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**No Empowerment without Rights,
No Rights without Politics:
Gender-Equality, MDGs and the post 2015
Development Agenda**

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*The Power of Numbers: A Critical Review of MDG
Targets for Human Development and Human Rights*

Preface

This paper is one of a series of papers in a research project, *The Power of Numbers: A Critical Review of MDG Targets for Human Development and Human Rights (the “Project”)*¹. Motivated by a concern with the consequences of the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) beyond the achievement of the 2015 targets, the Project seeks to explore their broader policy and programmatic implications. It focuses particularly on the reductionism inherent in the way in which these global goals were set and came to be used, as well as the potential for distorting priorities and marginalizing, or even displacing, important human development and human rights concerns inherent in such global goal-setting exercises. A total of 11 studies are included, each analyzing the normative and empirical consequences of a particular MDG goal/target, and considering what other targets and indicators might have been more appropriate. The Project aims to identify criteria for selecting indicators for setting targets that would be more consistent with Human Development and Human Rights priorities, amenable to monitoring impacts on inequality, accountability and consistency with human rights standards.

Although this paper is currently accessible as a free standing working paper, it should be read in conjunction with the [synthesis](#) and [background](#) papers of the Power of Numbers Project. These papers provide necessary information about the scope of the Power of Numbers Project, the historical framing of international agreements leading up to the MDGs, and the human rights and human development frameworks referenced in the paper. These working papers are expected to be compiled as a special issue of the *Journal of Human Development and Capabilities*.

¹ An independent research project coordinated by Sakiko Fukuda-Parr at The New School and Alicia Ely Yamin at Harvard School of Public Health. Support from the UN Office of High Commissioner for Human Rights, UN Development Programme, Frederick Ebert Stiftung, Dag Hammarskjöld Foundation, and the Rockefeller Foundation are gratefully acknowledged.

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No Empowerment without Rights, No Rights without Politics: Gender-Equality, MDGs and the post 2015 Development Agenda

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“The Millennium Development Goals are the most broadly supported, comprehensive, and specific poverty reduction targets the world has ever established, so their importance is manifold. For the international political system, they are the fulcrum on which development policy is based” (UN Millennium Project, 2005)

“Overall, as a feminist I think of the MDGs as a Major Distraction Gimmick – a distraction from the much more important Platforms for Action from the UN conferences of the 1990s, in Rio 1992 (Environment), Vienna 1993 (Human Rights), Cairo 1994 (Population), Copenhagen 1995 (Social Development) and Beijing 1995 (Women), Istanbul 1996 (Habitat), and Rome 1997 (Food), on which the MDGs are based. But despite believing this...worthwhile to...ensure that the MDGs can be made to work to promote women's equality and empowerment” (Antrobus, 2005)

Abstract

The main argument here is that progress on women's empowerment in the development agenda necessarily requires (1) the centrality of a human rights based approach, and (2) support for the women's movement in pushing this agenda; both of which are missing from MDG3. Empowerment requires agency along multiple dimensions--sexual, reproductive, economic, political, and legal – rights for which were hard won by women's rights groups through CEDAW and conferences at Cairo in 1994, and Beijing in 1995. MDG3 however is associated with targets and indicators that frame women's empowerment as reducing educational disparities. By omitting other rights and not recognizing the multiple interdependent and indivisible human rights of women, the goal of promoting women's empowerment is distorted and “development silos” are created. Such distortions and silos dovetail with the politics of agenda setting where economic justice is pitted against gender justice. Women's organizations are key actors in attempts to integrate both during global negotiations, and hence crucial to pushing the gender equality agenda forward. However, the politics of agenda setting also influence funding priorities such that financial support for women's organizations and for substantive women's empowerment projects are limited. To re-focus the post 2015 development agenda around human rights, we conclude by outlining an approach of *issue-based* goals and *people-focussed targets*, which would make substantive space for civil society including women's rights organizations.

