

Consonant Dialogues 2008-2012

The Hopscotch
of the Dialogues,
reflections on a
process

The South-South
Cooperation in Latin
America and the
challenges for the
Equality Agenda

CONSONANT DIALOGUES 2008 - 2012

Authors: | María Sarabia Barquero
| «The Hopscotch of the Dialogues, reflections on a process»
| Raquel Martínez-Gómez
| «The South/South cooperation in Latin America and the
| challenges for equality»

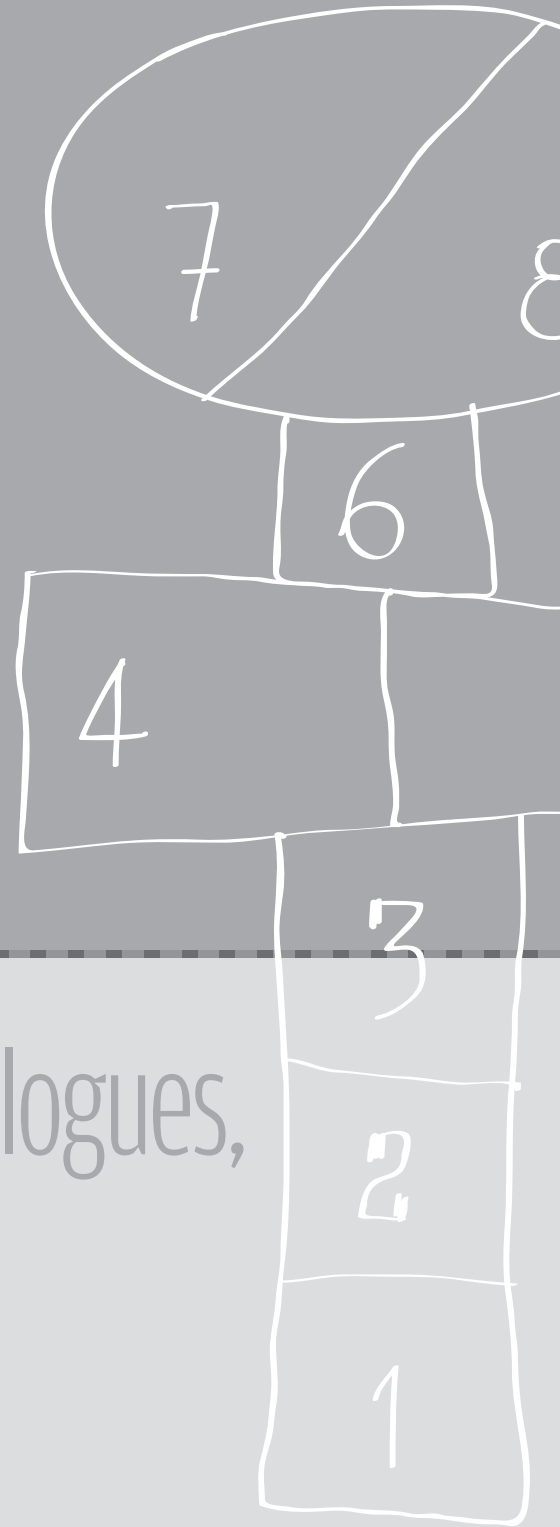
Coordination: | Lucy Garrido
Proofreading: | Elena Fonseca

Editing: | Centro de Comunicación Virginia Woolf, COTIDIANO MUJER

English Translation: | Susan Leaman
Design and layout: | glyphosxp
| October 2013

This publication belongs to the Articulación Feminista Marcosur (Marcosur Feminist Articulation) and is available at www.mujeresdelsur-afm.org.uy together with other documents appended thereto which could not be included in the present edition.

The texts and information may be copied and reproduced provided that there are no commercial purposes involved and that the authors and the organisation receive the corresponding credit.



The Hopscotch of the Dialogues,
reflections on a process

This reflection exercise has been developed by the EN POSITIVA Feminist Assessment and Investigation Work Group between the months of May and September of 2012.

By: María Sarabia Barquero

Field Work: Inmaculada Lozano Caro
María Sarabia Barquero

EN POSITIVA acknowledges the collaboration of Juana Bengoa, Lilián Celiberti (Cotidiano Mujer-AFM), Alma Chacón (Tierra Viva), Carme Clavel (AECID), Ana María Enriquez, Sergia Galván (Colectiva Mujer y Salud/Women and Health Collective), Lucy Garrido (Cotidiano Mujer-AFM), Teresa Godoy, Ana Cristina González (AFM), Morena Herrera (Las Dignas), Mar Humberto (AECID), Emilienne de León (Red internacional de Fondos de Mujeres/International Network of Women's Funds) Estefanía Molina, Elena Montobbio (AECID) Clara Murguialday (Calala Fund), Elisa Nieto (AECID), Cecilia Olea (Flora Tristán-AFM), Magaly Pineda (CIPAF), Esther Pino (Gender Group/CNGDOE), Estrella Ramil (Cooperació), Tarcila Rivera (Enlace Continental de Mujeres Indígenas/Continental Network of Indigenous Women), Carmen Rodríguez, Nava San Miguel (DGPOLDE-FIIAPP) and Virginia Vargas (Flora Tristán-AFM). Their guidance and the generosity of their contributions have made this document possible.

«Imagining women's citizenship and constructing what we now call the human rights of women have required the political meeting of modern women who possess the language, thought and political analysis on the situation and conditions of women. Owners of a theoretical vision based on their own philosophic, unrelinquished perspective, and of revealing knowledge on women and the world. When we women have thought the world and the self, in the sense of Hanna Arendt, from a critical and analytical outlook, when the personal aspect has been framed in the collective, the need to compromise has arisen in order to strengthen our impact on the world»

Marcela Lagarde

Table of Contents

Acronyms	9
On dialogues and consonances	11
Introduction	13
The New Architecture and gender equality	14
The Hopscotch of the Consonant Dialogues.....	15
Chapter I. The Exercise of Reflection	17
I.1. Objective and scope of the reflection	17
I.2. Methodology	18
I.3. Limitations of the exercise	19
Chapter II. The Hopscotch of the Consonant Dialogues	21
II.1. What prompted the birth of the Consonant Dialogues?	21
The reason from the Context perspective	21
The reason from the Dialogists' perspective.....	24
II.2. What are the Consonant Dialogues? Characterisation.....	29
The Encounters.....	30
Their Structure.....	33
Chapter III. Dialogists in the Hopscotch	36
III.1. The Feminist Organisations	37
Institutionalism as a way of existence (*).....	38

Some emphases in the Dialogist's agendas	41
III.2. The Spanish State's Cooperation	44
Gender Equality in the Cooperation (*).....	47
The Gender Strategy and its commitment to the association for development in gender matters (*).....	48
Chapter IV. Moving along the Squares	52
IV.1. The Central Squares	53
Square 1. The Development Agenda.....	54
Square 2. Financing the Development Agenda	59
Square 3. Aid Effectiveness.....	66
IV.2. The Dialogue Squares	75
Square 4. The Agenda	76
Square 5. The Discourse	88
IV.3. The Squares for Advancement	106
Square 6. Contributions and Lessons	106
Squares 7 and 8. Future Scenarios	118
Bibliography	124
Annexes	131
i. Declarations of the Consonant Dialogues	133
ii. Financing Sources. Dissonances and Consonances for the financing of the Feminist Organisations.....	152
iii. Feminist Networks and Organisations participating in the Consonant Dialogues	158

Acronyms

II MP	Master Plan of the Spanish Cooperation 2005-2008	GENDERNET	DAC Network on Gender Equality
III MP	Master Plan of the Spanish Cooperation 2009-2012	GSA	General State Administration
AAA	Accra Agenda for Action	HLF	High Level Forum
AECID	Spanish Agency for International Development Cooperation	IADGs	Internationally Agreed Development Goals
AFM	Marcosur Feminist Articulation	IMF	International Monetary Fund
AWID	Association for Women's Rights in Development	INSTRAW	UN International Research and Training Institute for the Advancement of Women
BACG	BetterAid Coordinating Group	LAC	Latin America and the Caribbean
BPfA	Beijing Platform for Action	LLEE	Local Entities
CCAA	Autonomous Communities	MAEC	Spanish Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Cooperation
CD	Consonant Dialogues	MDGs	Millennium Development Goals
CEDAW	Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women	MICs	Middle Income Countries
CPoA	Cairo Programme of Action	NGDO	Non Governmental Development Organisations
CRS	Creditor Report System	ODA	Official Development Assistance
CSS	South-South Cooperation	OECD	Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development
CSW	Commission on the Status of Women	RBA	Rights Based Approach
DAC	Development Assistance Committee	RMD	Result-based Management for Development
DBF	Final Declaration of Busan	SC	Spanish Cooperation
DCF	Development Cooperation Forum (DCF)	CSOs	Civil Society Organisations
DGPOLDE	Directorate-General for Planning and Evaluating Development Policies	SRR	Sexual and Reproductive Rights
PD	Declaration of Paris	TCOs	Technical Cooperation Offices
ECLAC	Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean	UN	United Nations Organisations
EU	European Union	UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
FfD	Financing for Development	UNFPA	United Nations Population Fund
GAD	Gender and Development	UNIFEM	United Nations Development Fund for Women
GEDEA	Gender and Development and Effectiveness of Aid	WIDE	Women in Development in Europe
		WP-EFF	Working Party on Aid Effectiveness

On dialogues and consonances

The dialogue on the so-called «development» and the cooperation policies must be the right of every actor involved and interested in transforming the present and thinking the future of a community or country. It cannot be the privilege of some people or institutions, no matter how powerful they are. Therefore, the Consonant Dialogues —an initiative promoted by the Feminist Articulation Marcosur (AFM) in the year 2008— originated with the purpose of influencing the debate and the construction of an agenda on cooperation and development which incorporates the outlook of women and the feminist movement of Latin America and the Caribbean».

Like in dance, where it is necessary for at least two people to want to dance, for there to be dialogue, it is necessary for at least two people to want to communicate. A dialogue is an encounter that leads from the dialogists' reflection to action, guiding them towards a context which must be transformed. Besides the women's and feminist networks, the regional

Funds, NGOs and universities working on international solidarity and cooperation, representatives of gender mechanisms, Unifem, UN Women, UNDP, UNFPA, ECLAC participated in the Consonant Dialogues, and the Spanish cooperation was especially involved, additionally taking on the challenge of supporting their celebration.

Spain had built a reputation as a gender equality defender and this became one of the identity signs not only of the entire SC but also of the public policies of the Spanish state. From that position, Spain accepted the challenge of confronting its image and how it «pictured» itself to debate with the Latin American networks on the feminist agenda and democracy, on aid effectiveness and development practices.

The purpose of this exchange was to gradually generate consonances and feasible political covenants with which to promote «better results in the actions addressed at women's empowerment and gender equality in the regional context» from the acknowledgement of

the feminist networks and organisations as key social and political actors for development. Democratising the information and contacts, expanding the debates and including more and more organisations were fundamental steps that we, as AFM, promoted so that the voice of Latin American women was recognised and included in the road from Accra to Busan. Thus, the dialogue begun in Montevideo was gradually constructed as a political space sustained in time and articulated in five CDs. The first in Montevideo was followed by the CDs in the Andean region, in Central America, in the Caribbean and in Spain.

The autonomy of the feminist organisations in the definition of their political agenda and its implementation in the public space is a *sine qua non*

condition for gender equality and women's rights to be promoted and placed as pillars of truly effective development. We wish to thank UN Women and the Spanish cooperation as a whole, the centralised cooperation and that of the autonomies, of the municipalities and the universities, of the ministries and city councils, for having so understood it.

And we wish to thank the women who, from their position in the ministry or in the organisation and the network, whether Basque or Brazilian, Salvadoran or Catalanian, Nicaraguan, Asturian, Uruguayan, Peruvian, Dominican, Castilian, Guatemalan or Andalucian, were, first and foremost, people willing to debate and dialogue. To imagine and agree on consonances.

Lucy Garrido

At the end of 2012 we held a VI CD in Montevideo on the South/South cooperation. It couldn't be taken into account for the analysis undertaken by María Sarabia and her team on the process of the CDs in «The Hopscotch of the Dialogues. Reflections on a process». However, in the second part of this publication we include the report by Raquel Martínez-Gómez «The South/South cooperation in Latin America and the challenges for equality» with which we opened the debate.

Introduction

With the beginning of the XXI Century, a classic argument for development had lost validity due to the irrefutable evidence in several countries: sustainable development and the reduction of international poverty should be a «natural» result of the dynamics of globalisation, and if sustainable development did not take place, then the explaining causes would have to be sought in the deficiency of the internal policies of the countries and/or in the insufficient integration of the world's economy (Sanahuja, 2007). With the dismissal of this argument and the addition of the criticism of the donor countries on aid effectiveness, a series of changes were set off involving the donors, the partner countries, international organisations and financial institutions in broad commitments to improve the world's economic governance and strengthen the coordination mechanisms of the donor countries. This process gave rise to the so-called «New architecture» of the aid.

The «new architecture» had to address the needs of at least three priority areas:

- Achieving the reduction of poverty, which had become the priority goal of the development agenda and the aid policies.
- Mobilising the necessary resources for the implementation of this agenda and the development of mechanisms to enable the absorption by the partner countries of the pledged flows of the new Official Development Assistance¹ (ODA).

¹ The term «aid» and «Official Development Assistance» (ODA) are employed as synonyms. The ODA is made up by concessional resources transferred between a donor and a partner in a developing country for development or humanitarian aid actions. The donors that make up the Development assistance Committee, DAC, of the OECD have established specific criteria to determine if a particular resource may be considered ODA. While CSOs may receive ODA, the ODA does not include direct resource transfers by civil society organizations or other non governmental actors. There are also developing countries that act as donors and are not DAC members, whose development assistance is not communicated to the DAC and is not computed as ODA.

- Building a coherent action frame that ended the fragmentation of the aid and at the same time oriented the development practices, improved their outcomes and established effective mechanisms, both for the monitoring of the mentioned outcomes and for greater accountability between the donors and the partner countries.

This new approach within the cooperation has originated many political and academic debates on the difficult relationship between the ODA and development. According to De la Cruz (2008b) some consider this «new architecture of aid» —defined by the association for development between the donor countries and the partner countries— as a proof of the radical transformation process in the field of cooperation. However, other sectors have chosen not to talk about transformation until the central objective of the different flows and economic dynamics connected to international cooperation is not *development*. This *development* is not an abstract concept but «an inalienable human right by virtue of which all human beings and all peoples are entitled to participate in an economic, social, cultural and political development in which all fundamental human rights and liberties can be completely fulfilled, to contribute to such development and to enjoy it (art.1)²». The right to development is the measure of the observance of all human rights, the situation in which women, men, girls and boys may make the most out of their possibilities and contribute to the evolution of society as a whole.

In this context, and given the structural limitations of the partner countries to execute a sustained

policy of economic and social development, the new architecture of aid made it vital for the donor countries, for the most part grouped in the Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD), to express their will to cooperate towards the forging of an international technical and financial effort that granted the partner countries access to several resources for the strengthening of their development policies.

The New Architecture and gender equality

The New Architecture of Aid was set out by several sectors as an opportunity to make progress in women's rights and gender equality in this context of transformation. There was a general consensus regarding the importance of gender equality and women's empowerment as one of the main development goals and strategies because of their multiplying effect in the countries. Additionally, the new action frame under whose principles aid operates also presented unique opportunities to influence national and international development policies.

However, the transforming expectations deposited in this approach have been toned down in the past few years because the political, social and economic transformation under the Beijing vision and orientations could not operate in its limited practical application. Furthermore, as the ethical foundation of development moves from the frame of social justice articulated in the United Nations Conferences of the 90s towards neo-liberal visions that consider economic growth the driving force (and sometimes the object) of development, gender equality and women's rights turn from being a privileged goal for

Source: <http://www.cso-effectiveness.org/IMG/pdf/230111-implementation-toolkit-es-web.pdf>

2 Declaration on the Right to Development, art.1. (RES 41/128, of December 4, 1986).

development to being a profitable strategy (means) that must be dealt with for overcoming poverty and contributing to the countries' development.

The truth is that the XXI Century began with a considerable gap between the formal acknowledgement of the need to advance in women's human rights as a development goal and strategy, and the true commitment and fulfilment of the governments (donors and partner countries) to incorporate them and deal with them in their development policies and practices, and, therefore, in their financing commitments.

Despite there being a general agreement on the benefits for development conveyed by gender equality and women's empowerment, the information available on the investment allocated to gender equality reveals that the quantity and quality of the resources destined thereto are altogether insufficient, both in the national budget allocations and in the ODA. According to the latest data reported through the *Gender Equality Policy Marker*³ in 2009-10, the countries of the DAC have globally only destined 2% (413 million)⁴ of their total ODA to gender equality, financing which is primarily directed to the governmental gender mechanisms.

For the women's organisation, this outlook is still more sombre. The findings of the investigation carried out by AWID since 2006 in the frame of the initiative «Where is the Money for Women's Rights»

clearly show not only that most of the annual budgets of women's organisations are too small (under US\$ 50.000), but also that the low quality of the funding directly affects their advocacy capacity and the degree of progress toward the objective targets proposed: the organisations do not have foreseeable and multi-annual financing to raise the agendas and implement their programmes; the financing is disbursed at variable times and is fragmented into small projects—they don't usually have access to program-based aid—and it is a type of funding that does not consider the institutional support and strengthening of the organisation.

The feminist and women's networks and organisations in Latin America and the Caribbean (hereinafter, the feminist organisations) are an aggravated example of the situation described and currently face a financing crisis that threatens the autonomy, sustainability and progress of the work that they have been carrying out in the region for decades.

The Hopscotch of the Consonant Dialogues

The Hopscotch of the Dialogues is immersed and moves in the context of the political and financial strains that the «new architecture of aid» is entailing for the feminist networks and organisations in Latin America and the Caribbean.

The changes in the patterns of geographical resource distribution and in the instruments for the channelling thereof, the changes in the relation and participation dynamics in the development policies connected to cooperation, imply a threat to wipe the feminist organisations out of the financing map

3 The Gender Equality Marker of the OECD is the only existing systematic means to follow the investments of the ODA in gender equality. It is a descriptive indicator which is part of the creditor reporting systems (CRS) of the donors for bilateral aid.

4 Based on information of the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD). <http://stats.oecd.org> For distribution by sector in the same year, see <http://webnet.oecd.org/dcdgraphs/gender/>

and the policy dialogue, a threat to carrying out the emancipating project contained in their agendas. It shall become imperative for the feminist networks and organisations to take their stance as an essential political actor for the development and cooperation policies in which their institutional strengthening and political and conceptual autonomy become part of the development agenda of the Region and of the cooperation support lines.

The Hopscotch of the Dialogues is the analogy we propose for the reflections contained in this document regarding the process of the Consonant Dialogues. It is the layout that provides the excuse to provide unity of purpose to the multitude of topics and interests which have been gradually plotted and weaved along the Dialogues.

Understanding the Hopscotch requires starting from its *Central Squares* (1-3), those that frame the complexity of the dialogue, pointing the dissonances that the key political processes of this architecture imply for the feminist networks and organisations. The global development agenda, its financing and the remodelling of aid management place us in the political rules of the game and at the base of the structure on which the dialogues progress.

The *Dialogue Squares* (4-5) of the Hopscotch invite us to become collaborators in the reflections, the discourse and the propositions arisen along a policy dialogue process articulated in five encounters. In them, several actors of the Development Cooperation System of the Spanish State and a representation of the feminist networks and organisations of the

entire LAC dialogued politically on development effectiveness and the project of a transforming cooperation from the agendas and interests of the feminist movements of the Region.

The *Squares for Advancement* (6-8) shall bring us reflectively closer to the contributions and lessons that the process has left us, and prompt us to take a collective leap to the open sky over potential scenarios in which to continue implementing what we have learned, strengthening ourselves along the line of our progress and putting the melting pot of political reflections and human relations that have been constructed during the Consonant Dialogues into play.

Before setting out on the Hopscotch, it shall be necessary to collect some identity signs from the Dialogues and on who the Dialogists that participated in this particular chalk layout were. What characterises the proposal and why it was necessary to dialogue are considerations that arise in this document; we have also sought to provide a common identity to the multiplicity of organisations and actors, their profiles and shades, synthesising elements which allowed us to make up two fictional «complex actors» as two single Dialogists of the proposed Hopscotch.

We trust that the structure followed shall be an adequate «container» for a content which overwhelmed us due to the endless interest elements, perspectives, proposals, reflections and concerns which have developed along the Consonant Dialogues and which it has been a challenge to try to capture with a unitary sense.

Chapter I

The Exercise of Reflection

This Chapter covers the work setting and methodology of the present reflection exercise. It seeks to frame the purpose and scope of the exercise, as well as the stance and the limitations of the reflection to adjust the reading expectations of the document.

I.1. Objective and scope of the reflection

This document has the purpose of reflecting on the initiative and the process of the Consonant Dialogues (CD) as a platform for the dialogue on policies between the International Development Cooperation of the Spanish State and the feminist networks and organisations of Latin America and the Caribbean, with the purpose of contributing to the strengthening of the latter as essential actors of development in the frame promoted by the *new architecture of aid*, especially, by the Development Assistance Effectiveness Agenda.

With this end, we intend to address the reflection from two dimensions that dialogue with each other

- The CDs as part of a political strategy of the feminist networks and organisations in Latin America and the Caribbean (LAC) to politicise the institutional strengthening, the conceptual and political autonomy of the movements and the financing of their agendas as constituent elements of effective development.

- The CDs as a driving force process for the definition of a regional agenda in the frame of the Development Cooperation that incorporates the outlook of the feminist movements in LAC. On the one hand, the core elements of the discourse presented by the organisations around a *transforming cooperation* shall be outlined, and on the other, the action pacts and the proposals agreed upon around the common core political elements for the region shall be articulated.

Even when the actors of cooperation who have participated in the different CDs have been numerous, the object of this reflection leads us to extracting only two main Dialogists from the process, favouring the perspective of the feminist networks and organisations participating in the Dialogues.

The period covered by this exercise corresponds to the five Consonant Dialogues celebrated between 2008 and 2012. However, the reflective approach is 'supported' in the time and political frame of the «New Architecture of Aid», the substrate which in part originated and mobilised the CDs. For this reason, we have thought it necessary to include in this reflection a profile of those key political processes related with such *architecture* to recognise the complexity of the scopes and the topics elaborated and discussed during the CDs. In doing so, we also wanted to point out that the revelation of the dissonances and consonances for the advancement of women's rights and gender equality began with feminist organisations and women that preceded the CDs and on whose analyses, proposals and lessons the Dialogues have come to contribute.

1.2. Methodology

The methodology was designed to respond to the objectives included in section I.1. and the limitations

reflected in section I.3., favouring a useful approach for the feminist organisations, both individually and in articulation, participating in the process. We have sought to carry out an open and plural process which included several visions and experiences on the CDs and enabled the later analysis thereof along the line of the dimensions included in section I.1.

The reflection is supported on a qualitative methodology with the purpose of further understanding how the CDs were experienced by their corresponding main participants. For this we have been based on the documentary analysis of the text production stemmed from the five Consonant Dialogues and from individual interviews with women jointly identified with the AFM and actors of the SC that met at least one of the following criteria: i) that had participated in a minimum of two CDs to incorporate a process vision and/or; ii) that had been involved in the organisation of some of the CDs.

Additionally, the documentary analysis of the documentation detailed in the Bibliography, the analysis of the Reports and Declarations of the CDs and the performance of 24 semi-structured interviews to representative people of the process was undertaken. The collection of experiences, impressions, suggestions, criticism and concerns revealed in the process constitutes the raw material which has given shape to the present document.

Having the textual production of the CDs as its unit of study, this reflection proposal is supported on the analysis of the discourses to identify functional «core discursive elements» for grouping the contents referred to the same phenomena and directing a first conceptualisation of the empirical material analyzed.

The choice of leading a reflection exercise has been backed by its versatility, since it makes it possible for us to:

- Interpret the experience and the empirical material with the object of arriving at new perceptions on what has occurred and at agreements on possible actions.
- Identify restrictions or limitations, possibilities and strengths, current or potential, and detect and explain the problems, their importance, magnitude and urgency.
- Link the reflection to the collective learning.

The reflection exercise has been developed around four fundamental questions:

- Why did it happen? To answer the question of which context and what reasons of the actors promoting the initiative originated the Consonant Dialogues.
- What happened? To interpret the experience in the sense of its usefulness for the feminist organisations and networks participating in the initiative.
- What have we learned? To value the wealth of the process and the challenges it brought along.
- What can we do now? To draw up prospective scenarios on the basis of what we have achieved, what we have learned and the new challenges of the present context.

In this reflection we have tried to favour the voices and opinions of the interviewed women and of the women who participated in the CDs and whose statements were reflected in the Reports of the several Dialogues. Therefore, there is a generalised use of the *verbatim* in all the sections directly related to the development of the CDs.

Finally, the document's arrangement is supported on the layout of a Hopscotch that draws up the

conventional symbol of «woman». This layout is the structure-excuse of the document's content organisation to transform the fragmented and polyphonic information of the different sources into a possible structured and significant meaning for those who participated in the CDs and for those who wish to access their proposal for the first time.

We have not tried to describe or reconstruct the events or the encounters themselves, but to organise the several elements that convened during the process to ease their understanding. Thus, the progress along the squares of this Hopscotch of the Dialogues shall account for the complexity and the edges of the so-called *new architecture of aid* and the emphases of the reflections generated during the process of the Dialogues. Additionally, this layout offers the possibility of a linear reading, but it also affords the fragmentary and active reading of those who access the Consonant Dialogues from the global scenario in which they are framed or from the specific scenario to which they applied.

1.3. Limitations of the exercise

The mission of this work was the systematisation of the five Consonant Dialogues celebrated between the years 2008 and 2012 with the aim of drawing a balance of what had been constructed as well as transmitting and sharing the experience with other actors within and without the Development Cooperation.

One of the most outstanding limitations for the performance of this task was the impossibility to generate collective reflection opportunities on the experiences, visions and understandings of the process of the CDs. The geographic spread, the

limited economic resources and the coexistence of several and intense work agendas in the execution time of this mission have hindered the construction of collective meaning from the process. Faced with this limitation, we chose a construction of meaning through *aggregation of individual meanings*, a typology which does not possess the wealth or depth of the former type of construction.

The other obstacle in carrying out the assignment was the limited information available. For the preparation of this material we have relied on the Reports of the several Dialogues —except for the Report of the CDs in Guatemala⁵— consisting in the transcription of the dissertations and the telegraphic conclusions of the «thematic dialogues» of three of the five CDs. There were no available materials that collected the rich debates and contributions of the participants of the open or assembly forums or of the thematic dialogue groups. Likewise, other than those included

in the reports and statements, the reflections and specific experiences of the organisations participating in the CDs regarding the effects of the effectiveness agenda on their action or of the reflections and recommendations around the cooperation policy and practices of the SC could not be recovered either.

After analyzing the ownership degree of the systematisation process and the limitations for the collective reconstruction and reflection on the history of the Dialogues, the work team agreed with the actors promoting the initiative to perform a reflection exercise that could confront the identified limitations and which, in parallel, based on the individual inputs, could contribute to the production of knowledge on the critical analysis of the current international development cooperation which has been raised from the Consonant Dialogues and the emphases of the work agenda which started to be raised with the Consonant Dialogues.

5 The lack of documentation from the Consonant Dialogue in Central America (Antigua, 2010) has been especially difficult to resolve for the realization of this exercise and has been one of the main limitations affecting the final format of this work.

Chapter II

The Hopscotch of the Consonant Dialogues

The chapter reflects the reasons and notions that motivated the Consonant Dialogues rooted in the impacts of the «new architecture of Aid» on the feminist networks and organisations in LAC. The intentions and assumptions of the Dialogists for which they felt it necessary to become involved in this initiative and which throw light on the specific bases on which the Dialogues were constructed are addressed.

Finally, this chapter shall point out some of the identity signs that have characterised the Consonant Dialogues as a proposal and a process.

II.1. What prompted the birth of the Consonant Dialogues?

THE REASON FROM THE CONTEXT PERSPECTIVE

The Global Development Agenda and the Architecture of Aid associated to the progress of this Agenda entailed important changes on the pattern of geographic distribution of the aid, on the financing modalities and instruments and on the relationship dynamics among the different actors of cooperation.

On the one hand, this Global Development Agenda focused on the reduction of poverty in the narrow frame of the MDGs⁶—understood as people living on less than one dollar— was concentrating most of the resources in Sub-Saharan Africa and Asia. Latin America, where most of the countries are classified

⁶ MDG 1/ Indicator 1.1.: Proportion of the population living on less than 1 dollar PPP (purchasing power parity) a day.

in the group of middle income countries (MICs), was seeing the Official Development Assistance (ODA) destined to the countries of the region being exponentially reduced in record time. «It would appear that we women only have the right to have rights, to be supported when we are poor... it is a significant regression... This emphasis on the MDGs generates important contradictions because it reduces and blocks the access of middle class women to the resources and places us as unsupportive of women with fewer resources⁷».

Additionally, the narrow interpretation of the principles established in the Paris Declaration (2005), mainly the principle of *ownership*, implies that both the funding and the political interlocution on development are centralised almost exclusively in the governments. This interpretative short-sightedness minimised the role of the organised civil society in the discussions regarding policies on the national development processes, further hindering direct access to the already scarce funds allocated to the Region. Now there would be «greater state control of the cooperation funds that reach the civil society, an interference that is supported by ownership and alignment. Besides, there is strong pressure to link the financing of the organisations of the civil society with governmental institutions, with the State⁸». «Cooperation forces negotiation with a government we do not consider legitimate (for example, Honduras, 2010 or Paraguay today). The realities in the application field of principles centred in the support to governmental programmes present significant dissonances for the civil society, and more so for women and feminist organisations⁹». «When governments are prioritised, the civil society is weakened, the social and feminist movements are weakened, the entire democratic process is

weakened, our perception of ourselves as political subjects is weakened¹⁰».

This occurred when there was a greater advocacy capacity in the Region by the fundamentalisms in the power bodies of the state and with the boom of a neo-liberal political economy which left gender justice out of the agenda of the governments, when other kinds of negotiations and alliances (economic, ideological) entered the scene. «The funds are far more restricted and this generates concern because many organisations may eventually disappear, the level of influence of the civil society may diminish... and this is highly disturbing in the face of fundamentalisms. The fundamentalist groups have their own resources in comparison with our groups which are the poorest¹¹».

The organisations were strongly affected by these new terms of the cooperation, partly because of their high degree of financial dependence on international cooperation, «the withdrawal of the cooperation is causing demobilisation of the movement, discouragement and collapse of the organisations¹²». At a micro level, the impact of resources is a very sensitive matter here, and this shall have its far more serious consequences in many organisations of LAC... especially those of popular and local nature whose members can barely undertake an active battle for the defence and promotion of women's rights if other kinds of resources (communications, materials) are not covered¹³».

Vulnerable to this situation, they confront a major financing crisis that threatens the sustainability of their work and of their own structure. However, and despite its harmful effects, the international

7 Tita Torres, IICD.

8 Sergia Galván, IICD.

9 Lilián Celberti, interview.

10 Paula del Cid, III CD.

11 Alma Chacón, interview.

12 Alma Chacón, interview.

13 Morena Herrera, interview.

cooperation policies had a marginal importance within the organisations which had remained absent from the global debate and advocacy processes of the Aid Effectiveness Agenda. This situation had to be reversed. «The aid effectiveness agenda had a marginal importance for the organisations... despite having been invited, we did not participate in the construction of the processes, not even in Accra... We had to build bridges... try to articulate a process. We hadn't participated, but we should... sometimes the objectives of the effectiveness agenda were detrimental to the strengthening of the women's organisations and of their autonomous voice¹⁴».

Spain, through the Spanish Cooperation (SC), because of historical —but especially political and economic— bonds, was the first donor country of the Region. In those years Latin America was the favoured region, concentrating 37.5% of its total gross ODA¹⁵ (1,550.1 million euros). In the same line, Latin America was also privileged by the SC which destined 66.45% of its bilateral ODA to MICs (57.79% to lower middle income countries and 8.66% to upper middle income countries).

On the other hand, in view of the information reported by the gender marker of the DAC, 6.85% of Spain's total gross bilateral ODA was principally addressed at gender equality, women's empowerment and/or the reduction of gender-based discrimination. This percentage increased to 24% when dealing with the significance and focus of the issues in initiatives by other sectors. From this percentage, 59.43% was concentrated mainly in Latin America, followed by Africa (28.15%) and, to a lower extent, Asia (12.42%). «The CDs originate in a process of clear expression of

the Spanish cooperation in gender matters in a political context which clearly favoured the issues... the expansion process of the SC in gender matters in LAC occurs in a context of detracting of the aid and the commitment of the remaining donors in terms of gender, specifically in LAC¹⁶». However, this financing did not appear to support the agendas of the feminist organisations of LAC: «This cooperation, which is putting in so much money, I think, is forgetting to put money where it is the most necessary. The autonomy of the women's movement, the autonomy of ideas, must be financed¹⁷».

Coexisting with this situation, and aligned with the Global Development Agenda, the SC had committed to a process of great complexity and transformation to evolve from a government and aid policy to a policy of State and for development, with the application of the principles of the Paris Declaration (PD) in its policies and plans: promoting deep changes to increase the quality of aid; harmonising positions with other donors in the multi-lateral level from a more active and strategic stance; aligning with the development policies of the partner countries under a bilateral modality; Improving the coordination of actors and policy coherence at a national level to make its action more effective, and a long etcetera «We had the need to transmit that the SC was changing and that with it new spaces were opening up in which the feminist organisations of LAC could enter and participate... benefit from them, establish coordination opportunities... realise that Spain has always been a favourable partner for LAC... acknowledging that what was happening in the SC could be very positive for gender equality and women's rights in the Region¹⁸».

14 Lilián Celiberti, interview.

15 All the data collected correspond to the Annual Follow-up Plan for International Cooperation PACI 2008, year in which the CDs were initiated.

16 Elisa Nieto, interview.

17 Lucy Garrido, interview.

18 Nava Sanmiguel, interview.

In this transformation process of the SC, the gender issue became a priority for the Spanish development policy for the first time ever, being addressed with a cross-cutting and sectoral perspective. Facing the challenge of the new context, the Gender Strategy of the Spanish Cooperation (2007) shall seek to adapt the aid effectiveness principles as mechanisms to establish new alliances among development actors committed to gender equality, both in Spain and in the partner countries, as a way to achieve more and better results for gender equality and make progress toward

the empowerment and the fulfilment of the rights of women. However, «we had always feared that the matter of effectiveness could remain in the hands of governments and that the women's organisations were not aware that there was a change of paradigm in development that truly affected them¹⁹». «We wanted to hold a political dialogue on what the effectiveness agenda meant and also to learn of the threats and possibilities of effectiveness²⁰».

There was the conviction in some sectors and actors of the SC on the potentialities of the PD for joining efforts to favour a new way of getting to know each other among the actors committed to equality and to join capacities among the organisations, a new feminist alliance, an association for development in gender matters as well. «It is an agenda that may empower if we are prepared to interlocute on these matters²¹».

Additionally, Latin America and the Caribbean was a priority of the foreign policy of Spain. Since 2005, Spain had made special efforts to strengthen a dialogue with the Region and revitalise the

relationships which had been at a standstill in previous years. «When we started the CDs it was on the basis of a bilateral relationship of the Encounters of Ibero American Women Leaders, Supported by the Fundación Carolina, and all the emphasis placed by the Spanish Government in the Ibero-American Encounters during the period of president Zapatero. The relationship frame in a political scenario in which Spain wished to privilege LAC already existed. The CDs are positioned in that dialogue centred in Latin America²²».

THE REASON FROM THE DIALOGISTS' PERSPECTIVE

Feminist Networks and Organisations of Latin America and the Caribbean

From the described scenario, the feminist networks and organisations of LAC had intended to generate political pacts with different actors in order to strengthen the autonomy of the organisations and their agendas in the face of a clearly adverse context for the movements. «Beyond the objectives set forth in the documents, the CDs had a very clear political objective for the AFM: to strengthen the feminist movement's agenda through establishing political pacts with other actors; among them was the Development Cooperation²³».

Among the actors of the cooperation, the SC was a donor who supported the feminist contents and proposals: «The agenda of the LAC feminists was reflected in the discourses of the SC more than in any other cooperation... there was more affinity with the Spanish feminists and the feminists in the SC... a communication channel was opened²⁴». «As Latin American feminist

¹⁹ Nava Sanmiguel, interview.

²⁰ Juana Bengoa, interview.

²¹ Juana Bengoa, interview.

²² Lilián Celiberti, interview.

²³ Cecilia Olea, interview.

²⁴ Ana Cristina González, interview.

women we wanted to converse with other feminists in the government of Spain to explore and analyze ways to invest in that relationship... The objective was to talk directly with the SC²⁵».

The CDs were going to provide a first meeting opportunity for the different actors of the SC system to promote a more direct exchange that would lead to the mobilisation of resources for the strengthening of the feminist organisations and their agendas within a wider political vision that sought for larger and better communication bases with other actors.

«It's not about resources. But it is about resources. Resources are not only money, resources are sometimes ideas, and of these, we Latin American feminists produce a great deal. These resources we have, we are lacking the others... But we want more; it's not just a matter of financing²⁶».

«Consolidating the covenants... we need to make progress in the design of strategies that enable us to strengthen and sustain the Feminist Agenda in this new context of Development Cooperation after or during the crisis...²⁷».

The networks wanted to get to know the SC and the transformation process it was undergoing, to know what opportunity windows would open to the feminist organisation in their political, planning processes, in the mechanisms and instruments it was promoting. This information might help to make the agendas of the organisations viable at their different levels and scenarios of influence and implementation, information that had to be democratised among the networks of the entire Region so that it reached the greatest possible number of organisations: «We had to know the people. We didn't know anyone at the SC...

we wanted to democratise the information that neither you nor we had. It had to be put on the table (the Basque cooperation, the Catalanian cooperation, the funds, etc.) to discuss on how the SC could increasingly finance the feminist agenda²⁸».

«Getting to know the SC» required a «dialogue» among equals; the networks could not be mere information receptacles, in which a verticality of the relationship could be established. Only the horizontal dialogue between equals as partner actors for development could enable the policy dialogue and the covenant generation.

«We needed to meet, but we had to talk in a more horizontal manner, to be recognised as a fundamental part of the dialogue... the deal in which one country agrees with another and the civil society doesn't exist had to end²⁹».

«The coordinates with development were different... it was essential to establish a relationship with that cooperation which was more and more elusive and set up a dialogue of peers and begin to influence the decisions³⁰».

Apart from forging a bilateral relationship of political trust with the SC, at a global level, the CDs originate from the need to transfer the complexity of the Aid Effectiveness Agenda, its impacts and the changes in the financing dynamics and relationships it brought along to the networks and organisations of LAC. «The reflection on which the cooperation dynamics were at a global level which were affecting the survival and the work plans of the organisations of Latin America and the Caribbean had to be introduced in the feminist movement. We had to contribute to the reflection process on what was affecting its action³¹».

25 Lilián Celiberti, interview.

26 Lucy Garrido in ICD.

27 Ana Cristina González, interview.

28 Lucy Garrido, interview.

29 Lucy Garrido, interview.

30 Gina Vargas, interview.

31 Gina Vargas, interview.

We were not looking for a mechanical transfer of the Effectiveness Agenda but a political translation that makes it possible to learn its practical usefulness for the feminist organisations of the Region, so that they can manoeuvre around the new terms of the cooperation. This translation would help in the reflection on the challenges and opportunities of the Agenda in the different national contexts and provide guidelines on how to face the obstacles, expand the possibilities and develop adaptation strategies to the new international context of which the feminist organisation were oblivious for the most part.

«Making the Latin American feminists appropriate an agenda—to criticise it, to change it—having them become involved in a discussion that has to do with cooperation, with development and with democracy³²».

«We needed to debate about cooperation within the feminist networks of LAC... to open discussion opportunities on questions about what cooperation is and how it pervades the organisations, how we can influence such cooperation, how we can take the feminist issues to the cooperation, which the feminist issues in the cooperation are and how the issues of the feminist agenda relate with such cooperation³³».

«It was important to take part in the debate on the new terms of the Development Cooperation, but also to create a space in which to express from political assumptions to technical problems concerning cooperation, without a debate on a particular funding being involved... It was a political debate with cooperation... with the aim of political guidelines³⁴».

³² Lucy Garrido, interview

³³ Ana Cristina González, interview

³⁴ Cecilia Olea, interview

A final objective was part of the CD initiative. Among the promoters of the Dialogues there was a strong conviction regarding the potential for change brought about by optimising the links among the several feminist organisations of LAC to build regional and global alliances and strategies which include the strengthening of the feminist movements and their agendas. The CDs were intended to promote the construction of a joint agenda among the feminist networks and organisations to render the principles of *aid effectiveness* functional at a bilateral and global level, to generate «more and better development results in the scope of gender equality and women's rights³⁵».

Because «the issue of financing generally blurs everything else³⁶», it was important for the networks to clarify that what they «privileged was a political agenda for strengthening the autonomy of the feminist movements and agendas which, logically, required resources for their implementation³⁷». The rationale of the CDs goes beyond the funds for a project or an initiative; it involves the construction of a political agenda for the feminist movements of the Region from which to debate with the Cooperation in the same terms.

«Establishing a common feminist agenda on the issues of gender and aid effectiveness among the feminist organisations of LAC facing the global processes to influence the Agenda... an agenda that expands and impacts on the PD..., but also points of agreement on funding... to impact the strengthening of the gender perspective and the institutionalism of the SC in the region... more effectively

³⁵ General objective in all the CDs

³⁶ Lucy Garrido, interview

³⁷ Ana Cristina González, interview

supporting the rights of women, for gender equality to become a true priority in the countries of the region³⁸».

Development Cooperation of the Spanish State

In the context which gave rise to the Consonant Dialogues, «Spain had special strength and leadership in gender policies, in cooperation and in gender and development in the European Union... besides, it has made a strong commitment in the process of the effectiveness agenda to women's rights... highlighting the role of civil society as an absolutely indisputable actor of development... it believes in the essential role of women as development agents and guarantors of democracy... in the face of donor withdrawal from LAC, the SC already showed alertness and sensitivity³⁹».

The Consonant Dialogues were initiated at a time of deep transformation of the cooperation policy and practices of the SC. In this change process, gender equality became a true priority, and a qualitative leap was taken in the political and financial commitment to the issue. The SC wanted to communicate the major positive changes it was undertaking to the feminist organisations and networks of Latin America and the Caribbean. In this context, the SC wanted to «transmit that it is opening spaces and that they could enter, participate, benefit from these spaces, establish coordination opportunities... become acquainted with what was happening in Spain and the Spanish cooperation, because Spain has always been a favourable partner in LAC... it could mean greater resources, lines of political possibilities and support to promote the feminist agenda in the region⁴⁰». The situation of the SC brought about

several possibilities for the women's organisations in Latin America, including financing but not limited exclusively to it. «Although we hadn't seen it in 20 years, there was then the possibility of building a feminist policy within the cooperation... this could bring opportunities, not only for resources, but for political stance, feminist agreements could happen⁴¹».

Additionally, the presence of the different SC actors, their agendas and priorities in issues of gender equality and an approach to the governance system of the Development Cooperation of the Spanish State were part of the changes and of the diagnose on the possibilities and windows of opportunity for the organisations.

At a global level, the SC understood that the transfer of information and guidelines on the Effectiveness Agenda, of its threats and possibilities is an essential element whose political understanding may be crucial in the strengthening of the feminist organisations of the Region in the new context of aid.

«The Effectiveness Agenda had to be transmitted to Latin America because it affected the Region especially, and above all, the organisations... this Agenda radically transformed cooperation and the women's organisations had to become acquainted with it and decide how to build their participation in this process⁴²».

«We had always feared that the matter of effectiveness could remain in the hands of governments... there was a change of paradigm in development and the civil society of the partner countries had to know this. More so in LAC... the women's organisations were already affected by the change of guidelines in cooperation, but in many cases they didn't know it... offices were being closed, there were

38 ICD, Objectives in the agenda.

39 Elisa Nieto, interview.

40 Nava San Miguel, interview.

41 Nava San Miguel, interview.

42 Nava San Miguel, interview.

no funds... It was important that a space for transference of the information and of the aid effectiveness agenda were generated in LAC⁴³. «It was necessary for LAC, for the feminist organisations to become a part of the global aid effectiveness agenda⁴⁴».

The SC wished to contribute to that the feminist organisations of LAC became acquainted with the new terms of the Development Cooperation and participated as a region in the multilateral scenario for advocacy in aid effectiveness. The region was practically absent from the political processes and debates of this agenda, even when it affected the survival of several organisations. The concerns and interests of the movements on Development Cooperation were not included in the governments' agendas and their specificities were not contemplated in the representations of the global networks.

«Since 2005, with the linkage of SC to GENDERNET, the risks for women's and feminist organisations of the new terms of the development assistance have become evident... Among the organisations that participated without voice or vote were the global networks... the LAC representation was missing... It was necessary for the women's organisations to acquire the maximum information on the effectiveness process that was changing the paradigm of cooperation and that such information enabled them to participate in the spaces on their own behalf, not through the global networks⁴⁵».

«The global networks may articulate, but they cannot represent or substitute the regional expressions⁴⁶».

It was also important to stop having a eurocentric vision on the Effectiveness Agenda. «Latin America

must not fall out of the agenda... they are global actors of global change that we need to count on⁴⁷».

With the Consonant Dialogues, the SC wanted to listen to what the feminist networks and organisations of LAC had to say, their reflections on cooperation policies and, particularly, on how the SC could improve its work in the partner countries for the achievement of results surrounding gender equality. «In the vision of establishing a dialogue... the SC had to listen to the feminist organisations — a way of making aid effectiveness— listen to them over and over... and establish a more horizontal dialogue to improve the effectiveness and the actions of our cooperation as well⁴⁸».

«It was a dialogue among social movements and groups, also very determined regarding political dialogue in their own countries... and of them with the SC. It was a way of making the effectiveness agenda especially on the issue of democratic ownership... let us fulfil the notion that you harmonise, you align and then transparency and groundwork and results follow... This is what we wanted to make true from the start... The organisations that I met at the CDs were organisations that dealt directly with their own governments, the SC did not want to change this or interfere with the governments... They were the ones who negotiated with their own governments, we with ours and on the European subject through WIDE. It was well thought... I thought it was a true and highly wilful expression, but well constructed regarding what the gender strategy, the GEDEA network, CNGDOE wanted... without substitutions, only articulations⁴⁹».

The CDs could further a mechanism to facilitate alliances among feminists, encourage an association for development in gender matters, to move forward

⁴³ Nava San Miguel, interview.

⁴⁴ Nava San Miguel, interview.

⁴⁵ Nava San Miguel, interview.

⁴⁶ Juana Bengoa, interview

⁴⁷ Nava San Miguel, interview.

⁴⁸ Nava San Miguel, interview.

⁴⁹ Juana Bengoa, interview

effectively in greater equality in the developing countries. The application of the Gender Strategy of the SC and in the GEDEA approach (Gender and Development and aid effectiveness) «required the establishment of a dialogue with the movement⁵⁰» as a strategy for effectively contributing, in turn, to the alignment, democratic ownership and mutual responsibility over the gender policies in the partner countries.

II.2. What are the Consonant Dialogues? Characterisation

The Consonant Dialogues are in themselves a «singular» and original proposal in the sphere of the International Development Cooperation.

It is singular that a dialogue on policies is produced among representatives of the government of a donor country and the organised civil society of the partner countries, and, more singular yet, if it is held with a representation of the feminist organisations of an entire Region to debate on issues related with gender equality and the empowerment of women without any type of financing involved⁵¹.

The CDs are an unusual initiative because the Spanish Cooperation, a mainly bilateral cooperation of a donor country that speaks almost exclusively with the governments of the partner countries, and the feminist networks of the region, that question the colonialist tinted policies and resist the governmental

cooperation agents, hold a dialogue sustained in time to reflect and debate on the policies and practices of the cooperation.

However, the most *singular* aspect of this initiative is that the feminist networks and organisations themselves are the ones that directly summon a donor country (in this case, Spain) to a dialogue on policies to deal with matters of cooperation and effectiveness for development from the perspective of the agendas and the interests of the feminist movements. «In the history of cooperation, no matter how much we have advanced on the matter of the dialogue from partner to partner, the dialogue had been mainly understood to take place with national actors or with other governments... but this was another story... this was a discussion among peers under the initiative of the social organisations of other countries on a significant issue for the Spanish government and public policies⁵²».

This shift in the rationale for the dialogue of policies constitutes an innovating element both in the scenario of Development Cooperation and in the advocacy strategies of the feminist organisations towards the donors: in the Consonant Dialogues, the invitation to the policy dialogue is made from the feminist networks and organisations; it is they who open the dialogue space to pervade the cooperation policy of a donor and build political pacts, the agendas, interests and challenges of the movements, and not the other way around.

It is a space built from feminism with a regional commitment to politically debating and discussing feminist issues on cooperation, for feminism and the cooperation to discuss the elements that condition the progress of gender equality in the region and on

⁵⁰ Nava San Miguel, interview

⁵¹ The Latin American and Caribbean feminist networks were not direct counterparts —beneficiaries of ODA— of the Spanish Cooperation.

⁵² Elena Montobbio, interview.

the necessary autonomy and independence of the feminist organisations and networks connected with this progress.

This process has been sustained in time since the year 2008 for the dialogue of policies among the feminist organisations of LAC and between these and the SC, even if the dialogue expanded to a lesser extent to other key actors for the movement in the region, such as some UN agencies (UN Women, ECLAC, UNFPA, UNDP). Another outstanding element is the inclusion in the matters open to dialogue of the possible role and actions that these actors may play to strengthen the agendas of the movements and on the need to preserve the strategic and differentiated roles of the feminist organisations with respect to other development actors in any cooperation policy.

In approaching aid effectiveness, the CDs have addressed the serious problem of the reduction of political spaces for the civil society, especially for the feminist movements. Their coordination, articulation and dialogue proposal has been aimed at promoting a partnership for development on gender issues and reinforcing the alignment of the different actors of the SC with the agendas defined by the Latin American and Caribbean feminist associations (at a regional and sub-regional level) with the purpose of incorporating other partners as well (United Nations, Gendernet, other bilateral partnerships) in this partnership.

It is a space which is aware of the importance of information democratisation among the organisations, for which reason it has committed to working with the regional and national networks in the utmost possible diversity, and to holding sub-regional Dialogues to deal with the specificities of the feminist movements in the Andean, Southern Cone, Caribbean and Central American zones. As part of the importance of information democratisation, the proposal of the

sub-regional dialogues also contemplated the national replica of the Consonant Dialogues with those organisations, whether they belonged to the networks or not, which were interested in what was discussed in the Dialogues.

THE ENCOUNTERS

The Consonant Dialogues are an initiative promoted by the Marcosur Feminist Articulation (AFM) since 2008 to advocate for the debate and construction of an agenda on Development Cooperation that incorporates the vision of the women and the feminist movements of Latin America and the Caribbean.

The political aim is to strengthen the feminist movements and agendas of the Region in the context of the new Development Cooperation policies. Under this purpose, political pacts that result in the elements of an agenda under construction that contribute to strengthening and guaranteeing the independence and autonomy of the organisations shall be generated and consolidated. The self-determination, agency and independence of the feminist organisations in defining their policy and implementing it in the public political setting are non-negotiable requisites if they are to be relied on as vital actors to contribute to effectiveness for development within a democratic and human rights context.

Repositioning themselves and reasserting their role as relevant actors for cooperation policies would attain the politicisation of the financing of feminist networks and organisations in LAC and their entry in the specific agenda of the actors of cooperation.

But the development of this rationale began with more specific objectives in the ICDs: «placing the effectiveness agenda in the region and making it possible

for the organisations to participate more actively in the debates on efficacies towards Accra and towards Busan, and, thus, the mutual acquaintance between the SC and the feminist and women's organisations with political and funding purposes».

The history of the Consonant Dialogues began in Montevideo⁵³ in the year 2008. Under the name «*Feminist Networks of Latin America and the Caribbean and Spanish Cooperation System: The Rights of Women and the instruments for development assistance*» they were aimed at «obtaining greater financing for the feminist agenda and organisations and the democratisation among the feminist organisations of the entire region of such information necessary to make the feminist agenda financially viable at its different levels and scenarios of advocacy and implementation⁵⁴».

The SC shared the importance of ensuring the material base of the organisations as an indispensable requisite for their institutional strength and conceptual, political and action autonomy. «One of the aims of the CDs was financing. The need for resources was present... in order to materialise financing for gender equality in the Region; Latin America could not run out of resources. The establishment of alliances among the networks, the different actors of the SC and the Spanish NGDO was in fact an issue of financing... but not only that.. There was much more... Financing has been present from day one... since the first CDs we sought a representation of actors thinking about access to financing for the women's organisations⁵⁵».

This first CD intended to open the networks to a space of reflection on Development cooperation

linked to the Aid Effectiveness Agenda and to debate politically on its effects, risks and opportunities from the experience and the vision of the feminist organisations. «From this space, the ICDs expected to approach the establishment of a common agenda which enabled us to identify the interests and purposes common to the region, as well as to understand the dynamics of the Development Cooperation derived from the PD and to establish guidelines regarding aid effectiveness and what this meant in terms of women's rights and democratic ownership for the feminist movement».

This first Dialogue also materialised an on site association of development actors in gender matters which provided robustness to the initiative. On the one hand, the feminist networks and organisations of the Caribbean and Latin American region mobilised through the AFM, the National Women's Institute and the Ministry of Social Development of Uruguay, that funded the meeting through the Spain-Uruguay bilateral cooperation program, a representation of almost the entirety of the actors of the Spanish Cooperation and on the other, the National Office of UNIFEM in Uruguay and the Headquarters in New York in representation of the UN agencies. With this correlation, the process also created a level of trust and complicity which favoured the later development of the remaining sub-regional and Spain Dialogues.

A second stage of the Consonant Dialogues began in the year 2012 with the celebration of the sub-regional CDs with the purpose of democratising the information and transferring the content of the Montevideo ICDs. In this stage, the following CDs were celebrated: i) II Consonant Dialogues «*New terms of Development Assistance, Global Crisis and Gender Policies for Strengthening Democracy in LAC*», 28-30 April, 2010, Lima, Peru; ii) III Consonant Dialogues «*Democracy, Development, Diversity, Interculturality and Feminisms*» 18-22

53 I Consonant Dialogues, 18-20 June, 2008. Montevideo, Uruguay.

54 Morena Herrera, interview.

55 Nava San Miguel.

August, 2010, Antigua, Guatemala; iii) IV Consonant Dialogues «*Women's Rights and the Instruments of Development Cooperation*», 27-30 June, 2011, Santo Domingo, Dominican Republic.

Even if the objectives that gave rise to the CDs were maintained in the sub-regional approaches, it is also true that these gradually expanded as we became acquainted with the complexity of the issues and as the relationship with the SC deepened. The initial structure presented in the ICDs was kept, but the organisation, management and summons of the sub-regional CDs was decentralised to favour the ownership of the process and the development of an agenda proposal which was relevant to the summoned countries. The AFM and the SC participated in this process from a secondary level: «The CDs already had an outline and each region contributes to this outline already defined by the previous CDs, to which the sub-regional particularities were added⁵⁶».

The decentralisation of the CDs had several additional advantages to that of democratising information. On the one hand, we encouraged the participation of the people responsible for gender matters of the TCOs presenting the practical limitations of the implementations of the SC planning documents for debate, as well as promoting a more direct exchange thereof with the feminist organisations. On the other hand, decentralising the CDs made it possible for us to contribute to the efforts of the organisations to strengthen their sub-regional articulation, an objective which had been weakened due to several political, economic or geopolitical motives (Central America and the Caribbean).

«The initial objective was to discuss directly with the SC. This objective was maintained in the different dialogues, but gradually became more complex. It was maintained to the extent in which we intended to open up the dialogue with the SC in a more decentralised way every time, less from the global and strategic plans and more from the specific realities which were those that the women's organisations knew about in their relations with the TCOs of each country. Because the strategic plans were one thing and the ways in which these strategic lines were managed and articulated in the Latin American countries were another. The idea was to continue with a more down to earth, more local dialogue, so a second dimension of the dialogues began with the sub-regional encounters⁵⁷».

