

# Report of the Expert Group Meeting on Structural and Policy Constraints in Achieving the MDGs for Women and Girls

**UN Women in collaboration with ECLAC** 

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<sup>\*</sup>The views expressed in this document are those of the experts and do not necessarily represent the views of the United Nations.

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#### PURPOSE OF THE REPORT

In accordance with its multi-year programme of work (2010-2014), the 58<sup>th</sup> session of the Commission on the Status of Women (CSW) in 2014 will consider the 'challenges and achievements in the implementation of the Millennium Development Goals for women and girls' as its priority theme. Nearing the 2015 target date for the achievement of the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs), the 58<sup>th</sup> session of CSW will provide an opportunity to better understand the achievements and challenges in implementing the MDGs for women and girls and will contribute to an acceleration of progress on the MDGs. It can also inform the ongoing debate about the post-2015 development agenda, as well as the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs), the 20-year review of both the Beijing Platform for Action, and the International Conference on Population and Development (ICPD) Programme of Action.

In order to contribute to a deeper understanding of progress and limitations in the achievement of the MDGs, to take stock of current research, and to assist the Commission in its deliberations, UN Women, in collaboration with the Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean (ECLAC), convened an expert group meeting (EGM) on 'Structural and policy constraints in achieving the MDGs for women and girls' from 21 to 24 October, 2013 in Mexico City, Mexico. Experts elected Radhika Balakrishnan and Valeria Esquivel to serve as co-chairs of the meeting.

This report reflects the discussion and analysis of key achievements, challenges and policy priorities identified at the EGM and provides recommendations to accelerate achievement of the MDGs for women and girls, and to inform the debate about the post-2015 development agenda. It also builds on individual papers prepared by the experts on specific issues for the meeting. It serves to provide inputs for the reports of the Secretary-General to the CSW and will be widely disseminated in preparation for the fifty-eighth session of CSW.

#### THE MILLENNIUM DECLARATION AND HUMAN RIGHTS

The Millennium Declaration emphasized the need for global solidarity for the realization of human rights. It outlined the opportunities and challenges that globalization presents for achieving broadly shared well-being. The fundamental values of the Millennium Declaration are freedom, equality, solidarity, tolerance, respect for nature, and shared responsibility. It sets out the need for all countries to be involved in creating "...a more peaceful, prosperous, and just world," as "we have a collective responsibility to uphold the principles of human dignity, equality and equity at global levels." The Millennium Declaration was explicit about a commitment to human rights:

"We will spare no effort to promote democracy and strengthen the rule of law, as well as respect for all internationally recognized human rights and fundamental freedoms, including the right to development. We resolve therefore: to respect fully and uphold the Universal Declaration of Human Rights; to strive for the full

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> United Nations. 2000. Millennium Declaration. <a href="http://www.un.org/millennium/declaration/ares552e.htm">http://www.un.org/millennium/declaration/ares552e.htm</a>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Ibid.

protection and promotion in all our countries of civil, political, economic, social and cultural rights for all; to strengthen the capacity of all our countries to implement the principles and practices of democracy and respect for human rights, including minority rights; to combat all forms of violence against women and to implement the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women; to take measures to ensure respect for and protection of the human rights of migrants, migrant workers and their families, to eliminate the increasing acts of racism and xenophobia in many societies and to promote greater harmony and tolerance in all societies..."

Human rights represent the framework for social justice embedded in the Millennium Declaration. In the spirit of the declaration, this report uses a human rights framework as its basis for analysis. Progress on women's rights and substantive gender equality in the development agenda requires the centrality of a human rights framework. Women's rights and gender equality require critical attention to women's interconnected and indivisible sexual, reproductive, civil, political, economic, social and cultural rights. Moreover, there is a need to focus on substantive equality rather than formal equality alone. Formal equality through legal or policy measures is necessary, but may not be sufficient, to ensure that women enjoy the same rights as men in practice. It is essential for women to have not only equal opportunities with men, but also equal access to opportunities and resources for substantively equal outcomes. In practice, substantive equality requires the transformation of unequal power relations that perpetuate gender inequality.

Several international human rights agreements provide the necessary framework and ethical basis for the achievement of the MDGs for women and girls. The International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR)<sup>4</sup> and the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (ICESCR)<sup>5</sup> require State Parties to ensure that the rights within each covenant are enjoyed without discrimination on the basis of sex; they also emphasize the indivisibility of these rights. The Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW)<sup>6</sup> is an international bill of rights for women, that calls upon State Parties to take all appropriate measures to ensure the full development and advancement of women, for the purposes of guaranteeing them the exercise and enjoyment of human rights and fundamental freedoms on a basis of equality with men.

Throughout the 1990s, several UN conferences provided a critical platform to embed human rights priorities in the development agenda. Through these conferences, the women's movement advanced hard-won international agreements that expanded the recognition and scope of women's rights and officially acknowledged women's rights as human rights. Women's human rights were declared universal, indivisible and interdependent. Agenda 21 in Rio made clear the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Ibid.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> UN General Assembly, *International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights*, 1966, United Nations http://www.refworld.org/docid/3ae6b3aa0.html

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> UN General Assembly, *International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights*, 1966, United Nations, <a href="http://www.refworld.org/docid/3ae6b36c0.html">http://www.refworld.org/docid/3ae6b36c0.html</a>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> UN General Assembly, Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women. 1979, United Nations. http://www.ohchr.org/EN/ProfessionalInterest/Pages/CEDAW.aspx

links between a sustainable environment and women's rights<sup>7</sup>. Principle 20 of the Rio Declaration said: "Women have a vital role in environmental management and development. Their *full participation* is therefore essential to achieve sustainable development" (emphasis added). The Agenda 21 document itself, in Chapter 24 on global action for women, definitively argued that sustainable development was equitable development, and that women were central to "international and national ecosystem management". Likewise, Vienna 1993 brought attention to women's rights with particular attention to violence against women and re-affirmed the right to development<sup>8</sup>; Cairo 1994 articulated a clear vision for women's reproductive health and rights as well as development<sup>9</sup>; Copenhagen 1995 did the same on poverty and social development<sup>10</sup>; and the very important Beijing Platform for Action, was a global agenda for women's empowerment and an agreement to take immediate action for gender equality, especially around 12 critical areas of concern for women<sup>11</sup>.

Experts at the EGM in Mexico City emphasized that this hard-won recognition of women's human rights, as well as the indivisibility and interdependence of women's human rights, were not reflected in the MDGs. The MDGs were the 'road map' for implementing the Millennium Declaration commitments and yet, the focus on structural poverty and inequalities, sustainability and principles such as freedom, equality, tolerance, solidarity and respect for nature, that were central to the Millennium Declaration, were conspicuously absent from the targets and indicators of the MDGs. The process of deriving the MDG targets from the Millennium Declaration produced the MDG framework that was narrowly framed in terms of goals, targets and indicators that did not capture the rich, multi-dimensional gains of these existing international human rights agreements. The MDGs treated development outcomes in isolation, undermining the interconnection between human rights standards and development, and breaking the existing internationally agreed links between rights, equity and sustainable development, in an attempt to be simple and measurable. The MDGs also failed to include key areas within the women's rights agenda, including violence against women, sexual and reproductive health and rights, women, peace and security issues, and the recognition of women's unpaid care work. The MDGs also failed to take into account women's diversities, which contribute to compounding oppression.

In adopting a human rights framework as its basis, this report reflects the call by the Experts to return to the spirit of these international human rights agreements, and it re-emphasizes the centrality of human rights principles for the achievement of the MDGs and for the SDGs and post-2015 agenda to come. Experts agreed that a framework of core human rights principles should inform the way in which states discharge their obligations for sustainable development. This has been consistently established through international agreements over 20 years, and

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http://www.un.org/womenwatch/daw/beijing/pdf/BDPfA%20E.pdf

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> United Nations. 1992. *Rio Declaration on Environment and Development*. http://www.unep.org/Documents.Multilingual/Default.asp?documentid=78&articleid=1163

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> United Nations. 1993. *Vienna Declaration and Programme of Action*. http://www.ohchr.org/Documents/ProfessionalInterest/vienna.pdf

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> United Nations. 1994. *Cairo Declaration on Population and Development, ICPD*. http://www.unfpa.org/webdav/site/global/shared/documents/publications/2004/icpd\_eng.pdf

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> United Nations. 1995. *World Summit for Social Development*. <a href="http://daccess-dds-ny.un.org/doc/UNDOC/GEN/N95/116/51/PDF/N9511651.pdf">http://daccess-dds-ny.un.org/doc/UNDOC/GEN/N95/116/51/PDF/N9511651.pdf</a>?OpenElement

<sup>11</sup> United Nations. 1995. Beijing Platform for Action,

should be used as a foundation upon which a post-2015 agenda can be built, consistent with the vision laid out in the Millennium Declaration. Here are a number of relevant principles that will be used and emphasized in the remainder of the report.

*Progressive Realization:* The International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (ICESCR) specifies that states have the obligation of "achieving progressively the full realization of the rights recognized in the present Covenant" "to the maximum of available resources." <sup>12</sup> In other words, this obligation recognizes that the resources at the disposal of a government are limited, and that fulfilling economic and social rights will take time. However, governments must mobilize the maximum available resources in order to enhance the enjoyment of economic and social rights over time.

Maximum Available Resources: The principle of maximum available resources says that resource availability is not just 'given' to states but depends on how the state mobilizes resources to finance its obligations to realize human rights. These include: (1) government expenditure; (2) government revenue; (3) development assistance (both official development assistance and private resource flows); (4) debt and deficit financing; and (5) monetary policy and financial regulation. It is in this sense that the state is required to use the maximum of its available resources to meet human rights obligations.

Non-Retrogression: Non-retrogression means that once a particular level of enjoyment of rights has been realized, it must be maintained. This implies that retrogressive measures on the part of a state must be avoided. On this matter, rights may clash and States must consider first and foremost the rights of marginalized populations. States must demonstrate that they have considered alternative policies that might avoid the need for expenditure cuts that are retrogressive. An example of a potentially retrogressive measure that must be justified before being carried out would be cuts to expenditures on public services that are critical for realization of economic and social rights; or cuts to taxes that are critical for funding such services.

Minimum Essential Levels/Minimum Core Obligations: States that are parties to the ICESCR are also under a "minimum core" obligation to ensure the satisfaction of, at the very least, "minimum essential levels of each of the rights" in the ICESCR. <sup>14</sup> However, even in times of severe resource constraints, states must ensure that rights are fulfilled for vulnerable members of society through the adoption of relatively low-cost targeted programs, and, as their economies improve, states must make progressively greater contributions to expand and universalize coverage.

Non-discrimination and Equality: A fundamental aspect of states' human rights obligations is that of non-discrimination and equality. The Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR)

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup> United Nations. 1966. *International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights*. http://www.ohchr.org/EN/ProfessionalInterest/Pages/CESCR.aspx

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup> See Balakrishnan, Radhika, Diane Elson, James Heintz and Nicholas Lusciani. 2011. "Maximum Available Resources & Human Rights: Analytical Report." <a href="http://www.cwgl.rutgers.edu/resources/publications/economic-a-social-rights/380-maximum-available-resources-a-human-rights-analytical-report-">http://www.cwgl.rutgers.edu/resources/publications/economic-a-social-rights/380-maximum-available-resources-a-human-rights-analytical-report-</a>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>14</sup> United Nations. 1966. *International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights*. http://www.ohchr.org/EN/ProfessionalInterest/Pages/CESCR.aspx

Article 2 states that: "everyone is entitled to all the rights and freedoms set forth in this Declaration without distinction of any kind, such as race, colour, sex, language, religion, political or other opinion, national or social origin, property, birth or other status." 15 Article 2 of the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) also sets out steps that a State party must take action to eliminate discrimination, including adopting appropriate legislative and other measures. Article 4(1) recognizes the legitimacy of "temporary special measures aimed at accelerating de facto equality between men and women." <sup>16</sup> It is clear that CEDAW does not only mean the absence of a discriminatory legal framework, but also means that policies must not be discriminatory in effect. CEDAW requires that states achieve both formal and substantive equality and recognizes that formal equality alone is insufficient for a state to meet its affirmative obligation to achieve substantive equality between men and women. Less attention has been paid to the fact that both UDHR and ICESCR specify 'property' among the grounds on which 'distinction' in the enjoyment of rights is not permitted. It has been accepted that this refers to the wealth or poverty status of people. <sup>17</sup> The most important part of non-discrimination and equality is that this obligation is immediate, not progressively realized. Accountability, Participation and Transparency: The importance of accountability and participation is emphasized in the Limburg Principles<sup>18</sup> on the implementation of ICESCR. Under these principles, states are accountable to both the international community and their own people for their compliance with human rights obligations. This requires a concerted effort to ensure the full participation of all sectors of society. Popular participation is required at all stages, including the formulation, application and review of national policies.