Introduction

The Millennium Development Goals (MDGs), their related targets and indicators have dominated the development discourse, being upheld as the de-facto gold standard for development by various international organizations (Fukuda Parr, 2012a, b). Much has been written about how the MDGs are reductionist, simplistic and do not do justice to the breadth and depth of the vision of the Millennium Declaration (Amin, 2006; Saith, 2006; Khoo, 2005; Langford, 2010; Vandermoortele, 2011; Poku and Whitman, 2011; Yamin and Falb, 2012; Fukuda Parr 2012a, b; DAWN, 2012; Sen, forthcoming). Of course, the very breadth and depth of that vision necessarily entailed choices to identify a set of tractable goals, targets and indicators to guide policies and monitor outcomes. However, the politics of agenda setting has been such that only a narrow set of issues within particular themes such as poverty alleviation and women's empowerment were prioritized, and other themes such as inequality and sustainability were absent altogether in the MDG framework. While the goals give us a relatively narrow view of development, the targets and indicators led to largely disconnected funding and policy priorities to be implemented by different agencies, line ministries and departments. Thus in practice, the development agenda shaped by the MDGs created what have been termed 'development silos' (DAWN, 2012). Even worse, in the search for a finite number of manageable goals, development problems were not only treated in isolation from each other but were effectively dis-embedded from human rights and principles such as freedom, equality, tolerance, solidarity, and respect for nature that had marked the outcomes of the UN conferences of the 1990s, and indeed of the Millennium Declaration itself.

In this paper we focus on the goal of gender equality and women's empowerment (MDG3) to illustrate the limitations of divorcing development goals from a rights-based approach. Our core argument is that the emergence of this goal in the development agenda, and progress on it requires two necessary ingredients that are missing from the MDG framework; one, centrality of a human rights approach and two, support for the women's movement in pushing the agenda. Human rights were gradually moved to the centre of the development debate through the UN conferences of the 1990s, the work of the Special Rapporteurs on key issues such as health and hunger, and civil society organizations including those focused on women's rights. The World Conference on Human Rights, held in Vienna in 1993 was a critical milestone for a rights-based approach to development and, in particular, for gender equality and the empowerment of women. The women's rights movement had already succeeded in organizing

around the Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) that was adopted in 1979.² Yet, Vienna signaled a watershed by its inclusion of women's rights groups from the South and North in the mainstream human rights movement. Women's groups' advocacy led not only to the Declaration on the Elimination of Violence Against Women, but to women's rights being officially acknowledged as human rights. Human rights were declared universal, indivisible, interdependent and related, and women's rights – economic, political and cultural, and including bodily autonomy and integrity – were perceived as indivisible and interdependent in both private and public spheres. Women's rights advocates interpreted the right to self-determination to include freedom to make sexual and reproductive choices (Abeysekara, 2005; UN, 1993). The common ground forged between different actors was a demand to integrate the rights of all people as a fundamental principle in designing and implementing development programs, laws, policies and financing.

Through the 1990s, the UN system provided several other platforms where the women's movement and other human rights groups advocated to embed human rights, however partially, in the development agenda. *Inter alia*, the World Summit on Children in 1990, the UN Conference on Environment and Development in Rio in 1992, on Population and Development in Cairo in 1994, on Social Development in Copenhagen in 1995, on Women in Beijing in 1995, on Food Security in Rome in 1996, on Education in Dakar in 2000 addressed women's rights while affirming development goals and obtaining concrete commitments from governments (Saith, 2006; Abeysekara, 2005; Antrobus, 2005; UNW, 2012). In particular, the women's movement demand to recognize women's reproductive and sexual choices were taken forward successfully in Cairo and Beijing, despite bitter opposition from religious conservative groups. At Cairo, among other issues, sexual and reproductive health, reproductive rights, the health and rights of adolescents, women's empowerment, and male responsibility were highlighted as central to addressing population and development concerns. At Beijing, 12 strategic areas of concerns with a total of 42 sub-themes were identified locating women's empowerment along multiple dimensions of agency at the individual, household, and national levels (UN, 1995).

Around the same time however, in 1996, the OECD's Development Assistance Committee (DAC) came up with its own International Development Goals (IDGs), a list of time-bound quantitative targets that were informed by earlier conferences but distinct in two important respects. *First*, they were formulated

² From the history of CEDAW outlined at <http://www.un.org/womenwatch/daw/cedaw/history.htm>

by a small group of rich countries and not by the global community with the engagement of civil society organizations. *Second*, the IDGs marked a shift towards a narrower set of goals (such as halving poverty as defined by the World Bank criterion of \$1 a day) that were less ambitious than the broader visions of “emancipatory development” couched within a rights-based approach (Saith, 2006; Galtung et al 2008). These goals were carried forward to an articulation of the MDGs in a report that was jointly brought out by the UN, the OECD, World Bank and the IMF in October 2000. The report elicited strong criticism from various civil society stakeholders including women's groups for its excessive simplification and hollowing out of the development agenda (Galtung et al, 2008). Nonetheless, these narrower goals, situated within a neo-liberal agenda in the outcome document of the Monterrey conference on Financing for Development, were supported by a number of governments. External assistance was contingent on poor countries taking steps towards liberalizing markets and following fiscal discipline, and the role of the private sector was emphasized strongly. The rights-based approach that was central to earlier international agreements on development and gender equality was thus eroded (Saith, 2006; Galtung, 2008; UN, 2002). This compromise between North and South to bring a greater focus on development with continuity of previous macroeconomic policies was enshrined as the MDGs. Since then the MDGs became the fulcrum of global development policy bringing together multiple stakeholders; multilateral and bilateral development agencies, national governments, as well as civil society organizations. While they were not framed by an explicitly neoliberal agenda, they limited development goals to only a few themes despite continuing criticism from civil society about such narrowing of the development agenda (Fukuda Parr, 2012a).