«The first one was «let's do it» and from there we got the financing to replicate the dialogues in Peru, Guatemala, Dominican Republic for more organisations to get to know them, so that they reached more countries, for more networks to listen and participate in the dialogue directly. We didn't want the dialogue to stay within the large networks without their reaching also a more local level, the most micro (...) This was one of the most critical and misunderstood elements. It wasn't about replicating the CDs per se, but that we wanted to reach as many organisations as possible. Therefore, the sub-regional dialogues were always conceived as a replica of the first dialogue, although they all had their own characteristics and specificities, to transfer the information, to transmit the knowledge and the information and to take the dialogue and the debate to other regions⁵⁸».

«Decentralisation also meant that many more people who thought about cooperation in a subordinate manner started to reflect on cooperation in political terms from

⁵⁶ Alma Chacón, interview.

⁵⁷ Lilián Celiberti, interview.

⁵⁸ Nava San Miguel, interview.

this space of dialogue with the cooperation that had been constructed⁵⁹».

Because of this condition of replica, it can be said that the V Consonant Dialogues «*Democracy, Feminist Agenda and Development*» celebrated in Madrid (16-18 April, 2012, Spain) corresponded to a new stage in the CDs in their aim of expanding the political pacts with other actors who favoured the agendas of the feminist movements. Their celebration was requested in the IICDs where the Declaration expressly reflected the need to «guarantee the celebration of a Consonant Dialogue in Spain among feminist organisations of Latin America and the Caribbean, feminist organisations and networks and different actors of the Development Cooperation of the Spanish State».

«The first four dialogues had the same objective... the V CDs had a different conception... they had the purpose of establishing a dialogue between Spanish feminism and development and the Latin American feminist movement... The dialogue had to take place between the feminist organisations of both sides of the ocean⁶⁰».

«The VCDs were intended to strengthen the links with the Spanish feminist movement beyond the feminists of the cooperation to reflect on the crisis of cooperation and possible strategies between Spanish and Latin American feminists⁶¹».

«It was about attempting the alliance for political construction... it was mainly about ‘what we can do together’ and a relationship between equals... a political view, no longer a relationship to ‘help’, to give. We feminists should not be thinking of N-S, but of contributing from both sides to the change in policies⁶²».

⁵⁹ Gina Vargas, interview.

⁶⁰ Nava San Miguel, interview.

⁶¹ Ana Cristina González, interview.

⁶² Tarcila Rivera, interview.

THEIR STRUCTURE

As we have mentioned in the characterisation of the initiative, it is the feminist networks, regional or sub-regional, who summon other feminist networks and cooperation actors relevant to their agendas to a space for reflection, debate and political dialogue on the Development Cooperation from the issues of the feminist agenda which are prioritised at the regional or sub-regional level.

The Dialogues are also operational scenarios designed to reach consensus on common positions—declarations—that gradually shape the agenda that materialises the political pacts among the networks and the actors of cooperation, SC and others.

The CDs represent an opportunity to exchange, rethink, mainstream and make progress on the construction of articulations with other development actors in a horizontal, respectful, proactive and transparent format that privileges dialogue as a methodology for covenant generation.

The dialogue is the methodological proposal employed to decentralise the power of the word and the listening and to favour consonances on which to establish political pacts for action. The CDs have sought to move away from the rhetorical exchanges which undermine the effectiveness of most public debates, with a format focused on providing a greater constructive exchange of opinions and proposals.

These elements are put to work under the proposal of a Matrix Structure on which the encounters were organised. This structure had «five different moments» arranged so that: i) points of agreement on which to base joint actions among the dialogists were encouraged; ii) the information was democratised among actors and organisations who were not

physically present in the CDs but who were interested in their conclusions and agreements; iii) a greater alignment of the actors with the agendas of the region's organisations was favoured. The proposition was aimed at becoming aligned with the objective of the CDs themselves, to strengthen the feminist movements and agendas.

■ Encounter among the feminist networks and organisations

Prior to the dialogue with the SC and other partner actors for development, a space of encounter is arranged for the feminist networks and organisations themselves with a triple purpose: i) to reflect on the challenges faced by the feminist agendas of the region/sub-region and agree on action priorities; ii) to politically transmit to the feminist organisations the content of the new terms of the cooperation and reflect on their impacts on the movements and their agendas; iii) to generate a common language and points of agreement from which to discuss with the actors of the cooperation and, later, advocate for the generation of alliances and/or political articulations among the networks and of these with the SC.

■ Dialogue of the feminist organisations with the SC and other actors of the cooperation

This is the space for mutual acquaintance and for the recognition of the dialogists and their political agendas. It is the space for policy dialogue summoned by the networks from which information is exchanged and joint reflection is undertaken on the state of the situation and the state of the dialogists, on the aid effectiveness agenda and the connected process affecting the objectives proposed by the Dialogues.

The consonances and the possibility of establishing an association for development in key issues for gender equality and women's rights in the region begin to be visualised in this space.

■ Thematic Dialogues

The thematic dialogues are developed on strategic axes which may be addressed regionally through the invitation to identify challenges and proposals to contribute to the joint construction of initiatives. The political axes have remained constant in all the encounters held: Sexual Rights and Reproductive Rights, Political Participation and Parity, Construction of public voices; Poverty, Wealth and Exclusion and Migration⁶³.

The conclusions and the proposals of the thematic dialogues are presented in plenary session in which they are debated with the purpose of making progress in the consensus on a certain common work agenda. In the plenary session we reflect jointly on the existing agreements and dissents on what has been presented.

■ Declaration

It is the document resulting from the CDs. The declarations have a symbolic content and value. They are non-binding declarations, but express a level of consensus which allow for the establishment of shared meanings and perspectives, and this is their outstanding value. On the other hand, the declarations are gradually becoming a tool of political

⁶³ The political axis «Migration» appears as such in the VCDs, even if it was among the concerns discussed in previous encounters.

reference and advocacy of the feminist movement, to discuss and contribute on cooperation in other spaces of dialogue and of feminist debate.

■ **Replica/national feedback of the dialogues**

There is a shared interest among the dialogists to democratise the content and the conclusions of the

CDs beyond the people physically present in the encounter. Thus, the establishment of spaces for national feedback of all the networks participating in the CDs, including the SC, to their respective audiences is set out. This component strengthens the dimensions of actor harmonisation and agenda alignment regarding the thematic priorities of the feminist organisations of the partner countries.

Chapter III

Dialogists in the Hopscotch

The Hopscotch of the Dialogues is played engaging in dialogue, and those who play are “Dialogists”. The Dialogists participate in the CDs to reflect together and reach consonances that contribute to the strengthening of the feminist networks and organisations of LAC through significant political pacts for the advancement of women’s rights and gender equality in the context of the international development cooperation. The most effective mechanism to reach an agreement is to figure out what the parties in the dialogue agree on, to get acquainted with each other and find what they have in common.

In the Hopscotch, the Development Cooperation of the Spanish state has been made known as a «complex dialogist». Beyond the SC’s most visible face, the Spanish Agency for International Development Cooperation (AECID) and the Technical Cooperation Offices (TCOs), there was the complex weave of the multiplicity of actors⁶⁴ which characterises and

enriches the SC. There are also its diverse governing, advisory and coordination bodies⁶⁵, which, with clearly defined competences and responsibilities, manage the risks of a scheme of plural cooperation which could not be as effective without the necessary emphasis on coordination, harmonisation and internal coherence of the actors.

However, within its complexity, there are shared insights and political frames of action which make it possible to treat the SC as a single Dialogist of the

⁶⁴ The General Courts, the General State Administration —among others, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and

Cooperation, the State Secretariat for International Cooperation in which the former DG POLDE and AECID would be; the decentralized cooperation —with the Autonomous Communities, Local Entities, LLEE, and municipal cooperation funds—, the NGDO, the unions, the business sector, the social economy enterprises. The universities and other social actors, communications media, human rights association, etc. The III Master Plan provides a thorough characterization of each of these actors.

⁶⁵ Inside the General State Administration (Cooperation Council and its work groups, Inter-territorial Commission; Inter-Ministry Commission) and outside of it (NGDO Coordinating Group, Cooperation and Solidarity Funds Confederation, etc.).

Hopscotch. We shall address those identity signs which are most strongly linked with the proposal of the Consonant Dialogues.

The feminist networks and organisations are also a «complex dialogist» of the Hopscotch. The feminist networks are in themselves work structures of different organisations that make it possible to articulate all kinds of resources and optimise results connected with common agendas or issues⁶⁶. The organisations that constitute them are diverse and have a multiplicity of nuances, several insights and forms of existence among them. However, there are also common expressions and agendas which allow us to define a single Dialogist for the Hopscotch and to link her to the summons and the participation in the CDs.

III.1. The Feminist Organisations

The feminist movement in Latin America and the Caribbean is not singular. Not only because of its diverse political identities and currents, but also because of the different visions, stances, strategies and discomforts resulting from the heterogeneity of the origins and the lives lived by the women. Their feminisms are also

⁶⁶ For example, the Marcosur Feminist Articulation (AFM) is a network of feminist organizations of Latin America constituted in the year 2000. The AFM is made up of national articulations —Brazilian Women's Articulation (AMB), the Paraguay Women's Coordination (CMP), the Colombia National Women's Network, the Bolivia Women's Coordinating Group and feminist organizations such as Cotidiano Mujer in Uruguay, Sos Corpo, Colectivo Leila Denis, CFEMEA, REDHE in Brasil, Flora Tristán in Perú, CDE and the Feminist communication team of Paraguay, CISCASA in Argentina, CIDEM in Bolivia, etc.— and by feminists participating from different spaces.

heterogeneous because the Latin American realities vary: the differences among the sub-regions (Andean, Southern Cone, Central American and Caribbean) are marked and the variations within each country in which local, urban/rural, ethnic, racial, class particularities, etc., are numerous.

Neither is it singular in its forms and conditions of existence or in its strategies of feminist expression. This kind of plurality shall be outlined by the agendas they undertake, by the interaction they privilege (civil society, States, political spaces, movements academy at local, national, regional or global levels) by the specific identity from which they discuss (black, lesbian, indigenous, young, etc.) or by the specific core issues they work on (human rights, violence, health, etc.) among other elements.

It is not viable to cover this heterogeneity and complexity of the feminist movements and agendas developed through countless organisations, groups, thematic and identity action networks in a few pages. For this reason we have decided to restrict the profile of Dialogist to those organisations which have contributed a form of existence linked to the rationale of interaction toward the public political sphere from the movement, in a spirit of civil society. Even within this restriction we are dealing with a «complex Dialogist» who embraces a continuum of several positions and expressions we do not pretend to disregard, however, among all of them there is a possible union link: directly or indirectly they are organisations who have taken a stance on the importance of relating/negotiating with society and the State and expanding the available spaces for doing so. From this angle, the differences would lie in the emphasis provided by the organisations to the creation of clearly feminist spaces in the civil societies, to the alliance policy they promote and to the priority set in negotiating with the States.

The restriction of this *existence rationale*⁶⁷ of the organisations regarding institutionalism may help us determine in advance the frame from which the Dialogues were carried out and the consonances reached among the Dialogists.

INSTITUTIONALISM AS A WAY OF EXISTENCE (*)

(*) *This section is based on the book *Feminisms in Latin America. Implications for politics and democracy*. Gina Vargas (2008)*

The 90s had an enormously significant effect on the dynamics of the feminist movements with the initiation of a kind of «transition» towards a new form of existence which some writers have analyzed as the process of «oengisation⁶⁸» of Latin American feminism (Sonia Álvarez, 1998.)

The neoliberal rationale had a social correlation that also affected the feminist movement⁶⁹. From a basically movementist rationale of the 80s we came to the emphasis of a more institutional rationale in

⁶⁷ Gina Vargas (2008) *Feminisms in Latin America. Implications for politics and democracy*.

⁶⁸ Term to designate a non-profit institution/organization not linked to the state machinery, involved in the area of social action, justice and development.

⁶⁹ «The space of action of the civic organizations is restricted by the transformations of both public and private matters. The economic reforms underway not only restrict the action of the state but at the same time encourage a vast movement of 'privatization of social behaviours'... In the 'consumer society', valid even for marginal sectors, individuals appreciate and calculate the time, emotional energies and financial expenses they put into public activities in a different way». Lechner (1996), taken from *América Latina Encuentros feministas énfasis y estrategias / Latin American feminist encounters focuses and strategies* (Gina Vargas, 1999).

accordance with a form of existence which was also more functional regarding the new challenges that feminism was facing in the public political field. These challenges were not few and had become evident after the recovery of democracy in the Latin American countries: the deficits, limitations and exclusions presented by the democracy installed in the countries of the Region could not be part of the setting in which the feminist emancipation project could become viable. It was necessary to undertake the task of re-establishing the theoretical and political foundations of democracy and citizenship, to expand and deepen the frames for their interpretation.

Many of our organisations that had achieved to combine movementist activism with the creation of work centres or Non-governmental Organisations (NGOs) in the eighties, began to shape themselves as feminist «institutionalism» more focused on the relation/dialogue with the State, the generation of knowledge and critical mass to impact on the public political agendas or the development of lobbying processes. In general terms it could be said that in many organisations there was more emphasis on the effectiveness of the strategies facing the state public institutions and public political spaces than on those other strategies aimed at the civil society and the women's movements. This form of existence also gave rise to a growing professionalisation of the organisations and an important increase in expert profiles inside them in fundamental issues for the feminist agendas (violence, human rights, health, democracy and citizenship, sexual and reproductive rights, etc.) that guided the discourses and advocacies in the public political space.

Several strategies were adopted in the rationale of relation with the State. While some feminist organisations and groups outlined their visibility regarding their negotiation and advocacy capacity in

the State or their capacity to implement governmental policies or programmes, other organisations privileged the relation with the statehood from their capacity of advocating in the auditing and accountability processes. There were also some feminist organisations that had committed mainly to the possibility of strengthening a feminist pole from the civil society able to raise perspectives that questioned the existing democracies and reinforce articulations and alliances with other expressions of the democratic and identity movements. Many others tried to maintain the frail balance between two or more possibilities.

Another of the emphases in the action of this form of existence of the feminist organisations would be to open up towards a rationale of interaction with the public political sphere at different levels, national and/or trans-national, modifying their ways of action and incorporating new relation/dialogue/negotiation strategies to «address, not only the problems shared by certain groups of women, but mainly to impact the mechanisms that deal with equal opportunities» (Guzmán, 1996), both in terms of resources, rights and obligations and in the definition of the society's rules. Not dismissing the micro level of the importance of democratisation at an intimate and everyday level, several feminist expressions within the feminist organisations displayed and reinforced their presence and proposal at a macro level as part of their transformation strategies and emancipation projects, which resulted in that numerous women's interests gained access to the public political, national and international sphere. With globalisation, the macro scenarios shall have a friendly version for the organisations and movements, being capable of favouring more positive and articulating dynamics in the acknowledgement of the new feminist struggles and identities.

International financing provided a large part of the resources necessary for the organisations to develop their incursion in the public political sphere for the expansion of the democratic ground, to move forward in the development of other dimensions of the women's autonomies and citizenships. This type of financing also contributed to the display of the organisations' transformation strategies in the global sphere.

The truth is that the socioeconomic context and the political atmosphere of the period had an influence on the orientation and the dynamics of this institutionalised form of existence of the organisations. Effective and efficient, they entailed unquestionable gains in the feminist movements in terms of greater capacity for proposal, professionalisation, successful incorporation of feminist approaches in the public debate and institutional agendas and, undoubtedly, in that a greater number of women were able to benefit from public policies driven by the feminist proposals and agendas.

Even if we value the progress made with the different relation strategies with the State, for this progress to have occurred it has been vital to acknowledge that the agendas of the feminist organisations are not the agendas of the governments, that the rationales of both agents arise from differing parameters and orientations and that this is where the strength and transformation capacity of the feminist agendas, defined as the practice and search for democracy, as the content of new rights, lie.

However, for some authors there is a shadow of suspicion regarding a true differentiation between these rationales when the feminist organisations also move in a rationale of institutionalism. It is thought that in moving towards this form of existence, more than a few organisations have experienced some weakening of the «certainties on what was

meant to be modified and which had accompanied the development and presence of the movement as a social and political actor in previous decades, affecting the collective dynamics of the movement and its interlocution as an autonomous social force» (Gina Vargas, 1998). Likewise, «a disproportionate shift of the feminist political action to try to influence the state policies and mechanisms... neglecting the promotion of the citizenship reinforcement processes, especially in realities in which the States painfully try to look like democracies without governing democratically⁷⁰» also weakened «... the foundation of a wider movement to strengthen it as a consistent minority and to enable it to act as critical mass and counteract the premises for its adaptation to the institutional rationale » (Guzmán, 1996).

There was another shadow of suspicion about this form of existence. Its financial dependence on international cooperation questioned the true capacity of the organisations to self-determination and the implementation of their own work agendas, the conditions on which these agendas are negotiated with the cooperation agents and the costs for social transformation entailed by acting in this frame of economic dependence.

All these shadows are connected with the autonomy of the feminist organisations against power to propose and carry out their own emancipation projects.

In all these tensions, the «autonomy» of the feminist organisations that, directly or indirectly, have privileged their strategies in the spaces of relation, dialogue and negotiation in the public political field, in national and trans-national levels, takes on a key political value. The certainty and struggle for

autonomy is an arquimedean point of support for all the feminist agendas and forms of existence, but more so for those organisations that have chosen to relate with the State as a political manoeuvre for the advancement in the effective exercise of women's citizenship and gender equality.

Only collective subjects (movement, organisations...) with a resistance and autonomy capacity for the definition of their own priorities and agendas may participate and advocate in this public political space from an emancipation rationale. The self-determination, agency, independence and a voice of their own of the organisations provide the material base and the conditions to construct their own criteria of action and choice, to make decisions and to be in a position to carry them out, «having duly confronted the dilemma of maintaining their drive and autonomy acting outside of the institutions and, at the same time, collecting the fruits of their actions interacting with the powers of the State, the governments and the wide range of powers acting in politics, society and the economy » (Gina Vargas, 2008). The legitimacy and the strategic aspect of everyday interlocution with the institutions prevail for this form of existence; however, it shall be essential to undertake it without thereby relinquishing the autonomy and freedom of action, as a permanent two way street between denunciation and proposal. Based on autonomy, feminists begin to «conceive themselves as social subjects who, questioning the different forms assumed by their subordination, aim at having their own identity, controlling and having power over their own lives, their circumstances, as well as at not being defined by others, both at a personal and political level» (Olea and Vargas)⁷¹.

70 Giulia Tamayo citada en «Feminismos en América Latina...»

71 C. Olea and V. Vargas. XII Feminist.

SOME EMPHASES IN THE DIALOGIST'S AGENDAS

(*) *This section is based on the Records of the 12 Feminist Encounter. Untie, Undress, Resume (2012)*

With the rationale of interaction with the public political sphere, the agendas of the feminist organisations began to express different emphases which anticipated a more intense interlocution with the States and the civil societies. These thematic emphases contained potentialities for reflection and action, for the definition of alternative feminist proposals that made it possible for us to link the public political aspects and the private sphere, to interrelate forms of discrimination to overcome the fragmentation of the feminist struggles, to build solid and diverse bases for new democratic contents on which to promote the generation of alliances with other democratic agents, forces and movements. Among others, some of these thematic emphases shall be: democracy and citizenship connected with the recovery of the human rights paradigm; the body as a political space with which sexual rights and reproductive rights, and the violence against women in the frame of social justice are consistent. The importance of these thematic emphases lies mainly in their being strategic scopes of a strong emancipating nature and consistent with the frameworks of the world summits and conferences of the nineties.

The organisations address these thematic emphases as areas in dispute, territories which require an urgent conceptual expansion and reassessment which shall arise, partly, from linking the public and private spheres on the margins of each of these issues. This shall not only help influence the consolidation of the progresses made in terms of equality, but expand

the content of citizen rights itself by subverting political and cultural codes that found the numerous discriminations forced on women in the existing democracies.

Democracy

The «women's issues» are major democratic political matters that concern women and men, and the «issues of democracies» at any of their levels are matters of indisputable importance for women. This relationship has been crystal clear for several feminist organisations whose members grew and developed their feminist practices in their fights against the dictatorships and for democratic recovery, and who placed the democratisation of relations in the public and private spheres as the core of the feminist contribution in Latin America.

However, it is not such a clear relationship for other actors; the democracies have been areas of dispute for the movements from the start. Even if the dictatorial experiences of the continent lead to a reevaluation of the rule of law, freedom and democracy, the democratic recovery revealed the limitations and exclusions of the liberal democratic systems, of top-down democracies which left no space for the expansion of the feminine citizenship, the explicit object of a significant number of feminist organisations. In questioning the bases and forms of operation of democratic regimes, the feminisms have pointed out that the democracies existing in the countries are far from being the democracies we women deserve for the development of our capacities and liberties.

This does not entail dismissing democracy as the impossible, but formulating our own democratic proposal, for which it is necessary to «understand that we confront a multiple, simultaneous and organised

domination system and acknowledge that political freedom is not independent of personal freedom in private life⁷². Feminisms are political movements that have women's emancipation as their political project in the frame of democracies. The slogan of the Chilean feminists in their fight against dictatorship «democracy in the country and at home» has full validity and synthesises one of the matrix strategies of the political project on this issue, expressing the political nature of the personal sphere which is also meant to be reflected in a revised and expanded concept of democracy that ends that categorical public/private separation.

Democracy, as unifying focal point of the criticism, proposal and negotiation of the feminist movement, shall also involve visualising that there are no «single subjects» or «woman in singular» but an enormous diversity of exclusions, subordinations and struggles of women, a great multiplicity of subjects that sought to confront the social, sexual and democratic arrangements existing in our society from their specific oppressions and their specific spaces. Acknowledging the conflict they entail, these confrontations are part of the permanent construction of another kind of democracy, whose deepening and radicalisation —as with citizenship— is a unifying focal point of the Latin American feminisms.

Likewise, working on this thematic emphasis shall also entail questioning the capacity of the current model to solve the problems presented by the capitalist rationale: expanding the limits of political participation, democratic parity, attacking the weakness of the present representative democracy and the reduction of the public sphere to the institutional space.

Citizenship

The basic right of citizenship is expressed as the «right to have rights» (Arendt, 1973), an expression related with who is considered a citizen and the content of citizens' rights at a certain historical moment.

Feminism has demonstrated that citizenship is not a neutral term from the gender point of view, but that its abstraction is the source of actual inequalities and multiple exclusions which make citizenship a privilege more than a right.

Feminism promotes the critical analysis of this abstraction and the principles of equality, universality and impartiality in which citizenship is enfolded. The feminist struggles in LAC have disputed the different contents and subjects within citizenship, adding this dispute to the social transformations (demand for the right to parity, sexual and reproductive rights, etc.). The thematic emphasis also provides the movement with a political language to think and act on broad questions of social membership, including human rights, against the challenges abruptly presented by the global trends: migration, indigenous claims and social marginalisation.

Citizenship shall be a process in permanent construction and expansion, an articulating principle which, in a flexible manner and contextualised before the different situations in which we place ourselves individually and collectively and before the several power relations to which we are subjected, guarantees the full recognition of women's rights from the perspective of their specificities, heterogeneities and differences. Since this construction process of women's citizenship shall be materialised in dynamics of resistance and conflict with the patriarchal order, a central requisite for citizenship shall be autonomy.

Autonomy is necessary for the development of a vigilant posture toward the government as to: how and

⁷² Marcela Lagarde cited in «Feminisms in Latin America».

what it identifies/acknowledges as the public nature of the gender needs and interests, the opportunities and spaces it establishes for the women and groups to develop their own claims, the public resources destined to address these needs and interests, etc. It is necessary to consolidate and strengthen the autonomous political action of the organisations so that they may sustain these and other roles in the State-civil society relationship.

The political importance of the body

The Latin American feminist movements are very aware that we women have a body. The body shall be one of the emphases to integrate new political visions installed both in the private and individual sphere and in the public and political space. The body shall be a referent for transformation and shall be taken as a unit of analysis and as a political space.

As a material basis and unit of analysis, the body is the first place of existence, there where we inhabit. The body shall not be an abstract generalisation, quite the contrary, it is concrete, with characteristics that make it individual and diverse, single and different. It is the visible place of inequality, there where injustice, prejudices, ignorance and socioeconomic, political and cultural disciplining impact. «When we make an abstraction of the bodies or intend to standardise them, their political dimension is being denied⁷³».

If politics concerns our lives, and life is materialised in our bodies, we may respond to the need for reconceptualising the body as the political place that incorporates and recovers all that which acknowledges the multiple political matrices that configure very

diverse experiences and different bodies. Politics concerns our lives and our bodies.

The body as a political place also entails an emancipatory frame when placing it in connection not only to the private sphere or the individual being, but also fully linked with the place, with the local, social and public space. As María Betania Ávila (2001) says, the body has become a «space endowed with citizenship» through a series of available social experiences which produce multiple articulations.

«The personal sphere is political» made it clear that our body, as a base for the tasks of biological and social reproduction and the imaginary regarding its vulnerability and dependence are closely related with a political and economic project that feeds off the caring and reproductive work of women to sustain an institutional and market structure that supports public life.

The capitalist system confiscated women's bodies for the responsibilities of social reproduction. In controlling the women's time it also controlled their bodies and effective possibilities to participate in economic, social and political life. Women's bodies generate the greatest of surplus values for the capitalist system.

Conquering the autonomy of the body represented in the field of sexual and reproductive rights shall mean the opportunity for women's emancipation through the control of their own body and the recovery of their possibility to freely choose a life project they consider dignified and valuable. The body thus recovers the articulation between the public and the private levels and, the most personal in the life of the people, is translated into a wide range of emancipating political significations in the public sphere.

73 Cecilia Olea in XIIEF.

Violence against women

The fact that violence against women has been seen almost exclusively as exercised against our bodies has prompted policies that direct actions by the states and international organisations to the sphere of personal protection in an approach which is closer to that of the woman-victim who needs protection than of the woman-subject of rights who demands responsibility against the infringement of her rights. Violence against women is not only the violation of the individual human rights, but also a matter of social justice because it is the expression of a systematic oppression exerted over a specific human group, women.

If the right to a violence-free life is dealt with in the frame of social justice and as a relevant issue in the sphere of economic, social and cultural rights, there are important comparative advantages in its treatment and in the comprehensiveness of the policies for advocacy. On the other hand, it is increasingly necessary to incorporate the expanse of this vision given the present scenario.

Even if the State is the ultimate guarantor of human rights, its weakness against the pressures and outbursts of the economic geo-strategic trans-national interests defy its response capacity to guarantee the respect for and diligent fulfilment of human rights in its territory. The precariousness of the State's responses to violence against women is added to its lack of ability and sovereignty deficit, the role the States play in the advocacy for patriarchy preservation and the fact that violence against women is not assumed as a social responsibility.

On the other hand, the globalisation phenomena have impacted, in turn, on that the agendas of violence against women have made important progress in

the sphere of international law of human rights and international criminal law, generating changes «overhead» which work as pivots for legislative and jurisprudence progresses at national scales.

Without neglecting the improvement of the specific attention to abused women, the present scenario also presents the challenge of expanding the referents to combat violence, demand responsibility beyond the State (from the true centres of power) and the necessary questioning of the foundations of the States themselves «to understand why, with so many legal tools, they respond so scarcely and so poorly to the interests and needs of women.

III.2. The Spanish State's Cooperation

()This section is based on the III Master Plan of the Spanish Cooperation 2008-2012*

The Consonant Dialogues are initiated under the wash of the II Master Plan 2005-2008 of the SC (II MP) and are developed in the validity period of the III Master Plan 2009-2012 (III MP). The Master Plans, as well as the four-year planning document of the SC for development, shall provide key foundations for the SC's participation in the Consonant Dialogues.

The citizens mobilisation and the high degree of social and parliament consensus to achieve the reduction of poverty as the goal towards which the resources of the ODA shall be directed, as well as the positioning of development cooperation policies in the centre of the Spanish foreign policy were events which originated a copernican turn in the traditional aid policy of instrumental nature which had characterised the actions of the SC until then. From an assistential perspective,

the entry ticket to the agenda of the government of the day and to the companies' interests, the intention was to address development as an endogenous process and as a right supported on democratic governability and the promotion of human rights.

This approach was reflected in the II MP, with the unanimous approval and consensus of the advisory bodies of the SC. The political and social support it received made it possible to implement a monumental reform and modernisation process in the SC to transform the international cooperation policy into a State policy for development, to introduce policy coherence among the different public administrations of the State (national, CCAA and LLEE—of Autonomous Communities and Local Entities) and to harmonise and reinforce the coordination among all the actors of the SC. This reform process was also prompted by the need to incorporate the approaches of the Aid Effectiveness Agenda and the principle of the Paris Declaration (2005) into the cooperation system.

The II MP lined up with the global Agenda for Development which inaugurated the Millennium Declaration and the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) to eradicate poverty as ultimate objective of its action; however it shall explicitly recognise its alignment with the bases for development established in the 90s. The II MP shall promote deep changes to improve the quality of the aid and, in harmony with the international commitments and approaches undertaken by the DAC, the SC shall begin to understand cooperation in terms of society, association and partnership over development.

The III MP deepens the changes initiated by moving towards a State policy for human development that shall be linked with effectiveness in development. **Effectiveness in development** shall entail an expansion of opportunities and liberties, as well as

the effective exercise of rights by men and women, regardless of whether it is the ODA or other factors that generate or contribute to this process.

The ODA shall be considered only as one of the available instruments that may contribute to *effectiveness in development*, which is a common and shared responsibility of all the actors of the SC. This responsibility shall demand the coherence of the collection of the State's public policies⁷⁴ in their foreign action (policy coherence), the coordination of all the public and private actors to direct the action towards the IADGs and the eradication of poverty, as well as contributing to a global frame of external conditions that affords the partner countries' own development, respecting and promoting, among other priorities, human rights, democratic governability and democratic and local ownership. Additionally, it is considered that the ODA may only effectively contribute to development depending on the *quality* of the association with the partner countries and agents for development.

The Mission statement of the Spanish cooperation is relevant to illustrate this scenario: *to support the development processes of the people, groups and society to achieve the full exercise of all their rights, in association with other agents (local and international), to fight against poverty in a consistent, comprehensive and effective manner, promoting the transformation of the international order and building a balanced and inclusive global governance* (III Master Plan of the Spanish Cooperation 2009-2012).

With the III MP the human being shall be the centre and leading character of development and

⁷⁴ Constructing a Public Policy for human development shall entail that all the sectoral policies of Spain actively contribute to achieving human and sustainable development in the world.

poverty the main consequence of the deprivation of opportunities for the development of capacities, of the absence of freedom of choice and of the obstacles that hinder the full performance of the human rights of all people. With this it shall adopt the **Rights Based Approach (RBA)**, perhaps one of the most characteristic traits of the development policy of the SC. The RBA shall imply that the objectives of development must be conceptualised in terms of their contribution to the full performance of the human rights of all people, men and women. The RBA also involves the political commitment of the SC with the international regulatory frame of Human Rights and for this frame to be the basis for the application of the principle of coherence in its decisions and actions.

Development shall be conceived as a process of essentially political nature, and therefore the ODA, as development itself, shall be recognised as not being «neutral», but that there exist imbalances of power, discrimination structures, different privileges and opportunities which prevent women and men from fully exercising their rights and altering the structural aspects of these imbalances. Thus, it reappraises the strategy of empowerment and the strength of the civil society's abilities for the enforceability of rights and to take part in transparent participative spaces and processes as part of the strategy to reverse these power imbalances.

It shall also acknowledge that «rights are constructed through debates and contributions in the north and the south, inspired by autonomous social movements, as is the case of women's organisations, recognising that it is these social, cultural and political debates which succeed in securing the evolution of rights and, eventually, their acknowledgement by the national and international standards and regulatory frameworks.

In line with the foregoing, the commitment to RBA is also a commitment to participative development

where the people's voice effectively impacts on decision making. Participation shall also influence the exercise of other rights and the transformation of the power relations. On the field, this participative nature of development of the RBA shall require that spaces be opened and channels generated for participation to take place and that the consolidation of association and participation structures of the development agents and groups, excluded at any territorial level, be reinforced and encouraged. Thus, the voice of most of the partner actors of development may be taken into account in the decision making that affects them and in the definition of the agenda that guide the issues to be decided upon.

Likewise, the SC is committed to the scope of **democratic governability** from the RBA. Poverty reduction and the attainment of the MDGs shall not be achieved if we do not move forward decisively in the field of democratic governability and human rights as a comprehensive part of the development process and, therefore, one of the main objectives of the development policy.

The effectiveness of a democratic governability policy requires addressing several priorities to achieve a global improvement result, among them:

- i) **Supporting the organisations of the civil society** and generating interlocution capacities for the several governments and institutions, as well as the involvement of society in the democratic development of a country, the support to the creation of accountability mechanisms, the citizens' participation in the management of budgets and the support to dialogue and policy coordination processes.
- ii) **Social and civil dialogue** as a permanent interaction channel with the social agents and civil society to address their demands, needs and

proposals. The quality of this channel shall be a quality indicator of a democratic system.

Closely connected with governability and revealing that the «technical-operational» agenda of Aid Effectiveness is highly political, the SC considers it necessary to conceive ownership as **democratic and local**, incorporating under this principle of action the partner agents and civil society. In this sense, a broad participation of the partner actors of development shall be essential in the definition of the development priorities and results sought, in a bottom-up definition which shall later be assumed in the frame of accountability and mutual responsibility.

This principle applies to each and all the actors of the **SC system with its development partners** (the counterparts whether national or local, governmental or of the civil society, the institutions, organisations, communities, etc.) because in the partner actors for development resides the ownership of the development processes and the mission of the Spanish Cooperation is to support and strengthen it.

GENDER EQUALITY IN THE COOPERATION (*)

() This section is based on the Peer Review report of the DAC/OECD of the Spanish Cooperation (2011)*

As has been mentioned, with the II MP the development cooperation policy of the Spanish State initiated an important stage of change which also meant a qualitative leap in the priority granted to gender equality in the system and the policy of the SC.

This progress has been recently recognised by the DAC, stating that «gender and development is the

clearest identity sign of the SC and one of its main comparative advantages⁷⁵. Since 2005 there has been a constant political and financial commitment of the SC to gender equality. Since this year, the MP have defined gender equity as a previous condition for sustainable development as a horizontal priority connected to mainstreaming and institutionalism, as a specific sector connected to the empowerment strategy and as an operational principle that guides the SC's policy and action.

The SC has additionally equipped itself with a body of doctrine and strategic frameworks⁷⁶ which guide the action of the SC actors, influencing the coordination of actors and the effectiveness of its action. It has also made progress in the institutionalisation of gender inside the AECID with the creation of the Department of Sector and Gender, as well as through the generation of responsibility positions for gender programmes and projects in its technical offices in the field, with a network of 34 gender focal points, most of which are held by experts in the matter.

Additionally, the SC has developed tools to incorporate this priority in its planning, programming and action monitoring processes: (i) Guidelines to incorporate the GAD approach in the Country Association Framework⁷⁷; (ii) consistency in the ODA classification

⁷⁵ <http://reliefweb.int/sites/reliefweb.int/files/resources/49356882.pdf>

⁷⁶ The Gender Strategy (2007), Action Plan Women and Peacebuilding (2009), and a Government Action Plan for the Application of Result ion 1325 (2009), Gender and Development Sectoral Action Plan.
http://www.aecid.es/galerias/que-hacemos/descargas/AF_PAS_NARRATIVO_GENERO.pdf
<http://www.uam.es/ss/Satellite/es/1242650697916/subHomeServicio/1242650697916.htm>

⁷⁷ MAEC/AECID (2010), Guidelines for the 2010 approach mainstreaming, Madrid.

to feed the gender equality marker of the DAC; (iii) The Gedeia network as a specific instrument of the effectiveness of aid for gender equality; (iv) the creation of the Multidonor Fund for Gender Equality with UN Women; (v) the gender group of the Cooperation Council, etc. All of them are examples that prove the efforts undertaken in these years, even if, as usually happens, steps could have been taken which were not or paths could have been travelled in a different manner.

This political commitment with gender equality has been supported with important contributions to its bilateral programmes, to NGDO and to multilateral organisations, but above all covering important financial voids in issues where the rest of the donors had withdrawn despite their importance for the women's movements and agendas (middle income countries in LAC, feminist organisations, indigenous women, sexual diversity, etc.). On the other hand, Spain is the largest contributor of all the DAC members to the civil society organisations and the ministries devoted to gender⁷⁸, even when Spain's total percentage of bilateral ODA with equality matters is lower than the average of the DAC. Internally, there has been a struggle to reach the target of 15% of the bilateral assignable funds of the ODA per sector for the gender equality and reproductive health institutions, a target which is becoming distant in the present context of the SC.

⁷⁸ This corresponds to DAC CRS Sector Code 15170, «women's organizations and equality institutions».

THE GENDER STRATEGY AND ITS COMMITMENT TO THE ASSOCIATION FOR DEVELOPMENT IN GENDER MATTERS (*)

() Text based on the Gender Strategy of the SC (2007) and on the address «Gender and social cohesion in the Spanish policy for development. Progress and proposals for change» (Nava San Miguel, 2010)*

The Sectoral Gender and Development Strategy of the Spanish Cooperation is developed to further the compliance of the priorities on gender contemplated by the Master Plan 2005-2008 and the current Act 23/1998 of 7 July on International Development Cooperation. At the same time it constitutes the fundamental instrument for the implementation of the Equality Act in what concerns the Spanish development policy and for the fulfilment of the commitments undertaken by Spain in ratifying the international agreements established in the UN World Conferences⁷⁹, the regulations of the European Commission, binding on the member countries, and the guidelines and recommendations derived from the DAC-OECD for gender equality.

The Strategy takes up the Beijing Platform, as a road map, the RBA and positions the Gender and

⁷⁹ Therefore, its main referents are: The Millennium Development Goals (MDGs), endorsed in the UN Millennium Summit (2000), in compliance with the International Agenda of poverty reduction; the Beijing Declaration and Action Platform (1995), key to the change of the last decade and the Convention on the Elimination of All forms of Discrimination Against Women CEDAW (1979) because of its binding nature for the countries that ratified it and still valid almost 30 years after its coming into force. Not discrediting the fundamental repercussion other conferences such as that of Population and Development

Development (GAD) approach and the double strategy of mainstreaming and empowerment as elements of an effective proposal for reducing discrimination of women. The Strategy shall also be innovative in incorporating the operational application of the GAD giving rise to the GEDEA (GAD + Effectiveness of Aid) approach. The application of this approach requires that the principles of the Paris Declaration and of the operational proposals for the Accra Agenda for Action be valued by the SC as an opportunity to accelerate the fulfilment of results and targets around 2015, both in the MDGs and in the Beijing Platform for Action, the CEDAW, the Cairo Programme of Action, and Resolution 1325 on Women, Safety and Peace. Working from the frame of Aid Effectiveness is valued as favouring the concentration of efforts and a greater harmonisation of international actors, donors and partners in the achievement of such objectives.

The Strategy is addressed at all the actors of the Spanish Cooperation and follows several objectives: i) to be a mechanism of reference and application to promote the management of the development policies in all its instruments; ii) to be a unifying element to reinforce the coherence of policies of the different administrations, and; iii) to be a promotion instrument of the complementarity and harmonisation among all the actors of the Spanish Cooperation in the Gender and Development actions. On the other hand, the Strategy is conceived as a dissemination instrument in the international organisations in which Spain participates to promote harmonisation with donors and organisations and contribute keys for political

in El Cairo (1994), the HHRR Summit of Vienna (1993) or the Earth Summit in Rio (1992) have had in terms of gender, human rights and sexual and reproductive rights in integrating the gender approach as unavoidable to achieve sustainable development and democracy in the world. (MAEC 2007).

positioning in multilateral forums⁸⁰. The Strategy was constructed with the consensus of the cooperation agents, seeking to favour the policy coherence, the coordination and the harmonisation among them all to achieve greater aid effectiveness, avoid duplicities and approaches not aligned with gender equality.

Its general goal shall be to promote the full exercise of human rights and citizenship of the women through their empowerment in all the spheres of participation. With this aim, it proposes to reinforce concrete measures that contribute to the fulfilment of its five specific goals (SGs) connected with human rights⁸¹ in all the partner countries of the Spanish Cooperation. The Strategy also adds a sixth SG referred to the application of the principles of the Paris Declaration: *To promote and implement those principles and instruments that sponsor aid quality and effectiveness in Gender and Development issues, in accordance with the commitment acquired in the Paris Declaration in three areas: at a national Spanish level, at an international level and in partner countries and with their national and local, governmental and civil society organisations.*

⁸⁰ Among the positions defended by the SC in the international Forums we highlight the following because of their connection with the Consonant Dialogues: i) fulfilment of the women's Rights and the sexual and reproductive rights as human rights; ii) the Approach Gender and Development + Effectiveness of Aid as a way to achieve gender equality and women's empowerment to eradicate poverty; iii) reinforcing the double approach of mainstreaming and empowerment for compliance with Beijing; iv) promoting the participation of the feminist and women's organizations of the civil society in the construction of development and democracy.

⁸¹ Strategic Objectives: SO1: Women's full exercise of economic rights; SO2: Social rights of women and girls; SO3: Women's sexual and reproductive rights; SO4: Cultural rights of women and girls; SO5: Sexual and reproductive rights as human rights.

We shall focus on SG6 because of its direct connection with this opportunity and challenge point undertaken by the Strategy within the Effectiveness Agenda to promote alliances among the different actors in the different areas (Spanish Cooperation, international organisations and gender or feminist organisations of the partner countries, among other actors). The Strategy commits to the constitution of an **association for development in gender matters** that effectively favours greater gender equality in the developing countries and greater level of progress in the exercise of citizenship by the women. As mentioned earlier, the results of development are effects produced by multiple factors but, in any case, are the result of the *association for development* which, at a local, territorial or country level, is produced between the civil society and its local or national government, between these and the donor community, and within the donor community itself.

The Strategy considers that a reassessment and interpretation of the Paris Declaration in search for specific objectives for equality may favour an association (alliance) framework among actors committed to gender equality. The strategy proposes the articulation of the Declaration principles constructing a progressive alliance network that serves to transfer information from top to bottom and from bottom to top, with the purpose of empowering the Spanish organisations and actors working on gender issues, contributing information to the women's organisations of the partner countries, so that, in the short term, the gender issues are not left outside the new development agendas, the new aid modalities and the spaces in which the funds are decided and managed. It considers that joining efforts around the principles of the PD may favour a new form of becoming acquainted and join capacities among the organisations as a new feminist alliance and with an

association for development in gender issues as well. Additionally it states the importance of promptly forwarding the roles of the civil society in the current order of development cooperation.

The Strategy proposes the creation of a new **Association for Gender Equality in Development Policies** that may be progressively constructed in the Spanish Cooperation. One of the channels already proposed in the Strategy is the GEDEA Network as a space and mechanism of policy coherence articulation of the entire Spanish administration, promoting the harmonisation of actors and social cohesion among them facing the gender equality issues. However, in its final levels of construction, the GEDEA Network is also conceived as a space to contribute to the harmonisation and complementarity efforts in the territory.

In the construction of a new covenant for gender equality in the development policies, Nava San Miguel mentions, among others, the following elements:

- To develop among the different women's organisations, whether international, governmental equality mechanisms or women's and feminist organisations of the civil society, the construction of a cohesive and renewed equality and empowerment agenda.
- To promote social and institutional, political and economic cohesion to boost a new social and political paradigm for gradual changes towards a culture of equality and non discrimination in the developing countries and societies.
- To facilitate the processes with effective commitments that favour the transfer of information and knowledge, the mutual exchange of lessons among the organisations, the promotion of human and citizenship rights as social assets, seeking common points and new

ways to dilute/debate on the differences, not forsaking the construction of a feminist solidarity for development.

- To construct a collective and individual awareness of women as subjects of rights and citizenship that favours the mutual accountability, transparency in the management of resources and citizen vigilance to establish dialogues with the public powers and international organisations on the responsibility over the resources granted to the partner countries by the cooperation.

The Association for Gender Equality in the Development Policies would be the vehicle in the Effectiveness Agenda to achieve joint progress in the fight against poverty and development in equality. An essential element for successful progress in the joint action of the organisations, both international and national, shall be the mutual transfers and the exchange of information on the political conditions and the forms of financing.

Chapter IV

Moving along the Squares

The Hopscotch of the Dialogues is the analogy we propose to provide architecture of meaning to the reflection contained in this document and to weave an internal rationale of connections among political processes, dialogues, agents and agendas which take place in the CDs.

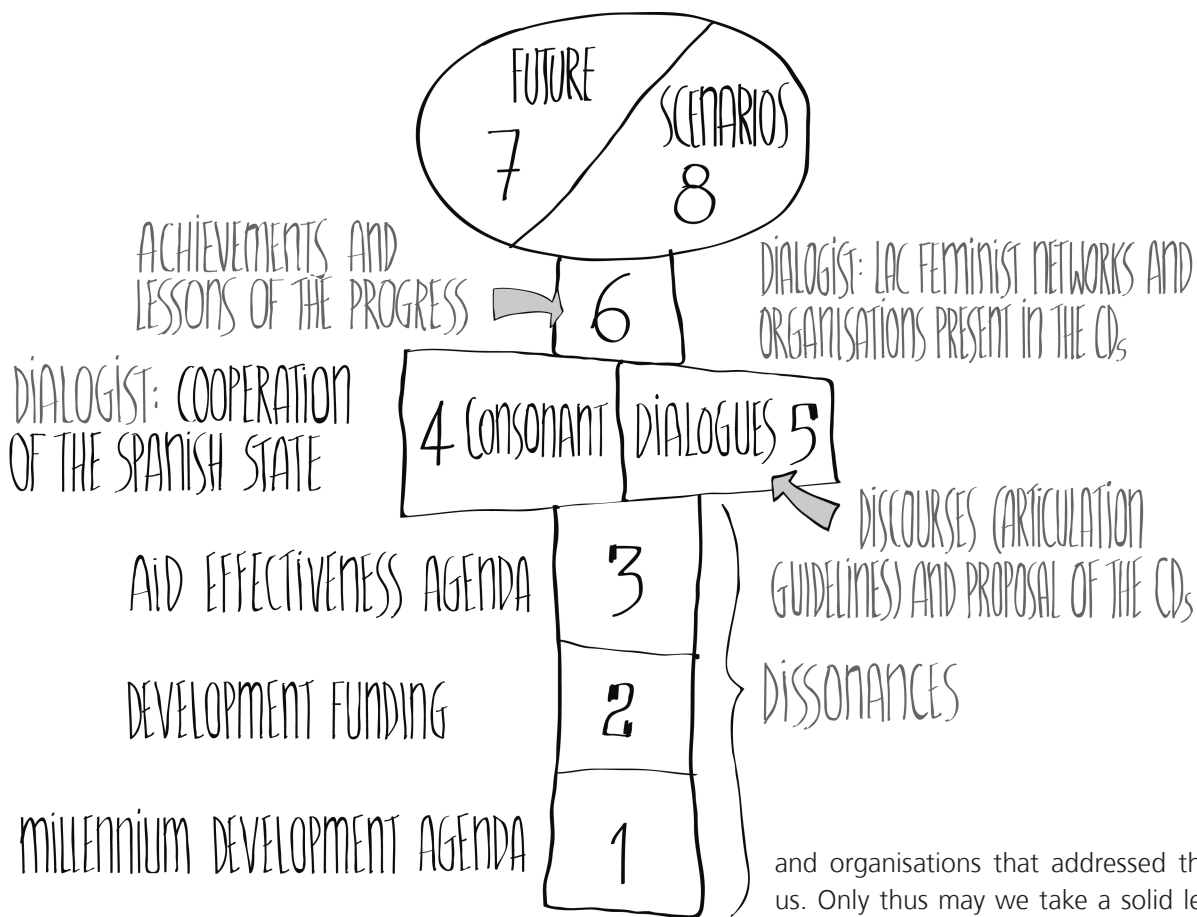
They say the Hopscotch, in its different forms and versions, reflects life itself in the game; there is always a beginning, growth, the difficulties and the ongoing progress until the achievement of a goal. This linear arrangement and apparent simplicity seems appropriate to provide substance to the melting pot of issues brought together in the CDs so that, not forsaking the complexity of the matter, we may delimit squares which, as we move along them, prepare us in a common necessary language for the coming dialogue, for the generation of covenants and articulations with other agents and for the concretion of commitments to strengthen the feminist agendas connected with development effectiveness.

Hopscotch is a game of skills, not of strategy, as may be chess. This is another reason we used this game as a basis for reflection. We consider that the Hopscotch of the Consonant

Dialogues has been a pedagogic process to acquire abilities and trusts to play other hopscotches or other strategy games with different actors and in layouts or boards of different political games. We have taken from the Hopscotch only the elements which were functional to our reflection and to the willingness to reflect.

The figure shows the layout of the Hopscotch and the content of its squares.

In this Hopscotch we shall move along the **Central Squares** which are inserted in and evolve within the context of tensions that the «new architecture of aid» has entailed for the advancement of women's rights and gender equality in the frame of development cooperation. Only through them are we able to arrive at the **Dialogue Squares** in which the discourses and proposals born from the dialogues, from the exchange and



a trust relationship generated in the CDs are woven. With the process experienced and its lessons we may think of the **Squares for Advancement**, those that provide guidance on what has been the use of the game and what other rounds we may get to play.

IV.1. The Central Squares

The Hopscotch of the Dialogues is complex and was not inaugurated by us. Therefore, to start playing we have to tackle the complexity of the game, its rules and players, based on a short recapitulation of the processes and lessons of many other comrades

and organisations that addressed the issues before us. Only thus may we take a solid leap towards the Dialogue Squares.

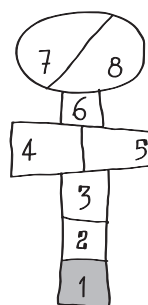
The central squares (1-3) are those that place us in and help us understand the game in which the Consonant Dialogues are framed, squares connected with the global sphere which help us envision what concerns us, what concerns what is happening in our countries, in our local action.

Going through **Square 1** means dealing with the **Development Agenda**, with the MDGs and with the limitations that keep gender equality and women's empowerment in the periphery: i) absence of a rights-based approach; ii) the limitations of a design which does not address or does not adequately approach essential aspects for the achievement of equality between women and men; iii) the exclusion of the gender approach in the goals and indicators

of the MDGs; iv) a globalising/totalising agenda which overlooks the other Internationally Agreed Development Goals (IADGs).

Through **Square 2** we move along the **Development Financing** and how the acknowledgement of gender equality, despite being a cornerstone for development, has not provided higher levels of financing. Facing the strong rhetoric, there is: i) lack of consistency between the liberal macroeconomic policies and restrictive social expense and the commitment to human rights and gender equality; ii) lack of political commitment and resources at national and international levels to tackle the goal of gender equality; iii) deficits in the approach of the public sector expense from gender equality considerations, and; iv) withdrawal of resources for women's organisations.

With **Square 3** we move towards **Aid Effectiveness**, this series of reforms aimed at improving the quality and management of the ODA that promised to constitute a political and action framework of great potential for advancing towards gender equality and women's empowerment. This potential has been endangered as the importance of incorporating the international standards of human rights and gender equality in the core of the Effectiveness Agenda has been minimised and when the democratic deficit and structural violence of the countries have come to be considered a «detail» in the development cooperation policies.



SQUARE 1. THE DEVELOPMENT AGENDA

Since its origins, the development assistance has been subordinated to post-colonial dynamics, economic and commercial interests and political demands of the donor countries, and only a few had cooperated and granted aid with true development objectives. In this sense, the appearance of the Millennium Development Goals⁸² (MDGs), as a «social agenda» for development will have important implications having, for the first time, established a consensus and commitment at a global level which identified the fight against poverty as the essential objective of the ODA.

In 2001 the MDGs were established as the road map of the Millennium Declaration, giving shape to the global covenant reached a year before to «create a propitious environment for development and poverty eradication at national and world levels »⁸³ by 2015.

⁸² The MDGs were initially formed by 8 goals, 18 targets and 48 indicators. In the 2005 World Summit it was agreed to add 4 new targets to the monitoring framework to allow for better quantitative monitoring of the already set goals. The issues of productive employment, access to reproductive health services, access to HIV treatment and biodiversity were examined. As of January 2008, the MDGs contain 21 targets and 60 indicators and the requirement for data collection to be broken down by sex and urban/rural environment was introduced. The list of goals, targets and indicators may be seen at

http://www.eclac.cl/MDG/noticias/paginas/6/35556/lista_oficial_MDGs_es.pdf

For more information on the MDGs, <http://www.un.org/spanish/millenniumgoals/>

⁸³ *A/res/55/L.2*. Par 12.

<http://www.un.org/spanish/millenniumgoals/ares552.html>

The MDGs succeeded in narrowing the many concerns of development to eight specific goals largely centred in social aspects of development that were measurable and in line with the human development approach of the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP). Their first goal is centred in the reduction of famine and poverty (referred to income), while the following six concern improvements in education, health, gender equality and environment. The last goal—the least specific and most ambiguous of the MDGs—seeks the «development of a global partnership for development» fundamentally referring to the establishment of more favourable and inclusive international financial and commercial relations for developing countries. MDG 8, not being restricted only to the ODA and covering other dimensions of international development (commerce, debt and access to technology) reflects the increasing importance of the policy coherence principle.

Restricting «development» to some specific parameters is a difficult task and this explains the general dissonances it brings about. However, it is not that easy to understand why, despite the fact that the Declaration establishes the absolute necessity of moving towards the implementation of universal access to human rights—and particularly women's rights to achieve gender equality—no specific goals have been derived in the matter of respect for Human Rights or democratisation (democratic governability or political development), which are considered indispensable in any definition of development. The quantitativist and managerial vision of the development practices could provide some answers, but not all.

At the same time, it is worth mentioning that for some the MDGs have not only become a substitution of a true Development Agenda that should address both the causes of the problems of world development and the strategies that need to be adopted for

overcoming them, but also have diverted efforts from the reflection and debate on the necessary changes and transformations in the countries to face development in its complexity and its relation with the political, cultural and environmental sphere (Vandemoortele, 2011). Up to a certain point, it may be considered that the MDGs have «abducted» the internationally agreed development goals (IADGs)⁸⁴ which are part of a larger development agenda also derived from the United Nations Conferences of the 90s and which have contributed a highly simplifying vision of the complexities and the set of challenges entailed by development and poverty eradication.

At this point it is important to indicate that the MDGs are not intended as substitutes for previous international instruments and agreements, but as a way to renew the impulse of the previous strategies based on their specificity, operating capacity and specific terms (López, I.2008). The MDGs are not a new agenda, but a new vehicle for the implementation of the agreements on human rights and on development reached in the frame of the UN. However, in practice, it has not been entirely so.

Finally, the effects and disturbance caused to the development agenda by the 9/11 attacks both in content and in resources must be considered. From the introduction of the concept of «human safety» a new paradigm was articulated in which safety no

⁸⁴ The IADGs include the eight MDGs but cover many other commitments agreed in the world summits of the UN on several aspects of the world challenges for development. These include economic growth at a national level, equitable social progress, decent work, sustainable development human rights (including the rights of women, children and indigenous peoples), world economic governance, commerce, debt and migration.

longer had the State as a centre, but the human being⁸⁵.

After 9/11, the fight against terrorism distorts the contents of policies generated in the name of human safety. The «Global War against Terrorism» shall produce the «securitisation» of the development cooperation, where prevention and the fight against terrorism become an explicit and express goal of the cooperation policies⁸⁶.

Dissonances in the Agenda Where is gender equality in the Development Agenda of this Millennium?

The vision of social justice connected with development which was articulated in the United Nations Conferences of the 90s secured an action framework in which the Development Agenda had foundations enough to support gender equality and the importance of human rights and the wellbeing of women and girls as an aim in itself.

Even if this framework was still valid, with the new century and the closeness of development policies to the neoliberal approaches of economic growth, gender equality and women's empowerment as an objective in themselves gradually lost strength,

⁸⁵ This paradigm arises in reaction to two important imbalances of the predominant paradigm: i) national security: it is verified that armed conflicts had moved away from the model of confrontation between States; ii) the threat to security: awareness is raised on that the threats to security not only came from the wars and criminal violence but also from hunger, the expansion of some pandemics, environmental disasters, etc.