*Extraterritorial Obligations:* The Maastricht Principles on Extraterritorial Obligations of States in the area of Economic, Social and Cultural Rights state that States have obligations relating to acts and omissions that have effects on the enjoyment of human rights outside of that State's territory. These include administrative, legislative, adjudicatory and other measures.<sup>19</sup>

These human rights principles, which have been used by Member States in international treaties, inform the analysis of this report and frame the approach taken by the Experts in assessing the structural and policy constraints in achieving the MDGs for women and girls, as well as the recommendations on accelerating the MDGs for women and girls, and informing the future post-

http://oppenheimer.mcgill.ca/IMG/pdf/Maastricht 20ETO 20Principles 20- 20FINAL.pdf

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>15</sup> United Nations. 1948. *The Universal Declaration of Human Rights*. http://www.ohchr.org/EN/UDHR/Pages/UDHRIndex.aspx

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>16</sup> United Nations. 1979. *The Convention for the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women*. <a href="http://www.un.org/womenwatch/daw/cedaw/text/econvention.htm">http://www.un.org/womenwatch/daw/cedaw/text/econvention.htm</a>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>17</sup> MacNaughton, Gillian. 2009. "Untangling equality and non-discrimination to promote the right to health care for all." Health and Human Rights, 11(2), pp. 47-63.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>18</sup> A group of distinguished experts in international law, convened by the International Commission of Jurists, the Faculty of Law of the University of Limburg (Maastricht, the Netherlands) and the Urban Morgan Institute for Human Rights, University of Cincinnati (Ohio, United States of America), met in Maastricht on 2-6 June 1986 to consider the nature and scope of the obligations of States Parties to the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>19</sup> The Maastricht Center for Human Rights. 2011. Maastricht Principles on Extraterritorial Obligations of States in the area of Economic, Social, and Cultural Rights.

2015 development agenda. Throughout the document we will point to the human rights principles that could be used in the discussion of each issue.<sup>20</sup>

#### **NARRATIVE**

#### A New and Changing Context for Achieving the Millennium Development Goals

The Experts started by recognizing that the world today is very different from when the MDGs were adopted in 2000. A number of new and emerging issues characterize international relations today that were unanticipated in 2000 and that have adverse or restricting effects on the possibility of achieving the MDGs by the 2015 target date. The global financial crisis has wreaked havoc on livelihoods, increasing the vulnerability of marginalized groups and deepening inequalities, both within and between countries. Policies of economic austerity to address increased government budget deficits as a result of the crisis have led to the erosion of economic and social rights; have increased unemployment and underemployment; have affected ODA commitments and disbursements; and have often led to a reduction in the conditions, benefits and remuneration of employment. International financial and trade institutions, along with transnational corporations are driving our market economies under neoliberal macroeconomic policies, which threaten sustainable development and human rights. This policy orientation also shifts the role of the nation state and undermines its capacity to serve the needs and meet the human rights of its citizens. Moreover, a shift in world powers towards emerging economies has altered the way that the international community comes to consensus on development and foreign aid, especially with regards to meeting human rights obligations.

Climate change has increased livelihood insecurity in many regions and has contributed to higher and more volatile food prices, which undermine living standards and increase the risk of hunger. Natural disasters have reversed or limited development progress in many countries. There has also been a shift towards increased social conservatism and extremism in many regions, which has eroded national action on commitments to women's human rights. The September 11, 2001 terrorist attacks in the USA led to an increased emphasis on securitizing the State, which claws back basic human rights commitments in the name of greater global security. Ultimately, Experts noted that these global forces and trends, amongst others, have shifted the global political, environmental, social and economic climate, impacting progress towards achieving the MDGs and raising new questions and considerations for the post-2015 development agenda.

When considering the critical actors involved in achieving the MDGs, Experts emphasized the need to focus on both the rights-holders, especially women and girls from marginalized groups, and also the duty-bearers. Responsibility for the fulfillment of human rights obligations and for meeting development-related commitments lies both with national governments and also at the level of the international community. National governments have a responsibility to meet their existing human rights obligations and to ensure that their policies are in agreement with, and do not reverse, the agreed human rights principles. However, the international context has also contributed to the national ability to make progress towards the achievement of the MDGs.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>20</sup> Balakrishnan, Radhika, '*Macro policy and the MDGs*', Expert paper prepared for Expert Group Meeting, Mexico City, 21-24 October, 2013.

Experts identified international donor organizations, international financial and trade institutions, and global non-state actors like transnational corporations and civil society actors, amongst others, as parties that must be held equally accountable to global commitments on human rights, women's empowerment and gender equality. An analysis of action and accountability at multiple intersecting levels – local, national, regional and international – illustrates the deeper challenges and possibilities for accelerating achievement of the MDGs for women and girls. These multilevel interactions combine to provide an enabling or disabling environment to achieve the MDGs for all.

#### Assessment of Achievements of MDGs from a Gender Equality and Human Rights Perspective

Experts emphasized that while there have been several achievements on the MDGs for women and girls, there are still notable challenges in achieving these goals for all women and girls, especially considering gaps within and between countries and regions. There is cause for satisfaction in meeting some of the declared global targets; however, the Experts clarified that many of the Goals were modest in their ambition in the first place<sup>21</sup>. The levels at which many of the targets were set, for instance, are lower than the vision of the Millennium Declaration, from which the MDGs were derived. Moreover, progress overall on global indicators masks significant regional variation and fails to specifically address women or marginalized groups. There is wide regional variation in rates of income poverty reduction. Most global poverty reduction has occurred in East and Southeast Asia, while the target on poverty has not been met in South Asia and Sub-Saharan Africa<sup>22</sup>. Regarding the achievement of MDG 1, one of the key challenges raised by the Experts was related to the definition of poverty. Current poverty estimates use household survey data, which does not capture intra-household gender inequalities in allocation of resources, opportunities and power. Experts also argued that the use of PPP exchange rates do not accurately reflect and measure rates of poverty, especially among the very poor<sup>23</sup>. PPP measurements are problematic because they rely on infrequent price surveys in different countries and assume a common basket of goods that may not be relevant to all. Also, place-based studies show a significantly higher incidence of poverty than is suggested by income poverty figures arrived at using average per capita incomes<sup>24</sup>.

Poverty can also be considered in terms of time, especially considering that women tend to be responsible for most of the unpaid care work within families and communities. This constrains women's well-being and ability to fully access resources and services for poverty reduction as well as their ability to participate in the political process and decision-making, and may contravene the *Non-Discrimination Principle*. Experts agreed that a post-MDG goal on poverty reduction must relate to how poverty is created and perpetuated, and consider how poverty differently affects women, especially within already marginalized groups, in a multi-dimensional framework. Moreover, while global MDG reports highlight progress in reducing hunger and malnutrition, they remain largely silent on gender-based disparities in access to food and

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>21</sup> Ghosh, Jayati. 'Opportunities and challenges in achieving the MDGs: A gender-based analysis' Background paper in preparation for the Expert Group Meeting, Mexico City, 21-24 October 2013.

<sup>22</sup> Ibid.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>23</sup> Ibid.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>24</sup> Ibid.

nutrition<sup>25</sup>. This silence also contravenes the *Non-Discrimination* and *Minimum Core Obligations* Principles.

Women's paid work can be an empowering force because it increases women's mobility, autonomy and control over money; however, the MDG framework assumed that non-agricultural employment was equated with relatively more decent and stable work. This is problematic because Experts noted that while there have been improvements in women's workforce participation, women tend to be clustered in poor, informal and/or vulnerable employment conditions, with significant gender gaps and open unemployment rates<sup>26</sup>. Where women are entering wage employment, the Experts emphasized that this is not always a clear sign of women's empowerment. While the right for women to work is important, Experts also emphasized the necessity of women's rights at work, including decent work for women in a safe environment, and a focus on the wage discrimination that women experience in the labor market. The International Labor Organization (ILO) identifies four aspects of decent work: creating jobs, guaranteeing rights at work, social protection, and social dialogue.<sup>27</sup> Promotion of decent work will need to identify and change the structural factors that have been contributing to the rise of precarious and informal employment, and to the large working poor population—employed individuals who do not earn enough to lift themselves and their families out of poverty and the importance of universal social security.

Employed women may carry a double burden of paid and unpaid work due to the gendered division of labor in society and within households. A significant issue that remains unaddressed by the MDGs is the burden of women's unpaid care work, which often limits women's ability to access education, decent employment opportunities and political participation<sup>28</sup>. These gaps in the MDG framework show that ignoring work conditions and unpaid care work in the MDGs went against both sustainable development goals and human rights goals. Governments have tended to cut down on publicly funded services that assist women to relieve the burden of unpaid care work, such as the provision of affordable childcare, health care services and basic amenities, such as piped water and fuel. These cutbacks contravene the principle of *Non-Retrogression* and do not promote sustainable development.

Experts explained that progress on gender equality in the domain of education through MDG 2 has been somewhat hopeful. The introduction of free primary education has particularly expanded educational opportunities for girls, but this is not sufficient to encourage girls' secondary education<sup>29</sup>. One challenge is that while enrolment ratios in primary education have risen in all regions, such that there is nearly universal coverage, dropout rates remain significant. A variety of factors are likely to impact retention rates in schools, including household poverty,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>25</sup> de Schutter, Olivier, 'Advancing women's rights in post-2015 development agenda and goals on food and nutrition security', Expert paper prepared for Expert Group Meeting, Mexico City, 21-24 October 2013. <sup>26</sup> Ghosh 2013.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>27</sup> International Labour Organization. "Decent Work Agenda." <a href="http://www.ilo.org/global/about-the-ilo/decent-work-agenda/lang--en/index.htm">http://www.ilo.org/global/about-the-ilo/decent-work-agenda/lang--en/index.htm</a>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>28</sup> Sepulveda Carmona, Magdalena, 'Report of the Special Rapporteur on extreme poverty and human rights'. UN General Assembly, 9 August 2013, A/68/293.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>29</sup> Unterhalter, Elaine. '*The MDGs, girls' education and gender equality*' Expert paper prepared for Expert Group Meeting, Mexico City, 21-24 October, 2013.

rural residence and gender<sup>30</sup>. Moreover, in many countries, as enrolment rates have increased, the quality of education provided has not concurrently increased. Girls may be disproportionately impacted by larger class sizes, a lack of training for teachers and inadequate provision of learning materials. Girls are also at higher risk of experiencing harassment and violence in schools. The focus on education as the target for MDG 3 is also limited in its ability to capture gender-based discrimination, especially in countries where education targets may have been reached, but where gender inequality manifests in other ways<sup>31</sup>.

Experts strongly emphasized the insufficient and narrow focus on educational enrollment as the priority of the gender equality and women's empowerment Goal, rather than including goals and targets on gender inequality that could address gender-based discrimination, equity and human rights. A focus on education that emphasizes high quality education, completion rather than enrollment, and equity could help to advance the MDGs overall<sup>32</sup>. This would be consistent with the human rights principle of *Non-Discrimination* and *Equality* in the right to education.

Experts were concerned that the MDG target to reduce maternal mortality is the least likely to be met. Some progress was made in 2005 when an additional target and indicators were included within MDG 5, which focused on improving universal access to reproductive health. However, there are still challenges in some countries in reporting on these expanded indicators<sup>33</sup>. Experts argued that the current indicators on this issue cover neither the necessary service aspects nor the human rights aspects that are crucial to establishing women's bodily autonomy and integrity. Many women can be limited in accessing important health services due to a lack of knowledge, resources or decision-making power. Gender equality is pertinent to achieving MDG 5 on reducing maternal mortality and universal access to reproductive health.

Socioeconomic status, poverty, levels of education and place of residence, whether rural or urban, are each important determinants of maternal health status<sup>34</sup>. Experts commented that often women in marginalized communities, such as indigenous communities, are unaware of or unable to test their HIV status due to their lack of access to health facilities. Experts also emphasized the important interconnections between maternal mortality and other development goals. The failure to acknowledge the linkages between MDG 5 and the other development goals is partially to explain for the dismal progress that has been made on achieving this goal<sup>35</sup>. Furthermore, health outcomes such as a reduction in adolescent pregnancies can only be achieved by a number of interventions which include access to comprehensive sexuality education and sexual and reproductive health services for both married and unmarried young people; as well as firmly implementing laws on the minimum age of marriage while providing access to education for

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>30</sup> Ghosh 2013.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>31</sup> Sen, Gita and Avanti Mukherjee, 'No empowerment without rights, no rights without politics: Gender-equality, MDGs and the post-2015 development agenda' Expert paper prepared for Expert Group Meeting, Mexico City, 21-24 October, 2013.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>32</sup> Unterhalter 2013.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>33</sup> Khanna, Renu. '*MDG 5 in India: Whither reproductive and sexual rights?*', Expert paper prepared for Expert Group Meeting, Mexico City, 21-24 October, 2013.

