

GENDER EQUALITY AND AID EFFECTIVENESS

The mobilisation of gender equality and women's rights organisations towards Accra: actions, strategies, successes and challenges

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PRESENTATION

In its more than 20 years of existence, WIDE has built up considerable capacity to promote a holistic feminist view on economic and social development. As part of the international women's movement, WIDE has a crucial role in ensuring women's rights and achievements. The organisation focuses its work on the nexus of trade, gender and development, and has opened up the debate around the mechanisms that lead to the feminisation of poverty and the failure of trade and development policies to create sustainable and just development for all. WIDE also prioritises the development of feminist alternatives for resistance and sustainable livelihoods.

WIDE's multi-layered and multi-faceted work is based around three interrelated and mutually reinforcing fields of activity, in which WIDE works from a 'South, East and West perspective', including women's voices from the global South, Eastern Europe, Central Asia, and Western Europe. WIDE's three main fields of activity are: awareness raising; lobbying and advocacy; networking; and capacity building.

WIDE is the only European feminist network focusing on a gender analysis of development and trade policies, with a particular emphasis on the European Union. WIDE's work on the gender-trade-development nexus has been recognised as crucial in terms of creating knowledge and analysis on the issues as well as in articulating alternative approaches for a truly sustainable, gender-just development agenda.

2008 was an important year for the aid and development agenda, with key international high-level meetings taking place: the Third High-Level Forum (HLF3) on Aid Effectiveness in the framework of the OECD-DAC, held on 2–4 September 2008 in Accra, Ghana, and the UN International Conference on Financing for Development, held on 28 November–2 December 2008 in Doha, Qatar. Ahead of those meetings WIDE concentrated on two types of action: monitoring and influencing European Union and international policy processes on aid effectiveness and financing for development; and building the capacities of the WIDE network and partners, aiming at a critical engagement of women's organisations and advocates in these processes, as well as organising awareness-raising activities.

In the process of building the aid effectiveness agenda, a huge effort was made to collectively build a strong coalition of women's rights organisations, which could be a vocal advocate in the process and make the voices of women, stand out as part of the broader coalition among civil society organisations. This objective was definitely achieved. The alliance between WIDE, AWID, DAWN, FEMNET, IGTN, NETRIGHT and WILDAF was strong and fruitful, as was the support of gender advocates from the bilateral and multilateral agencies and UNIFEM.

This publication aims to document this crucial and key alliance among women's rights organisations around the aid effectiveness agenda by analysing the different processes and actions that took place, the strengths and weaknesses found during the process, as well as providing lessons for the challenges of the future. There is still so much work to do together to place gender equality and women's rights at the centre of the new global economic and development architecture, and we hope this publication is useful for all women's rights organisations and gender equality advocates committed to this goal.

We want to acknowledge the support of the Fundación Carolina as well as the contributions of many of the different organisations named above, which have made possible this publication.

WIDE Network

INTRODUCTION

In 2005, several civil society organisations witnessed the signing of the Paris Declaration on Aid Effectiveness (PD), the latest agreement between donors and recipient countries aimed at reforming the provision and management of international aid, and strengthening its impact and effectiveness. That same year, more than US\$ 107 billion flowed from multilateral and bilateral funding agencies to governments of developing countries in the form of Official Development Assistance (ODA). However, for the period 2004–2005, only US \$7.5 million went to programmes that included gender equality as a principal objective. Women and girls continue to represent approximately 70% of the population living in extreme poverty, despite more than fifty years of ODA allocation, thirty years of implementing the Convention on the Elimination of All Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW), and fourteen years of the Beijing Platform for Action.

The PD was adopted in March 2005 during the High Level Forum (HLF) convened by the Development Assistance Committee (DAC) of the Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD), with the ultimate goal of contributing to poverty reduction and meeting the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs). The PD was seen as an opportunity to redefine the relationship between the donor community and the countries receiving aid. However, despite the goodwill of the donor community to improve the quality and effectiveness of aid and its management mechanisms, civil society organisations questioned the framework upon which the Paris Declaration was based – it was considered to be purely technical and divorced from the political dimension of aid. On the other hand, women's rights organisations criticised the absence of gender equality in this process.

In September 2008, the OECD countries and some developed countries gathered for the Third High Level Forum (HLF3) in Accra, Ghana, to assess the PD implementation progress and agree on a new 'agenda for action' (aimed at achieving, by 2011, the goals set in the PD). This was the first opportunity for the OECD and developing countries to assess progress.

Leading up to Accra, several gender equality and women's rights authors and activists highlighted the opportunities and risks associated with the Paris Declaration. For instance, one clear concern was the lack of inclusion of civil society actors – and specially the exclusion of gender equality and women's rights organisations – in defining national development plans and in monitoring the implementation of national budgets and international cooperation. Recognising this and other shortcomings, AWID and WIDE in

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¹ www.oecd.org

² EUROSTEP/ SOCIAL WATCH (2005), Accountability upside down: Gender Equality in a partnership for poverty eradication, Brussels.

partnership with DAWN, FEMNET, IGTN, NETRIGHT and WILDAF,³ among others, set up a coalition which coordinated much of the advocacy work of women's rights organisations towards the HLF3.

After Accra, WIDE reflected on the achievements and lessons learned. For this purpose, we decided to undertake a literature review of the achievements by some organisations that were active in the advocacy process towards Accra. We also aimed to propose a series of recommendations for future partnerships around other processes (e.g. the MDG +10 review in 2010, the Fourth High Level Forum on Aid Effectiveness in 2011, and future meetings around the Monterrey process on financing for development). Thus, this paper does not pretend to be an assessment and analysis of the political results of the process towards Accra; but aims to reflect on the mobilisation carried out by women's rights organisation at that time.

The contributions included in this publication come from AWID, DAWN, the Spanish NGDO National Platform Gender Group, IGTN, NETRIGHT and WIDE. Each contribution provides the reader with an overview of the work done by each organisation and their impressions about the process; as well as the work done collaboratively, reflecting global, regional or national/local perspectives. In all cases, the reports in this publication provide a glimpse of some of the approaches to working together to prepare for the HLF3 on Aid Effectiveness in Accra.

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³ AWID – Association for Women's Rights in Development; WIDE – Women in Development Europe; DAWN – Development Alternatives with Women for a New Era; FEMNET – The African Women's Development and Communication Network; IGTN – The International Gender and Trade Network; NETRIGHT – Network for Women's Rights in Ghana; WILDAF – Women in Law and Development in Africa.

CHAPTER 1.

Gender and Aid Effectiveness: an overview of the mobilisation of women's rights organisations

The PD, adopted on 2 March 2005, is an international agreement committed to by over one hundred government ministers, heads of agencies and other senior officials. Its aim was to work together towards the harmonisation, alignment, and management of aid through concrete results, with an array of monitoring actions and indicators.

The principles of the Paris Declaration:

OWNERSHIP: Partner countries exercise effective authority over their development policies and strategies and coordinate development actions.

ALIGNMENT: Donors base their support on all the strategies, institutions and procedures of development partners.

HARMONISATION: Donor actions are more harmonised, transparent and collectively effective. MANAGING FOR RESULTS: Managing resources and improving decision-making for results. MUTUAL ACCOUNTABILITY: Donors and partners are accountable for development results.

Today, around 124 members of the donor community and recipient countries have adhered to the principles of the PD, along with several multilateral agencies and international organisations. In 2005 several civil society organisations were also involved, although their participation was limited.⁴ Organisations working to defend gender equality and women's rights were not involved in the Second High Level Forum on Aid Effectiveness, thus its outcome does not consider the importance of gender equality and women's empowerment in aid effectiveness. The final Declaration was highly technical and focused mainly on the distribution and management mechanisms of aid. However, in practice, the aid effectiveness agenda has become the key framework driving most of today's donor efforts to improve the quality of aid.⁵ Moreover, this process reinforced the regulatory role of the Development Assistance Committee (DAC), and a whole new industry developed to implement the commitments of the PD and to monitor and evaluate its progress and setbacks.⁶

Women's rights organisations also raised concern about the lack of a gender approach in the PD and the fundamental weakness that this implies. The PD marginalised the gender equality dimension as well as environmental sustainability and human rights by including them only as cross-cutting issues that would not be

⁴ For more information on the signing of the Paris Declaration see: http://www.oecd.org/document/22/0,3343,en_2649_3236398_36074966_1_1_1_1,00.html

⁵ In the context f the UE most of the strategies of bilateral cooperation are integrating the principles of the Paris Declaration. More specifically in the Spanish case, see for example: Master Plan for Spanish Cooperation 2009-2012; Master Plan for Cooperation for Development 2007-2010 of the Catalan Agency for Cooperation for Development.

⁶ ALEMANY, Č. y DEDE, G. (2008). Conditionalities threaten the Right to Development: An analysis from the perspective of human Rights and women. AWID: México Distrito Federal, México.

addressed. Bearing this in mind, even the DAC acknowledged that "while half the population does not have the sufficient conditions to develop and utilise their skills and participate in social, economic and political life (due to gender discrimination), both society and economic growth will suffer the consequent inefficiency". It is obvious that aid effectiveness (measured according to its contribution to eradicating poverty and advancing human and women's rights and sustainable development) is possible only where gender equality and women's rights are fully respected and guaranteed; hence these issues cannot be excluded.

It is important to mention that the PD emerges within a context of 'new' agreements and timetables related to compliance with the commitment to allocate 0.7% of gross national income (GNI) as ODA; in other words, in a context of the expectation of increased aid volumes in the coming years. This represents an additional concern for gender and development specialists and women's rights organisations. In the words of Cathy Gaynor (2006): "If efforts to mainstream gender equality in the process around aid effectiveness are not accelerated – taking into account the current context of aid – there is a risk of losing opportunities to channel resources for gender equality and women['s] empowerment. And it would lead to new processes and mechanisms that operate outside the institutionalization of gender and women['s] rights."

These and other concerns about the limitations of the PD,⁹ in addition to the absence of women's voices up to this point, motivated women's rights organisations to organise and coordinate their work towards the HLF3, planned for September 2008 in Accra, Ghana. This represented the first real opportunity to revise the PD since the original agreement in 2005

The first meeting, which focused more on exploration than coordination, took place in June 2007 in Madrid, after the WIDE annual conference, and was entitled: "The new aid architecture of aid and international trade: What do women have to say?". ¹⁰ This meeting was an opportunity to identify the agendas that various partners were following (e.g. financing for development, trade and development, aid effectiveness, the UN reform etc.), and the approach through which these agendas were being addressed. This encounter led to a commitment by different organisations to keep track of each other's activities and to build alliances where synergies exist and where there is a need for mutual support.

⁷ OECD DAC (2007), DAC Action-oriented policy paper on Human Rights and Development, Paris, at: www.oecd.org/dac/governance/humanrights. ⁸ Summary of the Joint Meeting of the Inter-Agency Network on Women and Gender Equality (IANWGE) and the Network of Gender Equality of the DAC "Aid Modalities and the Promotion of Gender Equality". January 2006. Nairobi. Kenya.

DAC "Aid Modalities and the Promotion of Gender Equality", January 2006, Nairobi, Kenya.

8 See, for example: ALEMANY, C. y CRAVIOTTO, N. et al. (2008). Implementing the Paris Declaration: Implications for the Promotion of Women's Rights and Gender Equality. Canadian Council for International Cooperation (CCIC), AWID y WIDE: Ottawa, Canada.

⁹ See, for example: ALEMANY, C. y CRAVIOTTO, N. et al. (2008). Implementing the Paris Declaration: Implications for the Promotion of Women's Rights and Gender Equality. Canadian Council for International Cooperation (CCIC), AWID y WIDE: Ottawa, Canada.

¹⁰ Report of the conference available on www.wide-network.org

¹¹ AWID, DAWN, Spanish NGDO National Platform Gender Group, IGTN, KARAT Coalition, RLMTE, SOCIAL WATCH, WEDO y WIDE.

The next meeting was held in Ottawa, Canada, in January 2008. ¹² As part of the PD implementation, the Advisory Group on Civil Society and Aid Effectiveness ¹³ (OECD-DAC) organised a series of regional meetings to democratise the debate on aid effectiveness. However, women's rights groups were not well-represented in these regional consultations, nor were groups defending human rights or the environment. Recognising this gap, AWID and WIDE, with the strategic support of UNIFEM and in collaboration with other women's organisations and networks, organised the International Consultation on Aid Effectiveness, which took place just ahead of the International Forum on Civil Society and Aid Effectiveness convened by the Advisory Group and the Canadian Council for International Cooperation (CCIC). The consultation involved more than 50 women's rights activists and gender equality experts from all regions, each of whom drew up a document with their main concerns and recommendations (see Annex 1).

Following the consultation, many of the participating groups decided to strengthen their mobilisation and coordination efforts on gender equality and aid effectiveness in their own countries and regions. Thus, in the same consultation, several African organisations and networks came together to convene the Regional Consultation of African Women on Aid Effectiveness, to be led by FEMNET. Ghana, under the leadership of NETRIGHT, organised similar processes at national and local levels (as discussed in chapter 5), and prioritised its active participation in the Ghana Forum on Civil Society and Aid Effectiveness¹⁴ (channelling messages reproduced at national, regional and local levels). Regional consultations were organised in Latin America under the leadership of REPEM, IGTN–LA and Confluencia Nacional de Redes de Colombia, (see chapter 4) and in Europe under the leadership of WIDE (see chapters 3 and 6) and UNIFEM. It is also important to emphasize here the large effort made to mobilise resources by different organisations to generate the process accomplished in order to arrive in Accra; in this exercise UNIFEM's support was key.

Summary of the Regional Consultations on Gender Equality and Aid Effectiveness¹⁵:

- 1. Consultation on Gender Equality and Women's Empowerment: Challenges and opportunities in the new European aid context. Brussels, Belgium, May 2008.
- 2. Regional Consultation of African Women on Aid Effectiveness and Gender Equality: The road to Accra. Nairobi, Kenya, May 2008.
- 3. Regional Consultation for Latin America and the Caribbean on Development Aid Effectiveness. Bogotá, Colombia. June, 2008.
- 4. Consultation of Women in West Africa on Aid Effectiveness. Lomé, Togo, June, 2008.

Among other outcomes of the consultation, it is important to highlight the creation of an informal coalition of organisations that agreed to coordinate their advocacy work to make a greater impact at HLF3. At

¹² AWID y WIDE (2008). Primer 5 of the Aid Effectiveness and Women's Rights series. Making women's rights and gender equality a priority in the Aid Effectiveness Agenda. AWID y WIDE: México DF, México.

¹³ This group, formed by an informal coalition of organizations from North and South was responsible for coordinating the "Civil Society Parallel Forum", in addition to the work of lobbying and advocacy. More information www.betteraid.org

¹⁴ A platform that brings together different stakeholders and CSOs of Ghana.

¹⁵ For a summary of the consultations and the results, see: AWID et al. (2008). Primer # 7: Aid Effectiveness and Women's Rights Series Gender equality and Aid Effectiveness: regional perspectives in the preparation process towards Accra. AWID et al.: México DF, México.

the core of this coalition were AWID, DAWN, FEMNET, IGTN, NETRIGHT, WIDE and WILDAF. The coalition also served as a platform for coordinating efforts in preparation for the Monterrey process and the International Conference on Financing for Development, to be held in November 2008, in Doha, Qatar. A key tool for collaboration between these organisations and others, in addition to gender and development experts from academia, government and multilateral agencies, was the creation of a mailing list, under the heading 'road to Accra and beyond', to circulate up-to-date information, position papers, events information etc. With over one-hundred people registered on the list, it enabled the delivery of a significant amount of information to support coordination in the lead up to HLF3. This list is still active today for disseminating information on the follow-up of Accra and Doha outcomes and on the global financial crisis, among other issues.

