arenas in which to carry these proposals forward include the economic and social development summit of the League of Arab States, scheduled to take place in Tunis in early 2015. The LAS has invited civil society participants from this workshop to participate in this summit, as well as in a meeting with ESCWA on monitoring and accountability. These two events will serve as important political opportunities to advance joint policy work between governments and civil society on these issues of structural transformation,

taxation for equality, and women's rights. Recommendations from this workshop have already fed into a LAS meeting, at ministerial level, to elaborate a common Arab position on the post-2015 agenda. The workshop also proposed the creation of a small target group to work towards the delineation of the post-2015 agenda and the Third Conference and Financing for Development, to bridge between civil society and the LAS with Arab State missions at UN Headquarters in New York.

Chart: Comparison of Arab States Meeting Proposals to Agreed Language

Issue	Proposals - Arab States Regional Workshop	Agreed Language
Taxation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - The new developmental model must adopt policies for fair redistribution of wealth and resources through progressive taxation and providing all the necessary public services with a good quality and link it to fair wage policies which contribute to strengthening the participation of all social groups in the national economic cycle - The new development model should include an improved taxation system with tax equity at its center and as a core component to address inequalities - Abolish discretionary tax incentives and tax havens to address illicit financial flows, about 80% of which stem from cross-border corporate tax evasion and capital flight through tax avoidance. This global hindrance to domestic resource mobilization should be curbed together through regular reporting of large companies on tax payments, along with their impacts on sustainable development and human rights 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - International support to developing countries to improve domestic capacity for tax and other revenue collection (OWG) - Prioritize real income gains at the bottom of the income distribution through progressive tax policies and VAT exemptions on basic goods and services (ICESDF) - Capacity development measures for developing countries could increasingly focus on international taxation issues (ICESDF)

Issue	Proposals - Arab States Regional Workshop	Agreed Language
Social Protection	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - The new development model must be based on a new social contract with the recognition of social protection as a human right and as central to addressing inequalities and social injustice. Social protection policies must be at the heart of the development process and therefore it is necessary to ensure legislative and financial frameworks - Increase social spending as a proportion of total government spending. Reform plans must be linked to the adoption and implementation of comprehensive and integrated social policy. Ensuring adequate financing for social protection policies should be based on sustainable economic choices, effective tax policies, enhanced governance and restructuring the subsidy system - Adopt social policies that eradicate discrimination against women, guarantee their integration in the society and abolish the de jure and de facto gaps between men and women 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Implement nationally appropriate social protection systems and measures for all, including floors, and by 2030 achieve substantial coverage of the poor and the vulnerable (OWG) - Recognize and value unpaid care and domestic work through the provision of public services, infrastructure and social protection policies, and the promotion of shared responsibility within the household and the family as nationally appropriate (OWG) - Adopt policies especially fiscal, wage, and social protection policies and progressively achieve greater equality (OWG) - Countries should consider policies to strengthen “social protection floors”, which, as per the findings of the International Labor Organization are affordable in most countries out of domestic revenues, but warrant international assistance for the poorest (ICESDF)
Private Sector Investment and PPPs	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Paying attention to the dangers of public-private partnerships in light of the weakness of public institutions in the Arab countries, which leads to an imbalance in these partnerships for the benefit of the private sector and threatens citizens’ right to access public services due to the rising prices and doubts around its quality - Organize the role of the private sector in the development process and adopt an international mandatory mechanism of human rights based on corporate social responsibility which ensures full compliance to extra-territorial obligations as described in the Maastricht Principles. The former would necessitate business sector to regularly and publicly report on its investments’ environmental and human rights impact, and identify steps to mitigate the risks 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Adopt and implement investment promotion regimes for LDCs (OWG) - Encourage and promote effective public, public-private, and civil society partnerships, building on the experience and resourcing strategies of partnerships (OWG) - Enhance the global partnership for sustainable development complemented by multi-stakeholder partnerships that mobilize and share knowledge, expertise, technologies and financial resources to support the achievement of sustainable development goals in all countries, particularly developing countries (OWG) - International public finance will also have an important role in financing investments in national development, such as infrastructure. Some of these investments are profitable, and international public finance can catalyze private financing for sustainable development in such areas (ICESDF)

Issue	Proposals - Arab States Regional Workshop	Agreed Language
International Financial Architecture/Global Economic Governance	<p>- The new development agenda must integrate transformative changes to global governance systems and to national policy choices in order to achieve development and to overcome the challenges of inequality, exclusion and vulnerability. This necessitates a shift towards a model centered on enhancing national productive capacities which require an enabling trade and investment architecture, a revision of the redistribution policies and the adoption of social policies that puts peoples' economic and social rights at the forefront</p> <p>- The democratization of global governance is a must, with the aim of enhancing the participation of developing countries in decision-making processes and the promotion of mutual accountability with efficient and effective access to information. Changes should be introduced to the global financial architecture with a view to reverse the expansion of financial economy at the expense of the real economy and address financial volatility, debt crisis and economic recessions. Structural reforms are also needed in the trading system, in order to move from the principle of the open-market to the concept of Strategic Integration, which maintains a necessary margin for countries at the level of policy-making (related to trade), allowing them to support productive sectors, to create required jobs and to advance national development priorities</p>	<p>- Broaden and strengthen the participation of developing countries in the institutions of global governance (<u>OWG</u>)</p> <p>- A further review of the governance regimes of the IFIs is necessary to update their decision making processes, modus operandi and priorities, and to make them more democratic and representative (<u>ICESDF</u>)</p> <p>- The IMF and the World Bank have been making efforts to further integrate the voices of emerging market and developing countries, to reflect their growing importance in the global finance and development arena. These efforts should be brought to fruition (<u>ICESDF</u>)</p>



Hidden Money, Hidden Resources: Financing Development with Transparency

Latin America ● Lima, Peru ● October 13 - 16, 2014



Political Pairings

Latin American Network on Debt, Development and Rights

Financial Transparency Coalition

Development Alternatives with Women for a New Era

Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean



Initiatives

Why tackle the links between illicit capital flows,
tax policies and gender justice?



UN Language Map

bit.ly/RR2015laEcon

Latin America

From 13-16 October in Lima, Peru, **Hidden Money, Hidden Resources: Financing Development with Transparency** was co-convened by the [Financial Transparency Coalition](#) and the Red Latinoamericana sobre Deuda, Desarrollo y Derechos (Latin American Network on Debt, Development and Rights, or [Latindadd](#)). Constructed as a two-day conference bookended by a smaller orientation and strategy session for journalists and civil society, the workshop addressed relevant regional issues of illicit financial flows in relation to development policy, extractive industries, taxation, governance, and accountability. Approximately 130 participants, representing governments, civil society organizations, media, and other experts, engaged in collective analysis of the regional context of illicit financial flows and outlined specific proposals to curb this trend.

A binding multilateral instrument should be created to protect people against human rights abuses perpetrated by corporate actors, with provisions for effective remedy.

Regions Refocus 2015 supported the participation of a feminist caucus at this regional workshop, coordinated by Nicole Bidegain of Development Alternatives with Women for a New Era ([DAWN](#)). The group of feminist economists and activists from Brazil, Chile, Ecuador, Paraguay, and Uruguay raised issues of the gendered implications of illicit financial flows in various sessions throughout the workshop. In preparation, the caucus compiled a useful tranche of background materials in both English and Spanish, and coordinated a conference call with additional participants from the region who were unable to attend the meeting. Building on this engagement and daily strategy sessions during the conference, the caucus put

together a targeted outcome and strategy document, collaboratively agreed and published in English and Spanish (see Annex). The statement targets linkages between illicit flows, tax policies, and gender justice, through three specific positions:

- i) States should tackle illicit capital flows to garner additional resources for financing gender equality and sexual and reproductive rights, thereby fulfilling their obligations to commit the maximum available resources to fulfilling women's human rights.
- ii) Illicit financial flows hold important implications for fiscal policy. Because of international tax evasion and avoidance and other forms of illicit outflows, cash-starved governments implement increasingly regressive tax policies based on consumption, which disproportionately affect women, people living in poverty, and other marginalized groups including gay, lesbian, bisexual and transgender people. Tackling illicit financial flows while progressively increasing the tax load will shift burdens away from women and other people who live in situations of vulnerability and poverty and onto the extractive and financial sectors, and serves as an important step towards addressing inequalities.
- iii) The linkages between illicit financial flows and the activities of criminal networks, including human trafficking primarily for sexual exploitation, must be addressed through coherent policy.

The feminist statement also explicitly connects illicit financial flows to state responsibility for financing development, warning that “in a context where the corporate sector and multilateral institutions promote public-private partnerships as a

preferred strategy to finance development, combating illicit financial flows is a method to substantially increase the levels of revenue collection of states and provide the necessary resources to fulfill their obligations.” The need to ground policy on illicit financial flows in the human rights framework echoed in the proposals of many participants in the workshop, including the opening remarks made by Henry José Ávila Herrera, Peru’s Vice Minister of Human Rights and Justice, who proposed the creation of strategies for fighting corruption within a human rights frame.

Natural resources are the property of the citizens of the countries in which they are found; companies using or extracting these resources are therefore accountable to those citizens, and this human rights accountability should be reflected in fiscal policy.