Within this compromised context, women’s rights had a mixed passage. MDG3 explicitly included equality as well as empowerment, a concept at whose core is the idea of power relations and their transformation (Batliwala, 1994; Sen and Batliwala, 2000). This transformation requires both external resources (such as credit, access to technology and information) and internal capacities (such as self-confidence). How women empower themselves varies in different contexts and cultures, but certain elements are common and central. Empowered women are not only able to access resources and knowledge, or participate in politics and public life, but also enjoy bodily autonomy and integrity, and freedom from violence. Empowered women are full citizens and agents of change. The next section elaborates on this understanding of empowerment, and how the MDG framework took a significant step backward from the commitments made at Cairo, Beijing and their follow up reviews.

The criteria of indivisibility and interdependence of different aspects of women's human rights, the foundations of which were laid in Vienna and taken forward in Cairo and other conferences were not sufficiently met by the MDGs. With MDG 3 problem was three-fold: *first*, key aspects of women's autonomy and agency, in particular their sexual and reproductive rights, were omitted altogether by the MDGs; *second*,

BOX 1: MDG 3

Goal 3: "Promote gender equality and women's empowerment"

Target 3A:"Eliminate gender disparity in primary and secondary education, preferably by 2005, and in all levels of education no later than 2015"

Indicators:

3.1: Ratio of girls to boys in primary, secondary and tertiary education

3.2: Share of women in wage employment in the non-agricultural sector

3.3: Proportion of seats held by women in national parliament

women's economic and political participation was not handled with much depth; and *third*, the potential linkages between women's rights and other MDGs such as the reduction of hunger or removal of poverty were barely addressed. As outlined below, diverse conservative interests narrowed the MDG development agenda to "safe issues" that would not upset existing power relations based on gender, economic class or social orderings.

That such depoliticization of women's empowerment can have real and pernicious effects is demonstrated in the third section. Specific choices of targets and indicators deflected not only attention but resources away from areas of intervention critical to achieving the goal of gender equality and women's empowerment. Though funding for gender equality has risen, these resources flow to projects in sectors highlighted by the MDGs, and where gender is only a secondary concern. Funding for projects where gender equality is the principal objective has been negligibly low, and resources for women's rights organizations has become increasingly tight. Given the critical role that the women's movement play in generating pressure at the national and global levels to integrate women's rights into policy-making processes and to demand accountability from governments and agencies, tight funding pose serious obstacles in pushing the agenda of women's empowerment forward.

MDGs and the Political Economy of Women's Empowerment

No Empowerment without Rights

Early global writing on women's empowerment is associated by many with the analysis and advocacy work of DAWN, which drew upon practical experiences with programs and civil society actions in India and other countries (Sen and Grown, 1987). Empowerment is needed because of the presence of unequal power relations, and includes the processes by which people who have been denied the ability to exercise agency, autonomy or choices gain such abilities (Batliwala, 1994; Sen, 1993; Kabeer, 1999; Bisnath and Elson, 1999; Sen and Batliwala, 2000; Malhotra et al, 2002). The three dimensions of empowerment are 'resources', 'agency' and 'achievements'. *Agency* refers to the processes through which choices are made and exercised. Two qualifying conditions for agency to reflect empowerment are that there must be alternatives or the ability to choose differently and such alternatives must be perceived as existing. Such qualifications are necessary when considering choices made by people that are inimical to their well-being, such as a woman choosing to continue living with a physically abusive partner. *Resources* represent the preconditions or medium via which agency is exercised and *achievements* refers to the outcomes of exercising agency. Resources refer not only to material assets such as land, money, and skills but also political rules and cultural norms that shape social and interpersonal interactions between human beings. Resources and agency shape people's ability to lead the lives they want to live, while achievements are a measure of whether such potential has been realized or not. Overall, empowerment refers to those *transformative forms of agency* that not only address immediate inequalities faced by women but also aid changes in consciousness and agency that challenge patriarchal structures (*Ibid*).