⁸⁶ The OECD/DAC published in 2003 the guide *A Development Co-operation Lens on Terrorism Prevention*. <http://www.oecd.org/development/conflictandfragility/16085708.pdf>

both in the debates and in the execution of the development policies. As social justice was displaced as an ethical and political foundation of development, the space was rapidly taken over by an approach of the international cooperation that relied more and more on economic growth as a necessary condition for poverty eradication. Within this approach, gender equality is thought of as development instrument, as a strategy —not an objective— which must be privileged in the development policies and the fight against poverty. The MDGs are part of these tensions.

The development agenda marked by the MDGs has given rise to a broad debate inside the movements and organisations. On one hand, the MDGs represent a reduction both in the targets and agendas proposed in the 90s and in the complexity of gender inequalities. In the words of Naila Kaaber, «gender inequalities are multidimensional and may not be reduced to a set of single, universally agreed upon policies».

On the other hand, the MDGs have also constituted a political and advocacy strategy to invigorate the implementation of the Action Plans agreed upon in the different International Conferences. This agenda has afforded the opening of windows of opportunity to mobilise national and international resources of the Development Cooperation to promote gender equality and women's empowerment within the countries (De la Cruz, 2007).

The main questioning of the feminist organisations to the Development Agenda established in the MDGs revolves around the following position: the MDGs establish a minimalist agenda «blind» to gender, with a strong dirigisme, that does not contemplate the internationally agreed undertakings in matters of human rights and gender equality.

Agenda of minimums

For the women's rights activists, the MDGs are a set of minimum social targets, necessary but not sufficient for human development, which do not substitute any of the action plans and platforms derived from the world conferences or exceed the comprehensive vision of gender equity proposed by the instruments of human rights.

It is acknowledged as a positive aspect that gender equality and women's empowerment are reflected in an independent goal (MDG 3) and the effort represented by the indicators to relate gender equality with capacities (education), access to resources and opportunities (employment) and the opportunity to influence (political participation)⁸⁷. However, the formulation of this goal does not envision the complexity of gender equality or the deep structural changes its achievement requires. In 2004, the organisations present in the Latin American and Caribbean Women's Forum pointed that «the issue of equity between men and women is highly complex and is treated in a simplistic manner in this new social agenda. The standards, regulations and values that rule the society continue to reproduce patriarchal structures despite the accomplishments of women in education, health and labour integration. If the goal is to reduce gender inequality, the targets would require more complex purposes for the construction of a functional social capital to these ends⁸⁸».

⁸⁷ Clara Murguialday The long road to gender equality. <http://www.revistapueblos.org/spip.php?article368>

⁸⁸ Documents of the Latin American and Caribbean Women's Forum. López Montaña, C. (2004). Globalization, poverty and the MDGs from a gender perspective.

This static vision of the MDGs does not question the inequalities among nations or in the social relations which aggravate these inequalities, both in the roots of poverty and the lack of opportunities in the development of the countries. This has also been the conclusion of the feminist organisations, indicating that the current targets and indicators do not adequately address the systemic inequalities and the power imbalances within the global economic system which undermine the MDGs. The focus is more on what the poor countries need to do to achieve the MDGs than on the accountability of the most influential global actors (the wealthiest countries and the international financial and commercial institutions) on the progress of their commitments (MDG 8) and the coherence of their policies to promote development in the focus countries of their ODA.

On the other hand, the feminist criticism questions the absent and/or poorly addressed gender challenges in the MDGs as is the case of violence against women, unpaid for reproductive work, access to land or lack of consideration for the ethnic, class and age group —among other vectors— as factors which determine several ways of experiencing poverty and inequality.

However, the absence that causes most rejection is the exclusion in the MDGs of a specific goal that contemplates the sexual and reproductive rights of women connected to the Conference of El Cairo (1994). In their own right and for their direct repercussion on MDG 3 (gender equality and women's empowerment), MDG 4 (reduction of child mortality), MDG 5 (improvement of maternal health) and MDG 6 (combating HIV/AIDS, malaria and other diseases), sexual and reproductive rights are strategic for the fulfilment of the current development agenda, both the one contained in the MDGs and in the IADGs.

«Gender blind» Agenda

Gender equality is not addressed as a mainstream issue in the collection of the MDGs despite the boost given by United Nations to the incorporation of the gender perspective in all policies. It is questioned that the treatment of gender matters is centred in a single goal when it should also be treated as a mainstream issue of cross-cutting concern in each and all of the MDGs.

The gender inequalities that underlie the problems that the rest of the development goals intend to confront are ignored, this blindness being particularly serious in MDG 1 («eradicate extreme poverty and hunger»), MDG 7 («ensure environmental sustainability») and MDG 8 («develop a global partnership for development»)⁸⁹. Additionally, there is an important contradiction between the gender approach of MDG 3 —concern for women’s empowerment— and the approach of MDG 5 («improve maternal health») and MDG 6 («combat HIV/AIDS, malaria and other diseases») where women are seen simply as victims in need of special protection⁹⁰.

Because of its special relevance, the «gender blindness» in MDG 1 («eradicate poverty and hunger») is particularly significant. This MDG, besides ignoring the multidimensional and relational nature of poverty, does not contemplate its gender dimension. Since the ultimate aim of the development agenda established by the MDGs is the fight against poverty, as well

as the inter-related nature of its goals, the lack of mainstreaming of the gender approach has a strong impact on that both the particularities of the women’s impoverishment processes and their necessary address in the strategies for the reduction thereof have been ignored. We shall see how this «blindness» is to be inherited in subsequent agreements connected with development funding and aid effectiveness.

Agenda unconnected to the commitments on human rights

The MDGs arise from the Millennium Declaration in which the need to forward women’s rights to achieve gender equality was established, and which explicitly demanded «fighting against all forms of violence against women and implementing the CEDAW». Besides, it acknowledges the importance of promoting gender equality and women’s empowerment as a way to combat poverty, hunger and diseases and to stimulate a true sustainable development. However, this acknowledgement is not reflected in the MDGs.

In its narrow and minimalist approach, if compared with the achievements of the UN conferences of the 90s, the Global Development Agenda established with the MDGs entails a regressive framework for progress in gender equity and women’s rights since it ignores the structural nature of poverty and gender inequality, undermining the attempts to address their systemic causes⁹¹.

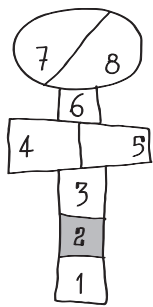
Together with the above, it is worth noting the strength with which the World Bank and its work known as «Gender Equality as Smart Economics» is imbuing the action of several actors of development.

⁸⁹ One of the consequences is that the country reports for the monitoring of the MDGs only report on the indicators reflected in MDG 3 and the health goals of MDGs 4, 5 and 6. The analysis of gender inequalities is excluded from their analyses, proposals and strategies for forwarding the MDGs as a whole.

⁹⁰ Murguialday, C. (2006) The long road to equality. <http://www.revistapueblos.org/spip.php?article368>

⁹¹ Schoenstein, A. et al (2011) Booklet 10. Cooperation for Development Beyond the Paradigm of Aid Effectiveness: A Women’s Rights perspective. AWID. Toronto, Canada.

This approach instrumentalises gender equality as a «profitable economic strategy that helps improve productivity and other results⁹²» and instrumentalises women —consumers and economic agents— recognising their contribution and economic power only in relation to the service they provide in the current financial and economic system. This perspective lacks a human rights base and/or gender equality approach. Its rapid and broad expansion is an element of concern.



SQUARE 2. FINANCING THE DEVELOPMENT AGENDA

The scarcity of funds devoted to Cooperation Development has historically been the object of strong criticism from several social sectors, especially since the donor countries themselves took the moral commitment in the United Nations of allocating an amount equivalent to 0.7% of their gross domestic product (GDP) to such end.⁹³ The importance achieved by the MDGs and the consensus of the countries on a world development social agenda brought the problem of the financing thereof

back to the foreground in a context where, not only had few countries⁹⁴ met the commitment of the 0.7%, but that was also preceded by the so-called «aid fatigue» of the 90s when the ODA reached historical minimums.

One of the main novelties of the MDGs⁹⁵ is the appearance of MDG 8. This Goal proposes a «Global Partnership for Development» which should guide the actions of the development partners with the purpose of mobilising the resources necessary to achieve the social development targets of the seven previous goals. This goal especially binds the donor countries and implies broad commitments in terms of trade liberalisation, debt relief, access to technology, and requires that they provide more and better development assistance.

Even if strengthening this Global Partnership for Development has been an issue in several world dialogues⁹⁶, according to the Development Cooperation Forum (DCF) Secretary-General's Report significant

⁹² World Bank (2012). *Gender equality and development. Report on World Development 2012. WDC, United States.*

⁹³ The commitment made to spend 0.7% of the GDP of donor countries to world development, also called «debt of solidarity» with the impoverished peoples, dates over 20 years of history of systematic non-compliance by most of the donor countries. This idea goes back to 1969 when it was first proposed in the «Report on International Development». This percentage was approved in the 34th session of the General Assembly (1980) and is widely accepted —although not executed— as a reference goal for the ODA.

⁹⁴ In 2011, the net development assistance disbursement was 133,500 million Dollars, or 0.31% of the combined national incomes of developed countries. In that year, only Denmark, Luxemburg, Norway, the Netherlands and Sweden exceeded the target proposed by the United Nations to contribute 0.7% of the country's GDP to the ODA.

⁹⁵ Except for MDG 8, all the other goals had been proposed in the 90s. In 1996 the donor countries, grouped in the Development Assistance Committee (DAC), reformulated the goals adopted in those thematic summits of the United Nations of the 90s, introducing as a novelty worth mentioning quantitative targets in the corresponding progress indicators and the time horizon of 2015 for their achievement. They were called the «2025 Goals». These goals were adjusted for the current MDGs. MDG 8 did not exist then. Development Assistance Committee, *Shaping the 21st Century; the Contribution of Development Cooperation*, OECD, Paris, May 1996. <http://www.oecd.org/dac/2508761.pdf> (9/9/2012).

⁹⁶ Summit on Millennium Development Goals (2012), Fourth United Nations Conference on the Least Developed Countries

gaps remain in delivering on the quantity and quality of development cooperation, trade and debt relief. These gaps are aggravated by the absence of concrete targets for MDG 8 in comparison with the other goals, a vagueness which has been crucial in the massive lack of available resources to fight poverty, hunger, maternal mortality, illiteracy, or gender inequalities.

International Conferences on Financing for Development

In the search for greater effectiveness of development assistance and the need to mobilise the necessary resources to achieve the proposed goals for fighting poverty, the United Nations sponsored—together with the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Trade Organisation (WTO)—the International Conferences on **Financing for Development** (FfD). These Conferences shall be devoted to analyzing the resource mobilisation and the economic implications involved in the achievement of the internationally agreed development goals (IADGs)—especially the reduction of absolute poverty by the year 2015—. The Conferences on FfD shall further develop MDG 8 which, as has been mentioned, is the least specific of the MDGs, and shall allow the United Nations to enter the territory of the FfD, until then an environment reserved only to the Bretton Woods Institutions.

The first of these Conferences on Financing for Development was held in 2002 in Monterrey (Mexico). The final resolution adopted at the end of the Conference was called the **Monterrey Consensus** (UN, 2010⁹⁷). In a spirit aligned with the Millennium

Declaration, the need to construct a true partnership for the achievement of the MDGs was emphasised and an appeal was made to the donor countries in particular for them to support the efforts of the developing countries, especially providing a greater flow in the aid, in investment, in debt relief and in free access to their markets.

Such consensus sought to establish a partnership between the donor countries and the partner countries based on the mutual acknowledgement of the benefits that could result from implementing effective policies in terms of development. In this alliance, the partner countries undertook to introduce safe economic and social policies to improve governability, eliminate corruption and create an internal regulatory framework that favoured the development of the private commercial sector. Even if the consensus is based on the acceptance by the partner countries of their responsibility for their own development, the forged partnership bound the donor countries into taking measures to make the necessary resources available to them, which, added to the local resources, would favour the achievement of the proposed development goals.

The Monterrey Consensus constitutes an important reference framework for international action because it recognises that financing for development has implications not only for the financial market but for all the people. Part of the basic premise is to consider that internal resources are the essential element of development but that it is also necessary to provide external resources to the developing countries to achieve that task and to face the provision of global public assets which, by definition, may not be ensured either by the market forces or by the States individually. Thus, it shall highlight the need to incorporate a broader spectrum of actors with different interests to the debate, and include among

(2011), Fourth High Level Forum on Aid Effectiveness (2011) XIII UNCTAD (2012), Rio+20 Conference (2012).

97 <http://www.un.org/spanish/conferences/ffd/ACONF1983.pdf>

its references the need for financial institutions and governments, as democratic institutions, to respond to the needs of all the people, addressing respect for human rights and committing to just and democratic societies (paragraph 11). This framework offers the possibility of incorporating the financing initiatives for gender equality as part of these broader processes of sustainable development.

The Monterrey Consensus was widely criticised by the civil society organisations and women's groups. Even if the importance of gender equality and women's empowerment is acknowledged in the Consensus⁹⁸, these were not, however, incorporated into the key areas of action: mobilisation of national resources for development, trade, private capital flows, the ODA, debt and systemic matters connected with the international financial system. Neither were the distributive and social consequences of market liberalisation and other macroeconomic policies mentioned in the Consensus considered from a perspective of gender equality.

From the shortcomings identified in the Monterrey Consensus, women researchers, activists and some

United Nations agencies developed proposals and recommendations to ensure that in the Follow-up International Conference on Financing for Development held in Doha (Qatar, 2008) the governments incorporated the gender perspective into the key areas of the Consensus and discussed on how financing for development may promote gender equality.

The final Declaration of Doha goes beyond the Monterrey Consensus in what concerns gender equality, since it engages the participants in the promotion of equality and economic empowerment of women as essential elements to achieve an equitable and effective development; it reaffirms the elimination of gender discrimination in all its forms included in the work and financial markets as well as, among others, in the ownership of property and property rights. Additionally, continuing with the inclusion in the Consensus of gender budget policies, it notes the need for an impact analysis thereof in the scenario of public administration including, among others, the preparation of budgets containing this perspective. These conclusions are similar to those expressed in the Accra Programme of Action (2008) —the considerations on gender equality must be included in all the macroeconomic and financial matters to promote significant increases in the funding of gender equality— but the Doha Programme is broader, since it involves all the macroeconomic matters, not only the aid policies⁹⁹. However, Doha is considered a «missed opportunity» due to the lack of specific commitments for the financing of gender equality. In the initial context of the great recession, the donors only ratified old commitments (to allocate 0.7% of their GDP to ODA in 2015, with the intermediate target of reaching 0.5% in 2010).

⁹⁸ Several references are made to gender equality and women's empowerment in the Monterrey Consensus, including the need for a global approach, interconnected with financing for development which is gender sensitivity (paragraph 8); good governance, the economic policies and the importance of gender equality for the achievement of such goals (paragraph 11); empowerment of women in the context of appropriate policies and national regulatory frameworks (paragraph 12); investment in basic social services and gender sensitive economic infrastructure (paragraph 16); micro financing, especially for women (paragraph 18); development of capacities that include the gender policies of the postulate (par. 19); gender sensitive business frameworks in their companies (par. 23), and requests the governments to include the gender perspective in the development policies at all levels and in all sectors (paragraph 64).

⁹⁹ <http://www.fride.org/publicacion/443/financiacion-a-la-igualdad-de-genero>.

Dissonances in Funding for Development Where is the gender equality investment?

In the progress of the discourse in the Doha Conference from that of Monterrey, the 52nd session of the United Nations Commission for the Status of Women (CSW) in which, in May of 2008 the issue of financing for gender equality and women's empowerment was analyzed and the Partner Members of the CSW were specifically requested to integrate the gender perspective in the preparation and in the results of the Doha Conference as follow-up to the Monterrey Consensus. played a strategic role. The CSW reflects important progress, recommendations and commitments on financing for gender equality and women's empowerment and points out challenges and dissonances faced in four key areas¹⁰⁰: macro economic policies and the follow-up to the Monterrey Consensus, public financing and gender sensitive budgets, bilateral/multilateral aid and the financing of the women's movement.

Following the report¹⁰¹ of the Group of Experts on financing for gender development and women's empowerment celebrated in Oslo (Norway) in 2007, the financing trends in each of the aforementioned areas and how they affect the financing of gender equality and women's organisations are highlighted.

¹⁰⁰ Classification based on the document Financing in favour of gender equality and women's empowerment (2007) Report of the group of experts of the United Nations, 4-7 September, Oslo, Norway, New York: United Nations, Division for the Advancement of Women, EGM/FFGE/2007/REPORT http://www.un.org/womenwatch/daw/egm/financing_gender_equality/EGM%20Report%20Final.pdf (10/09/2012)

¹⁰¹ http://www.un.org/womenwatch/daw/egm/financing_gender_equality/EGM%20Report%20Final.pdf

Macro economic policies and Monterrey Consensus Follow-up

Although the framework of the Monterrey Consensus offers the possibility of integrating the gender equality financing initiatives as part of the wider processes of sustainable development, the truth is that there is no appeal for the systematic application of the gender approach in the policies, programmes and budgets, or a clear time frame to do so, nor is there a reference on the collection of institutional arrangements necessary for the application of the gender perspective in the context of other development goals¹⁰².

Several feminist economists have noted the total absence of the gender perspective in the development financing strategies approved in the Consensus and in the social consequences of the macro economic policies it endorses. The groups of women's human rights activists claimed that the international commitments on gender equality and women's economic rights were not adequately addressed¹⁰³.

However, one of the most relevant shortcomings is the lack of coherence between the economic policies that emphasise low inflation, market liberalisation and the effectiveness of capital investment and, on the other hand, the social commitments to poverty reduction, human rights and gender equality.

¹⁰² For more information, see Maria Floro, Nilufer Cagatay, John Willoughby, and Korkut Erturk, (2004). Gender Issues and Concerns in Financing for Development Santo Domingo: INSTRAW Papers.

http://www.gender-budgets.org/index.php?option=com_joomla&view=documents&path=resources/by-theme-issue/financing-for-gender-equality/gender-issues-and-concerns-in-financing-for-development&Itemid=823 (8/9/2012)

¹⁰³ For a complete version of the questionings, visit the Gender and Trade Network, Latin American Chapter <http://www.generoycomercio.org/>

These questionings have been reinforced by the Report of the Secretary-General on the implementation of the Monterrey Consensus (A/63/179), which establishes that «there is a widespread view that there needs to be a better understanding of the role of women in development, moving beyond their roles as caregivers and labourers. Macroeconomic policies should be more coherent with other policies to achieve gender equality; for example, policies should go beyond gender budgeting and take into account tax issues, business cycles, employment and the unpaid 'care economy'».

Public financing and gender budget policies

The main source of financing for gender equality and women's empowerment is not the ODA but the national budgets. The analysis of these budgets has revealed the important gap between, on the one hand, the commitments undertaken by the countries in terms of gender equality and the demands of women in the countries and, on the other, the effort made by the countries to increase the allocation for gender equality and to analyze the impact of gender on their public financing systems.

We should keep in mind that the public financing systems have differential gender impacts depending on the way these systems attempt to fulfil their roles¹⁰⁴ due to the economic, social and political inequality of women regarding men.

- Provision of public assets and services: the budget allocations to certain functions, policies and programmes have differential gender effects.
- Income and wealth distribution: The existent inequalities between women and men, as well as between and within families or other groups make fiscal and distributive policies a sensitive area for the advancement of gender equality and women's empowerment goals.
- Stabilisation of the economy: it requires a position in economic policy, of criteria which determine which objectives have a priority at a given time, which hypotheses or theories support a company's macro economic policy, because these are elements which affect the public financing system's capacity to finance gender equality (level and quality of employment, price stability, economic growth and external equilibrium, etc.).
- Financial control and accountability: the frameworks and mechanisms adopted and the scope of effective participation of men and women have gender impacts.

The Beijing Platform for Action urged the governments to take measures for systematically describing the public expense destined to gender equality. They were invited to identify and mobilise resources for programmes specifically addressed at gender equality. Five years later (New York 2000) the governments were requested to incorporate the gender perspective in all the phases of the budgetary processes with the purpose of promoting an equitable budget allocation, as well as assigning sufficient resources for the support, supervision and evaluation of gender equality programmes in the budgets.

However, with the exception of some countries, the public sector expense has not systematically

¹⁰⁴ These functions are: i) provision of public goods and services; ii) distribution of income and wealth; iii) stabilization of the economy; iv) financial control and accountability: The frameworks and mechanisms adopted and the scope of effective participation of men and women in gender impacts.

addressed gender equality issues despite being an important political and technical tool for:

- the systematic analysis of the budgetary programmes and the gender differentiated impact of the countries' policies,
- advocacy in decision making, promoting informed actions that allow for changes in the budgetary and political planning processes with the purpose of obtaining results in terms of gender equality and women's empowerment.

Gender responsive budgets have been identified as a public finance strategy in a series of international commitments on gender equality and financing for development (including Beijing, the 23rd special session of the UN General Assembly and Monterrey). It has also been identified as an indispensable element for the full application of the CEDAW and the achievement of the MDGs, particularly MDG 3.

Bilateral and multilateral aid. Policy coherence

The traditional ODA flows by donor countries and multilateral organisations are vital in numerous countries to counteract the restriction of national resources and thus avoid substantial reversals in their social situation. However, and despite a slight upward trend after the Monterrey conference, the necessary financial resources have not yet been mobilised and the ODA level is far below the agreed target of 0.7% of the GDP¹⁰⁵.

¹⁰⁵ In 2011, the net disbursement in development assistance was 133.500 million Dollars, or 0.31% of the combined national incomes of the developed countries. this year, only Denmark, Luxemburg, Norway, the Netherlands and Sweden exceeded the target proposed by the United Nations to dedicate 0.7% of the country's GDP to the ODA (DAC) <http://www.oecd.org/dac/aidarchitecture/50056866.pdf>

The current trends report that the aid is scarce and that a large part of it is not related to human development but to conditionalities on economic policies of the partner countries, such as privatisation, deregulation and liberalisation of the markets. Additionally, the fund scarcity is aggravated by the so-called 'ghost aid'¹⁰⁶ which has resulted in that less than half of the donors' ODA is translated into development programmes in the partner countries.

The ODA covers between 5%-10% of the budget of the recipient countries and complements the income received through taxes, remittances and commercial and investment benefits. Therefore, the capacity to know and monitor the bilateral and multilateral aid centred in gender equality is a key tool to ensure that the new mechanisms of aid support the gender equality goals.

Up to the present, the Gender Equality Policy Marker¹⁰⁷ of the OECD is the only systematic means available to monitor the ODA investments in gender equality. But this marker cannot measure the results or the impacts of advocacy in terms of gender equality, only

¹⁰⁶ This is the title given to the ODA destined to partner countries but which cannot be translated in development programmes. The ghost aid is destined to maintaining foreign personnel in the recipient country, the financial forgiveness, humanitarian aid, emergency aid, food aid, technical cooperation and administrative expenses and domestic awareness campaigns. Ghost aid is related with the country programmable aid (CPA), that is, the funds actually provided by ODA after deducting the ghost aid to implement projects and programmes that contribute to development. According to 2005 calculations, the CPA (38MM\$) that reached from the ODA (105MM\$) to the beneficiaries was 19M\$.

¹⁰⁷ The OECD's Gender Equality Marker is a descriptive indicator which is part of the creditor reporting systems (CRS) of the donors for bilateral aid. http://www.oecd.org/document/6/0,3343,en_2649_34469_37461446_1_1_1_1,00.html

the investment made for the achievement of gender equality and women's empowerment.

The data on financing show how gender equality is underrated at a bilateral and multilateral level. The 2009-2010¹⁰⁸ data of the Development Assistance Committee (DAC) of the OECD report that despite the strong rhetoric on the importance of women and girls in development, of the 31% (US\$ 24.3 billion) of the ODA connected with issues of equality and empowerment of women, only 5% (3.3 billion) have this as their main commitment. Addressing the sector code 15170 on «financing for women's organisations and institutions» 413 million of the 2009-10 budget were destined to women's organisations and gender institutions (including national women's bureaus), which represented 2% of all the funds allocated to gender equality analyzed by the DAC¹⁰⁹.

Additionally, UN Women, the largest agency devoted to gender equality within the multilateral system, assigned a budget of US\$ 235 million in 2011, equivalent to 4% of the total UN budget for that year (approximately US\$ 5.4 billion). Even if these figures are very descriptive of the importance of gender equality for the global ODA, it is also significant that the budget achieved by UN Women amounted to less than half the US\$ 500 million it had estimated to need for the agency to start operating in its first year.

Furthermore, the research indicates that the limited progress in the allotment and channelling of resources

to turn the gender equality and women's human rights commitments into actions has been affected by a disproportionate emphasis on mainstreaming the gender perspective, which has been translated in a substantial reduction of allocations destined to the elimination of gender based discrimination and women's empowerment. Finally, it must be noted that the bilateral and multilateral agencies have been emphasising the tendency to finance gender mainstreaming in their own programmes, organisations and structures to the expense of investments destined to women's empowerment. Likewise, this emphasis in the incorporation of the gender perspective in the institutions has not always been based on feminist assumptions or on a political strategy, but rather on a technical proposal to support several internal and planning processes.

Financing of the women's movements

The achievements in terms of gender equality and women's rights, acknowledged as crucial for the progress of the Development Agenda, are not possible without the strong, autonomous, independent and effective presence of the feminist groups and women's movements and organisations working at all levels in a wide diversity of issues. The women's rights and gender equality agenda requires a comprehensive approach to address the complex and intertwined nature of the violation of women's rights and needs the acknowledgement and support to the different roles performed by the different actors (governments, civil society as a whole, private sector, etc.) if we mean to move forward in this agenda.

However, in the present framework of aid financing and effectiveness, there is an increasing trend to withdraw resources of the cooperation destined to expand the capacity of the women's organisations and

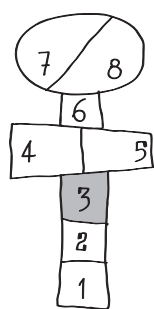
108 Aid in support of gender equality and women's empowerment. Statistical overview February 2012, http://www.oecd.org/dac/genderequalityanddevelopment/_CRS%20overview%20web.pdf

109 Based on information from the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD). <http://stats.oecd.org> To view the distribution by sector in the same year: <http://webnet.oecd.org/dcdgraphs/gender/>

reinforce the architecture of the feminist movement, undermining the sustainability and strategy of the organisations in the medium and long term.

In the foregoing summary we saw how only 1.47% of the total ODA destined to gender equality is directed to organisations and institutions for gender equality, an amount which corresponds mainly to gender mechanisms.

On the other hand, the findings of the research carried out by the Association for Women's Rights in Development (AWID) within the initiative «Where is the Money for Women's Rights?» clearly shows that most of the budgets of the women's organisations are very small (below US\$ 50.000). Most of these organisations cannot rely on quality, predictable and multiannual financing to raise the agendas and implement their programmes and have many difficulties in negotiating the organisation's institutional support.



SQUARE 3. AID EFFECTIVENESS

In the early XXI Century it was clear that the aid was not generating the expected results. Inadequate approaches and formulation differences among donors affected its effectiveness. Once the countries

committed to the Global Development Agenda directed towards achieving the MDGs with the 2015 horizon, the need to reform the so-called aid architecture was detected for the signing countries to become financially involved in a more substantial manner and take the necessary measures to improve the quality of the management and the operation

of the aid chain. Only thus could effectiveness be achieved to increase «*the impact of aid for reducing poverty and inequality, increasing growth and accelerating the achievement of the MDGs*» (OECD, 2008: par.2). Since this need was detected, a series of international summits, High Level Forums (HLF) and meetings have been held, which have summoned donors, governments and other development actors —including the women's organisations— to contribute to this process of reforming the global architecture of development assistance, as well as the practices and approaches of the international development cooperation.

Aid Effectiveness was formally born in 2005 with the signature of the Paris Declaration¹¹⁰ on Aid Effectiveness (PD) in the HLF-2 organised by the DAC/OECD. While the Monterrey Consensus was established to respond to the challenge of obtaining the necessary information to achieve the IADGs (among them, the MDGs), the PD is more directly centred in the reform of the delivery and management of the aid with the purpose of improving the development outcomes. This Declaration inherits from an entire series of previous agreements and positions on the ODA effectiveness initiated in the 90s and which the PD managed to accommodate¹¹¹.

¹¹⁰ The Paris Declaration is available online at: www.oecd.org/dac/effectiveness

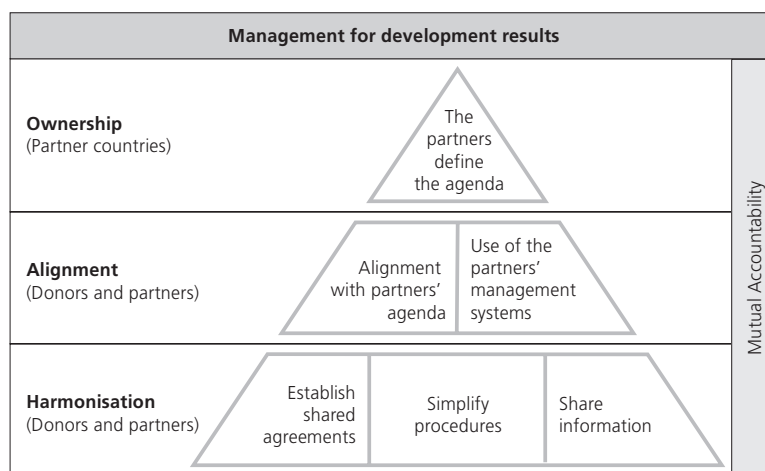
¹¹¹ The conceptual foundation of this process goes back to the late 90s with a DAC/OECD document entitled «Shaping the 21st Century - The Contribution of Development Co-operation» and some instruments promoted by the World Bank —Comprehensive Development Framework (CDF) and the Poverty Reduction Strategy (PRS)—. On this basis, HLF-1 (Rome, 2003) shall define what has been called the «new aid architecture» later completed with the Marrakech Roundtable (2004) on managing for development results. But it was in 2005, after agreeing on all the action principles and strategies when all the principles and agreements were

The determination of how and who the ODA is supplied to and the way in which the donors and partner countries relate to each other shall not be a mere technical device to more effectively implement the channelling of the aid to the people in situations of the most vulnerability and poverty, but shall also activate a process of high political content that shall imply a change of paradigm in the global governance of the development assistance system.

Its five operating principles (ownership, alignment, harmonisation, accountability and managing for results) shall define the relations between donors and partner countries, modify the dynamics among the multiple development actors, imply a change of the financing instruments and «modalities» breaking away from the traditional project rationale, as a central instrument to channel the ODA and set into motion a practical road map with targets, indicators, actions and calendar determined by the agenda of the donors, multilateral organisations, partner countries, social organisations and other development actors.

The rationale underlying the proposal to improve the management quality and the results of the aid shall be the contribution to development processes where the partner countries, in **ownership** of their development plans and leaders in the process, receive the ODA from the donors in **alignment** with their plans and strategies and under the management procedures and systems of the aid recipient countries (hereinafter, partner countries). The donor countries also undertake

to ensure that their aid disbursement procedures shall be more **harmonised**, that both donor countries and partner countries be **mutually accountable** for the results of their development work and that the resources and the decision-making be **managed on the basis of development results**¹¹².



Principles of the Paris Declaration. Source: OECD.

Guidelines for establishing a monitoring system for its implementation were also included in the Paris Declaration. This system was aimed at the supervision of the progress of the cooperation system towards greater effectiveness, accountability and transparency in the delivery of the aid and a better adjustment of the donors' actions to the national development struggle/fight against poverty plans of the partner countries¹¹³. The execution and follow-up

reaffirmed and organized in a single document called the Paris Declaration on Development Aid Effectiveness.

¹¹² Alemany, c. et a. (2008) Implementing the Paris Declaration: Implications of the promotion of Women's Rights and Gender Equality. AWID/ WIDE.

¹¹³ The Paris Declaration established in 2005 a series of specific goals for 2010, as well as a «follow-up survey» to verify their achievement. For more information on these monitoring rounds:

of the progress have included voluntary periodical evaluations by the partner countries and the donors in the subsequent HLFs.

HLF-3 on Aid Effectiveness celebrated in Accra (Ghana, 2008) had the objective of evaluating the progress made around the commitments and targets of the PD. However, the issues addressed went beyond the PD to introduce new topics in the debate of aid effectiveness: the predictability and unconditional nature of the aid, the democratic space, the division of work, the South-South cooperation and the importance of acknowledging the CSOs as development actors. HLF-3 gave rise to the Accra Agenda for Action¹¹⁴.

After HLF-3 the organisations of the civil society (CSOs) are acknowledged as development actors in their own right¹¹⁵ and have become full members of the Working Party on Aid Effectiveness¹¹⁶ (WP-EFF) whose representation has been held by the Better Aid Platform Coordinating Group¹¹⁷ (BACG).

Unlike the Paris HLF-2, negotiating among donors, multilateral organisations and governments of the recipient countries, the CSOs played an important role in Accra towards deepening the agenda of aid

effectiveness¹¹⁸ and began to shift the focus from aid effectiveness to development effectiveness. Framed in the perspective of human rights, the CSOs argued that development effectiveness is related with the impact and the actions of the development actors, including donors and partner governments in the improvement of the lives of poor people, whose rights are being violated. The CSOs promote a sustainable change which addresses the structural causes as well as the symptoms of poverty, inequality and marginalisation in a democratic framework. The goals of development effectiveness are centred in the full recognition of human rights and sustainable development.

For HLF-4 on Aid Effectiveness (South Korea, 2011) the challenge was to ensure the deepening of the aid reforms already initiated with the Accra Agenda and to renew the aid architecture to include considerations on development effectiveness and human rights, rather than aid effectiveness, as central issues. This was achieved at a nominal level: the CSOs, as full and equal participants, consolidated the principles of democratic ownership and human rights and development effectiveness in the Busan Outcome Document (BOD). However, the conclusions of the document were centred in economic growth as driving force for poverty eradication, highlighting the private profit sector as a priority actor, venturing a dangerous closeness to the Development Cooperation in neo-liberal approaches thereof, inauspicious for the agenda concerning social justice. Neither was there any progress towards the commitments on the «favourable conditions for civil society» especially in a context in which a repressive wave is moving against it in several countries¹¹⁹.

2006 <http://www.oecd.org/dac/aideffectiveness/2006surveyonmonitoringtheparisdeclaration.htm>

2008 <http://www.oecd.org/dac/aideffectiveness/2008surveyonmonitoringtheparisdeclaration.htm>

2011 <http://www.oecd.org/site/dacsmpd11/2011surveyonmonitoringtheparisdeclaration-home.htm>

114 The Accra Agenda for Action is available online at: www.accrahlf.net

115 See paragraph 20 of the Accra Agenda for Action

116 For more information on the Working Party on Aid Effectiveness, www.oecd.org/dac/effectiveness

117 For more information: <http://betteraid.org/en/about-us/coordinating-betteraid.html>

118 Toma, C. (2010) Handbook for extension work. Open Forum.

119 For achievements and opinions of the CSOs on Busan <http://www.cso-effectiveness.org/alianza-de-busan-para->

HLF-4 gave rise to the «Global Partnership for an Effective Development Cooperation»¹²⁰ (Busan Action Plan), a new partnership which, if comprehensively executed, would transfer the technical approach of the aid effectiveness agenda to a development effectiveness agenda, more inclusive, more political and centred in development results based on rights and not on disbursements. It would also entail a shift in the frame of global governance through moving towards a broader and more inclusive model which would include not only the members of the DAC/OECD but also the UN, the South-South cooperation actors, parliament, local authorities, the civil society and the private sector. The partnership for development is also expanded with new actors, especially with the inclusion of the new emerging economies which have become important actors and donors in the Development Cooperation but who operated outside of the Paris and Accra¹²¹ pledges. Additionally, it recognises that the Busan document «deepens in the promotion of a favourable setting for the civil society based on human rights and supports the Istanbul Principles for the CSOs¹²²».

A particularly disappointing and concerning fact for the CSOs and human rights activists is that the BOD does not contain an explicit commitment on the adoption of the new approach on development and cooperation, based on human rights, and there is a

lack of agreements regarding implementation and follow-up in it, among them the constitution of the Development Cooperation Forum (DCF) of the UN as a consultation space on the implementation of the agreements achieved in Busan¹²³.

Another remarkable element of HLF-4 was the presentation of the Busan Joint Action Plan on Gender Equality and Development¹²⁴, promoted by the governments of South Korea and the United States. This plan was not backed by the women's groups present in the HLF for being considered insufficient to ensure the achievement of human rights and substantial gender equality¹²⁵.

Dissonances in the aid effectiveness agenda

The five principles for the global partnership

The feminist and women's organisations have had to organise themselves to advocate in a kind of «effectiveness» which threatened to leave gender equality and human rights outside of «development». Beyond a significant commitment to gender analysis and impact assessment (paragraph 42), the PD itself is gender blind and a large part of the initial reform agenda was developed without the participation of experts in equality issues. This fact confirms once again the evident lack of political commitment of the cooperation system in general and of the donors and partner countries' governments in particular to the

[una,192?lang=es#achievements](#)

120 The document is available online at: http://www.aideffectiveness.org/busanhlf4/images/stories/hlf4/OUTCOME_DOCUMENT-FINAL_ES.pdf

121 China joined this Global Partnership with the condition that the principles, commitments and actions agreed in the Busan outcome document were just a reference for South-South partners which could be endorsed voluntarily.

122 The document is available online at: <http://www.cso-effectiveness.org/principios-de-estambul,118>

123 Anne Schoenstein and Nerea Craviotto (2012) A Feminist View of the Fourth High Level Forum on Aid Effectiveness. AWID.

124 The document is available online at: <http://www.state.gov/r/pa/prs/ps/2011/11/177889.htm>

125 The document of the positions of the organizations regarding the Plan is available online at: <http://awid.org/content/download/130095/1460516/file/BAPfor%20printing-.pdf>

prioritisation of gender equality as one of the central goals of development.

Even if the commitments undertaken in the Accra Agenda for Action (AAA) on gender equality (paragraphs 3, 13c, 21b and 23a) were an important progress beyond the Paris Declaration (PD) and gender equality and women's empowerment were included in the conclusions of the HLF-4 (paragraph 20), the progress they entail in the discourse, even when recognising its value, is undermined by the lack of measures, targets or commitments with fixed deadlines to measure the progress around the provisions of the discourse within an integrated approach of development based on human rights.

We understand that addressing gender equality and women's empowerment is always a challenge, and more so when we are supposed to be in a framework of technical reforms. Women's organisations, feminists of all the spheres of the cooperation and allies in the goal have worked hard to counteract this vision of technical neutrality of the Effectiveness Agenda and generate evidence and strategies to impact on a process which was reluctant to guarantee gender equality and women's empowerment as fundamental pillars of development.

On the other hand, if serious political, social and economic challenges which arise in the contexts of each country are not taken into account, the application of a set of principles that appear desirable and positive *a priori* may distort the ultimate purpose of the Effectiveness Agenda, the achievement of development results. The systematic violation of human rights in many countries, the democratic deficits, structural violence and unrest, political instability, etc. are not «details» when discussing development. The uncritical application of well meant principles in repressive, authoritative and

illegitimate local contexts would be far from effective for development and for guaranteeing any kind of progress in women's rights and equality.

Several organisations and specialised women of all the stakeholding groups have contributed from their spaces to the deconstruction and political translation of the five principles of the PD, of its application mechanisms and aid modalities. These contributions are in communication and intertwined with the positions held by the CSOs along this process, whose main characteristics have been: i) promotion of the development effectiveness approach; ii) aid allocation under human rights standards; iii) acknowledgement of the civil society agents as political development actors. We shall see how these elements converse with the dissonances of the Effectiveness Agenda for gender equality and the organisations.

National Ownership

The principle of «ownership» reflects the need for the countries themselves to define their national priorities to achieve the MDGs and reduce poverty, exercising effective leadership in the decision-making of development policies and in the coordination of the donors present in the territory. This is the central and ruling principle of the reform of aid effectiveness and development assistance. It was established to overcome the democratic deficit in the management of aid flows on the one hand and, on the other, to help safeguard the aid effectiveness of the donors guiding the ODA toward the formulation and application of a wide range of public policies in the partner countries.

However, country ownership is not clearly defined in the PD and, in placing the National Strategies for Poverty Reduction (or Development Policies of

the governments) as an indicator of the principle, a convenient levelling between «national» ownership and «governmental» ownership has been made.

For the CSOs and the feminist and women's organisations, national ownership must be understood as «democratic ownership», of collective entitlement of the society as a whole. It must involve the significant participation of the citizenship, including the women's organisations, in inclusive processes of public policy and formulation and execution. For this participation to be significant and of quality, the development of capacities in the organisations and information transparency must be supported.

Democratic ownership requires legitimate governance mechanisms both for participative decision making and accountability in development plans and processes applicable to parliaments and elected representatives and for the existence of social vigilance groups¹²⁶.

The conceptualisation of the principle of ownership as governmental has led to the centralisation in the Governments of both the interlocution and the resources of the development policies. This fact has marginalised the feminist organisations and their agendas which, many times, are placed on the margins of the National Development Strategies/ Plans. Although the PD reflects and encourages the participation of the social organisations, among them the feminist and women's organisations, their effective participation in the processes of consultation and design of national development programmes is in practice very scarce or non-existing. A «participation» trend which appears to be reinforced when we speak of feminist and women's organisations is the subcontracting thereof to implement public

programmes for gender equality, without their having taken part in the design of the policies or performed any role whatsoever in citizen control. In broader terms, the dependency of the organisations to gain access to the aid through the governments and the democratic deficits in the autonomous participation of the organisations in the development policies and processes of the countries seriously endangers development and democratic governance.

Alignment

Alignment is based on the coordination of the donor countries with the policies and procedures of the national systems and their priorities, including coordination with the budget and programme cycles, with public expense and the financial management systems. In practice, this principle has been translated by the donors as an adjustment to national budgets, giving rise to one of the most popular financial instruments of the effectiveness agenda: the budgetary support in some of its different versions¹²⁷.

Under this principle, the gender demands are in a better negotiating position for their financing through the Development Cooperation if there are institutionalised gender policies, plans and strategies in the countries and if the governments prioritise them in the negotiation with the donors.

¹²⁶ From Paris 2005 to Accra: could Development Assistance be more effective and reliable?, op. cit.

¹²⁷ The budgetary support, both general and sectoral, is considered the best mechanism for alignment, since it allows for the recipient country to distribute the resources in a flexible manner, according to its needs and priorities. Within this instrument, the funds may be nominally justified on the basis of certain sectors, but there are no formal limitations regarding where the fund could be invested. There are two basic modalities: General Budgetary Assistance and Sectoral Budgetary Assistance.

With the democratic deficit mentioned in the interpretation of the principle of ownership, it is logical that some concerns have been expressed on what the implications for gender equality are in the application of this principle.

It has been said that gender equality and the exercise of women's rights are seldom found among the national budget priorities and that there are few cases in which the mechanisms are set up and an adequate process occurs to facilitate a type of participation which makes it possible to incorporate the needs and demands of women among the national priorities. This situation is inseparable from the weakness of the national mechanisms for the advancement of women in the governments which, even when they hold ministerial hierarchy and are in line with a progressive feminist agenda, have a limited space and weight to adequately mark the demands and priorities.

Besides, where budgetary support is the preferred element for aid delivery, the integration of the gender dimensions is problematic due to the lack of preparation, both in the donors and in the partner countries, in the budget planning, the analysis and the follow-up of the resources aimed at gender equity.

Finally, as international aid is increasingly channelled toward the governments' large priorities, fewer bilateral and multilateral funds are available to support specific programmes that promote gender equality and women's rights and the organisations that carry them out. In contexts where the organisations are strongly dependent on international cooperation as single financing source, the advancement of feminist agendas for the women's human rights is at risk¹²⁸.

128 AWID (2007) «Financial Sustainability for Women's Movement's Worldwide». Available online at. <http://www.awid.org/eng/About-AWID/AWID-News/Financial->

For the implementation of the **principle of alignment** or aid channelling through national budget support, a solid and qualified civil society and organisations are required to carry out the roles of follow-up and participation in the national budgetary processes, including the establishment of priorities for resource allocation, supervision and implementation of gender budgets. The women's groups are acquiring a wide experience in these areas and may contribute to the democratisation of the national budgets and the accountability of these processes.

However, it is worth noting that the follow-up role of the CSOs and the women's organisations in this framework cannot, nor should it, substitute their role of politicising the interests and social demands, organising the community, feeding the debate with critical analysis and proposals, etc., because this role and social commitment diversity is precisely what qualifies them to perform the functions of social vigilance and auditing of the governments and the donors.

Harmonisation

«Harmonisation» is the principle related with the specific responsibility of the donors to coordinate and harmonise practices and procedures to manage the ODA they channel towards the partner countries. It had the goal of confronting one of the main limitations to aid effectiveness: the proliferation of projects and the complex mosaic of donors that overloaded the administrative capacities of the partner country, increasing the transaction cost and preventing the clear information and predictability of the development assistance flows.

[Sustainability-for-Women-s-Movement-s-Worldwide-Second-FundHer-Report](#)

The application of the harmonisation principle is a highly delicate matter for the gender equality and women's rights agenda due to the risk that lies in the so-called «down levelling». Under this principle, a partner country negotiates jointly with a «block» of donors who agree to a common position¹²⁹ to negotiate with the partner country. Harmonisation in relation to the least progressive position («down levelling») directly impacts on the reduction of the scope of the development agenda in the countries, and predictably, of the support to a feminist agenda and the scope of results surrounding gender equality and women's rights. Regarding the implementation of this principle, two new and relevant joint (or harmonised) financing modalities are developed: sector wide approach¹³⁰ and basket funds¹³¹.

To partly alleviate the risk of a non progressive harmonisation, we need to make sure the harmonisation between donors and their financing instruments is performed in accordance with the international and regional human rights standards. The strategy would consist in demanding that the donor countries and the developing countries align and harmonise their aid and development policies in accordance with the

commitments, including, among others, the Beijing Platform for Action, the CEDAW and the MDGs (or future global development agenda).

The efforts undertaken to ensure that the women's organisations with more progressive visions have the opportunity to participate in the harmonisation instruments to guarantee that gender equality and women's rights result in broader possibilities for greater support to the feminist agendas take special relevance.

The organisations that advocate for women's rights and empowerment should be consulted and included in all the harmonisation efforts of the donor countries.

Result-based management

By virtue of the principle of result oriented management, donors and partners should reflect and act towards achieving lasting results and effects in terms of development, which involves, among other aspects, using sound empirical proofs as a basis for policy making¹³². Result-based management implies both working for specific and measurable development goals which improve the lives of all the people, and taking responsibility for such goals. Showing results shall be the key argument to justify new modalities of aid and financial support to the different actors.

For the implementation of this principle, the national systems and mechanisms for follow-up and evaluation of the results at a country level shall be proposed, in the following line of ideas: to link the development results to the achievement of the MDGs, which must be included in the national development and poverty reduction strategies; these plans, in turn, must be

¹²⁹ A practical example of this case are the Joint Assistance Strategies of several donors which are implemented at a national level or the negotiations at a country level carried out by the United Nations System in the frame of the «ONE UN».

¹³⁰ The Sector Wide Approach (SWAP) implies the support of the donors to the development of the entirety of a certain sector, as, for example, health, education or agriculture, instead of supporting specific projects. This support is generally connected to the effort made by the donors in cooperation with a ministry, but may also include other financing relations connected to a determined sector.

¹³¹ Basket Funds are a joint financing modality carried out by several donors to support a program, a sector or a budget. They may entail agreements between donors and recipients on harmonized procedures, terms and conditions of these assistance programmes.

¹³² Paris Declaration on Development Assistance Effectiveness, items 43 to 46.

fed by a wide national dialogue with the different social agents. Thus, the Result-based Management for Development (RMD) would play a part in ensuring and demonstrating that development assistance has had a true impact on the lives of the people under this new paradigm of the aid governance.

In order to do this, many partner countries must redesign their institutions, strengthen the national capacities to effectively contribute in the planning, follow-up and management of their own development strategies in the medium and long term, improve their information systems and improve their statistical capacities to generate itemised data (by gender, region and socioeconomic status). This does not occur in many countries nowadays.

In fact, since the national statistics systems and follow-up and evaluation systems are generally weak, several donors are reluctant to shift from the project level to the national level when it comes to measuring the impact of the actions.

In the implementation of this principle there have also been other concerns. The first of them, already mentioned, is that the RMD does not emphasise the effectiveness of development or the substantial results. Its stress is more on the institutional procedures, the disbursements, the accounting and the management procedures around aid effectiveness. For this reason, an RMD based on international commitments in matters of human rights, legal obligations of donors and governments of the partner countries is proposed.

Another relevant issue is the collection, treatment and analysis of the data broken down by sex (also a fundamental issue for the feminist agenda), as well as gender analysis as essential elements to be integrated into the processes of follow-up, implementation and evaluation (called national or *country assessments*). The participation of the social organisations in these

processes and the transparency and agreement on methodology of the assessments with the national governments and the development agents shall be part of this principle.

In connection with this principle, the European Union promotes the Division of Labour¹³³ among its members and other donor countries. This principle reveals a clear tendency to the specialisation and complementarity among donors and to the sectoral/ by expertise division of development work in which they would focus on based on the comparative advantages they present. This also means a reduction in the number of donors who could potentially channel aid to gender equality.

Accountability

This principle was inspired by the wish to overcome the imbalances between the partner countries and the donors and, in the initial proposals, changes were requested in the practices of the latter which could be independently and internationally assessed on the basis of common criteria. This revision process of the donors' practices would be carried out simultaneously with the reform progress promoted in the partner countries and on which they were evaluated.

Parliament control was deepened in the initial idea, especially regarding transparency of management of the public finances and the aid flows, and participation

¹³³ The European Union as well —following the Code of Conduct on Complementarity and Division of Labour in Development Policy approved in February of 2007—, commits to the implementation of 11 quite revolutionary guiding principles, fully in line with the harmonization principle of the Paris Declaration. These principles cover aspects such as: sectoral and geographical concentration of the donors, the possibility of managing and/or reaching agreements with a lead donor,

mechanisms were opened for other social actors in the follow-up and accountability processes.

Finally, what was reflected in the PD is that donor countries and partner countries jointly agree to evaluate the mutual progress in the implementation of the commitments pledged for aid effectiveness, including ownership, harmonisation and result based management. However, in practice this process is asymmetrical: there is a strong emphasis on the accountability of the partner countries and it has not been possible to capture the equilibrium implied by mutual responsibility.

The feminist and women's organisations are convinced that mutual responsibility is the only efficient foundation for aid, since its application requires that both donors and partner countries and other development actors must account for the impacts and results of the aid in general and for women's wellbeing and gender equality in particular. However, for responsibility to serve its initial purpose a change of perspective is necessary towards «multiple accountability» that acknowledges that the key development actors go beyond the donors and the governments (the private sector, the CSOs—including women's and feminist organisations—members of parliament, local governments and other actors) and that all of them must account for their effectiveness for development, provide transparent information on the ODA allocation, on how they relate to the people's needs, and make the budgets public.

the aid instruments such as delegated cooperation, the need to respond to the challenge of donor-orphan countries and the will to build over the donors' comparative advantages with the goal, among others, of reducing the fragmentation of the cooperation activities and the proliferation of donors—two aspects which, as several investigations have shown, entail significant costs in terms of Aid Effectiveness—.

In the new context, the accountability of the private sector under these parameters is especially relevant.

It has also been said that accountability must be supported on a new follow-up system that reviews the appropriateness of the present indicators to be based on international commitments and standards of human rights¹³⁴ and, therefore, transcend the product and disbursement level to monitor results.

In this area, the inclusion of specific instruments such as gender sensitive budget and gender audits and the compulsory use of the three GENDERNET indicators on gender equality and aid effectiveness that have been incorporated in the 2011 Survey on Monitoring the Paris Declaration¹³⁵ is demanded.

Finally, the need for a strong, independent and organised civil society, both in the partner countries and in the donors is emphasised: only thus shall the citizenship be capable of playing a representative role in the multiple accountability processes.

IV.2. The Dialogue Squares

The Hopscotch shall be played in dialogue. The subject of this dialogue is centred around the content of squares 4 and 5, there where the Dialogists are. The «dialogue» shall be an act that empowers those

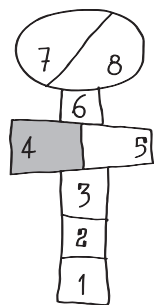
¹³⁴ The requisites of the CEDAW reports, the reports on the fulfilment of the Beijing Platform for Action (BPfA), the International Conference on Population and Development Programme for Action, or other international mechanisms such as the Human Rights Council Universal Periodic Review.

¹³⁵ For more information on the Optional Module for Gender Equality and Aid Effectiveness, see <http://www.oecd.org/site/dacsmptd11/46193484.pdf>

who become involved in it and, therefore, we may consider that the dialogue itself is a political act.

Square 4 contains the Agenda prepared along the process in which the different understandings and commitments agreed upon within the initiative and reflected in the Declarations of the different Consonant Dialogues are included. This Agenda shall have three categories: i) political approaches and covenants arrived at among the networks and organisations established in the Agenda; ii) action pacts agreed on among the feminist networks and organisations and the different actors participating in the CDs, and; iii) action proposals of regional/sub regional approach on strategic issues presented in the thematic dialogues of the CDs.

Square 5 shall house the Discourse constructed with the input and the joint reflection of the networks and organisations that have participated in the CDs. This discourse is part of the visions, changes or aspirations that may not be contained in the specific Agenda and which, however, are a part of the behaviour in the cooperation policies for these to be instruments of transformation and contribute to effective development in a democratic frame of respect to human rights.



SQUARE 4. THE AGENDA

Along this road, we have been able to mainstream everything from the mutual acknowledgement of each other, that which united us —being feminists, gender justice— to what separated us in no few occasions, many times at odds also in the specific sphere of Development Cooperation —governmental institutionalism, feminist organisations—.

The Agenda of the CDs is that which specifies and publicises the covenants arrived at in this process. This Agenda, although it is not binding, shall synthesise the political commitment, with a language that compels to action and makes it public. The proposals and covenants that have been stated, the Agenda of the specific, of the approaches, the action pacts and the initiatives that require long term efforts, setting styles and responsibilities and addressing them in this changing context, so difficult to determine, are dealt with in this square.

We have divided the Agenda into three categories based on the nature of the actions contained therein. First we shall address the Agenda that constitutes the ethical and political framework from which the Development Cooperation may contribute to «achieving more and better results for gender equality and women's empowerment». This framework has been constructed from the collection of consonances reached in the different Dialogues and reflected in their respective Declarations.

Next is the Agenda with the proposals that the feminist networks and organisations have made to the different actors participating in the CDs. These proposals are part of the action pacts that are established in the Declarations which aim at the same goal with their implementation as the aforementioned ethical and political framework.

Finally, we shall include the proposals that the organisations agreed on in the thematic dialogue tables regarding the political work guidelines in the CDs for reflection and which fit into the three dimensions of women's autonomy proposed by the Gender Equality observatory of the ECLAC.

The Agenda as Ethical and Political Framework for Action

From the consonances arrived at in the different Dialogues and collected in their respective Declarations, the CDs shall contribute to the construction of an ethical and political framework from which the Development cooperation may help to «obtain more and better results for gender equality and women's empowerment» within a conception of development that recognises «democracy, human rights, gender equality and interculturality» as the focal points of its structure. The different agreements and commitments achieved within this frame are a part of the agenda on Development Cooperation that the networks and organisations have raised during the process.

It is a political reference and advocacy tool of the feminist movement in its dialogue on cooperation in other spaces to discuss and build on the agreements and progress already made to avoid amnesia and the tendency to always start from «scratch». The agenda expresses the level of consensus among the feminist networks and organisations, as well as with other cooperation actors, on highly significant political positions to strengthen the feminist movement in LAC and to move forward in the reinforcement of women's citizenship. The approaches and action pacts agreed on among the networks and organisations which are established in the agenda are presented below.

Regarding Development

- Democracy, human rights, gender equality and interculturality as guidelines structuring development.
- The full exercise of human, political, economic, social, cultural, reproductive, sexual and environmental rights and the right to a violence-

free life is the most effective and sustainable road to poverty eradication.