<sup>34</sup> Ibid.35 Ibid.

pregnant girls and girls with children<sup>36</sup>. States have an obligation to the *Progressive Realization* of the right to health, as well as *Non-Discrimination* and *Equality* in access to healthcare.

There have been overall improvements in water availability in that the global access targets in MDG 7 for improved water have been met. However, Experts noted that an improvement in availability often does not entail higher quality. Women's access to clean and safe water and sanitation is essential not only for health, but also their livelihoods and their dignity<sup>37</sup>. Women are predominantly responsible for the collection and use of water resources in the family and community, and their needs for sanitation call for more privacy and a higher frequency of use than is the case with men. Safe drinking water is fundamental for health and nutrition, as well as for reducing women's unpaid work. It is essential to prioritize quality, affordability, and distance to water and sanitation resources, especially if these are to be seen within an overall goal of environmental sustainability<sup>38</sup>. Experts also expressed concern about the sanitation facilities available in slums, recognizing that investment in slum sanitation must be gender-sensitive and must prioritize the safety, privacy and health of women and girls. States have an obligation to progressive realization of the right to water and sanitation, as well as non-discrimination in access to services and resources.

In terms of broader environmental targets, the failure to effectively address environmental sustainability within the MDGs, for example by explicitly linking MDG 7 and MDG 3, must be addressed centrally in the post-2015 framework. Sustainable development is not only important for the future of the planet and human beings, but is highly relevant for the many women whose livelihoods are drawn directly from the environmental resource base, and who, because of persisting poverty and inequality, are disproportionately affected by climate change, natural disasters and ecological damage<sup>39</sup>.

It is widely recognized that substantive gender equality and women's empowerment is a priority issue for achieving all of the MDGs. National MDG progress reports highlight gender equality as a thematic priority that should be mainstreamed through the entire MDG framework. However, Experts discussed the limitations of the MDG framework for addressing gender concerns, keeping gender issues primarily within the 'silos' of MDG 3 and 5, and highlighting the failures of the framework to sufficiently mainstream gender considerations across all issue areas <sup>40</sup>. While the MDG framework was limited in the ways that it addressed gender equality and women's empowerment, there has been progress in national MDG reporting, with some countries increasingly reporting on indicators that go beyond the original MDG framework <sup>41</sup>. This points to an increased attention to issues beyond the targets and indicators proscribed by the MDG

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>36</sup> Thanenthiran, Sivananthi, 'Have the MDGs fostered progress on women's SHRH? Effective policies and remaining challenges', Expert paper prepared for Expert Group Meeting, Mexico City, 21-24 October, 2013.

<sup>37</sup> Ray, Isha, 'Challenges and Achievements in Millennium Development Goals for Water & Sanitation for Women

and Girls', Expert paper prepared for Expert Group Meeting, Mexico City, 21-24 October, 2013.

38 Ibid

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>39</sup> Schalatek, Liane. 'Merging care and green economy approaches to finance gender-equitable sustainable development', Expert paper prepared for Expert Group Meeting, Mexico City, 21-24 October 2013.

<sup>40</sup> Sen and Mukherjee 2013.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>41</sup> Dersnah, Megan, 'A review of national MDG reports from a gender perspective' Background paper prepared for Expert Group Meeting, Mexico City, 21-24 October 2013.

framework, and suggests that countries are reporting on gender-disaggregated data where data are available.

#### Critical Review of the MDGs from a Gender Equality and Human Rights Perspective

Experts discussed several key critiques of the MDG framework overall that must be considered in the determination of the post-2015 agenda. The main critiques were that the MDG framework was linear and binary, not accounting for the process of development or for the existence of subnational and sub-regional variation; the MDGs are compartmentalized and do not account for the interconnectedness of the goals as essential to their achievement; the MDGs did not account for structural constraints on the achievement of the goals; there were significant weaknesses in monitoring and accountability for the achievement of the goals, as well as a focus on effective data collection; and the MDGs failed to address significant gender equality and women's rights issues.

#### The MDGs are binary, static, and de facto inequitable

Experts noted that one of the key limitations of the MDGs is the focus on binary outcomes. There is a dissonance between the overall priorities of the MDGs and the targets and indicators by which their achievement is measured and monitored. The focus on binary outcomes led to a heavy focus on the specified indicators, diverting attention from the enabling environment needed to achieve the overall goal. For example, even when an indicator specifically focuses on women's needs, such as the MDG 3 indicator measuring the share of women in wage employment in non-agricultural sectors, this indicator measures the binary 'outcome' of women's access to certain sectors of the economy, while disregarding the devaluation of women's economic contribution via unpaid care work, gender discrimination, and the likelihood of insecure and informal sector employment for women 42. There is also a failure to recognize the macroeconomic policies that create unemployment and particular kinds of employment. Without attention to these complex priorities at the heart of the gender equality target, countries either 'pass' or 'fail' on the basis of achieving the indicator outcome of enrolment in education, without deeper consideration of gender equality, women's human rights and principles of nondiscrimination. This is important for development because, in the case of MDG 3, the wage employment target can be 'met', even if the practical impact of this is a significant increase in women's unpaid care work or if entry is into an unsafe or discriminatory workforce. Development goals should not be met in a way that counters gender equality principles.

Experts emphasized that an understanding of processes is as important as the measurement of outcomes. They highlighted the important tension between the need for international comparability and also the need for process-oriented goals. This is a practical dilemma for global target setting. The MDGs focused exclusively on certain outcome indicators, without adequate recognition of the policies and processes that could enable or assist the achievement of the proposed targets. For example, fiscal strategies, including expenditure and tax policies, monetary policies and trade policies, amongst other macroeconomic policies, create the conditions that

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>42</sup> Sen and Mukherjee 2013.

perpetuate poverty and limit progress in achieving the MDGs. <sup>43</sup> For MDG 4 and 5 on reducing child and maternal mortality, a range of interventions are required, from nutrition and sanitation to delivery room lighting, as well as in broader enabling conditions such as women's access to education and employment. Yet, with the MDGs framed in the abstract, separate from an analysis of the social and economic policies of governments, they failed to capture the processes necessary to facilitate change in these priority areas. Processes are about setting effective policies, and about the politics of agenda-setting. They are not linear but are the result of contestations and shifts in power, which can be influenced through collective action, organizing, and holding policy makers accountable through voting – but none of these appears as a target or indicator in any of the MDGs.

Experts argued that simply framing quantitative goals to be applied equally across all regions and to all populations is not useful if the underlying context for meeting the goals is not recognized<sup>44</sup>. Aggregate binary goals are not designed to recognize inequalities within populations, such as gender inequalities, especially if the outcome indicators do not specify the need to focus on marginalized groups. As a result, even if the outcome is reached in aggregate, women – and especially marginalized groups of women – may be invisible in this way of measuring. Many countries have chosen to meet their targets by working to advance those who are already close to the target level, and neglecting the poorest or hardest to reach populations. This completely undermines the rights-based approach in which equal access is a main goal. Moreover, there is considerable regional, national and sub-national variety in outcomes. Thus, policy interventions must be designed to adapt to context-specific constraints.

#### The MDGs are compartmentalized, thus missing their interconnectedness

Experts strongly critiqued the failure of the MDGs to acknowledge the interconnections between each of the Goals, creating distorted 'development silos' that do not recognize the multiple interdependent and indivisible human rights of women (or, for that matter, of all human beings). The multiple dimensions of women's human rights, including civil, political, economic, social, cultural, sexual and reproductive rights, are ignored in the reduction of the broad goal of gender equality into limited targets. To achieve gender equality and women's empowerment, action is required along each of these interconnected dimensions of human rights<sup>45</sup>. Not only was gender equality and women's empowerment not emphasized across all of the MDGs, creating a 'silo effect' that limited a focus on gender equality and women's empowerment to MDG 3 and MDG 5, but also the interdependence of the Goals overall - underpinned by the indivisibility and interdependence of human rights – was distorted. Funding and policy priorities, as well as accountability for implementation of the MDGs overall were primarily based on this detached framing, which disconnected the goals from each other. A key outcome of this silo effect was the loss of potential synergies between the different goals: an interconnected approach tackling persistent gender inequalities could make substantive inroads for achieving the other development priorities. Without an interconnected approach, we cannot capture the synergies, or

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>43</sup> Balakrishnan, Radhika, '*Macro policy and the MDGs*', Expert paper prepared for Expert Group Meeting, Mexico City, 21-24 October, 2013.

<sup>44</sup> Ghosh 2013.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>45</sup> Sen and Mukheriee 2013.

work on policy development and implementation that could efficiently and effectively serve more than one goal *because* of the artificial separation of goals and their associated responsibilities.

Experts noted that progress on poverty reduction could be achieved more widely if gender inequality were addressed. Moreover, the MDG framework failed to consider the multidimensional nature of poverty, and the way that poverty is interconnected with all areas of the MDGs. The existing unidimensional measure of income poverty is inadequate and misleading<sup>46</sup>. Poverty should be seen in its multidimensionality, which includes such factors as poor health and nutrition; lack of employment and livelihood security; control over assets; the unequal distribution of earnings, assets, employment opportunities and times; poor housing; lack of services for health, education, justice and security, and care; social norms; social marginalization, and/or lack of amenities<sup>47</sup>. Major international organizations such as the United National Development Program in fact use multi-dimensional poverty indicators yet this is not reflected in the blanket target 1.1 under MDG 1<sup>48</sup>.

While the Experts stressed that education alone is insufficient to promote gender equality and women's empowerment, as MDG 3 might suggest, the potential of education, as interconnected to other goals, could drive progress across the MDGs. The domain of education could also serve as an important platform for the advancement of other development goals. For example, Experts noted that schools could be used as a way to improve girls' sexual and reproductive health and rights. Comprehensive sexuality education should be considered as an essential, core subject in school curriculums. Comprehensive sexuality education, which teaches respect for bodily integrity, recognition of equality of the sexes, and acceptance of diversity would contribute greatly to reducing violence against women and gender-based violence<sup>49</sup>. Experts also suggested that monitoring access to sanitation facilities in schools, as well as the distribution of menstrual hygiene material in schools, would not only lead to improved sanitation overall, but would help to improve girls' access to education<sup>50</sup>. Nutrition and nutritional supplementation can also increase rates of attendance in schools. These interconnections are known and are already implemented in many places, and yet the MDGs were not written in a way that recognized these complementarities. National governments are subsequently judged as 'passing' or 'failing' upon each dimension, instead of being applauded for acting upon these complementarities.

# The MDGs need better monitoring, more accountability and disaggregated data if they are to be met

Experts noted the importance of MDGs monitoring and the importance of data collection, as well as data availability and quality. Effective indicators are useful for marking development progress and putting gender equality into the public discussion. While the MDG goal-setting process was flawed, the process of translating global goals into targets and indicators can create possibilities

48 UNDP Human Development Reports, 'Multidimensional Poverty Index', http://hdr.undp.org/en/statistics/mpi/

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>46</sup> Ghosh 2013

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>47</sup> Ibid

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>49</sup> Thanenthiran 2013.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>50</sup> Ray 2013.

and opportunities when done properly. For example, there has been progress in collecting baseline information on ending violence against women due to international agreement on indicators to measure this issue. The use of indicators is not just linked to goals, but is also linked to policy practices and accountability structures that support measurement.

Experts agreed with Navi Pillay, that "we should not only treasure what we can measure but instead measure what we treasure". The very act of measuring and presenting data is political and confers value<sup>51</sup>. The MDGs led to an overemphasis on factors that could already be measured: statistical expediency drove the choice of targets and indicators, rather than measuring what was needed to comprehensively track progress on gender equality. The lack of data availability poses a significant constraint to the advancement of gender equality across the MDGs. Sex-disaggregated data is essential to illustrate the gendered impacts of implementing the MDGs, and yet, in many countries, disaggregated data are often not available. Experts called for better quality data that is disaggregated by gender, income quintile, years of education, and age, amongst others, to more accurately understand gender inequalities across sectors and between particular demographic groups. Moreover, Experts called for data disaggregation that goes beyond the household level, as a priority for capturing intra-household distribution of time and resources. The Expert Group pointed out that even when disaggregated data did exist, such as in Demographic and Health Surveys (DHS) or the Multi-Indicator Cluster Surveys (MICS), they did not make it into any of the MDG indicators in any meaningful way.