The workshop addressed extractive industries and the need to complement transparency initiatives with reporting on a country-by-country and project-by-project basis, with full disclosure of beneficial ownership and regular exchange of information. Natural resources are the property of the citizens of the countries in which they are found, asserted Carlos Monge of the Natural Resource Governance Institute; companies using or extracting these resources are therefore accountable to those citizens, and this human rights accountability should be reflected in fiscal policy. Richard Llaque of SUNAT (Peru’s National Supervision of Customs and Fiscal Administration) shared national experiences of the mining sector – representing 75% of total investment in his country – and the high standards of transparency adopted by the Peruvian government in response to civil society initiatives.

At a session dedicated to “the post-2015 fiscal revolution” (taking its name from a policy paper by [Christian Aid](#) and the Center for

Economic and Social Rights, or [CESR](#)), Nicole Bidegain presented several points prepared in collaboration with the feminist caucus. Regarding the role of transnational corporations, Nicole proposed the development of a binding multilateral instrument to protect people against human rights abuses perpetrated by corporate actors, with provisions for effective remedy. The intergovernmental space should also include a participatory mechanism for monitoring and oversight of UN partnerships intended to achieve sustainable development objectives, Nicole continued, including ex ante criteria, public disclosure and conflict of interest policies, and clear criteria for eligibility (and dismissal). Corporations should be effectively taxed, participants asserted, to contribute to state coffers in fulfillment of governmental responsibility to provide resources for development.

The “privatized profit, socialized risks” of public-private partnerships (PPPs) and the complicated (re)negotiations of their contracts combine to create a situation in which capital is likely to leave the host country and/or fuel corruption amongst government officials.

This rights-based perspective towards taxation and fiscal policy also emerged from a session on public-private partnerships (PPPs) and their relationship to illicit financial flows. Aldo Caliri, Director of the [Rethinking Bretton Woods Project](#) at Center of Concern, warned that PPP contracts facilitate the outflow of funds through fiscal incentives; overpayments; underinvestment; safety nets provided by the government to ensure companies’ profits, e.g. through subsidies or user fees; and, most importantly, through contingent liabilities pledged by governments. The “privatized profit, socialized risks” of PPPs and the complicated (re)negotiations of their contracts combine to create a situation in which capital,

both illicit and unjust,¹ is likely to leave the host country and/or fuel corruption amongst government officials. Dereje Alemayehu of [Tax Justice Network – Africa](#) and Christian Aid illustrated the ongoing regional discussion around structural transformation of African economies, a relevant locus of cross-regional learning as Latin America formulates policy responses to privatization and illicit financial flows.

International and regional initiatives should direct capital flows to the benefit of people and societies, rather than strengthening the profit margins of private companies.

Picking up this thread, Katuska King, Former Minister of Economic Policy of Ecuador, called for transparency and criteria as conditions for private sector participation in public-private partnerships (PPPs) and other types of development finance. Niko Lusiani of CESR added that addressing global and national fiscal challenges requires accountability of particular fiscal commitments of both private entities and states. He cited a growing recognition of states' extraterritorial duties (including towards international cooperation over tax competition), and the obligations of states and corporations alike to prevent human rights abuses by private sector entities. During the discussion, participants also drew connections to human trafficking, the care economy, and decent work.

In the context of the development dimensions of illicit financial flows, participants positioned capital flight as an obstacle to states' ability to fulfill their human rights obligations through the provision of services and resources. Esteban Perez of the FfD

office at [ECLAC](#) referred to illicit financial flows as a “hidden source of financing for development,” emphasizing the need to achieve better balance between external resources made available for development and the resources flowing out of developing countries. Esteban cited that illicit financial flows from developing countries represented a transfer out of one trillion US dollars in 2011, or 1.5% of global GDP and 5% of global savings. In this vein, participants stressed that directing capital flows to the benefit of people and societies, rather than strengthening the profit margins of private companies, is an important challenge that should be addressed in the global multilateral arena as well as at regional level.

Towards Structural Change for Justice in the Post-2015 Arena

Many participants positioned the Third Conference on Financing for Development (FfD3) as an important political opportunity in which to raise many of these emerging recommendations. Civil society organizations including [Jubilee USA](#), [Oxfam](#), and CESR called for campaigning around specific policy asks related to the framing of illicit financial flows within the international human rights regime, including the recovery and return of stolen assets to developing countries and a holistic analysis of both the revenue and expenditure side of sustainable development financing, including corporate tax avoidance and capital outflows. A key message for FfD3 is to reinforce the role of the State, participants stressed, particularly in financing sustainable development and implementing public policies towards gender justice.

The workshop also provided Latin American perspectives on the Base Erosion and Profit Shifting (BEPS) project of the Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD), created at the request of the G20. Soon to be implemented, this 15-step action

¹ During the “mentoring session” for civil society and journalists, philosopher and economist Paulino Nuñez of Venezuela raised the issue of addressing not only illicit financial flows but also unjust ones, a powerful framing in the discussion on IFFs in the multilateral arena.

plan aims “to equip governments with the domestic and international instruments to address this challenge.” While referring to the BEPS program as a positive step forward, participants pointed to the democratic deficits in OECD membership and the problematic nature of a global directive set by the world’s richest governments without universal consultation or decision-making. Not all of the BEPS steps are applicable to developing countries, and government representatives raised doubts regarding whether BEPS will be able to solve the problem of tax havens in Latin America. Additionally, Rosa Cañete of Oxfam in the Dominican Republic pointed out that the influence of the private sector in the BEPS agenda-setting process means that the project reflects the interests of Northern-based corporations, rather than of people in either the global North or the South.

The workshop positioned the UN as the ideal setting for a reframing of global economic governance and international financial architecture, towards international tax cooperation, regulation that is effective, and the shepherding of data required for global compliance with new standards of transparency and information-sharing. Former Minister of Economic Policy of Ecuador Katuska King illustrated the post-2015 development agenda and the FfD3 processes as opportunities to propose changes in the international financial architecture, under the aegis of the UN as a uniquely democratic multilateral institution. Including through the collective positioning of regional governmental institutions, national governments can implement corporate responsibility measures through UN-level advocacy, as a means of addressing the global accountability gap and democratic deficit. “We need a radical change in the international financial architecture,” the statement of the feminist caucus concludes, “towards development, equity and human rights for all.”

The feminist caucus expanded throughout the workshop to include members of [Global Financial Integrity](#) (a leading member of the Financial Transparency Coalition) and held an open meeting that included other participants in the workshop, including several Latin American civil society groups as well as international organizations [Tax Justice Network](#), [Global Witness](#), [Oxfam Novib](#), and Christian Aid. The work of this well-attended meeting will continue through a listserv that has already shared further information and identified opportunities for advocacy in the FFD3 process. The statement of the feminist caucus was distributed in English and Spanish to all participants, who provided useful feedback and evidenced continued interest in the innovative linkages articulated by the feminist caucus.

Strategies and Next Steps

Concrete areas for follow-up identified by the meeting include an idea spearheaded by the feminist caucus, to bring government representatives working on health and gender into the annual ECLAC meeting of finance ministries, together with feminist organizations to share strategies for mobilizing official resources for gender equality and sexual and reproductive health and rights. This initiative intends to build momentum towards policy that articulates linkages between gender, tax policy, and illicit financial flows, and influence the post-2015 and Financing for Development processes. Following up on the journalist training and creating opportunities for joint work between civil society and media were also recommended as outcomes of this workshop, to encourage local reporting on transfer pricing, tax evasion and other dimensions of illicit financial flows.

Potential further work was also identified across the multilateral arena, including regarding the recent General Assembly

resolution towards a sovereign debt workout mechanism spearheaded by Argentina and the Human Rights Council process towards a legally binding mechanism for transnational corporations. Regarding UN-related advocacy, participants recommended strategizing around the strengthening of the UN Tax Committee and proposed a global summit on tax, to create an equal playing field in the multilateral space where governments can discuss these issues with strong developing country

representation. The feminist caucus intends to publish a paper on gender and Financing for Development ahead of the ECLAC regional preparations, further illustrating the links between gender equality and illicit financial flows. Members will also undertake a literature review and country-based analysis on the gender dimensions of both public-private partnerships and extractivism, led by DAWN in alliance with the feminist caucus.