- The construction and reinforcement of democracy require development policies in consonance with equality and justice which favour the full exercise of human rights as the unavoidable path to poverty eradication.
- The results for the advancement of gender equality and women's empowerment in the development of the countries of the region must occur within the fulfilment of the international agreements (CEDAW, Beijing, Cairo, Vienna, Copenhagen, Durban, Quito Consensus, Brazil Consensus) and following the commitments established in the Paris Declaration among the partner and donor countries and the international organisations.
- The strategic issues put forth by the feminist movement and the women's organisations are central for the effectiveness approach, especially those regarding political, economic, social and cultural autonomy, the sovereignty of the bodies, the reappraisal of care work, social inclusion, the elimination of racism, ethnocentricity and all forms of discrimination against women.
- The Consensuses endorsed in the ECLAC Regional Conferences on Woman in Latin America and the Caribbean are of vital importance to advance in the construction of democracies that guarantee the full exercise of equal rights and opportunities.
- A lay State is indispensable to favour the effective development of public policies free from prejudices and dogmas or religious impositions, deeply respectful of the rights of women and of all people.
- There is a commitment to democracy as the manager of everyday life, a democracy which

covers both politics and the social organisation, which defends public wellbeing and takes a leading role in the urgent eradication of women's subordination.

Regarding the Development Cooperation

- The development cooperation must contribute to the reinforcement of women's citizenship taking into account their multiple diversities and inequalities, strengthening the social organisations and the promotion of capacities which guarantee the participation of urban and rural women in all their racial-ethnic, sexual, generational, social diversity in the fight for the expansion of their rights.
- The strengthening of the feminist and women's movements as actors of democracy and development is an indispensable condition for the sustainability of a culture of rights, justice and democratic coexistence.
- The development cooperation must prioritise advocacy sustained in time from an effectiveness approach.
- The eradication of racism, ethnocentricity and all forms of violence and discrimination against women for the expansion of the freedom over their body and the achievement of political, economic, social and cultural autonomy. The revaluation of domestic and care work must be placed in the centre of the effectiveness agenda of the Development Cooperation.
- The reinforcement of the strategic actions of the feminist and women's movements that defend the validity of the rule of law and its lay nature, as a condition for the acknowledgement and full exercise of the sexual and reproductive rights.

- The endorsement of the efforts made by the feminist and women's movements in the fight against violence and impunity, as well as their access to justice.

Regarding the Effectiveness Agenda

- The Official Development Assistance (ODA) must be directed to achieving socio-environmental justice with equality and respect for diversity. It cannot be thought or evaluated in dissociation from other macroeconomic policies which, in the context of globalisation, tend to deepen social inequalities and aggravate environmental problems.
- The results that may be obtained with the ODA are necessary but partial for the promotion of equality and the full applicability of the rights and the wellbeing of all the people of our region. Such results are very limited and in many cases contradict other investment policies of the same donor countries that contribute to the deepening of the inequalities.
- The debates and the decision-making on Aid Effectiveness must be incorporated in the framework of a broad multilateral instance as is the United Nations Financing for Development process.
- The donor governments and the assistance receiving governments of Latin America and the Caribbean must comply with the regional and international agreements on women's rights that must be considered priorities in the development and cooperation policies.
- The High Level Forums on Aid Effectiveness¹³⁶ and the governments must reaffirm the equality

¹³⁶ Only the HLF-3 is mentioned in the Declaration (2008).

between men and women as a development goal and acknowledge that the aid may not be neutral in terms of gender.

- The promotion of democratic ownership which includes development policies, guaranteeing the participation of the civil society organisations and particularly of the women's organisations in the processes of formulation, implementation and evaluation, guaranteeing transparent mechanisms and adequate financing to this end.
- The incorporation of the civil society in the mutual accountability with indicators including social and gender equality, guaranteeing access to information.
- The wealth redistribution policies, and not only those of poverty reduction, which contain indicators of inequality in the evaluation of the ODA impact are a priority for Latin America and the Caribbean.
- Acknowledging the importance of the Paris Declaration, we note its insufficiency in expanding the effectiveness of the Official Development Assistance which is directly connected with other social and economic measures essential for a social and gender equitable development.
- The organisations, as development actors in our countries and our region, intend to perform a close follow-up of the implementation of the Paris Declaration and its coherence with other policies for the advancement of social and gender equality in Latin America and the Caribbean.

Regarding the Feminist and Women's Movement

- The strengthening of the social organisations as democracy and development actors is an essential

condition for the sustainability of a culture based on rights and democratic coexistence.

- The acknowledgement of the importance of the feminist and women's movements as political and social actors, autonomous and diverse.
- We need to strengthen the feminist and women's movement in its full diversity (indigenous, Afro-descendant, sexual, urban or rural) as a political and social actor, supporting its institutional development and its autonomy. Its strengthening may guarantee the sustainability of advocacy for the advancement of women's rights in a far more effective way than the mere mainstreaming of gender policies which depend on the will of each government.
- We need to contribute to the assertion of women's citizenship considering their multiple diversities and inequalities, strengthening the social organisations and the promotion of capacities that guarantee the participation of urban and rural women in their full racial-ethnic, sexual, generational and social diversity in the fight for the expansion of their rights
- We assert the commitment to a political culture of covenants in which life free from violence, free from discrimination, free from racism, free from repressive policies that restrict the exercise of rights prevails. A culture in which the autonomy of the organisations and networks and the role of the civil society is major.
- The feminist organisations undertake to: i) struggle relentlessly for a truly inclusive and just democracy; ii) consolidate and weave new alliances based on transparent dialogue among Latin American, Caribbean and Spanish feminists; iii) make the struggle of the social movements, especially the feminist movement, contagious.

- We commit to internationalist feminism and to movements whose members value each other and where respect for the other and for her ideas and proposals is the driving force to imagining new and better worlds.

Action Pacts

As part of the Agenda, several proposals directed to the different actors that participated in the CDs together with the feminist networks and organisations materialised. These proposals are part of the action pacts which were established in the Declarations that seek to contribute to more and better results for gender equality and women's empowerment in LAC with their implementation. Most of these proposals deal with the strengthening of the organisations in order to contribute to development effectiveness in a democratic and rights-based framework.

In this second part of the Agenda the organisation has been maintained by actors present in the Declarations. However, we have included a sub-level of classification on the basis of the nature of the measure or proposal: political nature and financial nature. Even if the proposals directly connected with economic resources have the purpose of advancing and supporting a political agenda¹³⁷, we have chosen this distinction to visualise the greater weight of the political proposals over those of financial nature. However, we wish to maintain the emphasis on the differentiation for the above reason.

¹³⁷ We wish to note and share that political agendas require resources for their implementation and that the funding is destined to political issues and priorities of the organizations.

Spanish Cooperation – Agreements of political nature

- To favour the creation of synergies among all the actors of the Spanish cooperation and the Spanish feminist organisations in line with the contents of the declarations of the CDs.
- To maintain the support to the women's organisations in the Action Plan of the AECID, in compliance with the goals of the Gender Strategy of the Cooperation, besides complying with the cross cutting priority of diversity, with special emphasis on ethnic-racial issues.
- To guarantee the participation as feminist and women's organisations in the consultation and decision making processes to define the Country Association Frameworks between the Spanish Cooperation and the partner countries.
- To foster, from the group of actors of the centralised and decentralised Spanish cooperation, the Spanish feminist organisations and NGDOs, the creation of a specific mechanism of articulation with the feminist and women's organisations of Latin America and the Caribbean.
- To deepen gender mainstreaming and the empowerment of the women's organisations in all the instruments of the Spanish Cooperation, especially the programmes for Indigenous Peoples and Afro-descendants, as set forth in the Strategies for Indigenous Peoples and the Gender Strategy, as well as the III Master Plan of the Spanish Cooperation.
- To support the presence of the reflections, experience and struggles of the feminist and women's organisations in instruments and actors connected with research and/or training such as universities and others, as a relevant strategy for

the Gender and Aid Effectiveness Agenda (Lima Declaration, Item h).

- To promote (guarantee) the participation of the feminist and women's movements in the processes of planning and decision-making with the different actors of the Spanish Cooperation and the partner countries.
- To create and/or strengthen an institutionalised mechanism for political dialogue among the feminist movements and the Spanish cooperation with emphasis on the TCOs and AECID management bodies.
- To carry out a Consonant Dialogue with the feminist organisations and networks in the Caribbean and guarantee the celebration of a Consonant Dialogue in Spain among feminist organisations of Latin America and the Caribbean, feminist networks and organisations and different actors of the Development Cooperation of the Spanish State.
- To strengthen the feminist and women's organisations of Haiti, supporting their participation and advocacy in the National Reconstruction Plan, fostering the solidarity actions promoted by the feminist networks and organisation of the region. To support the strategic actions that guarantee that the humanitarian aid responds to the needs of the women.
- To acknowledge especially the need to continue supporting Haiti and the compliance with the commitments undertaken. The environmental and human catastrophes endured by Haiti especially affect the women and girls. The presence of the feminist organisations must be demanded in all the decision making instances and reconstruction plans.

- To strengthen the mechanisms of social auditing such as the ISOQuito¹³⁸.
- To develop strategies addressed at combating racial discrimination and exclusion with gender mainstreaming.
- To acknowledge the geopolitical Caribbean diversity and the different access levels of the countries to the Cooperation. The Caribbean has independent as well as non independent countries, with no recognition in the United Nations and with political and economic relations attached to administrating countries.
- To prepare a Guide on the modalities, conditions and procedures of the different development financing sources.
- To perform advocacy actions before the other actors of the Development Cooperation of the European Union for the incorporation of the proposals of the feminist movements of Latin America and the Caribbean.

Spanish Cooperation – Agreements of financial nature

- To support the celebration of the Feminist Encounters of Latin America and the Caribbean (Mexico-2009 and Colombia-2011).
- To create a specific gender Programme that includes participative mechanisms and specific and direct funds for the feminist and women's movement following the Master Plan and the Gender Strategy.

¹³⁸ http://www.mujeresdelsur-afm.org.uy/index.php?option=com_content&view=category&layout=blog&id=93&Itemid=130

- To materialise a mechanism and specific sessions for gender equality in which the small and medium organisations may also gain access to financing for strengthening their institutions. Establishing programmatic financing guidelines and simplifying the access to resources so as to guarantee the democratisation thereof.
- To increase resources for the production of appropriate knowledge and information on data, follow-up and social vigilance on strategic issues for women's citizenship approved in the Consensus of the Conference on Women of LAC —ECLAC, especially ISOQuito.
- To increase the fund assignment for the Gender Observatory of the ECLAC.
- To establish financing lines in which the procedures of resource access are simplified, a specific fund is materialised for the feminist and women's organisations and minimum percentages of resources are established for gender equality in the collection of modalities and instruments of the AECID and other actors of the SC.
- To create, diversify and strengthen mechanisms to favour the access of the feminist and women's organisations to the resources of the Development Cooperation, including as one of the possible modalities the women's funds of Latin America and the Caribbean.
- To increase the resources of the UN Women Equality Fund to help strengthen the feminist and women's movements, incorporating a specific line destined to financing feminist and women's networks in the region, considering the focal points of their agenda.

UN WOMEN (UNIFEM e INSTRAW) and other agencies of the United Nations System

Agreements of political nature

- To create a participation mechanism of the feminist movement that promotes the dialogue from the perspective of its agenda with the purpose of legitimating the action strategies of UN Women.
- To guarantee the effective participation of the feminist and women's movement in the Fund for Gender Equality approved by the Spanish cooperation aimed at strengthening equality policies and managed by UNIFEM (now UN Women).
- (UN WOMEN and UN). To guarantee the commitment and support to the programmatic agenda of the feminist and women's movements in Latin America and the Caribbean and their participation in the development process of UN WOMEN at all levels, ensuring regional equality, ethnic-racial and generational diversity in the composition of the staff of the new entity.
- (UN WOMEN/INSTRAW). To get acquainted in more detail with the Work Plan (INSTRAW) and the actions that are being undertaken and for it to develop a more articulate action with the feminist and women's movement of the region and promote North-South/South-South dialogues from an intercultural perspective, with stress on mutual knowledge transference and promotion of covenants and agreements for the group of actors of the cooperation.
- (UN WOMEN/INSTRAW). To support and strengthen the participation of the feminist and women's organisations in the XI Regional Conference on Women of LAC – ECLAC.

- (UN WOMEN/INSTRAW). To prepare a gender and development resources guide on International Cooperation that includes information of the International Organisations participating, bilateral cooperation and other actors of the Spanish Cooperation.
- (UN WOMEN/INSTRAW). To support programmes around the economy of care and the adoption of an Agreement and Resolution on Dignified Work for Home Workers to be adopted in the 99 Meeting of the International Labour Conference - ILO, the spreading, promotion and vigilance of the Agreements 156 - ILO Workers with family responsibilities and 183 - ILO on Maternity Protection.
- (UN WOMEN/INSTRAW). To support the production of national implementation plans of Resolutions 1325 and 1820 of the UN Security Council on Women, Peace and Security in which the women's and feminist organisations are involved from the identification phase to the implementation.
- (UN WOMEN/INSTRAW). To strengthen the feminist and women's organisations of Haiti and their participation in the reconstruction actions in order to guarantee a gender approach therein and to support the solidarity actions organised by the feminists of the region.
- To guarantee the specific financing for the strengthening of the feminist and women's movements through the Fund for Gender Equality approved by the Spanish cooperation destined to strengthening equality policies and managed by UNIFEM (now UN Women).
- (UN WOMEN and UN). To increase the resources of the Fund for Gender Equality to support the strengthening of the feminist and women's movements, especially in the priorities of the declarations, incorporating a specific line destined to financing the feminist and women's networks of the region.
- (UNDP and UNFPA). To increase the resources directed to the exercise and defence of the sexual and reproductive rights, in compliance with the Cairo Programme of Action.
- (UN WOMEN y NNUU). To increase resources for the generation and socialisation of information and knowledge, strengthening social auditing processes such as ISOQuito, around the consensuses of Quito and Brasilia, approved during the Conferences on Women of Latin America and the Caribbean, held by the ECLAC.

UN WOMEN (UNIFEM and INSTRAW) and other agencies of the United Nations System

Agreements of financial nature

- To support the strengthening of the feminist and women's movement through direct funds that allow for the development of their political agenda.

Gendernet /EU - Agreements of political nature

- To transmit the concern of the women's organisations and feminist networks on the substantial reduction of the resources of the cooperation in Latin America and, particularly, to the feminist and women's organisations and movements of Latin America and the Caribbean to the donor countries.
- To propose a legitimate regional representation of the feminist organisations of LAC in the spaces for monitoring aid effectiveness.

- To present The Consonant Dialogues in their annual meetings as a proposal of good gender equality practices in LAC.

Thematic Action Proposals

This section covers the proposals which were prioritised in the Thematic Dialogues in each of the Consonant Dialogues¹³⁹ and which shall reflect the regional and sub-regional concerns and indications for action which were presented at the plenary sessions for joint reflection. They are the points of agreement for action of the feminist organisations participating in the CDs.

The proposals that make up the most specific agenda are arranged in a thematic rationale which fits and is correlated with the three dimensions of women's autonomy proposed by the Gender Equality Observatory of the ECLAC to organise its information and assess the progress, obstacles and resistances to gender equality in the region (economic autonomy, autonomy in decision-making and fiscal autonomy). With the focal point of autonomy, the proposals have been organised under three groups:

- Towards the feminist networks and organisations.
- Towards other cooperation agents.
- Towards the construction of public voices.

The first two categories arrange the proposals based on whom the first impulse of the action is directed to, even if different political and economic

support is required for both. However, «towards the construction of public voices» includes initiatives and proposals that have the goal of giving voice and shape to the experiences and realities of women to place them in the public scenario. The interest of this line of work has been emphasised in the different thematic dialogues, aiming at structures that go from the generation of knowledge and construction of critical mass regarding the challenges involved in the advancement of the different dimensions of women's autonomy to the generation of communicational strategies for political advocacy and the citizen's awareness/mobilisation on critical issues for women's rights and gender equality. This grouping shall evolve at the symbolic-discursive level to develop opinion leaderships capable of introducing voices in favour of gender equality in the political spaces and in interlocution with other actors.

Physical autonomy

«Physical autonomy» was expressed in the CDs in two dimensions that account for relevant social problems in the region: the respect for women's sexual and reproductive rights and gender violence.

Sexual rights and reproductive rights

Towards the feminist movements

- To carry out mobilisations to ensure that both health and sexual and reproductive rights (SRR) are guaranteed by the State.
- To demand the accountability of the States on SRR carrying out vigilance and citizen control actions, as well as actions for the enforceability of the SRR and a permanent denunciation of the violations of these rights.

¹³⁹ The thematic agenda does not reflect all the proposals presented in the CDs. As mentioned in the limitations of this reflection exercise, we have only had access to materials from the «thematic dialogues» celebrated in Montevideo, Santo Domingo and Madrid.

- To define common strategies to achieve and guarantee that the resources of the Development Cooperation address the SRR agenda.
- To advocate in the decentralised organisations of the SC for them to promote and implement specific lines of work in gender that incorporate the physical autonomy of women.
- To advocate in UN Women for the Fund for Equality to support initiatives addressed at the exercise of sexual and reproductive rights and human rights as well.
- To revitalise the role of the NGOs (Spanish or other) as political allies —not as intermediaries— to open and share opportunities and create alliances around the SRR agenda.
- To study and define direct financing lines for SRR initiatives to have autonomy in the face of institutional or political conditionings which exist in the countries of the region.
- The AECID is requested to: i) study financing channels among its instruments for women’s physical autonomy and sexual health; ii) develop the specific channels existing in the gender action plan regarding support to women’s and feminist organisations; iii) promote the access of the women’s and feminist organisations to the processes of negotiation and preparation of the countries’ association frameworks; iv) support the implementation of a meeting aimed at strengthening the feminist networks of the Caribbean working on the SRR agenda.

Towards other cooperation agents

- To support the feminist movement in the legislative advocacy on public policies in favour of SRR in identified issues¹⁴⁰ and on which alliances may be constructed with other social and cooperation agents (for example, NGDOs of the Spanish State). These issues shall be addressed from a perspective of autonomy and sovereignty of the women’s bodies from interculturality, feminist internationalism, women’s citizenship and empowerment. Additionally, it should be connected to the fight against fundamentalism and for lay states.

Towards the construction of public voices

- To develop communicational strategies for social mobilisation, negotiating common communicational messages among the networks and organisations, on the basis of common discourses regarding the sovereignty of the body and democracy.
- To incorporate feminists in the official delegations on the road to Busan capable of supporting the agenda of sexual and reproductive rights and human rights.
- Financing research in SRR matters.

Violence against women

Towards the feminist movements

- To deepen the dialogues among Latin American feminists and of these with feminists of the Spanish State to promote approaches and legal

¹⁴⁰ Identified issues on which alliances could be built: i) The right to legal and safe abortion; ii) The right to decide over one’s own body; iii) The sexual and reproductive rights and the denunciation of the violations thereto; iv) The right to sexual education, and; v) The right to live, decide and enjoy sexuality whatever the sexual orientation/choice and gender expression.

frameworks which respond to the common and specific needs of women in their specific contexts.

- To develop direct, on the field actions to reach the women victims of trafficking and the sexual workers through direct action.
- To exchange good practices and advocacy strategies to fight violence against women, sexual workers and the victims of trafficking.

Towards the construction of public voices

- To promote joint research lines among several agents to articulate the local and global dimension of patriarchal, capitalist and racist violence that feed solidarity at an international scale¹⁴¹.
- To build approaches that make it possible for us to identify the basis of violence in the generic construction of society.
- To investigate and visualise the growing complicity of the international financial system with violence against women and in connection with territory control.
- To reassess everyday coexistence in the territorial spaces in the framework of the planning policies for safe cities.
- To deepen the analysis of intersectional violence which articulates gender, the ethnic group, the sexual orientation (among others) allowing for the recognition of the specificities of their impact and possible responses.

¹⁴¹ By way of example, we mention trafficking, commercial sexual exploitation, sexual tourism, harassment of migrant domestic workers, etc.

- To investigate the situation of sexual trade and trafficking in the Caribbean and, on the basis of this investigation, establish recommendations to fight it and develop actions for political advocacy with the governments.
- To visualise the good practices in the address of gender violence.

Political Autonomy

Autonomy in decision making refers to the presence of women at the different levels of power of the State and to the measures designed to promote their full participation in equal conditions.

Towards the feminist movements

- To develop feminist political strategies that include political training and the development of alliances and articulations with other actors, as well as the attention of massive communications media as part of the political system that excludes women and feminists.
- To debate politically with the governments on Latin America, feminism and the place the latter occupies there (Venezuela, Nicaragua, Ecuador, Brazil, Bolivia, etc.).
- To promote/favour feminist covenants based on transparency, political trust and accountability.
- To create spaces of political divergence and convergence and work on consensuses within the movement, starting off from the acknowledgement of the intersections between the identities and power.
- To debate within the movements on topics such as the Welfare State, Good Living, Multi-national

States and policies of wealth and resource redistribution.

- To promote the participation and social control of the women's and feminist organisations in the State.
- To promote alliances with other actors and movements with a clear idea of which covenant to endorse, what the consequences are and what is non negotiable.
- To promote alliances for the fights at local and global levels from feminist perspectives, as well as international alliances for the sustainability of policies from a feminist vision both in Latin America and the Caribbean and in other parts of the world.

Towards other cooperation agents

- To support parliament women and women who are committed to the gender agenda in decision making positions.
- To invest for feminist women to be able to advocate in politics with transforming purposes in the political system, the quality of democracy and the quality of politics, gender justice, the development model, etc.
- To promote the radicalisation of democracy supporting initiatives that place more women in the political system and generating a strong critical mass in this respect.
- To support initiatives directed at the democratisation of the political parties and influencing the political culture to achieve an effective democracy.

Towards the construction of public voices

- To support political advocacy strategies with resources, developing arguments and informing the journalists thereon.

- To support communicational strategies that make the feminists and their organisations visible and promote the presence of spokeswomen in the media (written, virtual, etc.).
- To generate feminist platforms for collective knowledge that help us move away from face to face spaces as the only way to carry the voice of feminist women to the global spaces, as well as to give continuity and representation to different voices. Not everyone can or has to be in all the debates of the agendas, but we need to connect to each other to share and insist on the feminist presence and voice in the global debates.
- To establish alliances with the women of the parties to have a voice inside the Parliaments, but at the same time creating minimum covenants with the elected women.
- To re-dimension the word feminism and reposition the feminist agenda in political action, breaking with localisms and placing ourselves in a regional and international framework.
- To use technologies for holding campaigns and making the situation known, for vigilance and denunciation on women's participation through the social networks, on the basis of that «That which is not mentioned does not exist».
- To alphabetise and provide access to the women's and feminist organisations to the new technologies, for political and feminist education and for the communicational strategies.
- To create training and political-feminist analysis centres with resources, for them to think and publish, for having a strong public voice.

- To promote feminist political education given by feminist women and spaces of political debate with political party women.
- To promote ongoing education by feminist women on political participation and on feminism—separately—to political women and young women so that they become involved in politics.

Economic Autonomy

Economic autonomy is expressed as the capacity of women to generate their own income and resources from the access to paid work in equal conditions as men. The use of time and the contribution of women to the economy must be considered.

Towards the feminist movements

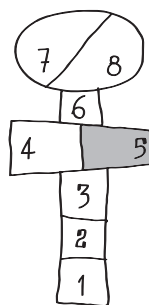
- To bring closer and build trust among the feminist movements-migrant organisations to build political and work alliances on common issues: i) international policies that define the way of being of migrant women in certain territories; ii) uneasiness of the Migrants/subjects to rights who coexist with the lack of guarantee and protection of their human rights; iii) labour exploitation and the increasing precariousness of labour; iv) access to work/house, health, etc.

Towards the construction of public voices

- To analyze migrations as a phenomenon that generates the loss of rights, family fragmentation, etc., but also as a phenomenon that generates trans-national communities.
- To analyze the impact of climate change on women (disappearance of forests, waters, thawing, biodiversity, etc.).

Towards other cooperation agents

- To advocate for changing the approach of fighting poverty to that of development and wealth distribution towards the historically discriminated sectors.
- To advocate for initiatives addressed at fighting the causes of poverty rather than the consequences.
- To advocate for initiatives on dignified work from a gender perspective in all its complexity, with special emphasis on the unpaid work of women and domestic workers.
- To advocate for the resumption of international treaties and agreements that favour the advancement of women's rights and gender equality.
- To promote policies of dignified and quality employment —«decent work»— that generates true opportunities for women.



SQUARE 5. THE DISCOURSE

Square 5 contains the Discourse weaved along the process with the reflections, contributions, questionings and proposals of the different networks and organisations present in the Consonant Dialogues.

This Discourse shall arise from the critical analysis of the principles and rationales of the cooperation from a feminist outlook that questions aid effectiveness and commits to development effectiveness. The Discourse has been broken down into seven key articulating themes that shall aim at a **Transforming Cooperation** in consonance with the objective of

moving toward development effectiveness from a democratic and rights-based framework which reaffirms the citizenship of women in their diversity.

- Critical analysis of the Cooperation from Feminism: democracy, human rights and inter-culturality.
- Effectiveness for Development (with 5 sub-themes).
- The Feminist Movement as Transforming Political Agent.
- Politicising Financing: The practical needs of the organisations and the strategic gender interests.
- Strengthening the organisations, networks and alliances.
- Instrumentalising the «managerial rationale» and promoting the «worlds of life rationale».
- The dialogue as political commitment to a transforming cooperation.

Contrary to what may seem, this transforming perspective of the Development Cooperation is not naive. We start from the idea that it is not possible to balance or construct with the international development cooperation everything the current economic model and the domination structures destroy day after day. The ODA will probably never be the means to change the power structures that subject and exhaust men and women. However, what a «transforming cooperation» may do is support the strengthening and the proposals of the political subjects committed to transformation and that promote alternative development models. The feminist organisations in LAC are among these political subjects.

Undoubtedly, the cooperation shall be «transforming» if conducted as a political and financial instrument

directed to contributing to the changes of economic, social and political structures and relations of the world, if it operates within an ethical and political framework circumscribed to human rights and if it deposits its certainties in the hands of those defending alternative development models consistent with these rights and with the expansion and deepening of democracy.

All the articulating themes have among them a high degree of interpenetration, but also with other discourses present in the organisations of the civil society and some institutions. They are familiar themes for the feminist networks and organisations, firstly, because they are a product of their reflections and debates in the Dialogues and, secondly, because the political rationale that works in the cooperation competes with a similar rationale as that used by the feminist organisations in democratically deficient spaces that resist reform.

The *verbatim*s shall illustrate with the reflections of the organisations the several key articulating themes identified in the Discourse and support the synthetic development thereof.

Theme 1. Critical Analysis of the Cooperation from Feminism: democracy, human rights and inter-culturality

«The construction and strengthening of democracy require development policies in consonance with equality and justice that enable the full exercise of human rights as an unavoidable road to poverty eradication. For this it is essential that the Development Cooperation contributes to the reaffirmation of women's citizenship considering the diversities and differences in the conditions in which they build their lives». (I CD).

«We acknowledge democracy, human rights, gender equality and inter-culturality [individual and collective liberties—III CD—], as focal points that structure development and constitute the starting point of the Consonant Dialogues» (I, II and IV and V CD).

The Consonant Dialogues have developed a political discourse around the elements that contribute to a «Transforming Cooperation» in coherence with both the historical path of the Latin American and Caribbean feminist movements and the reality of the Region. Therefore, the permanent connection between Democracy, Human Rights and Inter-culturality is very present in the conceptualisation of Development to which the International Cooperation must necessarily contribute.

In the ICDs a synthetic model was proposed for the complexity and multiplicity of definitions of large terms so that, dealing with the central issues, a «much more consonant framework from which to build feminist strategies¹⁴²» could be achieved to advocate for cooperation and development policies. Synthesis undoubtedly has its risks, but we agree with Silvia Camurça on the value it provides to enable the consonance of positions and outlooks, meeting points that enable covenants and the later construction of an agenda.

¹⁴² Silvia Camurça proposed the model base in the ICD-Uruguay. The concepts of «human rights» and «diversity» have been added to this core model with definitions from the summarization of reflections undertaken in the IICD-Peru.

Consonance Framework	
Development	Political project which must be consistent with development as a human right
Democracy	General form of how a society is structured. This organisation would include both the political and social spheres and the management of everyday life and the private sphere.
Human Rights	Foundation and action framework of the development policies and reference framework for the assessment of progress in the actions addressed at women's empowerment and gender equality
Feminism	Political subject Organised collective action movement of women that undertake this action to overcome the oppression and exploitation of women
Inter-culturality	Political perspective that embraces both diversity and the challenge of the coexistence and dispute of different world views, positions and discourses around development as a political project.

Even when there are multiple ways to address it, **Development** is expressed as a political project which must be consistent with the right to development as a human right: «every human being and group of people must be empowered to participate in economic, social, cultural and political development in which they may fully realise all the human rights and fundamental liberties, to contribute to that

*development and to enjoy it*¹⁴³». Development is not nor can it be the patrimony of the governments.

By **Democracy** we understand the general way in which a society is structured, covering the political, social and cultural aspects. Democracy also gives structure to the management of public political life and organises everyday life and the private sphere.

Human rights would be the foundation and action framework for development, as well as the reference framework on which to assess whether there have been results, what the level of progress (or regression) is in the situation of Development (as a political project) connected with the quality of democracy and the fulfilment of human rights.

As a proposal for **Feminism** we shall take the political subject in the historical process, but also the political subject in everyday life as an organised collective action movement of women to overcome the oppression and exploitation thereof («political subject that confronts, from diversity, the collection of oppressions and claims»¹⁴⁴). In this sense it is a questioning, proposing and transforming political subject that seeks to advocate for the elimination of the domination systems which are structural in our society and which go beyond gender relations.

We consider **Inter-culturality** as a political perspective that embraces both diversity and the challenge of the coexistence and dispute of different world visions, positions and discourses around development as a political project.

In the articulation of these dimensions is the core of the first key theme of the discourse and a fundamental questioning of the cooperation made from the CDs.

The Organisations, linking denunciation, resistances and proposals, demand a cooperation that transcends aid and which, consistent with the international commitments on human rights endorsed by the countries, is supported on those development policies (political projects) which contribute to building and/or deepening the quality of democracy in the countries of the Region, where the exercise and enjoyment of *«all the human rights and fundamental liberties, including all the women in their diversity»* are fully guaranteed as an essential road to poverty eradication.

«The full exercise of human rights, political, economic, social, cultural, reproductive, sexual, environmental and of a violence free life is the most efficient road to poverty eradication and to moving towards sustainable development ». (I, II, III, IV and V CD)

«The strengthening of the feminist and women's movements as democracy and development actors is an essential condition for the sustainability of a culture of rights, justice and democratic coexistence». (I, II, III, IV and V CD)

To this end, a Transforming Cooperation must face the political, ideological and ethical challenge to act in a framework that contributes to:

- Development policies in consonance with equality and human rights as an essential path to poverty eradication¹⁴⁵, priority goal of the Global Development Agenda.
- Strengthening the feminist movements as actors of democracy and development, guaranteeing the autonomy of the movements to fully perform their roles in the development policies.

¹⁴³ Art.1.1. of the Declaration on Development Rights (1986).

¹⁴⁴ Gina Vargas, IICD.

¹⁴⁵ Declaration on Democracy, Development and Feminism (CD1).

Theme 2. Effectiveness for Development

«Recognising the importance of the Paris Declaration, we note its insufficiency to expand the effectiveness of the Official Development Assistance that is directly related with other unavoidable social and economic measures for development with social and gender equality».

«The results that may be achieved with the Official Development Assistance are necessary but partial for the promotion of equality and the full applicability of the rights and Good Living for all the people of our region. Such results are very limited and, in many cases contradict other investment policies of the same donor countries that contribute to deepening inequalities».

«Evaluating the results of the Official Development Assistance separately from the Direct Foreign Investments, the Free Trade Agreements and Foreign Debt of our countries and regions provides an incomplete vision of the results of such assistance». (I CD).

Even when the cooperation policies had a marginal presence in the agendas of the feminist networks and organisations of the region (hereinafter, Organisations), from the beginning of the CDs we have recognised and insisted on the limitations of the AID Effectiveness Agenda:

- Limitations of the aid to contribute to a development connected with the dimensions reflected in theme 1 (human rights, democracy and inter-culturality).
- Limitations of the aid if it acts unconnected with a broader approach of policy coherence where other policies related with the economic and investment flows of the partner countries, but mainly of the donor countries, must also be observed.

The Cooperation needs a more holistic action framework than that provided by «the aid» to

effectively contribute to development. From a perspective of human rights and democratic demarcation, this framework should acknowledge that development is the responsibility of all the actors —both donors and partner governments and others—, and that both the structural causes and the symptoms of poverty and inequality and exclusion must necessarily be addressed. The diversity, complementary nature and coherence of policies and actors shall be necessary to positively impact on development and the life of the people.

The Second Key Theme is «Effectiveness for Development» which has been subdivided into five thematic sub-themes that have regularly appeared connected with the reflection on effectiveness.

2.1. Democracy, human rights and inter-culturality

This sub-theme has been developed in Theme 1 as dimensions (democracy, human rights and inter-culturality) from which the cooperation is analyzed critically from a feminist perspective. However, they are also vital dimensions in their contribution to the effectiveness of a development project that is conceptualised in connection with the expansion of democracy and citizenship in the frame of human rights.

2.2. Contesting the economic development models

[There is] «a growing and so far unresolved and intensified stress between democracy and economic development. And this also presents the urgent need... to re-politicise the notion of «development», facing us with the urgent need to feed a new development ethics, with a significant change of the prevailing model —ethnocentric, predatory of nature— imposed by the major centres of political power and the large trans-national companies, a new ethics that subordinates economic, productivity and profit goals, of

human dignity, gender equality and citizen Good Living, fostered from other multiple world visions and not only from the imposition of the ethnocentric occidental and, in many ways, colonial perspective». (Gina Vargas, II CD)

Based on the clear conviction that poverty is a consequence of over-wealth and that it is not possible to alleviate one without affecting the other, **the fight against poverty requires the contestation of the dominant economic development models** based on unsustainable consumption, production and exploitation patterns with devastating effects for inclusive, fair and sustainable development.

«The changes in the cooperation must necessarily be directed towards fairer, freer, happier, more egalitarian societies and this is the political project needed for development». (Silvia Camurça, CD I)

«Poverty is seen as a problem of poor government and not as the result of a capitalist form of organisation of the world, which may alleviate it but not solve it». (Lilián Celiberti, II CD)

«Poverty is often understood as a social problem and not an economic problem with social consequences which cannot be resolved with social work». (Silvia Camurça, I CD)

[There is] «the need to incorporate the debates and decision-making of aid effectiveness in the frame of a broad multilateral advocacy instance like the United Nations Financing for Development process... The donor governments and the assistance recipients of Latin America and the Caribbean must comply with the regional and international agreements on women's rights, which must be considered as priorities of the development and cooperation policies». (I CD)

The CDs contribute to the criticism made also by other organisations of the civil society in which the rationale of the Development Cooperation is critically analyzed:

- For its dangerous proximity to neo-liberal postulates and approaches that consider economic growth the driving force of development and whose bases move away from the frame of social justice derived from the articulation of the different United Nations Conferences of the 90s.
- For its oversimplification in the treatment of poverty as a problem contained outside the political and economic relations that exist within and between the countries and of these in relation to more global political and economic dynamics.

The economic and macroeconomic policies, generally shown as intangible, non-political and self-regulated processes, are seen in the discourses of the CDs for what they are: macroeconomic policies are also social policies that impact directly on the wellbeing of women and men and on the effective exercise of their rights.

It is for this reason that the fight against poverty is not possible with the ODA as the only resource. In the equation of effectiveness for development and poverty eradication it shall be indispensable to include and apply the principle of «policy coherence» in two lines:

- For aid to be effective it cannot be treated in isolation from other financial flows and macroeconomic decisions that occur in national, regional and global scenarios. It must be guaranteed that the collection of macroeconomic policies support, or at least do not undermine or contradict the scope of specific achievements in development, also in the matter of gender equality.
- For aid to be effective it must apply an alternative notion of «policy coherence» conforming to the United Nations Conventions and the regional/national frameworks on human rights.

Incoherence has a high social and economic cost for the people.

2.3. The application of the «poverty» criterion for the allocation of the ODA

The policies and the financing of the cooperation are aligned with the fight against poverty, which is likened by the donors with the progress regarding the indicator of MDG 1 «*Proportion of the population living on less than 1 Dollar PPP (purchasing power parity) a day*». Under this indicator and a collection of statistical averages, the countries have been classified as high, middle or low income countries. Being inside or outside one of these categories places them in a different position in the aid chain.

Latin America and the Caribbean have had a major economic growth which has placed most of the countries of the region as middle income countries (MICs). At the same time, LAC is the region with the most economic and social inequality in the world, a persisting inequality that appears not to alter with time. This fact generates at least two elements for reflection around the appropriateness of the poverty criterion for the definition of the ODA allocation:

- Economic growth does not have to be such for the citizens. The poverty, inequality and exclusion indices in the countries are not reversed even when there is an improvement in economic indices.
- The criterion of per capita income for the allocation of financing for development is an exceedingly narrow, inefficient and unfair framework when thinking about development.

«The growth of the GDP shall place many of our countries as MICs, removing the agencies of the Development Cooperation from the region to concentrate the funds

in more impoverished countries,... the indicator is misleading... it does not account for the degree of inequality and inequity among its citizens and the weakness of its democratic systems». (IV CD)

«There exist such deep and structural social inequalities that the fact of being a middle income country does not indicate the situation of most of the population and, above all, of most of the women; we have highly polarised economies with very active impoverishment and enrichment dynamics which affect women very specially due to the conditions and the situation derived from gender inequalities. The structural inequality makes the datum of average income not an indicator of the situations of most of the population, especially of women». (Morena Herrera)

Under this criterion, Latin America and the Caribbean, as a region of predominantly middle income, have been practically excluded from the circuits of financing and support of the Development Cooperation. The classification of MICs conceals groups of countries whose economic and social needs are far from homogenous. The inequity and inequality that exist inside the countries is overlooked. The development problems of the countries shall be standardised without reflecting on the specific diversity and particularities.

«The argument of the MICs is the argument employed to stop having cooperation with LAC. It does not matter whether in Argentina, a MIC country, Tucumán has indicators that look a lot like Africa's. This does not matter because Argentina is a middle income country». (Lucy Garrido, IV CD)

The policies for fighting against poverty to which the Development Cooperation is directed for advocacy on the «increase of the income per capita» often overlook the goal of income re-distribution. Additionally, this type of policy does not face the necessary challenges to guarantee the respect for human rights or favour

socio-cultural and productive transformations, nor do they usually contribute to the construction of public policies to transform society into more egalitarian and fair spaces.

Poverty eradication is the fundamental goal, internationally agreed upon, which guides the cooperation policies connected to development. However, for this fight to be effective it must be contextualised as the result of a structural system of impoverishment and inequality.

We propose that the consideration of the aid allocation criteria be broadened so that the fight against poverty is understood in connection with overcoming inequality, inequity and exclusion, dimensions which are the cause and effect of poverty in the countries. This approach also provides the opportunity of addressing poverty in a more comprehensive manner, in connection with a development model which is not «effective».

«In the AAA and the PD, poverty is seen as a problem of poor government and not as a result of a capitalist form of world organisation that may alleviate it but not solve it». (Lilián Celiberti, IICD)

«Our situation as MIC contrasts the income gaps between those who have more and those who have less. There is a sustained growth in the region as a result of neo-liberal models... which are unable to significantly reverse the poverty indicators. But it is not only the gap existing in income distribution; to this gap we need to add the gaps of gender, generation, ethnic identity, race». (Cecilia Olea, ICD)

2.4. Democratic ownership

«Promoting democratic and inclusive ownership of the development policies, guaranteeing the participation of the organisations of the civil society and particularly the

women's organisations in the processes of formulation, implementation and assessment, guaranteeing clear mechanisms and adequate financing thereto». (Declaration I CD)

«We are talking about democratic, participative and inclusive ownership. This means that the State, a reappraised and strengthened State, with the inclusion of different types of political and social actors, among them the women's organisations, has a fundamental role in the definition of development».

«It is very important to listen to the social organisations for defining policies and also to assess the achievement of the results proposed». (Norma Sanchís. I CD)

Ownership, a guiding principle of the Effectiveness Agenda, is also a focal point of development effectiveness to the extent that it is conceptualised and promoted as Democratic Ownership in the development and cooperation policies.

The shift from governmental ownership to democratic ownership requires, on the one hand, governability mechanisms that favour the participation of the development actors in the processes connected to aid and development¹⁴⁶. On the other hand, it requires strong and autonomous social organisations that may contribute to these processes, being able to set forth disagreements and debates on the specific approaches and policies, as well as to follow-up on the actions of the governments.

«The strengthening of the feminist and women's organisations as democracy and development actors is an essential condition for the sustainability of a culture based on rights and democratic coexistence». (Declaration, IV CD)

¹⁴⁶ Among other processes, the implementation, follow-up and assessment of development policies and programmes shall be included.

«The strengthening of the feminist and women's movement in its full diversity, as a social and political actor, is capable of guaranteeing the sustainability of the advocacy for the advancement of women's rights, in a much more effective way than the mere mainstreaming of gender policies which depend on the will of each government, supporting its institutional development and its autonomy». (Declaration, V CD)

In the specific case of the feminist organisations, where the priorities of their agenda are generally excluded from the national budgetary policies and priorities, it is especially vital to ensure the significant participation of the organisations through mechanisms and spaces clearly established with this purpose.

The quality of this participation shall be closely linked to the presence of autonomous and independent organisations, that may generate disputes, debates and proposals to move forward in practice on what has been gained in a declaratory manner in discourses and legal frameworks and advocate for the women's priorities and rights—established in the international commitments on human rights—not to be left out of the financially supported policies.

On the other hand, the principle of «ownership» cannot be wielded as a withdrawal of the donors from any responsibility on matters of gender equality occurring in the partner countries because it is these who define their priorities. Neither can they ignore the risk that the demands and proposals of the women go unseen because of not being prioritised by the governments in their negotiations with the donors.

«The greater autonomy of the partner countries to define and establish their own strategies and priorities may be dramatic for the feminist movement if there is no chance for the violation of the women's human rights to be used as an element of pressure». (Gina Vargas, IICD)

2.5. Defence of the Lay State

«What do we do in the face of country governments that, despite that their Constitutions promulgate the lay nature of the State, increasingly subordinate the definition and application of their policies to the designs of ecclesiastical hierarchies and fundamentalist groups? Would this alignment be appropriate? Would the development assistance be effective in the purposes it undertakes? We should at least doubt it». (Morena Herrera, ICD)

«An identified challenge is the increase of the conservatisms, particularly of the religious fundamentalisms in the region which, in reaction to the advancement of the women's rights agenda, have been «organising themselves better, organising their strategies better, strengthening their resources, articulating their alliances and actions, etc. » (Denise Paiewonsky, IVCD)

«The need for a lay State that permits the effective development of public policies free from prejudices and dogmas or religious impositions, deeply respectful of the rights of women and of all the people». (V CD)

«The principle of alignment with the governmental lines of the countries generates severe problems for the women's agenda... in Central America, in alignment with the government, the DSS are biased towards a restrictive orientation of these rights». (Lilián Celiberti)

In a narrow interpretation of the principle of ownership it has been assimilated to governmental ownership, in which any political interlocution on development is almost exclusively performed by the governments, as well as the channelling of the resources of the international cooperation destined to the countries' development.

Even when the strengthening of the role of the State is defended in the face of dictatorships of neo-liberal model and the state of minimums, this non-critical

focalisation of cooperation in the governments has pernicious effects for both the feminist agenda and the defence and promotion of human rights.

To this strengthening of the role of the State, the also non-critical application of the principle of alignment of the donors with the governments' policies is added. When the principle of alignment is produced with a State whose laicism is dubious, a strong threat to the effectiveness for development is generated. Fundamentalisms, especially religious ones, and the advancement of conservatisms not only impose a welfare and service provision approach in the developmentalist policies of the countries, but also are damaging for the advancement of the demands of the women's human rights agenda, especially those connected with their physical autonomy¹⁴⁷.

Fundamentalism as an absolutist approach for the organisation of the entire society, decapitating any possibility of digression, is contrary to any emancipating political or development project based on the expansion of democracy and in a frame of social justice supported on human rights.

The historical conquest of separating the State from the Church is at permanent risk and with it arise relevant tensions for citizenship and democracy. Even if a lay State does not solve poverty, it is a fundamental condition for the expansion of democracy and rights and for these to result in a better quality of life for the entire society.

¹⁴⁷ The effects on the women's human rights most frequently connected with a lack of a truly lay posture of the State are: i) restriction in the exercise of the right to health and reproductive rights; ii) restriction in the exercise of sexual rights and liberties; iii) increase of violence against women; iv) restriction in the exercise of women's rights in the public sphere; v) general reduction of the women's autonomy.

2.6. Accountability

«Incorporating the civil society in mutual accountability with indicators that include social and gender equity, guaranteeing access to information. For Latin America and the Caribbean the wealth redistribution policies, and not only those for poverty reduction, that contain inequality indicators in the assessment of the impact of the Official Development Assistance are a priority».(Declaration, ICD)

Effectiveness for development is inextricably linked to the achievement of results connected to the political project of development promoted and to which the actors wish to contribute with their actions.

Accountability is also a key principle for founding an effective aid. On the basis of the application of this principle, the different development actors must account for the impacts and the level of the results obtained, based on and with reference to the progress (or lack of it) regarding the standards of human rights internationally agreed upon and through mechanisms of accountability in terms of rights¹⁴⁸.

Only when there is a strong, independent and organised civil society shall the countries have a citizenship capable of playing a representative and significant role in the accountability processes of their governments and in supranational instances. The feminist organisations must be acknowledged as partner actors of development and monitor the progress of the commitments and contribute their own follow-up and assessment frameworks.

¹⁴⁸ CEDAW Reports, reports on the fulfilment of the Beijing Action Platform (BAP), the Cairo Programme of Action, the International Conference on Population and Development, or other international mechanisms such as the Human Rights Council Universal Periodic Review, etc., including the budget allocation of the countries to women's rights and gender equity.

ISOQuito

«The ISOQuito was born in a meeting in the hotel lobby during the Conference on Women of the ECLAC in Quito. We took the name from the company measurement: ISO. It is a way to measure the results of the regional conferences and congresses of the ECLAC. It is important to follow up on how the governments comply with their commitments or not... The Gender Observatory of the ECLAC is our source. Through it we know what government presents or doesn't present their data and this provides new arguments for pressure. It is a political tool.» (Lucy Garrido, III CD)

«From the ECLAC point of view, the effort made by the ISOQuito is the seed of a good practice, because it makes public information more transparent, since it is a public asset. This observatory is a first step for society, it is the only politically efficient way to confront the authorities that do not fulfil their international commitments.» (Sonia Montaña, IV CD)

In application of the Accountability principle referred to the countries of the region, the Consonant Dialogues have been closely connected with development and the application of the ISOQuito.

The ISOQuito was conceived as an instrument of political advocacy for the entire Latin Caribbean region, designed to support the women's and feminist movements in their political advocacy and in the accountability processes. This tool provides follow-up on the progress and regression regarding the fulfilment of the commitments undertaken by the governments in the regional consensuses of the Conferences on Women of the ECLAC in connection with the equality agenda.

The ISOQuito works on three indices (social wellbeing of women, economic parity and parity in decision making) from the information provided by the countries of the region to the Observatory. To

confront the governments regarding their fulfilment of their international commitments and provide arguments to the organisations for pressing them in the exercise of accountability, it orders the results in the form of ranking.

Theme 3. The Feminist Movement as Transforming Political Agent

«The strengthening of the feminist and women's organisations as democracy and development actors is an indispensable condition for the sustainability of a culture of rights and democratic coexistence». (II, III and IV CD)

«Strengthening the feminist and women's movement in its full diversity (indigenous, Afro-descendant, sexual, urban and rural) as a political and social actor, supporting its institutional development and its autonomy». (Declaration, I, II, III and IV CD)

«The strengthening of the feminist and women's movement in its full diversity as a social and political actor capable of guaranteeing the sustainability of the advocacy for women's rights in a much more effective way than the mere mainstreaming of gender policies which depend on the will of each government, supporting its institutional development and its autonomy». (Declaration, V CD)

«The regeneration of these States has to occur from society itself and not from the governments. There are many experiences and results to measure the effectiveness of this assistance. (...) The main investment is to build movements; if we do not become political subjects these policies shall not be other than rhetoric». (Sofía Montenegro, I CD)

The feminist movements are social and political agents committed to transformation and advocacy processes to implement alternative development models where the expansion of democracy and the full exercise of the rights are a constituent part of

our reality. The cooperation aimed at development scenarios connected with justice and social cohesion and at the deepening in the quality of democracy must include the feminist movements in the dialogue on development policies.

It is necessary to verify that the agendas of the movements are different to the governments' agendas, although they necessarily have important intersections. It is necessary to guarantee the conceptual autonomy and independence of the feminist organisations to preserve the strategic role they play in emancipation and transformation projects.

As we have seen in theme 1, their agendas are inserted in the structural transformation of the domination systems that exist in the social, political, economic and cultural spheres, in the transformation of the institutions that subordinate women. Their agendas also aim at installing the rights, issues and dynamics which have been banished from the debate and the political space in the public space.

«Their contribution is the incorporation of a politics whose place is not only the State but also the social transformation, the politicisation of everyday life, opening space for new voices and sensitivities, contributing other ways of thinking on the social and the political issues, recovering the transformation of everyday life, feeding a new subjectivity from the acknowledgement of the multiple identities and cultural diversity. The agendas of the movements provide the possibility of gradually generating favourable strands of opinion and timely or strategic alliances among the feminisms and with other democratic movements and institutions that reinforce and position those rights or meanings which are not yet placed in the political horizon of the States». (Gina Vargas, II CD)

Theme 4. Politicising Financing: The practical needs of the organisations and the strategic gender interests

«It is not about resources. But it is about resources. Resources are not only money, resources are sometimes ideas and of these, we Latin American feminists produce a lot. These resources we have. We are lacking the others. (...) Aid is not only a question of financing. We have to speak politically about financing and the policies of financing and of aid». (Lucy Garrido, I CD)

« The main investment is to build movements; if we do not become political subjects these policies shall not be other than rhetoric. We are fighting for the freedom and the rights of women. An enormous political will to force the aid to be channelled directly to the organisations or the women leading their agenda in each of the countries. Which, sometimes, may coincide in time and in history, in space, with a general agenda». (Sofia Montenegro, ICD)

In this key articulating theme, the practical need of the organisations for access to resources and quality financing with the possibility of advancing the emancipation and transformation project of the feminist agendas of the Region (strategic gender interests) are connected.

The paradigm of gender interests of M. Maxine Molyneux was transferred to the sphere of development planning by Caroline Moser (1989). This author spoke about the *practical gender needs* connected to the material conditions, closely related with the lack of resources and the tangible and specific needs of women. The *strategic gender interests*, however, were the priority concerns that were satisfied through the former. The gender interests were derived from the analysis of the domination/subordination systems and express a collection of aspirations related to a more egalitarian organisation of society.

Addressing the financing of the organisations in order to strengthen their institutional development, their conceptual autonomy and their differentiated role in development constitutes the indispensable basis to guarantee the potential of their transforming agendas within which the strategic gender interests are inscribed.

The Latin American and Caribbean feminist organisations are very aware that their economic dependence or a low quality financing introduce dynamics in the organisations that may entail a «softening» of their contesting load in the themes and objectives of the agendas. The feminist organisations' struggle for survival threatens to depoliticise their own strategic agenda, voiding them of their transforming potential.

«It is quite paradoxical. It reduces the cooperation just when the movement was managing serious struggles and the processes suddenly remain up in the air while the fundamentalisms advance... they shake the political and economic floor under you... and you need to struggle to survive. Before that you broke even between your survival and the political project, and now it's complicated. You need to hold on to keep surviving as a human being. And this has weakened the possibilities to forward the agenda, because you have to work on your militant activity, your survival and the work to achieve articulations, and it gets harder and more difficult whether you want it or not». (Alma Chacón)

The Dialogues have made it evident that in the current financing and aid effectiveness setting there is a growing trend to remove cooperation resources destined to expanding the capacities of the women's organisations and reinforcing the architecture of the feminist movement, a trend that is undermining the sustainability and the opportunities of the organisations to raise and maintain strategies of medium and long term connected with the feminist agendas.

The lack of direct, sustainable, foreseeable and multi-annual financing greatly hinders agendas that are sustained and thought to address the structural roots of inequality.

Theme 5. The strengthening of the organisations, networks and alliances: Cross-cutting Theme of the thematic agenda of the Dialogues

«Collective empowerment (women's organisations and movements) is strategic for the transformation of the dominating development paradigm and the promotion of democratic citizenship, but is also necessary to make a significant impact on the lives of millions of women¹⁴⁹». A Transforming Cooperation requires empowered and autonomous feminist organisations and movements.

This condition has been translated in the CDs as the necessary strengthening of their institutional development, of their advocacy capacity and of the availability of resources to propitiate the strategic priorities of their agendas defined under their own criteria. For this to happen, three articulation strategies have been identified: i) promoting direct, sufficient and quality financing for the feminist organisations; ii) generating alliances and articulations, and; iii) generating knowledge for the strengthening of capacities. Within each of these strategies there are valuable orientations that deserve being resumed. Included here are some of the points of agreement among the organisations within each strategy¹⁵⁰.

¹⁴⁹ Political Declaration of the Busan Global Women's Forum.

¹⁵⁰ In this respect, Lilián Celiberti advanced possible points of agreement among the organizations on elements that had been present in the ICD and which were later reaffirmed in the subsequent CDs. Although the possible points of

Direct, sufficient and quality financing for the feminist organisations and networks

- Prioritisation of direct, sustainable and quality financing for the strengthening of the autonomy of the civil society organisations through specific funds to be accessed from the position of the organisations' autonomy.
- Rethinking the operation of the cooperation to guarantee longer term financing and the promotion of the organisational strengthening of the organisations understood as fundamental actors of democracy and development.
- Regarding the procedures for accessing resources, simplifying the operational matters, guaranteeing longer term approaches, the incorporation of programmatic financing and the construction of indicators and mechanisms for the accountability of the organisations working for the transformation of the *status quo*.

«To create a direct Fund for the feminist and women's movement of the region with the following characteristics: i) multi-annual, strategic-catalytic (not a seed fund); ii) with programmatic approach; iii) that boosts the autonomy of the feminist movement considering its diversities, responding simultaneously to urgent and long term actions; iv) for a significant amount that allows for countering the fundamentalisms in the region; v) whose political guidelines and priorities are defined with the participation of the movement ». (Thematic Conclusions, ICD)

«It is necessary to mobilise resources from a self-critical and collective position for the feminist movement.

agreement were not framed in defined strategies, they did follow their rationale. These points have been taken as a guide for theme 5.

Among the considerations, the following must be included: i) financing is political and must go beyond a resource management model for an organisation: towards a collective management that makes it possible for there to be resources for all the actors; ii) the shift in the resource management practices; iii) socialisation of the information; iv) the risk of fragmentation derived from the way in which the resources have been delivered; v) the shift in the discourse of the cooperation from practical needs to strategic needs». (Thematic Conclusions, ICD)

Generation of alliances and articulations

- To promote the identities of multiple actors in LAC, but also the dialogues and bridges and a greater articulation of proposals among women of the different movements representing the diversity¹⁵¹.
- To place the discussion on development cooperation with the diversity and strengthening of the civil society organisations in the agendas of our countries.
- To think of specific mechanisms to guarantee the organisational presence of women in the local, regional and national and international spheres; otherwise the progress achieved in declaration may not be guaranteed in practice.
- Proposals and recommendations to install mechanisms and actions that favour a greater knowledge, articulation and collaboration among the actors of cooperation and the feminist networks of the region, as well as for the establishment of clear consultation and work mechanisms between both parties.

151 Ibidem.

«Some proposals and recommendations to the donors issued from the dialogues: i) assessment of the fulfilment of Conventions and treaties on women's rights by the governments when it comes to delivering resources; ii) addressing the implementation of the regional Consensuses of the Conferences on Women of the ECLAC regarding the equality agenda; iii) supporting the processes of social change and not limiting the cooperation to annual projects; iv) application of internal alignment that provides coherence to the action developed in the countries of the region».