Where data are available, Experts noted that data incompleteness may stall its usage as evidence for public policy-making. Especially regarding data collection through time-use surveys, Experts argued that even where this data exist, it is not being effectively used to illuminate policy from a gender-based perspective. Time-use surveys are the only way to measure unpaid care work in quantitative terms, providing evidence about the division of labor within the household<sup>52</sup>. The inadequate design of time-use surveys explains, in part, why policymakers have not put these data to immediate use, as survey design is often disconnected from policy design and evaluation<sup>53</sup>. Data-collection techniques may need to be improved and redesigned to meet new data demands and to inform new policy priorities.

In accordance with the critique of the binary and static nature of the MDGs, the Experts noted that progress towards reaching the goals cannot be acknowledged within the MDGs. It was suggested that the future post-2015 measurement indicators focus on 'ladders' of progress<sup>54</sup>. For example, in the domain of water and sanitation, much existing data can track rates of change and varied quality of service within regions, measuring progress towards the target rather than reporting threshold style data alone. By prioritizing the measurement of laddered outcomes, policies that target intermediate change as well as processes of change could receive recognition. In the post-2015 agenda, it is important to choose indicators for measurement based on the priority issues that require measurement rather than exclusively on the existing availability of

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>51</sup> Ray 2013.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>52</sup> Esquivel, Valeria, '*Measuring unpaid care work with public policies in mind*', Expert paper prepared for Expert Group Meeting, Mexico City, 21-24 October, 2013.
<sup>53</sup> Ibid.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>54</sup> Ray 2013.

data. The international community, including international organizations and financial institutions, have a responsibility to become part of the solution to fill the gap in gender data, by providing funding, technical assistance and capacity-building to strengthen developing countries' statistical systems<sup>55</sup>. It is also imperative that data collection is not simply donor-driven, but caters to multiple, context-relevant objectives. Data gathering is very expensive and international organizations should work in partnership with national governments and statistical commissions to ensure that data meet existing state obligations to human rights.

#### The MDGs are silent on a number of critical women's rights issues

Experts strongly emphasized that one of the key failings of the MDGs was related to the fact that certain critical women's rights issues were missing from them. While key interventions regarding women's economic and political participation were not handled in the MDGs in any depth, crucial areas of intervention, many of which were already agreed upon as priority areas through the Beijing Platform for Action or the ICPD, for example, were omitted altogether, including sexual and reproductive rights, violence against women and the invisibility of women's responsibility for unpaid care work. These issues are integral to women's bodily integrity, autonomy and self-determination; reflect women's indivisible and interdependent human rights; and require essential attention to achieve the MDGs overall<sup>56</sup>. Experts emphasized that development goals, such as the MDGs, are best achieved when embedded within a rights framework. Had the MDGs paid attention to agreed human rights principles, they would not have faced some of the same significant limitations.

Amongst the most vital issues to be left out of the MDGs has been the issue of sexual and reproductive rights. Experts agreed that this issue addresses bodily integrity and autonomy, two key concepts that help concretize equal citizenship and enable the achievement of substantive equality, especially for women and girls. In order to achieve desirable sexual and reproductive health outcomes, within a human rights and gender equality paradigm, it is crucial to empower women and men with rights which enable them to be equals in the public and in the most private spheres of life. It is also important to empower women to exercise their decision-making power with regards to sexuality and reproduction. Key aspects of sexual rights include human rights that are already recognized in national laws, international human rights documents and other consensus documents. These include the right of all persons, free of coercion, discrimination and violence, to: the highest attainable standard of health in relation to sexuality, including access to sexual and reproductive healthcare services; seek, receive and impart information in relation to sexuality; sexuality education; respect for bodily integrity; choice of partner; decide to be sexually active or not; consensual sexual relations; consensual marriage; decide whether or not, and when to have children; and pursue a satisfying, safe and pleasurable sexual life<sup>57</sup>.

Experts also agreed that, while the MDG framework includes a commitment to 'promote gender equality and empower women', the absence of an indicator or target on violence against women and girls significantly limits the scope of the framework for achieving women's substantive

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>55</sup> Schalatek 2013.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>56</sup> Sen and Mukherjee 2013.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>57</sup> Thanenthiran 2013.

equality. Violence against women and girls is a fundamental violation of women and girls' human rights, and is a major barrier to women and girls' empowerment. It is inextricably linked to a backdrop of wider gender inequality and is a pervasive violation of the enjoyment of human rights that persists in all countries. Moreover, this violation of bodily integrity and rights intersects across the MDGs and limits the possibility of advancing other development areas. For example, where gains have been made in achieving gender parity in primary education, phenomena that disproportionately affect girls, such as child marriage, violence in schools<sup>58</sup>, or violence as affecting women's participation in community life<sup>59</sup>, compromise these gains<sup>60</sup>. The 57<sup>th</sup> CSW agreed conclusions on the elimination and prevention of all forms of violence against women and girls notes that "...violence against women impedes the social and economic development of communities and States, as well as the achievement of the internationally agreed development goals, including the Millennium Development Goals" Experts agreed that a priority for the post-2015 agenda will be to better address violence against women and girls, and the ways in which it contributes to the perpetuation of gender inequality, limiting the possibility of development, in all societies.

Another key issue that is missing from the MDG framework is a pragmatic approach to women's work. The issue of unpaid care work remains absent from the MDGs, as there is no target or indicator on unpaid care work, while women spend disproportionate amounts of time engaged in this form of work at the expense of greater time for formal employment, education or well-being. This is, therefore, a barrier to achieving MDG 3, and even MDG 2. The continuing invisibility and lack of social recognition of this form of work reduces its implicit value<sup>62</sup>. Improving the condition of, and reducing the time spent on the unpaid care work, through the better provision of services and amenities, has direct positive implications for maternal and child health, thus impacting the MDGs overall<sup>63</sup>. Macro policies that decrease government expenditure can increase the amount of unpaid care work, but policies that increase government expenditure, such as extending village-level water systems, in which women are supposed to lead the community through voluntary management, operations, and maintenance of systems can also increase unpaid work. In order for unpaid labor to be addressed unpaid care work must be: recognized—in terms of statistics, analysis, and policy implications; reduced—in terms of public investment in appropriate infrastructure and services; and redistributed—in terms of measures that promote equal sharing of remaining unpaid care work within and beyond households and families<sup>64</sup>.

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>58</sup> Unterhalter 2013.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>59</sup> Rubimbwa, Robinah, *'Gender, peace and security and the post-2015 framework'* Expert paper prepared for Expert Group Meeting, Mexico City, 21-24 October, 2013.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>60</sup> Larasi 2013.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>61</sup> Commission on the Status of Women 2013 'Agreed conclusion on the elimination and prevention of all forms of violence against women and girls',

http://www.un.org/womenwatch/daw/csw/csw57/CSW57\_Agreed\_Conclusions\_(CSW\_report\_excerpt).pdf <sup>62</sup> Sepulveda Carmona 2013.

<sup>63</sup> Ibid.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>64</sup> Esquivel 2013.

#### Structural and Policy Constraints

#### Global and National Neo-liberal Economic Structures and Policies

Experts identified structural and policy constraints that have limited and continue to constrain the achievement of the MDGs. The international context in which countries have sought to achieve the MDGs has been both conducive and constraining. The success of the MDGs in East Asia, and the expansion of economies such as the BRICS, reflects rapid growth associated with significant income poverty reduction and also the ability to meet several other MDGs ahead of the 2015 target date. The rise of China's relative power in the international system has also meant the expansion of aid, trade and other resources from China and other BRICS countries. However, Experts noted that despite the context of rising economies, the international political economy in recent years has also been characterized by insecurity, including the failure of the international trade regime and the international financial architecture to ensure a stable and secure environment for cross-border trade and the flow of finance<sup>65</sup>. As a result, developing countries have faced volatility and material insecurity, especially immediately before, during, and after the global financial crisis. The financial crisis led to a significant increase in global inequality, both between and within countries. In human rights terms, the obligation to protect requires States to prevent violations of such rights by third parties. The reregulation of the financial sector is what allowed the crisis to happen which included the rampant mobility of financial resources that create the volatility in commodity prices. Since the mobility of capital is not bounded by national borders, it is critical to look at the obligation to protect both nationally and in terms of extra-territorial obligations.

Experts emphasized that the hegemony of global neo-liberal economic policies, dominant since the adoption of the MDGs, has significantly limited the achievement of the MDGs in general, and in particular for women and girls. The combination of fiscal conservatism, open markets for capital and commodities, the externalizing of natural resource use and environmental degradation, privatization of services and a greater role for the financial sector have had the effect of increasing inequalities between and within countries, loosening labor market regulations for decent work, decreasing wages – especially female wages in export-oriented sectors – and increasing social conflict and exclusion from common resources<sup>66</sup>.

Experts agreed that the role of states in enabling these economic policies has been crucial. For example, nation states are often complicit in the commercialization and privatization of social services that reduce state expenditures, but do not provide a safety net or minimum service standards for the poor and the marginalized. An export-driven model of growth that relies on suppressing wage and social costs and domestic consumption to remain competitive has a disproportionately negative effect on women's lives, especially at the lowest quintile. Experts agreed that the prevailing neo-liberal economic model is incapable of supporting gender-equitable sustainable development. One problem is that fiscal cuts often lead to public employment retrenchment, the implications of which are not often adequately recognized. This, among other consequences, can lead to job losses for women workers, limited access to social

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>65</sup> Ghosh 2013.

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>66</sup> Sen and Mukheriee 2013.

services, as well as the added burden of unpaid care work, performed predominantly by women, since publicly provided care services are less available or more expensive<sup>67</sup>. Another challenge is that neoliberal economic policies promote the free flow of goods across borders, but limit the free flow of people: migration is limited by the protectionism of state border control and often selective (targeting particular kinds of labour that are needed to address deficits in destination countries, such as nurse migration or migration of IT professionals).

The crisis-response policies, such as the implementation of austerity measures, adopted in the aftermath of the global financial crisis in 2008, failed to prioritize the protection of the population. While the financial crisis cast doubt on economic policies that prioritize growth over development, the dominance of this agenda continued at the expense of the well-being and rights of citizens, as well as ecological protection. There is serious concern that there has been inadequate re-regulation of finance since the crisis, such that associated financial fragility and vulnerability to shocks continues to have the potential to destabilize economies and prevent future progress. The impact of austerity measures on the labor market disproportionately affects women workers, especially measures that target a reduction of numbers or wages of workers in the public sector, and these measures continue gender segregation in certain employment sectors<sup>68</sup>. Stimulus packages and austerity measures often targeted specific sectors, impacting differently on male and female employment fields. Austerity measures also intensify care needs in the home through cuts to community services, health budgets and care services for the elderly, children and persons with disabilities<sup>69</sup>. In countries afflicted by the HIV/AIDS pandemic, governments are relying on 'home-based care' in lieu of more extensive state-funded health care. This intensified care work in all countries is usually undertaken by women, who often live in poverty, at great cost to their income-earning or other opportunities 70. Once again the principle of non-discrimination and equality, which is an immediate obligation, gives policy guidelines to show that austerity measures are a violation of human rights.

#### **Deepening Inequalities**

Experts emphasized that the impact of the global rise in inequality on the achievement of the MDGs has been significant. This inequality has been marked in terms of incomes, assets, wage inequalities and other social inequalities, including those driven by gender as well as other forms of social, ethnic or cultural diversity, which continue to thrive and create structural patterns of intersecting and persistent economic and social inequality<sup>71</sup>. Addressing persistent structural inequalities that face women and girls is critical. This is especially important because existing and increasing inequalities inhibit the possibility of accelerating and achieving the interconnected MDG targets. The goal of achieving gender equality and women's empowerment is significantly more difficult to achieve in a context of increased global inequality, characterized by an increased concentration of wealth and assets, wage inequalities, unequal access to essential social services and amenities. Inequality is multidimensional and is driven by differential access

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>67</sup> Ghosh 2013.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>68</sup> Ibid.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>69</sup> Sepulveda Carmona 2013.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>70</sup> Ibid.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>71</sup> Ghosh 2013.

to essential amenities and basic services, as well as economic inequality more broadly. Experts strongly agreed that inequalities, such as gender inequality, which are defined by hierarchies of domination or social/cultural perceptions of difference must be explicitly addressed in the post-2015 framework<sup>72</sup>.