In terms of immediate political results, we would like to highlight the invitation to two representatives of the consultation to participate in the meeting of the Advisory Group on Civil Society and Aid Effectiveness, which took place a few days later in Ottawa. Considering the active role that AWID and WIDE played in the process, participants decided they should be the organisations to attend the meeting. AWID and WIDE were then invited to join the meetings of this Advisory Group in preparation for HLF3 as part of the civil society delegation. This invitation was a direct result of the consultation and an achievement in itself: it recognised the role of organisations that defend gender equality and women's rights in development processes, and the importance of having their voices represented. It also created an opportunity to influence the content of the group's documents and messages, which for the first time reflected the concerns of women's rights organisations. And it provided access to updated information, which was distributed through the right channels to other organisations within the informal coalition set up after the consultation.

Participants identified several challenges of this process. Primary among these was the need to maintain and strengthen the links between the actions of the various participating organisations at national, regional and international levels. Another challenge relates to mutual information sharing with gender equality and women's rights specialists within the GENDERNET of the DAC. The need to include organisations that were not previously represented was one of the anticipated challenges, and in this respect the mailing list was a key tool. It was also agreed that it was important to continue building a formal space for participation of civil society at the OECD level and at parallel level (CSO space) through the International CSOS Coordinating Group¹⁷ (work to be done primarily through the involvement of several organisations participating in the International Coordinating Group).

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¹⁶ Activities around the Monterrey process were coordinated by the Women's Working Group on Financing for Development, under the leadership of DAWN. Some of the organizations active in the group were: GCAP, IGTN, MADRE, WEDO y WIDE. The group is still in force today and continues to monitor the Monterrey process and the Stieglitz Commission (or Committee of Experts on International Finance Reforms and Economic Structures).

¹⁷ For more information about the mission and role of the International Coordination Group, now known as the Better Aid Platform, see: www.betteraid.org.

Following the Consultation in Ottawa, much of the work of women's rights organisation was developed at national and regional levels, except the work directly related to the DAC Working Party on Aid Effectiveness (part of the OECD), through the International CSO Coordinating Group. It is important to note that the planning process for the regional consultations (which took place in most cases prior to official DAC events in the lead up to Accra) opened a small window of opportunity for participation by representatives of women's rights organisations at these official events. This was the case for official meetings in Africa and Latin America. This work culminated in the organisation of the Accra Women's Forum, in August 2008 (see statement in Annex 2) prior to the Civil Society Forum and HLF3 on Aid Effectiveness, which brought together more than 200 participants from all over the world.

The Women's Forum was an opportunity to reach a consensus on messages, review the work achieved up until the Accra meeting, and to strategically prepare for the Civil Society Forum and HLF3 on Aid Effectiveness, taking into account that at least fifteen representatives from women's rights organisations would attend.

What we have described so far only represents a fraction of the work done during a year and a half of preparation for the HLF3 on Aid Effectiveness; it does not indicate all of the information, statements, articles, position papers, capacity-building sessions, press conferences and other activities and outputs. For that reason we invite you to visit the websites of: AWID, DAWN, FEMNET, the Gender Group of the Spanish NGDO Platform, IGTN, NETRIGHT, REPEM¹⁸, the UK Gender and Development Network, WILDAF and WIDE, to name but a few.

In terms of political results, 19 the commitments made in Accra through the Accra Agenda for Action (AAA) showed, to some degree, the efforts made by governmental and non-governmental sectors to integrate gender equality and women's empowerment in the framework of the Paris Declaration. However, progress is still modest. The final text of the AAA emphasised the centrality of poverty eradication and human rights in development policies, and the importance of human rights, gender equality and environmental sustainability as "essential for achieving a lasting impact" (para 39).

It also stated that:

developing countries and donors must ensure that their respective development policies and" programs are designed and implemented in a manner consistent with their agreed international commitment on gender equality, human rights, disability and environmental sustainability" (para13c)

¹⁸ Red de Educación Popular entre Mujeres

¹⁹ Analysis taken from: CRAVIOTTO, N. (2008). Engendering aid: analysis of the Accra outcomes. FRIDE: Madrid, Spain. (Pg. 3 y 4).

and that:

"at national level, donors and developing countries will work to reach an agreement on a realistic set of objectives for the development of State peace to address the root causes of conflict and fragility to ensure the protection and participation of women" (para 21b).

In addition, the AAA acknowledges the need to improve the availability of statistical data disaggregated by sex, region and socio-economic status, helping to strengthen the design, implementation and evaluation of policies (para 23). This was one of the key demands of those advocating for gender equality and women's rights. However, of the AAA's 32 paragraphs, only three included commitments that could contribute to the advancement of gender equality and women's empowerment.

On the other hand, in the lead up to Accra there was an awareness of how the 'neutrality' of policies can end up reinforcing inequalities. Therefore, significant efforts were made to provide information on how to integrate these issues into each of the Paris principles (in other words, gender mainstreaming). The final text of the AAA did not reflect these efforts. In contrast, the advancements observed in the AAA were undermined by the lack of new targets or commitments related to gender equality and women's empowerment (such as new indicators). Likewise, there were no commitments related to the resources required to implement the commitments that were made. Even so, the commitments made in Accra opened new opportunities for advancing the gender equality and women's empowerment agenda in the context of aid reform, and towards the Fourth High Level Forum on Aid Effectiveness, to be held in 2011. Moreover, beyond what was achieved or not achieved during the HLF3 on Aid Effectiveness, this publication aims to highlight all that was achieved in the lead up to the meeting, specifically: working together; developing joint strategies; building networks and collective mobilisation of resources; empowerment and capacity-building of women's rights organisations, in synergy with other groups; increasing visibility in relation to other civil society organisations; and capitalising on other processes, such as the current economic crisis.

CHAPTER 2.

THE ROAD TO ACCRA: lessons learned from the global arena

AWID 20

I. Introduction

This chapter outlines reflections from the Association for Women's Rights in Development (AWID) on joint women's groups' mobilization and advocacy efforts around the Aid Effectiveness agenda and the road leading to the 3rd High Level Forum (HLF3) on Aid Effectiveness that took place in Accra, Ghana, in September 2008. This process was deeply connected with women's groups' efforts on the Road to Doha around the Financing for Development (FfD) agenda under the United Nations (UN).

Since early 2007, women's groups realized that the Aid Effectiveness Process should be linked with the UN process on FfD and other development debates. During WIDE's Annual Conference in May 2007, it was agreed that AWID and WIDE would lead international advocacy efforts in the Road to Accra and DAWN would do so in the Road to Doha.²¹ In this first Strategy Meeting organized by women's groups to tackle the Aid Effectiveness agenda it was also agreed that:

In terms of building knowledge and mobilization:

- AWID would develop fact sheets to demystify the OECD/DAC Aid Effectiveness process and help raise awareness amongst women's organizations.²²
- Assess the impact of the Aid Effectiveness agenda and hold governments accountable. In this sense,
 AWID and WIDE developed the paper called Implementing the Paris Declaration: Implications for the
 Promotion of Women's Rights and Gender Equality (published by CCIC).
- AWID and WIDE would create mechanisms to ensure effective sharing of knowledge and information amongst women's networks and other NGOs sectors about the Aid Effectiveness agenda, like an e-list (created and called The Road To Accra and Beyond).
- It would be desirable to involve local feminists when a particular country is contributing to any of the official/parallel processes of the Aid Effectiveness agenda, e.g. by providing support to Ghanian NGO's as they develop strategies and activities towards the 3HLF in Accra. In this sense NETRIGHT took a very proactive role and leadership in Ghana.

In terms of advocacy and alliance building:

²⁰ This article was written by Cecilia Alemany, Anne Schoenstein, Michele Knab and Natalie Raaber (AWID).

²¹ On June 17th-18th, 2007, the Association for Women's Rights in Development (AWID), Development Alternative with Women for a New Era (DAWN) and Women in Development-Europe (WIDE) brought a group of 20 feminist activists together to discuss the Aid Effectiveness Agenda, and develop complementary strategies for engagement.

²² See the Primers Series on Women's Rights and Aid Effectiveness from: http://www.awid.org/eng/lssues-and-Analysis/Library/Primers-on-Aid-Effectiveness

- Advocate for the opening up/creation of space for women's rights organizations in the OECD/DAC
 Aid Effectiveness processes and negotiations.
- Engage with the parallel International Steering Group (ISG) for CSO's, inviting other women's rights organizations to join and ensuring information about this process is effectively disseminated.
- Push for stronger linkages between CSO's on the inside (Advisory Group), those in the ISG and other outside processes, to ensure that information flows freely.
- Attend the CIDA/CICC organized International Stakeholders meeting, in Ottawa, in February 2008.
- Connect these efforts with the UN ECOSOC Development Cooperation Forum, the UN reform and the Financing for Development process. The creation of the Women's Working Group on Financing for Development (WWG on FfD) in 2007, coordinated by DAWN, facilitated the involvement of women's rights organizations' around the FfD agenda as well as the necessary connections between Accra and Doha efforts (both international conferences happened in the last quarter of 2008).

II. The Road to Accra

In 2005, the donors' community agreed the Paris Declaration on Aid Effectiveness²³ during the 2nd High Level Forum (HLF2). Women's groups were not part of the debate. Some 15 development non-governmental organizations (NGOs) were part of the discussions in Paris. Just after the HLF2 other NGOs, think tanks, regional and international networks initiated the analysis of the impact of this new framework in the development cooperation culture and trends. But women's rights groups came later during the first quarter of 2007. In 2008 several women's rights organizations and networks have mobilized and promoted initiatives to share strategies and experiences on Aid Effectiveness processes at all levels. These efforts laid the foundation for women to critically engage and prepare - both technically and politically - toward the road leading up to Accra.

Although mentioned in regards to the "ownership" principle in the Paris Declaration, space for civil society organizations (CSOs) did not open formally until 2007. In January 2007, the Working Party on Aid Effectiveness of the OECD²⁴ (WPEFF), created the Advisory Group (AG) on CSOs and Aid Effectiveness for this purpose. At its inception, government representatives from both developed and developing countries and six CSOs comprised the AG led by Canada. As a result of women's mobilizations and efforts to make evidence on the connections between the Aid Effectiveness and gender equality, two women's rights

²³ See the Paris Declaration from: www.oecd.org/document/18/0,3343,en_2649_3236398_35401554_1_1_1_1,00.html

²⁴ The WPEFF is a subsidiary body of the Development Assistance Committee (OECD-DAC).

organizations (AWID and WIDE) joined the AG in February 2008. This possibility was the result of common efforts from the women's movement done since 2007, to the support of some members of the AG and the WPEFF that are sensitive to women's participation, and because of the role of gender advocates inside bilateral agencies.

CSOs' mobilization also occurred in parallel to the AG: the International CSO Steering Group (ISG) - a group of 10-15 CSOs. This group was funded in January 2007 during the World Social Forum (Nairobi, Kenya), and in its conception women's groups did not participate. In March 2007, AWID joined the group, WIDE did the same in May and during the first quarter of 2008, FEMNET came on board. The ISG (today called the Better Aid Coordinating Group) was involved in a multi-stakeholder process leading up to Accra. Key advocacy moments were: Ottawa (Multi-stakeholders consultation in February 2008) and several dialogues with the OECD WPEFF in Paris. Civil society groups followed the Aid Effectiveness agenda closely, organizing the CSO Parallel Forum on Aid Effectiveness in Accra immediately prior to the HLF3. The CSOs Statement outlining the concerns and demands of CSOs was presented at the HLF3 during the Ministerial meetings.

In the lead up to the HLF3, women's rights and women's empowerment organizations promoted the idea that Aid Effectiveness is not possible without development effectiveness and that gender equality, environmental sustainability, human rights and decent work must be recognized as crucial development goals. Relegating these issues to "cross-cutting" status (as stated the Paris Declaration) marginalized their importance, situating them as accessory issues to the Aid Effectiveness agenda.

In order to put forth the recognition that gender equality and women's rights are central development goals, women's rights organizations have been articulated in alliance with other social groups. In this sense, and because of the effort of several women's organizations, gender equality was an integral component of CSOs mobilizations in the Road to Accra.

III. Women's Consultations on Aid Effectiveness

As part of the multi-stakeholders process, the AG organised a set of regional and national consultations around the world and it was not easy to ensure women's groups participation in these regional spaces. Some regions were particularly difficult, and clearly there was no interest from the organisers to open this space to women's groups that were not traditionally involved with these debates. AWID and WIDE made many efforts to promote women's groups participation in these spaces without success. Based on this poor result, and recognizing the risk of isolating women's agenda, both organisations decided to co-convene an

international women consultation back to back to the official Multi-stakeholders Forum organized by the Canadian Center of International Cooperation (CCIC) and CIDA-Canada in Ottawa in February 2008.

On January 31 and February 1, 2008, 50 women's rights activists and gender experts from around the world participated in the International Consultation of Women's Organizations and Networks and Aid Effectiveness in Ottawa, Canada.²⁵ This consultation was co-convened by WIDE and AWID. It served as the basis for future consultations and provided a space for women's rights organizations to further analyze the Paris Declaration's principles and acknowledge the opportunities to advance the gender equality and women's rights agenda in the Aid Effectiveness process and the risks to not connect this agenda with a broader political framework.

Ottawa participants agreed on an advocacy agenda to influence the HLF3 preparation. Production of brief papers and communication, dissemination and lobby actions were agreed. Three regional consultations (Africa, Latin America and Europe) along with the Accra Women's Forum were scheduled and regional networks took commitments to do so. The Ottawa Consultation resulted in the organizers' invitation to several of these women's groups to the Multi-stakeholders Forum, to present the results of the women's consultation in the plenary (without previous advise), and last but not least to invite women's groups to finally become members of the AG.

The participants identified the need to relate the Aid Effectiveness agenda with other goals and processes such as: Beijing, CEDAW, the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs), the Financing for Development (FfD) process, the Development Cooperation Forum (DCF) at the United Nations Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC), the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD) and the World Trade Organization (WTO). Additionally, it was emphasized that donor and developing country governments should deliver on their commitments to international human rights frameworks and key agreements on women's rights and development. Participants underscored the need for strong and autonomous CSOs, including women's organizations, and social movements that are able to disagree, debate with and act as watchdogs of governments; this was seen as critical for the achievement of democratic ownership.

After Ottawa, several regional women's consultation process took place under the leadership of regional networks, enabling a regional discussion on these issues and the identification of regional priorities. Some of these consultations were back to back to the official regional meetings organised by the OECD and

²⁵ These recommendations are pulled from the Recommendations of the International Consultation of Women's Organisations and Networks and Aid Effectiveness organized by AWID and WIDE in Ottawa in January 2008. See all the related information and documents from: http://www.awid.org/eng/lssues-and-Analysis/Library/International-Consultation-of-Women-s-Organizations-and-Networks-and-Aid-Effectiveness

the regional banks to discuss the Accra Agenda for Action (AAA). This dynamic made possible women's presence in some of these official meetings and a broader dissemination of advocacy messages from the region.

At the global level the second Women's Consultation was the Accra Women's Forum. On August 30, 2008 more than 200 people, including gender advocates, experts and individuals from women's rights organizations and women's empowerment organizations attended the Accra International Women's Forum to discuss the implementation of the Paris Declaration on Aid Effectiveness. ²⁶ The Accra Women's Forum was co-organised by the Network for Women's Rights in Ghana (NETRIGHT), FEMNET, WIDE, International Gender and Trade Network (IGTN), Development Alternatives with Women for a New Era (DAWN) and AWID.