Generation of Knowledge for the strengthening of capacities

- To promote the capacities of the civil society organisations with emphasis on the women's organisations and in all the dimensions of diversity: indigenous, Afro-descendants, handicapped, lesbians.
- To generate processes of information and knowledge democratisation through a more horizontal South-North dialogue to think about this process not only as an expansion in the number of actors with access to information, but also as a deepening of the agendas. Generating processes of democratisation in the global instruments —«global» refers to the north, while «local» is the south—, localisation is one of the forms of exclusion from participation and reproduction of subordination.
- Production of relevant data, follow-up and social vigilance knowledge and information on strategic issues for the citizenship of women.
- To support the presence of the reflections, experiences and struggles of the feminist and women's organisations in instruments such as

the GEDEA Network and actors connected to research or training such as universities and the like, as a relevant strategy for the Gender and Aid Effectiveness Agenda.

Theme 6. Instrumentalising the «managerial rationale» and promoting the «worlds of life rationale»

«A regional centre for the UN agencies is being created in Panama with the purpose of analyzing the possibility to do things in a more coherent, more efficient manner, with tangible and measurable results, because sometimes we don't know if we are making an effective impact». (UNIFEM, ICD)

«What we are promoting is for there to be accountability, for there to be an increase in the investment in gender equality, the improvement and use of the follow-up systems, financing for development through base lines, indicators — which even if they may seem bureaucratic, unfortunately we need to go along these alleys, which are sometimes dark alleys, but are absolutely necessary to be able to access certain financing sources». (UN Women, IV CD)

«Looking for results for the foreseeable short term development. Incorporating the goal of aid effectiveness is a way to obtain better results. It is a more procedural than content based approach». (SC, III CD)

«Because we work for results. At the end of the period we must look back to where we started from, where we were and what we have achieved, and a series of indicators of the impact on the beneficiary populations to measure at the end of the period whether we are making progress in the planned direction or we must redirect the matter and put it back into focus because we have sidetracked». (SC, I CD)

Although it can be extrapolated to other spheres, in the Development Cooperation there is a shift from

the political vision to the technocratic vision, from the transformation project to the managerial action.

This expansion of what could be named a **managerial rationale**, doubtlessly inspired in the neo-liberal model, is not compatible with feminism of with any development policy whose objective is social transformation. This managerial rationale privileges the welfare-type assistance, the technical changes and the quantitatively measurable progress in the short term.

Under this rationale, the results are obtained by the efficient use of administrative tools, procedures, technical models and relationship protocols. If the results are not achieved it is because of the people or the organisations that implement it. Neither the model nor its rationale is questioned.

«The conditionalities imposed on aid are so many that we understand that we must search for another way of existence. Thinking about aid effectiveness is thinking on the conditionality that paralyzes us in our political actions». (IV CD)

«The official development assistance has parameters that do not have a gender perspective, which have not been designed from the priorities of the populations. There is a lack of clear policies, of a monitoring and observatory to oversee its purpose and its scarce gender approach». (IV CD)

«Another issue is the tension we sometimes experience from the organisations between the rationale of building a movement, of constructing a political actor that has very different methods, strategies and times, of building and NGO with a bureaucracy capable of meeting all the requisites to access cooperation funds. Another not minor problem, that has to do with amounts and terms, arises here; carrying out women's empowerment actions to achieve objectively verifiable results requires sustainable actions in the medium and long term. The one year projects

help, but they do not favour the investment in cultural and regulatory change processes». (ICD)

This managerial rationale works in practice as a control device of the Organisations and the transformation processes, because it is within this rationale where what and who access the financing and other resources is resolved. What and who are «efficient» and «effective» shall also be defined within this rationale.

«However, the feminist movement's agenda implies not only the advocacy space in the governments but also the politicisation of everyday life; the basic rights of women in terms of autonomy and decision over their body is not guaranteed. In the same sense, there is little progress in critical areas such as the economy of care, the high concentration of women in the informal economy and levels of political participation below the expected, in the context of patriarchal political practices and an electoral system that is not very functional for women». (IICD)

«Feminism contributes a vision that does not separate the repercussions on the people from the economic and cultural aspects and freedom. For women, the key theme of non violence continues to be in interpersonal relations, in the power dominance of men over women, over boys and girls, sexual abuse, the body as a political territory. In the present moment of the world the political debate is more and more pragmatic and that pragmatism destroys the utopian dimensions of the changes, restricts the horizon to a lame present of survival and questions the collective dimensions of hope». (ICD)

Development is not easy; it is not simple and cannot be planned mechanically. When we speak of the achievement of results, it is precisely the technical and management elements involved that are the most attainable, but the complex, diverse and specific socio-political processes that occur in each context are more elusive to planning and, however, the most

decisive to achieve «results». Among these elusive elements is the life of the people.

On the other side of the managerial rationale we find the «**worlds of life rationale**» in a framework where there actually are belongings, identities, action-reaction rationales and complicities. A rationale that is rooted in the people's everyday life, in the struggle of women and men to strengthen their citizen rights.

The feminist organisations coexist between these two rationales and they need to have a functional strategy with both rationales to account for their effectiveness and surf among the control devices. We must not forget that in application of the principle of *Multiple Accountability*, the feminist organisations, as social actors of development, must also account for how they are contributing with their work and their practices to development results, to the advancement of women's rights¹⁵².

The strategy within the **managerial rationale** is to *instrumentalise it* in favour of the equality agenda. With this purpose, the design of reference frameworks and tools that are useful for political advocacy from the precepts and the language legitimated within this logic is important. We have already spoken of ISOQuito, but there are other proposals of instrumentalisation and ownership of the managerial rationale for the political dialogue with other actors (UN, donors, governments, etc.) Along this line it is worth mentioning the gender responsive budgets¹⁵³

¹⁵² See <http://www.aideffectiveness.org/busanhlf4/images/stories/hlf4/PrincipiosdeCSOs-Estambul-Final.pdf>.

¹⁵³ After an economic alphabetization with gender perspective, *participative budgets with a gender approach* make it possible to: i= participate at different levels (local, national and regional) in the budget processes; ii) a closer involvement of the citizens in the management of public policies generated by the capacity to speak to the governments in their same

and the impact assessments¹⁵⁴, technical tools which must strive to present the information in a political sense.

The strategy with the **worlds of life rationale**¹⁵⁵ is to promote and advocate for the recognition and the legitimacy of these rationales so that we can account for how we advance in our proposals and contribute to a better world under more sensitive models in the topics we work on to capture changes and advances of proposals of structural change and domination systems, which are prospect changes for the medium and long term.

language; iii) establishment of alliances with other groups at a local level and with parliament groups at a national and regional level in the exercise of budget control, ensuring, for example that the economy of care is not overlooked, that public policies that respond to this reality are adopted or that funds are equitably allocated on the basis of the agreements.

¹⁵⁴ With the *gender impact assessments* of the policies it shall be possible to expose to the governments the inconsistencies of their policies and their negative impact both on development and on gender equality and the true enjoyment of the women's rights. Two positive consequences of these assessments are, additionally, that they shall provide the base lines and the necessary data for the implementation of better public policies (and more coordinated actions by the NGOs and NGDOs), and the fact that the availability of these data shall favour the creation of alliances for mobilization and political advocacy among several social movements in favour of an agenda for gender equality and equity.

¹⁵⁵ Working with the worlds of life rationale is generating important contributions, such as: i) it has been shown that the exploitation of human work is expressed with greater disadvantages for the women and is combined and worsened depending on the ethnic/cultural condition, sexual orientation, etc., among other possible situations/conditions; ii) the expropriation of the wealth produced by the work of care, almost complete, from the women has been visualized; iii) it has been shown that the confiscation of the women's body in service of biological and human cultural reproduction checks their possibility of freely choosing a life project they consider dignified and valuable.

Under the worlds of life rationale, progress may not be measured on the basis of total achievement — they are long term transformations— but they may on the basis of the capacity employed to put forward a proposal¹⁵⁶. To capture these changes, the word «advocacy» becomes a political key. Sometimes success shall consist in having been able to resist and not back off in the face of the conservative reaction.

Additionally, it shall be necessary to investigate and establish adequate frames to capture the effects of the fundamentalisms in the achievement and exercise of rights, propose indicators for strategic gender issues that have never been state commitments and on which there is often no information, etc. In the «Information Era» there is such lack of information on topics that are sensitive for the feminist agenda that it doesn't cease to astound. Deep down, it is just another control mechanism of the managerial rationale: if the themes that concern the feminist agendas are not placed in the technical debate, their entry into the public political debate shall be hindered.

Theme 7. The dialogue as a political commitment to a transforming cooperation

«We have to start by saying what is understood by a dialogue: a dialogue entails listening, recognition and respect. The building of these dialogues starts on the basis of things on which we don't all agree and probably never will. These dialogues... imply for the networks

¹⁵⁶ It shall be assessed whether the proposal was used as a platform for political action, who it brought together, if it entered in political spaces where it had not been discussed, if there was an evolution in the analysis of a theme, what elements summoned other actors, if alliances were established and opportunities were taken, etc.

and organisations the construction of an approach on a theme —aid effectiveness— which is distant from their day-to-day activities and their stance. The participation spaces entail a great political investment without which a substantial or sustainable participation in these processes is not possible». (II CD)

«There cannot be effectiveness if the parties do not know each other sufficiently, if the information is not spread and if spaces for debate and exchange of strategies and agendas are not opened». (ICD)

«We reaffirm political exchange with transparency and trust as a strategy that favours the construction of agreements of understanding among the different actors involved in the Development Cooperation and which constitutes the ethical frame from which the Consonant Dialogues are celebrated». (Santo Domingo Declaration)

Dialogue empowers and, as such, it has a political purpose. The CDs have committed to it as work methodology for the generation of political pacts, articulations and consonances with the Spanish Cooperation and other cooperation actors. The CDs have committed to open debate, self-critical and public reflection and the joint construction of approaches and proposals, without this meaning that we had to agree on everything.

In a framework of «policy dialogues» the feminist networks have participated in the Dialogue with the cooperation agents from a proposal and not a demand attitude. A demanding subject is disempowered in the field of political debate and negotiation. It is necessary to maintain a political profile in the dialogue so as not to lose the capacity of impacting on the political agenda.

In the CDs there is a clear commitment to the «dialogue» with other actors, as a vehicle for the generation of synergies and articulations that transcend the space of

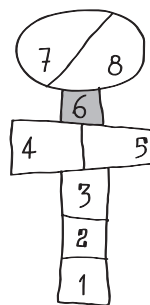
the CDs themselves to advance towards the goals of this initiative. Together with the open dialogue with the SC, other examples would be:

- The positioning of the CDs for working with the networks of the regions, for a dialogue among the feminist organisations themselves to debate politically on feminist themes connected with the Development Cooperation.
- The invitation to the dialogue to the agencies of the United Nations considered a key ally for the advancement of the feminist agenda also in its connection with the cooperation.
- The alliances weaved with *Better Aid* and *OpenForum* for the process of construction of joint positions and advocacy towards the HLF-4 of Busan.

IV.3. The Squares for Advancement

When going through Square 6 we shall think in terms of process and advocacy both to refer to the aspects to which the Consonant Dialogues may have contributed and to identify some of their lessons.

The CDs are inseparable from the process rationale, from the action to advance and continue to advocate. They let us challenge the temptation of staying in our comfort and self-complacency zone and think of successive movements, of the necessary drive to advance to the following squares (7 and 8), towards the possible scenarios in which to persevere in the strategic and tactic goals that originated the CDs.



SQUARE 6. CONTRIBUTIONS AND LESSONS

As for changing, we haven't changed anything... we go, we talk, and then the signatories are others —and that is quite vexing— ... but we have become a pain in the neck. Now they have to consider us, they can no longer ignore us¹⁵⁷.

In order to identify the contributions and lessons we shall focus on the question that motivated this reflection exercise: *How have the Consonant Dialogues influenced the strengthening of the feminist networks and organisations of the Region?*

Under this question we wish to point out some aspects in which the CDs have been able to help make the feminist organisations of the region stronger. To respond we shall acknowledge the CDs as a space that generates an opportunity for meeting, sharing and reflecting, but which cannot and won't substitute the necessary construction and consolidation of the relations among the organisations «(what we have to build are the relations... and from there look for common agendas; that is not done in one Dialogue, a Dialogue cannot construct a lifetime of relations¹⁵⁸)». That this encounter opportunity becomes an element that impacts on the empowerment of the organisations as political actors of development depends on the later articulations with other actors, on the political use of the information to generate presence and participation in the debates, on the degree of compliance with the action pacts, etc. It shall not be

¹⁵⁷ Lucy Garrido, interview.

¹⁵⁸ Lilián Celiberti, interview.

the encounter but that which it helped mobilise what constitutes the core of this response.

On the other hand, it is difficult to answer that question at a micro level, standing in the plane of the organisations. Only each of them, specific or in articulation, may ponder the extent to which the CDs have constituted a platform to build relations and articulations that have strengthened them or a useful space of information transparency that has enabled them to build responses —circumstantial or not— for their specific institutional challenges connected with cooperation and development.

In responding to this question we shall place ourselves at a «macro» level, thinking of the complex Dialogist we defined at the beginning of this reflection and where the multiple expressions and diversities converge for them to be treated as a single actor.

Political transfer of the Aid Effectiveness Agenda

The CDs have contributed to raising the question on Development Cooperation, beyond the individual financing and the specific projects, among the feminist networks and organisations of LAC. «A space for political dialogue among feminists has been created to discuss and reflect on the Cooperation¹⁵⁹», on what it implies for the rights of women and for development in a democratic framework, on the potential threats and opportunities contained in this Agenda for the political action of the organisations, where the possible spaces of resistance and advocacy lie.

In a two way trip, the practical needs of the organisations have been connected with the weave of policies and dynamics of the global scenario of the Cooperation to

be later resumed and to see how they are materialised in the day-to-day activities of the groups.

«The CDs brought the theme of the cooperation among the feminist networks, not because they didn't think of the cooperation... but this thought was more functional to financing than to the political agenda on cooperation. The dialogues brought this question that helps release tensions... during a crisis everyone tries to look after their donor for their financing... The rationale of the CDs is, besides the funds for your project, what the political agenda for the feminist movement of the region is, an agenda that can engage with the cooperation understanding the terms of the Development Cooperation¹⁶⁰».

The original plan of the CDs was to favour a political understanding of the new terms of the cooperation in the networks and organisations of the Region; introducing the Effectiveness Agenda beyond the managerial aspect and make it instrumental to Development and to the strengthening of the feminist movement so as to «promote better outcomes in the actions aimed at the empowerment of women and gender equality¹⁶¹». The political transference of this Agenda contributed to that each organisation, from its context and opportunity, built its own position and way of action to turn the postulates of the Effectiveness Agenda into a valid instrument for collective empowerment and the advancement of the feminist agenda.

«An interest in the organisation on the matters of Aid Effectiveness and the new terms of the cooperation has developed in Peru... the organisations started to become interested in the topic and participate in the actions at the country level¹⁶²».

¹⁶⁰ Ana Cristina González, interview.

¹⁶¹ Part of the development goal of the Consonant Dialogues.

¹⁶² Cecilia Olea, interview.

¹⁵⁹ Cecilia Olea, interview.

«Regarding sexual and reproductive rights, which was one of the main flags presented in the sub-regional CDs... in Guatemala the UNFPA has radically changed its position regarding the sexual and reproductive rights, after the CDs in... UN Women were forced to speak with other organisations, not only with some... there is a new openness to listen to us all and not only to a sector¹⁶³».

«A great more awareness has been generated on the matter and the possibility that LAC participate in the spaces of effectiveness... LAC was not in the debate... the CDs have made it possible for the organisations to participate in those spaces with a more political discourse than other regions, for them to take part in the regional debates and global issues towards Busan¹⁶⁴».

«There was a greater contribution to incorporate feminist leaders in a debate of high political significance, but which was observed through parallel channels by the feminist organisations¹⁶⁵».

«The AFM was not a part of a gender space in the global agenda towards Accra... at the end of 2008 it was not an issue of such significance as when we arrived at Busan after a very rich process in several spaces of articulation [OpenFORUM, BetterAid]... The process towards Busan gradually generated interest in the organisations of the region, generating their own discourse, also the preparation and generation of a political agenda. Now the AFM has a representative in the Post-Busan articulation¹⁶⁶».

The CDs have provided the political transference of the content of the Effectiveness Agenda and a language for political interlocution which has contributed to that a greater number of organisations have committed to advocacy in the institutions that

decide on the quantity and quality of the aid, to worry about the mechanisms employed to channel it and to participate in the debates and processes to which they had not had access either due to lack of knowledge or lack of significance for the organisations.

Working under an approach that privileges the transfer of information on the Agenda from its political translation has supposed an enormous challenge: it is not easy to discuss the autonomy and financing of the feminist organisations in the language of the terms of aid effectiveness, articulate its principles with gender equality, unblock their reservations, dismantle the conception of this Agenda as managerial and understand the political aspect of the matter. «It is a difficult agenda to understand, difficult to come to terms with collectively and which is harder still to transfer as a political element¹⁶⁷.

***Lesson:** As a space for political dialogue among feminists to discuss on the Development Cooperation, there would also be thematic space for the joint feminist reflection on the practices within the cooperation on both sides of the aid chain. This element has been mentioned by some interlocutors —and is present in the reports— as a missing topic and which, however, is valued as a major dimension for the strengthening of the organisations as a whole. Within the aid chain, different types of marginalities, hierarchies and power relationships have been created, mistrust and suspicion among the organisations have been encouraged —regional and N-S— and a certain competitive rationale for the resources, which goes against the strengthening of the movement and the process of generation and*

¹⁶³ Alma Odette Chacón, interview.

¹⁶⁴ Nava San Miguel, interview.

¹⁶⁵ Lilián Celiberti, interview.

¹⁶⁶ Lilián Celiberti, interview.

¹⁶⁷ Lucy Garrido, interview.

ownership of a common agenda connected with the Development Cooperation has settled in.

Regional Democratisation of the Information

The relations and the opportunities in information management, financial resources, knowledge circulation are neither equal nor just. Neither is the attitude of those who have advantages in these aspects or the commitment to generate information «redistribution» processes to open ways for opportunity democratisation.

The CDs have been thought at a regional level, then sub-regionally, to debate on the so-called «cooperation» and democratise the Effectiveness Agenda among as many organisations as possible. With this purpose, the political proposal of the CDs was to work with feminist networks, and as for the methodological proposal, we thought it important to establish a national replica or a cascade transfer of the information and reflection produced in the encounters at regional or sub-regional level to the national organisations.

«We thought about the regional level... we felt it was fair to do this for the entire LAC and we tried to make it as inclusive as possible and that the networks decided who were coming¹⁶⁸».

«The CDs were designed to make the terms of the development cooperation more accessible to organisations that had no access to the entire context. And this part became relevant as access to information. Information is power. We empowered in another way. It didn't come from the CDs alone, but the CDs greatly contributed to it.

(...) A large part of the information regarding the Paris Declaration, Accra and the commitments undertaken by our governments in our name became secret documents... only a few of the people who represent the civil society and who attend the forums get to know and they do not sufficiently multiply the information acquired due to the amount of work it entails¹⁶⁹».

«These Dialogues are very important because we have not been able to work on aid effectiveness as a region. We need to talk about this issue, especially for the feminist movement, and see how we may continue with international cooperation¹⁷⁰».

***Lesson:** Democratising the information under this scheme requires additional resources, but also emphasising the process vision over the event vision. When the goal is regional/ sub-regional it is important to devote time to strengthening the ownership degree of an initiative by the feminist networks and organisations of the region in order to go from the invitation to the event «in which we are to participate» to a later political and action commitment that goes from undertaking the responsibility of transferring the information to the organisations we represent and to those others next to our work context, to articulations held to forward proposals in more complex agendas.*

Pedagogical process

The Consonant Dialogues have contained an important educational element in the construction of a common

168 Lucy Garrido, interview.

169 Merle Mendonca, interview.

170 Flavia Cherry IV CD.

territory of knowledge, information and skills with the organisations, to operate in the current context of the Development Cooperation. The organisations are permanently invited and incited to debate and must have sound, explainable, understandable and reasonable arguments for everything they do. The reflection process and political openness regarding the themes presented by the CDs have provided arguments, discourse and tools to politicise the Development Cooperation in the public political scenario.

«It gave us the opportunity to begin articulating a discourse towards the global processes of Aid Effectiveness... to become more acquainted with the Paris Agenda... make it collective in the organisations that were far from that debate... to start shaping a feminist posture¹⁷¹».

«(...) As participants in the process we must be proactive. We must be prepared to talk to the donors. We must not let them dictate the rules, we must be ready with ideas and suggestions, otherwise they will continue to cut down cents here and there¹⁷²».

Additionally, the process has generated a critical mass in the organisations of the Region and taken steps in the recovery of sub-regional and regional articulation processes of their own organisations. These elements favour the possibility of performing joint and significant advocacy work through the existing structures and mechanisms¹⁷³ at different levels and scenarios in which a dialogue of policies on Cooperation and Development is taking place.

Another important pedagogical element that resulted from the reflection is the political relevance taken on

¹⁷¹ Lilián Celiberti, interview. See page 103.

¹⁷² Erin Greene, IV CD.

¹⁷³ Significant and quality participation in the planning, follow-up, assessment and accountability processes.

by the South-South Cooperation along the process. As progress was made in the CDs, we began to discover the SSC as a space for inter-relation between us and the development cooperation. The CDs gradually generated possibilities in the development of capacities and on the political centrality of new themes that began to open up (....) We learned a lot about relations with feminists in the cooperation, the government and its policies, elements that we had to apply with our governments and in the new cooperation spheres that have been generated in the past years. It is a very new agenda that requires capacity development and the lessons learned in this relation¹⁷⁴.

***Lesson:** The learning process to which the CDs have contributed has one of its clearest examples in the importance taken on by the SSC for the organisations due to its potential for the regional feminist agenda and because it is a vigorous and incipient scenario in which to spill the lessons learned and the relations built in these years in the CDs. Because we have the feeling that we arrived at the SC too late, many expectations have been placed on the SSC and the possibility of more definitely materialising proposals raised in the process of the CDs and applying the lessons in the dialogue of policies with the governments of the Region. The maturity and willingness of the governments in the SSC to forward this dialogue is a valuable element.*

***Lesson:** The Dialogue with the feminists of the Spanish State, inside and outside the cooperation, as well as the SSC, entails an «evolution» of the CDs. Even if the path began*

¹⁷⁴ Lucy Garrido, interview.

with the SC in a context of crisis, as the process advanced they have been able to raise and move the dialogue to another level with other actors and thinking about new strategies in the face of the crisis and the new themes of the agenda.

Another educational element corresponds to the format itself of the CDs, a «formula» and a space which are different from the traditional ones from which to debate, reflect and politically mainstream with the institutionalism, from the dialogue and the construction of a trust relationship sustained in time. The CDs have found a road that makes it possible to deal with material and political issues, link the effectiveness agenda, the progress of the feminist agenda in the region and the financing of the organisations.

«How were we going to connect the goal of financing, people getting to know each other, the effectiveness agenda... the difficulties of the organisations, forwarding the feminist agenda... becoming acquainted with the SC?... it wasn't easy¹⁷⁵».

Achieving existence and remaining in time highlights their potential as a non-typical format to deal with institutionalism and commit it to a policy dialogue from the agenda and interests of the feminist movement. It is a format that may be replicated with other donors/actors of development with whom we wish to facilitate a trust-based political relation.

Lesson: *There may be potential in the format for the political interlocution with other actors. Countering the volatile or fleeting nature of initiatives such as the CDs requires their institutionalisation or institutional anchorage.*

Maintaining the spirit and independence under a regularisation within the «status quo» is a pending challenge and discussion.

Lesson: *Even if the Development Cooperation has specific goals, the proposal of the CDs is designed to permeate those goals and approaches of the Development Cooperation, focusing its attention on an actor/modality/instruments that are critically analyzed from a feminist perspective. The critical analysis is propositive and is inscribed in a commitment to a more transforming cooperation which acknowledges the feminist organisations as political actors for change and development.*

Learning: *Agreeing on an agenda and placing it in the public political scenario does not end the process, even less if the agenda is not binding. Every agenda requires a follow-up, support and sustaining process; creating articulations and interlocutions; providing clear responses to the questions of how, in what terms, with whom, employing what tactics and around what results.*

Articulations in the discourse and in the movements

Autonomy is also built from alternative proposals and the impulse of a different vision capable of articulating perspectives and solidarities. As was developed in Square 5, the CDs have contributed to the construction of a genuine discourse on Development Cooperation from a feminist and critically analyzed vision typical of the Region. Articulated in this discourse are «two perceptions... the principles of Paris and of development effectiveness seen from the place of strengthening the women's organisations... and '[on the other hand] the critical analysis of the democratic concept of the

¹⁷⁵ Lucy Garrido, interview.

principles' [that rule] the cooperation. It is a contribution of feminism, a particular vision, not only of the CDs or of the AFM... but from feminism. The principles are critically analyzed in abstract from the view and the voice of the actors¹⁷⁶».

«Where the CDs have contributed the most is in leaving proof of the complexities and problems that are still pending in development policies as central topics to be addressed in the work with governments and the cooperation ... with both we clash with traditional common sense... with their own rationales and policies, conservative... and in dispute¹⁷⁷».

The critical analyses mentioned that characterise the discourse have already been dealt with in Square 5; however, we want to note how these are permanently articulated with the political themes of the agenda of the feminist movements of LAC: democracy, citizenship, diversity, inequality, the defence of the lay state, etc. There is coherence in the political and theoretical setting that strengthens the grounding of their critical analysis but also of their proposals and consonances with other actors.

«The incorporation of Latin America in the effectiveness agenda was spectacular... they incorporated all that experience that we were assuming but we didn't yet know and that strength was essential between Accra and Busan... they had a political agenda... the agenda of other regions was more instrumental to financing... but they had the rights, citizenship, value of democracy agenda... incorporated in their day to day activity... the difficulties of interlocution with the governments¹⁷⁸...»

¹⁷⁶ Lilián Celiberti, interview.

¹⁷⁷ Lilián Celiberti, interview.

¹⁷⁸ Juana Bengoa, interview.

This discourse has repercussions among other actors and processes to which bridges have been built. The CDs shall build articulation bridges with the UN agencies that are the most present and have the greatest relevance for the gender equality agenda of the Region:

- With the ECLAC, through the Gender Equality Observatory for LAC, the development of the *ISOQuito*¹⁷⁹ tool and political importance, guiding the Quito and Brasilia Consensuses.
- With UN Women and its Gender Equality Fund expressing its alliance with the global feminist causes and, specifically the Latin American.
- With UNFPA, a timid initial contact but which generated its first fruits in Guatemala with a breadth in its approach regarding the organisations.

Additionally, the CDs enabled us to build bridges towards other movements of the civil society and initiatives involved in the process of *Road to Busan* «... some became involved with the Open Forum in the definition of the feminist principles for the Istanbul principles... we were in the process towards Busan... we were able to articulate a process that had been presented along parallel channels¹⁸⁰».

The *OpenForum* and the *BetterAid* Gender Group are two of the initiatives of the civil society with which the

¹⁷⁹ The ISOQuito was presented for the first time in the XI Conference on Women of ECLAC Brasilia 2010.

¹⁸⁰ Presentation of the Regional Consultation on Gender Equity and Equality, in the framework of the open forum on aid effectiveness of the CSOs as development actors (2011) Latin America and the Caribbean. http://www.cso-effectiveness.org/IMG/pdf/consulta_regional_espanol_web.pdf Wendy Harcourt (2011) Gender Equality and Development Effectiveness. World Summary. Open Forum http://www.cso-effectiveness.org/IMG/pdf/gender_report_es-3.pdf

CDs built a bridge and in which they helped develop two important documents that also devised a road to be followed by the feminist organisations of LAC.

- *Demands from Women's Rights Organisations and Gender Equity Advocates*¹⁸¹ is a document of consensus and alliance among women's and feminist organisations and feminist advocates for human rights in the institutions¹⁸².
- The *Istanbul Principles for CSO Development Effectiveness*¹⁸³, to guide the work and practices of the social, including feminist organisations as effective development actors.

It became possible that «from a certain specific political initiative we can gradually articulate and expand with other social actors. I think this was the most significant bridge achieved in this process. The most interesting aspect

was how we were learning things at the same time in which they were being developed and applied¹⁸⁴».

The link with other processes was not generated in the CDs, it was not a mechanical process, but in fact synergy processes were favoured which accompanied the strengthening of the organisations. And the point is that the challenges are too broad and have so many issues involved that there is no way to remain in the dispute without generating articulations and alliances among us and with other actors in related topics that favour the generation of synergies. On the other hand, this *modus operandi* has been often employed by the feminist movements to carry forward their agendas, and has achieved progress in reaffirming the women's citizenship and in gender equality.

«(...) We have developed several relationships and possibilities which have improved the scenarios for the beginning of the process... We have greater commitments to other organisations... we have strengthened the relation, the knowledge and the articulation of initiatives for the goals initially forged with the CDs¹⁸⁵.»

The Development Association in Gender matters or the Capitalisation of Activism

The challenges faced exceed the action capacity of any organisation, diverge in different scenarios and transcend the territory and sovereignty of the States. Acting in the complexity of this texture demands the specific construction of solidarity responses, the internalisation of the feminist resistances regarding specific tactical goals wherever it is possible to converge in alliances.

¹⁸¹ These key demands were produced during the International Consultation of Women's Organizations on Cooperation for Development, Women's Rights and Gender Equity, celebrated in Brussels, Belgium, on June 9 and 10, 2011. The consultation was organized by the WIDE network and co-organized with other women's organizations of the BetterAid Coordinating Group. Several of the organizations present at the Consonant Dialogues, among them the Marcosur Feminist Articulation and the Women's Coordinating Group of Bolivia attended this meeting.

¹⁸² See *Demands from Women's Organizations and Gender Equity Advocates for the HLF-IV on Aid Effectiveness (Busan, South Korea in 2011) and the UN Development Cooperation Forum (2012)*.
http://www.cso-effectiveness.org/IMG/pdf/demandas_clave_de_las_mujeres_hacia_busan.pdf

¹⁸³ See *Istanbul Principles for CSO Development Effectiveness agreed in the Istanbul Open Forum (28-30 September, 2010) as the foundation of the International Reference Framework for CSO development effectiveness*.
<http://www.aideffectiveness.org/busanhlf4/images/stories/hlf4/PrincipiosdeCSOs-Estambul-Final.pdf>

¹⁸⁴ Lilián Celiberti, interview.

¹⁸⁵ Lilián Celiberti, interview.

«There is a new context, which is not of economic cooperation, but political... it is highly significant and brings back the feminist internationalism which had characterised us¹⁸⁶. We are at a time in which what some loose right now, all of us loose... a cause-effect we must visualise¹⁸⁷».

The CDs have promoted a new way to converge, become acquainted and join capacities among different actors of the Cooperation committed to gender equality. This form of approach has sought to favour elements for the gestation of an alliance, a *development association* in gender matters that capitalises the feminist activism. «Activists from the feminist movement and feminists in the cooperation. There are differences among the actors, but being feminist is the common denominator¹⁸⁸».

«The CDs are a space that has sought to generate alliances among movements... indigenous women and feminist women... feminist movement in LAC and feminists in Spain... There are alliances among bureaucratic feminists and activist feminists... to promote and strengthen the women's agenda... The CDs are reciprocity instances in which the bureaucrats of the UN are encouraged to bring these clear agendas to the negotiations with other countries... The CDs allowed you to be up to date regarding the important issues for the movements of the region¹⁸⁹».

From the agreements and disagreements in dialogue, the complexity of the relations and the difficulties derived from different powers have become evident. However, we have been able to capitalise the feminist activism and generate an approach among the actors to achieve a greater capacity for advocacy and

provide a political dimension that strengthens the convergence and understanding among the feminist women attending the CDS.

Each actor, from her own characteristics, from the different scenarios where she operates and performing differentiated roles, may articulate actions with the others to respond to the multiplicity of nodes that generate and support gender inequality and the deficit in women's citizenship. This coordinated and ongoing effort in the actors' responses is sustained and guided by a common ethical and conceptual framework, supported on the framework of human rights and on feminist genealogy.

***Lesson:** The Consonant Dialogues have been able to capitalise the feminist activism to gradually build a development association in gender matters. The consonances are to derive mainly from the complex political activism that mainstreams international organisations such as UN, the donor countries within the cooperation system—in this case, Spain—and the characteristic activism of the feminist movement of the region.*

***Lesson:** The agendas of the movements, which are generally aimed at mid-long term transformations, should be reinforced, as far as possible, beyond the feminist activism to prevent the degree and the depth of the progress from being conditioned to the existence and correlation of feminist forces in these institutional cooperation spaces. If these forces disappear or weaken, the experience collected in the processes is lost. The political and citizenship growth of the women and the necessary pillar of the movement and the organisations also prompts us to learn how to discuss and argument*

¹⁸⁶ Lilián Celiberti, interview.

¹⁸⁷ Gina Vargas, interview.

¹⁸⁸ Cecilia Olea, interview.

¹⁸⁹ Ana María Enríquez, interview.

with profiles in the institutions that do not favour the feminist agenda, to build bridges towards other actors in those specific points where there could be an understanding.

Financing for the Strengthening of the Organisations

Even if the progress in gender equality and the women's empowerment is considered a crucial element for the Development Agenda, and even if these progresses are limited without the autonomous, strong and independent presence of the feminist organisations and women's movements, this link is not acknowledged in the current financing framework of the Development Cooperation. The resources, progressively more scarce and channelled to governmental programmes and to other parts of the world, are a fundamental piece for the strengthening and the autonomy of the feminist organisations of the Region.

In the CDs, born with the political purpose of strengthening the feminist movements and agendas, the financing of the networks and organisations was very present in the dialogue with the SC. This dimension was always addressed in connection with the political agenda¹⁹⁰ built in the process of the CDs.

As has been said, this agenda materialises the political pact between the SC and the networks and organisations of LAC to strengthen the autonomy of the feminist movements. The support to this agenda was expressed in the specific financing of three components, two of them directly connected to

the feminist political agenda of the Region and one requested in the CDs:

- A central issue in the political agenda for the strengthening of the feminist movements in LAC is the **Feminist Encounters**. The political and financial support of the last two encounters¹⁹¹ was a «symbolic» and meaningful element which materialised the political pact.

«The SC committed not to an amount, more importantly, to support... it opened up a space for other cooperations and organisations to provide support... it allowed us to sustain the autonomous feminist space of the Encounters of the Region in which the political agenda and strategy for the region is discussed¹⁹²...».

«The fact that the SC has financed a large part of the Feminist Encounters in the Region has been fundamental, and this is an unprecedented milestone. It is not symbolic money, it is a very important commitment made by the SC to the feminist agenda and there is nothing more connected with strengthening our agenda than the Feminist Encounters¹⁹³».

- The support to the **ECLAC Gender Equality Observatory of LAC** and the development of the **ISOQuito** were part of the support to the movement to favour social auditing on the governments' actions for the production of relevant information of data regarding strategic issues for women's citizenship and to support the movement in its political advocacy towards the governments and the accountability processes.

¹⁹¹ XI Feminist Encounter of Latin America and the Caribbean (Mexico, 2009) and XII Feminist Encounter of Latin America and the Caribbean (Colombia, 2011).

¹⁹² Ana Cristina González, interview.

¹⁹³ Lucy Garrido.

¹⁹⁰ Ver Casilla 4 «The Agenda».

- Democratisation and the political transfer of the Effectiveness Agenda to as many organisations of the Region as possible were considered of interest for the movement. Supporting the celebration of the **Consonant Dialogues** was a specific request that originated in the ICDs and in the IICDs.

«We began thinking of one dialogue. The following dialogues are part of the materialisation of the political pact surrounding the strengthening of the movement¹⁹⁴».

However, the direct and quality financing of the organisations to move their own political agendas forward from autonomy and self-determination, one of the most important challenges and an issue that was privileged in the debate and the agenda of all the CDs, could not be materialised in this time, even when there had been advancements to find the institutionally viable formula to carry it out.

[The SC] «does not have an institutional Law for the format of our institution, but we are included in a general Law... this conditions many of the elements, many of the procedures and many of those realities » [covenants included in the agendas and present in the Declarations] «... to which we cannot respond, sometimes because we haven't been able to, others not due to unwillingness but because it is legally impossible; the Spanish administration is very complex... it is not regulated to work abroad. We use internal regulations applied to our foreign affairs... and this results in that we do not have full administrative artillery at the service of the political will or the imagination we would like to have¹⁹⁵».

Incorporating issues in agenda and those debated in the encounters, the SC has been able to involve

¹⁹⁴ Cecilia Olea, interview.

¹⁹⁵ Elena Montobbio, IVCD.

indirect access devices¹⁹⁶ to financing for the organisations through maintaining gender equality in the political agenda¹⁹⁷ of the SC and implementing this political priority in its planning and programming process:

- **Guidelines for the incorporation of the gender and development approach in the CAF¹⁹⁸**

«(...) In the preparation processes of the association frameworks, DGPOLDE has prepared a set of guidelines for gender mainstreaming that serve as guidance to the people working on the field or working at the head office and who are participating in the specific negotiation of the association frameworks, so that gender... is not lost along the way... the association frameworks, even if they are signed, are live documents as well,... they are participative and live processes... where it is possible to advocate¹⁹⁹».

- **AECID Sectoral Action Plans²⁰⁰**

«(...) We strongly emphasised that a large part of the strategic lines should have the strengthening of the women's and feminist organisations as an identified

¹⁹⁶ This section does not include the multilateral instruments to which the EC has contributed or promoted together with several agencies of the UN System. Through multilateral channels, several organizations of LAC have been allocated funds from the EC (Gender Equality Fund with UN Women, MDG Fund with the UNDP, UN Trust Fund to End Violence Against Women, etc.).

¹⁹⁷ Elisa Nieto, IVCD.

¹⁹⁸ Guidelines for the incorporation of the gender and development approach in the CAF.

¹⁹⁹ Elisa Nieto, IVCD.

²⁰⁰ Gender and Development Sectoral Action Plan (AECID, 2010).

http://www.aecid.es/galerias/que-hacemos/descargas/AF_PAS_NARRATIVO_GENERO.pdf

line of action... the lines of action, somehow, identify the future of the projects and the conditionings of the projects carried out by the Agency. If the AECID works on social and political participation, it cannot have as a single interlocutor the X equality organisation, but it must converse with feminist organisations... (this interlocution) is not a complement, it is... an approach²⁰¹».

These devices are at the same time mechanisms to guarantee the participation of the feminist and women's organisations in the processes of consultation and decision making in the definition of the cooperation agreements between the SC and the partner countries.

Other than the above, we were not able to make progress in the materialisation of direct financing lines for the organisations. The savage crisis in Spain and the reductions in the budget allocation for the Development Cooperation paralyzed the process initiated.

«We arrived a little late, because the Spanish crisis arose, especially in the last year when the possible expression of the commitments accomplished during the process and which were present in the declarations was being analyzed. The process was cut short. The entire perspective changed²⁰²».

«When it looked as if we were coming close to an agreement, to the need to allocate specific pragmatic resources for the movement, the list of cutbacks arrived... or this discourse that there are no resources. And I say discourse, because when there is a will, money is produced, and money is being produced for other things²⁰³».

«We got to that time in which, no matter how much political will you have, without resources there is not much you can do²⁰⁴».

Lesson: Although it may seem obvious, perhaps it is not so from institutionalism. To advocate on the collective empowerment of women, a combined political commitment that favours the women's empowerment together with the importance of the civil society's role in Development must articulately exist in the approach, discourse and proposal.

In the way in which the aid criteria are expressed and in a setting of economic resource retraction, there is a trend for the feminist double strategy —mainstreaming and empowering— to be reduced to only one dimension —advocacy in mainstreaming— to the detriment of the other —empowerment— without their ever being fostered in practice. The most autonomous strategies of the civil society and, therefore, of the feminist movements, are sustained on the strategy of empowerment.

A Political Ally: the Development Cooperation of the Spanish State

Along the process, a valuable trust relationship was gradually built between the feminist networks of LAC and the SC. Trust is a complex attribute that depends of an uncertain and variable combination of several factors, where there is no universal rule, but some elements that contribute to its construction: transparency and honesty in dialogue, usefulness of

201 Elisa Nieto, IVCD.

202 Lilián Celiberti, interview.

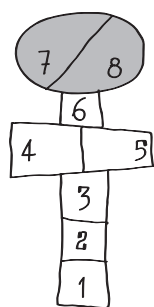
203 Morena Herrera, interview.

204 Alma Chacón, interview.

the actions undertaken, appreciation of the other, etc. Somehow, these elements were being woven in the CDs between the SC and the networks. Mutual acquaintance among the parties and the construction of a trust relation was an important factor that favoured political mainstreaming.

The feminist activism in the institutionalism of the cooperation still present, the trust relation generated in the CD process and the conceptual approach and setting that support the cooperation policy of the Spanish State, have materialised a political ally. The SC has been there in the several forums, debates and decision making scenarios, advocating for and supporting the civil society organisations as interlocutors in the democratic development of the countries and prioritising gender equality and women's empowerment in the development agenda.

Lesson: The principle of democratic ownership and the political recognition of the feminist movements as development actors is an entry strategy with other donors or development actors as well.



SQUARES 7 AND 8. FUTURE SCENARIOS

«I believe that, depending on the place where we stand, that is what our strategy is going to be like, and that is how well we'll do»²⁰⁵.

Having moved thus far in the Hopscotch, it is fitting to ask, without expecting an

immediate answer, how do we continue with this process or this work perspective that we have begun to put together? Doubtlessly, this is a challenge that the Consonant Dialogues have ahead of them.

When thinking of future scenarios we place ourselves in the sphere of the proposal, of what is possible and what is necessary for the feminist movement to continue to be strengthened and position itself more powerfully as a key actor for the development policies in a democratic setting which promotes human rights. The Future Scenarios are open, «there are many choices, we have to reflect on the future... although not separately, but jointly... among all of us... on what the most strategic thing to do is... on where to go... on where to make our efforts and on where the effects may be greater... All of us together think much better than separately and improvising²⁰⁶».

We must continue along the path taken from a joint reflection, from the imaginative and pragmatic combination of the political proposals and possibilities that are in consideration, from the opportunity context that presents itself, from the relations forged and consolidated in this process. In those future scenarios it shall also be necessary to recognise what efforts and commitments will be required, to assess whether we may undertake the action with the resources available because, as we know, every action is always a beginning and trigger of other actions and beginnings.

The Consonant Dialogues provide us with some indications for the future scenarios through which we decide to travel.

²⁰⁵ Lucy Garrido, IVCD.

²⁰⁶ Nava San Miguel, interview.

Human Rights

The human rights narratives shape the contours of the development agenda—present or future, centred in the fight against poverty or inequality—that serves gender equality and women’s empowerment. Settling and relying on these narratives contributes to the «ethical and political framework... to achieve more and better results for gender equality and women’s empowerment²⁰⁷» that the CDs have wished to promote as the foundation for a transforming cooperation.

Because rights involve obligations and needs do not, the ownership of the discourse and the practice of human rights by the feminist organisations strengthens their discourse and their demands to press for the necessary reforms that lead to reaffirming the women’s citizenship, considering their multiple diversities and inequalities and to favour the establishment of alliances with other movements and entities within the Development Cooperation.

In application of the principle of coherence with the international agreements on human rights²⁰⁸, these instruments shall provide us with the conceptual foundations and qualitative aspects of the content to direct any development agenda—global or national—in their multiple doubts and contradictions to contribute to gender equality and women’s empowerment. Additionally, these regulatory instruments enable us to capitalise and continue building on the basis of the former work of the advocates for gender equality and women’s rights and not to constantly begin from scratch.

²⁰⁷ Declaration «On Democracy, Development and Feminism», ICD.

²⁰⁸ In the case of the CDs, the CEDAW, BPfA, CPoA, Vienna, Copenhagen, Durban and the Quito and Brasilia Consensus of the ECLAC have been tagged as the main referents.

United Nations as a strategic political space

The UN could appear in some aspects to be a somewhat weakened political forum; however, its role in catalyzing several forces, trends and actors, as well as its potential to generate agenda and make decisions indicates that it is not a good idea to abandon this space as a strategic political ground for the movement. Without the umbrella of the UN it would be difficult to propose structural changes in development and in the global financial architecture for human rights and gender equality, regardless of the discourse, to be present in the debates on development policies and practices.

In this sense, the Development Cooperation Forum²⁰⁹ (DCF), as a space for dialogue among multiple actors represented in equal conditions, may result a decisive scenario for the feminist organisations of LAC to present their analysis, experience and alternatives from the reflections that the CDs or other spaces have contributed to build. Since the UN is based on the regulatory framework of human rights, the DCF and, by extension, the debates on development cooperation, should, both in process and in content, be based on

²⁰⁹ The Development Cooperation Forum (DCF) is under the Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC) and is a component of the High Level Segment of ECOSOC. An important variety of relevant matters for the implementation of the internationally agreed development goals (IADG) are dealt with in its setting. This space was created to respond to the changes within the scope of development cooperation and to the introduction of new actors in it. The DCF has the formal mandate to examine the trends of the international development cooperation, promote the increasing coherence among the activities of the development actors and work to improve the application of the internationally agreed development goals. The DCF itself is supported on a participative, open, transparent and inclusive process in which all the actors and countries are represented to address the relevant matters established by the DCF.

and promote the international agreements on human rights.

Additionally, the UN is the platform from which the discussions on the «Development Agenda beyond 2015» are being processed, bringing the opinions of governments and different actors (from the civil society, the private sector, the academia and research institutes to philanthropic foundations) to the table with the purpose of defining a common vision and a road map for development beyond 2015. As has already occurred with the MDGs, this agenda shall also define the approaches and emphases of the development policies, their practices and the assignment of the financial resources.

Finally, the UN must be identified as the space in which the revision processes of the world conferences of the 90s on critical elements of human rights and development are carried out. From these processes, the revision of the BPfA and CPoA are highly significant and sensitive for the feminist agenda and, in this sense, processes that require a space of permanent vigilance so as not to go backwards on what has been agreed, at the time when we are fighting to expand and move forward in the fulfilment of our rights.

Articulations

Articulations with other development actors

Processes are changing and more and more the organisations are interacting with other movements and organisations connected with aid effectiveness, intertwining their discourses and providing mutual wealth to their demands. One of the strengths of the Consonant Dialogues has been considering the effectiveness agenda as a political agenda and committing to the alliances and the **articulation**

with other development actors to create synergies on common objectives.

The articulations have been fruitful and several organisations involved in the Consonant Dialogues have been part of the expansion of the goals presented in the CDs from their participation in other global processes. The *OpenForum* and *BetterAid Gender Group* are two of the initiatives with which the CDs have built a bridge, two initiatives that continue with an open agenda connected to several of the purposes that originated the Dialogues. Additionally, two of the documents developed in these spaces are work and advocacy frameworks of the feminist organisations of LAC.

- *Demands from Women's Rights Organisations and Gender Equity Advocates*²¹⁰ is a consensus and alliance document of the women's and feminist organisations, human rights activists inside and outside of the institutions connected to quality and to the aid management towards the partner countries (Gender Network of the DAC). This document was prepared within the process to Busan and contains the different concerns and demands that the human rights activist organisations have expressed since the PD entered the scene. It is also an instrument with potential

²¹⁰ These key demands were prepared during the International Consultation of Women's Organizations on Development Cooperation, Women's Rights and Gender Equity celebrated in Brussels, Belgium, on June 9 and 10 of 2011. the consultation was organized by the WIDE network and co-organized with other women's organizations of BetterAid Coordinating Group. Several of the organizations that attended the Consonant Dialogues were present in this meeting, including the Marcosur Feminist Articulation and the Bolivia Women's Coordinating Group.

for the political orientation and advocacy of the feminist organisations²¹¹.

- The *Istanbul Principles for CSO Development Effectiveness*²¹², introduces the feminist organisations, as development actors, to the reflection and self-criticism on their own effectiveness as development actors, addressing the application of the principles reflected in the document. It reminds us that the feminist organisations are also subject to the exercise of accountability.

Trans-national Feminist Solidarity

The public political dimension of the trans-national feminist solidarity is an open crack to the traditional system of the Development Cooperation, out of which we have yet to extract its transforming potential. With the V Consonant Dialogues, the vision was expanded and we started to think about the «dimension of solidarity in difference... among subjects in a certain complex context at a political and economic level... and from our context... to think together what is ahead for the world, for democratic societies and for women²¹³».

In the V Dialogues there was a first attempt of the Latin American and Caribbean feminists to strengthen the links with the Spanish feminist movement in order to raise agendas, from common points of

agreement, which articulate and mutually strengthen the feminist movement on both sides of the ocean. An open scenario was created here²¹⁴ «... its potential was to understand what the alliance meant for political construction... it was more about ‘what we can do together’ and a relation of equals... a shared solidarity as women and as feminists... analyzing how women have a strategic vision from their due place in their political decisions... we feminists should not have to be thinking in N-S but contributing on both sides for the change of policies... we are all contributing subjects».

South-South Cooperation

With emerging countries bursting into the cooperation with a strong political and economic visibility, the **South-South Cooperation (SSC)** has gained renewed prominence in LAC. The SSC is another possible future scenario for the CDs: «another progress made in the CDs was the discovery of the South-South Cooperation (SSC) as a space for inter-relation between us and the cooperation... which is starting to have political centrality with new themes which are opened to us²¹⁵».

The lessons from the process and all the progress made in terms of analysis, proposals and consensus in the CDs may be incorporated and/or recreated in the construction of an agenda on the SSC from a feminist perspective. The SSC is still an open agenda in which the feminist networks and organisations may advocate and implement the lessons and the reflections generated along the process of the CDs²¹⁶ with their national governments and regional institutions.

²¹¹ See Annex Demands from Women’s Rights Organizations and Gender Equity Advocates for the HLF-IV on Aid Effectiveness (Busan, South Korea in 2011) and the UN Forum on Development Cooperation (2012).

²¹² See Annex *Istanbul Principles for CSO Development Effectiveness* agreed with the Istanbul Open Forum (September 28-30 of 2010) as the foundation for the International Reference Framework on CSOs as development actors.

<http://www.aideffectiveness.org/busanhlf4/images/stories/hlf4/PrincipiosdeCSOs-Estambul-Final.pdf>

²¹³ Gina Vargas, interview.

²¹⁴ Tarcila Rivera, interview.

²¹⁵ Lilián Celiberti, interview.

²¹⁶ Lucy Garrido, interview.

Financing

We have seen how up to the moment there has been a very limited progress in the allocation and distribution of the ODA towards the commitments agreed in terms of gender equality and women's human rights, and an even weaker commitment to supporting the strengthening of the feminist networks and organisations. Even if it were possible to reverse this situation in the medium-long term, it appears somewhat naive to expect the ODA to provide the feminist organisations with the necessary financial resources to carry out their political and emancipating agendas. There is a systemic challenge of funding for development for the issues of equality, in general, and of the feminist organisations in particular, and this is the reality in which we move.

Even acknowledging the need to promote the increase of the aid destined to the organisations through more direct and better quality financing, it is also necessary to search for mechanisms and strategies that lead to diversifying the financing sources and breaking the dependence of the Organisations on the wilful flows of the ODA: diversification of dependences.

The pernicious effects for the political agenda and the organisations of the type of financing which is actually being received have been pointed out in the CDs. The competitive rationale for resources undoubtedly also has political consequences in the fragmentation of the movement and in mistrust among the organisations to articulate political and action agendas.

« [on financing] We must learn how it is done and where we need to go, as long as we meet and don't each pull on one end of the rope. We must join common points to access the resources. If there is no feminist support, there is no feminist agenda²¹⁷».

²¹⁷ Nirvana González, IVCD.

The indications collected in the CDs show us a double avenue for working in future scenarios to favour a greater independence and sustainability in the work of the networks and organisations: the expansion of the demand and the diversification of the offer.

The **expansion of the «demand»** from two angles: i) greater enforceability, advocacy and demand for the fulfilment of the international commitments on gender equality and the women's human rights within the Development Cooperation, and; ii) political appraisal of the reflections and contributions of feminism and the acknowledgement of the feminist movements as key actor in the dialogues of policies on Development Cooperation (not as service providing organisations). Patriarchy, fundamentalisms, resource scarcity, etc., shall not make this effort easy.

Under the first focus, in the frame of the CDs, the work on articulation, alliance and coordination has been promoted to make gender equality and human rights predominantly present in the debates and processes surrounding the Development Cooperation. Strengthening these articulations and covenants with different actors who may be allies in the political positioning of this agenda as priority (for example, with the SC, with other cooperations, etc.), shall have an impact on the expansion of the demand.

The Consonant Dialogues contribute to this line of expanding the demand in re-politicising the feminist project and its proposing capacity regarding cooperation policies and development scenarios. The CDs have expanded the angle of reflection facing the contradictions of development and revitalising the discourse of the cooperation linking it to democracy, human rights, gender equality and inter-culturality²¹⁸,

²¹⁸ Slogan preceding the Declarations derived from the different CDs.

have included the economic relations in connection with the limits and contradictions of development and the cooperation policies, etc., in the debate. «Formalising» this line of critical reflection on development and cooperation, enriched by the theoretical constructions, approaches and tools which have risen from feminism and the gender studies in the last decade may favour the increase of the demand of the feminist perspective, of its interpretations and alternatives.

The **diversification of the offer** involves expanding the sources and quality of financing of the feminist movements of the Region «in order to guarantee the conceptual and political autonomy of the women's and feminist organisations before the governments and for the advancement of the women's agenda²¹⁹».

Together with the need for a strong political commitment of the governments and international and financial institutions to allocate more financial resources to the women's and feminist organisations,

the Organisations are practically forced to exploit other financing sources and another ways to mobilise and manage the resources to carry out their work agendas within a concept of solidarity in the movement also concerning money.

Annex ii «Synthesis of the consonances and dissonances of several financing sources for the feminist Networks and Organisations» contains a first approach on the possible dissonances and consonances that some financing sources may entail for the feminist organisations when mobilising resources which are valid and coherent with the agendas promoted by the movements. This synthesis is only a first general picture that requires a thorough mapping of sources, contextualised to the Region. This mapping should also include those donors who are sensitive either to gender equality and justice or to the value of the social organisations of the partner countries as development actors.

²¹⁹ Expected results of the different CDs.