Experts also emphasized the need to rectify the lack of transparency and accountability that characterize the international economic and political system. When considering pervasive inequality, there is a need to focus on the conditions that generate inequality, including the actors involved in the decision-making and political processes that lead to increased inequality. The political processes that determine global macroeconomic structures are opaque. The power relations involved in producing the conditions of trade need to be managed, bearing in mind that the current unaccountable trade regime functions to the disadvantage of poor, excluded and marginalized people. Inequality and the voicelessness of excluded people are overarching constraints that significantly limit the achievement of the MDGs, and the achievement of substantive equality. The principles of transparency, accountability and participation, as well as respect for human rights, need to be the guiding principles for the making of economic policy.

Experts also identified the need to implement redistributive policies that are feasible, including the provision of public services and infrastructure. This form of redistribution could reduce the drudgery of unpaid care work, freeing women's time and potential<sup>73</sup>. In terms of redistributive policies, the international community has a responsibility to ensure that governments are not prevented from making progress in improving the livelihoods and well-being of citizens.

#### Militarism and Armed Conflict

While the original MDG framework did not include attention to the effects of armed conflict on gender equality and women's empowerment, as well as on the possibility of achieving the MDGs overall, Experts agreed that it is essential to analyze the way that militarism and violent conflict can perpetuate and exacerbate structural inequalities, such as gender inequality. Militarism is a creation and normalization of a culture of fear that is supported by the use or threat of violence, aggression, as well as military intervention in response to political and social disputes or to enforce economic and political interests. Militarism is a system of structural violence that infringes upon the human rights and human dignity, safety, and security of women, men, and children in nearly every country and region of the world. The impact of militarism can be seen in the way national budgets are allocated for health services, education, and public spaces versus military budgets; in legislation and policies that marginalize women and minorities, and in discriminatory policies and acts enforced or condoned by state authorities. Women's rights activists have observed that as states or processes become militarized, the space for women's inclusion in decision-making tends to shrink. As recognized and legally mandated by UNSCR 1325<sup>75</sup> and related resolutions, including the recently adopted Resolution 2122<sup>76</sup>, it is essential

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>72</sup> Ibid.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>73</sup> Sepulveda Carmona 2013.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>74</sup> Enloe, Cynthia, 2007, Globalization and militarism: feminists make the link.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>75</sup> UN Security Council, *Security Council resolution 1325 (2000) [on women and peace and security]*, 31 October 2000, S/RES/1325 (2000)

that women's full and equal participation in decision-making on peace and security issues be promoted and prioritized, both in conflict-affected countries and those usually considered peaceful.

Armed conflict has been recognized as one of the most significant structural barriers to development, with violence and fragility acting as some of the largest obstacles to the achievement of the MDGs, and UN Member States agreeing that "conflict and post-conflict countries are the most challenged in achieving any of the Goals by 2015"77. Women are more likely to face adverse consequences related to the double burden of productive and reproductive labor, as well as significant increases in gender-based violence, disease and malnutrition<sup>78</sup>. It is essential that women's political participation be prioritized, especially during and in the aftermath of conflict. It is necessary to go beyond resolving the symptoms of conflict; Experts suggested that future strategies address the structural drivers of violent conflict. While these vary across contexts, they commonly include lack of fair access to decent livelihoods and basic services such as healthcare, education, security justice for all social groups and lack of inclusive political participation, but also global factors such as flows of illicit drugs, arms and war commodities, transnational crime, price shocks, the military-industrial complex and environmental degradation.<sup>79</sup> Not only will addressing these facilitate peace, but it will also facilitate enhanced human rights and accelerated development.

Conflict can exacerbate gender equality, but Experts agreed that gender inequality can also fuel conflict<sup>80</sup>. Experts noted the need to address the link between armed conflict and militarized notions of masculinity, which normalize relations of domination and control, and which valorize violence<sup>81</sup>. A range of horizontal inequalities between social groups can become structural drivers of conflict, which makes it all the more important that data on development indicators is disaggregated by gender but also other intersecting inequalities such as age, ethnicity and geographical location<sup>82</sup>.

#### **Growth Within Ecological Constraints**

Experts strongly agreed that any discussion of the achievement of the MDGs for women and girls must account for the limits of growth within ecological constraints. Environmental sustainability is crucial when considering the future of the global development agenda. Today, climate change is undercutting and threatening current and future equality and development

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>76</sup> UN Security Council, Security Council resolution 2122 (2013) [on women and peace and security], 18 October 2013, S/RES/2122 (2013)

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>77</sup> Outcome document from the UN Special Event on the MDGs, September 2013,

http://www.un.org/millenniumgoals/pdf/Outcome%20documentMDG.pdf.

78 Wright, Hannah, 'Gender, peace and security and the post-2015 framework', Expert paper prepared for Expert Group Meeting, Mexico City, 21-24 October, 2013.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>79</sup> Saferworld, 2012, 'Approaching post-2015 from a peace perspective', http://www.saferworld.org.uk/resources/view-resource/680; Saferworld, 2013, 'Addressing conflict and violence from 2015: a vision of goals, targets and indicators', http://www.saferworld.org.uk/resources/view-resource/730., <sup>80</sup> Wright 2013.

<sup>81</sup> Ibid.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>82</sup> Brinkman, Henk-Jan, Attree, Larry. and Hezir, Sasa, 2013, 'Addressing horizontal inequalities as drivers of conflict in the post-2015 development agenda', http://www.saferworld.org.uk/resources/view-resource/725.

gains, disproportionately affecting women, especially in the developing world. A key problem is that, within the prevailing macroeconomic model, the environment and natural resources are treated as unlimited production inputs<sup>83</sup>. Though it is well understood that this is no longer a viable model – if it ever was –many researchers have developed innovative methods to ground GDP calculations in "green accounting" or to calculate the "social cost of carbon" in integrated economic models, these considerations have not entered the mainstream practices of trade agreements, fiscal policy setting, or even the World Bank's much-cited national rankings by GDP per capita. It is common to have lags between research advances and professional policy-making. In this case, Experts argued, the inability of global economic and trade regimes to take seriously, and to mainstream, the pathways to global development in a constrained planet, is a major barrier to the sustainable achievement of the MDGs<sup>84</sup>. This macroeconomic model must be replaced, in principle and in practice, to promote sustainable development: the 'business-as-usual' global economic model has enabled global environmental destruction and its associated social inequality of the most vulnerable.

Experts agreed that truly sustainable development would advance prosperity, lifestyle and consumption models built around equity and justice, and would value, although not necessarily commodify, the use of environmental resources<sup>85</sup>. The connection between current economic policies and practices and gender (in)equality are, in fact, widely known. The Rio +20 document *Gender and the Rio Convention*, jointly produced by all three Conventions (on conserving biodiversity, combating desertification and the framework for climate change) states: "It is well-known that a gender-sensitive strategy is a precondition for rising to the challenge of sustainable development. This is equally true for climate change, both for dealing with the impacts of climate change (adaptation) and for reducing emissions (mitigation)." At Rio+20, on the basis of this recognition, and with the attempt to increase cooperation on gender and macro policies on all three post-Rio Conventions, efforts were made to think about development differently. What emerged in practice, however, was the concept of the 'green economy', which morphed into a corporate-led strategy focused on commodifying the environment<sup>87</sup>.

While pricing environmental resources such as land and water is indeed a tool to value natural capital, and such market mechanisms address scarcity of natural resources, ironically, they may not protect either the resource or the people that draw their livelihoods directly from the environmental resource base. Women within the current concept of a green economy are considered mostly as laborers rather than as agents or as rights-holders. Poor women at the margins of society, whose rights are already most tenuous, are further losing their usufruct rights to common pool resources (when these have been enclosed) or to irrigation water and land (when land speculation or land grabs on newly commoditized lands occur). Moreover, women's unpaid care contributions to development at all levels is one of the most fundamental pillars of rural livelihoods and community well-being, and this recognition remains absent from the Rio +20 or even current sustainable development goals (SDG) discussions. In the post-2015 framework,

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<sup>83</sup> Schalatek 2013.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>84</sup> Ibid.

<sup>85</sup> Ibid.

<sup>86</sup> United Nations, 2013, 'The Rio Conventions Action on Gender', <a href="http://unfccc.int/resource/docs/publications/roi">http://unfccc.int/resource/docs/publications/roi</a> 20 gender brochure.pdf

Experts argued that it is imperative to approach development goals through coherent, genderparity promoting frameworks on the economy, financing, aid, and trade, at national and international scales<sup>88</sup>. For achieving substantive equality as well as sustainability, such a coherent framework must be firmly embedded in international human and women's rights agreements.

#### The Rising Influence of Conservative Forces

Experts were concerned about the rise in influence of conservative forces in policy-making. Well-funded religious and conservative groups that oppose women's rights and gender equality are expanding into the domain of global policy-making, as well as into developing countries, making it difficult to address women's bodily autonomy and integrity<sup>89</sup>. In a time of increased economic insecurity and conflict between social groups, shaped by race, ethnicity, caste or status, the rise of conservativism tends to militate against an expansion of women's rights and the rights of other marginalized groups. This social trend tends to reaffirm traditional patriarchal gender roles and family relations, and can particularly undermine the attainment of women's substantive equality. These conservative groups tend to use rights discourses, such as the right to religion, seeking to solidify the status quo of power relations in society and conflicting with women's human rights obligations. A significant part of this backlash can be seen against women's sexual and reproductive health and rights, as well as girls' education.

### Increasing Privatization of Public Goods and Services

Experts are concerned about the impact of the rising power of the private sector, as well as policies that emphasize the role of privatization of public goods and services. The increasing trend of privatization of nutrition, health, water and education, for example, at the expense of universal access to the public provision of these good quality essential services, may be in conflict with demands for greater equality and also with meeting the MDGs and improved human development conditions in general. There are several explanations for the rising tendency to privatize public goods and services. For one, there is a widespread perception that governments do not have sufficient resources to provide these services, so it is preferable to promote and facilitate private provision. Also, there is a sense that private providers will be more accountable and efficient, as well as flexible 90. However, this tendency towards privatization is worrying given its implications for worsening inequality. Inadequate affordable and high quality public services may generate inequalities in both opportunities and outcomes. In many countries, two-tier health or education systems are emerging that separate those who can afford to pay for such services from the overcrowded, poor quality and badly regulated public services offered to those who are unable to pay for private services.

Global policies that emphasize privatization, driven by international financial institutions, support these trends and affect the ability of states to ensure public action to meet the human rights of citizens, including women and girls. Thus, these policies should not be understood as

<sup>88</sup> Ibid.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>89</sup> Sen and Mukherjee 2013.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>90</sup> Ghosh 2013.

located in the domain of national responsibility alone. Experts explained that there is a deficit of regulation and accountability for action, both at the national and the international levels, and responsibility for choices and outcomes accrues at both levels. Macroeconomic policy must be consistent with agreed upon obligations to human rights principles, including the principles of non-retrogression and progressive realization and extraterritorial obligations. Policies that lead to retrogression, such as policies of fiscal austerity, must not be adopted and policies should support the ongoing realization of economic and social rights over time. There is a need to increase policy space for national governments, which requires reform of global governance to support greater international coordination<sup>91</sup>. International financial institutions and markets must be effectively regulated to prevent economic crises, and financial regulation must also occur at the national level. A national government must be held accountable to its existing human rights obligations in the creation of domestic economic policies, especially considering the identification and elimination of gender biases in the formulation of macroeconomic policies.

#### Diminishing Funding for Women's Rights and Gender Equality

Experts explained that one of the key challenges that has limited the achievement of the MDGs has been the diminishing funding for women's rights and gender equality. Funding does not automatically translate into desired development and gender equality goals, but it is a necessary precondition to achieve them. The principle of 'country ownership' in aid discourses can justify declines in access to funding, whereby conservative states can abandon the promotion of gender equality, citing a 'foreign-imposed agenda'<sup>92</sup>. In light of the current economic challenges, while donors have acknowledged that gender equality is a cornerstone of development, overall commitments and an interest in gender equality are not necessarily translating into more resources<sup>93</sup>. Gender equality is either not prioritized compared to other issues, or it is 'mainstreamed' into funding for other issues, but the whereabouts of this funding may not be effectively monitored. Experts agreed that it is necessary for governments to go beyond committing themselves with rhetoric alone: they must set specific financial benchmarks that create public accountability and must institute comprehensive tracking mechanisms for expenditures and financial flows on gender equality<sup>94</sup>.

Women's rights organizations and movements are a vital catalyst for gender equality and the realization of women's rights<sup>95</sup>. Yet, just 1.3% of all Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) Development Assistance Committee (DAC) screened funds dedicated to gender equality in the 2010 budget went to women's rights organizations and ministries<sup>96</sup>. Low financial support for women's rights organizations often means poor support for women's rights and gender equality issues<sup>97</sup>. Furthermore, current funding models are eroding women's movement building and the capacity of women's organizations to set their own political agendas.