It is clear that women's empowerment requires agency along multiple dimensions--sexual, reproductive, economic including unpaid care, political, legal--and multiple freedoms including, most importantly, from threats and violence. These dimensions are interdependent in the sense in which the term is used in human rights discourse. Women's freedoms and agency can be promoted by tilting the unequal distribution of resources - assets, rules and norms - in favor of women so that they can exercise a much wider set of choices and autonomy. An improvement in women's economic capabilities such as education and health may enable women to exercise agency in other spheres such as holding a paid job, whether and when to have children, to have greater roles in household decision-making, and may lower the risk of becoming victims of violence but this is by no means assured.

[Figure 1 about here]

For instance, countries across different regions with almost no gender gaps in educational achievement (index nearly equal to one) show wide variation of gender gaps in economic participation and

opportunities (Figure 1).³ The reasons are complex and myriad. In South Asia educating women may also be seen as a way to make them more “marriageable” rather than as a means towards their economic independence (Devika and Mukherjee, 2007). Education itself can reproduce gender inequalities via biased curriculum material and pedagogical practices (Kabeer, 2005). Moreover, improvements in women’s education and health do not automatically or necessarily translate into empowerment if women do not have sexual and reproductive rights, the same political rights and same access to productive assets and economic opportunities as men, freedom from drudgery of unpaid work such as fetching water, fuel, other housework, and freedom from violence (Grown et al, 2005). The other direction of causation works too, where insufficient access to assets, sexual and reproductive rights as well as significant time spent in unpaid household chores act as significant barriers to health and educational achievement.

[Figure 2 about here]

Gender inequality exists regardless of per capita income and region (Figure 2). Countries as diverse as Malawi, Cuba, China, Latvia, France and USA have very close Global Gender Gap Index (GGGI) scores. Higher levels of GDP per person (that on average lead to lower fertility, and better capabilities such as education, health and economic outcomes) have not necessarily led to higher levels of gender equality in France, Japan and Saudi Arabia.⁴ Indeed, unless and until the unequal distribution of resources, gender-biased and discriminatory practices, and rules and norms that deny their agency are addressed, women can still remain disempowered along several dimensions. If such interdependent dimensions of women's agency are required to enhance empowerment, then human rights relating to these dimensions cannot be indivisible. Thus indivisibility and interdependence of human rights are central to women’s empowerment. Yet, these are missing from MDG3 targets and indicators.

Feminist scholars argue that MDG3 is stripped of a consistent approach to women's human rights. The related targets and indicators constitute a watered down version of the aspirations set out in the Millennium Declaration, reversing some of the gains made during watershed international conferences

³ Figure 1 uses the education and economic sub-indices of the World Economic Forum's Global Gender Gap Index (GGGI), which gives higher scores for lower gender gaps. GGGI is a weighted average of sub-indices on educational achievement (literacy rate, primary, secondary and tertiary enrollment rates), economic participation and opportunity (labor force participation; wages; estimated earned income; number of legislators, senior officials and managers; number of professional and technical workers); health and survival (sex ratio at birth, life expectancy) and political empowerment (seats in parliament, ministerial positions, number of years as head of state/government).

⁴ Data on GDP per capita in figure 2 are taken from World Development indicators, and the gender equality index is based on the WEF's GGGI. In 2010, the GGGI has a high positive correlation with Social Watch's Gender Equality Index (0.89), which itself is highly correlated with Gender Inequality Index (-0.72) and Women's Economic Opportunity Index(0.79) that are given in UNDP 2010. <http://www.socialwatch.org/node/14370> (Retrieved on March 13th, 2013)

(Sweetman, 2005; Elson and Balakrishnan, 2012; Antrobus, 2005; Barton, 2005). As noted above, these conferences successfully championed sexual and reproductive health and rights, and several other dimensions related to women's empowerment. However MDG3 is narrowed down to the target of reducing gender disparities in all levels of education. Its indicators to monitor progress are an ad-hoc inclusion of women's employment in the non-agricultural sector and their representation in parliaments (See Box 1 above).