Bibliography

- 12 Feminist Encounter (2012) Desatar, Desnudar, Reanudar (Untie, Undress, Resume). Memoirs of the XII Latin American and Caribbean Feminist Encounter. Bogota, Colombia.
- AECID (2010), Gender and development sectoral action plan. Madrid, Spain.
- AFM (2010), Reflexiones colectivas, escrituras horizontales (Collective reflections, mainstream writings). Cotidiano Mujer. Montevideo, Uruguay.
- Aleman, C. et al. (2008) Implementing the Paris Declaration: Implications for the Promotion of Women's Rights and Gender Equality. CCIC, AWID and WIDE. Ottawa, Canada.
- Alpizar, L. et al. (2010) Context and Trends Influencing Financing Landscape for Gender Equality and Women's Organisations and Movements. AWID.
- Anyket Bhushan (2010) Enhancing domestic resources mobilisation for effective development: the role of donors. The North-South Institute, Ottawa.
- Ayllon, B. (2012) Encuentro post Busan: la implicancia de sus resultados (Post Busan Encounter: the implication of its results). AUCI. Montevideo, Uruguay.
- AWID (2008) Booklets1: Aid Effectiveness and Women's Rights Series – An Overview of the Paris Declaration on Aid Effectiveness and the New Aid Modalities. AWID. Toronto, Canada.
- Bakker, I. (2007), Financing for Gender Equality and women's empowerment: Paradoxes and Possibilities. DAM, ONU. Nueva York. EE.UU.
- Balchin, C. (2011) Analyzing Religious Fundamentalist Strategies and Feminist Responses. AWID.
- Baring, M. (1998) Los malestares del feminismo Latinoamericano: una nueva lectura (Discomforts of Latin American feminism: a new reading). Chicago, Illinois.
- BetterAid, (2011) Demands from the Women's Organisations and Gender Equity Advocates for the Fourth High Level Forum on Aid Effectiveness (Busan, South Korea, in 2011) and the United Nations Development Cooperation Forum (2012).
- Briones, A. (2010), Coherencia de Políticas para el Desarrollo, Coordinadora de ONG para el Desarrollo (Development Policy Coherence, Development NGO Coordinating Group). Madrid, Spain.
- Celiberti, L. et al. (2011) Consulta Regional sobre la Equidad y la Igualdad de Género (Regional Consultation on Gender Equality and Equity). Open Forum.
- ECLAC (2007). Quito Consensus. Quito, Ecuador.
- ECLAC (2010). Brasilia Consensus. Brasília, Brazil.
- Chetjer, S. (2008) Feminismos latinoamericanos. Tensiones, cambios y rupturas (Latin American Feminisms. Tensions, changes and rifts). ACSUR –LAS SEGOVIAS.
- Clark, C. and Sprenger, E. (2006), «¿Dónde Está el dinero para los Derechos de las Mujeres?» Evaluación de recursos y del papel de los donantes en la promoción de los derechos de las mujeres y el apoyo a organizaciones de derechos de las mujeres («Where is the money for Women's

- Rights?» Assessing resources and the role of donors in the promotion of women's rights and the support of women's rights organisations), AWID. Mexico.
- CONCORD (2011), Challenging Self-Interest: Getting EU aid fit for the fight against poverty, AidWatch, Brussels, Belgium.
- CNGDOE (2010), ¿Sumamos, restamos, multiplicamos o dividimos? – Reflexiones sobre la División del Trabajo en Cooperación para el Desarrollo (Do we add, multiply or divide? – Reflections on Work Division in Development Cooperation). Madrid, Spain.
- Craciotto, N. (2008) «Hacia una ayuda coherente con la igualdad de género: Análisis de los resultados de Accra», Comentarios («Towards aid consistent with gender equality: Analysis of the results of Accra», Comments), FRIDE, Madrid, Spain.
- De la Cruz, C. (2007a), La Agenda de los Derechos de las Mujeres, y la financiación para el Desarrollo, en Plataforma 2015 y Más, Anuario 2007:119-124 (The Women's Rights Agenda and financing for Development, in Platform 2015 and Beyond, Yearbook 2007:119-124), Icaria Editorial, Madrid.
- De la Cruz, C. et al. (2007b), El Financiamiento para la Igualdad de Género y la nueva «Arquitectura de la Ayuda». Los casos de Guatemala y Perú (Financing for Gender Equality and the new «Architecture of the Aid». The Cases of Guatemala and Peru). Fundación Carolina. Madrid, Spain.
- De la Cruz, C. (2008), From Beijing to Paris: gender equality and aid effectiveness, Comments, FRIDE, Madrid.
- De la Cruz, C. (2009). Financing for development and women's rights: a critical review. WIDE.
- Del Río, A. et al. (2008) El espacio crítico feminista. Alianzas entre ONGD y organizaciones de mujeres latinoamericanas (The feminist critical space. Alliances between DNGO and Latin American women's organisations). HEGO/ACSUR.
- Esquivel, V. (Ed.) La economía feminista desde América latina. Una hoja de ruta sobre los debates actuales en la región (Feminist economics from Latin America. A road map on the current debates in the region). UN WOMEN /GEM LAC Santo Domingo, Dominican Republic.
- EUROSTEP/ SOCIAL WATCH (2005), Accountability upside down: Gender Equality in a partnership for poverty eradication, Brussels, Belgium.
- Eta. F. (2009) Measuring gender equality results: the PDX and other ways. Presentation at the IDEAS General Assembly. Johannesburg, South Africa.
- Eyben, R. (2008) Making women work for development – again, Open Democracy.
- Fernández-Layos A and Correa, M (2008) Análisis de género en la ayuda oficial al desarrollo. *Campaña Muévete por la Igualdad. Es de justicia. (Gender analysis in the official development assistance. Move for Equality Campaign. It's only fair.)*
- Floro, M. et al. (2003) Género y Financiación para el Desarrollo (Gender and Financing for Development). INSTRAW. Santo Domingo, Dominican Republic.
- Foresti, M. et al. (2006), Aid Effectiveness and Human Rights: Strengthening the implementation of the Paris Declaration, Overseas Development Institute, London.
- Fraser, N. (1997). *Iustitia Interrupta*. Editorial Siglo del Hombre, Bogota, Colombia.
- Freire, P. (2008) La Pedagogía del Oprimido (Pedagogy of the Oppressed). Ed. Siglo XXI. Madrid, Spain
- García, A. (2009) Género y desarrollo humano: una relación imprescindible. *Campaña Muévete por la Igualdad (Gender and human development: an indispensable relation. Move for Equality Campaign)*. Madrid, Spain.
- Harcourt, W. (2011) Gender Equality and Development Effectiveness. Summary World Report. Open Forum.

- Holvét, N. (2007), Evolutions in Development Thinking and Policy: new opportunities for gender Equality. PRSPs and Swaps from a gender perspective, EC, Brussels. Belgium.
- Iglesia-Caruncho, M (2011) The Politics and Policy of Aid in Spain. IDS, University of Sussex. United Kingdom.
- Junio, A. et al. (2012), «¿Dónde está el Dinero para los Derechos de las Mujeres?» Resultados Preliminares de Investigación («Where is the Money for Women's Rights?» Preliminary Research Results). AWID. Toronto, Canada.
- Lagarde, M. (2006) Pacto entre Mujeres y Sororidad. Ponencia. (Covenant between Women and Sorority. Presentation.)
- López, I. and Cirujano, P. (2008). Igualdad de género en los objetivos del desarrollo del milenio: retos para la cooperación española con América Latina (Gender Equality in the millennium development goals: challenges for the Spanish cooperation with Latin America) . Fundación Carolina. Madrid
- MAEC (2005). Plan Director de la Cooperación Española (Master Plan of the Spanish Cooperation), 2005-2008. DGPOLDE. Madrid.
- MAEC (2007). Estrategia de «Género en Desarrollo» de la Cooperación Española («Gender and Development» strategy of the Spanish Cooperation. DGPOLDE. Madrid.
- MAEC (2009). Plan Director de la Cooperación Española (Master Plan of the Spanish Cooperation), 2009-2012. DGPOLDE. Madrid.
- Martínez-Gómez, R. (2012). La Cooperación Sur-Sur en América Latina y los desafíos para la agenda de Igualdad (The South-South Cooperation in Latin America and the challenges for the equality agenda). AFM. Montevideo, Uruguay.
- Miller, A. (2004) Sexuality, violence against women and human rights: Women make demands and Ladies get protection. University of Columbia. U.S.A., 2004.
- Murguialday, C. (2006) «El largo camino hacia la equidad de género» («The long road to gender equity»). Revista Pueblos.
- Nussbaum, M. (2000) Las mujeres y el desarrollo humano (Women and human development). Editorial Herder, Barcelona, Spain.
- O'Neill, P. (2012). Follow the money – tracking financing for gender equality. Presentation at the UN/CSW 2012.
- Kane M. (2007) Gender, the Paris Declaration and Women's Emancipation, Document presented at the Conference «Does Aid Work? Can it Work Better? Crucial Questions on the Road to Accra and Doha, North South Institute, Ottawa.
- Kharas, H. (2011) «Transparency: Changing the Accountability Engagement, and Effectiveness of Aid», in Kharas, H., Makino, K., Jung, W., «Catalyzing Development», Brookings Institution Press: Washington, D.C.
- Marcela Lagarde (1999) «Claves identitarias de las latinoamericanas en el umbral del nuevo milenio» en el Siglo de las Mujeres («Identity keys of the Latin Americans at the threshold of the new millennium» in the Century of Women) AM Portugal, C Torres (eds) ISIS Internacional.
- Machicao, X. et al (2006) América Latina. Un debate pendiente. Aportes a la Economía y a la política con una visión de género (Latin America. A pending debate. Contributions to the Economy and politics with a gender vision). Montevideo, Uruguay.
- OECD-DAC (2005). Paris Declaration for Aid Effectiveness. Paris.
- OECD-DAC (2006), Paris Declaration Commitments and Implications for Gender Equality and Women's Empowerment.
- OECD-DAC (2007), Aid Effectiveness. Overview of the Results. 2006 Survey on monitoring the Paris Declaration.

- OECD-DAC (2008a), Synthesis Report on Policy Coherence for Development.
- OECD-DAC (2008b), Survey on Monitoring the Paris Declaration: Making aid more effective by 2010.
- OECD-DAC (2008c), Accra Agenda for Action, 3rd High Level Forum on Aid Effectiveness.
- OECD-DAC (2008d) Guiding Principles for Aid Effectiveness, Gender Equality and Women's Empowerment.
- OECD-DAC (2008e) New Modalities for Financing for Women's Organisations.
- OECD-DAC (2009a), Managing Aid – Practices of DAC member countries.
- OECD-DAC (2009b) Gender equality and women's empowerment: from rhetoric to results.
- OECD-DAC (2009c) Aid in Support of Gender Equality and women's empowerment.
- OECD-DAC (2010), How DAC Members Work with Civil Society Organisations.
- OECD-DAC (2010) Secretariat, Aid in Support of Gender Equality and Women's Empowerment, March 2010.
- OECD-DAC (2011a) Survey on Monitoring the Paris Declaration: Making aid more effective by 2010.
- OECD-DAC (2011b), Aid in Support of Gender Equality and Women's Empowerment, Statistics based on DAC Members' reporting on the Gender Equality Policy Marker, 2008 – 2009.
- OECD-DAC (2011c). DAC Peer Review of Spain.
- OECD-DAC (2011d). Busan Outcome Document. BUSAN Action Plan.
- OECD-DAC (2012) Aid in support of gender equality and women's empowerment. Statistical overview.
- Oppenheim, K. (2006), The Approach of DAC Members to Gender Equality in Development, Cooperation: changes since 1999.
- Pisano, B. et al. (2009) *Feminismos Cómplices, 16 años después (Complicit Feminisms, 16 years after)*. Taller Editorial La Correa Feminista.
- Pruitt, B. and Thomas.P. (2008) *Democratic Dialogue – A Handbook for Practitioners*, OAS, IDEA, UNDP. Oslo, Norway.
- Riquer F. (2005) *Del movimiento feminista a la institución: ¿una historia que aún no puede contarse? Espacio Público y Democracia en Mexico. (From the feminist movement to the institution: a story that may not be told yet? Public Space and Democracy in Mexico)*. Mexico DF. Mexico.
- Roy Culpeper R. and Bhushan A. (2008) *A Neglected Factor in Development Strategy Background Paper*. The North-South Institute, Ottawa, Canada.
- Salazar, C. *Reflexión deliberante vs. control de procesos en las organizaciones civiles (Deliberating reflection vs. process control in civil organisations)*. Universidad Autónoma Metropolitana Unidad Xochimilco. Mexico DF. Mexico.
- Salazar, C. (2006) *El «Management» frente a la reflexión colectiva, en la intervención institucional contemporánea. Congreso Internacional «Actualidad del Grupo Operativo» («Management» in the face of collective reflection, in the contemporary institutional intervention. International Congress «Current times of the Operating Group»)*. Madrid, Spain.
- Sanahuja, J (2007), «¿Más y mejor ayuda? La Declaración de París y las tendencias en la Cooperación al Desarrollo», en *Mesa Paz y Conflictos en el Siglo XXI: Tendencias Globales («More and better aid? The Paris Declaration and the trends in the Development Cooperation»*, at *Table Peace and Conflicts in the XXI Century: Global Trends) – Yearbook 2007-2008: 71-101*, Icaria Editorial, Madrid.
- Sanahuja, J. (2008) «La política de Cooperación Española a partir de 2008: el reto de culminar las reformas», («The Spanish Cooperation policy after 2008: the challenge of completing the reforms»),

- Quórum. Revista Iberoamericana de Ciencias Sociales, No. 19. Madrid, Spain.
- San Miguel, Nava. (2010) «Oportunidades y propuestas en la agenda de Género y Eficacia. Avanzando hacia 2015.» En Nuevas Líneas de Investigación en Género y Desarrollo («Opportunities and proposals in the Gender and Effectiveness Agenda. Moving forward to 2015»). Colección Cuadernos Solidarios. UAM Ediciones, 2009.
- San Miguel, Nava. (2010) Género y cohesión social en la política española para el desarrollo. Avances y propuestas para el cambio (Gender and social cohesion in the Spanish development policy. Progress and proposals for change). Madrid, Spain.
- Schoenstein, A. et al (2011) Booklet 10. Beyond the Aid Effectiveness Paradigm: A Women's Rights Perspective. AWID. Toronto, Canada.
- Schoenstein, A. et al. (2013) Booklet 11. Una perspectiva feminista sobre el 4to Foro de Alto Nivel sobre la Eficacia de la Ayuda de Busan y sus resultados (A feminist perspective on the 4th High Level Forum on Aide Effectiveness and its Outcomes). AWID. Toronto, Canada.
- Social Watch (2006), Informe 2006 Arquitectura Imposible, Instituto del Tercer Mundo (2006 Report Impossible Architecture, Third World Institute), Montevideo.
- Staszewska, K. (2011) EU Donors Under Women's Watch: Checks up on Gender Equality and Women's Rights in the Aid Effectiveness Agenda on the road to Busan WIDE.
- Stubbs, P. (2005), International actors and national social policy: 'new policy' and old modalities, The Institute of Economics, Croatia.
- Suárez, L. and Hernández, A. (ed.) (2008) Descolonizando el Feminismo: Teorías y Prácticas desde los Márgenes (Decolonising Feminism: Theories and Practices from the Margins). Ed. Cátedra. Madrid, Spain.
- Tan, C. (2005) Evolving Aid Modalities and their impact on the delivery of essential services in Low-income countries, en Law, Social Justice and Global Development Journal (LGD).
- Tomás, R. (2010) Una mirada al enfoque de género de la Cooperación Española: Avances y cambios frente a viejos y nuevos desafíos institucionales. XIV Encuentro de Latinoamericanistas Españoles. (A look at the gender approach of the Spanish Cooperation: Progress and changes in the face of old and new institutional challenges. XIV Encounter of Spanish Latin Americanists.)
- Tomlinson B. (2012) CSOs on the Road from Accra to Busan. BetterAid y Open Forum, Filipinas.
- Toma, C. (2010) Manual para el trabajo de extensión (Manual for extension work). Open Forum.
- UN (2000). Millenium Development Goals.
- UN (2002) Monterrey Consensus.
- UN (2005a). Examination of the implementation of the Beijing Platform for Action and of the final documents of the General Assembly special sessions entitled: Women 2000: gender equality, development and peace for the XXI Century.
- UN (2005b). Final Document of the World Summit 2005. Follow-up to the Outcome of the Millennium Summit. Sixtieth Session Period. A/60/L.1, September 15, New York, U.S.A.
- UN (2008) Forum for Development Cooperation, Report of the Secretary General, Trends and Advances in International Cooperation, Nueva York. EE.UU.
- UN (2012) Forum for Development Cooperation. Report of the Secretary General, Trends and Advances in International Cooperation, New York, EE.UU.
- UN-CSW (2008). *Financing for gender equality and the empowerment of women*. Conclusions of the Commission on the Status of Women. 52^o Session Period.
- UN-DAW (2007), Report of the Expert Group Meeting, Financing for gender equality and women's empowerment, Oslo, Norway.

- UN-DESA (2011) The Global Partnership for Development: Time to Deliver. MDG Gap Task Force MDG, New York, U.S.A.
- UN-DESA (2012) The Global Partnership for Development: Making Rhetoric a Reality. MDG Gap Task Force MDG, New York, U.S.A.
- UNRISD (2010) Combating poverty and inequality structural change, social Policy and Politics. Geneva, Switzerland.
- UN Women (2011) Key Messages for Busan: Increasing Implementation and Accountability for Gender Equality. New York, U.S.A.
- Valcárcel, A. (2001) La memoria colectiva y los retos del feminismo (Collective memory and the challenges of feminism). ECLAC. Unidad Mujer y Desarrollo, Santiago, Chile.
- Vandemoortele, J. (2011) «The MDG Story: Intention Denied» en Development and Change, Volume 42, Issue 1.
- Vargas, V. (2002): «*Los feminismos latinoamericanos en su tránsito al nuevo milenio, una lectura político personal.*» En Daniel Mato (coord.): Estudios y Otras prácticas Intelectuales Latinoamericanas en Cultura y Poder («The Latin American feminisms in their transition to the new millennium, a personal-political reading.» In Daniel Mato (coor.); Studies and Other Latin American Intellectual practices in Culture and Power). CLACSO/ CEAP, Faces, Universidad Central de Venezuela. pp. 307-316.
- Vargas, V. (2008) Feminismos en América Latina. Su aporte a la política y la democracia (Feminisms in Latin America. Their contribution to politics and democracy). Universidad Nacional Mayor de San Marcos/PDTG/Flora Tristán. Lima, Peru.
- Wallace, T. (2007), G-8: The Aid Gap, International Gender Centre, Oxford. United Kingdom.
- Wathne C. and Hedger, E. (2009). Aid effectiveness through the recipient lens. Briefing Paper. Overseas Development Institute.
- WIDE (2007), NEW AID, OLD TRADE. What do women have to say? WIDE Annual Conference. Brussels, Belgium.
- World Bank (2007), Gender Equality as Smart Economics: A World Bank Group Gender Action Plan. Washington, EE.UU.
- World Bank (2012). Gender Equality and Development. *Report on World Development 2012*. Washington, U.S.A.

Annexes

- i. Declarations of the Consonant Dialogues
- ii. Sources of financing. Dissonances and Consonances for the Financing of Feminist Organisations
- iii. Feminist Networks and Organisations participating in the Consonant Dialogues

I. Declarations of the Consonant Dialogues

Feminist Networks of Latin America and the Caribbean and the Spanish Cooperation System: the Rights of Women and the Instruments of Development Assistance

June 18, 19 and 20, 2008, Montevideo, Uruguay

DEMOCRACY, DEVELOPMENT AND FEMINISM DECLARATION

The construction and strengthening of democracy require development policies in consonance with equality and justice that enable the full exercise of human rights as an unavoidable road to poverty eradication. To this end, it is essential that the Development Cooperation contributes to the reaffirmation of women's citizenship considering the diversities and differences in the conditions in which they build their lives.

The feminist networks of Latin America and the Caribbean present in Montevideo to establish a consonant dialogue among us and with the Spanish cooperation and its several actors, agree to construct an ethical and political framework. This framework is intended to achieve more and better results for gender equality and women's empowerment in the development of the countries of the region, complying with the international agreements (CEDAW, Beijing, Cairo, Vienna, Copenhagen, Durban, Quito Consensus, Brazil Consensus) and following the commitments established in the Paris Declaration among the partner and donor countries and the international organisms.

Therefore, we commit to:

1. Strengthening the feminist movement as a political and social actor, supporting its institutional development and its autonomy.
 2. Establishing a dialogue agenda that favours the deepening of the issues, proposals and progress prioritised in this exchange. With this purpose, further mechanisms for the implementation thereof shall be established.
 3. Prioritising the strategic programmatic axes that address the cultural and regulatory obstacles for the full exercise of the women's human rights.
 4. The development cooperation must finance advocacy sustained in time from an effectiveness approach.
 5. Generating new instances for strengthening and expanding the political trust, transparency and mutual accountability from the consonance achieved in this dialogue.
 6. Building contributions on the Road to Accra from the Latin American and Caribbean feminist context, for gender equality and equity to become a true priority at the meeting for Monitoring the Paris Declaration on aid effectiveness.
7. Request from the Spanish cooperation:
 - 7.1. to support the celebration of the XI Feminist Encounter of Latin America and the Caribbean to be held in March of 2009 in Mexico;
 - 7.2. that, following the Master Plan and the Gender Strategy, a specific gender Programme is created that includes participative mechanisms and specific and direct funds for the feminist and women's movement;
 - 7.3. that the effective participation of the feminist and women's movement, as well as the specific financing for the strengthening thereof is guaranteed by the Gender and Development Fund approved by the Spanish Cooperation destined to the strengthening of equality policies and managed by UNIFEM.
 - 7.4. that the group of actors of the Spanish Cooperation and the Spanish feminist organisations contribute their efforts in line with the contents of this declaration.

The «Consonant Dialogues» wish to thank the government of Uruguay and in particular the National Women's Institute of the MIDES (Ministry for Social Development) for their contribution and hospitality which made this encounter possible.

Montevideo, June 20 of 2008.

PARTICIPATING FEMINIST NETWORKS AND ORGANISATIONS

AFM (Marcosur Feminist Articulation), Alianza Feminista Centroamericana / Central American Feminist Alliance, AMB (Articulación de Mujeres Brasileiras / Brazilian Women's Articulation), Articulación Política de Juventudes Negras / Political Articulation of Black Young People, CDD (Red de Católicas por el Derecho a Decidir / Catholic Women's Network for the Right to Decide), CLADEM (Comité Latinoamericano de Defensa de los Derechos de las Mujeres / Latin American Committee for the Defence of Women's Rights), Red de Mujeres Rurales de América Latina / Latin American Rural Women's Network, REPEM (Red de Educación Popular Entre Mujeres / Network of Popular Education Among Women), Red Género y Comercio / Gender and Trade Network, Iniciativa Centroamericana / Central American Initiative, Red de Mujeres Indígenas / Indigenous Women's Network, RSMLAC (Red de Salud de las Mujeres Latinoamericanas y del Caribe / Latin American and Caribbean Women's Health Network), IGLHRC-AL (Comité Internacional por los Derechos de Gays y Lesbianas / International Committee for Gay and Lesbian Rights), Red Mujeres y Comunicación / Women and Communications Network, La Mesa por la Salud y la Vida de las Mujeres / The Women's Health and Life Table (Colombia), Alianza por el Derecho a Decidir / Alliance for the Right to Decide (México), Red Mujer y Hábitat / Women and Habitat Network, REDLAC (Red de Jóvenes Latinoamérica y Caribe / Latin American and Caribbean Young People's Network), CAFRA, Acción Ciudadana por la Democracia y el Desarrollo / Citizens' Action for Democracy and Development), HUMANAS Network, Campaña de Setiembre por la Despenalización del Aborto en AL y C, CNS / September Campaign for Abortion Decriminalisation in LAC (Uruguay), Campaña por la Convención Interamericana de los Derechos Sexuales y los Derechos Reproductivos / Campaign for the Interamerican Convention on Sexual Rights and Reproductive Rights, Campaña Tu Boca Contra los Fundamentalismos / Your Mouth Against Fundamentalisms Campaign, Asociación Desarrollo Comunal / Communal Development Association (Peru), SOS CORPO (Brazil), FIRE (Costa Rica), Yerbabuena (Ecuador), Colectivo Feminista / Feminist Collective (El Salvador), CEDEM (Chile), Aquelarre (Dominican Rep.), AWID, Fondo Semillas / Seeds Fund (Mexico), Alquimia Fund (Chile), Angela Borba Foundation (Brazil).

Women's Rights in the Development Assistance Instruments Agreements and Consonances

DEMOCRACY, DEVELOPMENT, INTER-CULTURALITY AND FEMINISM

We acknowledge democracy, human rights, gender equality and inter-culturality as focal points that structure development and constitute the starting point of the Consonant Dialogues.

The development cooperation must contribute to the reinforcement of women's citizenship taking into account their multiple diversities and inequalities, strengthening the social organisations and the promotion of capacities which guarantee the participation of urban and rural women in all their racial-ethnic, sexual, generational, social diversity in the fight for the expansion of their rights.

The strengthening of the social organisations as democracy and development actors is an essential condition for the sustainability of a culture based on rights and democratic coexistence.

It is the full exercise of human, political, economic, social, cultural, reproductive, sexual and environmental rights and the right to a violence-free life that provides the most effective and sustainable road to poverty eradication.

In the current context of the Development Cooperation, which has the reduction of flows to Latin America as one of its expressions, the feminist networks and organisations, the Spanish Cooperation and its several actors, UNIFEM, INSTRAW,

PNUD, GENDERNET - EU participating in this seminar, agree to move towards action pacts that promote more and better results for gender equality and women's empowerment in the development of the countries of the region, in compliance with the international agreements (CEDAW, Beijing, Cairo, Vienna, Copenhagen, Durban, Quito Consensus) and in observance of the pledges established in the Paris Declaration among the partner and donor countries and the international organisations.

In this framework, we reaffirm the need for:

1. Strengthening the feminist and women's movement in its full diversity (indigenous, Afro-descendant, sexual, urban and rural) as a political and social actor, supporting its institutional development and its autonomy.
2. The development cooperation must prioritise advocacy sustained in time from an effectiveness approach.
3. Generating new articulation instances among the participating Spanish Cooperation, the feminist organisations and the international organisations so that, from the consonances achieved in the dialogues (Montevideo 2008 and Lima 2010), the political trust, transparency and mutual accountability are strengthened and expanded.
4. The strategic issues put forth by the feminist movement and the women's organisations are central for the effectiveness approach, especially those regarding political, economic, social and cultural autonomy, the sovereignty of the bodies, the reassessment of care work, social inclusion, the elimination of racism, ethnocentricity and all forms of discrimination against women.

5. Request from the Spanish cooperation:

- a) that, in observance of the Gender Strategy of the Spanish Cooperation, the AECID Action Plan which is being prepared in these months, the support to the women's organisations is maintained. Besides, that the mainstream priority of diversity, with special emphasis on the ethnic-racial perspective, is complied with;
- b) to guarantee our participation as feminist and women's organisations in the consultation and decision making processes to define the Country Association Frameworks between the Spanish Cooperation and the partner countries;
- c) to foster, from the group of actors of the centralised and decentralised Spanish cooperation, the Spanish feminist organisations and NGDOs, the creation of a specific mechanism of articulation with the feminist and women's organisations of Latin America and the Caribbean;
- d) to materialise, confirming the consonances of the Montevideo Dialogues, a mechanism and specific gender equality sessions in which the small and medium organisations may also gain access to financing for strengthening their institutions. To establish programmatic financing guidelines and simplify the access to resources so as to guarantee the democratisation thereof;
- e) to increase resources for the production of appropriate knowledge and information on data, follow-up and social vigilance on strategic issues for women's citizenship approved in the Consensuses of the Conference on Women of LAC – ECLAC, especially ISOQuito;

- f) that in all the instruments of the Spanish Cooperation and especially the programmes for Indigenous and Afro-descendant Peoples, the gender mainstreaming and women's organisations' empowerment be deepened, as set forth in the Indigenous Peoples Strategies and the Gender Strategy, as well as the III Master Plan of the Spanish Cooperation;
- g) to increase the fund assignment for the Gender Observatory of the ECLAC;
- h) to support the presence of the reflections, experiences and struggles of the feminist and women's organisations in instruments such as the GEDEA Network and actors connected to research or training such as universities and the like, as a relevant strategy for the Gender and Aid Effectiveness Agenda.

6. Request from UNIFEM:

- a) the presentation and debate of its Strategic Plan by 2013 and the programmes they are developing in the region, as well as the Association agreement with Spain;
- b) that the Gender Equality Fund designed to strengthen equality policies, promoted by the Spanish Cooperation and managed by UNIFEM, expands its budget availability and incorporates a specific line for the presentation of proposals to strengthen the regional networks;
- c) that the proposals which have already been reviewed by the technical committee and qualified as the best for all the regions be financed, until exhausting the Fund's available resources, as a strategy to increase the budget, considering the current context of world crisis. In this sense, part of the funds

of the recent strategic agreement between the Spanish Cooperation and UNIFEM could be devoted to such end;

- d) that with the 50 best proposals presented before the Gender Equality Fund which have not been financed, a public bank be constituted and widely promoted so that the propositional creativity of the organisations is not wasted.

7. Request from GENDERNET-EU:

- a) that our concern over the substantial reduction of cooperation in Latin America be transmitted to the donor countries;
- b) that a legitimate regional representation of the feminist organisations of LAC be proposed in the spaces for aid effectiveness;
- c) that proposals of good practices on gender equality in LAC, such as the Consonant Dialogues, be presented in the annual meetings.

8. Request from INSTRAW

- a) to make the Work Plan (INSTRAW) and the actions that are being undertaken known in more detail and for it to develop a more articulate action with the feminist and women's movement of the region and promote North-South/South-South dialogues from an intercultural perspective, with stress on mutual knowledge transference and promotion of pacts and agreements.

9. To request from the group of cooperation actors:

- a) to support and strengthen the participation of the feminist and women's organisations

in the XI Regional Conference on Women of LAC – ECLAC;

- b) to prepare a gender and development resources guide on International Cooperation which includes information of the International Organisations participating, bilateral cooperation and other actors of the Spanish Cooperation;
- c) to support programs around the economy of care and the adoption of an Agreement and Resolution on Dignified Work for Home Workers to be adopted in the 99 Meeting of the International Labour Conference - ILO, the spreading, promotion and vigilance of the Agreements 156 - ILO Workers with family

responsibilities and 183 - ILO on Maternity Protection;

- d) to support the production of national implementation plans of Resolutions 1325 and 1820 of the UN Security Council on Women, Peace and Security in which the women's and feminist organisations are involved from the identification phase to the implementation;
- e) to strengthen the feminist and women's organisations of Haiti and their participation in the reconstruction actions in order to guarantee a gender approach thereon and to support the solidarity actions organised by the feminists of the region.

Lima, April 30 of 2010.

Women's Rights in the Development Assistance Instruments Agreements and Consonances

DEMOCRACY, DEVELOPMENT, INTER-CULTURALITY AND FEMINISMS

Central American, Caribbean and Latin American women continue to live in conditions of inequality, injustice and impunity, expressed in high levels of poverty, environmental vulnerability, violence, insecurity, denial of the right to decide on their own body, exclusion from decision making in the political sphere.

The gap between formal rights stated in the collections of laws and the effective exercise thereof is persistently aggravated, especially in contexts of deepening authoritarianisms and collapse of the rule of law and democratic institutionalism.

Democracy, human rights, gender equality, inter-culturality and the respect for individual and collective freedoms are the starting point of the Consonant Dialogues. The full exercise of human rights, political, economic, social, cultural, reproductive, sexual, environmental and to a violence free life is the most efficient road to poverty eradication and to moving towards sustainable development.

The development cooperation must contribute to the reinforcement of the women's citizenship considering their multiple diversities. The strengthening of the feminist and

women's movements as actors of democracy and development is an indispensable condition for the sustainability of a culture of rights, justice and democratic coexistence.

In the present context of the Development Cooperation determined by the aid effectiveness agenda, which has the reduction of financial flows to Latin America as one of its expressions, the feminist networks and organisations, the Spanish Cooperation actors participating in this dialogue, agree to move towards action pacts that promote the achievement of gender equality and women's empowerment in compliance with the international agreements established in the CEDAW, Beijing, Belem do Para, Cairo, Vienna, Copenhagen, Durban, Quito and Brasilia Consensuses, as well as in the observance of the pledges established in the Paris Declaration among the partner and donor countries and the international organisations.

The recent Brasilia Consensus endorsed during the XI Conference on Woman of Latin America and the Caribbean expresses a reassertion of vitally important governmental commitments to advance in the construction of democracies that guarantee the full exercise of equal rights and opportunities. Additionally, it implicates the different actors present in these Consonant Dialogues in the agenda.

In this framework, we reaffirm the need to:

1. Recognise the importance of the feminist and women's movements as political and social actors, autonomous and diverse, as well as the need to advance in their strengthening in terms of institutional development and advocacy capacity.
2. To generate new articulation instances among the participating Spanish Cooperation, the feminist organisations and the international organisations

so that, from the consonances achieved in the dialogues (Montevideo 2010, Lima 2010 and Antigua - Guatemala 2010) an ethical framework that strengthens and expands the political trust, transparency and mutual accountability is constructed.

3. Eradicating racism, ethnocentricity and all forms of violence and discrimination against women for the expansion of the freedom over their body and the achievement of political, economic, social and cultural autonomy. The revaluation of domestic and care work must be placed in the centre of the effectiveness agenda of the Development Cooperation.
4. Reinforcing the strategic actions of the feminist and women's movements that defend the validity of the rule of law and its lay nature, as a condition for the acknowledgment and full exercise of the sexual and reproductive rights.
5. To support the efforts made by the feminist and women's movements in the fight against violence and impunity, as well as their access to justice.
6. To support the articulation processes of the feminist movements of Latin America and the Caribbean, and especially the celebration of the XII Feminist Encounter of Latin America and the Caribbean – Colombia 2011, to be held thirty years after the first encounter.
7. To foster the political synergies among the different actors of the development Cooperation of the Spanish State and the feminist and women's movements of Latin America and the Caribbean that guarantee the advocacy in the process to the IV High Level Forum on Aid Effectiveness (Seoul

2011) with tangible results, in consonance with the assertions of these dialogues.

REQUEST FROM THE DIFFERENT ACTORS OF THE DEVELOPMENT COOPERATION OF THE SPANISH STATE:

- a) To promote the participation of the feminist and women's movements in the processes of planning and decision-making with the different actors of the Spanish Cooperation and the partner countries.
- b) To create and/or strengthen an institutionalised mechanism for political dialogue among the feminist movements and the Spanish cooperation with emphasis on the TCOs and AECID management instances.
- c) That, reaffirming the consonances of the Montevideo and Lima Dialogues, financing lines are established in which the procedures of resource access are simplified, a specific fund is materialised for the feminist and women's organisations and minimum percentages of resources are established for gender equality in the collection of modalities and instruments of the AECID and other actors of the Spanish cooperation.
- d) To facilitate the articulation processes of the feminist movements, especially the celebration of the Xii Feminist Encounter of Latin America and the Caribbean – Colombia 2011.
- e) To hold a Consonant Dialogue with the feminist networks and organisations in the Caribbean.
- f) To guarantee the celebration of a Consonant Dialogue in Spain among feminist organisations

of Latin America and the Caribbean, feminist networks and organisations and different actors of the Development Cooperation of the Spanish State.

- g) To strengthen the feminist and women's organisations of Haiti, supporting their participation and advocacy in the National Reconstruction Plan, fostering the solidarity actions promoted by the feminist networks and organisation of the region. To support the strategic actions that guarantee that the humanitarian aid responds to the needs of the women.
- h) To create, diversify and strengthen mechanisms to favour the access of the feminist and women's organisations to the resources of the Development Cooperation, including as one of the possible modalities the women's funds of Latin America and the Caribbean.
- i) To strengthen the mechanisms of social auditing such as the ISOQuito.

CELEBRATING THE APPOINTMENT OF MICHELLE BACHELET FOR THE GOVERNANCE OF UN WOMEN, WE REQUEST FROM THE UNITED NATIONS SYSTEM:

- a) To guarantee the commitment and support to the programmatic agenda of the feminist and women's movements in Latin America and the Caribbean and their participation in the development process of UN WOMEN at all levels, ensuring regional equity, ethnic-racial and generational diversity in the composition of the staff of the new entity.
- b) To increase the resources of the Fund for Gender Equality (UNIFEM) to support the strengthening of

the feminist and women's movements, especially in the priorities mentioned in item 3 of this declaration, incorporating a specific line destined to financing the feminist and women's networks of the region.

- c) From the UNDP and the United Nations Fund for Population and Development to increase the resources directed to the exercise and defence of the sexual rights and reproductive rights, in compliance with the Cairo Programme of Action.
- d) To increase resources for the generation and socialisation of information and knowledge, strengthening social auditing processes such as ISOQuito, around the consensuses of Quito and Brasilia, approved during the Conferences on Women of Latin America and the Caribbean, held by the ECLAC.

REQUEST FROM GENDERNET - EU

- a) To express our concern regarding the substantial reduction of the development cooperation resources for the feminist and women's organisations and movements of Latin America and the Caribbean to the donor countries.
- b) To propose the participation of a legitimate regional representation of the feminist organisations of Latin America and the Caribbean in the spaces for monitoring aid effectiveness.

The feminist organisations and networks participating in these III Consonant Dialogues celebrate the opportunity to exchange reflections, rethink our agendas and move forward in the construction of the plurality expressing articulations.

Antigua - Guatemala, September of 2010

Santo Domingo Declaration

IV Consonant Dialogues, June 27 - 30 of 2011

We, the representatives of feminist networks and organisations, gathered in the Dominican Republic, coming from different countries of the Caribbean, representatives of the Spanish development cooperation, UN Women, ECLAC and other UN agencies, representatives of the Marcosur Feminist Articulation, united in idiomatic, cultural, geopolitical, ethnic-racial, sexual and gender identity wealth and diversity, acknowledge democracy, human rights, gender equality and inter-culturality as the structuring axes of development which constitute the starting point of the Consonant Dialogues, reaffirm political exchange with transparency and trust as a strategy that favours the construction of understanding agreements among the different actors involved in the Development Cooperation, and which constitutes the ethical framework from which the Consonant Dialogues are celebrated.

Central American, Caribbean and Latin American women continue to live in conditions of inequality, injustice and impunity, expressed in high levels of poverty, environmental vulnerability, violence, insecurity, denial of the right to decide over their own body, exclusion from decision making in the political sphere. The gap between formal rights stated in the collections of laws and the effective exercise thereof is persistently aggravated, especially in contexts of deepening authoritarianisms, colonial states and the frailty of democratic institutionalism, hindering the exercise of citizenship and the opportunity to establish more human relationships.

The development cooperation must contribute to the reinforcement of women's citizenship taking into account their multiple racial-ethnic, sexual, generational, social diversities and inequalities in the fight for the expansion of their rights expressed in their political agenda, strengthening the feminist and women's organisations.

The strengthening of the feminist and women's organisations as democracy and development actors is an indispensable condition for the sustainability of a culture of rights and democratic coexistence.

It is the full exercise of human, political, economic, social, cultural, reproductive, sexual and environmental rights and the right to a violence-free life that provides the most effective and sustainable road to poverty eradication.

In the current context of the Development Cooperation, which has the reduction of flows to Latin America as one of its expressions, the feminist networks and organisations, the Spanish Cooperation and its several actors, ECLAC, UN Women and other UN agencies participating in this seminar, agree to move towards action pacts that promote more and better results for gender equality and women's empowerment in the development of the countries of the region, in compliance with the international agreements (CEDAW, Beijing, Cairo, Vienna, Copenhagen, Durban, Quito Consensus, Brasilia Consensus) and in observance of the undertakings established in the Paris Declaration among the partner and donor countries and the international organisations.

The Consensus of Brasilia endorsed in the XI Conference on Woman of Latin America and the Caribbean expresses a reassertion of governmental undertakings of vital importance to advance in the construction of democracies that guarantee the full exercise of equal rights and opportunities. The consensus acknowledges the separation between Church and State as the best condition for the exercise and acknowledgement of women's rights.

In this framework, we reaffirm the need to:

1. Strengthen the feminist and women's movement in its full diversity as a political and social actor,

supporting its institutional development and its autonomy.

2. Support the celebration of regular meetings of networks, feminist organisations of Latin America and the Caribbean with UN Women, ECLAC and other UN agencies and the different actors of the Spanish development cooperation to analyze priorities, establish agendas and share experiences in the region. The development cooperation must prioritise advocacy sustained in time from an effectiveness approach.
3. Generate new articulation instances among the participating feminist organisations, the Spanish Cooperation and the international organisations so that, from the consonances achieved in the preceding Dialogues (Montevideo - Uruguay 2008, Lima - Peru 2010 and Antigua - Guatemala 2010), the political trust, transparency and mutual accountability is strengthened and expanded.
4. The strategic issues put forth by the feminist movement and the women's organisations are central for the effectiveness approach, especially those regarding political, economic, social and cultural autonomy, the sovereignty of the bodies, the reassessment of care work, social inclusion, the elimination of racism, ethnocentricity and all forms of discrimination against women.
5. Foster the political synergies among the different actors of the Development Cooperation of the Spanish State and the feminist and women's movements of Latin America and the Caribbean that guarantee the advocacy in the process to the IV High Level Forum on Aid Effectiveness (Busan 2011) with tangible results, in consonance with the assertions of these Dialogues. Undertake

to continue the diffusion and training on aid effectiveness especially among the feminist movement organisations.

Request from the Spanish cooperation:

- a) that, in compliance with the goals of the Gender Strategy of the Spanish Cooperation, the Action Plan of AECID, the support to the women's organisations be reinforced and the cross-cutting priority of diversity be observed, with special emphasis on the ethnic-racial aspects;
- b) that the group of actors of the centralised and decentralised Spanish cooperation, the Spanish feminist organisations and NGOs, foster the creation of a specific mechanism of articulation with the feminist and women's organisations of Latin America and the Caribbean.
- c) to materialise, confirming the consonances of the preceding Dialogues, a specific and direct fund for gender equality may through which the feminist organisations and movements may gain access to financing for strengthening their institutions. To establish programmatic financing guidelines and simplify the access to resources so as to guarantee the democratisation thereof.
- d) to guarantee the participation as feminist and women's organisations in the consultation and decision making processes to define the Country Association Frameworks between the Spanish Cooperation and the partner countries.
- e) to increase resources for the production of appropriate knowledge and information on data, follow-up and social vigilance on strategic issues for women's citizenship approved in the Consensus of the Conference on Women of LAC —ECLAC, especially ISOQuito.
- f) that in all the instruments of the Spanish Cooperation and especially the programmes for Indigenous and Afro-descendant Peoples, the gender mainstreaming and women's organisations' empowerment be deepened, as set forth in the Indigenous Peoples Strategies and the Gender Strategy, as well as the III Master Plan of the Spanish Cooperation;
- g) having the year of the Afro-descendant peoples as a starting point, to develop strategies addressed at combating discrimination and racial exclusion with gender mainstreaming;
- h) to acknowledge the geopolitical Caribbean diversity and the different accesses of the countries to the Cooperation. The Caribbean has independent as well as non independent countries, with no recognition in the United Nations and with political and economic relations attached to administrating countries.
- i) To acknowledge especially the need to continue supporting Haiti and the compliance with the commitments undertaken. The environmental and human catastrophes endured by Haiti affect the women and girls especially. The presence of the feminist organisations must be demanded in all the decision making instances and reconstruction plans.
- j) to increase the resources of the UN Women Equality Fund to help strengthen the feminist and women's movements, incorporating a specific line destined to financing feminist and women's networks in the region, considering the focal points of their agenda.

- k) to guarantee the fund allocation for the Gender Observatory of the ECLAC.
- l) to prepare a Guide on the modalities, conditions and procedures of the different development financing sources.
- m) to perform advocacy actions before the other actors of the Development Cooperation of the European Union for the incorporation of the proposals of the feminist movements of Latin America and the Caribbean.

Request from UN Women

- a) To support the strengthening of the feminist and women's movement through direct funds

that allow for the development of their political agenda;

- b) to create a participation mechanism of the feminist movement that promotes the dialogue from its agenda with the purpose of legitimating the action strategies of UN Women.

The feminist organisations and networks participating in these IV Consonant Dialogues, as in the previous editions, celebrate the opportunity to exchange reflections, rethink our agendas and move forward in the construction of the plurality expressing articulations.

*June 30 of 2011, Santo Domingo,
Dominican Republic*

We, feminist women members of Latin American, Caribbean and Spanish State feminist networks and organisations, gathered in the V Consonant Dialogues, express

Our deep concern in the face of this new global crisis of the capitalist system that continues to exploit the common assets, privatising the natural resources and commercialising the access to rights.

This is a civilising crisis. It covers economic and financial elements, but also political, environmental, cultural and social elements. It brings about destruction of the biodiversity and the natural resources, while allowing for the consolidation of new forms of patriarchy that foster and sustain the criminalisation of dialogue and social conflict. Also resulting from this system and the new stage of the crisis is the impact of privatisation in the lives of women as «backbones» of home care to which, again, their confinement is intended.

We wish to call the attention on the ways in which the system intends to overcome the crisis, putting the people, and particularly the women, at the last level of priorities. For this, it makes use of a perverse reconfiguration of the social order that employs the traditional cultural practices to deepen the subordination and violations to human rights. Thus, new forms of extreme violence and aggressions are generated, whether through labour flexibilisation, unemployment and the increasing feminisation of poverty, whether through forced migrations or the traffic of women. The State is no longer the guarantor of rights and in its place arise governments that defend the interest of the speculative capital, with which injustice and exclusion is legitimised. Once more, the cut backs of the public policies

and their costs are assumed by the women through new care arrangements at national and trans-national levels, resuming the conservative approach of the families, which hinders the exercise of citizenship for the women and the construction of societies more favourable to gender equality and equity.

We feminists shall continue to denunciate, but also to transform, these forms of life that privilege consumption to the detriment of citizenship. We shall continue to dispute for the land and the territories, the management of time and the absolute sovereignty of women to make decisions over their bodies and their lives, from a radical idea of equality.

WE REASSERT

- The need for a lay State that permits the effective development of public policies free from prejudices and dogmas or religious impositions, deeply respectful of the rights of women and of all the people.
- We assert the commitment to a political culture of pacts in which life free from violence, free from discrimination, free from racism, free from repressive policies that restrict the exercise of rights prevails. A culture in which the autonomy of the organisations and networks and the role of the civil society is major.
- We commit to democracy as the manager of everyday life, a democracy which covers both politics and the social organisation, which defends public wellbeing and takes a leading role in the urgent eradication of women's subordination.
- We commit to internationalist feminism and to movements whose members value each other and where respect for the other and for her ideas and

proposals is the driving force to imagining new and better worlds.

WE DEMAND FROM THE STATES

- The defence of the Rule of Law and its democratic institutions, the sovereign and autonomous development of the peoples and the unrestricted respect for the human rights of all people.
- The respect and guarantee of the commitments agreed with the women's equality and rights, as well as the sufficient resources to implement the exercise of these rights, including, very specially, the sexual and reproductive rights, legal and safe abortion and the right to a life free from all forms of violence.
- The public accountability, the establishment and/or strengthening of spaces and mechanisms for the substantial participation of the civil society and the indigenous peoples --including the promotion thereof.
- The fulfilment of the ethic obligation of preventing the undue and indecent accumulation of resources that produces the accumulation of poverty and inequality, whether inside the countries or among them.

WE DEMAND FROM THE INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT COOPERATION, ESPECIALLY THAT OF THE SPANISH STATE

- The recognition of democracy, human rights, gender equality and inter-culturality as axes structuring development.

- The maintenance and increase of the budget destined to the international cooperation, especially in all that concerns gender equality.
- Its contribution to the assertion of women's citizenship considering their multiple diversities and inequalities, strengthening the social organisations and the promotion of capacities that guarantee the participation of urban and rural women in their full racial-ethnic, sexual, generational and social diversity in the fight for the expansion of their rights
- Its contribution to the full exercise of human, political, economic, social, cultural, reproductive, sexual and environmental rights and the right to a violence-free life as the most effective and sustainable road to poverty eradication.
- The strengthening of the feminist and women's movement in its full diversity as a social and political actor capable of guaranteeing **the sustainability of the advocacy** for women's rights in a much more effective way than the mere mainstreaming of gender policies which depend on the will of

each government, supporting its institutional development and its autonomy.

- The prioritisation of interventions sustained in time, from a development effectiveness approach.

WE, THE LATIN AMERICAN, CARIBBEAN AND SPANISH STATE FEMINISTS UNDERTAKE

- To fight relentlessly for a truly inclusive and just democracy.
- To consolidate and weave new alliances based on transparent dialogue among Latin American, Caribbean and Spanish State feminists.
- To make the fight of the social movements, especially of the feminist movement, contagious.
- To write history in a different way.

*Miraflores de la Sierra,
Madrid, Spain, April 16, 17 y 18, 2012*

PARTICIPATING FEMINIST NETWORKS AND ORGANISATIONS

Alianza Centroamericana / Central American Alliance; Marcosur Feminist Articulation; Articulación Mujeres Brasileñas / Brazilian Women's Articulation; ACDemocracia - Plataforma Nacional por los Derechos de las Mujeres Ecuador / National Platform for Women's Rights Ecuador; Campaña 28 de Septiembre, Rep. Dominicana / September 28 Campaign, Dominican Republic; Campaña por la Convención Interamericana Derechos Sexuales y Derechos Reproductivos / International Convention on Sexual Rights and Reproductive Rights Campaign; Red Latinoamericana de Católicas por el Derecho a Decidir / Catholic Women's Network for the Right to Decide, CDD/LA; CDE, Paraguay; CLADEM; CNS Mujeres, Uruguay; Colectiva Mujer y Salud / Women and Health Collective; Coordinadora de la Mujer de Bolivia / Bolivia Women's Coordinating Group; Cotidiano Mujer, Uruguay; Enlace Continental de Mujeres Indígenas / Continental Network of Indigenous Women; Flora Tristán, Peru; ELAS Fund, Brazil; La Morada, Chile; Mesa por la Vida y la Salud de las Mujeres / Women's Health and Life Table, Colombia; Movimiento Autónomo de Mujeres / Autonomous Women's Movement, Nicaragua; Programa Feminista La Corriente / La Corriente Feminist Programme, Nicaragua; Red Latinoamericana de Católicas por el Derecho a Decidir / Catholic Women's Network for the Right to Decide; Red de Mujeres Afrolatinoamericanas Afrocaribeñas y de la Diáspora / Afro-Latin American and Diaspora Women's Network; Red Género y Comercio / Gender and Trade Network; Red Mujer y Habitat / Women and Habitat Network; Red Nacional de Mujeres / National Women's Network, Colombia; Red de Salud de Mujeres Latinoamericanas y del Caribe / Latin American and Caribbean Women's Health Network; SOFA, Haiti; Tierra Viva, Guatemala.

ACSUR/Las Segovias; AIETI; Grupo de Género de la Estatal CONGDE / Spanish NGO Coordinating Group Gender Group; Federación Catalana de ONGD / Catalanian Federation of NGDO; Asamblea Feminista de Madrid / Madrid Feminist Assembly; Asociación de Mujeres Profesionales Igualdad / Professional Women's Association; Genera Association; Ayuda en Acción / Aid in Action; Ca la Dona, Barcelona; CALALA FWomen's Fund; Casa de la Dona, Valencia; CEIM/Andalucian Coordinating Group NGDO/WIDE; Cooperació; Euskadi NGDO Coordinating Group; Principado de Asturias NGDO Coordinating Group; Spanish State Coordinating Group of Feminist Organisations; Emakume Internazionalistak/NGO Mugarik Gabe Nafarroa; ENTREPOBLES/Valencia NGDO Coordinating Group; Forum de Política Feminista / Feminist Politics Forum; Indera Foundation; HEGOA; Euskadi NGDO Coordinating Group; GGEA Network; Intermón/Catalonian NGDO Federation; Malvaluna; MDM; MZC; 2015 Platform; Plataforma de Mujeres en el Congreso / Women in Congress Platform; PROSALUS; Activas Network; Red de Mujeres Feministas por la Equidad de Género en el Desarrollo / Feminist Women's Network for Gender Equality in Development; Red de Mujeres Latinoamérica y el Caribe en España / Latin American and Caribbean Women's Network in Spain; Red GEDEA / GEDEA Network.

II. Financing Sources. Dissonances and Consonances for the financing of the Feminist Organisations

Source	Profile	Dissonances	Consonances
<p>Public Budgets of the Countries Mobilisation of «domestic resources»</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ National budgets are the main financing source for gender equality and women's empowerment in the medium income countries, although not of the Organisations' agenda. ■ Due to the «oengisation»/outsourcing of public services, the Organisations have gained access to financing. However, this access to resources has been dependent on the work plans of the government and it does not always correspond to the Organisations' own agenda. ■ Etc. <p>http://www.presupuestoygenero.net/ http://www.gender-budgets.org/</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ Gender equality and the women's rights are not a priority in the development policies and strategies of many governments. ■ The advancement of fundamentalisms and the non laicism of the State are large obstacles for the financing of the Organisations. In several occasions, due to their staunch defence of human rights, the Organisations are «demonised» and persecuted. ■ When this happens, financing from the governments usually concentrates in veteran organisations that generally perform work which is more directed to the practical needs of women (or even simply assistentialist). Usually to the groups of working women or women committed to the government. ■ The government finances/prioritises actions (some social projects) and not institutions. It DOES NOT support the institutional strengthening of the organisations. It supports short term projects. When this happens, the quality of the financing is very low (project focus, unpredictability, fragmented financing, etc.). ■ The financing is punctual and subject to a lot of bureaucracy, lack of clear selection mechanisms and lack of financing for strategic issues for the movement (decriminalisation of abortion, sexual and reproductive rights). ■ Lack of financing and the need to survive of the Organisations pushes their own agenda to the background and requires that they only address the themes prioritised by the Government. The political goals of the projects and the organisations are relegated on the basis of the financier's requirements (government or donor institutions). ■ The Organisations are pressed to perform tasks which are the State's responsibility. ■ Etc. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ Gender sensitive budgets have been identified as a strategy of public finances in a series of international commitments on gender equality and financing for development (including Beijing, the 23^a special session of the UN General Assembly and Monterrey). This must be strategically and politically considered for the advancement of women's rights and gender equality. ■ The participation of the Organisations as actors in all the phases of the budgetary cycle should make it possible to advocate for: The provision of public assets and services, the income and wealth distribution policies, etc... ■ Etc.

Source	Profile	Dissonances	Consonances
<p>Bilateral and Multilateral Development Agencies</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ They finance and implement development programmes, mainly through the governments of the partner countries. ■ They channel ODA especially as direct financing to the partner country's government. For this reason, the dissonances of the source «internal resource mobilisation» may apply. ■ Indirectly, the ODA finances feminist and women's organisations through the governments and the NGOs of the donor countries. ■ The ODA by the donor countries and the multilateral organisations are vital for countering the resource restriction in the development countries and thus avoid substantial set-backs in their social situation. The current trends report that the aid is scarce and that a large part of it is not connected to human development (provision of services connected to the fulfilment of the MDGs). ■ Etc. <p>Note: The ODA from these sources does not directly finance the feminist and women's organisations. It does do so indirectly, which entails a loss of autonomy of the organisations and a lack of efficiency due to the low quality of the financing (project approach, no predictability, fragmented financing, etc.)</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ The new terms of the «Effectiveness Agenda», in privileging the channelling of aid from government/ agency to government, has reduced financing for women's organisations. This situation has been aggravated by the reduction of funds in the current crisis. ■ The bilateral ODA tends to provide an increasingly stronger support to the national NGOs. However, the context of the crisis has also considerably reduced this resource. ■ UN Women, the agency that must lead an explicit agenda for women's empowerment and gender equality at a regional and global level, is very weakly financed. ■ The accent on gender mainstreaming (vs. women's empowerment) has in general terms reduced financing for women's rights, and, especially, the financing channelled through the NGOs, independent women's organisations. ■ The reference technical frameworks for the formulation, monitoring and accountability, as well as the time periods, are adverse for «measuring» the progress in terms of social change. ■ There are great difficulties to record the actual budgetary allocation destined to women's rights. The available information reveals the enormous gap between the international commitments made and the financing destined to gender equality and women's empowerment. ■ GENDER EQUALITY IS NOT A PRIORITY IN THE CURRENT FINANCING OF THE DEVELOPMENT AGENDA. ■ In several occasions, the decisions on financing (including the removal thereof) are made without previous diagnoses on the social needs and problems of the countries, but addressing thematic hotspots, since some of the themes have for some time been supported because they consider that no more resources are needed, etc. ■ UN Women, the largest multilateral agency dedicated to gender equality, had a budget of USD 235 million in 2011, equivalent to 4% of the total UN budget for that year (approximately USD5.4 billion). ■ Etc. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ For the advancement of women's rights and gender equality, Beijing establishes the double strategy of mainstreaming and women's empowerment as complementary, not as excluding strategies. Mainstreaming is, above all, a strategy of political nature, not merely technical. ■ Feminists inside the institutionalism are influencing the policy reference frameworks of the donor countries and multilateral agencies and the creation of financing channels for independent women's organisation (NEED FOR A CURRENT MAPPING OF ALLIED/LIKE-MINDED AGENTS) ■ Within this sector, a new commitment is arising with the independent women's movements as main driving force of the true aid effectiveness and of a more sustainable global governance. ■ Related to the above, the efforts to renew the commitments of the donors for strengthening the movements are gradually being visualised with more investment in the construction of alliances, networks, connection and learning, as well as for supporting the national Organisations to build a solid institutional basis for the movement (MAPPING OF FOUNDATIONS AND EVIDENCES). ■ UN Women must be a clear ally of the women's organisations, the relentless voice regarding insufficient financing for gender equality and the support to the strategy of direct financing of the independent women's organisations working for the advancement of the women's human rights. It is necessary to defend several financing mechanisms so that all the agents for gender equality may fulfil their role, especially the Scots, which require support through mechanisms that may not necessarily be channelled through the national governments if we intend to move forward in the autonomy and independence of the women's organisations for them to perform their proposal and social monitoring functions (among others). <p>(Identification of current opportunities inside the UN and in the key political processes.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ Advocacy before multilateral and bilateral instances to create budget lines for specific programs to strengthen the feminist agenda within the bilateral agencies, as well as in other donor organisations. ■ Etc.