The Women's Forum was held just prior to the Civil Society Parallel Forum on Aid Effectiveness to ensure the participation of women's organizations at both the Civil Society Parallel Forum, August 31 - September 1 and the HLF3 on Aid Effectiveness, September 2 - 4, 2008 in Accra.

The Women's Forum offered a space for women's rights organizations to strategize about and develop inputs for both the roundtables at the CSO Parallel Forum and the official roundtables of the HLF3. The Women's Forum also spurred debate and dialogue on how to position gender equality, women's rights and women's empowerment at the centre of aid and development debates in different spaces and processes.

The Accra Women's Forum built on the outcomes and learning from previous consultations, including the consultation held in Ottawa. A draft statement was prepared by a small group of volunteers prior to the Accra Women's Forum; this statement was then examined during the Forum and input into by all participants. The statement was translated into Spanish and French and disseminated broadly in Accra and through websites, e-lists, and the press. Additionally, sections of the Accra Women's Forum statement were incorporated into the CSO Parallel Forum statement.

Participants called for donors and developing country governments to fully recognize gender equality, environmental sustainability and respect for human rights as cornerstones of development. The need to align the Paris Declaration with internationally agreed development goals (IADG) was highlighted.²⁷ The group also underscored that aid effectiveness without a gender equality perspective will not lead to effective development nor will it reduce poverty or inequalities.

²⁶ The recommendations in this section were taken from Cecilia Alemany (AWID); Notes on the Accra Women's Forum as well as the "Women's Forum Statement: Recommendations for Action on Development Effectiveness in Accra and beyond", available at https://www.awid.org/eng/content/download/43402/461138/file/Women's%20Forum%20Statement%20(FINAL)-1.pdf

Participants of the Forum emphasized that economic policy conditionalities have a negative impact on people, particularly on women, and urged donors to recognize this, highlighting that Economic policy conditionalities that undermine the principle of ownership and contradict the right to development and self-determination must be removed. In this sense, most of the co-conveners worked together in a booklet coordinated by AWID, called: Conditionalities undermine the Right to Development: an analysis from the women's rights and human rights approach.

The Women's Forum provided a vital space to generate inputs into the CSO Parallel Forum and the HLF3. The inclusion of some gender equality language in the Accra Agenda for Action can therefore be seen as a positive outcome of the work of the Women's Forum and the efforts of other gender advocates.

IV. Lessons learned and remaining challenges

The current financial and systemic crises have only further highlighted the need for a stronger, more responsive and inclusive international governance and development structure. The WWG on FfD is playing a key role to promote women's voices in these debates in New York and AWID is influencing the debates in Paris (Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development – OECD - headquarters). The impact of women's rights organizations' mobilizations and actions around the Aid Effectiveness Agenda, the Financing for Development process and the Stiglitz Commission is critical to affronting the crisis equitably. As a result of all these efforts, some windows of opportunities have been possible. However, gender equality and women's rights remain a marginal agenda in the current official debates around the crisis and the economic model.

The crisis will continue to unravel over the next few years; women and other vulnerable groups will be affected in a variety of ways. In order for future mobilization efforts to adequately reflect this reality, efforts to counter fragmentation within social movements must be made. Women's organizations must look toward consolidation of alliances as a way to strengthen the impact women's rights groups have on influencing development processes in international fora, such as the OECD, the UN (the so-called G192) or the G20.

New global challenges require new forms of political mobilization and advocacy. New kind of social alliances, another discourse and innovative political dynamics should be a priority for women's groups and other social movements. The magnitude of the crisis put on the table the need to build a new political and social culture, and the women's movement has clear advantages as well as challenges to do so.

The above described processes, consultations and meetings were a central aspect of women's rights organizations' mobilization efforts on the road leading to Accra. These consultations contributed to the way in which women's organizations influenced the broader Aid Effectiveness agenda. Analyzing and reflecting on the strengths and weaknesses encountered along the way can be a useful element for future women's mobilizations.

Women's consultations strengths:

- A pool of co-conveners was a positive and fruitful experience, allowing various agendas space and ensuring the participation of different actors from different regions in meetings and consultations.
- Being open to other allies and key partners (donors, agencies, other CSOs, etc) ensured that "the women's agenda" was owned and pushed for a variety of actors.
- The development of consolidated women's statements outputs of the various consultations was key: the statements were used as advocacy tools and inputs into other CSO statements and strengthened the advocacy efforts of women's rights organizations and gender equality advocates. Statements with concrete proposals together with alternative language documents on time during the AAA negotiations were a very positive combination.
- Focusing the targets and messages in the Road to Accra was a key factor, this means a negotiation process when it is to be done under a CSO platform, but a common set of priorities makes stronger the demands.
- To have strong political (and financial) support from UNIFEM sent an important message of commitment and urgency around gender equality and women's rights to other UN agencies and some governments.

The challenges encountered offered important insight/lessons for future mobilization efforts:

- Consultations were often planned abruptly and too close to their staring date. More time needs to be allotted for the planning and organizing of consultations or meetings. Building a base of broad alliances requires time and previous planning.
- Many of the meetings/consultations were only one or two days in length. It became clear that this was
 not enough time for mobilizations of these kinds, the ideal timing would be 3 days, but the costs of
 doing so are higher too.
- Improvement is needed on better integrating young women's rights and gender equality advocates/activists that were not very present in Accra.
- The commitments showed by women's groups in building the CSOs platform towards Accra was recognized by the other members and translated into the possibility to have several speakers from the

women's movement in the CSO Parallel Forum, but also in the HLF3 (Roundtables and Statement presentation to the Ministers).

- While the results at the HLF3 were positive in terms of gender equality, ownership, accountability and civil society participation, part of the hard agenda was not really integrated (conditionalities, tied aid, etc.).
- More time for advocacy strategy meetings between different CSOs prior to the HLF3 would have been helpful (to go beyond the statement and strategize on the corridors and media release efforts).

Looking forward, we must ensure that alliances between women's rights, gender equality advocates and other stakeholders- strengthened through women's organizations' mobilizations in the lead up the HLF3 - continue to be nurtured. It will also be important to continue reflecting on what can be learned from the "Accra experience" to improve future collaborations amongst women's organizations. This will allow women's right organizations to better influence processes and debates collectively, putting forth a stronger voice.

In the lead up to the HLF3, the ISG was primarily tasked with 1) organizing the CSO Parallel Forum on Aid Effectiveness 2) coordinating positions on Aid Effectiveness and 3) promoting CSO engagement with the Working Party on Aid Effectiveness. After Accra, the group came together to re-think the role of the ISG, coming to the conclusion that continued engagement with the OECD, including watchdog on the AAA, make donors accountable and continue to push the agenda in some crucial aspects such as: strengthening the UN role on development cooperation (through the DCF), developing countries voices at the OECD, untying aid, phasing out policy conditionalities, etc. In February 2009, the ISG was renamed and is now called the Better Aid Coordinating Group (BACG). The overall mandate of the BACG²⁸ is to coordinate and facilitate (at the international level) the engagement of CSOs promoting reforms in international cooperation for development and aid effectiveness.

The actions of women's rights organization through and with the BACG are key to fostering sustained presence and recognition of gender equality and women's rights in the Aid Effectiveness process and the road leading up to the Fourth High Level Forum (HLF4) on Aid Effectiveness at the end of 2011. Women's rights organizations - particularly AWID (co-chair of BACG since October 2008), WIDE and FEMNET - have taken active roles in the division of labour for the next 3 years to ensure that gender equality, women's and human rights will be consistently included in all BACG activities and outputs. Human rights, gender equality and women's rights, decent work and environmental sustainability are included in the core advocacy strategy and work plan of the BACG. This is possible today because of the all the position and alliance building done in the past two years.

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²⁸ See www.betteraid.org

Alliances require efforts, transparency culture, transaction costs and build holistic agendas that bring all particular interests under a common platform. This is not automatic and requires even a common language to have a strong message towards the advocacy targets. The current efforts done to advocate international players in NY and Paris should be complemented with women's groups work at the regional, national and even local level to ensure that our common claims are promoted in the different arenas where inequality and discrimination take place.

CHAPTER 3.

DAWN's Advocacy Experience in Aid Effectiveness

Gigi FRANCISCO, DAWN

South feminist advocacy for transformative politics

Development Alternatives with Women for a New Era (DAWN) is a network of feminist scholars, researchers and activists from the economic South working for economic and gender justice and sustainable and democratic development. DAWN's feminism counters the material bases of social, economic and political inequalities, injustices and exclusions. Our network supports women's mobilizations within civil society to challenge inequitable social, economic and political relations at global, regional and national levels as part of its work in advancing feminist alternatives.

DAWN's involvement in the aid effectiveness agenda leading to the Accra High Level Forum in 2008 was part of its broader engagement with the ongoing reform and harmonization processes in the global economic governance complex. DAWN's political engagement was critical of the attempt by the Northern donor countries to maintain and further consolidate their global dominance partly by influencing emergent South countries as well as large non-governmental aid organizations to fall under an aid governance framework that donor countries initially defined in the Paris Declaration on Aid Effectiveness. Member countries of the OECD-DAC saw that the emerging South countries had a development agenda and pursued aid modalities that diverged from the North's consensus around neo-liberalism.

The processes around aid effectiveness were open to dialogue and DAWN contributed to enriching the debates on agenda setting and establishing priorities for change. DAWN brought with it a vision of a globalized but multi-polar world where the North and the South contested and negotiated on more equal terms and wherein development was less elusive for many poor countries of the South. While we welcome initiatives around regional mechanisms and south-south cooperation modalities, we also regard the United Nations as the key institutional space for the global discussions on development including questions around development financing, and where organizations such as the World Bank, International Monetary Fund and the OECD would be accountable to.

Feminists can no longer say that we continue to be left out of multilateral discussions and contestations around issues of global economic governance. Nevertheless, while doors have been open to our participation, big challenges remain around our capacity to utilize these new found spaces to effectively advance feminist perspectives, processes and alternatives. One huge challenge is that feminists / women's rights advocates often find ourselves being asked to debate - face-to-face or by print - with experts and seasoned technical people who are brought in by governments to argue for certain economic policy proposals. This has created serious pressure on women's rights advocates / feminists to address their lack of organizational capacity in economic policy analysis and alternatives. For DAWN, who had played a major part in responding to this need, proposals for economic policies should not only be about ensuring gender equality but will also need to squarely take into account the issue of other power asymmetries and intersecting discriminations and dominations, and overall of moving economic governance away from neo-liberal governmentality.

Since advocacy and lobby work on aid effectiveness was but one leg in the network's focus (the other two being UNCTAD and Financing for Development/DCF), we required a multi-front strategy with an open and flexible functional set-up that inter-linked the various competencies found in the core group. Critical in this was the frequent communication which ensured that we were on the same page with regard to new information and to tracking moment to moment engagement by different groups. Feminists also needed to be constantly and simultaneously tuned in on and participating in three parallel but intersecting streams of debates around aid effectiveness. First there were the debates occurring among civil society organizations (CSOs) that formed the larger umbrella network for advocacy on aid effectiveness and to which the feminist network was attached. Secondly, there were the debates taking place in the formal discussions and negotiations among governments and to which CSOs needed to give their inputs. Lastly, there were the debates among the members of the feminist network itself aimed at clarifying political positions, argumentations, differences and synergies.

The question of time and focus linked to our desire not to be overwhelmed and overtaken by fast-paced and sometimes overlapping activities also meant that we needed to have effective surveillance in institutional sites as well as good response time. For this, some kind of division of labor that gave key roles and responsibilities to members of the core group was adopted but this was understood to be contingent, temporal and tentative. Email technology certainly made a difference. However, the increasing albeit differentiated familiarity, confidence and synergies which slowly developed among the feminists / women's rights advocates ultimately carried the day for us.

Need for feminist advocacy on economic and gender justice

The global financial crisis reveals a serious flaw in economic thinking and massive failure in economic governance. Once again, the world is reminded of the need to rid itself of its intoxication with capitalist accumulation. Once again, feminists and other progressive groups are called upon to advance new analyses and alternatives particularly in the area of economic development, poverty eradication, trade and finance within a new multi-polar world. DAWN is well prepared and commits to work with other feminists and progressive groups in realizing the following:

- developing and disseminating analyses of the economic, social, cultural and political processes
 which cause and perpetuate inequalities of gender, class, race and other forms of unfair social
 ordering and discrimination;
- engaging in global and regional inter-governmental and non-governmental forums and processes to challenge and change mainstream thinking, policy and practice which hurt poor women in the South;
- co-sponsoring global civil society initiatives aimed at achieving sustainable, equitable and genderjust social, economic and political development;
- contributing to selected reform initiatives instituted in response to feminist or civil society demands for global institutional or policy changes; and
- providing training in analysis and advocacy skills to young feminists from the South who are engaged (or interested) in working on global issues.

CHAPTER 4.

COMMON ACTIONS AND STRATEGIES TOWARDS ACCRA: Reflections on results and future challenges

Juana Bengoa, Gender and Development Working Group of the Spanish Platform of Development NGOs (Coordinadora ONGD-España)

The aim of this section is to summarise the experience of the Gender and Development Working Group (GDWG) of the Spanish Platform of Development NGOs (Coordinadora ONGD-España) in its preparation for the Third High Level Forum (HLF3) on Aid Effectiveness in Accra. There were many individual and collective benefits derived from this process, which involved contributing to and participating in the debates on aid effectiveness and aid quality at international and national levels. Chief among these benefits was internal capacity building and mobilisation of resources.

In addition, this experience led to a qualitative leap on the part of the GDWG in terms of its sense of belonging and commitment to WIDE, along with an enriched opportunity for learning and knowledge-sharing with other organisations and platforms around the world. Improved networking was not only apparent in European or international contexts, but also at our own national level, where it brought autonomous gender groups into the process. These groups are increasingly active in the relevant NGDO Platforms within their territories.

The capacity building, knowledge sharing and internal and external networking that resulted from the Accra process has contributed to the GDWG having a higher profile as an interlocutor and reference point in discussions and meetings about the international development agenda, for example, in meetings among multiple actors and the various public and private institutions, think tanks, and development organisations in our country during the past year.

We can conclude that, through our active participation in this process, we are now seen as key providers of information, with the ability to influence the policy dialogue in our country, particularly in terms of prioritising gender equality and the rights of women as development objectives.

Policy change and social participation in Spain: A key to understanding the process towards Accra as a shared action to advance women's rights on the international agenda

The political context and thrust of the cooperation policy in which this process has been developed in Spain has undoubtedly played a key role in the changes described above. A recent Gender Analysis of Official

Development Aid (ODA), released on the occasion of the 'Action for Equality' campaign,²⁹ reveals that from 2004 to 2008 there was substantial progress in terms of political will in relation to the Spanish democracy's first gender-balanced government. This was embodied in important instruments, such as the Gender in Development Strategy, the Law for Equality between Men and Women and the Strategic Plan for Equality and the Spanish Cooperation Plan on UN Security Council Resolution 1325 on women, peace and security.

The new Spanish cooperation model that began as part of the 2004–2008 II Master Plan, made gender equality and women's empowerment, in the context of a rights-based approach, a strategic priority. Implementation of this policy priority involved a greater allocation of ODA resources for gender and sexual and reproductive rights.

At the same time, there was a strengthening of coherence among international and national gender policies, with a notable effort to improve coordination mechanisms among government bodies responsible for promoting equality. This was also the case with civil society, particularly through the Gender Group of the Cooperation Council, which involved representatives of various public administrations, human rights organisations, trade unions and private sector, experts of the Council and representatives of civil society, such as the Spanish NGDO Platform.