Chart: Comparison of Proposals made at the Latin America IFFs Meeting to Agreed Language

Issue	Workshop Proposals (and Proponents)	Agreed Language
Illicit Financial Flows (IFFs)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Policy on IFFs should be grounded in the international human rights framework (LA Workshop) - To combat tax evasion and avoidance and their impacts on the ability of states to guarantee human rights, and especially women's rights, and reduce inequalities at the global level, it is necessary to reverse the "race to the bottom", to move towards a new social contract that shifts from tax competition to tax cooperation, and towards transparency and public availability of financial information (Feminist Caucus) - The global network of facilitators (banks, consulting firms, investment advisors and legal and tax advisors) and financial secrecy jurisdictions that serve as a den for both capital flight as a result of tax evasion and avoidance and money from networks of drug trafficking and trafficking in human beings (for labor slavery, sexual exploitation and trafficking of organs) that disproportionately affect women and children in developing countries -79% of trafficking in human beings is performed for the purpose of sexual exploitation- must be confronted (LA Workshop) - Reporting on a country-by-country and project-by project basis should be made mandatory, with full disclosure of beneficial ownership and regular exchange of information. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - By 2030 significantly reduce illicit financial and arms flows, strengthen recovery and return of stolen assets, and combat all forms of organized crime (OWG) - Domestic actions aimed at minimizing the flow of funds to secrecy jurisdictions and international cooperation to increase financial transparency, including exchange of information, country-by-country reporting and publicly available company beneficial ownership registers, effective implementation of the Financial Action Task Force (FATF) standards and asset recovery (ICESDF) - The enhancement of international tax cooperation could cover country-based reporting, notification of owners, automatic exchange of tax information, transfer pricing regulations, lists of tax havens and standards for non-economic reporting. G-20 Leaders have endorsed the OECD Action Plan on Base Erosion and Profit Shifting (BEPS) and automatic exchange of information. The United Nations, with its universal membership and legitimacy, could be a catalyst for further strengthening international cooperation in this area, working with the G-20, the OECD, the IMF, the World Bank and relevant regional fora. To this end, a participatory and broad based dialogue on international cooperation in tax matters should be strengthened (ICESDF)

Issue	Workshop Proposals (and Proponents)	Agreed Language
Domestic Resource Mobilization	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Increasing the tax base in a progressive way would imply shifting the burden of taxes away from women, people living in poverty and other marginalized groups such as gays, lesbians and trans who are at the bottom of the income distribution towards highly profitable sectors such as the financial sector and the extractive industries that are benefiting from tax incentives and subsidies and using strategies of tax evasion and avoidance to shift their profits to low-tax jurisdictions (<u>Feminist Statement</u>) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Prioritize real income gains at the bottom of the income distribution through progressive tax policies and VAT exemptions on basic goods and services (<u>ICESDF</u>) - Capacity development measures for developing countries could increasingly focus on international taxation issues (<u>ICESDF</u>)
Transparency	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Transparency should be a condition for private sector participation in public-private partnerships (PPPs) and other types of development finance (<u>LA Workshop</u>) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Develop effective, accountable and transparent institutions at all levels (<u>OWG</u>) - Effective institutions and policies and good governance are central for the efficient use of resources and for unlocking additional resources for sustainable development (<u>ICESDF</u>)
Corporate Accountability	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Corporate accountability vis-à-vis the human rights of the citizens of countries in which they operate should be enshrined as a matter of policy (<u>LA Workshop</u>) - A binding multilateral instrument should be developed to protect people against human rights abuses perpetrated by corporate actors, with provisions for effective remedy (<u>LA Workshop</u>) - A participatory mechanism should be created for monitoring and oversight of UN partnerships intended to achieve sustainable development objectives, including ex ante criteria, public disclosure and conflict of interest policies, and clear criteria for eligibility and dismissal (<u>LA Workshop</u>) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Encourage companies, especially large and trans-national companies, to adopt sustainable practices and to integrate sustainability information into their reporting cycle (<u>OWG</u>) - Policymakers should aim to foster sustainability considerations in all institutions and at all levels. This can be done by encouraging joint reporting on both economic returns and environmental, social and governance (ESG) impacts – which can be referred to as EESG reporting (<u>ICESDF</u>) - A key question is whether largely voluntary initiatives can change the way financial institutions make investment decisions. Policymakers could consider creating regulatory frameworks that make some of these practices mandatory (<u>ICESDF</u>)
Investment and PPPs	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - In a context where the private sector and multilateral institutions promote public-private partnerships as a privileged strategy to finance development, combating illicit financial flows is an alternative to substantially increase state revenue and provide the necessary resources to fulfill state obligations concerning human rights and non-discrimination (<u>Feminist Caucus</u>) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - International public finance will also have an important role in financing investments in national development, such as infrastructure. Some of these investments are profitable, and international public finance can catalyze private financing for sustainable development in such areas (<u>ICESDF</u>) - Encourage and promote effective public, public-private, and civil society partnerships, building on the experience and resourcing strategies of partnerships (<u>OWG</u>)



Education to Guarantee Rights: For A World of Dignity and Education for All (EFA)

Latin America ● Lima, Peru ● October 26 - 31, 2014



Political Pairings

Latin American Campaign for the Right to Education

UNESCO Regional Bureau for Education,
Latin America and the Caribbean



Initiatives

Lima Declaration by Civil Society

Lima Statement by Governments



UN Language Map

bit.ly/RR2015laEdu

Latin America

The Eighth Assembly of the Latin American Campaign for the Right to Education (CLADE, for its acronym in Spanish), entitled **Education to Guarantee Rights: For a World of Dignity** was held in Lima, Peru, from 26-29 October 2014. More than 60 national coalitions and regional networks on education, international NGOs and cooperation agencies, and UNESCO came together to examine structural barriers to the realization of the human right to public, free, secular, and lifelong education for all. Ahead of the definition of a new global education agenda in 2015, the group identified joint priorities and developed regional strategies for strengthening public education systems and deepening democracies.

The group disputed the narrative that Millennium Development Goal (MDG) #2 – “Achieve universal primary education” – has been accomplished, stressing that while global trends may indicate success, states are facing obstacles in its implementation at the national level. At the same time, the assembly acknowledged the consensus reached at the Open Working Group (OWG) for the proposed Sustainable Development Goal (SDG) #4 – “Ensure inclusive and equitable quality education and promote lifelong learning opportunities for all” – but expressed concern for its financing as international cooperation moves away from education.

Enforcing state responsibility to guarantee the right to education for all surfaced as the central demand of the meeting. Many also stressed the need to place the discussion of the post-2015 education agenda within the larger context of political debates around ideology and notions of democracy and citizenship. Camilla Croso, leader of both CLADE and the Global Campaign for Education (GCE), called upon collective action towards justice and dignity,

beyond the education agenda: “Our advocacy must be geared towards enhancing regional integration processes,” she asserted. Additionally, Camilla challenged silo approaches to activism: “We must join forces with other social movements and larger demands, for the realization of all human rights.” In consonance with this proposal, Sergio Escobar of Plan Internacional criticized NGOs’ adult-centrism and encouraged activists to open doors to the youth in their organizing.

Inequalities were identified as the major impediment to the realization of human rights in the region, which is the most unequal in the world. Participants proposed to tackle inequalities through redistributive policies, but also with civic education: “Education constitutes the most important vehicle to end inequalities in Latin America, which is a historical debt,” said Ricardo Cuenca Pareja, researcher at Instituto de Estudios Peruanos (IEP).

The influence of private sector in Latin American education systems turns rights (for all) into entitlements (for a few).

Another major source of concern in Latin America, participants emphasized, is an increased influence of the private sector in education, which turns rights (for all) into entitlements (for a few). This privatization manifests itself in three ways: i) exogenous privatization: corporate investment replaces public investment, particularly in higher education; ii) endogenous privatization: public institutions are seen as profitable markets and content and methods sold as merchandise; and iii) corporate governance: the private sector dictates public policy either through close ties with governments or directly by

occupying posts in the Executive or Legislative. To confront this hegemony, civil society emphasized the need to make visible and monitor corporate power and neoliberal ideology, including through CLADE's new hub documenting the privatization of education.

Gender identity and sexual diversity emerged as key demands, together with a long neglected issue in a hegemonically Catholic region: secularism.

Donor financing is also skewing the agenda, participants noted, since donors are not financing lifelong learning but only “read, write, count” initiatives. To respond to this worrying tendency, civil society is proposing alternative financing mechanisms for the human right to education, grounded first and foremost in public responsibility. To mitigate the loss of funding and secure resources for quality education, some participants recommended working on related areas to education that receive more attention and funds, such as violence, security, risk protection, or management, and others supported “indirect” means of financing, such as oil royalties in the case of Brazil, but cautioned that these are only a solution in the medium term. Participants also highlighted the need for states to fight international tax evasion and avoidance and direct “uncollected funds” towards social policy. Luiz Araujo, a researcher at Universidade de Brasília who studies the sub-national allocation of educational resources, quoted a best practice from the [Brazilian Campaign for Education](#), which calculated the cost of providing quality education to all citizens (the Student Cost – Initial Quality or [CAQI](#) indicator), effectively used for advocacy by national social movements, to the extent that it was adopted by national legislation in 2010.

Gender identity and sexual diversity, which were not central issues in CLADE's agenda

thus far, emerged as key demands, together with a long neglected issue in a hegemonically Catholic region: secularism. Reclaiming a stance long overdue, CLADE updated its letter of principles to reaffirm the secularity of public education, a prerequisite for the realization of human rights, in particular women's rights.

Participants tasked with rethinking education and development models contested the notion of sustainable development because of its shortcomings in addressing the socio-economic structural issues that maintain inequalities. A new educational and development paradigm was proposed: one that fosters a harmonic relationship with nature as a precondition for moving towards just and sustainable societies. Fundamental principles of this new model are people's rights to self-determination, plurinationality, and collective rights; its key partners are youth, feminists, and indigenous peoples.