Source	Profile	Dissonances	Consonances
<p>International non governmental organisations (INGO)</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ The INGO are non profit macro-organisations devoted to development and to human rights. Through their field offices they have presence and operate in several parts of the world. Their income is high. They are financed by individuals, governments or other foundations. ■ They have considerable political advocacy power and influence over the civil society. ■ The INGO support women's rights through a percentage of their financing destined to Organisations at a local level for supporting women's rights. ■ Etc. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ Their structure (usually mixed) and organisational culture (predominantly masculine) makes the relationship with the Organisations of the partner countries complex, because they do not recognise in practice the fundamental role of the women's rights in the development agenda and maintain strong patriarchal practices. ■ Certain neglect of the commitment with women's rights because of: the support to the gender mainstreaming agenda in the organisation, the priority competition with other issues, lack of will and technical capacity to incorporate the gender perspective in their reference frameworks. ■ A de-politicisation of the gender equality agenda is observed, which affects the financing of the independent women's movement. ■ There has been a certain instrumentalisation of the local organisations for the global agenda in which the INGO is immersed. ■ The INGO compete for local resources with the women's organisations of the country through their national offices. ■ Other consequences: they recruit the qualified staff of the local organisations, take ownership for the hard work of the local organisations that rely on fewer resources, take a leadership stance in the issues regarding women's rights, eclipsing the political work of the local organisations and affecting the women's organisation's capacity to search for funds. ■ Etc. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ Increasing recognition of the necessary appropriation of principle 2 of the Istanbul Principles for development effectiveness of the Scots «Incorporate gender equity and equality as well as promote the rights of women and girls. This incorporation would favour the «re-politicisation» of the gender equality agenda and the role of the women's organisations as political subjects for the advancement of women's rights. ■ Strong acknowledgment of the need to count on the necessary and sufficient resources to address the broad challenge of guaranteeing equality conditions for women, as well as increasing the political, articulation and advocacy capacity of the Organisations as well as gender equality within the INGO. <p>Some recommendations regarding how the INGO could support the women's rights movements (AWID/HIVOS, 2006):</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ The INGO should identify organisations and movements that may promote the women's rights agenda and support them. ■ The INGO should offer a range of donations of different magnitudes so that both the smaller and the larger group may access the funds of the INGO and expand the scope of their work. ■ The INGO with headquarters in Europe should add forces to perform lobbying work for the inclusion of the women's rights in the budget lines (and not only in the policies) regarding development at a country level and in the EC. ■ Regarding global campaigns, the INGO should move to the background and offer their support to the organisations devoted to women's rights. ■ The INGO can and should support the political campaigns undertaken by the organisations working for women's rights at a national level, when it is so requested from them. ■ The INGO should also link to the feminist movements of the Northern Hemisphere to forge alliances and perform lobbying with the governments of the North, educate and organise solidarity. ■ The INGO should work jointly to provide more institutional financing to the organisations working for women's rights at all levels (national, regional and international). ■ Etc.

Source	Profile	Dissonances	Consonances
<p>Women's Funds</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ The women's funds are an essential source of financing for the women's movements. They receive contributions from both private and public sources and explicitly support the women's rights organisations in the developing countries. ■ They support themes or groups with difficulties to access the donors. ■ They usually offer institutional financing and incorporate the development of capacities of the financed organisations in their work. ■ They mobilise funds from an increasing number of resources from individual donors and private companies, etc., several sources outside the Organisations. ■ Etc. <p>The International Network of Women's Funds www.inwf.org</p> <p>Consortium of Latin American and Caribbean Women's Funds, a funds alliance created to mobilise,</p> <p>www.conmujereslatinoamerica.org</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ The women's funds may compete for the same funds as the Organisations working for women's rights. The funds and the Organisations need to guarantee their own sustainability. ■ As the resources to be managed grow, so does the demand for accountability and not all the funds have a gender sensitive or pro-women approach in this respect. ■ The funds must strengthen their own management capacity and administrative structure as the resources they manage increase or they implement initiatives addressed as the generation of capacities in the movement. ■ Due to the level of resources they manage, their financing is usually «seed funds» and not a programmatic financing of greater sustainability directed to change processes. ■ The financing of the funds is not always strategic in the explicit strengthening of the Organisations. ■ It requires a broad diversification of its financial base to guarantee the independence of specific financial sources. ■ Numerous funds in turn require financing for their own organisational development: development of capacities, personnel, databases, financial systems, preparation of strategies, visibility, positioning as brands and communication tools, etc. ■ Etc. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ The large donors (agencies, bilateral donors, etc.) consider funds as the intermediaries to channel small and medium contributions to small and medium size organisations. This vision could be broadened to promote that the autonomous women's funds absorb increasingly more important financing amounts and destine them to the Organisations of any level and sphere. ■ This might, for example, help the funds support the riskier work and with larger amounts of the Organisations, especially in adverse and ultra-conservative social contexts. ■ They have become one of the main financing sources of the small groups with few possibilities of accessing the larger donors. ■ They usually have work and practice approaches framed within the human rights approach and incorporate the gender approach. ■ They offer institutional financing and incorporate the development of capacities in their work. ■ The conditions to access their financing and their monitoring, assessment and accountability outlines are more sensitive to the Organisations' reality. They are carrying out growing efforts to improve their M & E methodologies and show evidence of progress to their financing source (connected with advocacy). ■ The strategic vision of the funds and their capacity to mobilise resources has been expanded, which has impacted on better quality financing for some two-three year processes. ■ Increasingly investing in the strengthening of the Organisations and the construction of their capacities. ■ Increasing concern to support financial sustainability strategies in the organisations, where the mobilisation of resources is politicised and based on feminist values. ■ Etc.

Source	Profile	Dissonances	Consonances
Large independent foundations	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Foundations mobilise a large amount of resources; however they are currently the ones that are creating fewer opportunities for the Organisations. Gender equality does not occupy a relevant space in their agendas, and their financing mechanisms appear to make access difficult for most of the organisations working for the women's rights. <p>See in MAMA CASH:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Funding for Inclusion. Women and Girls in the Equation. UNTAPPED POTENTIAL. European Foundation Funding for Women and Girls. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> The institutional cultures are deeply masculine, with different priorities to those of the issues connected with gender equality and women's rights. They are interested in financing large amounts to few groups so as to have more possibilities of exhibiting «impacts». The women's groups appear too small to them and with little management capacity for the amounts they usually allocate. The large foundations are worried about the search for technical solutions and measurable results. Frequently, the Organisations are excluded if they cannot define or contribute examples of change fast enough. Individual programmes may be financed, but not the sustainability of the non profit organisation implementing the programme. Etc. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> As reflected in the Mama Cash report on European foundations: they are an unexploited potential. In its study, it reports that: i) only 37% of the European foundations has intentionally focused at least part of their work to women and girls; ii) in 2009, only 5% of the funds of these foundations were directed to women and girls. Mama Cash and GrantCraft have developed a practical instructions guide for the European donors interested in starting or increasing support to women and girls. The guide uses a broad gender definition (including trans people) and provides detailed information on how a gender perspective offers an opportunity to throw light on the differences that would otherwise remain invisible and negatively affect the effectiveness of foundations efforts. Etc.
Individual Philanthropy and family foundations	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> The Organisations may capture resources from individual donors. The small donations made by individuals or family foundations or membership fees contribute to greater sustainability and independence and help obtain funds from institutional donors. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Constructing a base of donors that contribute small amounts is a complicated task, especially if the philanthropic culture is still taking shape. Individual donors are more motivated to react in the face of an emergency or a specific need than to support the construction of movements or the agenda for women's rights in the long term. The campaigns to gather individual donations require large investments of time and money. Most of the donations made by individuals are destined to charity work by religious groups and, in no few occasions, to initiatives contrary to the feminist agendas. The resources obtained in this way tend to be destined to the provision of services, relief in emergency situations or for directly addressing personal needs, and not to change in the long term, empowerment and the construction of movements for women's rights. The INGO are far better positioned to gather resources from small donations, once again competing for the same resources with the Organisations. Family foundations generally allocate funds on the basis of the recommendations of donors or through advisers, which makes access to financing difficult for the Organisations. Etc. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Small donations from multiple donors and through multiple channels at a local and global level (membership fees, requests sent by post, commitments, online donations or events for fund collection) may be facilitated through the new technologies. The philanthropic work of the diaspora of migrant women in support of the agendas for women's rights in their country of origin is acknowledged. The women's Funds may favour the capture and channelling of the funds obtained in this way. Etc.

Source	Profile	Dissonances	Consonances
Corporate Philanthropy/ Social Responsibility/ Social Economy	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Increasingly more global companies are making donations for significant monetary values. Conscious companies have realised that doing good deeds and at the same time tripling their final results serves the interests of both their staff and their shareholders, which is increasingly incorporated to their general corporate strategy. Etc. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> There is little information on this financing source to the Organisations: the companies are a source that raises strong controversy and is questioned as a philanthropic source. Since Busan, it is an actor that takes on increasing predominance in the development policies and in the international development cooperation system. More and more, the global companies are making donations for significant monetary values, knowing that these «good deeds» may make their earnings triple and favour their corporate interests. Most of the companies adopt a traditional or conservative vision in the face of the women's advancement and have «ideological» differences to finance agendas that contemplate the strategy of women's empowerment of any organisation. Lack of transparency and accountability. Etc. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> The SR/SE base their operation in values such as democracy, equality, equity and solidarity, foundations connected to gender equality. In the donor countries, the companies are increasingly required to make social and environmental commitments that exceed the strictly economic sphere. The companies of the Social Economy are required to adopt socially responsible behaviours. Many companies are directly integrating social change, ethics and sustainability in their corporate model. These models—social undertakings, donations, co-branding initiatives— may achieve that financial, technical and human resources be invested in women and contribute to strengthen the Organisations. The contributions in goods and services constitute valuable support for the smaller Organisations and might be made the most of (free financial and legal expertise, meeting spaces, communication tools and other in kind donations). The Calvert Principles within the Global United Nations Pact offer a set of principles for the corporate sector, internationally supported, to help the private sector centre in the essential elements to promote gender equality at work, in the market and in the community. Etc.
Innovative sources of development financing	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> They are financing mechanisms that mobilise part of the benefits of globalisation and destine them to development. Thus, the «international solidarity» is expanded, using a fraction of the new wealth created by the globalisation process, which largely escapes the taxes imposed by the National States. The proposal is led by the countries of the South and, in the past years, has the important support of donor countries (France, Germany, Spain, etc.). <p>http://www.un.org/esa/ffd/</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> There has been strong hostility by certain donors for development regarding the innovating financing mechanisms of development (Monetary Operations, tax to air tickets, carbon emission, tax evasion, tax havens, price transfer and other forms of «flight» of vital resources from the South to the North). The resources are mainly destined to the health sector and gradually education and environment are gaining ground. None of the innovative financing sources collected in the ECOSOC (2012) report is considering financing equality issues. Etc. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Due to the difficulties for the mobilisation of resources for gender equality, already from the Beijing Platform for Action the need to look for new and innovating financing sources was suggested: Tobin Tax or the tax on capital flow, which would be applied in currency exchange operations. It has been proposed to destine part of the income from the tax to actions in favour of gender equality. Tax on reproductive work through which the invisible work (domestic and care) performed by women is acknowledged and valued and part of the hypothetical income is proposed to be destined to a tax credit to finance gender equality initiatives. WOMEN'S FUNDS Etc.

Systematisation based on the principles, findings and analysis of the AWID Initiative, Where is the Money for Women's Rights? For more information, visit: <http://www.awid.org/esl/Acerca-de-AWID/Noticias-de-AWID/Donde-esta-el-dinero-para-los-derechos-de-las-mujeres-Hojas-Informativas>

1 World Economic and Social Survey 2012, «In search of new forms of financing for development» http://www.un.org/en/development/desa/policy/wess/wess_current/2012wess_overview_sp.pdf

III. Feminist Networks and Organisations participating in the Consonant Dialogues

Acción Ciudadana por la Democracia y el Desarrollo /
Citizens' Action for Democracy and Development

ACDemocracia - Plataforma Nacional por los Derechos
de las Mujeres Ecuador / National Platform for Women's
Rights Ecuador

ACSUR/Las Segovias

AFM (Marcosur Feminist Articulation)

Agencia Catalana de Cooperación para el Desarrollo /
Catalonian Development Cooperation Agency

AIETI

Alianza Feminista Centroamericana / Central American
Feminist Alliance

Alianza Política Sector de Mujeres / Women's Sector
Political Alliance, Guatemala

Alianza por el Derecho a Decidir / Alliance for the Right to
Decide (México)

AMB (Brazilian Women's Articulation)

Aquelarre (Dominican Republic)

Articulación Política Juventudes Negras / Political Articulation
of Black Young People

Asamblea Feminista de Madrid / Feminist Assembly of
Madrid

Asociación de Mujeres por la Dignidad y la Vida / Women's
Association for Dignity and Life, Las Dignas

Asociación de Mujeres Profesionales Igualdad / Professional
Women's Association

Asociación de ONG de Latinoamérica (ALOP) / Latin
American NGO Association

Asociación Desarrollo Comunal / Communal Development
Association (Peru)

Genera Association

Venancia Group Association, Nicaragua

Asociación Movimiento de Mujeres Melida Anaya Montes /
Anaya Montes Women's Movement Association (El Salvador)

AWID

Ayuda en Acción / Aid in Action

Ca la Dona, Barcelona

CAFRA

CAFRA (Cuba)

CAFRA (Curacao)

CAFRA (Guyana)

CAFRA (St. Lucía)

CAFRA (Surinam)

CAFRA Bahamas

CAFRA and Pro Mujeres / Pro Women (Puerto Rico)

CALALA Women's Fund, Spain

Campaña 28 de Septiembre / September 28 Campaign,
Dominican Republic)

Campaña 28 de Setiembre / September 28 Campaign for
Abortion Legalisation in LAC

Campaign for the Latin American Convention on Sexual Rights and Reproductive Rights	Coordinating Group of Feminist Organisations of the Spanish State
Your Mouth Against Fundamentalisms Campaign	NGDO Spanish Coordinating Group
Casa de la Dona de Valencia	Euskadi NGDO Coordinating Group
CDD - México	Principado de Asturias NGDO Coordinating Group
CDD (Catholic Women's Network for the Right to Decide)	Cotidiano Mujer, Uruguay
CDE, Paraguay	DAWN (Jamaica)
CEAAL (Puerto Rico)	DGPOLDE / Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Cooperation, Spain
CEDEM (Chile)	Emakume Internazionalistak/ONG Mugarik Gabe Nafarroa
CEIM/NGDO Andalucian Coordinating Group/WIDE	ENFOFANM (Haiti)
CEMUJER	Continental Network of Indigenous Women
Centre for Women's Rights, Honduras	ENTREPOBLES/Valencian NGDO Coordinating Group
Centre for Women Studies, Honduras - CEM-H	FAMSI (Spain)
Centre for Gender Studies and Competences, Panama	Catalonian NGDO Federation
Alforja Studies and Publications Centre	Cuban Women Federation (Cuba)
CFEMEA	FEM (Puerto Rico)
CIPAF (Dominican Republic)	FIRE (Costa Rica)
CLADEM (Latin American Committee for the Defence of Women's Rights)	Flora Tristán, Peru
CMS (Dominican Republic)	Alquimia Fund (Chile)
National Monitoring Commission - CNS (Uruguay)	Central American Women's Fund
CODEFEM - Collective for the Defence of Women's Rights in the Political Agenda Women in Diversity, Guatemala	ELAS Fund, Brazil
Women and Health Collective	Gender Equality Fund - UNIFEM
Colectivo de Mujeres 8 de Marzo / March 8 Women's Collective, Managua	Fondo Semillas / Seeds Fund (Mexico)
Feminist Collective (El Salvador)	Feminist Politics Forum
Women and Health Collective - CMS	Angela Borba Foundation (Brazil)
Concertación Feminista Prudencia Ayala / Prudencia Ayala Feminist Concertation (El Salvador)	Guatemala Foundation
Cooperation, Barcelona - Spain	Indera Foundation
Bolivian Women Coordinating Group	GHRA - LACCASO (Guyana)
	Spanish NGO Coordinating Gender Group
	Guatemalan Women's Group - GGM

HEGOA	Latin American and Caribbean Women's Network in Spain
IGLHRC-AL (International Committee for Gay and Lesbian Rights)	Women's Network for Peace Construction, Guatemala
Central American Initiative	Latin American Rural Women's Network
Beijing Central American Initiative	Latin American and Caribbean Women's Health Network
International Research and Training Institute for the Advancement of Women (UN-INSTRAW)	Central American Feminist Network against violence to Women - Costa Rica
Intermón OXFAM	GEDEA Network
Intermón/Catalonian Federation of NGDO	Gender and Trade Network
INTERPRO - Cooperation, Spain	GGEA Network
Table for Women's Health and Life (Colombia)	HUMANAS Network
La Morada, Chile	Latin American Catholic Women's Network for the Right to Decide
Malvaluna	Women and Habitat Network
MDM	Women and Communications Network
Table for Women's Health and Life (Colombia)	National Women's Network, Colombia
Women's Autonomous Movement (MAM), Nicaragua	REDLAC (Latin American and Caribbean Young People's Network)
Nicaraguan Feminist Movement	REDNOVI - No Violence Against Women Network, Guatemala
MUDE (Dominican Republic)	REDPEM (Network for Popular Education Among Women)
Women in Conflict Zone - MZC	RSMLAC (Latin American and Caribbean Women's Health Network)
Tierra Viva Women's Organisation, Guatemala	SOFA, Haiti
Platform 2015	SOS CORPO (Brazil)
Women in Congress Platform	Tierra Viva, Guatemala
La Corriente Feminist Programme, Nicaragua	TÚ MUJER (Dominican Republic)
PROSALUS	National Union of Guatemalan Women - UNAMG
Activas Network	National Union of Panamanian Women - UNAMUP
Network for Popular Education Among Women	Xunta de Galicia (Spain)
Afro-Latin American, Afro-Caribbean and Diaspora Women's Network	Yerbabuena (Ecuador)
Feminist Women's Network for Gender Equality and Development	
Indigenous Women's Network	

The South-South Cooperation in Latin America and the challenges for the Equality Agenda

ARTICULACIÓN FEMINISTA MARCOSUR

Report prepared for the Articulación Feminista Marcosur by Raquel Martínez-Gómez*

Montevideo, March of 2012

-
- Doctor of Information Sciences (UCM), Master of Arts in Modern Literature, Culture and Thought (University of Sussex, Great Britain), Postgraduate Studies in International Relations (UNAM) and Degree in Information Sciences (UCM). She is currently responsible for communications and advocacy in the United Nations Population Fund (UNFPA) in Uruguay. Specialised researcher in communications and development cooperation. Academic coordinator of the Encounters and publications on Communication and Development organised by IPS agency and the AECID. Ten years' professional experience in the sector of development cooperation and teaching experience in Spanish and international universities. European Prize for Literature 2010.

Table of contents

Acronyms	163
Introduction: a changing context for the development cooperation system	164
Chapter I. South-South Cooperation	168
1.1. What is the SSC?	168
1.2. A little history	171
1.3. Actors and modalities	174
1.4. Aid effectiveness in the South-South cooperation	176
1.5. Civil society participation in the South-South cooperation	181
1.6. Challenges of the South-South Cooperation	184
Chapter II. The South-South Cooperation in Latin America	187
2.1. General framework of the South-South Cooperation in Latin America	188
2.2. Summary of past events in the Ibero-American space (SEGIB)	192
Chapter III. How to work for women's rights and gender equality in the South-South cooperation	195
3.1. Some reflections	195
3.2. Proposals for dialogue	197

Conclusions	199
Note on sources	201
Bibliography	202
Websites.....	203

PRELIMINARY NOTE

This document has been prepared on the basis of the bibliographic sources cited to contribute to the discussion that took place on occasion of the Workshop organised by the Bolivia Women Coordinating Group and the Articulaci3n Feminista Marcosur in March of 2012 in Santa Cruz de la Sierra (Bolivia). It is intended to contribute a general framework and throw light on the basic aspects of the South-South Cooperation.

Acronyms

AAA: ACCRA Agenda for Action

ALBA: Bolivarian Alliance for the Americas

AECID: Spanish Development Cooperation Agency

ODA: Official Development Assistance

BCIE: Central American Bank for Economic Integration

IADB: Inter-American Development Bank

BRICS: Brazil, Russia, India, China and South Africa
(BRIC without South Africa)

DAC: Development Assistance Committee

CAN: Andean Community of Nations

CARICOM: Caribbean Community

ECLAC: Economic Commission for Latin America and
the Caribbean

TCDC: Technical Commission among Developing
Countries

SSC: South-South Cooperation

ECOSOC: UN Economic and Social Council

DCF: Development Cooperation Forum

IMF: International Monetary fund

GPEDC: Global Partnership for an Effective
Development Cooperation

MERCOSUR: Mercado Común del Sur / Common
Market of the South

NOAL: Non-Aligned Countries Movement

OECD: Organisation for Economic Cooperation and
Development

MDG: Millennium Development Goals

CSO: Civil Society Organisations

PBIG: Post-Busan Interim Group

UNDP: United Nations Development Programme

SEGIB: Secretariat General for Ibero-America

SICA: Central American Integration System

UNASUR: Union of South American Nations

UNCTAD: United Nations Conference on Trade and
Development

WP-EFF: OECD Working Party on Aid Effectiveness

Introduction: a changing context for the development cooperation system

One of the most important transformations of the international system in the past years has been the incursion of new countries from the development world in the front lines of the international scene. Besides claiming an increasingly active role in the agenda definition, they have implemented their own development policies (which we know as South-South cooperation) generating some breaches in the «orthodox» aid system. The latter is already showing transformations, which had begun before the definite incursion of the «emerging» donors, but at a slower pace than that of the global changes. Let us bear in mind that these countries had not been signatories of the previous consensuses in this matter and are not part of the Development Assistance Committee (DAC) of the Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD), an entity which, at least until recently, was responsible for a large part of the cooperation system's governance.

As was evidenced in the meeting on Aid Effectiveness in Busan (South Korea) in late 2011, the aid system cannot do without the inclusion of the new donors. Only thus shall we have more representative consensuses and move forward to a

comprehensive aid policy that welcomes the collection of developing countries. Now, it shall be indispensable to open up equitable communication processes aimed at the common goal of impacting the reduction of all types of inequalities. After Busan, it is likely that the articulation of the development governance shall be taken over by the Global Partnership for Effective Development Cooperation (GPEDC) created in that forum. This coincides with a moment of crisis, with the questioning of the development model chosen by the countries that make up the OECD and in the emergence of concepts such as «good living»¹ they appear as a response to the old occidental paradigms, although some of

1 Which is both a criticism to development and an alternative construction space. Its alliance with

their more critical proposals are also contaminated. In brief, the circumstances favour the South-South Cooperation gaining greater prominence.

Until now, as pointed out by Katty Cascante et al. (2012), the fight for the international development system's governance has been headed by the United Nations, the G-20 and the OECD. Within the latter, on the one hand, the Working Party on Aid Effectiveness (WP-EFF), created in 2003 to monitor and determine the level of aid effectiveness², has a wide experience in effectiveness, efficiency, accountability and adaptation, gathered along over 50 years of DAC operation. The loss of economic power of its members is accompanied by a new adaptation effort to develop an inclusive development association with the emerging donors, the South-South cooperation suppliers and the Arab donors. Besides, it has a clear pro-DAC stance of several emerging countries in its favour.

At the same time, the ECOSOC (UN Economic and Social Council) Development Cooperation Forum has been gaining importance in the past years, laden with representation, with five years of action but without the technical or financial capacities of the OECD.

On the other hand, the G-20, oligarchic forum with no international legitimacy, has gained predominance since 2008 by concentrating the debates and financial crisis response measures. It is gradually expanding its work field from the international financial architecture to the global development agenda. It includes the main emerging economies of the planet, which do

not find a discussion or representation space in the traditional forums. G-20 has become a permanent *de facto* committee for the global economic governance and now has a multi-annual plan centred around economic goals, a Working Group on Development to implement such plan, an explicit mandate to coordinate with the WP-EFF aid effectiveness agenda and a process for internal governance improvement which announces the consolidation of the G-20 as a permanent expanded committee for international cooperation governance.

Everything indicates, according to these authors (Katty Cascante et al.: (2012) that the DAC donors are to reinvent a mechanism for global development governance through the G-20, as deduced from the Busan final declaration, in which the GPEDC, which must be operative by June of 2012 (date of the G-20 meeting in Los Cabos, Mexico), shall have interministerial status and shall work in complementation and conjunction with other forums.

Going back to the so-called «emerging» countries, it is clear that their greater incursion in the international scenario calls for rethinking the balance of world power in political, economic and sustainable development terms. As stated by Bruno Ayllón (2011) «it is no longer possible to solve the enigmas of an international system (...) without analyzing the myriad of acronyms (BRICS, IBAS, BIC, EAGLES, CIVETS, PRM, BRICSAM, etc.) in which we intend to group countries as Brazil, China, India, Indonesia, Mexico, Nigeria, South Africa, Turkey or Vietnam, just to name a few of those expected to occupy the first twenty positions of the GDP by 2050 or even earlier».

It is therefore natural that they look for their space in the development cooperation system. For the moment, these emerging economies, especially Brazil, Russia, India, China and South Africa (BRICS) are taking over

environmentalism and feminism may be interesting. See texts by Arturo Escobar or by Alberto Acosta.

² It has been responsible for organising the several summits on this issue celebrated in Rome (2003), Paris (2005), Accra (2008) and Busan (2011).

part of the global economic development.³ According to the World Bank⁴, the BRICS promised 26,000 million Dollars in loans to the developing world between 2000 and 2008, most of them from China, while the collection of the traditional OECD donors committed to 269.000 million in the same period. Besides, the BRICS have 4.3 billion Dollars in currency reserves, three fourths of which are in Chinese banks, and in 2014 will concentrate 60 percent of the world's economic growth. On the other hand, they represent 43% of the world's population, 26% of the world's Gross Domestic Product and of the surface of the earth.⁵

This search for space in the cooperation system also coincides with a moment in which the United States and the European Union are cutting down on the official development assistance to the low income countries. But the slowdown in the Official Development Assistance (ODA) flows—close to minus 3% in 2011 with respect to 2010⁶—is also connected to the questionings made to its effectiveness and with the phenomenon known as «donor fatigue» in the nineties. As indicated by Iglesia-Caruncho and Alonso, the assistance is an insufficient instrument

to generate development and achieve the effective correction of the international inequalities, «although it is also true that it is the only instrument currently available to deliberately correct the deepest disparities brought about by the globalisation process» (2012; 36).

On the other hand, the official assistance enabled by the development cooperation is only a small chapter of the collection of instruments and policies that impact on the development possibilities (Iglesia-Caruncho and Alonso: 2012; 39). Even the development agenda derived from the MDGs and from the recommendations shared to improve «aid effectiveness» is being questioned by those who advocate for a return to the economic development goals of the eighties and nineties, only with the nuance of growth that leaves fewer losers along the road. In Busan, the focus was intended to shift from aid effectiveness to development effectiveness, that is, a broader context which includes issues such as investments/private sector, transparency, fight against corruption/illegal flows, etc. Cooperation is not only discussed as development assistance, but the agenda covers official and non official cooperation effectiveness and other resources and instruments that could be destined to development. For example, the need to address the world's public assets⁷ is part of this agenda. Thus, the attempt is to make a transition from the concept of ODA to a broader one of global development financing.

Besides these changes, the SSC has also been the result of the existence of global challenges such as the

³ The International Monetary Fund (IMF) wants the BRIC (Brazil, Russia, India and China) as well as other commodity exporting countries to contribute 300.000 million Dollars to its Treasury with the purpose of mobilising one billion Dollars to overcome Europe's sovereign debt crisis, which would require 75 percent of these additional funds. The goal of the IMF is to reach an agreement before the G-20 summit in Mexico (June 18-19).

⁴ Cited by KanyaD'Almeida (IPS, November 2011). Will the BRICS use their checkbook? – Part I.

⁵ Sibal, Kanwal, «Tense but Together - The BRICS summit is attracting attention again», *The Telegraph India* (3-05-2012).

⁶ The behaviour of each donor may be seen at the following link: http://www.oecd.org/document/3/0,3746,en_21571361_44315115_50058883_1_1_1_1,00.html

⁷ The world's public assets are aspects of development that cross the frontiers, such as environment, public health, peace, safety, financial stability... Depending on who produces the definition, some aspects or others shall be included, as for example equality and justice.

energy and food crisis, climate change and pandemics such as A-flu, which have prompted the countries of the South to increase their associations through the inter-regional, regional and sub-regional instances. In Latin America, the SSC gains predominance at a time in which movements and dynamics in favour of the construction of identities and regional spaces which exceed integration as conceived up to the present are visualised.

What appears to be true is that the SSC has multiple expressions and does not follow a single model, since, as pointed by SEGIB (2011), the supplying countries, with their different capacities and incentives, are highly diverse. In this context, the SSC does not appear as confronted or opposed to the North-South cooperation, although it is true that there are still many challenges to face in the compromise, starting with the creation of communication channels that do not turn into a dialogue of the deaf.

Among the advantages of the SSC, we highlight its role as capacity generator and booster, the quality it has for collaboration and articulation or the impulse it provides to regional integration. But we had better welcome its virtues with some caution, since there are no miraculous solutions for the fight against exclusion and inequities. Some clichés and myths are emerging, as for example when its horizontal nature and its lack of subordination or dependence generating dynamics are claimed. Here and now, many SSC's practices exemplify a somewhat distorted replica of

the old exploitation relations (although not entirely extinguished) between industrialised countries and the developing world.

From the perspective of the recommendations that can be made in matters of gender equality and women's rights, the SSC must include everything that has been developed in terms of analysis and concrete proposals on how to incorporate the gender directives, but incorporating them into instruments that enjoy their own peculiarities. Although, ultimately, the development cooperation—whether south-south or north-south—, employs similar mechanisms: advocacy in development policies and programmes, technical cooperation, exchange of good/bad practices, training, projects, investments, etc. The challenges faced by women around the world are common and cooperation, whether north-south or south-south, must support processes for transformation and equality in terms of economic rights, defence and access to territory, economy of care, labour rights or financing... Thus, the recommendations that may be formulated appear to be centred around specific policies or modalities/instruments of cooperation.

Finally, we wish to stress that if SSC is to contribute to development, it shall have to face it as a complex and long term process, as noted by Alfaro, conceive it as «shared word in the action of transformation, constructing new common senses» (2006: 19).

Chapter I

South-South Cooperation

1.1. What is the SSC?

The south-south cooperation (SSC) is a broad collaboration framework among countries of the South in the political, social, cultural, environmental and technical spheres. The cooperation mechanisms among these countries have their roots in the identification of common problems and the search for solutions, as well as in the relative success of socio-economic development that some of them have reached in their regions, and, finally, in the existence of a political dialogue among the countries of the South that understood the need to call the attention on key issues like poverty, development or the disparities in the international economic system.

Two or more developing countries participate in the SSC and it takes place at a bilateral, regional, sub-regional or inter-regional level. These share knowledge, skills, experience and resources to find their development goals through joint efforts. From its start-up, increased South-South trade and of the direct

foreign investment flows, movements towards regional integration, technology transference, shared solutions, expert exchange, etc., have been verified.

One of the modalities of SSC according to the UNPD is triangular cooperation, which implies the collaboration of a traditional donor country or multi-lateral organisations which facilitate South-South initiatives through financing, training and managerial and technological systems as well as other forms of support. With this cooperation, an association relationship is traditionally established among a cooperation offerer or donor partner, a Middle Income Country (MIC), which shall also act as a cooperation offerer and a recipient partner of a country of lower relative development. Although the modalities have been evolving in complexity (see page 18).

The SSC is initiated, organised and managed by the developing countries. Often it is the Government that plays a leading role with active participation of state and private institutions, non governmental organisations and individuals. It implies different forms of cooperation, such as sharing knowledge and experience, training, technology transference, monetary and financial cooperation, as well as contributions in kind. The SSC may include different sectors and have a bilateral, multilateral, sub-regional, regional or inter-regional nature.

The SSC, in some occasions, might also be understood as an expression of solidarity among peoples and countries of the South. Let us consider, for example, the response given to the Haiti earthquake by some countries or consensus building forums of the region⁸ The SSC initiative agenda is determined by the countries of the South and led, at least in theory, by the principles of respect for national sovereignty, ownership and national independence, non-conditionality, no interference in domestic affairs and mutual benefit.

- The basic goals of the SSC are interdependent and mutually related. These contribute to broader cooperation goals for international development. According with the South-South Cooperation Unit of the United Nations Programme for Development (UNPD)⁹ they are:
- To encourage self-confidence in developing countries improving their creative capacity to

find solutions to their development problems in consonance with their special aspirations, values and needs:

- To promote and reinforce collective self-confidence among developing countries through the exchange of experiences, brainstorming, sharing and using their technical and other resources, as well as the development of their complementary capacities:
- To strengthen the capacities of the developing countries to identify and analyze together the main problems of development and formulate strategies to address them;
- To increase the amount and improve the quality of international development cooperation through the brainstorming of capacities for increasing the effectiveness of the resources connected to such cooperation.
- To create technological capacities and strengthen the existing ones in developing countries to improve the effectiveness for which they are used, as well as absorbing and adjusting technologies and abilities to find their specific development needs;
- To increase and improve communications among developing countries, leading to a higher sensitisation of the common problems, a wider access to knowledge and the available experience, as well as the creation of new knowledge to tackle development problems.
- To acknowledge and respond to the problems and requirements of the least developed countries, developing countries with no sea access, small islands of developing states and the countries most seriously affected, for example, by natural disasters and other crises; and

⁸ The Union of South American Nations (UNASUR) approved a permanent cooperation resolution with Haiti and the creation of a 72 million Euro fund right after the earthquake. From August 31, 2010 to August of 2012 it maintained a UNASUR-Haiti Secretariat.

⁹ http://ssc.undp.org/content/ssc/about/what_is_ssc.html

The South-South Cooperation of the UNDP also points out some benefits included by the SSC:

- Strengthening of the voices and negotiating power of the developing countries in multi-lateral negotiations;
- Use of existing experience and capacity and development of new capacities;
- Opening additional communications channels among developing countries;
- Promotion and strengthening of economic integration among developing countries;
- Improvement of the multiplying effect of technical cooperation;
- Encouragement of economic, scientific and technological self-confidence;
- Greater knowledge of the confidence in the available capacities;
- Policy coordination in relevant development matters;
- Development of the countries' own technology and the introduction of techniques that best adapt to the local needs, particularly in traditional subsistence sectors such as agriculture;
- Promotion of national science and technology plans; economic and social planning; research and development related to economic growth; project planning and evaluation; use of the natural and human resources potential; modern forms of management and administration; technical, scientific and administrative labour; and professional training at different levels.

- To enable the developing countries to obtain a greater degree of participation in international economic activities and expand the international development cooperation.

Even if, undoubtedly, the benefits and objectives indicated by the UNDP for the SSC are important, it would also be necessary to aim at others less centred in the economic and more in the socio-cultural dimension.

Although the SSC is branded as one of the remaining free spaces for innovation in the development cooperation both because of its procedures and for its philosophy and goals, it is also true that to advance in the discussion it is indispensable to overcome the idyllic image, since, like the North-South cooperation, the SSC is part of the foreign politics of the supplier countries and therefore it is necessary to analyze and understand its interests and incentives. Among these, some countries look for international reach based on values and ideologies; others are opening markets and hunting for natural resources, or looking for support to positions in international forums such as the United Nations. Many times it is even about a combination of several of these intentions.

This integration of the SSC in the goals of the foreign politics of each country is legitimate, but if we speak of development cooperation, some limits should be considered. In this sense, a more honest debate should be held on whether the SSC follows the same vertical dynamics as the North-South cooperation or whether its difference with conventional aid is perhaps not so much in its foundations

but in its mechanisms and operating modalities. It is precisely this point where the innovative nature and freedom of action of the countries of the South may have shown greater differences from the North-South cooperation's vertical rationale. On the other hand there should be greater empirical evidence to assert whether the public opinion of these countries understands and backs the action of the SSC or not.

1.2. A little history

It could be said that the SSC is in fashion, and therefore in the heart of the agendas of organisations such as SEGIB, IADB, UNDP, DAC..., although it is worth remembering that the SSC is not a new phenomenon. Many of these organisations (IADB, CAN/Andean Community of Nations, CABEL, ECLAC, etc.) had regional funds which had been promoting this type of cooperation for decades, and there were also countries like Chile with a consolidated experience in South-South processes.

If it is now more prominent and visible it is mostly due to the emergence of «Large Players» like China, Brazil or Venezuela, among other factors, and to the shift of the epicentre of the world economy from the Atlantic to the Pacific. If we add to this its participation in the international forums of donors and of aid effectiveness in a context of ODA reduction by many of the DAC members, the phenomenon is better understood.

In development cooperation, as in many other sectors, the tendency is to every year reinvent phenomena that are not new and that need reliance on historical background for over dimensioning them. The SSC's actions go back to the fifties in Asia and its backgrounds are the Non-Aligned Countries Movement (NOAL) which, since the Summit

Conference celebrated in Belgrade in September of 1961, had among its postulates cooperation in full equality among its members. Similarly, since 1964, the Group of 77 (G-77) has incorporated technical and economic cooperation among its members into its actions and the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development carries out actions of technical assistance and economic cooperation among developing countries. The former contributed to the creation of instruments such as the Generalised System of Preferences which granted some commercial advantages to the developing countries.

Doubtlessly, the response given by many countries since the fifties (Bandung Conference, 1955) in refusing to live only as appendices of the adversaries of the North during the Cold War favoured a climate which would result in the birth of the SSC in coming years. There were common elements: poverty, exploitation, dependence... And it was necessary to bring wills together so as to expand the sound of their demands and present defence shields to the voracity of the northern countries.

Although it may seem that it never took place, it is worth remembering that in 1974 the United Nations General Assembly adopted the «Declaration for the establishment of a New International Economic Order» (NIEO) which, among other things, contemplated that the developing countries were able to control the multinationals in their territory, expropriate foreign companies in favourable conditions, that international trade was based on fair and remunerative tariffs for the producing countries and that the states of the North refrained from economic, political and military measures aimed at restricting these rights.

In this context of the seventies, the SSC gradually took shape when the United Nations Organisation recognised a series of declarations, resolutions and

decisions, as well as the importance of the cooperation among developing countries as a way to reinforce the processes of national development and expand their creative capacity to solve the development problems. During those years, with the international petrol crisis on their backs, the invasion of the petrodollars, among other factors, boosted the SSC understood in a broad sense, in which economic and commercial cooperation was included.

The SSC «principles» began to be outlined in the frame of the 32nd Session Period of the United Nations General Assembly in 1977. This meeting produced a resolution that included the first effort to define the objectives of the Technical Cooperation among Developing Countries (TCDC) and, incipiently, its principles. At that moment it was defined that the TCDC was a mechanism to promote the national and collective capacity of the developing countries such that they could rely on their own means. This same resolution included that this modality was directed at increasing the creative capacity of the countries to solve their development problems.

The General Assembly (A/RES/33/134) adopted the recommendations of the United Nations Conference on Technical Cooperation among Developing countries which originated the Buenos Aires Plan of Action (BAPA) subscribed by 138 countries in September, 1978. We note that Argentina was then a military dictatorship and that many countries of its Latin American setting also suffered the same regime (Uruguay, Brazil, Chile, Paraguay...). There were only three countries left with democratic systems in the continent. No doubt, beyond the economic plane, the actions in which these principles would derive appeared to be far from ideal. And let us not think of collaboration actions such as the Condor Plan, an example of State terrorism in which several countries of the region were coordinated with the USA.

The Buenos Aires Plan of Action (BAPA) or plan to promote and implement the TCDC established 9 goals of the TCDC as well as recommendations, of which fourteen were aimed at national governments, seven at the regional space, one at the inter-regional sphere and 16 at a global level. All these components, organised as Work Plan, became the foundational document of what we now know as SSC in its technical dimension.

The said document registered some of the basic principles of technical cooperation, among them the mutual benefit and the generation of national and collective self-sufficiency. The impact of the politics and behaviour of the more developed countries on the progress of the less developed countries was also referred to. At that moment, the technical cooperation was defined as a «conscious, systematic and politically motivated process» which stood out for having the following principles:

- Non interference of the cooperating countries in the matters of other States,
- Equality among members and
- Respect for the local contents of development.

Another relevant event in the evolution of the SSC was the High Level Conference on Economic Cooperation among Developing Countries celebrated in Caracas (Venezuela) in 1981, which gave birth to the Caracas Programme of Action for economic cooperation among developing countries. This programme marked a series of specific actions for the development of economic cooperation. The Conference took place in a time of economic deterioration in Latin America —let us remember the debt crisis— which doubtlessly affected the process of the SSC, practically leaving it in a situation of stagnation. Despite this, countries like Mexico and Venezuela supported the peace processes in Central America, supplying petroleum in conditional terms.

Even if in the multi-lateral frame the NIEO project was aborted with the coming to power of Reagan and Margaret Thatcher in the early eighties, and the Washington Consensus—an agreement between the Bretton Woods organisations (World Bank, Monetary Fund, Regional Banks) and the United States Treasury—shifted the road map of the United Nations towards a destination in which the dismantling of the public setting, privatisation, elimination of national barriers and social cost cut-down became the new conditions to establish relations with the developing countries, the configuration of a space of dialogue and political action of the South started to consolidate. The G-77, besides providing these countries the way to articulate their economic interests, also promoted the SSC. Thus, in 1994, a Declaration of the group's Ministerial Meeting called the attention on the importance of the SSC, recommending that a new United Nations conference on the matter be summoned.

The context of the nineties favoured once again a more dialogue prone environment thanks to the successive world summits sponsored by the United Nations on issues as important to development as Environment (Rio 1982); Human Rights (Vienna 1993); Population (Cairo 1994); World summit for social development (Copenhagen 1995); Conference on Women (Beijing 1995), and Human Settlements (Istanbul 1996). These summits promoted the agenda of the Millennium Goals materialised in the Summit of 2000, which it is worth remembering were approved by the United Nations General Assembly and may be interpreted as an «incipient global social policy that seeks to provide globalisation with an equality dimension» (Sanahuja: 2011; 201).

With this landscape, the nineties opened new horizons for the TCDC as, for example, the search for new markets, technology transference,, exchange of experiences in education and health, productive

transformation and all which is related with a new form of aiming at human development. The actions of the TCDC «distant precedent of the SSC» (Sanahuja: 2010; 199), followed one another, and thus the Meeting of the pivot countries for the TCDC promoted by the UNDP was celebrated in 1996 in Chile. In this occasion, the cooperation experiences of Asia, Africa, Europe and Latin America were presented, both in the field of economic cooperation and in the TCDC, with high recognition to the work being performed by Latin America on this matter. The South-South Conference on Trade, Investments, Finances and Industrialisation celebrated in San Jose in 1996, the Forum on cooperation experiences and the High Level Conference on Regional and Sub-regional Economic Cooperation among Developing Countries celebrated in Bali in 1999 are also worth highlighting.

At the beginning of the new century, the South Summit of Havana in April 2000 and the X Meeting of the Intergovernmental Follow-Up and Coordination Committee on Economic Cooperation among Developing Countries that took place in Tehran in August of 2001 were organised. In the commemoration of the XV anniversary of the BAPA in 2004, a new resolution (A/RES/58/220) declared December 19 as the United Nations Day for the SSC, incorporating under this denomination the political, economic and technical dimensions.

The II South Summit was also celebrated in Doha in June of 2005 with the Chiefs of State and Government of the Group of 77 and China, who clearly reaffirmed their decision to promote the SSC in the frame of a broad development programme. Additionally, in the Final Document of the World Summit 2005, the leaders recognised the achievements and great potential of the SSC, encouraging its promotion. In particular, they invited the countries to consider the possibility of supporting the Special South-South

Cooperation Unit of the UNDP to effectively respond to the development needs of the countries of the South.

Besides the MDGs, the aid agenda of the beginning of the millennium was also marked by the effectiveness agenda. In 2005, the Paris Meeting of the High Level Forum on Development Aid Effectiveness contributed to reviving the debate on the importance of the SSC and the role of the actors involved in its development dynamics. Also in Accra (2008), after many negotiations and with a firm posture of the countries of the South —headed by Brazil—, the SSC and the developing countries of the South were acknowledged as actors involved in the development process of the Accra Agenda for Action (AAA). (To expand on aid effectiveness, see item 1.4).

To expand on the background in the Latin American sphere, see item 2.1.

For a general vision of the SSC in the contemporary regional and international scene (2009-2010), see the table prepared by the SEGIB (pp. 16-19):

<http://www.cooperacionsursur.org/documentos/SurSurCastellano.pdf>

1.3. Actors and modalities

The SSC has become an important source of external resources in the past years, coming to represent in 2006 around 10% of the global attendance.¹⁰ This

¹⁰ According to estimations of ECOSOC (2008), between USD 9.5 billion and USD 12.1 billion in 2006 or 7.8 to 9.8% of the total ODA that circulated in that year, thus increasing from around 5% which it had during the 90s —excluding the contributions from the South to the multilateral agencies.

has been reflected in mainly two types of initiatives: on the one hand, the constitution of emerging alliances of countries that arise from international encounters as is the case of IBSA (India, Brazil, South Africa) and the BRIC (Brazil, Russia, India and China) —with the incorporation of South Africa, the BRICS acronym is employed—. On the other hand we have the creation of regional blocks such as the ALBA (Bolivarian Alternative for the Americas), MERCOSUR (Common Market of the South), UNASUR (Union of South American Nations), the African Union and the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN).

It is worth noting that differences may be considered around the principles inspiring some and other integration processes. It is true that, as noted by Ojeda (2010), ALBA and UNASUR represent a new generation of regionalisms marked by the SSC since its birth. The first is presented rather as a political alliance than an economic integration scheme and the second superimposes cross-cutting issues such as social, political and cultural matters over economy.

The Southern suppliers of assistance, such as Brazil, China, India, Korea, Kuwait, Saudi Arabia and Venezuela, grant both donations and loans, as do multilateral organisations of the South like BADEA, the Islamic Development Bank and the OPEC Fund for International Development. The grouping of countries in different spaces of political dialogue and action, such as the Non Aligned Countries in 1955, G-77 in 1964 and more recently, in 2008, the Union of South American Nations (UNASUR), favours the strengthening of the South-South connections in general and of different modalities of SSC in particular.

According to the available information (ALOP; 2010), the largest donors of bilateral aid, non OECD members, are Saudi Arabia, China, Venezuela and India, all of them recognised for having previously

contributed at least 500 million USD every year. Together these four countries contributed 76% of total ODA estimated flow which came from the 16 main donors of the South in 2008. Saudi Arabia and Venezuela now contribute over 0.7% of their GNP in Development Aid flow, a target recommended by the United Nations since the seventies.

Regarding modalities we may identify the sub-regional cooperation, the South-South bilateral cooperation and the triangular cooperation.

The **South-South Bilateral Horizontal Cooperation** is produced when two countries exchange experiences or resources (financial, technical and/or human) as partners. Such exchange respects the principles of horizontality, consensus and equity, which guarantees both an egalitarian interlocution between the countries and a cost and benefit distribution proportional to the possibilities of each.

This has been the most applied among Latin American countries and is principally developed through the exchange of experiences and knowledge.

The **South-South Horizontal Cooperation**, in turn, refers to the cooperation developed by several countries within the frame of regional spaces and organisations. Its singularity lies in the genesis of its projects, a genesis that must reproduce the guidelines of a horizontal project in which several Governments participated simultaneously. In Latin America and the Caribbean it is a cooperation carried out among sub-regions, managed and executed in a block: The region has multiple integration schemes with their own characteristics and needs that complement each other.

There are cases carried out under «south-south» agreement schemes made up only by developing countries, but also «north-south» schemes with the

presence of Spain, Portugal and Andorra in Ibero American Organisations and countries like USA and Canada (Mesoamerican Project and Organisation of American States).

SEGIB highlights the role played by the Spanish cooperation in several agreement schemes of which it is not part, such as CAN, CARICOM, MERCOSUR and SICA/Central American Integration System. Thus, Spain is supporting, with non refundable resources, projects on public policies in the area of gender equality in MERCOSUR¹¹ Actions of regional scope in gender mainstreaming are also being carried out.

In **Triangular Cooperation** there are three fundamental actors, usually a traditional donor, a Middle Income Country and a third country of lower relative development. Each of the actors involved contributes its own experience toward a common goal related with the national development priorities of the country that requires it.

However, there is also an intra-regional South-South Triangular cooperation, a scheme in which two Middle Income Countries of the Region associate in favour of a third country of lower relative development. Besides, there is a multiplicity of possible combinations: two traditional donors (country or International Organisation) associated to a Middle Income Country in favour of a fourth; two Middle Income Countries of the Region associated to a traditional donor in favour of a fourth...

The Triangular Cooperation usually responds to one of these three financing formulas: a) common (fund co-financed by the traditional donor and the new

¹¹ SEGIB supports a gender observatory and, within the Conference of Ministers of Justice of Ibero American Countries (COMJIB), a programme for the care of women victims of gender violence.

offerer); b) parallel (each offerer manages its own funds separately); and c) unilateral (the project is financed by the traditional donor and the new offerer is dedicated to the technical execution) (SEGIB: 2010; 69). In the Ibero American case, the Funds of mixed financing promoted by Chile with the German GTZ and by Spain with Chile itself and Argentina stand out because of the greater complexity in its procedure.

Finally, it is interesting to indicate the existence of **cooperation projects and actions¹² with bidirectional nature**, which, as reflected by SEGIB (2011; p.), require four conditions:

- 1) a joint formulation of the action or the project;
- 2) that the action or project is executed in both countries;
- 3) That the goal is aimed at obtaining results in both;
- 4) that the cost and resource contribution is shared.

The frontier issue is strongly associated to this cooperation, not only because the «bidirectional» actions and projects tend to occur between limiting countries (Argentina and Bolivia, on one hand, Bolivia and Ecuador with Peru on the other) but because they specifically address frontier issues, which facilitates complying with both the joint formulation and execution requisites and those of searching for shared results. The foregoing is relevant, besides, because it would lay the foundations for the identification of projects and actions that meet the reciprocity criteria. This would entail, as an example, projects that guarantee health assistance to citizens on both sides of the frontier; the documentation, identification and

treatment of migrants in both countries; the joint exploitation of common water resources; among others (SEGIB; 2010).

1.4. Aid effectiveness in the South-South cooperation

The SSC has gained predominance in the global development policies as of its inclusion in the Accra Agenda for Action (2008) on aid effectiveness and the creation of a Global Partnership arisen from the recent High Level Forum of Busan (2011)¹³ But the acceptance by the SSC of the principles of this effectiveness agenda, primarily identified and systematised by the DAC without the participation of the developing countries, is still not as clear.

Let us remember that the effectiveness agenda was initiated from the recognition of the donors in the Monterrey Consensus of 2002 of the need to improve aid effectiveness. For this, a process promoted by the DAC was opened which led to the adoption of the Paris Declaration (2005)¹⁴ and the Accra Agenda for

¹² They are differentiated in that the projects have higher complexity, economic cost and duration; the actions, in turn, are isolated and less costly. One example of the latter could be an internship in reproductive health (SEGIB; 2010).

¹³ In the Busan meeting, a thematic panel was held and a Building Block on SSC and triangular was organised. The latter committed to designing guidelines for effective development, as well as plans to involve the partners of the South in SSC and triangular activities. Additionally, it undertook to share knowledge and lessons learned among the developing countries and to prepare a framework for the evaluation of the SSC and triangular contribution to the development goals. Besides, a parallel event was held to debate on the background and results of the South-South Cooperation Task Team of the OECD and another on the future of the South-South Cooperation architecture after Busan.

¹⁴ The principles that rule it are: ownership, by which the developing countries are responsible for defining their own

Action (2008). The latter meant the «repoliticisation» of Paris and its technocratic assessment based on indicators, to be redefined as a political process on global aid governance (Sanahuja: 2011; 207). Besides, the ownership principle was revised and renamed as «democratic ownership» and the need for the donors to enjoy a higher geographic and sectoral specialisation based on their comparative advantages was set forth.

Everything indicates that there is no consensus in Latin America on whether the DAC represents the adequate platform to systematise these experiences of the South in consonance with a reinforcement of the role of supplier positioning of the SSC at a domestic, regional and global level. However, the spirit of Paris and Accra, according to Sanín and Schulz (2009; 2) may constitute a valuable inspiration, since it directs the cooperation toward the leadership of the recipient countries and horizontality among partners, founded on «solidarity principles» and reflecting the learning process of donors and recipient countries. Even if it is true that improving aid effectiveness constitutes important progress for the developing countries, there are still suspicions regarding the imposition of criteria and procedures by the DAC.

Neither do the countries of the South accept the mechanisms established as valid by Paris for all types of cooperation. Some apply the principles of effectiveness in the reception of the aid from DAC

donors but do not necessarily frame their action as suppliers in these same principles. «Here the role of conventional donors enlisted in triangular cooperation is very relevant to begin the dialogue on the adaptability of the Paris and Accra principles to the South-South cooperation» (Sanín and Schulz 2009; 2).

Latin America finds itself with an enormous action and impact potential in the new Global Partnership, in benefit not only of the region but of the developing world as a whole. According to Schulz (2012), regarding, for example, the decision making on the new Global Partnership for Effective Development Cooperation¹⁵ born in Busan, time is required, mainly to respect the road already travelled at a national level and to involve the most relevant national actors. From the Latin American perspective, it seems obvious that a greater (and more continuous) regional coordination around the new Partnership not only would improve the flow of information, but also facilitate mutual learning and the political reinforcement of the countries. It is likely that this task will be undertaken through informal mechanisms, while in the mid-term, possibilities for defining high level political mandates (for example in the Community of Latin American and Caribbean States, the Ibero American Summits, etc.) are found (Schulz: 2012). That is to say, the role of the regions is highly important from the point of view of the coordination and the consensus, despite the fact

development and poverty reduction policies; alignment, which allows for aligning the national policies and working through the institutions, procedures and systems of the partner country and harmonisation, by which the donors have to coordinate with each other and use a single monitoring, reporting and management framework, co-responsibility, by which each party undertakes its responsibilities in a strategy, and result oriented management.

¹⁵ As reflected in the declaration of the Busan Meeting, the Partnership shall be established in June of 2012 with the mission of supporting and guaranteeing the fulfilment of the commitments undertaken. The OECD and the UNDP are invited to support its effective operation through their respective mandates and collaborating from their comparative advantages. Additionally, the United Nations Development Cooperation Fund (DCF) is invited to participate consulting on the progress of the agreements reached in Busan.

that the slogan of the Post-Busan Interim Group (PBIG) is based on the slogan *country focused, global light*.

In the preamble of the Busan final declaration¹⁶, special reference was made to the different nature, modalities and responsibilities for the case of the SSC whose actors shall adopt the principles, commitments and actions defined in the Declaration voluntarily. Also in the third section of the Declaration, the SSC (and triangular) is incorporated in the partnership for sustainable development, as an additional (not substitute) contribution whose potential lies in providing adequate solutions for the context and adjusted to the development needs of the partner country. Additionally, there is an appeal to increase the efforts and supports to this modality, the transference of knowledge and best practices among the actors and the strengthening of the national and local capacities to become involved in and with the South-South and Triangular cooperation.

For Schulz (2012) it is essential to recognise the specific situations of the different groups of Latin American countries. The SICA+ group (that currently groups the members of the Central American Integration System, besides Dominican Republic and Bolivia), all of them with tangible influence of the official aid in their public policies, are still at the spearhead of Busan. Complementing the highly clear voice of SICA+ in the PBIG and other spaces, there is a second ring of countries with a greater degree of development and a 'dual role' as recipients and suppliers. These are affected by the specific changes in the international cooperation system, such as the new approach of the European Commission to withdraw from the middle

income countries. In this aspect, it is expected that a joint response of the countries, including the SICA+, to the plans of the European Union shall be arrived at. The key shall be to coordinate the SICA+ nucleus with its ring, with countries like Chile, Colombia and Mexico, to ensure the greatest possible mutual support.