In fact, the first time the GDWG realised the challenges posed by the PD was during the debate and consultation that accompanied the drafting of the Gender Strategy of Spanish Cooperation. It was published in late 2007, and identified the future challenge "...to be a catalyst for the lessons learned from the Beijing Platform and the Millennium Development Goal (MDGs), ensuring that the Gender and Development Approach (GAD) is adopted and strengthened with the implementation of the principles of the PD, as well as promoting an active and strategic multilateralism in the transition to a new gender architecture in UN reform...".

WIDE organised its 2007 Annual Meeting in Madrid on the international theme 'New aid, expanding trade: What do women have to say?', to discuss the new aid architecture, new forms of aid and the impact of trade liberalisation.

The conference was funded by a grant from a new financing line initiated by Spanish development cooperation specifically to strengthen women's participation in society and their empowerment. The

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²⁹ March 21, 2008, Ana Lydia Fernández Layos; Mª del Mar Correa García. Action Aid, Entreculturas and Intered Campaign, (Action Aid and Intered active participants of the GDWG)

conference has contributed to the creation of entry points and strategies for joint work, which have characterised the whole process of global participation of women's networks throughout 2008, including at: the Commission on the Status of Women meeting on financing for gender equality, the MDGs revision in New York, the HLF3 on Aid Effectiveness, the Doha Conference on Financing for Development, and the Monterrey Consensus Review.

For the GDWG, planning and organising the Conference in Madrid was a major effort to 'institutionalise' our own network and to foster an atmosphere of hospitality and solidarity, where different groups, including the Spanish feminist organisations that were invited to the conference, could share and discuss critical aspects of the international agenda and its implications.

Furthermore, this conference sparked a discussion about the international agenda and gender equality and its implications in the common policy positions of Coordinadora ONGD-España, leading to joint projects and collaboration related to advocacy and other areas with the Autonomous Gender Groups.

2008: A crucial year for leadership, advocacy and joint participation among women's networks. A year for strengthening the work of the GDWG in partnership with WIDE

In early 2008, following the joint work undertaken by the WIDE Financing for Equality Group during the previous semester, the decision was taken to go one step further in the partnership with Coordinadora ONGD-España by submitting a new project proposal. The project – 'Women's rights at the centre of the new aid architecture' – corresponded with the objectives set in the Spanish Cooperation Master Plan: "promoting greater representation and equal participation of women in all areas" and to "promote civil society especially social organizations working to promote and defend women's rights". Based on these specific sections of the Plan, it is clear that the objectives of WIDE are closely aligned with and relevant to the strategic guidelines of the Spanish Cooperation model.

The new project's organising documents point out that, even after the Millennium Declaration, the Monterrey Consensus and the PD, data and indicators show that inequality and discrimination against women persists in all countries. The documents also state that, more than ten years after the adoption of the Beijing Platform its strategic objectives are still valid and have to be fulfilled. Moreover, women are still not regarded as agents of change in the international development context and are often classified either as a vulnerable population group or sector, or as potential generators of economic growth, but almost always disconnected from political decision-making processes.

Therefore, the project aims to strategically boost policy coherence to ensure that the interests and needs of women are not left out of development policies, new funding sources, aid guidelines, development impact indicators and accountability mechanisms, which were planned in the PD.

A complementary but also strategic objective of the project is to strengthen the capacities of the Coordinadora ONGD-España in relation to gender equality. A key goal is to create the position of Project Coordinator in Spain Supporting the Gender and Development Working Group, based at the Coordinadora ONGD-España Secretariat. This position has been fundamental to revitalising GDWG activities in partnership with WIDE, a topic which is detailed in the 2008 Coordinadora ONGD-España annual report.³⁰

CONCLUSIONS: A new aid agenda that works for gender equality

The statements issued by women's organisations in Accra31 on 30 August, in preparation for the HLF3 on Aid Effectiveness, set the guidelines for the implementation of an effective development policy agenda from the perspective of gender equality and women's rights:

- To achieve the objective of expanded democratic 'ownership' a movement driven by a number of social organisations in the context of the Accra Agenda for Action women's organisations and institutional mechanisms working for gender equality should have political spaces for consultation. If gender equality is not reflected as a priority in national plans or in sectoral or budget-support programmes, many of the crucial policies and mechanisms that influence women's lives and conditions will remain gender-blind.
- For many women's organisations, donor 'alignment' with national priorities is perceived as an obstacle to
 the adequate funding of women's organisations, especially for grassroots groups. Hence, there is a need
 to introduce new funding mechanisms, which identify gender-related priorities, include follow-up
 procedures with indicators for gender equality commitments made in all programmes, and which are
 accessible to grassroots women's organisations.
- From the perspective of the 'harmonisation' principle, it is clear that the commitment to mainstream gender
 equality in all policies can evaporate if no appropriate mechanisms for mutual accountability are put in
 place.

³⁰ See 2008 Annual Report to be published at www.coordinadoraongd.org and Annual Report provided to WIDE.

³¹ See Women's Forum Statement "Recommendations for action on Development Effectiveness in Accra and beyond".

• The introduction of gender-sensitive indicators, goals and objectives identified in each country's strategy is crucial, as was highlighted in Accra. The recommendations from the Women's Forum feature alternative indicators to those provided in the PD, including gender equality and women's empowerment indicators, which would facilitate the monitoring of progress towards national development goals.32 Most of the existing management frameworks in the global North and South, do not incorporate tools to assess gender equality and social equity – not from a financial or procedure management perspective, nor from a results-based approach or from the perspective of information transparency.

• The exercise of 'mutual responsibility and accountability' can only be effective if it utilises tools and indicators which can measure gender equality progress and generate a system of trust, making governments and donor institutions responsible to women. In contrast, there is an urgent need to increase the capacity and financial support of women's organisations in each country, so that their initiatives can help to strengthen responsibility and accountability in a democratic way.

Women's organisations in Accra raised and debated a wide range of issues in the recent consultation process on the adoption of the new Spanish Cooperation Master Plan (2009–2012). Progress has been made in terms of strengthening the institutionalisation of gender equality, for example, in the context of: AECID reform, launching of the gender unit at the Sectoral and Multilateral Directorate, GEDEA network consolidation through adequate allocation of human, material and professional resources, gender analyses, and the introduction of specific measures in the various tools and programmes, including multilateral programmes.

The next challenge is an operational plan, to measure the results and the gender impact of the various development policies outlined in the AECID management contract, which is currently being assessed. National and regional gender groups have been invited to participate in this process.

The next challenge for the GDWG is to take advantage of the Spanish Presidency of the European Union, which starts in 2010, and consider establishing a continuum programme to run during the 18 months following the Belgian and Hungarian presidencies, one of whose priorities will be gender equality policies.

Also, 2010 coincides with the Beijing+15 Platform review, in which we will focus our follow-up activities, in collaboration with the alliance network of women's organisations involved in WIDE.

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³² We refer to a set of indicators tailored to each of the goals proposed by UNIFEM and constitutes a contribution to apply

³³ Spanish Agency for International Cooperation for Development

It is urgent that we come together to strengthen gender equality, women's rights and women's empowerment in the context of the responses and reforms arising from the review process of the global monetary and financial systems, which will be a major focus in the coming years.

CHAPTER 5.

Latin America Women's Mobilization towards Accra: an overview

Marta Lago, IGTN Brazil

The Paris Declaration (PD) on Aid effectiveness signed in 2005 was not present in most women's agenda until 2007, when AWID and WIDE started to draw attention to its importance. Thus, in the beginning of 2008 in Ottawa, Canada, they organized the International Consultation of Women's Organizations and Networks to debate Aid Effectiveness (AE). During this event, it was acknowledged that there was a lack of critical mass within Civil Society Organizations (CSOs) to put forward proposals in the highly technical and gender blind Paris Declaration, so the challenge was put on the table.

In Latin America, mobilization on the road to the Accra High Level Forum III started few months after. Women's rights organisations gathered in Bogota, Colombia, in June 2008, for a parallel meeting just prior to the official Latin America and the Caribbean Consultation that took place in Santa Marta, Colombia. The event was co-convened by the Popular Education among Women Network – REPEM, International Gender and Trade Network (IGTN), Latin American Chapter, and the National Confluence Network of Colombia, with the support of Action Aid International, UNIFEM, AWID and WIDE.

Some important specificities of the region are worth mentioning. Latin America is experiencing a rich period in its history. New popular governments have come to power after years of dictatorship, and a stronger civil society have emerged. CSOs have had an important role in advocating local and public policies, in engaging in participatory processes, especially seeking to build sustainable development and regional integration proposals trough discussions among social movements' networks and continental alliances. The region has grown economically, and new donors have emerged, such as Chile, Venezuela and Brazil, opening alternatives for south-south cooperation, a dear issue for Latin America, after years of IMF structural adjustments policies framed in neoliberal values that largely contributed to increase poverty and inequality, besides imprisoning countries to a never ending debt. The region prevailing development model is characterized by a subordinated insertion in the international markets, based on the exploitation of commodities, natural resources and labour force, leaving populations, social groups and territories in extreme poverty. The region is immersed in inequalities, not only among countries but also within them, showing that economic growth does not necessarily mean development. Latin America is at the top list of income concentration in the world. The problem here is not only shortage, but redistribution. Wealth redistribution along with equity have remained fundamental in women's organizations agenda and their development proposals, besides other important issues such as the feminization of poverty and migration, alongside with the fight for sexual and reproductive rights, the fight against gender violence and feminicide.

Under the OECD classification, most countries in Latin America fall under the category of middle income. Out of the 20 countries in Latin America, ten are listed as aid recipients, Colombia being at the top due to its internal conflicts³⁴. However, resources to the region have been reduced, and countries are losing access to international cooperation and are virtually out of major decisions made by OECD in terms of allocations of Official Development Assistance (ODA). These allocations are based on macroeconomic indicators such as Gross Domestic Product (GDP), which does not take into consideration the inequalities inherent in Latin American societies that are affecting particularly women, by the multiplying effect of inequality, gender discrimination that accumulates race, ethnicity, age, social class and sexual orientation, among others.

Many relevant concerns were raised during the debates that took place at the meeting in Colombia. They can be grouped in two sets. The first one related to the concept of aid itself, and the second regarding more specifically the women's rights organizations strategies for the few representatives that would be present at the III High Level Forum in Accra, in September, 2008.

The term "aid effectiveness" was questioned, for it implies a top-bottom relationship which should be refused. This is not a question of semantics but a political issue. It is a political agenda, and therefore the instrumental debate must be involved in a political discussion. AE principles were considered reasonable in general, the problem being the technical content given to them. Also, some "aid" projects are reducing possibilities for women to reach full citizenship; for example, subsidies are sometimes palliative solutions that do not question the structural conditions of the population, particularly the women's, considered more as a mean than an end to development.

The second set of concerns was related to the opportunities seen in the process. The first and most obvious was placing gender in the AE agenda. It is unacceptable that gender is just a cross-cutting issue and not an objective in itself. Various organizations consider the Millennium Development Goal (MDGs), to which the Paris Declaration is linked, far too modest, besides reducing the development agenda. Another opportunity was seen in the development debate within the countries. Civil society should take the debate to the parliaments and demand transparency and accountability from the governments regarding aid recipiency.

Despite the fact that AE was a "new" agenda at the time, Latin America Women's rights organizations as well as southern organizations³⁵ had considerably contributed to the debates at the UN

³⁵ IGTN, DAWN, REPEM (Popular Education among Women Network), CLADEM (Committee for the Defense of Women's Rights), REMTE (Latin America Women's Network Transforming the Economy) Social Watch, MERCOSUR Articulation, Women and Habitat Network, Women's Eyes on

³⁴ Followed by Nicaragua, Honduras, Haití, Bolivia, Guatemala, Perú, México, Ecuador and Guyana. See www.oecd.gov

Financing for Development (FfD) process launched in the late nineties. The Feminist Initiative of Cartagena was established in 2001, aiming at advancing a gender perspective in Monterrey. The initiative introduced a more critical perspective to the process by questioning what kind of development should be financed, drawing the attention to the importance of discussing the dominating economic model. It also stated that gender equality had to be recognized as key for growth³⁶. Both question and remarks remain a need.

Thus, the meeting in Bogota produced a statement recommending that in Accra governments needed to reaffirm the equality between men and women as a development target. It also drew attention to the importance of wealth redistribution in Latin America, strongly suggesting that discussions on aid effectiveness should be part of UN framework, specifically the Financing for Development process

Once in Accra, Latin America inputs summarized here fed the debate at the Accra International Women's Forum. During the event co-convened by NETRIGHT, FEMNET, WIDE, AWID, DAWN and IGTN on the 30th August 2008, over 200 participants - among which gender advocates and experts from various regions of the world - strategized around the HLF III and its outcome Accra Agenda for Action (AAA) document. Presentations on all regional women's rights organizations meetings worldwide were made and the draft of the Women's Statement that would circulate the following days received inputs. Although recognizing that the last AAA public draft brought some advances in language regarding the importance of human rights, gender equality, and environmental sustainability, participants considered it still vague, as it brought no concrete commitments in terms of targets and time bounds.

The Accra Women's Statement reaffirmed the idea that there is no aid effectiveness without development effectiveness and that aid effectiveness without gender equality and women's rights perspective would not lead to effective development; neither would it contribute to reduce poverty, inequality and the achievement of the MDGs³⁷. Attention was also drawn to the importance of complying with commitments made through international frameworks on human rights and on the rights of women, and development agreements, such as the Beijing Platform for Action, the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women-CEDAW.

The event was a success not only in terms of attendance – the initial projection was to have about 70 women representatives, but also regarding its results, considering that the agenda was not very known among women's groups until recently, despite its important gender implications. The weakness was precisely the lack

Multilaterals, Milenio Feminista and Group of Feminist Economists. From the initial process remained IGTN and REPEM, in a permanent work that resulted in a book: Latin America: a pending debate.

³⁶ Que tipo de desarrollo se debe financiar. In: http://www.repem.org.uy/node/24

³⁷ www.betteraid.org

of knowledge of these technical specificities within the PD process. This was somehow overcome, as the Forum counted with few experts, as well as women's organizations representatives who acquired some of the capacities needed along the process. The draft statement was a bit too long with too many recommendations, which made it difficult for editing, considering the time available. Ideally, the Women's Forum should have been longer than a day, making time available for editing and agreeing the final statement.

The International Women's Forum succeeded in raising the visibility of gender equality and women's empowerment on the Accra Agenda and its statement was supported by the CSOs Forum, held in the two following days, which incorporated some of its language. Both the Women's and the CSO's Statements said that development aid is only one part of the equation, and has to be analyzed in the broader context of its interactions with trade, debt, domestic and international resource mobilization and the international governance system. Trade related issues, as pointed out by IGTN, are fundamental to the social and economic rights and empowerment of ordinary women, especially considering the work of social reproduction for which women worldwide are primarily responsible. Effectiveness of aid should be assessed under a universal, more democratic and representative platform than the OECD/DAC, such as within multilateral platforms like the Development Cooperation Forum at the United Nations, and in frameworks such as the Monterrey Consensus.

Unfortunately, the AAA endorsed by the ministers at the HLF III showed that there has been little real progress towards the needs pointed by CSOs and Women's advocates. Too much importance was given to the delivery and management of aid, as one could expect from an agenda that while discussing 'effectiveness', empties the political content of aid. In the last moments of this long discussed process where closed door negotiations took place, a push by Brazil and other new donors and developing countries was able to amend the AAA and save the political negotiations from being a complete failure. The inputs and lobby of CSOs and women's organizations played an important part in this process, even though women's demands are still marginal in this framework.