Translating the aspirations of MDG3 into fit-for-purpose targets and indicators would have meant meeting some requirements of practicality and parsimony of measures. The tension between practical concerns and keeping indivisibility and interdependence of rights at the centre generate several shortcomings from outright omissions to distortions of the goals. The *first* shortcoming relates to generating a unified set of targets and indicators that address multiple indivisible and interdependent issues that does not degenerate into an endless list of targets and indicators. Of the 42 sub-themes deliberated on in Beijing, only 10 were directly or indirectly covered by an MDG target or indicator(s) or both. These related to the goals of education, health, women's employment and political representation, and access to water and sanitation (which would reduce their time spent on unpaid work). Other crucial areas of intervention ranging from women in poverty to women in media to women's human rights, violence against women and institutional mechanism for women's advancement did not find any place in the MDG framework (See Appendix I). The omission of sexual and reproductive rights as well as violence against women, and the invisibility of women's responsibility for the domestic work of 'care' were glaring given that these are integral to women's bodily integrity and self-determination.

The *second* problem relates to the nature of gender power relations as a social construct with many commonalities across countries and regions, but also with considerable regional, national and sub-national variety. Policy interventions must leave enough room to adapt a given line of action to national and local implementation strategies appropriate to context specific constraints (Vandermoortele, 2009; Fukuda-Parr, 2012a). The education target under MDG3 is too limited to capture diverse forms of discrimination and is irrelevant for countries where gender inequality manifests in several other dimensions. In the Caribbean, girls outnumber boys in educational achievement through the mid-2000s, and yet this did not translate into better access to jobs, income, political office and other decision-making positions (Antrobus, 2005). Kerala and Sri-Lanka are known

for women's health and education outcomes being on par with industrially advanced nations (Mukhopadhyay, 2003). Yet gender-based violence has been a major issue in the conflicts in Sri-Lanka; Kerala has among the highest rates of crime against women, and women appear to do far more poorly on non-conventional indicators related to mental stress and well-being than men (Mukhopadhyay, 2003; See India (Trivandrum) in Figure 3). Even in economically advanced countries such as Norway, USA and Germany and emerging economies of Brazil where there are no gender gaps in education, a high share of women have experienced violence by an intimate partner (Figure 3).⁵ Even if the MDG3 education target has been achieved, there remain other forms of discrimination, other dimensions along which women remain disempowered and their human rights violated (World Bank 2012, UNSD 2010, Grown et al 2005).

[Figure 3 about here]

This points to a *third* tension – MDG indicators related to political representation and employment in non-agricultural sectors show apparent improvement but deeper analysis leaves room for doubt. There is some evidence to show that political representation of marginalized groups is correlated strongly with how much the concerns of these groups are addressed through policies and programs. In India, the lack of political representation of certain groups such as scheduled tribes (as indigenous people are called) leads to relatively poorer access of public goods as compared to other socially marginalized groups such as *dalits* who have greater political representation (Banerjee and Somanathan, 2006; Pande, 2003). Further, political representation for women is assured in local governing bodies at the village level via a 33% quota. It has been established that women and *dalit* heads of local governing bodies invested more in public goods relevant for and requested by women and *dalits* as compared to other heads (Chattopadhyay and Duflo, 2004). However political representation per se can also be problematic when women in such positions have to refashion themselves to be 'honorary males' who reinforce patriarchal norms and rules (Devika and Mukherjee, 2007) or when such representation is still embedded in institutions that are 'male-biased' (Elson, 1995).⁶ Thus countries such as Bangladesh that have had female heads of state for several years or even Norway that scores very high on female political representation vis-a-vis men still have high proportions of women facing intimate partner

⁵ The violence against women indicator is the proportion of women who have been the victims of violence perpetrated by an intimate partner in their lifetime. Data was collated from the UN Secretary General's Report on Violence against women, 2006; and uses data from 1995-2005. Data on violence against women is dated but also hard to collect.

⁶ Elson's uses the term male-bias in reference to institutional and agential privileging of men over women. That parliaments themselves may be repositories of male-biased views is illustrated by the relatively recent episode where a female French parliamentarian was heckled for wearing a dress (<http://rt.com/news/france-parliament-dress-duflot-599/>).

violence (Figure 3, Hausmann et al 2012).

In parallel vein, a higher share of women in wage employment in the non-agricultural employment cannot be mechanically interpreted as gender equality. This indicator ostensibly measures women's access to more “modern” sectors of the economy where opportunities to earn higher wages and command entitlements such as social security and maternity leave are supposed to be greater. However, it also disregards the devaluation of women's economic contribution via unpaid care, the constraints such responsibilities place on women, the high probability of insecure, informal sector jobs and gender discrimination in labor markets. One symptom of discrimination is persistent gender wage gaps where men systematically earn more than women in all countries and all sectors (Grown et al, 2005). The shares of non-agricultural employment are certainly higher in developed countries but these are not necessarily matched by equal earnings (See figure 4).