Condemning the recent forced disappearance of 43 students in Ayotzinapa, Mexico, the outcome document of the workshop denounced the stigmatization and criminalization of educational subjects.

The group agreed on a groundbreaking outcome document that calls for “a transformative, emancipatory, and non-patriarchal education that fights against the discrimination of historically-excluded groups.” They committed to defend social transformation towards good living (*sumak kawsay*), promote citizen political participation, and foster social and environmental justice. Additionally, the assembly affirmed its adherence to non-sexist education and the respect of gender identities and diversity. Condemning the recent forced disappearance of 43 students in Ayotzinapa, Mexico, this radical document denounced the

stigmatization and criminalization of educational subjects, as well as “the attempts to impose the supremacy of the market in the provision of education.”

Towards Structural Change for Justice in the Post-2015 Arena

A regional ministerial meeting “Education for All (EFA) in Latin America and the Caribbean: Post-2015 Assessment and Challenges” was convened in Lima, on 30 and 31 October. Organized by the Peruvian Ministry of Education and the LAC regional UNESCO office (Santiago), the meeting produced a joint statement that builds on the principles and targets established in the Global EFA Meeting in Muscat, Oman, in May 2014, as well as the discussions and proposed SDGs by the Open Working Group (March 2013 through September 2014). In this [statement](#), representatives from 28 countries committed to “addressing all forms of exclusion and discrimination, disparities and inequalities, in access to and in the completion of education and learning cycles, processes and outcomes.”

Ministries from 28 countries vowed to tackle inequalities, “a major challenge to social progress” in Latin America.

In line with the analysis of civil society, the ministerial meeting vowed to tackle inequalities, which participants considered “a major challenge to social progress” in the region. Over 50 education ministers, vice ministers, and other government representatives pledged to support “those who are disadvantaged and marginalized” by developing comprehensive education strategies that eliminate barriers to equal opportunities. Although some governments advocated for public-private partnerships in the provision of education, it was agreed by majority that “governments will remain the

primary duty-bearers and custodians for efficient, equitable and sustainable management and financing of education and schools.” Civil society in the room endorsed this stance and further called upon strengthening public education systems. Means of implementation were discussed in the meeting, and UNESCO advised ministers to use global targets to approach finance ministries to obtain domestic commitments on funding. Teachers were defined as key actors in the post-2015 agenda instead of “just means of implementation as in the current OWG proposal,” and a call was made to update this language within a specific target for teachers, which was a demand from civil society. The outcomes of this ministerial meeting will be carried forward to both the EFA and post-2015 global processes.

Strategies and Next Steps

Follow up processes to the CLADE assembly are already underway: regional priorities identified in these discussions are being incorporated into three strategic, overarching goals and a set of targets for the next four years. These goals and targets will be reviewed and expanded upon by regional civil society networks, with the support of strategic planning consultants, and will include monitoring and evaluation systems. Civil society will continue its active participation in the Education for All (EFA) Steering Committee, of which the Global Campaign is vice chair. As for post-2015 process, the challenge ahead is incorporating emerging issues into the new agenda while ensuring previous gains are not lost in the negotiations. To that end, civil society groups will lobby UN Missions in New York and in particular the GRULAC (the UN Latin American and Caribbean Group), which is a key partner, and will advance the “triangular strategy” (building upon the country-mission-UN relationship) successfully employed during the Open Working Group and the 69th UN General

Assembly. The regional recommendations made at this meeting will feed into the two main tracks of the new global education framework: the World Education Forum that will review progress made on EFA goals and

establish a new education agenda towards 2030, to be held in Seoul, South Korea, in May 2015 and the UN Summit that will take place in New York, in September 2015, to adopt the post-2015 development agenda.

Chart: Comparison of CLADE & Ministerial Proposals to Intergovernmentally-Agreed Language

Issue	Regional Workshop Proposals	Agreed Language
Access to Quality Education	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Adopt the initiatives for promoting lifelong learning and human rights learning contained in the 2009 report of the UN Special Rapporteur on the right to education (CLADE) - Take access a step further and improve results: overcome the current gaps in learning. Guarantee not only the right to attend school, but also the right to learn (Uruguay) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - By 2030, ensure that all girls and boys complete free, equitable and quality primary and secondary education leading to relevant and effective learning outcomes (OWG) - By 2030 ensure equal access to all levels of education and vocational training for the vulnerable, including persons with disabilities, indigenous peoples, and children in vulnerable situations (OWG)
Pre-Primary Education	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - By 2030 provide at least 12 years of free, compulsory, and quality formal education for all that includes at least one year of pre-primary education (Ministers) - Make school attendance for 4-year olds compulsory, through legislation (Argentina) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - By 2030 ensure that all girls and boys have access to quality early childhood development, care and pre-primary education so that they are ready for primary education (OWG)
Comprehensive Sexuality Education	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Guarantee the principles of secularity for achieving (...) the full development of a comprehensive sexuality education that incorporates a rights-, gender-, and diversity-based approach (CLADE) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - By 2030 ensure universal access to sexual and reproductive health care services, including for family planning, information and education, and the integration of reproductive health into national strategies and programmes (OWG)
Literacy	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - By 2030 eradicate illiteracy (CLADE) - Implement literacy and post-literacy programs that respond to diverse socio-economic backgrounds and establish specific policies for indigenous and afro-descendent communities (Cuba) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - By 2030 ensure that all youth and at least x% of adults, both men and women, achieve literacy and numeracy (OWG)
Gender Equality in Education	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Analyze textbooks to identify and contest normative gender roles and patriarchal culture standards (CLADE) - Create an observatory for gender analysis, monitoring, and evaluation (CLADE) - Beyond numerical parity, accelerate progress towards gender equality by addressing the causes of disparities in learning and achievements at all levels (Ministers) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - By 2030 ensure equal access for all women and men to affordable quality technical, vocational and tertiary education, including university (OWG) - By 2030, eliminate gender disparities in education (OWG)

Issue	Regional Workshop Proposals	Agreed Language
Education for Non-Discrimination	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Defend education that eliminates all forms of discrimination (<u>CLADE</u>) - Anchor education in diversity (ethnic, social, people with disabilities), with multiculturalism at the core. E.g. plurilingual education that reflects the identity of peoples (<u>Bolivia, Peru</u>) - Develop comprehensive education strategies to foster the participation of the disadvantaged or marginalized in education and completion of their education cycles, through intercultural, multicultural and multilingual education programmes, and programmes that respond to the diverse education needs (e.g. school feeding programmes). The needs of people with disabilities will also be addressed at all levels of education (<u>Ministers</u>) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Build and upgrade education facilities that are child, disability and gender sensitive and provide safe, non-violent, inclusive and effective learning environments for all (<u>OWG</u>)
Skills	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Promote the development of life skills in students rather than skills that respond to market demands and questions of employability (<u>CLADE</u>) - Promote life, technical and vocational skills in learners, for decent work, entrepreneurship and a life of dignity, for them to become more creative, think critically, communicate effectively, solve problems, adapt to socio-economic change and improve the quality of life of their communities and their own (<u>Ministers</u>) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - By 2030, increase by x% the number of youth and adults who have relevant skills, including technical and vocational skills, for employment, decent jobs and entrepreneurship (<u>OWG</u>)
Resources for Education	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Establish minimum standards for teachers' decent pay and training, adequate student/teacher ratio, buildings and infrastructure, supplies, etc.) and calculate the cost of providing quality public education at all schools in a given country (<u>CLADE</u>) - Partner with tax justice networks to fight tax evasion and avoidance and collect more funds that can be directed towards education (<u>CLADE</u>) - We recommend gradually reaching the international benchmarks of 6% of GDP and 20% of total public expenditure for education, and move towards a further increase by 2030. While emphasizing that strong public financing is crucial to success, we also acknowledge the importance of development partners in achieving the post-2015 education goals and call upon them to increase and better target their assistance to education, aligned with and under Government's coordination (<u>Ministers</u>) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - By 2020 expand by x% globally the number of scholarships for developing countries in particular LDCs, SIDS and African countries to enroll in higher education, including vocational training, ICT, technical, engineering and scientific programmes in developed countries and other developing countries (<u>OWG</u>) - By 2030 increase by x% the supply of qualified teachers, including through international cooperation for teacher training in developing countries, especially LDCs and SIDS (<u>OWG</u>) <p>Policymakers and IFIs should explore innovative approaches to incentivize investment of remittances in productive activities, including through issuance of diaspora bonds (<u>ICESDF</u>)</p>

Issue	Proposals by CLADE and by Ministerial Declaration	Agreed Language
Teachers / Educators	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Provide training that affirms teachers as reflexive, critical and transformative professionals who take on a non-instrumental approach of the curriculum, acknowledging the complexity of educational phenomena (<u>CLADE</u>) - Enable the conditions for teachers to carry out their duties and have a life of dignity (<u>CLADE</u>) - Include a core target on teachers that recognizes teachers as key actors in the post-2015 agenda, and not just as means of implementation as in the current OWG proposal (<u>CLADE</u> and <u>Ministers</u>) - Strengthen institutional capacities through self-managed schools. Propose that organized teachers integrate a regional technical council that evaluates performance and provides recommendations for improvement, for non-discrimination, and for reducing school desertion (<u>Mexico</u>) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - By 2030, increase by [x] per cent the supply of qualified teachers, including through international cooperation for teacher training in developing countries, especially least developed countries and small island developing States (<u>OWG</u>)