However, some ideas in the final AAA text can lead to possibilities of change in the post-Accra debate. Some time-bound commitments were included so as to avoid the text from being only a good intentions statement. The importance and particularities of South-South cooperation were recognized, and there is stronger language in areas directly related to CSOs: developing countries and donors will ensure that development policies and programs are designed and implemented in ways consistent with agreed international commitments on gender equality and human rights, and the recognition of CSOs as independent development actors in their own right. It is also mentioned (paragraph 30) that ECOSOC contribution is welcomed.

It has been almost a decade since The Feminist Initiative of Cartagena questioned the dominating development model and stated that gender equality is fundamental for growth. We are now watching the impacts of an announced systemic crisis that is still unfolding. Development issues have not received the deserved attention of donors and it seems that this situation will remain the same. OECD has recently stated³⁸ that except for specific areas, such as financial regulation, policy priorities will remain the same for the member countries.

Women's advocates will continue monitoring the implementation of the Paris Declaration towards 2010. The struggles for having a strong representation continue and must be enhanced. The most visible these agendas become, the more effective advocacy results are, and governments can be held accountable for the agreements they sign before their citizens.

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³⁸ OECD Secretary-General Angel Gurría, during a press conference. See www.oecd.org

CHAPTER 6.

The Mobilisation of Women's Rights Organisations in Ghana Patricia B. Akakpo, Network for Women's Rights in Ghana (NETRIGHT)³⁹

Introduction

Since the 1970s, donors have been defining the conceptual basis, process and implementation procedures for promoting women's rights in many countries including Ghana. Such definitions have been constantly changing reflecting global trends and donor interests rather than evolving out of the concrete experiences and lessons learnt from the ground.

Thus, instead of giving aid to reduce poverty and inequality and to promote human rights, donors are using aid to advance their own foreign and economic policy interests and priorities. As a result, the availability of aid and its allocation to poor countries always has political underpinnings, which serves the interest of donors rather than the recipient country.

Within the last decade, various high-level global processes heralded fundamental shifts in the introduction of aid modalities aiming at establishing a new aid architecture that will improve the delivery and impact of international aid. The latest is the Paris Declaration (PD) on Aid Effectiveness. Fundamental to this system of aid effectiveness is the stated need to ensure that development plans are nationally owned and reflect broad-based national priorities so as to 'increase the impact of aid...in reducing poverty and inequality, increasing growth, building capacity and accelerating achievement of the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs)'.

The African Context

The challenge for many countries especially in Africa, has been the fact that while the five principles of the Paris Declaration namely ownership; alignment, harmonisation; managing for results and mutual accountability were supposed to offer opportunities for the removal of inequalities, the continued existence of weak participatory mechanisms, limited engagement of all stakeholders, including women's organisations in national political and planning processes, insufficient capacity and paucity of resources, pose a great danger

³⁹ References:

NETRIGHT (2008) "Financing for Gender Equality and the Empowerment of Women: The Reality of Aid for Women's Organisations and Networks in Ghana".

^{2.} NETRIGHT (2008) "Gender Equality and Aid Effectiveness National Consultations Report".

^{3.} NETRIGHT (2008) "Outcomes of Gender and Aid Effectiveness National Consultations".

^{4.} NETRIGHT (2008) "NETRIGHT Position Paper on the Paris Declaration on Aid Effectiveness".

^{5.} NETRIGHT (2008) "Concept Paper, Press Conference on Aid Effectiveness".

of turning this new aid system into strictly mechanical administrative and financial procedure involving only technocrats.

In spite of the stated commitment of the PD that the new aid reforms were intended to reduce poverty, the level of poverty among women in Africa has increased. The increased coordination of aid policies by the richest countries of the world can erode national democratic processes in the poor countries with negative consequences for women.

Road to Accra: Mobilisation of Women's Groups in Ghana

Since the HLF3 and the CSOs parallel event were taking place in Ghana, it was important for CSOs, in particular women's rights organisations in the country to inform themselves adequately about the issues. However, there was little information on the Aid Effectiveness processes in Ghana.

Following up on the Network for Women's Rights in Ghana's (NETRIGHT) engagement at both the local, regional and international level in the Aid Effectiveness processes, it was evident that there was a need for capacity building among women's rights organisations in Ghana to understand the Paris Declaration on Aid Effectiveness and its gender dimension. Thus, NETRIGHT believed on the need to enhance the capacity of women's groups to effectively engage the AE processes. It was also important for women's groups in Ghana to mobilise, share experiences and strategise on how they can effectively engage in the Aid Effectiveness process at the local level and also network with other women's groups at the sub-regional, regional and global level to be able to influence the aid agenda and in particular the outcome document of the HLF3 referred to as the 'Accra Agenda for Action'. Again, it was necessary to create awareness among a core group of media personnel to enable them understand the issues from a gender perspective and report accordingly. This will facilitate their active involvement in the AE processes to ensure that gender equality and women's rights issues are addressed in the AE agenda. Again, it will enable the media to keep the information on the AE on top of public discourse to enhance knowledge and awareness on the issue.

As a coalition of civil society organisations and individuals working to promote gender justice in economic and land policies, NETRIGHT took responsibility for facilitating the active participation of women's groups across the world in the CSOs Parallel Event and the HLF3 in Accra, from August 29 to September 4, 2008. NETRIGHT also hosted the Accra International Women's Forum, which was attended by over 250 participants across the world.

National Consultations

As part of its responsibility, NETRIGHT organised nationwide consultations with the aim of ensuring that women's rights activists, women's groups and coalitions in Ghana enhance their understanding and knowledge of the Paris Declaration (PD) on Aid Effectiveness, facilitating them the tools to contribute substantially to the on-going debate on the gender aspects of Aid Effectiveness. Additionally, NETRIGHT was willing to encourage proactive and effective participation from the Ghanaian women's rights activists and organisations during the Civil Society Parallel Event and the HLF3, arguing for the promotion of gender as a core issue if aid effectiveness is to be achieved.

The aim of the consultations was to broaden and deepen understanding about the Paris Declaration on Aid Effectiveness and its gender implications with a view to agreeing on a common position for promoting concrete actions on women's rights. The specific objectives were as follows:

- To deepen the knowledge of women's rights activists and women's groups on the Paris Declaration and Aid Effectiveness especially on the gender implications of the five Paris Declaration principles;
- To discuss the political implications and challenges presented by the Paris Declaration agenda and the associated new aid modalities for gender equality and the empowerment of women;
- To mobilize women nationally to strategize for effective contribution to the civil society parallel event,
 the HLF3 and beyond;
- To develop recommendations for presentation to the CSO parallel event and the HLF3 on the crucial nature of gender equality within the new aid architecture.

Backing these consultations, NETRIGHT developed a two-page document on Gender Equality and Aid Effectiveness that explained the AE process and the effect of the Paris Declaration on gender equality/women's rights work, as well as information on the registration and participation process to the women's forum⁴⁰, civil society forum and the HLF3.

Three one-day consultative meetings on 'Gender Equality and Aid Effectiveness' were organised for the Greater Accra Region, the Southern and Northern Sectors of Ghana respectively to ensure that more women's groups were covered across the country. The participants were made up of representatives of women's rights organisations; the labour movement; religious bodies, institutions; NGOs; Ministries, Departments and Agencies (MDAs); and gender advocates, women's rights activists, development practitioners; youth and the media⁴¹.

⁴⁰ Aiming at enhancing the participation of more women's groups in Ghana in the women's and CSOs forum, as well as the HLF3.

⁴¹ It is important to highlight here that media personnel apart from covering the event also participated in the 3 consultative meetings.

As an outcome of the different consultative meetings, participants were concerned about the flawed nature of the neo-liberal economic paradigm of the Paris Declaration on Aid Effectiveness as it constituted a major cause of persistent inequalities, discrimination, social exclusion and injustice and the denial of women's rights. They were also disappointed about any real commitment by governments and donors to promoting gender equality, human rights and sustainable development as core issues in the aid architecture. They criticised were dismayed by the general lack of sufficient awareness and knowledge of the Paris Declaration on Aid Effectiveness and the new aid modalities, a situation that limits the extent of citizens' active engagement and contribution to a process supposed to be inclusive and participatory. Participants urged governments of recipient countries to actively engage with the donor community by paying close attention to the right to development through demonstrating real commitment to the promotion of gender equality, freedom, justice and dignity for all citizens.

The exercise of organising consultative meetings provided women's organisations with an opportunity to be involved in the process of fashioning out strategies to counter the development model inherent in the Paris Declaration. In addition the meetings heightened awareness and knowledge about the Aid Effectiveness process, enhanced the space and voice of women's rights organisations in Ghana and strengthened advocacy on Gender and Aid Effectiveness issues. These events also strengthened the media campaign on Aid Effectiveness and Women's Rights/Gender Equality work.

Building on the three broad national consultations, NETRIGHT compiled critical issues of concern and recommendations and developed a position paper⁴², which was used as an advocacy tool on the road to the HLF3. Some highlights of it:

- Ownership: Ownership must be democratic so as to include the participation of a broader mass of the
 citizens including women's groups. This will enhance effective participation in the discussions of national
 development processes if real transformation is to occur. In this regard, the High Level Forum (HLF3)
 review must recognise that democratic ownership can only be assured when all actors have an equal
 chance to participate in their own right.
- Alignment: Aid must be aligned to national strategies and policies that carry the mandate from women
 and men who have had a chance to discuss and debate issues sufficiently. Donors must therefore refrain
 from tying aid to their own national interests and rather support systems, processes and mechanisms that
 facilitate responsiveness to the needs and concerns of citizens and their groups.

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⁴² The position paper was shared with women's groups across the world and also used as one of the background documents that informed the outcome document of the Accra International Women's Forum Statement issued on August 30, 2008.

- Harmonisation: The principle relates more to the management of the technocratic procedures of the aid
 architecture rather than the promotion of development outcomes and gender equality. Harmonisation
 results in a narrow framework that excludes gender equality principles, which is inconsistent with
 international conventions on human rights and gender equality. It was therefore, proposed that the review
 process should take such conventions into account in order to ensure the centrality of gender
 considerations.
- Managing for Results: The existing indicators are very narrow, they exclude landmark documents on gender equality such as the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) and the Beijing Platform for Action (BfPA). It was proposed that there must be the incorporation of perspectives from gender equality documents into national agreements such as the Poverty Reduction Strategy Papers (PRSPs) to ensure that specific aid flows target women's rights work. There is also a need to invest in the development of disaggregated data and strengthening the capacity of women's groups to enable them articulate better their needs and monitor aid effectiveness.
- Mutual Accountability: Participants rejected the current definition of Mutual Accountability which remains top-down with donors having no responsibility to hold themselves accountable to developing countries. This should change by ensuring that the whole language of the Paris Declaration reflects mutuality and partnership. There is the need to develop an independent and credible system that will actualise the commitment of all those in the partnership to account to citizens of both donor and recipient countries. There is also the need for transparency in the provision of accurate and appropriate information on donor commitments including timelines that will allow citizens to participate in policy decisions from a well-informed background. Those who participate in such negotiations should therefore be knowledgeable on critical and relevant issues including gender equality concerns.

Engagement with the Media

NETRIGHT identified the media as an important actor for getting women's rights and gender equality issues incorporated in the final outcome document (Agenda for Action) of the HLF3. Thus, ahead of the Accra HLF3 NETRIGHT developed a media strategy that translated into good coverage on issues around Gender Equality and Aid Effectiveness especially during the Women's and CSOs fora and HLF3. The women's movement in Ghana has over the years built a strong constituency within the media, in that case the idea was to build their capacity on Gender and Aid Effectiveness.

As part of the strategy, a press conference was also organised after the consultations aiming at sharing the outcome of the meetings with a wider audience. The press conference created the space for the

media and women's groups to deliberate on critical issues concerning gender equality and women's rights in the AE process and the role expected of the media prior to and during HLF3.

Ahead and all along the Accra HLF3, members of NETRIGHT participated in various TV and radio 'Talk Shows' to create awareness on the AE process and share information on the outcome of the national consultations and the concerns of women in relation to 'Aid and Development'. Contributions were also made in newspapers and written media aiming at raising awareness among the general public on the gender implications of aid.

Engagement with Other Partners

Having taken up the responsibility of organising broad national consultations with women's groups and other civil society organisations in the country, NETRIGHT adopted different strategies to ensure proper coordination and effective networking among all partners. Firstly, participants were selected in collaboration with NETRIGHT's regional focal points and other women's groups/CSOs to ensure broader participation. Secondly, a criteria was adopted which ensured that participants were not selected from only regional capitals but also from various districts/communities in the regions. This enhanced inclusiveness and the selection of participants. Thirdly, the programme for the consultations was adopted after inputs have been made by women's groups and other partners.

Again, to ensure different perspectives, resources persons were drawn from different backgrounds including gender experts, development practitioners and those who were actively involved in the AE process. One of the cardinal principles for the consultations was to get more women groups involved in the process including understanding the issues. As a result, the language of the Paris Declaration was simplified and where necessary local dialects were used to enable all the participants to understand the issues and actively be involved in the discussions and recommendations made. In addition, a Local Committee was set up with clear terms of reference to facilitate the process and member organisations and individual members of NETRIGHT including other CSOs were given specific roles to play to ensure a sense of ownership and the involvement of many women's groups. Furthermore, NETRIGHT adopted a media strategy which enhanced the reportage on 'Gender Equality, Aid and Development' and the role of women's groups/networks at the Women's and CSOs Fora; and the HLF3.

Successes and Challenges

The successes were numerous. First, the consultations created the space for women's groups/organisations in Ghana not only to engage in the Aid Effectiveness process, but also to understand the implications of the Paris Declaration on gender equality work and develop a position. As a result of the

consultations more women's groups from Ghana participated in the Accra International Women's Forum and CSOs forum. This enhanced the participation of women and strengthened their voices and messages at the Civil Society Forum and the HLF3.

In addition, the forum created an opportunity for participants to strengthen their networking capabilities and enabled women from the ten regions of Ghana together with women from Africa and other parts of the world to collectively strategise and mobilise beyond HLF3.

Furthermore, women's groups/networks were more visible thanks to the wide media coverage, as well as the messages raised by women during the consultations and at the Accra International Women, the CSOs forum and the HLF3. The efforts and analysis developed around the Aid Effectiveness agenda during the national consultations by women's groups/organisations were a good base to mobilise for the Accra International Women's Forum and the CSOs Forum, and to produce a more holistic approach and common activities and analytical efforts for 2009-2010. The NETRIGHT Position Paper was used as an Advocacy Paper at the national level and also used as one of the background papers to inform the statement issued at the Women's Forum. Finally, through effective mobilisation and coordination, NETRIGHT was able to play a leading role in the Aid Effectiveness process, which has not only strengthened its networking capabilities but gained a global recognition as a reputable network.

The main challenges were time and financial constraints. Due to the limited time involved in organising the consultations and our inability to secure more funding to enable us organise regional consultations in all the ten regions. However, organising three broad consultations and ensuring that participants were drawn from different districts/regions including the wide media coverage enabled us to reach out to a wider audience. Another challenge has to do with how to measure whether policy advocacy is leading to the desired changes in the public space. However, achieving gender equality is a process and not a one-off event and as such, every little effort counts. It is therefore on this premise that we confirm that the many activities implemented prior to and during the Women and CSOs Forum and the HLF3 have contributed extensively to policy advocacy on attaining gender equality at the national, regional and global levels and in particular, the Aid Effectiveness agenda.

Lessons Learnt

Strategic Planning: though we had to organise the consultations within a short time, due to the strategic
planning of the entire programme, NETRIGHT was able to successfully organise three national
consultations and engage the media as well. As a result, it enhanced the participation of more women's
groups and CSOs in the Aid Effectiveness process.