[Figure 4 about here]

Besides, using the share of women in the non-agricultural sector as an indicator frames this as the sector to be focussed on. Implicitly the positive effects of generating more stable and sustainable livelihoods in the agricultural sector are not considered. This is highly pertinent in contexts where the population, especially women dependent on agriculture is still high, even in emerging economies such as India. In regions with feminization of labour in agriculture, as men move out women have no other options but to stay in agriculture not only to maintain the family farm/homestead that can be the principal source of subsistence needs but also to ensure continuity of care-giving to children and other family members. In such contexts rural development has to go hand in hand with urban development with women as empowered participants of the process, by having access to adequate finance, appropriate technologies and the know-how to use such technologies, etc.

Rights distorted, Silos created

It is evident that the MDG framework of targets and indicators does not allow for diverse strategies addressing development issues, or for a consistent human rights approach that enables women to become empowered participants of such strategies. This is not only a matter of outright omissions such as violence against women, or the ‘care’ work that women are responsible for, but also distortions by not recognizing the interdependence and indivisibility of human rights. By directing the spotlight on certain issues such as education and health, and not acknowledging their interdependence with other

aspects of women's agency, the MDGs “frame” women's empowerment such that it gets attention but in specific ways that limit the potential for radical change (Boas and Mc Neill, 2004; Fukuda-Parr, forthcoming). MDG3 effectively “frames” the promotion of gender equality and women's empowerment as reducing educational achievement disparities, as if reducing these disparities constitutes empowerment. Similarly maternal health is framed entirely in terms of reducing maternal mortality but not explicitly related to gender equality. Such framing and narrowness across all MDGs served to disconnect the goals from each other and created “development silos” in practice (DAWN, 2012).

The silo-approach meant losing potential synergies between different development goals, especially between women's empowerment and other goals such as eradication of extreme poverty, hunger, and disease, and achievements in education, health and water and sanitation. Since gender inequities prevail in every sphere of life, tackling such inequalities by empowering women can make substantive inroads to achieving other development goals as listed below:

- Progress on MDG1 or poverty reduction would be achieved more widely if gender inequality is addressed. 800 million people moved out of poverty between 1990-2008, but women continue to be more likely to live in poverty than men. This is because women are less likely to have access to productive assets such as land and finance, or to have paid work, and are likely to be paid less than men even when they do have paid work (UNW, 2012; Waldorf, 2004; OECD, 2010). Assuring gender equality in capabilities, access to opportunities and resources would reduce hunger and accelerate economic growth. Studies have shown that when women are more educated and have greater control over expenditure, child malnutrition status tends to be lower (World Bank 2003). Gender equality in access and control over farm inputs would raise productivity and reduce poverty as women farmers are a substantial number of the rural poor. Similarly, equal access for women to basic transport and energy infrastructure (such as clean cooking fuels) would reduce their time in unpaid work and enable them to give more to income-generating work. Thus poverty alleviation would be more effective if women were given both the same resources and chances as men, as well as resources specific to their 'care' responsibilities (World Bank, 2012; Grown et al 2005).
- MDG2 on educational achievement could be realized if the barriers to girls' education such as demand for their labor at home, early marriage, perceptions of girls' future roles as care-givers and of their limited earning opportunities are tackled along with ensuring safety in schools,

larger numbers of women teachers, and availability of decent toilets. Clearly an increase in girls' attendance would contribute significantly to a rise in overall attendance ratios (UN, 2012; Waldorf, 2004). Besides, educated girls and women have greater control over their fertility, and this leads in turn to higher likelihoods of their children's school enrollment and better health and nutrition outcomes (Grown et al, 2005; World Bank, 2012).