As indicated by Schulz (2012), some Latin American countries have already taken control in the new Global Partnership. Honduras was very active in the Busan negotiations and continues to be a member of the PBIG. On the other hand, Colombia promoted the Thematic Block of the South-South and Triangular Cooperation, a very dynamic piece of the Global Partnership. The problem is that many times the renewal of the teams due to government changes results in that the wills and capacities change and the dialogue has to be started from scratch. In all these cases, it is necessary to generate a far more systematic backing from the other countries to generate strong political support and contribute to technical contents, ideally in an increasing division of labour. This joint commitment shall be a pre-condition for a strong impact of the region on the global agenda, on the basis of the broad «regional capital» entailed by the initiatives of the countries and the leadership of directors and professional teams in the different governments.

What is certain is that special attention must be paid to the quality and impact of the SSC. Among the Latin American actors there is a wide consensus on the need for the South-South cooperation to be effective and efficient in achieving results at a development level, beyond the «aid» (rather than «development») procedures¹⁷ in which the Paris Declaration centres its attention.

¹⁶ From the AUCI report «From aid effectiveness to development cooperation effectiveness: Analyzing the results of the Busan HLF-4» (February 2012). <http://www.auci.gub.uy/pdfs/analisisdebusan.pdf>

¹⁷ The debates on the concept of «development» in Latin America show that there are different actors, discourses,

An indispensable requisite for advancement in the challenge of quality and effectiveness in the South-South practices is to find the scenario that allows for information unification and the establishment of mechanisms for its accreditation which is accepted by all the cooperating countries and has the technical capacity to achieve it. It seems evident that these should derive from a brainstorming exercise by the countries of the South. Perhaps the organisation that is making the greatest effort toward systematisation and standardisation of the SSC is the SEGIG, although there are other institutions in the region that monitor the issue (UNDP, IADB, etc.), which requires coordination to avoid the risk of effort duplication.

As we see, the harmonisation of the North-South cooperation and the SSC agendas is full of key questions. Firstly, because we should bear in mind that in recent times, despite the effort made by the donors in terms of «aid effectiveness», the achievements obtained by this policy so far have been low. As long as progress more consistent with what was agreed is not made, addressing a relevant reform process in

actions and interactions that configure a complex field, where, at the same time and entwined in power relations, political visions and stances that go from economic growth and unlimited wealth accumulation to the goal of a more equitable society and a global governance that prioritises fair cooperation relations survive. In this report we use the word «development» in the latter sense, as a concept that overcomes the negative effects of capitalism, industrialisation and environmental degradation. Besides, it is worth reconsidering some of the criticism that has been made on development from the downturn or post development theories, as well as from ecofeminism (Shiva: 2007) and from the post-colonial studies (Mignolo and Escobar) because many of their proposals respond to this need for re-signifying its content (Bordenave) from contemporary world problems. The inclusion of «Good Living» is part of the alternative debates to the concept of development, particularly expounded on in Bolivia and Ecuador.

the forms of supply, allocation and management of the aid (Iglesia-Caruncho and Alonso: 2012; 36) it will not even be possible to start from the assumption of a serious commitment by the members of the DAC. The evaluations made on the progress of the Paris Declaration show that the traditional donors are not complying or making consistent progress with what was agreed in Paris and Accra. Some progress was made, but at a slower pace than what was agreed and there are fields in which progress has been minimum (OECD, 2011).¹⁸ «Additionally, it would be necessary to incorporate the purposes of the aid effectiveness agenda in a more complex and realistic vision of the relations between donors and recipient. Assuming that both parties in the relation follow common goals and it is enough to promote the corresponding alignment between them to achieve effectiveness means ignoring the plurality of interests that move both the donor and the recipient and the strategic dynamics produced between them» (Iglesia-Caruncho and Alonso: 2012; 36).

The task team on South-South cooperation that is framed in the Working Party on Aid Effectiveness of the DAC, under the initial leadership of Colombia (which appears to have waned due to changes in the professional teams), offers a space for mutual learning towards the incorporation of the principles of effectiveness and the articulation with conventional donors. Between the DAC and the DCF of the ECOSOC—the multilateral platform preferred by many countries of the South— there is a certain

¹⁸ Some evaluations are assessing how the aid effectiveness principles are being put to work by the donor countries and their results in developing countries. See «The evaluation of the Paris Declaration. Phase 2»(OCDE 2011).
http://www.oecd.org/document/60/0,3746,en_21571361_34047972_38242748_1_1_1_1,00.html

dichotomy, with the former offering effectiveness and a capacity for achieving results fast and the latter based on higher horizontality and legitimacy. It seems obvious, however, that the promotion of the SSC would greatly benefit from a sensible and strategic coordination between both spaces.

In Latin America, this new change of development governance is inviting important efforts to articulate joint action and coordination. In February of 2012, El Salvador¹⁹ launched a meeting with the purpose of evaluating the lessons learned in Busan and agreeing on possible Latin American contributions to the construction of the new Global Partnership. Likewise, the Ibero American Programme for the strengthening of the South-South Cooperation and the Uruguayan Agency for International Cooperation (AUCI) summoned the countries involved in the programme to Montevideo (April 11-13)²⁰ to discuss the results of the 4th High Level Forum on Aid Effectiveness. Shortly (May 5 and 6), an inter-regional encounter shall also be held in Honduras.

According to the PBIG plans, the new indicators to measure the quality of international cooperation shall be defined up to June of 2012. These indicators shall rule the new Global Partnership possibly along eight years (until 2020). Since they shall be immediately affected, it is urgent that the countries begin to

¹⁹ The seminar «Latin America in the new global partnership for development» was celebrated on February 13 and 14, 2012. General Directors of International Cooperation of Argentina, Chile, Ecuador, El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras, Mexico, Nicaragua, Paraguay, Peru, Dominican Republic and Uruguay, besides a small group of civil society and academia representatives participated therein.

²⁰ Bear in mind that Brazil is not part of this programme, but attended as observer. It has also dissociated itself from the Paris and Accra process and does not participate in the OAS Inter American Cooperation Network.

become involved in this design exercise which is open to their participation, but which lacks ways of giving voice to the 'silent countries'. An essential issue lies in the need to respect the processes already begun at a national level, where there already are governmental monitoring and evaluation systems which it would be advisable to adjust and consolidate rather than completely reconstructing them.

It will be important for the Latin American region to be present in and agree on the procedures to ensure that the new global indicators reflect the national priorities. Simultaneously, progress can also be made on specific indicators that allow for greater adjustment to the characteristics and needs of the region.

The triangular cooperation has surely been able to favour the need of the South to respond to the aid effectiveness principles. And, additionally, as the mandate of the Accra Agenda for Action, the joint planning, implementation and evaluation exercises promoted by the donors may be exercises that favour the strengthening of institutional capacities of the SSC suppliers.

There are also those who feel that the difference of the SSC models, schemes and mechanisms should not loose in the commitment to aid effectiveness, the characteristics of which are typical to itself only. In Latin America and the Caribbean this diversity is perceived as added value that adds to the SSC offer improvement. On the other hand and despite the great standardisation efforts, the North-South cooperation also follows very diverse guidelines, with substantial differences in quality and quantity among the DAC member donors.

What is apparently still not clear is whether there is a complementarity agenda, since there is still some risk that the SSC is centred in the construction of its identity (and discourse) in contrast to the

traditional cooperation, which would complicate complementarity with the North-South cooperation (Sanín and Schulz 2009; 1). Progress will have to be made in the preparation of further analytical works to acquire deep knowledge on the particular and differentiating traits behind the multiple expressions of the SSC.

1.5. Civil society participation in the South-South cooperation

The civil society is acting to better understand the nature of the SSC and its practices, as well as to use its critical vision to bring its limitations and potentialities to the table. This task is fundamental to inform and strengthen the advocacy work of the Civil Society Organisations (CSOs) that seek greater ODA effectiveness, whether they involve South-South or North-South relations. In this sense, the report prepared by ALOP and *Reality of Aid 2010* on the SSC, from which we have extracted some examples and conclusions, is worth highlighting.

According to ALOP (2010), the CSOs have a crucial role to play in ensuring that the *boom* of the SSC be managed so that it contributes to poverty eradication as well as to the sustainability of economic growth and development. However, in most of the principal countries involved in the SSC, the relation between CSOs and the State is less than propitious for this function. The institutional and legislative frame that rules the CSOs and the capacity of the State to enforce it are designed to prevent the contributions of the CSOs to the SSC discourse. The concerns of the CSOs regarding the negative implications on human rights and environment of some of the SSC initiatives are disregarded as opposing development.

On the other hand, there is usually a weak capacity among the CSOs to organise and mobilise around the central issues of the SSC, partly because of the lack of transparency of the governmental process of SSC, and this results in their not becoming involved in it as they do with the aid effectiveness agenda led by the DAC-OECD.

The CSOs insist in that the ODA, whether from the North or the South, is effective in terms of development if it strengthens the capacity of the poor and vulnerable populations in the poorest countries, to claim for their political, social, economic and cultural rights. These efforts must also take into consideration the fundamental importance of gender equality and women's rights for the progress of development. The CSOs in the Networks *Reality of Aid* and *Better Aid* have made an appeal for consistent reforms with the lessons on development effectiveness derived from decades.

One of the aspects which the civil society has critically stressed has been the absence of conditionality in the SSC. The countries of the South appeal to the principles of non interference and respect for sovereignty, but the traditional donors such as IMF/WB are upset because the partner countries that refuse to implement their policy prescriptions may now turn to the donors of the South for «boundless» or no ties development assistance. For example, according to the ALOP (2010), China, and to a smaller degree India, have been strongly criticised for ignoring the terrible human rights denunciations of some of its partners. Human Rights Watch has pointed that the recent Chinese investments in Angola are connected with the torture of civilians by the troupes stationed in Cabinda, an area rich in petroleum. In conclusion, contributing aid without fully considering the human and environmental and social rights is seen as an acceptance or support of the continuation of bad

government, for the simple fact of gaining access to the resources and markets of their countries.

Another aspect criticised by the civil society and which is already a classic «to fight against» is that of «tied» aid. The study of the Development Cooperation Forum (2008) reports that the assistance projects of the donors of the South are predominantly tied to the purchase of goods and the contract of consultants of the donor country. This is particularly true for China, India and Venezuela (ALOP: 2010). For example, in most of the development aid from China to Africa, Beijing requires that 70% of the construction of infrastructure and other contracts be awarded to «approved» Chinese companies, mainly state owned, and the rest be passed on to local companies, many of which are also in shared risk association with Chinese groups. Many projects have been undertaken with imported Chinese labour.

Additionally, the unequal specific weights among countries that cooperate within the SSC may replicate the North-South dependences. Groups like the BRICS do not substantially change the trade and investment patterns, but rather they reflect or reproduce them. The multinational corporations of the South have replicated the universal capital trends rather than cause a significant change in their direction.²¹ This awakens serious doubts regarding the capacity and real interest of the BRICS countries to significantly transform development assistance or trade in ways

²¹ Capital, ever more mobile and trans-national in orientation, still largely depends on state support and, thus, the states, including those of the South, continue to make efforts in the name of that which is originated in their own countries, without establishing the necessary regulations, for example, in fiscal havens, and subjecting themselves more to what the large economic and financial corporations request.

that globally benefit the South. IPS (2001)²² informs on a work document presented by Nkunde Mwase, an economist in the International Monetary Fund (IMF) Strategy, Policy and Review Department, which examines the increasing financing flow from the BRICS to the low income countries, and concludes that the group was not fostering good governance and institutional strengthening with its loans. Besides, the low income countries with no sea access and with few (natural) resources received significantly less financing than others rich in resources, and no evidence whatsoever was found suggesting that those of low income with good governance were compensated with greater financing. The growing bounds between the BRICS and the low income countries have increased the risks and reveal the need to guarantee that financing does not undermine the efforts to «improve governance» in the beneficiary nations.

What seems clear is that many of the criticisms made to the north-south cooperation may be equally made to the SSC. In Latin America the SSC also moves by the foreign policy agenda. For example, Brazil shows an agenda of regional stability interests, export promotion and regional and global leadership. Mexico has among the motivations of its cooperation with Central America the concerns derived from the safety and stability of its southern frontier. Colombia, in turn, has clearly involved in the effectiveness agenda, engaging in the process of Paris and Accra through the task Group on SSC and with it has tried to provide a more «technical» approach to it and place this cooperation in the inter American frame of the OAS in the face of the «autonomic» pretensions of Argentina, Venezuela or Brazil (Sanahuja: 2011; 217).

²² Kanya D'Almeida, *Shall BRICS use their checkbook? – Part 2* (November 2011), IPS.

The fact that African governments actively search for additional aid channels may derive in an increasing economic gap in which the winners shall be the BRICS and the losers shall be the survival farmers, women, people with HIV/Aids and all those traditionally affected by this system. JPS points out a study²³ prepared this year by the non governmental organisation GRAIN and the Economic Research Foundation that reveals that increasingly more Indian corporations bought vast lands in Africa, mainly to externalise their foodstuff production in low income countries of the entire continent. In 2010, more than 80 Indian companies have invested around 2,400 million dollars in purchases or leases of large plantations in countries like Ethiopia, Kenya, Madagascar, Senegal and Mozambique, which shall be used to produce foods and other commercial crops destined for the Indian market. This practice could remind us of a neo-colonial tool of Occident to exert corporate control over the South.

Another important report issued from the CSOs is the stance document prepared by the Better Aid platform (2010) facing the 4th High Level Forum on Aid Effectiveness in Busan in late 2011 and the UN Forum on development cooperation (2010). In it, among other aspects, the omission of sensitive issues such as Human Rights is criticised by virtue of the principle of non interference in internal matters, one of the characteristic traits of the SSC, at least in theory.

Even if Better Aid positively values the role that the SSDC (adding the word «development» to SSC to differentiate it from another kind of cooperation with no impact therein) shall play in the creation of associations that better understand the problems and realities of the countries of the South, since

23 Idem, *ibidem*.

In the ALOP report (2010), the associated CSOs make an appeal to the donors and recipients of the SSC to contribute to strengthening development effectiveness through:

- Alignment to the national development and poverty reduction strategies which have been developed through wide processes with the participation of parliamentarians, CSOs, academic institutions and independent media. The sectors involved, especially the poorer and more marginalised ones, must play key roles in designing, implementing, monitoring and evaluating the SSC initiatives.
- Maximum transparency in the terms of the subsidised projects, loans and export credit agreements. Indicators to assess the social and environmental risks and the actual impact of the SSC must be developed with figures broken down for the different sectors of the population.
- Increase accountability of the donors of the South and the programmes of countries between each other and to the citizens through the expansion of the range of actors involved in evaluating Aid and development effectiveness, particularly at the country's level. This must include national and local representatives, national and base CSO. Citizen monitoring and control practices of the SSC must be supported.
- The unconditional elimination of the tied or bound aid must also be demanded from the donors of the South, which have to be transparent and open with their partners in the developing countries regarding the comparative advantages of goods and services provided through their aid relations.

The recipient countries must be free to apply their country systems and standards to the SSC projects as appropriate to their priorities and needs.

- The debt cancellation of creditors of the South which is odious or illegitimate, in line with the global appeal of the CSOs to cancel such debts.
- Involvement processes of multiple actors at a national and international level must be facilitated by the governments and multilateral institutions. This may increase the harmonisation of the aid policies in line with the human rights obligations and the internationally agreed development goals, simultaneously respecting the democratic and local ownership of the development processes. The SSC based on the people may better contribute to the progressive fulfilment of human rights, gender equity, decent work, environmental sustainability and social justice.

the middle income donors share many of the same inconveniences; however, it stresses the vital importance of protecting itself against the threat of creating or reinforcing the existing dependences, especially in the case of countries that are regional

powers and which may implement SSDC programmes to ensure their own areas of influence.

To conclude, we wish to point out that the Bogotá Report, *Towards Effective and Inclusive Development Associations* (2010)—issued from a meeting promoted by the task Group on South-South Cooperation of the DAC— qualifies as crucial ensuring the ongoing participation of multiple interest groups with the purpose of sustaining the development results reached through the SSC. Parliamentarians, civil society organisations and the private sector should be involved in the implementation of the SSC to make the most of its comparative advantages.

1.6. Challenges of the South-South Cooperation

Many things have changed in the SSC in the past forty years, although others remain unchanged. The truth is there are still great challenges to strengthen this kind of cooperation at a conceptual and operational level, as well as to better measure its dimensions and impacts. Challenges which the SSC must partly address alone and partly in alliance with other countries or international organisations. Let us present some of them, without aiming for exhaustiveness:

1. Improving its legitimacy and visibility on the basis of **impact measurements**. It is a necessary condition to found the political discussion on how to address aid effectiveness considering the particularities of the SSC. A central problem lies in that the people responsible for the supplying agencies are often centred in financial and logistic management, and there is not yet a sufficient evaluation culture. Considering the budgetary

restrictions, Sanín and Schulz (2009; 4) propose to rely on pilot evaluations with agile methodologies that allow for cost-benefit analysis, so as to obtain a clearer perception on effectiveness and efficiency and better knowledge on the scopes and outcomes of the SSC. Another central issue of these evaluations shall be the accumulation of lessons learned, since the SSC also faces challenges regarding economy of scale and the adjustment to national and local contexts.

2. It is very important to address the **impact on poverty and inequality reduction** in a more comprehensive manner to achieve more equitable societies, since these are countries with considerable gaps in their societies.
3. Strengthening the SSC as a mechanism of **horizontal learning and promotion of the development of national capacities**. That is to say, the opposite to what was indicated in the previous item regarding «tied» policies.
4. There is still a lack of **transparency** in the operations, whether of humanitarian aid, development assistance, loans or even corporate contracts between the BRICS and the poorer countries. Nations like China and India have not yet published any specific information on the loans to each country, according to a document by the Centre for Chinese Studies in the South African University of Stellenbosch²⁴
5. **Coherence**. It is important not to lose sight of requisites related with human rights, the gender equality or environmental agenda, since the South-South relations are also prompted by corporate

needs and operate in a similar manner within a system guided by the market that privileges the interests of large companies over those of citizens.

6. **Sustainability**. The future progress and consolidation of the SSC depend to a large extent of the development of national capacities of the supplier countries to put cooperation into practice. It is still necessary to reinforce the cooperation agencies and organisations in their management capacities, which entails also avoiding rotation and commit to professionalisation. A greater investment in knowledge and training, including academic programmes in the countries themselves is also required. Finally, public policies and a strategic planning of the SSC in each supplier country should be promoted to allow for institutional anchorage of the actions beyond the Foreign Affairs ministries and to insert the SSC in the debate with the civil society and public opinion.
7. Better **systematisation**. There is a great need for a clearer identification of the scenarios to promote the SSC based on standards, good practices and information systems. Despite it not being a new mechanism, there are few data and analyses on the SSC and the policies and lessons are yet to be systematised. It is essential to invest in better information, statistics, computing and monitoring and evaluation systems. In Latin America and the Caribbean, both SEGIB and the countries that constitute it are making a great effort to contribute clarity to the offer and demand in the SSC, although there is still much to do to improve the statistical and financial information on the flows being provided. From the point of view of systematisation of good practices, progress is being made. From the UNDP, for example, events are promoted to this end, like the one held in

²⁴ Kanya D’Almeida, *Shall BRICS use their checkbook? – Part 2* (November 2011), IPS.

Panama —the Knowledge from the South Fair— in May²⁵, co organised with the government of that country. Although this kind of events represents a fundamental support for the strengthening of the countries' technical capacities, besides improving visibility, predictability and transparency, it is worth noting that sometimes the mapping of these practices do not rigorously consider the choice of transforming experiences.

8. Achieve greater **visibility** of the specific SSC initiatives In this sense, the Cross-Border Cooperation²⁶ may serve, in turn, to visualise the participation of other actors in the SSC, as is the case with the civil society and the sub-national Governments, since the work performed in these territories away from the central areas, where in many occasions the national States have achieved lower development of material and institutional infrastructure, the active participation of all the local actors in a process of inclusive and participative democratic ownership becomes indispensable. This characteristic of the Cross-Border Cooperation is important to enrich the strengths of the SSC, since, even if it is a cooperation carried out among States, it shows openness and adaptability to the inclusion of other national and local actors.
9. Integrate the **leadership of the actors** that have more South-South cooperation volume and influence in international scenarios. Brazil or Mexico might, and to some extent should, invigorate the articulation and communication mechanisms in Latin America and the Caribbean. But not forgetting the needs of the whole or reproducing the dependence roles predominating in the traditional cooperation.
10. Place **strategic value on dimensions such as those of gender and environment** to generate integrating development models which are respectful of the coming generations.

²⁵ For more information: www.saberdelsur.org/es. One of the 69 experiences presented in the Knowledge from the South Fair and of which 33 were chosen, was referred to inclusive gender policy development.

²⁶ The Cross-Border Cooperation is an important piece of the subregional cooperation. Currently, the region has developed experiences in the frame of Central America and the Tuxtla Mechanism, in MERCOSUR, the CAN and the SICA.

Chapter II.

The South-South Cooperation in Latin America

According to Francisco Rojas Aravena (2011), Latin America has been forced, in the past years, to understand that the problems of the world are also its problems and that this requires building a strategic political project as a region that allows it to take a stance as an actor with major weight in the international system and participate in the presentation of solutions regarding global impact phenomena (climate change, food crisis, financial crisis, etc.). In this scenario, the need for global action is evident, understanding that it is not only the most effective way to obtain effective results in the fight against the cited phenomena, but that it is also a global co-responsibility to fight for more comprehensive human development at a planet scale. It is under this scope that the cooperation must be built; the SSC as well.

In an increasingly multi polar world, the SSC is seen to gain greater relevance, which is

reflected in the sustained increase of the exchange flows and a constant presence in all the international dialogue forums. This same scenario also makes the existence of South-North relations possible, given the experience and development reached by the South in some specific issues, from which new articulations may be explored that will surely reflect the flexibility and collaboration potential fostered by the SSC. For example, the knowledge and technology connected to the promotion of the micro businesses, or the conditioned transference programmes, or I+T related services, are not exclusively in the North but also in emerging nations of the developing world, which additionally present comparative advantages in relation to adaptability. Additionally, it is relevant to explore new articulations among actors in order to promote collaboration around common development goals, incorporating capacities and fostering synergies that allow for greater effectiveness and sustainability in the impacts.

The value of the SSC inside the region, promoting integration and good neighbourliness, as well as to the outside, in the work with other regions of the developing world with which it is necessary to strengthen the bonds and alliances to contribute not only to the solution of the shared development problems,

but also to the construction of a more participative and inclusive global governance.

It is interesting to observe, besides, that a privatisation and trans-nationalisation of the development financing has been produced in Latin America, since for each aid dollar directed to the region, over ten dollars are received in direct foreign investment and at least another ten in remittances (Sanahuja: 2011; 202). This is accompanied by a marked reduction in the world ODA participation, since if in 1998 Latin America received 10% of the world aid, between 2001 and 2008 this rate was between 4% and 5%.²⁷ Additionally, it must be considered that the rise of the «emerging» countries is accompanied by the lag of the poorer.

If we analyze the 2012 data of the DAC regarding 2010, we may be surprised to observe how the upper middle income countries see their ODA increase, in some cases, like Brazil or Mexico, spectacularly, since the ODA received is multiplied by two and almost by four, respectively. Even if the data require deeper analysis and surely the causes should be identified country by country, it looks as if the reason for this increase is not related with a possible increase in triangular cooperation. In the case of Brazil the growth is explained by the environmental programmes of

²⁷ The aid reduction to the region by USA, Canada, Japan, the Netherlands, Italy or the gradual withdrawal of countries like the United Kingdom, Sweden and Denmark has not been compensated by the increase of the Spanish aid in the period between 2004-2008 and that of the European Commission. To this, the later fall of the Spanish aid due to dramatic cut-downs on the total budget destined to ODA (in 2010, it only reduced its ODA from the 1,066 million dollars of 2009 to 927 million) and the decreases of multilateral donors like the UNDP, the World Food Programme and the soft loan windows of the IADB and the WB must be added (Sanahuja: 2011; 205).

Germany, which enormously increased with respect to the previous year.

2.1. General framework of the South-South Cooperation in Latin America

The SSC is part of a new paradigm within the Latin American international relations. If speaking of development cooperation in the region in previous stages was connected to the post-colonial rationales and the power balances at play in the bipolar world (Sanahuja, 2011), and after the MDG agenda, the role of the SSC and the upper middle income countries opens up a wide range of possibilities, blurring in many cases the guidelines of the traditional North-South cooperation. Additionally, the SSC incorporates to the field a multiplicity of state and non state actors, which in the past ten years has promoted the emergence of the SSC as a tool for the Latin American integration and regionalisation.

The influence of the SSC in the regionalisation dynamics of Latin America has been addressed by Taína Ojeda (2010), who points that the survival strategies in the international economic system and the search for development which the Latin American countries have favoured have been mostly conservative. «An economic integration was chosen that, following the scale, favoured open regionalism and with it the imposition of greater political order and the generation of greater possibilities to enter and remain in the international markets was intended, thus benefiting the national and regional economy. However, to date there are still many voids to fill, not only in the economic but also in the social, political and cultural sphere» (2010: 92).

Factors that explain the birth of the SSC in Latin America

- The development of more assertive foreign policies in which the SSC is promoted for reasons of prestige, internal or international legitimacy, power, in support of regional stability or international commitments.
- The relative success of some Latin American countries that reached considerable development levels. Chile, for example, could wish to become differentiated from the rest of the region.
- Growing capacity of the middle income countries to contribute to the fulfilment of the MDG as donors.
- The role played by the Development Cooperation in the acquisition of these national capacities.
- The activation of a political dialogue among countries of the South that understood the need to advocate for key development issues, like the disparities of the international economic system or the relation between Trade and Development.

Among the reasons that explain the growth of the SSC is the renewal of the regional cooperation and integration processes. The appearance of new «post-liberal» models or strategies (Sanahuja: 2011; 213). In the last decade, the new regionalism puts forth strategies that go beyond economic integration for the solution of development problems, incorporating initiatives that include political, social, energy, environmental and cultural elements. Such

perspective contains a wider vision than the traditional economic, since it combines the concepts of the SSC and of regional and sub-regional integration in a broader weave of «regionalisation»²⁸. Consequently, there is a reappearance of the regionalisation processes in Latin America, which employ the SSC more powerfully than in the past for the strengthening of intra-regional bonds and the search for alternatives to achieve the longed for development. The promotion of the ALBA, MERCOSUR, the creation of the Bank of the South, Unasur and Petrocaribe, among others, are some examples of the efforts towards regionalisation which are being developed in which the SSC is employed. Although, to go from rhetoric to facts, the recognition of other non state actors that may participate and influence the regional processes, and on the other hand the achievement of ongoing and frank dialogue among all the actors involved are necessary for the harmonisation of policies and brainstorming of interests.

As indicated by Sanahuja, both the Bolivarian Alliance for the Americas-People's Trade Agreement (ALBA-TCP) and the attempt

28 Bjorn Hettne, *Beyond the 'new' regionalism* 1356-3467, GUP 3649 pointed out that regionalisation is the set of integration processes which effectively occur within one or several regional geographic areas; this phenomenon entails the intensification of relations among state and non state actors that are part of a same region. Unlike regionalism, the political nature or institutional referent of these processes is not always present or necessary. Regionalism would encompass the political initiatives of government representatives to strengthen the political and economic cooperation among States and actors that are part of a same region.

to reformulate the South American integration in the frame of the Union of South American Nations (UNASUR) reveal that some countries of the region have chosen more comprehensive approaches of regionalism and overcome the vision of «open regionalism» limited to trade liberation (2011; 213).

Among the active inter-governmental organisations for debating and promoting the SSC are the SEGIB, the Latin American Economic System (SELA), the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), the Inter American Development Bank (IADB) and the Economic Commission for Latin America (ECLA). Each of these coordination schemes have cooperation systems with their own characteristics which do not necessarily coincide with those a priori associated with the Regional South-South Horizontal cooperation (See SEGIB, 2008). See Table 1.

The regional integration processes in Latin America and the Caribbean are complex and at the same time involve different processes of sub-regional nature, typical of the economic, political, cultural and natural diversity of the continent. However, and as an especially marked trend in the last decade promoted by Governments with a strong integrationist vocation, these processes have advanced in parallel, each at its own rhythm, but sharing a common goal of intensifying the dialogue and coordination with views to a wide integration.

In the frame of these processes, the SSC has played a predominant role:

- Contributing to overcoming the relative underdevelopment inside the sub-regions;
- Strengthening the bonds among the different regions;
- Increasing the support and solidarity among the States of the region.

In Latin America, the SSC has restrengthened along the last decade through the favourable economic and social performances of its Governments and is presented as a mechanism of great relevance to achieve not only the MDG-which have guided the international cooperation agenda and doctrine centred around the social aspects of development-, but also for a regional development agenda, concerned, besides regarding the fight against poverty, about social inequality and weak institutionalism, besides other important aspects of the global governance agenda.

Worth special mention is the contribution that the SSC has had in the development of frontier areas. In this sense, from Argentina, Bolivia and Paraguay; Chile and Peru; Ecuador, Colombia, Panama and Brazil to the north triangle of Central America, the South-South Cooperation in the frontier areas has served to reformulate the old doctrines that conceived frontiers as limits and safety areas to turn them into common work spaces in favour of development and coexistence.

To end this section, it seems interesting to reflect on the nature of non substitution regarding the North-South Cooperation, since these efforts do not substitute the responsibility that falls on the developed countries in the task and, because they committed to it, they must destine 0.7% of the GDP to development cooperation. For the region that concentrates most of the Middle Income Countries (MIC)²⁹, and whose relative weight on the total resources of the international cooperation has been gradually decreasing, this constitutes an undeferrable debate, which besides is related to economic development itself and improves the institutional

²⁹ Let us remember that 70% of the world's poor presently live in MICs.

Table 1. Features of the Regional Cooperation Systems

International Organisation	Cooperation and Functioning System	Cooperation Areas and Programmes	Financial Origin
Bolivarian Alternative for the Peoples of Our America (ALBA)	In September of 2007, the creation of a Technical Secretariat that should operate under the Minister and President Councils was approved. For the moment, the projects are approved in the Chiefs of State Summits	Most projects are connected with the energy and the social (education, health and sports) areas	Internal, economic and technical contributions from partner countries (especially Venezuela and Cuba, respectively)
Andean Community of Nations (CAN)	It has an International Technical Cooperation System The CAN bodies present proposals before the General Secretariat, who seeks the funds, establishes the programmes' lines, supports and monitors them through a Technical Cooperation Unit	The programmes are applied on sectors that go from frontier development to police and judicial cooperation or the promotion of democracy and human rights	Mixed, combines funds from the International Cooperation with variable contributions by the partner countries.
Ibero American Conference	Articulated around the Ibero American Cooperation Programmes. The proposals stem from partner countries. Each Programme has a Technical Secretariat whose seat is located at a Ministry of the promoting country or an Ibero American organisation	Usually belonging to one of these three areas: Cultural, Economic and Social	Internal, coming from the countries participating in the Programmes (with the particularity that two of these countries are Spain and Portugal, which are in turn donors of International Cooperation)
Common Market of the South (MERCOSUR)	Its system is articulated over two mechanisms: the Technical Cooperation Committee (CCT) and the Structural Convergence Fund (FOCEM)	Worth mentioning are those directed to strengthening economic and trade sectors and, ultimately, the integration system itself	Depending on whether the cooperation is executed through the CCT (external financing) or the FOCEM (internal financing with contributions from the countries, according to capacities)
Central American Integration System (SICA)	The system is in organisation. For the time being, it is the General Directorate for International Cooperation that coordinates with the appointed institutions the formulation, management and monitoring of the programmes	Projects in several spheres such as Environment, Tourism, Culture, Economy and social areas, regional programmes, stand out.	Mixed, combines funds from the International Cooperation with variable contributions by the partner countries.

Source: SECIG (2009).

quality that the region is experimenting and which must contribute to the global debate on how to move from a merely economic development paradigm to a multidimensional model that recognises that the achievement of the main development goals may not be exhausted only in an agenda for poverty reduction but also for inequality reduction. This also implies recognising that if the question of development is complex and multicausal, it therefore requires

diverse approaches. The SSC reclaims its vocation of articulating and contributing, as far as possible, to greater coordination with the efforts made by the North-South Cooperation, with the purpose of fostering effectiveness and the achievement of better results, and at the same time demands for greater consistency in the different policies and strategies promoted by the developed world to finance development.

2.2. Summary of past events in the Ibero-American space (SEGIB)

SEGIB annually publishes the *Report of the South-South Cooperation in Ibero America*, a panoramic view in its technical dimension and its Horizontal Bilateral, Horizontal Regional and Triangular modalities. The situation of the Report as Line of Action of the Ibero American Programme to strengthen South-South Cooperation, approved in the Summit of Chiefs of State and Government of San Salvador in 2008 has accompanied a process in which the (institutional and methodological) capacities of the technical cooperation units of the countries have been strengthened.

According to the 2011 report³⁰, which compiled the economic cost of the interventions, although still with very partial and incomplete information, the execution of at least a part of the Bilateral South-South Horizontal Cooperation of 2010 entailed for the region a minimum disbursement of 42.5 million dollars. The figure obtained is well below the one we would get if we had complete data and if a valuation exercise were carried out. Along 2010 the Ibero American countries exchanged among them a total of 529 projects of bilateral South-South Horizontal Cooperation, as well as 313 actions. Regarding these:

- a) Over 96% of the projects were based on capacity transference from **Brazil and Cuba** (practically 60% of the total); **Mexico and Argentina** (which jointly amounted to another 27%); plus

Chile and Colombia (9%). In the face of this coordination around only six countries, there was also the incipient presence of new cooperators. Thus, the projects promoted by Peru, Ecuador, Costa Rica, Guatemala, Honduras, Nicaragua and Dominican Republic (4%), showed once more the possibilities offered by the SSC to all the countries for them to develop and exchange some sectoral capacity, independently of their relative development level.

- b) Meanwhile, 40% of the 529 projects registered in 2010 were executed in **El Salvador, Nicaragua, Bolivia and Colombia**. Practically all the rest (55%) was distributed in equivalent percentages between two groups of countries: Paraguay, Costa Rica, Guatemala, Mexico and Peru (27,8%); Ecuador, Venezuela, Cuba, Dominican Republic, Brazil, Panama and Uruguay (26,8%). 5.5% of the remaining projects were executed in Honduras (2,5%), Argentina (2,1%) and Chile (0,9%).
- c) In turn, slightly over 60% of the 529 projects had as their purpose **the social (28,1%) and economic development (33,2%)** of the Ibero American countries. Of the latter, the projects aimed at strengthening the productive sector (60%) stood out to those which supported the creation of infrastructures and services (40%). The rest of the projects of Bilateral South-South Horizontal Cooperation (a significant 39%) were related with activities categorised outside the socio-economic sphere.

If we compare these figures with those registered in 2009 (881 projects and 321 actions) we see a decrease, although SEGIB explains that three fourths of the fall experienced in the number of projects (352 less from one year to the other) is due to a matter of

³⁰ Which is the fifth after the Report on Cooperation in Ibero America (2007); the II Report on South-South Cooperation in Ibero America (2008); and the Reports on South-South Cooperation in Ibero America 2009, 2010 and 2011.

recording and, more specifically, in not reporting the data from one of the main cooperators in 2009.³¹

For this year 2010, the weight that the different activities had on the total projects was directly related to the need and capacity profiles of the countries.

- From the perspective of capacities, the cooperation made by Brazil in 2010 had a marked socio-economic orientation with strong support to projects in Agriculture, Education, Health and Reproductive Health, together with others destined to Strengthening governmental institutions and the improvement of the Environment. Cuba and Chile were the ones that showed a more marked social profile, with accent on Education, Health and Social Policies. In the meantime, Mexico and Argentina based their projects on combining socio-economic capacity transference (Agriculture, Science and Technology, Education and Health) with others strongly centred in strengthening the recipient public institutions; the latter being a kind of profile that was also prioritised by Colombia (75% of its projects).
- From the perspective of needs, El Salvador, Nicaragua, Costa Rica and Peru sought to strengthen both their social capacities (Education and Health) and their economic capacities (Agriculture); Bolivia, Mexico, Ecuador and Venezuela, in turn, presented a needs profile with a marked social accent; in Paraguay, Guatemala and Dominican Republic, the projects oriented to strengthening the public and Environmental institutions prevailed; and only in Colombia

³¹ There is also a series of projects and actions that, because of their characteristics, have not been included in the final figures of 2010. They are the projects and actions of «bidirectional» nature (see page 20).

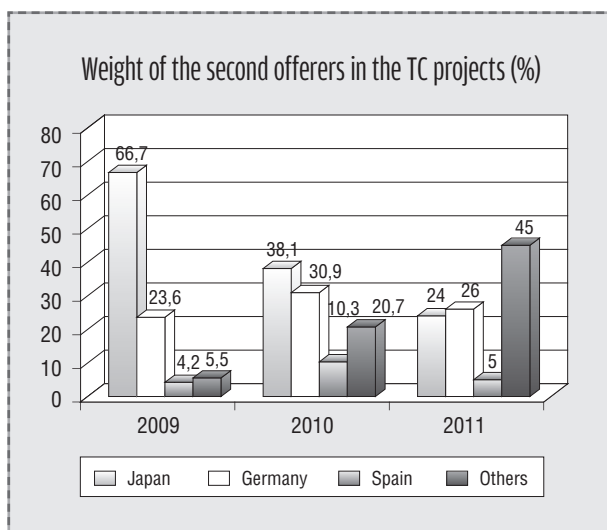
and Cuba, most of the cooperation received preferentially sought support to economic type capacities.

On the other hand, in 2010 the Ibero American countries promoted a total of 83 interventions of Triangular South-South Cooperation (42 projects and 81 actions) in the region. This figure almost doubled that registered in 2009 when the total actions under triangular schemes amounted to 46. Regarding the 42 projects, it is worth mentioning:

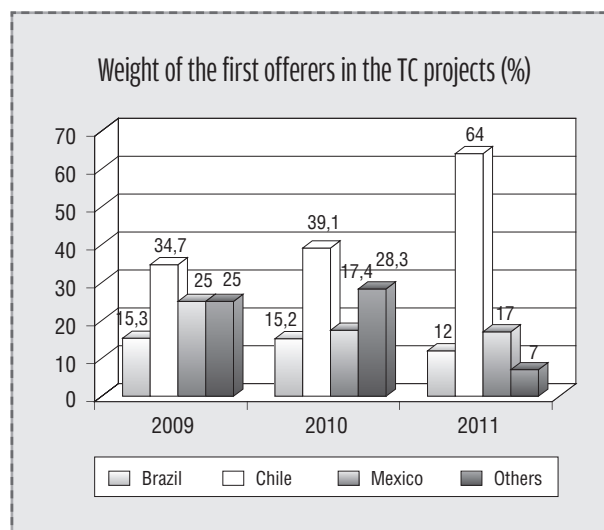
- a) The role of each of the countries and their participation degree differed:
 - Transferring capacities, exercising as first offerers, Chile, Mexico and Brazil, that participated in 93% of the 42 projects, stood out. In the remaining 7% it was Colombia and Cuba that exercised as first offerers.
 - Mainly supporting with financial contributions, the second offerers that executed the most projects were Germany (26%) and Japan (24%). Also participating were the World Food Programme (WFP) (17%); United States (14%); Spain (5%); the Pan American Health Organisation (PAHO), the International Labour Organisation (ILO), Canada and Argentina (2% in each case).
 - Finally, over ten countries stood out as recipients and beneficiaries of the capacity transference. Standing out: Paraguay (almost 33% of the total projects); El Salvador (14%); Ecuador, Bolivia and Colombia (together amounting for slightly over another 30%); Guatemala (7.1%); together with Costa Rica, Nicaragua, Dominican Republic, Peru and Uruguay (2.4% each).
- b) By sector, standing out for projects of high scientific-technological complexity. Specifically,

most of the Triangular South-South Cooperation projects (over 60%) were related with areas of social and economic nature in a proportion of 50-50%, standing out: those dedicated to the research and strengthening of Health and Social Policy Systems, as well as to Food Safety and

the development of Phytosanitary Techniques in Agriculture and Fisheries. The rest of the projects, almost 40%, had a different profile, destined to supporting Government institutions and the Environment.



Source: SEGIB, Report of the South-South Cooperation in Ibero America (2009; 2010; 2011).



Regarding the Regional Horizontal South-South Cooperation, SEGIB indicated several typologies of Cooperation Programmes according to the type of institutionalism: bilateral of regional nature; triangular executed in several countries and programmes incorporated in regional integration schemes.

In Latin America and the Caribbean, the triangulation of aid has been seen by several conventional donors as a financing mechanism in the face of the scarcity and increasing reduction of the resources reaching the region. However, the financial efforts that traditional donors have contributed to this scheme are few and

there is no clarity on the amounts allocated. For the donors, triangulation presents several challenges, for example the mechanisms to set the rules and contributions of each participating country and the joint planning processes that do not represent a high bureaucratic cost and institutional exhaustion. Besides, the donors from the North consider that their participation should not be simply understood in financial terms but should articulate also their technical *expertise* and their support in the development of national capacities. Besides financing, the triangulation schemes may have two very relevant contributions for the South-South cooperation.

Chapter III

How to work for women's rights and gender equality in the South-South cooperation

3.1. Some reflections

As pointed out in the introduction, there are no specific formulas to advance in gender equality and women's rights in the SSC. The challenges faced by women around the world are common and the cooperation, whether north-south or south-south, uses the same channels: advocacy in development policies and programmes, technical cooperation, exchange on good/bad practices, training, projects, investments, etc. Their aim is to achieve the conditions to end with women's exclusion and achieve their empowerment, and for this purpose it must support processes in matters of economic rights, defence and access to territory, economy of care, labour rights or financing for equality. Having said this, to advance in the recommendations it seems logical to decide on how to incorporate the gender equality and women's rights agenda into specific policies or modalities/instruments of the SSC.

In Latin America, such agenda has among its goals the advancement towards a greater economic autonomy and equality

in the labour sphere; the strengthening of the women's citizenship and the exercise of their rights; the promotion and expansion of their participation in the decision making processes and in the power spheres; redoubling efforts to confront all forms of violence against women; the promotion of comprehensive health and sexual and reproductive rights thereof, favouring women's access to the new technologies and promoting egalitarian, democratic and undiscriminating communications media.

This agenda would need to identify the opportunities available so that, also from the SSC, progress may continue to be made in fair and equitable processes. The emergence of the countries of the south to put an equity agenda on the table is not enough; much joint effort, planning and work is needed to also make progress

therein. Among the organisations that have already taken steps in this direction is the UNDP through its Practical Gender Area of the Regional Centre³² This agency has implemented a regional initiative called «Overcoming Obstacles to gender mainstreaming³³ in Latin America and the Caribbean». This proposal is intended to contribute to the generation of public policies which transform the structures, values and patterns that perpetuate gender inequalities. One of the components of this initiative is the technical Assistance (through the UNDP offices) in mainstreaming processes, promoting the SSC among countries. Communication, knowledge management and capacity development are other strategies installed therein. Along this line, the knowledge portal America Latina Genera, www.americalatinagenera.org was implemented.

It involves undertaking reflection, analysis and action processes that detect the problems, needs and challenges faced to implement the strategy of gender mainstreaming in public policies and that contribute solutions and tools and develop capacities to overcome such obstacles or difficulties.

³² The Practical Gender Area was born in 2009 as an integral part of the Regional Centre of the UNDP for Latin America and the Caribbean to support the UNDP country offices through the focal points of gender and to expand and improve the gender competences for the development of key policies and the expansion of national development results.

³³ The UN Economic and Social Council defines gender mainstreaming as «the process that examines the implications for women and men of any type of planned public action, including legislation, policies or programmes in any area». Additionally, it points out that mainstreaming is a tool to turn the interests and needs of men and women into a dimension incorporated in the design, implementation, monitoring and evaluation of policies and programmes in all the political, social and economic spaces.

According to a Preliminary Note (2008) of this Practical Gender Area, the innovative knowledge, the standards, policies and practices on gender developed become a fundamental asset for the SSC. In fact, some gender initiatives have made it possible to support institutional strengthening processes of gender *mainstreaming* in public policies or to construct spaces in other countries, and are gradually becoming a space of the SSC.

It involves generating a sustained South-South exchange of ideas, experiences, knowledge, tools, technical experience and abilities in a wide range of sectors among the developing countries and between the private sector and the public sector, as well as the women's networks and organisations. Thus, the Latin American and Caribbean community would be supported in the promotion of an SSC as a viable strategy to fulfil the international commitments regarding women's rights through:

- a) the development of sectoral public policies and *advocacy*;
- b) the search for systematic and sustained transference of proven and reproducible experience of lasting impact;
- c) the generation of greater capacity to originate a sense of ownership in terms of gender;
- d) the promotion of initiatives closer to the conditions and needs of the women's collectives and their rights propitiating activities that generate «double dividend» in stimulating the technical and institutional capacities of all the actors.

UNDP GUIDELINES (2008)

- Guiding the South-South efforts to the achievement of international commitments in gender matters.
- Intensifying the multilateral support to the SSC initiatives to address common gender development challenges.
- Promoting inclusive SSC association, including triangular and public-private alliances.
- Improving the consistency of the UN concerning its mandates and practices and inter-agency collaboration.
- Promoting innovative financing mechanisms for the South-South gender cooperation and aid effectiveness.

3.2. Proposals for dialogue

Without aiming for exhaustiveness, and only as a brainstorming exercise to address some of the possible joint action lines that are being called for or may be in the future, it is worth noting:

1. Exchange of practices and experiences of the care system. For example, Uruguay could share its experience in the National Care System (SNC).

2. Cooperation in the area of women's trafficking for sexual exploitation. This requires a gender approach from a regional perspective and may be promoted by the SSC. Processes of fight against trafficking may be thus favoured through the regional cooperation mechanisms of safety, justice, migration, foreign ministries, assistance services, municipalities and parliaments.
3. Agreements to regulate the labour conditions of home workers, due to the flows between frontier sharing countries.
4. Women's empowerment in the institutions. An example that occurred in the regional space MERCOSUR is the recent naming of the «Meeting of Women Ministers and Women's High Authorities» which makes the place held by gender authorities visible. Also in the scope of the SICA, the Central American Council of Women's Affairs Ministers (COMMCA) works as an entity for the proposal, analysis and recommendations on political, economic, social, environmental and cultural matters of common interest that promotes the transformation of the situation, position and condition of women.
5. Exchange of practices and experiences in reproductive health. There are first-order technical capacities in the areas of population and reproductive health and efforts should be made for the triangular SSC to capitalise on the practices. A book entitled *Sharing innovative experiences* published by the UNDP Special Unit for South-South Cooperation, the United Nations Fund for Population and Development (UNFPA) and the Partners in Population and Development (PPD)³⁴,

³⁴ The PPD issued from the International Conference on Population and Development of 1994, specifically to promote

indicates the need to share, through the SSC, innovative experiences in matters of reproductive health, family planning, gender empowerment and the integration of the population to development planning.

6. Search for joint solutions and good practices on the gender impact of climate change. The empowerment of peasant women was one of the axes of the 56 session of the Commission on the Status of Women (2012) and revealed the lack of

rights of rural women and the enormous barriers for them to fully exercise their citizenship, which makes it necessary. Joint work could be carried out to achieve the incorporation of the Green Climate Fund, which should have around 100,000 million dollars a year from traditional donors for 2020, a perspective which considers the particular needs and realities of women facing the challenge of global warming. And later develop joint SSC actions.

and strengthen the South-South cooperation in matters of demographics and reproductive health. It represents almost 70 percent of the population of the developing countries, 25 of which are part of it: Bangladesh, Benin, China, Colombia, Egypt, Ethiopia, Gambia, Ghana, India, Indonesia, Jordan, Kenya, Mali, Morocco, Mexico, Nigeria, Pakistan, Senegal, South Africa, Thailand, Tunisia, Uganda, Vietnam, Yemen and Zimbabwe.

Conclusions

1. The emergence of new countries from the developing world in the front line of the international scene has entailed the redefinition of the international development system, although it is not yet certain how its governance is to be configured. The visibility of many countries such as China, Venezuela or Brazil makes the SSC, which is not a new phenomenon, acquire new predominance.
2. The SSC does not appear as confronted or opposed to the North-South cooperation, although it is true that there are still many challenges to face in the compromise, starting with the creation of equitable communication channels that generate more inclusive development agendas.
3. The SSC has multiple expressions and does not follow a single model. And even if its nature endows it with great potentialities in the achievement of an inclusive development, it is also true that there are actions that remain far from these purposes, such as those which do not consider the violation of human rights, or others in which aid is «tied» and where the dependences among middle income countries and others of lower development are reproduced.
4. The civil society is acting to better understand the nature of the SSC and its practices and to employ its critical view to bring the SSC's limitations and potentialities to the table, but needs to advance from greater knowledge and coordination on the matter and press for its own recognition regarding greater interlocution space in the SSC processes.
5. There is no consensus in Latin America regarding the acceptance by the SSC of the principles of the effectiveness agenda, primarily identified and systematised by the DAC. Even if there are principles in this agenda that may guide the cooperation towards the leadership of the recipient countries and horizontality among partners, on the basis of «solidarity principles» and

reflecting the learning processes of donors and recipient countries.

6. Regarding the decision making on the new Global Partnership for Effective Development Cooperation³⁵ born in Busan, time is required, mainly to respect the road already travelled at a national level and to involve the most relevant national actors. From the Latin American perspective, it seems obvious that a greater regional coordination around the new Partnership not only would improve the flow of information, but also facilitate mutual learning and the political reinforcement of the countries.
7. Among the challenges still to be faced by the SSC are the need for impact measurements, a greater concern for its impact on poverty and inequality reduction, transparency, coherence with human rights, its sustainability, achieving greater visibility and systematisation, as well as leadership, and placing strategic value on dimensions such as gender and environment.
8. Latin America is playing a major role in the progress of the SSC, and the latter is already presented as an indispensable mechanism to advance in the development processes derived from the global, as well as the regional agenda.
9. Regarding how to continue working for women's rights in the context of the SSC, the question is how to integrate the gender equality and women's rights agenda—which is the same as that operating in the North-South cooperation— within specific policies or modalities/instruments of the SSC.

³⁵ As reflected in the declaration, it shall be established in June of 2012 with the mission of supporting and guaranteeing the fulfilment of the commitments undertaken in Busan. The OECD and the UNDP are invited to support its effective operation through their respective mandates and collaborating from their comparative advantages. Additionally, the United Nations Development Cooperation Fund (DCF) is invited to participate consulting on the progress of the agreements reached in Busan.

Note on sources

This report has been prepared from the bibliographic and documentary contributions of several institutions working in the South-South Cooperation (SSC). The most relevant to be taken into consideration in later reports are:

UNDP: South-South Cooperation Unit. <http://ssc.undp.org/content/ssc.html>

This special unit supports case studies and experience exchange. There is a proposal by the Practical Gender Area of the Regional Centre for Latin America and the Caribbean to deepen on gender mainstreaming in the SSC.

SEGIB: Ibero American Programme for the Strengthening of the South-South Cooperation.

Reports of the South-South Cooperation (since 2007, annual frequency). The latest is from 2011 <http://segib.org/publicaciones/2011/11/29/informe-de-la-cooperacion-sur-sur-en-iberoamerica-2011/>

ECOSOC: Development Cooperation Forum (DCF)

It represents a multilateral platform preferred by many countries of the South.

It presented an important report on the South-South cooperation, April 2008³⁶ http://www.un.org/en/ecosoc/docs/pdfs/south-south_cooperation.pdf

DAC (OECD). Task Team on South-South Cooperation.

It was founded in 2008 after the Third High Level Forum on aid effectiveness (Accra). It is a work platform led by developing countries and sponsored by the Working Party on Aid Effectiveness. This platform groups member countries of the OECD, middle and low income countries, donor countries, the civil society, academic community and regional and multilateral cooperation agencies with the purpose of exploring the synergies between the aid effectiveness agenda and the SSC. It seeks to enrich and adapt the principles of aid effectiveness and explore the complementarities between the South-South and North-South cooperation.

³⁶ Development Finance International (DFI) prepared the report *South-South Cooperation and the Triangular Cooperation for Development, South-South and Triangular Cooperation: Improving Information and Data* (2009) and a series of guidelines on the policies and procedures of South-South bilateral assistance suppliers, with the purpose of assisting the developing countries in their choice of financing sources, and other stakeholders in the assessment of relative quality of the different types of financing.

Bibliography

- ALOP and Reality of Aid (2010), *South-South Cooperation, a challenge to the aid system*, Medellín.
- AUCI (2012) «From aid effectiveness to development cooperation effectiveness: Analyzing the results of the Busan HLF-4». <http://www.auci.gub.uy/pdfs/analisisdebusan.pdf>
- Ayllón, Bruno, «Times change, wills change: reasons to celebrate the south-south cooperation», *Nombres Propios*, Fundación Carolina. <http://www.fundacioncarolina.es/es-ES/nombrespropios/Documents/NPAyllon1112.pdf>
- BETTER AID (2010) is: Policy Paper on South-South Cooperation <http://betteraid.org/es/politica-de-betteraid/politica-de-betteraid/documentos-politicos/259-betteraid-policy-paper-on-south-south-development-cooperation.html>
- Cascante, Kattya et al. (2012): «What do we do with cooperation policy?», *Política Exterior*, nº 146. <http://www.politicaexterior.com/articulo?id=4845>
- De la Iglesia-Caruncho (coord.) (2012). *Aid effectiveness and the Spanish cooperation*, ICEI-UCM, Madrid.
- ECOSOC (2008), *Trends in South-South and Triangular Cooperation*, http://www.un.org/en/ecosoc/docs/pdfs/south-south_cooperation.pdf
- Gómez Galán, Ayllón and Albarrán (2011). Practical reflections on Triangular Cooperation, CIDEAL Foundation for Cooperation and Research and the Spanish Agency for International Development Cooperation (AECID), Madrid, http://www.cideal.org/docs/COOP%20TRIANGULAR_OnLine.pdf
- Bogota Report (2010). Towards Effective and Inclusive Development Associations, <http://www.oecd.org/dataoecd/0/39/45498672.pdf>
- OECD (2010), The South-South cooperation in the frame of aid effectiveness. 110 case stories of the South-South and triangular cooperation, <http://www.oecd.org/dataoecd/14/39/46080702.pdf>
- Ojeda, Taína (2010), «The South-South cooperation and the regionalisation of the Latin American agenda: the awakening of a sleeping giant», *Relaciones Internacionales*, No. 15, GERI-UAM, pp.91-111.

UNDP, Latin America (2009), Preliminary Note: What is the South-South Cooperation? http://www.americaingenera.org/es/documentos/notas_conceptuales/cooperacion_sur_sur.pdf

Rojas Aravena, Francisco and Tatiana Beirute Brealey (2011), *Latin America and the Caribbean: New forms of Cooperation. The South-South dimension*, Teseo, Fundación Carolina, Flacso.

Sanahuja, José Antonio (2011), «Between the Millennium Development Goals and the South-South cooperation. Actors and policies of the development aid in Latin America», *Pensamiento Latinoamericano* N°8 (2nd season).

Sanín, María Clara and Nils-Sjard Schulz(2009), «The South-South Cooperation after Accra: Latin America and the Caribbean», FRIDE. <http://www.fride.org/publicacion/585/la-cooperacion-sur-sur-a-partir-de-accra-america-latina-y-el-caribe>

Schulz, Nils-Sjard (2012), «Latin America at the vanguard of the new global partnership». <http://www.southsouth.info/profiles/blogs/america-latina-en-la-vanguardia-de-la-nueva-asociacion-global>

[southsouth.info/profiles/blogs/america-latina-en-la-vanguardia-de-la-nueva-asociacion-global](http://www.southsouth.info/profiles/blogs/america-latina-en-la-vanguardia-de-la-nueva-asociacion-global)

SEGIB (2011 and 2010). *Report of the South-South Cooperation in Ibero America 2011 and 2010*. SEGIB and AECID. Madrid.

WEBSITES

- For agenda follow-up and updates on the publication of recent works: The South-South Opportunity, a website created by professionals in the area to exchange information and experiences: <http://www.southsouth.info/>
- Agenda follow-up and information. IPS Agency has several dossiers regarding the SSC. <http://www.ipsnoticias.net/ibsa/index.asp> y http://www.ipsnoticias.net/_focus/ibsa/index.asp



with the support of