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>91</sup> Balakrishnan 2013.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>92</sup> Sen and Mukherjee 2013.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>93</sup> AWID, 'Have the Millennium Development Goals promoted gender equality and women's rights?', Expert paper prepared for Expert Group Meeting, Mexico City, 21-24 October 2013.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>94</sup> Schalatek 2013.

<sup>95</sup> http://www.womankind.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/downloads/2013/03/LeadersForChange-FINAL.pdf

<sup>96</sup> http://www. wp-content/uploads/downloads/2013/03/LeadersFo

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>97</sup> Sen and Mukherjee 2013.

Specific and flexible funding streams that reach grassroots and small women's organizations are important for enabling transformative work on women's rights and for ensuring women's participation at local, national and global levels. It is imperative for women's organizations, women's movements and grassroots activities to gain direct access to funding mechanisms<sup>98</sup>. For the MDGs to be accelerated in the next few years, and for a post-2015 development agenda that genuinely advances gender equality, the continuing presence and funding for women's organization is critical.

#### Shrinking Space for Civil Society and Women's Rights Organizations

Where institutional mechanisms allow for the participation of women's rights advocates in the process of establishing priorities, there may be progress in integrating these issues into development priorities. However, Experts were very concerned about the globally shrinking space for civil society and women's rights organizations. Women's rights organizations are key actors in pushing the gender equality agenda forward. In many regions, women's organizations are increasingly seen as a political threat to more conservative governments and there has been pushback against their functioning in society. While Experts agreed that there is no homogenous, unified 'women's movement', and that women's organizations do not all have the same agenda; they also agreed that strong women's movements, and their participation and voice in policymaking and agenda-setting processes on the post-2015 agenda, are imperative for the achievement of gender equality goals in the future agenda.

The presence of women's organizations and movements at global, regional, national and local levels is centrally important for advancing gender equality and women's human rights. These actors are key for social change and for addressing the multiple dimensions along which women's rights need to be advanced. International mobilizations by feminist organizations around the world have served to produce several 'paradigm shifts' in the international human rights agenda as related to women's rights, including the recognition of women's rights as human rights, the extension of human rights across the public-private sphere, and the conceptualization of the right to bodily integrity<sup>99</sup>. The presence of autonomous and active feminist organizations in a society is a significant factor in translating global priorities, such as women's human rights, into concrete policy measures at the local level. However, Experts expressed some concern about the 'professionalization' of the women's movement and the NGO world. While on the one hand, the professionalization of this sphere has strengthened women's participation at local, national and global levels, there are also some concerns that the administrative conditions of funding often restrict the agendas of women's organizations and their ability to maintain a radical agenda for women's human rights and movement building. The funding structure and professional requirements of NGOs has increasingly limited the capacity of grassroots organizations to continue to function on the ground in various countries.

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<sup>98</sup> Schalatek 2013.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>99</sup> Kabeer, Naila. 'Rights, capabilities and collective action: the 'missing ingredient' in the MDGs', Expert paper prepared for Expert Group Meeting, Mexico City, 21-24 October 2013.

#### Entrenched Discriminatory Social Norms and Stereotypes

Experts agreed that another powerful structural force that limits the achievement of the MDGs is the pervasive social and cultural norms and stereotypes that permeate all societies. Stereotypes and social norms that are discriminatory in perception and action severely limit progress in the MDGs and the attainment of substantive equality. This is especially important considering the cycle of discrimination that is perpetuated through these stereotypes. Both women and men are socialized into these norms. For example, Experts noted that perceptions of violence against women as acceptable practice can be prevalent amongst both men and women. Removing the obstacles women and girls face to development requires addressing these social and cultural norms and stereotypes, and the gendered division of roles that these norms impose. Individual measures to support women are susceptible to fail without a systematic and holistic approach to challenging gender roles, underlying norms and practices <sup>100</sup>. Furthermore, it is not enough to focus on changing women's gender roles without also challenging men's roles and identities and dominant forms of masculinity which entrench inequality and oppression.

Gender stereotypes can be identified as structural constraints across all of the MDGs. For example, in the domain of education, Experts commented that there is a disconnect between education and women's participation in the labor market, in part, because of the inequitable training based on gender stereotypes of the sexual division of labor that limit the kinds of training that girls and boys may be expected to achieve. There is a need to use schools as platforms for education about ideas of tolerance, citizenship, gender equality and sustainability. Teachers who have gender-equitable attitudes, which go beyond sexist stereotypes, are more likely to support girls' education. Moreover, women and girls face obstacles as a result of social or cultural norms that include unequal access to land and other productive resources, unequal bargaining position in the household, and the gendered division of labor. Discriminatory gender stereotypes cause and perpetuate an unequal distribution of work, rendering women's equal enjoyment of human rights impossible <sup>101</sup>. Gender stereotypes related to family and work, such as the gendered division of unpaid care work, fostered by stereotypes of men as breadwinner and women as carer, must be comprehensively dismantled in order to achieve gender equality and women's empowerment <sup>102</sup>.

#### The Way Forward: The Human Rights Framework and Principles

Experts agreed that it is important to bring back the use of human rights principles to the core of the MDG framework. The MDGs represented a departure from the human rights gains of the 1990s, by divorcing human rights principles from the global development agenda. Experts called for the MDGs and the post-2015 development agenda to realign and reintegrate with the spirit of human rights. Principles of non-retrogression, progressive realization, maximum available resources, non-discrimination, accountability and transparency, which enjoy near universal commitment, are critical for evaluating policies implemented to achieve the MDGs and progress that has been made in accelerating the MDGs. Experts also agreed that given the current state of

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>100</sup> De Schutter 2013.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>101</sup> Sepulveda Carmona 2013.

<sup>102</sup> Ibid.

our world extraterritorial obligation are critical. For example, these principles can be applied to examine austerity policies in order to determine that not only do these policies limit MDG progress, but also they do so in a way that violates the principles of non-retrogression and non-discrimination. Human rights are an ethical and normative lens for policy-making that will contribute to a more effective, holistic and comprehensive development approach. The MDG approach, in particular, formulated a goal of promoting gender equality and women's empowerment without a focus on realizing women's human rights, providing no safeguards against 'equalizing down' and giving no substance to the ambiguous term, 'empowerment'. Experts emphasized that gender equality and non-discrimination are primary, agreed upon by all, and must be at the heart of achieving the MDGs.

The conception of the duty-bearer, in terms of upholding human rights principles must be applied to the nation-state and also expanded beyond the nation-state. States are responsible and should be held accountable for upholding human rights. States have an immediate obligation to non-discrimination and equality, and to eliminate any policy or law that is discriminatory. However, Experts agreed that the accountability frameworks must be broadened beyond the nation state to include non-state actors, such as private corporations, and multilateral institutions, such as the IMF, WTO and World Bank. Also, considering the interdependence of countries in trade and aid networks, other states, such as trading partners and donors, must be extraterritorially accountable for upholding human rights. Together, these stakeholders all play a key role in the achievement, or failure to meet the MDGs and they must be brought within the purview of any accountability structures. Accountability is also critically interlinked with transparency, in terms of how policies are made and who participates in policy-making. Experts agreed that transparency and accountability must be central to the process of rights-based policy-making on development priorities.

Experts strongly emphasized that human rights universally apply to all countries. Human rights are a framework that must hold all Member States to account, both nationally and extraterritorially. Human rights tend to be imposed as a conditionality of development aid, but donor governments and international institutions, such as the IMF and World Bank, are not held accountable for how the imposition of policies undermine a country's ability to meet their human rights obligations. Human rights must not be a conditionality of aid and trade alone, but these principles must be used to assess policies and to ensure that policies are consistent with these principles, and must enable citizens to monitor their governments, both in developed and developing countries. All countries – not just developing countries – have an obligation to meet the MDGs, and in the post-2015 framework, all countries must be accountable for development within their own borders as well as beyond. The idea that the MDGs apply only to developing countries fails to consider development in a broad, accountable and universal way. There is an inconsistent approach to human rights within many countries of the Global North, promoting human rights as a foreign policy or development objective while taking regressive measures towards women's rights in their own borders. For example, many countries take a proactive stance on sexual violence in conflict, while simultaneously cutting back resources for services to address violence against women and girls within their borders. All countries are part of the global development process, and are responsible within their country and vis-à-vis their neighbors and economic partners. The post-2015 agenda should be one of increased transparency, ensuring that all States, irrespective of income status or perceived human rights

advancements, invest in effective, appropriate and consistent actions for gender equality, women's human rights, and women's empowerment.

Experts clarified that a human rights approach does not accept power dynamics as they are, but rather starts from the premise that power differentials must be eliminated, seeking explicitly to recognize and challenge inequality, including structural and systemic power imbalances in social and economic life<sup>103</sup>. This is especially important considering that sometimes human rights commitments may conflict, for example, in the tensions between religious rights and gender equality, or between property and land rights. There may also sometimes be a tension between individual rights and communal rights regarding which set of rights takes precedence, thus affecting policy- and decision-making. A guiding principle is the need to privilege the rights of the most marginalized groups, 'equalizing up' to ensure equality for all. While the Experts acknowledged that there would always be conflicts between rights and rights-claimants, they emphasized a greater voice for the voiceless and called for the underlying structures of power and domination to be interrogated.

Within the human rights framework, Experts agreed that it is imperative that certain principles inform the creation of policy. Policies that emphasize a focus on the principle of redistribution can reduce the significant load on women as a result of lack of services, facilitating the conditions for equality within the household and in society, and reducing the unequal burden that women bear. Redistributive interventions that emphasize the provision of public services and infrastructure are consistent with human rights principles of equality and non-discrimination, as well as non-retrogression and progressive realization using maximum available resources. Policies should also emphasize the principle of universalism. This allows for a deeper intersectional analysis of how different groups are differently affected by policies, and allows for temporary special measures to be put in place where necessary to overcome these structural inequalities.

Experts strongly emphasized a need to focus on substantive equality. Formal equality, for example, through law may not be sufficient to ensure that women enjoy the same rights as men in practice. A substantive approach recognizes that in order to redistribute benefits equally between men and women, measures to promote women's rights must transform unequal power relations. There should not only be equal opportunities for women, but equal access to opportunities and equal outcomes. One way to highlight the focus on substantive equality is to emphasize the development of women's capabilities. Formal rights become real in practice when individuals have the capacity to exercise them. <sup>104</sup>.

Within the human rights framework, policy-making must be participatory. Rights are not just substantiated and realized at the individual level. There is a collective dimension to human rights: isolation can be a massive challenge for women in trying to set agendas for individual rights; women's organizations provide collective space for action and the articulation of rights. Feminist mobilizations for human rights are a valuable source for feminist translation of formalistic rights into reality on the ground. Autonomous women's organizations are an effective

<sup>103</sup> Sepulveda Carmona 2013.104 Kabeer 2013.

force for change and are critical to the process and politics of agenda-setting on development priorities, but their role in shaping the agenda and policies has been undermined. Thus, there is a need to support grassroots voices, in part through ensuring funding for women's organizations. Experts highlighted the need to focus on people rather than development issues alone. Especially when developing the post-2015 agenda, it is necessary to identify groups of people who should be at the heart of people-focused targets and goals.

Experts also identified the need to go beyond technocratic policy-making processes that characterize the current neoliberal decision-making agenda. Policy-making and agenda-setting are inherently political processes, but a lack of transparency and accountability leaves them in the domain of the powerful, rather than as fundamentally participatory processes. A major criticism of the MDGs was that the design and implementation of targets and indicators were too much of a technocratic exercise, without any guidelines on implementation strategies. Powerful stakeholders, such as developed states and international institutions, primarily decided the targets and indicators, and the absence of guidelines for implementation meant that the targets and indicators themselves were interpreted to be the issue of focus and implementation. For example, in MDG 3, gender equality policies became synonymous with reducing gender disparities in education, rather than a more comprehensive strategy that targeted gender equality on multiple intersecting fronts. Shifting to a human rights framework will prioritize basic freedoms of self-determination and autonomy; and Experts agreed that a core component of this freedom includes involving people directly in determining what will be done on their behalf to make the choices more grounded and robust<sup>105</sup>.