- Similarly, gender equality is pertinent to achieving MDG4, MDG5 and MDG6 on reducing child mortality, improving maternal health and combating HIV/AIDs, malaria and other diseases respectively. Gender biases such as daughter aversion and son preference leads to higher under-five mortality among girls than boys. Recent analysis of gender gaps in under-five mortality in countries where data are available shows that the gap favoring boys narrowed in Southern Asia between 1990 and 2011 (UNW, 2012; World Bank, 2012). Early and forced marriage of girls, lack of physical security, women's constrained ability to exercise sexual and reproductive choices such as when to have children and how many, along with their weak access to health care systems contribute to maternal morbidity and mortality. Violence against women as well as constraints on sexual choices such as lack of access to sexual health information, to contraception or even whether these could be used or not also increase the risk of sexually transmitted diseases (World Bank, 2012; OECD 2010). More than 60 percent of the roughly one million HIV infections among young people aged 15-24, are among girls and women (UNW, 2012)
- MDG7 aims to ensure environmental sustainability and includes the target of improving access to drinking water and sanitation. Women's economic participation as the primary caretakers within their households typically makes them the repositories of knowledge on common local and environmental resources such as forests, flora, fauna, water bodies, etc. Access to adequate water and sanitation not only prevents excess child and female mortality, but also reduces women's unpaid labour time, which is a factor preventing their participation in paid work and in the public sphere. Gender biases that prevent women's participation in public policy formulation and implementation can only shortchange processes designed to promote sustainability. Substantive participation of indigenous women, migrant and refugee women and women from minority groups are particularly important in this regard (UNDP, 2012; UNESCO 2010).

Persistent gender inequalities within homes and outside, in education, health, work, access to assets, political participation and manifested in violence against women thus pose significant obstacles to

achieving the MDGs. In turn, better education, health and work opportunities would empower women to improve their own and their families' standard of living. Such interconnections are acknowledged in the Millennium Declaration and also by the OECD, UNESCO, and the World Bank. Yet, the MDG collection of targets and indicators effectively ignores them.⁷ In turn national policies based on the MDGs do not acknowledge the linkages stunting the transformative potential of policies themselves.

The silo approach further compounds an absence of clarity on the means, methods and processes by which MDG targets were to be achieved, or how indicators were to be used to track progress (Vandermoortele 2012, Fukuda Parr 2012a). This is a particularly glaring gap given the recommendations of the thematic task forces that were part of the Millennium Project. Many of these reports provided details on the 'hows' by way of policy and program alternatives, good practices, and risks and shortcomings. In the tension between the explicitly stated intent to have the MDGs adopted as national goals (UN 2001, paragraph 81) and efforts to avoid universal one – size – fits – all policies, the MDG framework ended by not giving formal space guidelines on how goals and targets are to be achieved, and how indicators are to be used as monitoring devices rather than interpreted as actual goals to be translated into policies. While there should be space at the national and local levels for tailoring policies that are contextually-specific to regions, there have to be some coherent means and methods that can serve as base guidelines to avoid misinterpreting intent of the development agenda.

Human rights and the Politics of agenda setting

The MDG framing of development goals, especially of gender equality, suits powerful stakeholder agendas by deflecting attention away from reproductive and sexual rights and issues of economic inequality and injustice. Moreover, MDG created policy silos are convenient to pre-existing fissures between and among advocates of economic justice and of gender justice; fissures that the women's movement have struggled to bridge while attempting to give voice and space to interdependence and indivisibility of women's economic and other rights during global negotiations. Such politics of agenda setting work to suppress women's rights in intended and unintended ways, and are also representative of power interests that sustain gender and other structural inequalities (Harcourt 2006, Clark et al 2006,

⁷ The MDG Report 2012 explicitly cites various inequalities including those pertaining to gender constituting a challenge for the success of MDGs. However, even the Millennium Declaration and the Secretary General's report on implementation strategies refer to the interconnected nature of "human problems" and its solutions, and that these are cross-cutting issues (See paragraphs 3 and 4, UN 2001). Also see OECD (2010), UNESCO (2010), World Bank (2003, 2012)

Duran 2012).

The hegemony of the neo-liberal economic agenda has posed serious challenges to furthering economic justice. Since the 1980s this agenda has shaped global and national economic policies towards fiscal conservatism, open markets for capital and commodities, privatization, and a greater role to financial and corporate sectors. Such policies have had the combined effect of increasing inequalities between and within countries, loosening labour market regulations and pushing down wages especially female wages in export oriented sectors, reducing real incomes and jobs' growth, increased social conflict and exclusion from common resources (Ghosh, 2005; Weisbrot and Baker, 2002; Stiglitz, 2002; IGTN-Asia, 2006; Chua 2004; UNICEF and UNW 2013). Although recurring financial crises through the 1990s and more recently the great recession of 2008 have cast serious doubt on such market fundamentalism, its global dominance continues. A majority of all economies still retain a substantial neoliberal slant to their economic policies that prioritize growth over development that would also include widespread improvement in the material well-being of citizens and the freedoms to which they have access.