- Consultation: Broad consultation proved to be very useful because it enabled us to mobilise more
 women's groups to participate not only in the Women's Forum but also in the CSOs forum and HLF3. A
 sense of ownership was also assured among the participants.
- Gender Equality Work: Gender equality work is complex and very difficult to quantify it (in terms of results). However, success comes in gradually and it is clear from our effort that we were truly contributing to the growth of the women's movement in Ghana.
- Delegation and Inclusiveness: The secretariat was conscious of the enormity of the task ahead and therefore worked hard to ensure that NETRIGHT focal points and partners were actively involved as well as enough volunteers to participate and take responsibility of specific tasks. We were also able to get more women involved in the various processes leading to/ and during the High Level Forum 3. This ensured inclusiveness, as many women were able to relate to the emerging issues around aid and development.
- Commitment: Due to the commitment of NETRIGHT members and partners, we were able to actively
 engage in the Aid Effectiveness process. Even though, NETRIGHT operates at the national level, we
 successfully led women's groups all over the regions of the world to push critical issues of concern to
 women on the Aid Effectiveness Agenda.

Conclusion

Our joint mobilisation efforts provided space and voice for women to establish their presence at the Women's and CSOs forum; and the HLF3 on Aid Effectiveness. Women's groups/networks in Ghana have had their capacity strengthened through their engagement in the Aid Effectiveness process. Though most of the groups/networks were already working together on various issues, the constant engagement in the Aid Effectiveness process enhanced the collaboration among them and created an opportunity for them to work together to ensure that gender equality and women's rights issues remain on the Aid Effectiveness agenda.

Measuring policy advocacy is difficult and it is even more difficult to indicate whether a change in policy or behaviour is due to advocacy or other factors especially in the case of gender equality and women's rights issues. However, it is only through continuous engagement of women's groups in policy spaces that women's rights and gender equality issues can remain on top of the development agenda.

CHAPTER 7.

Networking in Europe

Nerea Craviotto, WIDE member

The objectives of the WIDE Conference in 2007, whose preparation opened WIDE's active participation in the aid effectiveness debates, resume the ingredients of WIDE's strategy towards the III High Level Forum on Aid Effectiveness: first of all the exchange of experiences and capacity building (regarding advocacy); secondly the information sharing and arousing of debate and reflection; and finally the networking and strategising efforts (both inside and outside the network).

This conference provided an opportunity to discuss through the WIDE network and with WIDE's partners, WIDE's role in the debates around aid reform, especially regarding the Aid Effectiveness process, from the perspective of WIDE active involvement in that particular realm. The intervention from Christa Wichterich very well reflected the various positions inside WIDE, "some rejected the principles of the Paris Declaration saying that they replicate earlier aid concepts using only a bit of new language. Many others preferred to identify entry points for intervention and windows of opportunity for reform on behalf of poor women and gender equality, and the mobilisation of resources for gender equality and women's rights" Both perspectives had space within WIDE's work, the more technical advocacy work around very specific processes (i.e. specific EU free trade agreements, UN reform or aid effectiveness) and the more critical approach, building on feminists alternatives, in spaces like the social forums, through partnerships with the academic world and so forth. These perspectives were always undertaken, bearing in mind that "44":

- WIDE, as a feminist network, should adopt complementary strategies from within and outside the network, in other words: on the one hand interventionist reform in favour of poor people, social justice and gender equality, and on the other hand fight against the overexploitation of human and natural resources, against the current general commodification and privatisation trends as well as against the destruction of livelihoods and alternative economic structures;
- WIDE cannot afford to lose sight of the broader picture and confine ourselves to technical questions.

Retrieving the ingredients of WIDE's strategy; training, democratisation of information and networking; I would like to tackle each one of them and share some of the strengths and challenges that we, as WIDE, faced in the process. However, I would like to point out that this contribution only reflects some parts of the

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SRINAVASAN, B. y MACDONALD, M. (2008). WIDE's Annual Conference 2007 Report: New aid, expanding trade: what do women have to say? WIDE: Brussels, Belgium. (pg. 29-30).

¹⁴ IDEM.

process within WIDE, according to my own experience as team member of the WIDE Secretariat. Therefore, it is likely that some elements will be missing.

In my opinion, if something could explain the success (with its limitations and future challenges) of the organisations working to defend gender equality and women's rights in the process towards the III High Level Forum on Aid Effectiveness, this would be the collective work generated at that time. However, for many of us, this collective work had to be generated, starting from scratch. For this very reason, capacity building appeared to be a crucial element of our success. Although, in mid-2007 many women activists, feminists and gender and development specialists were aware of the debates around the aid reform, there was a low participation from gender equality and women's rights organisations in the relevant spaces addressing the aid reform. In many cases, the organisations were not really conscious yet neither of these processes' relevance for the gender equality and women's rights agenda nor of the advocacy spaces and information sources that were available. Thus, whether as women's rights organisations we were eager to get involved in these processes, we first needed to strain ourselves towards the development of skills and understanding on what was at stake from a gender equality and women's rights perspective.

The exchange of experiences and capacity building

The 2007 WIDE Annual Conference was a first opportunity, within the network, to share information, develop analysis and build capacities. On the road to the III High Level Forum held in Accra, there were other initiatives that included capacity building among their objectives, not only from within the WIDE network, but also through partnerships with other organisations such as AWID, DAWN, FEMNET, IGTN and NETRIGHT. These initiatives updated the different participants with the available information and generated collective advocacy work at different levels (local, national, regional) that contributed to Accra's successes.

Among the challenges, one should note that the concentration of so many activities in such a short period of time (between January and August 2008) did not allow us neither to properly prepare the workshops, their content and the respective methodologies, nor to communicate with the participants (during and after the events) nor to plan the level of participation (i.e. in terms of outreach, or during the events). Regarding future mobilisations, it is paramount to consider these above mentioned elements if we aim at organising strong and inclusive coalitions.

Information sharing the arousing of debate and reflection

The collective development of information, analysis and recommendations as well as policy positions, was another key element of WIDE's strategy, and for gender equality and women's rights organisations' coalition too. All materials produced by the coalition, and other organisations, were circulated to the mailing list

"road to Accra and beyond". This ensured a wide dissemination of the information produced, not only among gender equality and women's rights organisations, but as well among gender specialists and other development organisations interested in gender and women's rights issues. Within WIDE, were also used other communication channels, such as monthly newsletters, WIDE's website, and so forth.

Moreover, the dissemination of information through the mailing list "road to Accra and beyond", allowed a high degree of coordination and preparation of joint documents, which strengthened the advocacy work around specific events (i.e. language suggestions along the negotiations of the Accra Agenda for Action). The coordination with other policy processes such as the "International Conference on Financing for Development", or the Development Cooperation Forum (within the ECOSOC), also helped us to frame aid effectiveness issues into a broader discussion context regarding development effectiveness.

Within WIDE, we set up a specific working group "financing for gender equality" which benefited from the ongoing work of interested WIDE platforms and as well from individuals. The work of this group, in the production of information and analysis, was crucial regarding WIDE's advocacy work towards the European Union institutions (Member States, European Commission), as well as for de development of WIDE's position papers and strategies towards the III High Level Forum in Accra.

Regarding the challenges I would like to highlight the following points. First of all, the lack of capacity to manage and transmit the vast amount of information produced during the process towards Accra (by the official institutions, other civil society organisations and the coalition itself). Secondly, the lack of capacity to produce further analysis, sharper, which would have allowed us to be more proactive vis à vis our demands⁴⁵. Therefore, in the future, I believe that partnerships with the academic world can be very enriching for all of us. Finally, I would like to mention that it is important to seek appropriate and inclusive mechanisms for joint issues (especially around position papers and recommendations), this could be a way to reinforce our advocacy work: on the one hand, because the lack of participation of those organisations willing to do so has an impact on trust and ownership in terms of demands and positioning; on the other hand, because if one opens space for participation (i.e. forums) without consensus-building mechanisms, this may end up weakening the assertiveness of the messages we want to get out of our work.

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⁴⁵ Assessing the process towards Accra, the information produced within WIDE and the gender equality and women's rights coalition was mainly reactive, with the consequent cost in terms of placing these debates into broader processes and going a step beyond, in terms of demands.

Networking and strategising efforts

The identification of synergies, joint strategies and networking were key elements for the success obtained in Accra. And when I mention "success", I do not only mean policy successes, in terms of States commitments towards gender and aid effectiveness (in fact, they were rather modest), but I also mean the ability to mobilise and influence demonstrated by the gender equality and women's rights organisations within the civil society space, which marked the inclusion of items traditionally left out of the aid and development agendas. Of course the challenge for the immediate future will be to maintain these achievements in order to go further. Indeed, although the road to Accra saw greater awareness among civil society organisations on the importance of gender equality and women's rights for development effectiveness, this did not translate into a real understanding on how operationalising these principles, for instance, in terms of demands and recommendations (remaining a challenge for the near future). And, even if this would have been understood, the broad civil society spectrum is still far from identifying gender equality and women's rights issues as priorities.

Building on my experience within WIDE, networking activities took place at different levels. On the one hand, in the European context, in coordination with WIDE platforms already involved in aid effectiveness debates and/or related processes (i.e. the International Conference on Financing for Development), and with other fora of civil society coordination like CONCORD⁴⁶. On the other hand, in the international context, building strategic alliances with other gender equality and women's rights organisations, and here I would especially like to mention the alliance with AWID and the strategic mutual support that was developed, as well as the role of other organisations such as DAWN, FEMNET, IGTN and NETRIGHT. Our common goals, allowed us to divide the work and be present as gender equality and women's rights advocates in many of the policy and advocacy spaces on the road to the III High Level Forum. I also would like to highlight WIDE's involvement, together with the above mentioned organisations, in the activities of the "Advisory Group on Civil Society and Aid Effectiveness" (ISG), a group that as I pointed out before was responsible for the policy and advocacy work coordination towards the OECD-DAC (specifically towards the Working Party on Aid Effectiveness), the participation of civil society organisations in official consultations on the road to Accra and the organisation of the Civil Society Parallel Forum. The active role of AWID and WIDE, with DAWN, FEMNET, IGTN and NETRIGHT in the ISG made possible that the collective analysis and messages being tailored reached through the work of the ISG those who were taking decisions in the DAC in the preparations for the Accra forum. The gender equality and women's rights coalition also proved to be serious in its work and analysis and as an outcome AWID today holds a co-chairing position in the international CSO coalition called

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⁴⁶ European NGO Confederation for Relief and Development.

"Better Aid Coordinating Group⁴⁷". This position is somehow a result of the enormous work and engagement demonstrated by the gender equality and women's rights coalition.

I could not finish this contribution without mentioning another key ally in this road to Accra, UNIFEM and its political and technical support. On the road to Accra, UNIFEM was supporting local, regional and international initiatives of gender equality and women's rights organisations to prepare the III High Level Forum on Aid Effectiveness. UNIFEM also promoted the participation of gender equality and women's rights organisations in relevant spaces. In Europe for instance, UNIFEM supported the organisation of a consultation for which WIDE and UNIFEM invited European Commission officials, Members of the European Parliament, EU Bilateral Cooperation Agencies representatives, UN agencies officials and civil society representatives to debate around the role the European cooperation should play in promoting gender equality and women's rights regarding the aid effectiveness context. Furthermore UNIFEM also promoted global initiatives (i.e. Women's Rights Consultation in Ottawa, Canada), regional initiatives in Latin America and Africa and national initiatives in Ghana, to name but a few. UNIFEM also played an important role regarding the production of information, analysis and recommendations shared with gender equality and women's rights organisations.

Finally, I would like highlight the dialogue occurred between gender equality and women's rights advocates with gender specialist from bilateral cooperation agencies (member of the GenderNet) throughout the process towards the Third High Level Forum on Aid Effectiveness. I believe this dialogue also contributed to the achievements of gender equality and women's rights organisations on the road to Accra.

Thus, elements such as common goals, coordination, information sharing and dialogue led to many achievements on the road to the III High Level Forum on Aid Effectiveness. After Accra, anybody (or almost) could affirm not to be aware about women's voices and messages claiming governments' accountability and coherence with commitments to gender equality and women's rights and their relevance to development effectiveness. Also, though modest, it is relevant to highlight the political achievements achieved during the III High Level Forum on Aid Effectiveness: the Accra Agenda for Action⁴⁸ included some of our demands (for example, recognition of the importance of gender equality in development, around the need to improve access to gender-disaggregated data, etc.), which in January 2008 was still a not clear. The challenge now is to ensure that the commitments taken in Accra are met, hence the importance of continuing to monitor the process until the fourth High Level Forum on Aid Effectiveness, which will review the achievements and challenges of the Paris Declaration.

⁴⁷ www.betteraid.org

⁴⁸ Outcome document from the III High Level Forum on Aid Effectiveness, and guide to overcome obstacles identified in the implementation of the Paris Declaration by 2011.

In terms of the challenges identified throughout the process, again the lack of time to organize, properly prepare and join forces had a cost in terms of inclusion of those organizations that directly or indirectly were working already on these issues from a gender equality and women's rights perspective. One could also hear criticism related with the lack of participation throughout the process of grass-roots women's rights organisations. Thus, in future mobilisations, it will be important to map out (as much as possible) gender equality and women's rights organisations already involved on the issues at stake, with special emphasis in reaching southern organisations, including grass-roots organisations. Also, to identify mechanisms that allow us to coordinate and build synergies considering the different levels of our work (local, national, regional and international).

Conclusion

From my own experience with WIDE, my assessment of the mobilisation and advocacy work towards Accra is positive despite the challenges encountered (which actually should help us to build stronger mobilisations). On the one hand, women's voices and their messages were present and heard in spaces that traditionally are not know for its gender sensitiveness (OECD-DAC) and this was already a breakthrough in itself, no matter the objective outcomes. On the other, the mobilisations towards Accra (and Doha with the International Conference on Financing for Development) helped to form stronger coalitions between gender equality and women's rights organisations that today continue working together, not only in the monitoring of Accra (and Doha) outcomes and implementation, but as well around other processes such as the current economic crisis. In the immediate future there are challenges to overcome, however, the awareness of them is already a first step.

CHAPTER 8.

Lessons for the future

We would like to recover here the words from our colleague from NETRIGHT, Ghana. She started her contribution mentioning that since the 1970s, donors have been defining the conceptual basis, process and implementation procedures for promoting gender equality and women's rights in many countries. Along the time, these definitions have been constantly changing reflecting global trends and donor interests rather than evolving out of the concrete experiences and lessons learnt from the ground. Thus, in spite of almost ten years of global commitment to the eradication of poverty with the Millennium Development Goals (MDG3) and statements like in the Paris Declaration that the new aid reforms is intended to reduce poverty, the level of poverty among women has increased the last years. Moreover, there are not optimistic perspectives in the horizon that the situation of women worldwide will improve, unless there's a real willingness (political) to mainstream gender equality and women's empowerment in all policy processes.

Gender equality and women's rights advocates, aware of that decided to join the aid reform process, claiming accountability to the commitments made by most of our countries towards de Convention on the Elimination of All forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW), the Beijing Platform for Action (BPfA) and the MDG 3 aiming at gender equality and women's empowerment. The Paris Declaration, that was (and is) giving instructions to part of the aid reform process, was gender blind and, thus, fundamentally flawed.

As we have seen throughout the different contributions, the engagement of gender equality and women's rights advocates brought some level of success and faced few challenges too. With this last chapter we would like to compile by highlighting the lessons learned, aiming at contributing to reflection for future women's rights mobilisations. Lessons have been divided in terms of opportunities, strategies and challenges.