Experts agreed that it is necessary to consider principles for embedding human rights and gender equality across a future development framework, and emphasized that human rights must be embedded through formalistic laws and policies, while also accounting for substantive goals, and the process of achieving these rights. The priority when considering human rights is that we must address power as an obstacle, and must focus attention on participation and equality. These considerations are absent from the MDGs and must be central to the post-2015 framework, moving beyond the formalistic notion of meeting specific goals and indicators towards attention to structural constraints, domination and oppression. Moreover, it is necessary to emphasize how these outcomes, both formalistic and substantive, are achieved through attention to processes and policies. The MDGs list the desired development outcomes but are silent about how to achieve these outcomes. If the post-2015 agenda is to re-define 'thicker' goals that focus on formalistic, as well as substantive, outcomes, it is necessary to concurrently focus on appropriate and desirable policy instruments and principles.

#### RECOMMENDATIONS

#### **Overarching Approach**

Experts identified recommendations arising from emerging issues and challenges related to the structural and policy constraints of achieving the MDGs for women and girls. These recommendations are meant as guiding principles rather than as directives. They are necessary

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>105</sup> Sen and Mukherjee 2013.

not only for accelerating achievement of the MDGs in the remaining time until the 2015 target date, but also for consideration of the post-2015 development framework.

Experts emphasized that the recommendations reflect the crucial interconnections of the MDG targets and goals. There is a need to harness the synergies between goals and recognize the interconnections between the MDGs in order to reach their full potential. The recommendations give particular attention to inequality and discrimination in all its forms, bearing in mind that gender inequality and discrimination remain key obstacles to inclusive and sustainable development. The post-2015 framework, in particular, must be designed in a way that prioritizes the reduction of disparities and structural inequalities, using key human rights principles. Experts agreed that the respect, protection and fulfillment of human rights are fundamental to sustainable development.

#### The Enabling Environment for Achieving the MDGs

The global macroeconomic and financial environment, and relations of trade and aid play a pivotal role in realizing social goals and objectives. A coherent development strategy in the future must consider the enabling environment for the achievement of development goals, with all stakeholders held responsible for development and human rights. Human rights principles must be mechanisms that can hold donors and global governance structures to account. Thus:

- Progressive macroeconomic policies should be designed according to human rights principles and increased transparency, ensuring that all States, irrespective of income status or perceived human rights advancements, invest in effective, appropriate and consistent actions for gender equality, women's human rights, and women's empowerment.
- International financial and trade institutions and markets should be effectively regulated to prevent economic crises, and financial regulation must also occur at the national level.
- Fiscal policies should mobilize maximum available resources through progressive forms of taxation (e.g. corporate, wealth, and income taxes) in order to finance the provision of universal social protection measures.
- Policies that lead to retrogression, such as policies of fiscal austerity, must not be adopted and policies should support the ongoing realization of economic and social rights.
- Extra-territorial obligations of national and global governance relating to acts and omissions that have effects on the enjoyment of human rights outside of a state's territory should be reinforced and extended (expanding the *Maastricht Principles*, 1986).
- Enhanced bargaining and regulatory power in low-capacity states should be supported and funded, to ensure that they are able to hold corporations, donor agencies and global governance entities (such as WTO & TRIPS), whether within or outside their borders, accountable for upholding national laws, national policies, substantive equality, and women's rights.
- The definition of duty-bearer should be expanded beyond the state to include regimes of global governance, finance, trade etc. and to move beyond the idea of human rights as tools that are strategically or opportunistically used as part of donor conditionality.

#### Human Rights Framework

Experts strongly recommended the need to embed sustainable development efforts within a human rights framework, as originally enshrined in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, based on substantive equality and not only on legal recognition. Substantive equality for women and the principles of non-discrimination and non-retrogression are key criteria by which sustainable development policies and practices must be evaluated, and are also key criteria by which international macro-economic policies and practices, such as development aid, global trade regimes, and carbon financing regimes, must be evaluated. The global conversations about how we are going to progress post 2015 must also center on accountability, as applicable to all states and key actors, including non-state actors, at the international and national levels.

- Any future actions should be consistent with the human rights principles in international human rights treaties, to which States have agreed, including the principles of progressive realization, maximum available resources, non-retrogression, minimum core obligations, accountability and transparency, and extraterritorial obligations.
- All stakeholders, including States and global governance institutions, should enforce the principle of non-discrimination and equality as immediately actionable.

#### A Multidimensional Approach to Sustainable Development

There must be a universalism in policies, not just in name, that recognizes structural inequalities and allows for an intersectional and interconnected approach. National strategies must consider difference, even within clearly identified groups, when identifying and addressing peoples' needs, interests and aspirations. Life cycle patterns and the specific requirements of different age groups, as well as marginalized groups in society must be at the heart of the post-2015 agenda. The voices of local communities should be fundamental to poverty definition and reduction strategies. Therefore:

- Multi-dimensional measurement of poverty has to be promoted, and work to alleviate such poverty, at the individual, household, and community levels, is a key step towards substantive gender equality.
- Essential services should be delivered through sustainable processes, at a level that ensures social protection and dignity on a universal, unconditional and individual basis. (see the *ILO Social Protection Floor* for guidance).
- An inclusive approach to development should highlight leadership and autonomy at the local level, and not only at the national level. At the same time, the role of the state in protecting the human rights of all individuals is essential.
- Because the implementation of justice is often inadequate, even when laws are gendersensitive, processes that facilitate gender equality and women's human rights should be monitored and measured.
- Long-term integrated actions should be promoted to transform stereotypes, norms and institutions, based on gender and other axes of social exclusion that are discriminatory in perception and action.

#### Fiscal Policy and Financing for Gender Equality

Targeted financing for gender equality and women's rights is a prerequisite to realize sustainable development and should follow the principle of maximum available resources. There is a need to counter the narrative that public money – both from donor countries as well as domestic efforts in developing countries – is not available for gender-equitable sustainable development and that therefore private sector money needs to fill the gap. It is less a matter of finance availability as a matter of political will to shift funding priorities. Developed (donor) countries and recipient (developing countries) have a shared but differentiated responsibility – reflecting their respective economic and development status and financial capabilities – to fund global and national gender equality efforts. The Experts recommend that:

- Adequate financing and support for women's organizations should be prioritized and reserved for gender equality and women's empowerment efforts, particularly sustained and unconditional support for women's rights organizing and movements.
- Gender-responsive budgeting should become the norm to ensure that countries' expenditure for sustainable development contribute to gender equality.
- Even in times of austerity and fiscal constraints, adequate public international and domestic resources to fund gender-sensitive sustainable development can and should be generated for example by:
  - Instituting progressive tax reform that increases domestic resource mobilization by raising taxes on capital gains, wealth, land and high incomes while lowering those on wages and necessary consumption items
  - o Reducing illicit money flows and corporate tax evasion
  - Abolishing harmful subsidies, including for fossil fuel-based production and trade-distorting developed country agricultural exports
  - Shrinking military budgets
  - o Introducing innovative financing instruments such as a regional or global Financial Transaction Tax (FTT), which would also benefit sustainable development by stabilizing the global financial system, or carbon taxes and levies on maritime and air transport.
- Donors should put in place accountability mechanisms for resources allocated, disbursed and implemented, and provide data on the results of their financial support in terms of the types of social, economic, cultural and political transformations generated.

#### Women's Collective Action

There is a need to support women's collective action, voice and participation at all levels. Women must be recognized as key development actors in their own right. Women's voices are essential in setting priorities and policies that align with respecting and fulfilling human rights commitments, including women's rights. In some cases this may require the creation of relevant spaces and institutional mechanisms. As such:

- Women should be central to influencing and transforming collective action, such as in trade unions, land movements, or human rights organizations.
- The participation of women's organizations (including feminist organizations and movements) in policy dialogues at local, national and international levels should be

ensured, at all stages of the development process (planning, implementing, monitoring and evaluating).

#### The Accountability of Non-State Actors

Corporations, foundations and civil society organizations must be held accountable to their obligation to promote substantive gender equality. While these actors bring new resources and political commitment, their diversity and varying perspectives on development makes this a highly complex field. Their increased engagement raises a pressing need for accountability and regulation—beyond just notions of corporate social responsibility. Therefore:

- Coherence in the implementation of the philanthropic work and in the priorities of diverse actors from the private sector, including their compliance with labor rights, other human rights provisions, fair competition and environmental regulations should be a key dimension of private sector engagement in the post-2015 agenda.
- Civil society organizations, including religious organizations and private sector actors, should be held to the principles of non-discrimination and equality, and non-retrogression, relating to acts and omissions that have effects on the enjoyment of human rights.
- All developments actors, working at all levels (from national to regional to global), should all be held accountable, building on existing accountability mechanisms within the UN HR system, such as the Universal Periodic Review process.

#### Women's Paid Employment

There is a need to respect, recognize and fulfill the right for women to engage in paid employment, while operationalizing and enabling "decent work". Decent work for men and women and gender-balanced work and family commitments are the motor for social and economic development and gender equality. Therefore:

- Women should be able to fully engage in collective bargaining and social dialogue at all levels between governments, employers and trade unions, for the implementation of equality policies, for balanced work-family commitments and to reduce the gender pay gap.
- Legal rights and policies should be implemented that enable decent work, particularly through shifting tax structures, incentives for employers, social benefits, and parental leave, and having access to affordable and quality services (health, education, care) and infrastructure, being free from violence and sexual harassment at the work place, and having the right to organize and negotiate.

#### Women's Unpaid Care Work

Women's enjoyment of the right to decent work is strongly affected by heavy and unequal unpaid workloads. The unequal distribution of unpaid care work is simultaneously reflective and determinative of power relations between women and men. Discriminatory gender stereotypes cause and perpetuate this unequal distribution of total work, rendering women's equal enjoyment of a wide range of interlinked rights (not only to decent work, but also to education, health, leisure, and participation) impossible. Therefore:

- The impact of action on the level and distribution of unpaid care work should be used as a key criterion for the evaluation of macro-economic policy.
- The value of unpaid care work should be recognized and redistribution of paid and unpaid care work should be achieved within the household and between the household and the public sphere, through public provision of care services, government incentives, labor laws and regulations, and equality legislation, etc.
- Policies should be promoted that reduce unpaid care work through investments in public infrastructure (e.g. access to drinking water to reduce fetching effort)<sup>106</sup>.
- The transformation of patriarchal social norms and stereotypes that construe men as 'breadwinners' and women as 'carers' should be targeted and addressed through progressive social and economic policies.

#### **Education for Women and Girls**

Experts agreed that children are the future and they are the opportunity for change in society. Education is a public good and a human right, and universal and comprehensive access to education is essential to the achievement of the MDGs overall. As such:

- An ambitious education agenda should encompass access to quality education, completion, quality of curriculum, capacity of teachers, and infrastructure.
- The post-2015 framework should encourage policies that provide enough financial and in kind support to allow girls to enroll, attend regularly, and progress through school to complete primary school successfully. This entails putting money into public services (schools, roads, health provision) ensuring the poorest girls have resources to stay at school, and that all teachers are well supported to provide high quality learning.
- There is also a need to ensure resources (financial, in kind, information and critical engagement with cultures of exclusion) to enable girls to enroll and complete cycles of secondary and tertiary education, so that the gender parity target is met in all regions of all countries and for all social groups.

#### Violence Against Women

Any efforts to address the development agenda must include attention to violence against women and girls. Violence against women and girls is a concern in its own right, but is also relevant for its impact and repercussions on other aspects of women's equality, including education, health and work. The elimination of violence against women must be seen as inseparable from achieving gender equality and national development. Therefore:

- Laws and policies that protect women and girls from violence should be implemented.
- States should report on a regular basis their programs in place to eliminate VAW.

Experts recognized that violence against women's human rights defenders (WHRD) is a crucial problem to be addressed. Recognizing that many of the obstacles and risks that WHRDs face are due to structural inequities, upholding the human rights principles of universality and nondiscrimination in all aspects of this work must be central to addressing cases of WHRDs.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>106</sup> Sepulveda Carmona 2013.

- Particular attention should be paid to the gender dimension of cases relating to WHRDs.
  This requires examining the gender-specificity of individual violations; gendered
  structures and ideologies permeating a given context; the range of State and non-State
  perpetrators who may pose specific threats to WHRDs; and the resulting gendered
  consequences of violations.
- Effective and gender-sensitive responses should be developed, that recognize that different WHRDs may have different needs, mediated by their identities, social positioning, personal situations and the contexts in which they live and work.