Toward a Just Development Architecture: Policy Discussions with European Governments

Europe • New York, USA • December 8 - 10, 2014



Political Pairings

European Network on Debt and Development

Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung

European Union to the UN



Initiatives

Civil Society Statement on FfD3 Outcomes



UN Language Map

bit.ly/RR2015europe

Europe

From 8-10 December 2014, the European Network on Debt and Development ([Eurodad](#)) and [Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung – New York Office](#) co-convened a series of dialogues amongst European governments and civil society. Entitled **Towards a Just Development Architecture: Policy Dialogues with European Governments**, the workshop overlapped with the second round of substantive informal sessions in preparation for the Third Conference on Financing for Development (FfD3), to be held in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia in July 2015. The week consisted of two fulcrum meetings: a dialogue between South and European civil society participants to share priorities and strategize towards FfD3, and a meeting on the [FfD](#) agenda hosted by the European Union Delegation to the United Nations. In addition, participants engaged in dialogues between civil society and the Nordic governments; the Friends of Financing for Development/Friends of Monterrey Group of states; and the Bretton Woods institutions. Convened at a pivotal moment in the FfD3 preparatory process, these meetings provided a concrete opportunity to share perspectives on the Financing for Development agenda and its intersections with both the post-2015 sustainable development process and the climate change negotiations, ongoing at the time of the meeting during the [COP20 in Lima](#).

The strategy session held amongst civil society organizations from Europe and the global South on 8 December identified the beginnings of shared plan of action and collaboration over the next six months leading up to FfD3. The group articulated common positions on the foremost topics of the FfD3 agenda, including domestic public finance, international public finance, private finance, and systemic issues, as well as their intersections with the post-2015 sustainable development process. It also served as a preparatory meeting for the dialogue between European civil society and EU member states, building consensus on the need for European governments to show greater political

will in reforming the structures and systems of international trade, finance, and investment.

At the luncheon meeting hosted by the EU on 10 December, participants from [Afrodad](#), Eurodad, [Oxfam](#), [Brot für die Welt](#), and Third World Network (TWN) provided a summary of strategic policy objectives for Addis as outlined in a compilation report endorsed by 137 civil society organizations. The report, [UN Financing for Development negotiations: What outcomes should be agreed in Addis Ababa 2015?](#) provides recommendations for concrete changes to be incorporated as part of the FfD3 process, along the lines of the six chapters of the [Monterrey Consensus](#). This event was chaired by Americo Beviglia Zampetti, Head of Economic, Trade and Development Section at the [European Union \(EU\) mission to the UN](#), along with Bodo Ellmers of Eurodad.

A Transformative Financing Framework, Grounded in the Monterrey Consensus

According to European civil society and governments, **domestic resource mobilization (DRM)** is the primary and most predictable source of financing for development. European governments spoke strongly in favor of strengthening DRM, including through capacity building, reducing illicit financial flows (IFFs), combating tax evasion and avoidance, and addressing corruption – a list of topics addressed by a large number of European states during the OWG process. In particular, taxation has surfaced in the FfD3 discussion to a much larger extent than in its preceding discussions, and civil society from Europe and other regions emphasized the fundamental significance of this aspect of domestic resource mobilization. Tove Ryding of Eurodad, speaking at the EU luncheon, emphasized the need for an international policy environment to enable the effective use of taxation towards domestic resource mobilization.

The workshop illustrated that €1 trillion is lost annually to tax avoidance and evasion in the EU alone, calling on the Third Conference on Financing for Development to establish a new, universal intergovernmental body on international tax cooperation.

While sharing concerns from a developing country perspective of the need to curb tax incentives and the revenue-limiting “race to the bottom” in low taxation rates, Tove also positioned the issue of taxation in a European context. She cited estimates that €1 trillion is lost annually to tax avoidance and evasion in the EU alone, meaning that international tax cooperation is an essential issue for all regions of the world. The G20 and OECD are addressing this issue in fora that exclude more than 100 of the world’s countries from the decision-making processes, Tove continued, which means that the solutions they generate “are simply not going to work in developing countries.” Addis is therefore a key opportunity, as espoused by the aforementioned policy paper, to establish a new intergovernmental body on international cooperation in tax matters, including base erosion and profit shifting, tax and investment treaties, tax incentives, transparency, beneficial ownership, country by country reporting, and automatic exchange of information for tax purposes.

Additionally, much of the debate at the workshop as well as at its surrounding political processes focused on **foreign direct investment (FDI) and other international private flows**. Positioned with ever-increasing prominence by European governments, the UN system, and some international civil society organizations, the role of the private sector in financing development has been cemented in both the FfD3 and post-2015 agendas thus far. At the Europe workshops, several civil society participants cautioned against this embrace, particularly of corporations; instead, they emphasized the importance of safeguards and regulation to circumscribe private finance in development. Illustrating the context of the African continent, where international private finance plays a significant role in development, Fanwell Bokosi, Director of Afrodad, called for a balance between recognizing the potential

benefit of FDI and the need for regulations of capital, including to address market and price volatility. In a position shared by many of his European colleagues, Fanwell challenged the discourse of using public finances to leverage private investment, calling for increased research and debate on the potential problems of blending private finance with public resources.

European governments participating in the dialogue, however, shared a discourse that emphasized the potential of the “leverage effect” of Official Development Assistance in catalyzing private finance, as well as the multiplier effects of blended finance and innovative financing. In response to the perceived “wariness” in the room regarding private sector involvement in development, one European government official explained the importance, in her government’s view, of a multi-stakeholder approach and the inclusion of “all relevant actors” in development planning and decision-making. Given the scope of the financing required for the new development agenda, European states expressed, all actors with the potential to contribute should do so – including the range of private sector entities, from small and medium enterprises to transnational corporations.

European governments must contribute to creating the international conditions necessary to curb tax evasion and avoidance and ensure that developing countries keep sufficient amounts of revenue within their borders.

Echoing the new emphasis in the global development discourse, civil society participants specifically focused on an area within the realm of private investment flows: illicit financial flows (IFFs). The workshop emphasized the need to frame IFFs as both a systemic issue and a cash-flow issue and to address them as part of both the regulation of international financial flows and in supporting domestic resource mobilization for development. Given the volume of outflows from developing countries to developed ones, especially secrecy jurisdictions or “tax havens,” participants asserted that European governments must

contribute to creating the international conditions necessary to curb tax evasion and avoidance and ensure that developing countries keep sufficient amounts of revenue within their borders.

Participants emphasized the pivotal role of **international trade**, within the FfD agenda and the international economy at large. Trade should provide developing countries with the tools and policy space to enhance their economic capacity through generating greater value-added, diversification, employment, gender equality, public services, and sustainable development, European civil society asserted. While most European governments highlighted the importance of ensuring an open, rules-based trading system that benefits all countries, in line with recent stipulations of the WTO, civil society participants stressed that to ensure an equitable trading system, policies must address the structural impediments embedded in existing trade agreements that limit developing countries' policy space to equally compete with developed countries.

During the EU discussion, Bhumika Muchhala of TWN explained that over the last decade in particular, a proliferation of free trade agreements, bilateral trade agreements, and economic partnership agreement (EPAs) have increasingly infringed on the policy space of developing countries to realize their right to development. Investor-state dispute settlement clauses, which allow transnational companies (TNCs) to sue host governments for breach of contract or potential profits, extract huge sums of taxpayers' money to service debt – rather than delivering essential public services. For FfD policies to optimize the sustainable development agenda, trade liberalization must not be seen as an end in itself, Bhumika and other civil society representatives expressed. The workshop stressed that instead of instrumentalizing trade in terms of what it can achieve for development, policy makers should review all intellectual property rights regimes, investment agreements, and trade agreements to determine whether these policies serve to bolster the three pillars of sustainable development. While seemingly unwilling to

engage on potential negative impacts of EU trade agreements, government officials present underscored the area of subsidies as one of their priority areas on which to reach agreement in Addis.

To ensure an equitable trading system, policies must address the structural impediments in existing trade agreements that limit developing countries' policy space to equally compete with developed countries

European civil society organizations continued to emphasize the ongoing relevance of **Official Development Assistance (ODA)** in financing for development, entreating European governments to reach and/or go beyond their agreed target of 0.7% of GDP towards ODA. Several European governments – particularly the UK and Sweden – echoed this call at the workshop and during the OWG process. Hilary Jeune of Oxfam's EU office, speaking at the EU luncheon, called for a strong role for ODA within the FfD agenda, including a timetable for the gradual fulfillment and meaningful accountability for these commitments. Hilary cautioned against tied aid, both formal and informal, and stressed that donor costs, refugee costs, debt relief, and climate finance should all represent commitments that are additional to the 0.7% ODA promised by developed countries. CSOs also stressed the importance of looking at the quality of aid in addition to the quantity. Key principles to guide ODA and the FfD agenda as a whole include democratic ownership, transparency, accountability, inclusiveness, and poverty eradication to ensure its overall effectiveness and coordination with the post-2015 and climate negotiations, civil society participants asserted.