Opportunities

- After 30 years of CEDAW, almost 15 of BPfA and almost 10 of MDGs (and the MDG3), the gender blindness of the Paris Declaration opened an opportunity for strong mobilisation for gender equality and women's rights advocates, since gender blindness could not be accepted again. Especially, within a framework aiming at reducing poverty and achieving the MDGs.
- Ahead of the III High Level Forum on Aid Effectiveness (HLF3), with the recognition of civil society as
 development actors, officials opened several official spaces for civil society participation (consultations,
 meetings at the OECD headquarters with members of the DAC Working Party on Aid Effectiveness

(WPEFF), the invitation to participate as observers to the III High Level Forum in itself). This opened an opportunity for gender equality and women's rights advocates to participate. However, when participation was not possible, women's rights organisations were good at organising their own activities just previous to the official ones, ensuring the outcomes will get into the official spaces (the Women's Rights Organisations and Networks in Ottawa, Canada, just prior to the CSO Forum is an example of it, that brought many results like: presenting the outcomes of the Consultation in one of the Forum plennaries and the invitation for two representatives from the women's rights organisations to join the WPEEF Advisory Group on CSOs and Aid Effectiveness).

 The possibility to build alliances between gender equality and women's rights advocates and other stakeholders (trade unions, UN agencies, gender focal points in bilateral agencies), which strengthened women's rights impact. For future mobilisations, this alliances need to continue to be nurtured.

Strategies

- Division of labour among the active women's rights organisations and networks, which ensure gender
 equality and women's rights analysis and messages were present in the different spaces for participation.
 This division of labour also encouraged the building of synergies among the different related processes
 (i.e. financing for development, UNCTAD agenda, etc), strengthening our capacities in terms of connecting
 processes and accessing updated information;
- Capacity building: all activities organised by the women's rights organisations and coalitions ahead of the HLF3 on Aid Effectiveness were an opportunity to:
 - To deepen the knowledge of women's rights activists and women's groups on the Paris
 Declaration and Aid Effectiveness especially on the gender implications of the five Paris
 Declaration principles and encourage their participation in the follow-up processes within their
 context of work (whether national, regional or international);
 - Since the different activities were open to everybody interested in gender equality and women's
 rights issues, this ensured that "the women's agenda" was owned and pushed by a variety of
 actors and strengthened the networking capacities of many of us (in some cases connecting even
 the local with the global);
 - To discuss the political implications and challenges presented by the Paris Declaration agenda and the associated new aid modalities for gender equality and the empowerment of women;
 - To mobilize women nationally, regionally and internationally to strategize for effective contribution to the civil society parallel event, the HLF3 and beyond;

- To develop recommendations for presentation to the CSO work ahead of the HLF3 (strengthening our advocacy impact) on the crucial nature of gender equality within the new aid architecture. The statements with concrete proposals together with alternative language documents on time ahead of the AAA negotiations were also a very positive combination.
- Show the strong political support from UNIFEM that sent an important message of commitment and urgency around gender equality and women's rights issues to other UN agencies and some governments.

All this had a direct impact on gender equality and women's rights advocate's lobby and advocacy capacities in their context of work.

- In order to put forth the recognition that gender equality and women's rights are central development goals, women's rights organizations were articulated in alliance with other social groups. In this sense, and because of the effort of several women's organizations, gender equality was an integral component of CSOs mobilizations in the Road to Accra. Thus, it is key to continue fostering sustained presence and recognition of gender equality and women's rights in the Aid Effectiveness process and the road leading up to the Fourth High Level Forum (HLF4) on Aid Effectiveness at the end of 2011 (which will evaluate Paris Declaration results so far).
- Multi-front strategies: gender equality and women's rights advocates needed to be constantly and simultaneously tuned in on and participating in three parallel but intersecting streams of debates around aid effectiveness. First there were the debates occurring among civil society organizations that formed the larger umbrella network for advocacy on aid effectiveness and to which the feminist network was attached. Secondly, there were the debates taking place in the formal discussions and negotiations among governments and to which CSOs needed to give their inputs. Lastly, there were the debates among the members of the feminist network itself aimed at clarifying political positions, argumentations, differences and synergies. Division of labour, continuous communication and e-mail technology contributed to facilitate the process ensured we were all on the same page, building stronger confidence and synergies among all of us.
- Engage with media: throughout the process the colleagues in Ghana identified that it was necessary to create awareness among a core group of media personnel to enable them understand the issues from a gender perspective and report accordingly. Such initiative would facilitate their active involvement in the aid effectiveness processes and would ensure that gender equality and women's rights issues would be addressed in the aid effectiveness process. Again, it would enable the media to keep the information on

the aid effectiveness on top of public discourse to enhance knowledge and awareness on the issue. Ahead of Accra, media was mobilise mainly around the HLF3, thus, for future mobilisations it is important to engage with them even earlier.

Challenges

- Gender equality and women's rights remain a marginal agenda in most of the current official debates (i.e. the crisis and the economic model). Women's organizations must look toward consolidation of alliances as a way to strengthen the impact women's rights groups have on influencing development processes in international fora, such as the OECD, the UN (the so-called G192) or the G20. However, it is important to keep in mind and make efforts to counter the fragmentation within social movements. New global challenges require new forms of political mobilization and advocacy (building from the local to the global). New kind of social alliances, pro-active discourse and innovative political dynamics should be a priority for women's groups and other social movements;
- Moreover, alliances require efforts, transparency culture, transaction costs and build holistic agendas that bring all particular interests under a common platform. This is not automatic and requires even a common language to have a strong message towards the advocacy targets (which proved to be a big challenge ahead of Accra). For future mobilisations, it will be important to take the time to reflect on what can be learned from the "Accra experience" to improve future collaborations amongst women's rights organisations. This will allow them to better influence processes and debates collectively, putting forth a stronger voice;
- Capacity building and other collective activities:
 - Consultations were often planned abruptly and too close to their staring date. More time needs to
 be allotted for the planning and organizing of consultations or meetings. Building a base of broad
 alliances requires time and previous planning.
 - Many of the meetings/consultations were only one or two days in length. It became clear that this
 was not enough time for mobilizations of these kinds, the ideal timing would be 3 days, but the
 costs of doing so are higher too.
 - Improvement is needed on better integrating young women's rights and gender equality advocates/activists, as well as other women's groups, which were not very present in Accra.
 - More time for advocacy strategy meetings between would have been helpful (to go beyond the statement and strategize on the corridors and media release efforts) and would have help in terms of inclusiveness and ownership;

- So far, the aid effectiveness process has been a highly technical agenda and gender blind. However, the term "aid effectiveness" has been questioned since the beginning, by southern civil society and gender equality and women's rights advocates, for its top-bottom relationship, which is to be refused. Same with the aid effectiveness principles, which in general could be considered reasonable. However, the technical approach often prevented the debate on the political dimension of "aid". "Aid" is a political agenda, and therefore must be involved in a political discussion, which often was not the case on the road to Accra. Gender equality and women's rights advocates have to aware on how some "aid" projects are reducing possibilities for women to reach full citizenship (i.e. subsidies are sometimes palliative solutions that do not question the structural conditions of the population, particularly the women's, considered more as a mean than an end to development), the gender equality and women's rights mobilisations need to be ready to responds to these challenges;
- On the road to Accra and Doha⁴⁹ (and not only) one huge challenge is that feminists / women's rights advocates often find themselves being asked to debate with experts and seasoned technical people who are brought in by governments to argue for certain economic policy proposals. This has created serious pressure on women's rights advocates / feminists to address their lack of organizational capacity in economic policy analysis and alternatives and needs to be tackled for the future.
- The financial constraints: collective processes require additional resources, for mobility, communication, etc. Gender equality and women's rights advocates need to strategise around the issue of resources and how to tackle it collectively. The mobilisation to Accra gave some examples from which this debate can build up;
- Within the gender equality and women's rights struggle, it will also be important to take into account the
 issue of other power asymmetries and intersecting discriminations and dominations (additional to those
 based on gender) and move the economic governance away from neo-liberal governmentality. Gender
 equality and women's rights advocates and activists need to continuo having these debates and build up
 responses and strategies (proactive vs. reactive).

The joint mobilisation effort provided space and voice for women to establish their presence and voice in several spaces official and CSOs, including the participation of delegates to the HLF3 on Aid Effectiveness. The aid effectiveness process, inter-connected to other policy process, enhanced the collaboration between different organisations and networks, creating an opportunity to work together in ensuring that gender equality

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⁴⁹ Doha: International Conference on Financing for Development, November-December 2008

and women's rights issues remain in the aid effectiveness agenda, as well as other related ones. It is important for the future to keep this trend.

As the colleagues from Ghana mentioned a their contribution measuring policy advocacy is difficult and it is even more difficult to indicate whether a change in policy or behaviour is due to advocacy or other factors especially in the case of gender equality and women's rights issues. However, it is only through continuous engagement of women's groups in policy spaces that women's rights and gender equality issues can remain on top of the development agenda.

List of acronyms

AAA: Accra Agenda for Action

AECID: Spanish Agency for International Development Cooperation.

AG: Advisory Group on CSO and Aid Effectiveness (OECD-DAC)

AWID: Association Women's Rights in Development

BACG: Better Aid Coordinating Group

BPfA: Beijing Platform for Action

CCIC: Canadian Council for International Cooperation.

CEDAW: Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women

CIDA: Canadian International Development Agency

CONCORD: European NGO Confederation for Relief and Development

CSO: Civil Society Organisations

DAC: Development Assistance Committee

DAWN: Development Alternatives with Women for a New Era

DCF: Development Cooperation Forum

DNGO: Development NGO.

ECOSOC: United Nations Economic and Social Council

FEMNET: The African Women's Development and Communication Network.

FfD: Financing for Development

G20: Group of 20 Finance Ministers and Central Bank Governors

G192: Group of 192

GDP: Gross Domestic Product

GEDEA: Network Gender in Development and Aid Effectiveness

GENDERNET: Network on Gender Equality (OECD-DAC)

GDWG: Gender and Development Working Group (Coordinadora ONGD- España)

HLF: High Level Forum

IADG: internationally agreed development goals IGTN: International Gender and Trade Network

ISG: Advisory Group on Civil Society and Aid Effectiveness

LA: Latin America

MDG: Millennium Development Goals

NETRIGHT: Network for Women's Rights in Ghana

NGO: Non Governmental Organisations
ODA: Overseas Development Assistance

OECD: Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development

PD: Paris Declaration on Aid Effectiveness

REPEM: Popular Education among Women Network

UK: United Kingdom
UN: United Nations

UNCTAD: United Nations Conference on Trade and Development

UNIFEM: United Nations Development Fund for Women

WILDAF: Women in Law and Development in Africa

WPEFF: Working Party on Aid Effectiveness (OECD-DAC)

WTO: World Trade Organisation

WWG on FfD: Women's Working Group on Financing for Development

ANNEXES

ANEX 1: Preliminary recommendations of the International Consultation of Women's Organizations and Networks and Aid Effectiveness

On January 31st and February 1st, 2008, 50 women's rights activists and gender experts from all regions participated in the International Consultation of Women's Organizations and Networks and Aid Effectiveness organized by the Association for Women's Rights in Development (AWID) and Women in Development Europe (WIDE) with the sponsorship of UNIFEM, CIDA-Canada, and Action Aid International. This document summarizes the preliminary recommendations from the Consultation.⁵⁰

PREAMBLE

The women's rights organizations participating in this Consultation analyzed the Paris Declaration (PD) principles and acknowledged the opportunities to advance the gender equality and women's rights agenda; however the PD is gender blind and as such, fundamentally flawed.

The group identified the need to relate the Aid Effectiveness agenda with other goals and processes in the Aid and Development architecture such as: the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs), Financing for Development (FfD) process and the Road to Doha, the Development Cooperation Forum at the United Nations Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC), the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD) and the World Trade Organization (WTO), and the role of the International Financial Institutions in the definition of macroeconomic and development policies.

The group agreed that donor and developing country governments should deliver on their commitments to international Human Rights frameworks and key agreements on women's rights and development, such as the Beijing Platform for Action (BPfA), the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) and the MDGs. It is important that the diversity of organized peoples groups is respected and preserved and that Civil Society Organizations (CSOs) are not seen as only service delivery conduits. The fight against poverty and inequality is rooted in contexts reflecting a web of political relations and processes where structural underpinnings of inequalities and cultural determination of inclusions and exclusions are confronted. Autonomous CSOs and social movements that are able to disagree and debate with and act as watchdogs to governments are critical for democratic ownership. The contributions and roles of women's organizations are key to democratic and sustainable development.

The group highlighted that donor imposed conditionalities are not consistent with the principle of democratic ownership and the Right to Development. Both donor and developing country governments must respect and advance regional and international Human Rights, gender equality, and sustainable development agreements, and the main way to reinforce Human Rights or gender equality is not to make them new terms of conditionalities, but by supporting local groups, movements and women's rights organizations in the South, that will hold their own governments accountable to these commitments, acting as advocates and strengthening democratic governance on the ground.

The understanding of the participants was that there is no aid effectiveness without development effectiveness and that gender equality, environment and human rights must be recognized as crucial to development effectiveness. Their current status as cross-cutting issues marginalizes these areas from the development process and turns them into accessory issues in the Aid Effectiveness agenda.

Aid effectiveness without gender equality and a women's rights perspective will not lead to effective development and will not contribute to reduce poverty and achieve the MDGs. In this sense, the participants suggested promoting the centrality of gender equality and women's rights as a development goal for aid effectiveness. A twin-track approach involving both gender mainstreaming and specific women's rights interventions is recommended.

⁵⁰ For more information about the Consultation please contact: Nerea Craviotto (WIDE, email: nerea@widenetwork.org) and Cecilia Alemany (AWID, email: calemany@awid.org).

PRELIMINARY RECOMMENDATIONS:

Democratic ownership and participation:

- 1. Governments, regional and multilateral organizations must interpret the terms of national country ownership as democratic ownership and elaborate on its implications in the context of countries' obligations to international Human Rights law, including women's rights and gender equality.
- 2. Donor and developing country governments must commit to supporting the conditions that are necessary for CSOs and women's rights organizations to fulfil their roles in development processes (planning, implementing, monitoring and evaluation). The Accra Agenda for Action (AAA) must recognize CSOs in general and women's rights and women's empowerment organizations in particular, as autonomous development actors in their own right.
- 3. Donor and developing country governments must prioritize and financially support the strengthening of national public awareness about the PD and the centrality of gender equality, and recognize the role women's rights organizations can play at the local and national levels in reaching out to and reflecting the voices of the public.
- 4. Donor and developing country governments must promote women's rights organizations in different decision-making processes and donors' policy planning, including in the Development Assistance Committee (DAC).

Strengthening mutual accountability⁵¹:

- 5. Donor and developing country governments should strengthen the capacities, resources and authority of national women's machineries to support and monitor line ministries, other government bodies and parliaments in influencing national development planning and budget allocations for gender equality and women's rights.
- 6. All relevant actors must commit to the highest standards of openness and transparency:
 - Donors and international financial institutions should deliver timely and meaningful information, adopt a
 policy of automatic and full disclosure of relevant information, and submit to the norms and directionsetting of the United Nations (UN).
 - Developing countries' governments must work with elected representatives, the public and CSOs to set out open and transparent policies on how aid is to be sourced, spent, monitored and accounted for.
 - Diverse CSOs must also exercise accountability and continuously draw their legitimacy from their constituencies.
- 7. Donor governments must provide transparent information on how Official Development Assistance (ODA) allocations correspond to policy commitments, and developing countries' governments have to provide transparent and publicly available budgets. Participants at the consultation noted that mutual accountability has to involve all development actors to really fulfil the principle of Democratic Ownership.