#### Women's Sexual and Reproductive Health and Rights

Sexual rights and reproductive rights are essential to ensuring the bodily autonomy and bodily integrity of women and girls and are fundamental to enabling equal citizenship. Sexual and reproductive rights are embedded in human rights and their exercise is essential for the enjoyment of other fundamental rights and for achieving the international development targets and poverty eradication. It is essential to recognize the life-cycle approach with regards to sexual and reproductive health as defined in the ICPD PoA and provide universal access to rights based SRHR services; while giving equal emphasis to the right to contraception as well as a right to conception for all. It is essential to recognize inequalities between groups of women and that poor, rural and indigenous women are sometimes marginalized in relation to access to SRHR services, even if they constitute the majority of the population. Therefore:

- States should provide comprehensive sexuality education as a core subject in the national curriculum and put resources toward this in the education system.
- Access to SRHR information and services should be made available for young people in and out of schools, and young people should have an equal right to prevent pregnancy as well as ensure a right to education for girls who are pregnant and have children.
- Member States should guarantee universal access to good-quality sexual health and reproductive health services, bearing in mind the specific needs of men and women, adolescents and young people, persons of diverse sexuality and gender identity, and persons with disabilities, with special attention to vulnerable persons, persons living in rural and remote areas and to the promotion of citizen participation in the follow-up to commitments.
- States should formulate and promote policies that enable persons to exercise their sexual rights, which embrace the right to a safe and full sex life, as well as the right to take free, informed, voluntary and responsible decisions on their sexuality, sexual orientation and gender identity, without coercion, discrimination or violence, and that guarantee the right to information and the means necessary for their sexual health and reproductive health.
- States should formulate laws, policies and programs which specifically emphasize nondiscrimination with regards to access to sexual and reproductive health services as well as sexual orientation and gender identity in the exercise of sexual rights and the manifestations thereof.
- States should promote the prevention and timely detection of and guarantee universal
  access to comprehensive treatment for HIV/AIDS and sexually transmitted infections and
  eliminate the stigma and discrimination to which persons living with the virus are often
  subjected as well as strengthen measures for detection of HIV/AIDS and other sexually
  transmitted infections in pregnant women and for prevention of the vertical transmission

- of the virus; ensuring that both women and their children have access to anti-retroviral medicines.
- It is also necessary to invest sufficient financial, human and technological resources in order to provide universal sexual health care and reproductive health care for people of all genders, without any form of discrimination.

#### Environmental Sustainability and Access to Resources

Human-made climate change is not gender-neutral. "It is common knowledge," says the Rio +20 and Gender Brochure of the United Nations, "that vulnerability to biodiversity loss, desertification and climate change impacts are deeply connected to gender, and that, conversely, sustainability interventions, responses and solutions need to consider gender issues if they are to fully meet the objectives for which they were established." Persistent gender inequalities, (often overt) discrimination, and the dependence of many women on the environmental resource base, mean that women are disproportionally affected by climate change. Climate change can exacerbate women's poverty, such as time poverty, by increasing women's drudgery and care work for the basic provision of food, water, and fuel. It undercuts current and future development gains, and undermines the realization of women's fundamental human rights, including the rights to life, health, food, water and self-determination. Therefore:

- Women, especially those living in developing economies, should be key stakeholders and deserve comprehensive and meaningful participation in determining national priorities for low-carbon, climate-resilient development.
- Women's voice and agency in their role as community leaders, farmers, entrepreneurs, producers and household managers should be supported in order to mitigate and adapt to climate change. This includes giving recognition and compensation to the mitigation and adaptation activities that women are already engaging in -- such as switching to drought-resistant seeds, employing low-impact or organic soil management, or community-based reforestation efforts. Such recognition also reduces women's (frequently) unpaid care work on behalf of environmental sustainability.
- Predictable and adequate public financing for climate mitigation and adaptation action should be gender-responsive.
- The specificity of women's needs, in terms of water, sanitation and hygiene, deserves the highest priority for infrastructure investments. In particular, every woman and girl should have safe access to a hygienic toilet through infrastructure planning, slum improvement and rural-development programmes. Access to and affordability of these basic resources, whether through private-public partnerships or through community-based efforts, are fundamental to health, dignity, and the realization of women's human rights.

#### Women, Peace and Security

Armed conflict undermines development, human rights and gender equality, and development efforts must seek to prevent conflict by addressing its structural causes. A gender perspective must be mainstreamed throughout efforts to prevent, resolve and recover from conflict, including ensuring women's full and equal participation in these efforts and addressing militarized masculinities as obstacles to peace.

- The post-2015 framework should address the most common underlying drivers of conflict and insecurity, including lack of fair access to basic services such as justice and security and lack of inclusive and accountable governance, as well as global factors that lead to conflict such as environmental degradation and illicit financial flows.
- A holistic approach to women's participation in peace and security policy and practice should be adopted through implementing comprehensive strategies aimed at enhancing women's capacities and potential, as well as the structures and relations that constrain them from a full and equal role.
- States should be held accountable for the prosecution and punishment of perpetrators of sexual and gender-based violence in conflict and post-conflict situations and specific funds must be committed for in country monitoring of the implementation of UNSCRs 1325, 1820, 1888, 1889, 1960, 2106 and 2122<sup>107</sup>.

#### Data Usage and Gathering

It is essential to measure the impact of policies and development strategies. Data must be transparent in its assumptions, collection, and analysis, nationally and internationally, and made accessible to all in a timely manner. There is clearly a need to encourage more systematic use of existing data, particularly routinely collected data and time use surveys, because – while available – these are not regularly used and policies are not shaped by existing information.

- A focus on equality and non-discrimination should trigger the generation of more precise
  data that is disaggregated according to gender, as well as age, disability, and other
  factors. Collecting data that allows situations of discrimination and marginalization to
  come to light should inform policy-making and action to make progress towards
  development goals.
- In order to assess progress in reducing inequalities, monitoring should go beyond income and capture other causes of lack of access to basic rights and services.
- Process indicators are needed in addition to outcome indicators in the post-2015 development framework.
- Time use data should be collected more systematically and in a policy-oriented way, so that the data can be used for the design of both economic and social policies aimed at eradicating poverty, including time poverty, and enhancing equality.
- This should be an international priority, with international assistance to governments to enable them to collect sufficiently disaggregated data and to set up tracking institutions that would make such data available not only to the governments but to the public at large. When monitoring becomes a more public process with greater involvement of civil society, it is likely to be much more effective.

<sup>107</sup> See Security Council Report, 'UN Documents for Women, Peace and Security' <a href="http://www.securitycouncilreport.org/un-documents/women-peace-and-security/">http://www.securitycouncilreport.org/un-documents/women-peace-and-security/</a> for a full list of Security Council Resolutions on this thematic priority.

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#### ANNEX I

#### **List of Participants**

#### **EXPERTS**

**Radhika Balakrishnan**, EGM co-chair Centre for Women's Global Leadership,

Rutgers University United States

Megan Dersnah

University of Toronto Canada

Jayati Ghosh

Jawaharlal Nehru University India

Renu Khanna

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Saferworld United Kingdom **Nerea Craviotto** 

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Valeria Esquivel, EGM co-chair

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Mariana Iacono

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Marai Larasi

Imkaan

United Kingdom

Robinah Rubimbwa

Center for Women in Governance Uganda

Sivananthi Thanenthiren

ARROW Malaysia

**Richard Watts** 

Development Finance International United Kingdom

#### EXPERTS PARTICIPATING VIA VIDEOCONFERENCE

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**United States** 

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**UNESCO UNFPA** Paris New York

# Yongyi Min

UNSD New York

#### **Olivier De Schutter**

UN Special Rapporteur on the right to food Geneva

# **Soon-Young Yoon**

NGO/CSW/NY New York

## Jonna Lundwall

World Bank Washington, D.C.

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UN Special Rapporteur on extreme poverty and human rights Geneva

#### Gabriela Pulido García

Sindicato Único de Trabajadores del Gobierno Federal Mexico City

# ANNEX II

# **Programme of Work**

Monday, 21 October 2013	
Time	Agenda Item
8:30am	Registration of experts
9:00 – 9:50	Briefing of experts (organization of work) and election of co-chairs of
	drafting committee – Closed Meeting
9:50 – 10:00	Security briefing
10:00 – 10:30	Welcome and opening of the meeting
	- <b>Ms. Saraswathi Menon,</b> Director, Policy Division, UN Women
	- <b>Mr. Hugo Beteta</b> , Chief, ECLAC Subregional Headquarters in
	Mexico, on behalf of ECLAC Executive Secretary
	- <b>Ms. Adriana Leticia Borjas</b> , General Director for Institutionalizing
	Gender Perspective, Women's National Institute
	- <b>Ms. Ana Guezmes</b> , UN Women Representative in Mexico, on
	behalf of UN Women LAC Regional Director
10:30 – 11:00	Coffee/tea break
11:00 - 1:00	Structural and political context for achieving the MDGs for women and
	girls
11:00 – 11:10	Saraswathi Menon, Director, Policy Division, UN Women - Objectives for
	the EGM and outline of the structural and political context for achieving the
	MDGs for women and girls
11:10 – 12:15	Presentation of papers
	- <b>Jayati Ghosh:</b> Opportunities and challenges in achieving the MDGs
	- Sakiko Fukuda-Parr presenting paper by Gita Sen and Avanti
	Mukherjee: No Empowerment without Rights, No Rights without
	Politics: Gender Equality, the MDGs and the Post 2015 Development
12.15 1.00	Agenda (via videoconference)
12:15 – 1:00	Discussion
1:00 - 2:00	Lunch
2:00 – 2:40	Presentation of paper
	- Naila Kabeer: MDGs, post-2015, and women's movements (20 minutes
	via videoconference)  Discussion (20 minutes)
2:40 – 4:40	- Discussion (20 minutes)
2:40 - 4:40 2:40 - 4:00	Gender equality and the MDGs: Financing and current approaches  Presentation of paper and discussion
2:40 - 4:00	- <b>Richard Watts and Debbie Budlender:</b> Financing for gender equality
	and the MDGs in the context of the global crisis
4.00 – 4.15	Coffee/tea break
4.15 – 5:15	Presentation of paper and discussion
7.13 – 3.13	- <b>Megan Dersnah:</b> A review of national MDG reports and national post-
	2015 consultations from a gender perspective
5:15 - 5:30	Closing
3:13 – 3:30	Closing

Tuesday, 22 October 2013	
9:00 - 9:30	Conclusions and recommendations from Day 1 (to be presented by the Co-
	Chairs)
9:30 - 10:30	Poverty and gender inequality
	- <b>Jayati Ghosh</b> (5 minutes)
10:30 - 11:30	The human rights approach
	- Radhika Balakrishnan (5 minutes)
	- Nerea Craviotto (5 minutes)
11:30 - 11:45	Coffee/tea break
11:45 - 1:00	Women's paid and unpaid work
	- Shahrashoub Razavi (5 minutes)
	- Valeria Esquivel (5 minutes)
1:00 - 2:00	Lunch
2:00 - 3:00	A quality education for girls
	- Elaine Unterhalter (10 minutes via videoconference)
3:00 – 3:15	Coffee/tea break
3:15 – 4:30	Sustainability, the right to food and access to natural resources
	- Liane Schalatek (5 minutes)
	- Isha Ray (5 minutes)

Wednesday, 23 October 2013		
9:00 - 9.30	Conclusions and recommendations from Day 2 (to be presented by the Co-	
	Chairs)	
9:30 - 10:45	Sexual and reproductive rights, health and HIV	
	- Renu Khanna (5 minutes)	
	- <b>Sivananthi Thanenthiren</b> (5 minutes)	
	- Mariana Iacono (5 minutes)	
10:45 - 11:00	Coffee/tea break	
11:00 - 12:00	Violence against women and girls	
	- Marai Larasi (5 minutes)	
	- Cecilia Umul (5 minutes)	
12.00 - 1:00	Women, peace and security	
	- Robinah Rubimbwa (5 minutes)	
	- Hannah Wright (5 minutes)	
1:00 - 2:00	Lunch	
2:00 - 3:00	Data and indicators to measure gender equality and women's rights:	
	opportunities and challenges	
	- Yongyi Min, United Nations Statistical Division (10 minutes)	
3.00 - 3.15	Coffee/tea break	
3:15 - 6:30	Break-out working groups on recommendations	

Thursday, 24 October 2013		
9:00 - 11.00	Presentation and discussion of working groups on recommendations	
	3 groups (20 minutes each)	
	Discussion (1 hour)	
11:00 - 11:15	Coffee/tea break	
11.15 – 12.30	Presentation of draft outline of report (Co-Chairs)	
	Discussion	
12:30 - 1:30	Lunch	
1:30 - 2:30	Discussion of draft outline of report and key recommendations	
2:30 - 3:00	Coffee/tea break	
3:00 - 4.00	Adoption of draft outline of report and key recommendations	
4:00 - 4:30	Closing Remarks	
	- Co-Chairs	
	- Saraswathi Menon, UN Women	