On **external debt**, consensus emerged amongst the civil society participants that the FfD process must bolster and complement the ongoing UN General Assembly process surrounding the recent resolution to establish “a multilateral legal framework for sovereign debt restructuring processes.” Countries, particularly European countries, should reaffirm their commitment to address sovereign debt

restructuring under the aegis of the UN, as part of the debt-related outcome of Addis. Sarah-Jayne Clifton, Director of [Jubilee Debt Campaign](#), emphasized that this mechanism must take place in a neutral forum, independent of debtors and creditors; must embrace a human needs-based approach to debt sustainability; must include all stakeholders including affected communities and developing countries; and must ensure meaningful accountability and binding outcomes, to hold creditors and debtors accountable.

European countries should reaffirm their commitment to address sovereign debt restructuring under the aegis of the UN, as part of the debt-related outcome of the Third Conference on Financing for Development.

Sarah added that FfD3 must address debt justice, by recognizing and responding to rising debt burdens of developing countries and taking measures towards debt prevention. This includes addressing the systemic drivers of rising debt levels, including IFFs, tax dodging, and other weaknesses that allow vulture funds and exploitative actors to prey on developing countries. Civil society participants called for FfD to garner a firm commitment to follow [UNCTAD's](#) guidelines for responsible borrowing and lending, emphasizing the need to regulate irresponsible lending, including from the World Bank and the IMF. The level of specificity of civil society concerns raised – including for greater sovereignty for national governments to determine how to allocate funds (rather than servicing debt first and foremost) – did not mirror European governments' positions. In the OWG and FfD informals, only the Netherlands, Spain, Italy, and Turkey called for measures to enhance debt sustainability.

Systemic issues, particularly the overarching international structures governing debt, trade, and finance, surfaced as a significant FfD priority for European civil society. This contrasted sharply with the marked lack of discussion of these issues by European governments, who instead focused on accountability, partnerships, and innovative

financing in their interventions at the Open Working Group and during the FfD informals. During the discussion hosted by the European Union, Eva Hanfstängel of Brot für die Welt and [Diakonia](#) framed this inclusion of systemic issues as a major contribution of the FfD agenda to the post-2015 discourse. The intergovernmental agreements of 2015 must ensure that the international system serves the people – including through shifting some of the power of non-democratic institutions including the OECD, G20, IMF, and World Bank to the UN, civil society attested.

Participants linked the issue of inequality to the global North's reluctance to incorporate policies that would level the playing field for developing countries to enter into more equitable trade and investment agreements, for fear of losing their hegemonic presence within existing international institutions. Civil society, including through the policy paper endorsed by 137 organizations, is specifically targeting European governments to advocate for fundamental systemic issues including a Financial Transactions Tax (FTT), reducing financial speculation, and issuing a significant amount of new Special Drawing Rights under the IMF. As a concrete policy suggestion, Eva recommended the usage of the FfD multi-stakeholder dialogue mechanism, along with an intergovernmental body to which these dialogues could report. Similarly, the aforementioned civil society position paper recommends the creation of a process to set up a Global Economic Coordination Council at the UN to provide leadership on economic issues.

On **other important issues**, both civil society and governments at the European workshop emphasized the importance of addressing the additional burden of funding that will ensue from a potential climate agreement in Paris in December 2015. Increasing public finance, including through an FTT, was suggested by Jean Saldanha of [CIDSE](#), to mobilize additional finance for a number of causes, including climate-related policies. Participants also wondered about the implications of the principle of universality for the responsibilities of different groups of countries; in the Eurodad et al. position paper, civil society calls for the

principle of common but differentiated responsibilities (CBDR) to be respected regarding broader development commitments in addition to climate finance.

Towards Structural Change for Justice in the Post-2015 Arena

European state positions towards FfD3 and post-2015 formed a significant focus of both the civil society strategy session and the dialogue with governments. Using the Regions Refocus UN Language Map as a background document, civil society analyzed European positions on the six chapters of the Monterrey Consensus, and commented on the lack of specificity and time-bound commitments amongst European governments' stated priorities for financing and implementing the new sustainable development agenda.

European Union officials at the dialogue referred to the European Council conclusions document, released later in December 2014, as well as a communication from the European Commission to be released around February, which will spotlight European priorities and planned timeline for the interlinked FfD3 and post-2015 processes. Governments indicated that these processes should be “mutually supportive,” and that success in this larger financing agenda will serve as a prerequisite for a meaningful outcome of the Post-2015 Summit in September and potentially the climate negotiations to be held in Paris in December 2015. It will be important, officials shared, for the European Union to retain its flexibility in responding to these negotiation processes as they develop in the course of the “2015 international landscape.”

Strategies and Next Steps

The importance of civil society participation in the FfD3 informals as well as the post-2015 negotiations resonated as a theme particularly among European governments during the Wednesday discussion. Emphasizing the still-tenuous position of non-state actors'

engagement in the ongoing UN processes, representatives of the European Union informed civil society organizations present of their advocacy at the UN level on behalf of continued openness to civil society. The value placed on civil society contributions, including policy papers like that authored by Eurodad, Afrodad, [Latindadd](#), and others, echoed throughout the comments of European officials from the EU and member country missions to the UN as well as from the Development Cooperation unit of the Commission in Brussels. This discussion mirrored ongoing efforts by civil society participating in the FfD3 preparatory process, including those who engaged in the Regions Refocus workshop, to secure better modalities for substantive engagement. Building on strategy discussions that occurred as part of the workshop, participants and the broader NGO FfD constituency sent a letter to the FfD3 process co-facilitators in mid-December 2014, reiterating their call for effective and systematic civil society participation, including through the provision of funds for travel and an open accreditation process.

The workshop emphasized strategies to be undertaken for future work between policy makers and civil society on some of the FfD priority issues. A clear and collaborative media outreach strategy, as well as direct advocacy work towards UN and governments both in and beyond New York, was identified as a potential mode of working together over the next few months before the Addis conference. This should include social media especially Twitter, participants stressed, to facilitate concise advocacy while engaging a wide range of people, social movements, and government officials, including parliamentarians. Given the decline of progress on the FfD agenda since the Monterrey Consensus was reached in 2002, civil society emphasized the need to frame advocacy points within a larger strategic context and a focused human rights-based approach. This should include a holistic, interlinkage approach to tax, private finance, and international systemic issues, which governments must agree on to enable control of capital flows in and out of their countries.

Chart: Comparison of Europe Workshop Proposals to Agreed Language

Issue	Regional Workshop & Report Proposals	Agreed Language
Domestic Resource Mobilization	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Establish a new intergovernmental body on international cooperation in tax matters and provide the resources necessary to allow the body to operate effectively - High level political discussion is necessary to address the international dimensions of taxation, including tax evasion and avoidance - Ensure a comprehensive mandate for the new intergovernmental tax body, including base erosion and profit shifting, tax and investment treaties, tax incentives, taxation of extractive industries, beneficial ownership transparency, country by country reporting, and automatic exchange of information for tax purposes 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Strengthen domestic resource mobilization, including through international support to developing countries to improve domestic capacity for tax and other revenue collection (OWG) - By 2030 significantly reduce illicit financial and arms flows, strengthen recovery and return of stolen assets, and combat all forms of organized crime (OWG) - Substantially reduce corruption and bribery in all its forms (OWG) - Fighting corruption at all levels is a priority. Corruption is a serious barrier to effective resource mobilization and allocation, and diverts resources away from activities that are vital for poverty eradication and economic and sustainable development (Monterrey)
ODA	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Set binding timetables to meet commitments to provide 0.7% of GNI as ODA - Ensure ODA represents genuine transfers, including by ending aid tying, removing in-donor costs and debt relief, providing the majority in the form of grants, and reforming concessional lending by reflecting the real cost of loans to partner countries - Implement a levy on financial transactions carried out by finance firms and use the revenue to finance sustainable development 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Developed countries to implement fully their ODA commitments, including to provide 0.7% of GNI in ODA to developing countries of which 0.15-0.20% to least-developed countries (OWG) - Encourage ODA and financial flows, including foreign direct investment, to states where the need is greatest, in particular LDCs, African countries, SIDS, and LLDCs, in accordance with their national plans and programmes (OWG)
FDI and international private flows	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Recognise capital account regulation as a fundamental policy tool for all countries and remove from all trade and investment agreements any obstacles to these important policies - Spell out the significant problems with using public institutions and resources to leverage international private finance 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Improve regulation and monitoring of global financial markets and institutions and strengthen implementation of such regulations (OWG) - Mobilize additional financial resources for developing countries from multiple sources (OWG) - Promote the use of ODA to leverage additional financing for development, such as foreign investment, trade and domestic resources (Monterrey)