⁵¹ Participants at the consultation noted that mutual accountability has to involve all development actors to really fulfil the principle of Democratic Ownership.

Indicators and monitoring of the Paris Declaration's implementation:

- The OECD-DAC Working Party on Aid Effectiveness must promote a multi-stakeholder review of the monitoring system for the PD that includes the engagement of CSOs and women's rights and women's empowerment organizations.
- 9. The operational development strategies established by developing countries for 2010, related workplans and the monitoring system of the PD implementation, must fully integrate gender equality targets and indicators.
- 10. Existing and new ODA management review and performance assessment tools and measures must reflect a results-based monitoring and evaluation component with a special focus on how gender equality and women's empowerment targets are being met, in both donor and developing countries.
- 11. The acquisition and improvement of sex-disaggregated data must become predictable, regular and consistent to support planning, negotiation, monitoring, and evaluation of development and aid policies.
- 12. Instead of the current Country Policy and Institutional Assessment (CPIA) mechanism, a technical working group must be formed to produce a more appropriate set of measures integrating gender equality for assessing public finance management and procurement in developing countries. The technical working group proposals must be discussed by all countries and stakeholders concerned, consistent with the principle of democratic ownership.
- 13. To improve the gender equality component in the current monitoring system of the PD, the use of baselines as well as input and output performance indicators of gender impacts in budgetary reporting must be promoted; and gender targets, inputs and outputs in national budgets and ODA must be specified.

Mobilization of resources for gender equality and women's rights strategies:

- 14. Promote the integration of gender responsive budgeting as a tool to combine with General Budget Support (GBS) and Sector-Wide Approaches (SWAps), with the participation of women's empowerment organizations.
- 15. The monitoring system of the PD implementation should integrate the existence of a strategic plan for financing gender equality⁵² and women's empowerment that is reflected in budget guidelines; as well as the amount of government funds spent on capacity building, on integrating a gender perspective in public finances for (1) Finance Ministry officials; (2) whole of Government (including Parliamentarians), and (3) CSOs.
- 16. Donor and developing country governments must ensure direct funding and establish clear mechanisms for the participation of women's rights organizations as part of civil society, particularly women from socially excluded groups, in all the national development planning processes and aid planning, programming, management, monitoring and evaluation.
- 17. There should be a significant increase in investments in women's rights organizations and movements; these organizations should receive substantial, predictable, multi-year, core funding for: Participants at the consultation call on donors and developing countries to follow the recommendation of the meeting of the

⁵² Participants at the consultation call on donors and developing countries to follow the recommendation of the meeting of the UN Expert Group on Financing for Gender Equality asking governments to commit to reach 10% of ODA for gender equality and women's empowerment by 2010 and 20% by 2015, setting out in the action plan of donors, recipient countries and the DAC strategies for reaching the target, monitoring performance and evaluating impact (Expert Group on Financing for Gender Equality - the UN Commission on the Status of Women, Oslo, September 2007).

UN Expert Group on Financing for Gender Equality asking governments to commit to reach 10% of ODA for gender equality and women's empowerment by 2010 and 20% by 2015, setting out in the action plan of donors, recipient countries and the DAC strategies for reaching the target, monitoring performance and evaluating impact (Expert Group on Financing for Gender Equality - the UN Commission on the Status of Women, Oslo, September 2007).

- Women's rights organizations at all levels to play watchdog and advocacy roles.
- Establishing funding mechanisms that are accessible to a wide range of CSOs, not only the strongest and largest, for capacity development at all levels.

Preparation and participation at the HLF 3 in Accra:

- 18. Set an institutionalized participatory process with 30% of participants from women's rights organizations in the process for Accra and at the HLF3 (including active participation at the Ministerial meeting), and ensure that participation in the regional consultations includes 30% women's rights organizations that are fully funded.
- 19. Donor and developing country governments must ensure that gender equality and women's rights concerns are effectively addressed during the roundtable discussions, especially in RT1: Democratic Ownership, RT4: Development results and impacts, RT5: Mutual accountability, RT6: The role of civil society organizations in advancing aid effectiveness, RT9: Implications of the new aid architecture on aid effectiveness and the role of non-DAC donors.

ANEX 2: WOMEN'S FORUM STATEMENT: Recommendations for Action on Development Effectiveness in Accra and beyond

On the 30th August 2008, more than 200 women's rights organisations, women's empowerment organisations, gender advocates and experts from all regions of the world attended the Accra International Women's Forum to discuss the implementation of the Paris Declaration on Aid Effectiveness. This statement, which emanates from the forum calls for actions and recommendations for the 3rd High Level Forum.

Officials present at the Accra High Level Forum cannot ignore the failure of their development policies and practices, particularly those related to gender equality and women's empowerment.

According to recent figures today 1.4 billion persons live under the new poverty line of USD 1.25, and the majority of these are women and girls. It is essential to analyse the implications of the Aid Effectiveness agenda for the advancement of gender equality, women's rights and women's empowerment, and to consider how future aid management will tackle this fundamental issue. It is crucial to understand the political context of development policies and the challenges posed by the implementation of the Paris Declaration. We are concerned about the persistent neo-liberal model that is clearly failing to deliver the promised results of growth for all, bringing instead discrimination, social exclusion, injustice and more inequalities. In addition, it has decreased the possibilities of a fair and people centred development. We are also concerned about the negative impacts of the privatisation of basic services, climate change and food insecurity, which are undermining any possibility of sustainable development.

Promises of aid made by donors have not been fulfilled.

Today the aid industry - defined, designed and mainly implemented by donors - is failing to fulfil the right to development as stated in 1986 United Nations (UN) Declaration, as well as the right to gender equality and the right not to be poor. The Paris Declaration is another expression of the unequal aid architecture, lacking a holistic approach to build sustainable development and social justice. Aid assistance should truly support nationally owned and democratically adopted plans towards implementing these commitments, rather than imposing them through economic policy conditionalities. To assure development sustainability, it is urgent that the relation between the multilateral trading agenda and the aid agenda is made explicit. Aid cannot be detached from the larger context of global trade and the financing system.

While the Paris Declaration is not a binding agreement, the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, as well as the Convention on the Elimination of All forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) among others, pose legal obligations to governments regarding issues of development, human rights, gender equality, and environmental sustainability. International treaties endorsed by governments in the last decades must be the framework for development policies and practices. Governments should be held accountable for these commitments. Any efforts to implement the Paris Declaration should be aligned with these international standards and goals.

The impacts of the 3rd High Level Forum on aid relations must be considered in the context of the broader development financing debates. Additionally, it is crucial to recognise that in middle income countries wealth is highly concentrated in the hands of a few, with the majority of the people living in poverty. The most recent draft of the Accra Agenda for Action (AAA) has ignored the efforts of the various consultations that could have made it far more relevant and meaningful. Broader civil society organisations (CSOs), including women's rights organisations, are very concerned about this 25th July version. As stated in the International Steering Group (ISG) comments on the draft, "not enough progress has been made in making aid work for poor people", especially from the donors side. The consequences of a weak AAA could be inaction in improving aid quality and impact.

Compared to 2005 when the Paris Declaration was gender blind, there are now a few improvements in the AAA text. The 11th August AAA emphasises the central place of poverty reduction and human rights in development policy and the importance of human rights, gender equality, and environmental sustainability as

cornerstones for achieving enduring impact. The AAA also states that "developing countries and donors will ensure that their respective development policies and programmes are designed and implemented in ways consistent with international commitments on gender equality, human rights, disability, and environmental sustainability". It also recognises the need to improve access to sex-disaggregated data.

However, it fails to explicitly recognise the need to allocate resources and to make pledges of support from the donor community binding. The use of the qualifying phrase - "as appropriate" – provides an excuse for inaction. In addition, advances in the language of the AAA with regard to gender equality and human rights are undermined by the lack of new targets. Instead, existing targets are monitored by indicators defined by the World Bank, which are widely contested by CSOs and women's organisations.

Another world is possible

Our vision is a world where aid is no longer necessary, where transformed relations of power and democratic redistribution of wealth continually challenge norms and structures of injustice and war and where relationships are based on respect, solidarity and justice for all. We would like to see a world where the existing aid system is not an instrument for oppression and policy infiltration nor for the support for armed conflicts, but is an instrument for promoting democratic sustainable development agendas which support the equitable distribution of productive resources, decent work, and the provision of social security for all, particularly for women. Last but not least, aid must be delivered to enable the sustainability of social organisations and strengthen local systems of production in the face of globalisation.

Women's groups understand that legitimate space for norm-setting on aid and international cooperation issues cannot be removed from the larger global trade and finance system contexts. Systemic issues are best discussed under the rubric of the United Nations, and the Development Cooperation Forum should be the space to advance and monitor progress on aid and development effectiveness.

The Accra Women's Forum participants believe that there is no aid effectiveness without development effectiveness. Aid effectiveness without a gender equality and women's rights perspective will not lead to effective development and will not contribute to reduce poverty, inequalities and the achievement of the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs).

Women's recommendations to the Accra High Level Forum on Aid Effectiveness

The Aid Effectiveness process continues towards 2010 by which time the Paris principles will need to be met. Yet, there are no clear actionable commitments to set up work-plans for the coming phase. To affirm that there is political will to move forward in Accra, women's organisations call donors and developing country governments:

- To ensure that gender equality, environmental sustainability and respect for human rights are cornerstones of development, by treating these policy priority issues as sectors with progress indicators and specific resources allocated in national budgets.
- To align the Paris Declaration implementation with international agreed development goals (IADG) as suggested by the United Nations Secretary General Report⁵³, particularly the international standards on human rights, gender equality, decent work, and environmental sustainability.
- To deliver donors' commitment to increase Official Development Assistance (ODA) to 0.7% of their GNP.
 In addition, aid should be additional to debt relief, and should be in the form of grants, not loans.

⁵³ UN/ECOSOC E/2008/XX, Secretary General Report (2008), Trends and progress in international development cooperation, Unedited version.

- To provide transparent information on how ODA allocations respond to policy commitments and people's needs, and to provide transparent and publicly available budgets.
- To consider how available resources are allocated. Donors and governments need to ensure that special funds are available for women's rights organisations and that effective mechanisms are in place to ensure that the money reaches these organisations. Funding needs to be diversified to ensure that the current focus on CSOs as instruments of advocacy does not exclude other work that is critical for women's rights, gender equality and poverty reduction. We recommend that women are given opportunity to design and implement their own projects according to their local priorities. Resources need to be distributed to make provison for the use of local expertise instead of wasting resources on foreign experts and consultancies.
- To recognise the importance of the United Nations Security Council Resolution (UNSCR) 1820, and allocate resources for mobilising communities and the protection of women's rights and their organisations.
- To integrate a strategic plan for financing gender equality⁵⁴ and women's empowerment, that is reflected in budget guidelines, into the monitoring system of the Paris Declaration implementation. In addition, donor (bilateral and multilateral) and developing country governments must establish clear mechanisms for the participation of women's rights organisations as part of civil society, particularly women from excluded groups, in all the national development planning processes and aid planning, programming, management, monitoring and evaluation. Women's organisations should receive substantial, predictable and multi-year, core funding.
- To define democratic and participatory ownership as the cross-cutting principle (vector principle) of the implementation of the Paris Declaration, without setting new forms of process conditionality. Such an approach must go in line with the recognition of national leadership (Monterrey Consensus), the right to development, the right to self-determination, the right to participation, and the right to non-violence.
- To strengthen capacities, resources and authority of national women's machineries to support and monitor line ministries, and other government bodies and parliaments in influencing national development planning and budget allocations for gender equality and women's rights.
- To accept that economic policy conditionalities have a negative impact on people, particularly on women.
 And therefore, to remove all economic policy conditionalities that undermine the principle of ownership and
 stand in contradiction to the rights to development and self-determination. This must include those
 conditionalities related to gender equality and the so-called "positive conditionalities". Instead, mutual
 responsibility, accountability and transparency of donors and developing countries must be applied and
 strengthened towards gender equality and human rights standards and goals.
- To measure development results within the Paris framework by adopting the existing reporting and monitoring systems for human rights compliance, such as the Gini Index of Income Inequality, as well as other processes such as CEDAW, MDGs, UNSCR 1325, etc. If new indicators are created, they should be developed through a more inclusive process that also takes into account grassroots beneficiaries and local actors. It must be explicitly stated how data for indicators is being generated, allowing civil society, and women's groups to participate both in generating data and monitoring indicators. Allocating national budget resources for training women's groups in monitoring and evaluating should be considered.
- To measure outcomes on gender mainstreaming and gender specific action such as access to health and

⁵⁴ Participants at the consultation call on donors and developing countries to follow the recommendation of the meeting of the UN Expert Group on Financing for Gender Equality asking governments to commit to reach 10% of ODA for gender equality and women's empowerment by 2010 and 20% by 2015, setting out in the action plan of donors, recipient countries and the DAC strategies for reaching the target, monitoring performance and evaluating impact (Expert Group on Financing for Gender Equality - the UN Commission on the Status of Women, Oslo, September 2007).

education, changes in women's employment and income, incidence of gender based violence, right to war reparations, right to inheritance, property, land use, women's participation in decision-making.

- To pay special attention to the needs and rights of victimised women in fragile states (states in conflict, coming out of conflict or post-conflict situations) and in communities experiencing localised conflicts and xenophobic attacks, by involving women in peace-building processes and channelling specific development assistance to women's organisations to address the concerns and needs of women survivors, including capacity-building, access to sexual and reproductive health information and services, and violence against women.⁵⁵
- To promote the use of diverse funding mechanisms to ensure progress on women's rights and empowerment, including general as well as sector budget support, pooled funding through the SWAps (Sector Wide Approaches) and partnerships with CSOs and UN agencies. General budget support alone cannot lead to progress on development goals, especially for most marginalised groups.

ANNEX to the Statement- Suggested Alternative Indicators for Monitoring Progress towards National Development Goals, including Gender Equality and Women's Empowerment⁵⁶

Suggested Indicators
1.1 Countries evaluated in 2010 have institutional structures in place which allow for systematic participation of civil society and women's groups in national development planning (including PRSP formulation), implementation and monitoring.
1.2 National development strategies and PRSPs developed up to 2010 integrate a gendered analysis of poverty consistently supported by sex disaggregated data, and reference to national commitments to international conventions such as CEDAW and the Beijing Platform for Action.
1.3 National gender equality priorities/plans are costed, supported by an action plan and integrated into the national development strategies and PRSPs.
2.1 Donor and partner countries evaluated in 2010 have gender responsive budgeting systems in place at national and local levels.
2.2 Percentage of donor funds dedicated to capacity building on mainstreaming gender perspectives in public finances for Finance Ministry officials,. Line Ministries, Civil society (and in particular women's organizations) and Parliamentarians.
2.3 Percentage of public/donor funding for meeting women's specific needs for example, violence against women and HIV/AIDs.
3.1 The 2010 evaluation of implementation of the Paris Declaration principles include systematic involvement from civil society and women's organizations.
3.2 At least three gender-sensitive indicators are assessed during formal aid effectiveness monitoring and evaluation processes.

⁵⁵ Sharing the case of Mauritania: development partners and donors should not use aid as a policy instrument, on the top of people's livelihoods, instead they should promote a constructive approach and support the population to strengthen and building democratic institutions.

⁵⁶ UNIFEM, 2008 (draft version).

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- 3.3 Performance assessment frameworks of donors include gender equality as a key result and include systematic involvement from civil society and women's organizations.
- 3.4 Percentage of aid dedicated for harmonized systems for joint government/donor capacity building on mainstreaming gender equality in programme-based approaches in place at country level.