Issue	Regional Workshop & Report Proposals	Agreed Language
International Trade	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - A comprehensive review of all trade agreements and investment treaties to identify all areas where they may limit developing countries' ability to prevent and manage crises, regulate capital flows, protect the right to livelihoods and decent jobs, enforce fair taxation, deliver essential public services and ensure sustainable development - A review of all intellectual property rights regimes that have been introduced in developing countries through Free Trade Agreements, to identify any adverse impacts on public health, the environment and technology development, among other areas 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Promote a universal, rules-based, open, non-discriminatory and equitable multilateral trading system under the WTO including through the conclusion of negotiations within its Doha Development Agenda (OWG) - Implement the principle of special and differential treatment for developing countries, in particular least developed countries, in accordance with WTO agreements (OWG) - A universal, rule-based, open, non-discriminatory and equitable multilateral trading system, as well as meaningful trade liberalization, can substantially stimulate development worldwide, benefiting countries at all stages of development. In that regard, we reaffirm our commitment to trade liberalization and to ensure that trade plays its full part in promoting economic growth, employment and development for all. We thus welcome the decisions of the World Trade Organization to place the needs and interests of developing countries at the heart... (Monterrey) - Strengthen international tax cooperation, through enhanced dialogue among national tax authorities and greater coordination of the work of the concerned multilateral bodies and relevant regional organizations, giving special attention to the needs of developing countries and countries with economies in transition (Monterrey)
External Debt	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - FfD must take action to address high and growing debt vulnerabilities of developing countries - Reaffirm the commitment to agree to a multilateral legal framework for sovereign debt restructuring processes in a neutral forum and ensure it: is comprehensive; is based on a human needs approach; holds creditors and debtors to account for irresponsible behaviour; and gives all stakeholders the right to be heard 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Assist developing countries in attaining long-term debt sustainability through coordinated policies aimed at fostering debt financing, debt relief and debt restructuring, as appropriate, and address the external debt of highly indebted poor countries (HIPC) to reduce debt distress (OWG)
Systemic Issues	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Set up a process to create a Global Economic Coordination Council at the UN to provide leadership on economic issues - Issue \$250 billion in new Special Drawing Rights (SDRs) annually, with the majority going to developing countries 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Ensure enhanced representation and voice of developing countries in decision making in global international economic and financial institutions in order to deliver more effective, credible, accountable and legitimate institutions (OWG) - Broaden and strengthen the participation of developing countries in the institutions of global governance (OWG)

Cross-Regional Commonalities and Ways Required to Reach: Towards Structural Change for Justice

The nine regional workshops included in Regions Refocus 2015 serve as an important intervention into the redefining of the global development paradigm by the United Nations, decentralizing the debates of the post-2015 sustainable development and Third Conference on Financing for Development processes and rooting them in regional realities and territorial integrities. Many of the policy initiatives and recommendations emerging from this project address the systemic and structural shifts to achieve the actual “structural transformation” required to reach “sustainable development.” Regions Refocus 2015 spotlights the kinds of policies that should be put in place, both domestically and internationally, to further global justice in social, economic, and environmental spheres. Governments and civil society organizations point to global-level constraints – the undemocratic and North-biased international financial architecture, the lack of application of human rights norms and standards, the bias of trade and taxation regimes towards big business – glossed over or left out of the UN-led conversation.

Three interrelated issues in the development discourse emerge as commonalities among the workshops. Firstly, Regions Refocus analyzes the parameters of engagement of the private sector – both domestic and foreign – through new relationships of public-private partnerships (PPPs) and foreign direct investment (FDI), particularly in the infrastructure and extractive sectors. Secondly, the workshops examine and reclaim the role of the state, in adjusting or cementing the social contract through taxation and service provision in fulfillment of human rights obligations. Finally, the outcomes of each workshop address the importance of regional solidarity, including as a counterweight to the undemocratic global arrangements of economic and financial systems. An initial analysis of these potential policy actions

follows, as a primary step towards further cross-regional work.

Public-Private Partnerships: Democratizing Foreign Investment, or Colonization by Another Name?

Domestic resource mobilization and corporate contributions to development, including through “blended finance” and public-private partnerships (PPPs), have emerged as a new emphasis in UN discussions around Financing for Development. Both the Open Working Group (OWG) on Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) and the Intergovernmental Committee of Experts on Sustainable Development Financing (ICESDF), which released their reports in July and August 2014, explicitly refer to the increased expectations and participation of the business sector in providing resources for development. Participants in Regions Refocus 2015 workshops raised concern that this increased corporate engagement has translated into influence on the process of agenda-setting; at a regional level, the workshops emphasized the need for coordinated responses to shift the prevailing paradigm to benefit developing countries rather than the corporations that invest in them.

In this context, the Africa workshops call for stronger linkages between the discussion on private investment in extractive industries and that of foreign-financed mega infrastructure projects. The Southern Africa meeting focuses on the Programme for Infrastructure Development in Africa (PIDA), challenging its evident bias towards PPPs and a “colonial model of exporting energy” to serve European markets and financiers. As just one example of a privatized model promoted by the G20, the World Bank, and the World Economic Forum along with bilateral initiatives like Power Africa, PIDA flags for African regional networks the continuing

privileging of corporate investment on the African continent under the guise of development. Like the Arab States and Europe workshops, the Africa meetings warn against the marginalization of regional and continental initiatives in favor of PPPs, which tend to benefit the private investor rather than the significant development needs – particularly with respect to infrastructure – of countries in which they invest. The Arab States meeting highlights the potential of PPPs to strain public budgets while threatening inclusive access to public services, which are made more costly through privatization.

In its discussion of the privatization of public services, the South Asia workshop referred to the consequences of colonialism, capitalism, and neoliberal development policy in multiplying the repression and marginalization of women and LGBT people. Participants challenged the pervasive neoliberal thinking that in addition to the market, corporate-sourced technology will serve as the solution to gender-based violence and sexuality more broadly – citing the example of apps to mobilize awareness of gender-based violence and enhance women’s safety in urban settings. In opposition to this over-emphasis on technology and consumption, South Asia participants call for a reconceptualizing of sexuality in development, through a holistic approach that re-instills a consciousness of rights and justice.

Through presenting these concerns and proposing alternatives, Regions Refocus 2015 deconstructs the dominant discourse in and around the UN of PPPs as a preferred mode of entry for foreign investment and also a more nationally-owned form of foreign direct investment (FDI).¹ Challenging the embrace

¹ This discourse was exemplified in remarks made by Ambassador Jean-Francis Zinsou, Chair of Delegation of Benin to the UN and lead representative of the Least Developed Countries (LDCs) bloc. At a conference in November 2014, Ambassador Zinsou described PPPs as a strategic improvement upon FDI, given that at least some role is involved for the host state.

of the corporate sector by the UN Secretariat along with member states and even some large civil society organizations, Regions Refocus 2015 warns that the promotion of corporate involvement in development through the continuing emphasis on creating an “enabling environment” for investment and PPPs serves as “the ideological preparation to bring about the re-colonization of the whole globe.”² Rather than private corporations, the primary actor in achieving development must be the developmental state, the workshops stress.

Reclaiming the State for Development

Regions Refocus 2015 emphasizes the primacy of the state in creating and enforcing policy for people-centered development, specifically through taxation and service provision. As the key enabler of structural transformation, the “developmental state” is the primary duty-bearer in enacting policy that ensures and increases the wellbeing of its people. Within the historical trajectory shared by most of the global South – from colonization to post-independence nationalism to the structural adjustment era retreat of the state – the Africa, Arab States, Caribbean, and Latin America regional workshops in particular envision a renewal in the intrinsic role of the state. Policy makers and civil society representatives point to state responsibility and ownership of relevant processes including domestic resource mobilization; addressing inequalities particularly related to gender; social protection and service provision; and regulating the activities and effects of private enterprise. The Pacific initiative took a slightly different focus, calling for the extension of Pacific states’ leadership and commitment around mitigating and adapting to climate change towards gender equality and women’s human rights, as part of a broader transformation to sustainable development.

² This statement was made by Dereje Alemayehu of Tax Justice Network – Africa and Christian Aid.

The Regions Refocus 2015 workshops frame taxation as simultaneously the most effective mechanism for domestic resource mobilization and an essential tool for the state to address inequalities. States should stimulate redistribution by shifting from indirect and consumption-based taxes to a progressive tax system that targets higher concentrations of income and capital, according to the Arab States and Latin America meetings. International structures should enable states' active and progressive taxation strategy, the Europe meeting stresses, calling for the establishment of a new intergovernmental body on international cooperation in tax matters, under the aegis of the UN. Many of the Regions Refocus 2015 participants advocated for tax equity, including reversing the disproportionate burden of taxation on people and communities living in poverty, as part of a broader shift in fiscal policy at the national level to address inequalities.

Drawing connections between revenue collection through taxation and state expenditure for social services, the workshops called for inclusive and effective provision of social protection and services to benefit all people and social groups. The Latin America workshops affirm the need to accompany redistributive policy with civic education and public financing for development-related sectors, while the Africa participants explicitly expand the focus on addressing inequalities to emphasize the role of the state in taking concrete measures to ensure gender equality and women's human rights. The statement produced by the Africa feminist caucus calls on states to recognize care work, primarily unpaid and carried out by women, and therefore to provide both compensation and social services. Including care work and addressing concerns of gender equality more broadly as well, the Pacific initiative specifically calls on states to fulfill their obligations to translate gender equality and human rights commitments into legislation, policy and budget allocations at the national level as well as in their positioning in regional and global intergovernmental spaces.

Sharing this rights-focused emphasis on the state as primary duty-bearer in upholding human rights, the Arab States meeting calls for full regional implementation of CEDAW, which all Arab countries have signed, and its optional protocol. As part of a reinvigorated social contract, underpinned by effective and progressive taxation, the Arab States meeting emphasizes the need for social policies that eradicate discrimination while protecting women's civil, political, economic, social, and cultural rights. The need for universal and inclusive provision of public services, particularly in the social sector, is emphasized by both Latin America meetings and the Arab States workshop.

In addition to the taxation of both local and domestic businesses, states' regulatory role vis-à-vis private capital emerged as a theme among the regional workshops. In West Africa, participants call for the restructuring and reaffirmation of state responsibility in providing oversight of extractive industries, from contract (re)negotiations to operations and after-the-fact environmental cleanup. Decrying the "fetish" of foreign direct investment (FDI), participants in the Africa meetings call for a reversal of the paradigm of ensuring an enabling environment for investment through lax regulation and low taxes. Instead, states should tax corporations and tackle illicit financial flows, to garner untapped resources to finance development and fulfill human rights, the Latin America workshops affirmed. The statement of the feminist caucus at the Latin America workshop on finance and transparency explicitly connects illicit financial flows to state responsibility for development, positioning these efforts as a strategic alternative to PPPs. The Latin American workshop on education takes a similar tone, focusing on the need for states to provide quality education and to enact measures to stem the tide of privatization and resulting inequalities.

State oversight and encouragement of corporate accountability is necessary in both the host and origin countries of corporations, Pacific participants stress, in accordance with legally binding norms and standards agreed at the global level. This should extend, according to the Latin America, Arab States, and Europe workshops, to the causes and expressions of illicit financial flows, including through fair regulation of tax evasion and transfer mispricing at both national and global levels. The workshops, particularly the Europe and Latin America meetings, called for regulation and safeguards to circumscribe the role of private finance in development and warn against the rhetoric, espoused increasingly by European governments in particular, of using ODA to “leverage” private investment.

Regional Integration vs. the System as Aberration

Several of the Regions Refocus 2015 workshops emphasized the importance of regional-level collaboration, to address a range of structural problems in the economic and social spheres in particular. Using remarkably similar language, the Africa and South Asia meetings described the global dynamics of finance and of sexuality as consisting of aberrations. The Africa meetings challenged the mainstream post-2015 discourse, particularly around illicit financial flows: “this discourse looks at aberrations in the system without questioning the ways in which the system itself is an aberration.”³ South Asia participants reframe the assumption of non-normative sexual realities as aberrations, “where society in fact is a bunch of aberrations.”⁴ This holistic and heterodox perspective characterizes the approach of Regions Refocus 2015, as the initiative analyzes the ways in which a variety and depth

of experiences can be moved forward, with the regions as starting point.

At a global level, the regional workshops point to the UN – the uniquely democratic sphere of the multilateral arena – as the ideal location to address global-level concerns related to fundamental and interrelated regional development priorities. All of the meetings emphasize the need for increased policy coherence of development-related systems, guided by the UN’s rights-based normative framework and oversight. The Latin America feminist caucus calls for reform of the international financial architecture “towards development, equity, and human rights for all” – a recommendation that echoed throughout the workshops.

Positioning a dichotomy between the one-country, one-vote framework of the UN on one hand and the undemocratic, Northern dominated Bretton Woods institutions on the other, the Arab States meeting challenges hegemonic IMF policies to phase out subsidies and tariffs while instituting regressive taxation, privatization, and PPPs. Instead, Regions Refocus 2015 workshops advocate for the increased role of the UN in reframing global governance. The Pacific outcome calls for “a stable, multilateral and equitable financial system, with representative and participatory international institutions and systematic international financial regulation.” European civil society asserts that the intergovernmental agreements of 2015 must ensure that the international system serves the people – including through shifting some of the power of non-democratic institutions like the OECD, G20, IMF, and World Bank to the UN. Additionally, international tax cooperation, effective global regulation, and coordination of the international systems governing finance, economics, and data emerge as priorities from both the Latin America and Europe meetings.

Further, the Arab States, Africa, and Europe dialogues suggest a radical reformulation of

³ This framing was expressed at the Africa workshop on illicit financial flows, by Dereje Alemayehu of Tax Justice Network – Africa and Christian Aid.

⁴ Activist and academic Akshay Khanna framed this discussion at the South Asia workshop.

the global system, to bring the Bretton Woods institutions and the WTO under the umbrella of the UN and thereby enable the harmonization – rather than contradiction – of international investment, trade, debt, and development policies. Regions Refocus 2015 workshops illustrate the inherent contradictions between states' intentions to enact policies that stimulate local development and productivity on the one hand, and on the other their bilateral investment treaties (BITs) with powerful states and the stipulations of the WTO. The Pacific, Africa, Arab States, and Europe meetings affirm the necessity to renegotiate or avoid these BITs and free trade agreements, to ensure that states have sufficient space to regulate transnational corporations and thereby take steps to ensure structural transformation. The Europe workshop added that policy makers should review all intellectual property rights regimes, investment agreements, and trade agreements to determine whether these policies serve to bolster the three dimensions (economic, social, environmental) of sustainable development.

Trade should provide developing countries with the tools and policy space to enhance their economic capacity through generating greater value-added, diversification, employment, gender equality, public services, and sustainable development, several workshops asserted. Adding to the repetition in the global development discussions towards ensuring an open, rules-based trading system that benefits all countries, in line with recent stipulations of the WTO, Regions Refocus 2015 stresses that to ensure an equitable trading system, policies must address the structural impediments embedded in existing trade agreements that limit developing countries' policy space to equally compete with developed countries. Rather than espousing open market policies without safeguards or specificity, the Arab States and Caribbean workshops stressed that governments should instead advance regional

strategic integration in trade agreements. Accessing regional markets and building collective public goods including transport systems for intra-regional trade emerged as a specific recommendation of the Caribbean meeting, to expand partnerships and access to finance.

Each regional meeting affirmed the importance of regional integration in achieving the structural transformation required to promote development. Regional value chains and markets, stemming capital flight, and enabling greater local productivity and therefore competitiveness were highlighted by the Africa, Latin America, Caribbean, and Arab States meetings. The Latin America education meeting frames regional integration as a mode of collective action towards justice and dignity, encompassing education as well as a broader social development agenda. In the Caribbean, regional cooperation and collective economic governance are positioned as essential measures towards coherent and transformative policy, in the face of existential threats of climate change and debt.

In particular, the Regions Refocus 2015 workshops identify the importance of regional integration in strengthening opposition to the hegemonic control of the corporate sector over the economies of developing and developed countries alike. The Pacific and Africa meetings call for regional initiatives to move beyond voluntary, uncoordinated mechanisms of corporate social responsibility and transparency, towards binding corporate accountability. Several workshops indicate the multilateral arena should provide governance and legally binding accountability mechanisms for investors and transnational corporations. The Africa and Latin America meetings envisage collective action at sub-regional and regional levels to improve both market access and competitiveness as well as to serve as a counterweight to the influence of multinational corporations. In Southern Africa, a specific recommendation calls for

the prohibition of trade and investment agreements and PPP contracts that handicap the capacity of the state to regulate foreign investors in the best interest of the government and its people – a significantly radical proposal that, if implemented, would fundamentally alter investor-state relations in the region and beyond.

Ways Forward

These three interrelated facets of development – the parameters of engagement of the private sector, the role of the state, and the importance of regional integration – form potential areas of further exploration for the Regions Refocus initiative, as it works throughout 2015 and beyond to build cross-regional and cross-movement learning and dialogue. Among other issues that arose – the intersections of sexuality and development, the need to unpack the transparency/corruption discourse, and the fundamental relationship between gender equality and addressing climate change – point to shared activism and approaches that set the stage for new collaborative ways of working, within and across regions and sectors.

As an overarching principle, Regions Refocus 2015 models and advocates an interlinkage approach to development, analyzing political, ecological, economic, and social dimensions of a variety of challenges through one holistic frame. The Pacific workshop in particular emphasizes the incorporation of concerns of gender equality and women's rights and modes of experience, as well as acknowledgment of various types of structural disadvantage, in the construction of policy on climate change and disaster risk reduction.

Similarly, the Caribbean meeting created concrete ways forward for incorporating gender in macroeconomic and sustainability policy in the region. In the Arab regional workshop, participants reached consensus that to meaningfully address inequalities requires an intersectoral approach, to replace artificial divisions of development policy according to specific objectives.

Through this interlinkage mode and drawing on cross-regional and cross-movement connections, the launch of Regions Refocus 2015 – 26 January 2015 at the Ford Foundation in New York – will stimulate further (re)conceptualization and identify creative ways to advance. Building upon this global dialogue, inclusive of policy makers, UN officials, and nearly forty representatives of autonomous regional civil society networks, Regions Refocus 2015 will articulate a vision for its subsequent phase. Later in 2015, an updated version of this report will be released, setting a path for continuing collective initiatives and political pairings that stimulate and bolster progressive policies to restructure economic, ecological and social relations towards justice.