The struggle between South and North (G77 vs G8) over the right to development', trade and investment policies, and development assistance acts as a counter point to this hegemony. These politics constitute a shifting terrain, with the emergence of fissures and fractions, new economic powers (such as BRICs) and changing struggles for economic and political dominance. Ironically, the politics of gender equality and women's human rights have tended to be caught within these power struggles such that the support and fight for women's rights gets splintered. Socially progressive but neo-liberal states while supporting women's sexual and reproductive rights have tended to remain silent on women's economic justice in export processing zones and elsewhere in the South.

At the same time the presence of well – funded religious groups opposed to gender equality on the global scene and their expansion into developing countries make it difficult to address women's bodily autonomy and integrity (Correa and Sen, 2000; Sen 2005; Petchesky 2003). Yet, religious fundamentalist groups colluding to eliminate references to women's rights in the family are located in both the north and south (Amin 2006). Such fundamentalism is also associated with increased economic insecurity and conflict between distinct social groups shaped by race, ethnicity, caste, and migrant and non-migrant status (Chua 2004). As identities harden, the fall back to conservative

traditions go hand in hand with a tendency to militate against an expansion of women's rights and the rights of other marginalized groups. Indeed such polarization to the right reaffirms traditional patriarchal gender roles and family relations. The dividing line thus has been the bodily autonomy and integrity central to women's sexual and reproductive health and rights, and has often placed women's rights activists between a rock and a hard place during global negotiations.

What makes this harder is that the global role of the US in relation to women's bodily autonomy swings back and forth depending on the results of its national elections. For instance, the re-imposition of the Global Gag Rule by the Bush administration in 2000 “prohibits US government funding, directly or indirectly via UN agencies, to groups working on abortion counseling or referrals, lobbies to legalize or expand abortion services or performs abortion in cases other than rape, incest or where the woman's life is in danger” (Clark et al, 2006, pp 24). In 2003, NGOs across 53 countries were affected with effects varying with abortion laws in own countries. Even where abortion is legal, these groups cannot provide the full range of health care, counseling and referrals. In countries where abortion restrictions are tighter, such groups have faced limitations in their ability to participate and strengthen civil society and democratic institutions besides their right to free speech being violated. A study assessing the impacts of this rule find that health services in countries such as Ethiopia, Kenya, Zambia and Romania were scaled back, and in some instances reproductive health clinics shut leaving communities with no health care provider. Many family planning organizations were cut off from supplies of USAID contraceptives including condoms, impeding HIV/AIDs prevention efforts. Clark et al (2006, pp 29) also cite UNFPA data, “every \$34 million withheld each year by the US since 2003 (their annual contribution to the agency represents about 12% of their annual budget) would prevent two million unwanted pregnancies, nearly 800,000 induced abortions, 4,700 maternal deaths, nearly 60,000 cases of maternal illness or disability, and 77,000 infant and child deaths”.

The presence of women's organizations at global, regional, national and local levels is thus centrally important to keep the struggle for gender equality and women's human rights ongoing. Such groups have been vital to the advancement of this agenda since the 1970s, are key actors for social change and in drawing attention to the multiple dimensions along which women's rights need to be enhanced (Antrobus, 2005; Antrobus and Sen, 2005; World Bank 2012). For the MDGs to be transformed into a post 2015 development agenda that genuinely advances gender equality, the continuing presence and funding for women's organization will be critical.

From Politics and Rights to funding priorities

The MDG framework by fracturing issues of gender equality and excluding critical women's rights are convenient to powerful conservative interests not only by narrowing the agenda but also skewing funding priorities that limit women's empowerment. Funding flows do not automatically translate into the desired development and gender equality outcomes, yet finances are a necessary precondition to bring goals to reality. Overseas development assistance and private aid flows have been directed increasingly via the public sector to education, health and family planning. However, women's rights organizations have faced shortfalls in funding, especially for issues such as reproductive and sexual health and rights (Clark et al, 2006; Alpizar et al, 2010; Pittman et al, 2012).

Earlier conferences on women's rights had generated significant momentum for funding and a variety of implementation strategies as given by the BpfA. Such support ranged from strengthening institutional mechanisms such as state agencies that had women's advancement and welfare as their principal mandate, “mainstreaming gender” in other agencies, legal reforms and new legislation to criminalize various forms of violence, and policies and programs to enhance women's participation and opportunities in the economy and in political decision-making (Harcourt, 2006). However, since 1995 gender mainstreaming became the dominant strategy for OECD donors, despite voices within and outside rightly pointing these out as largely unsuccessful (Aasen, 2006).

Gender mainstreaming has been unsuccessful largely due to an integrationist approach, which aims to bring in a gender perspective to existing plans as opposed to mainstreaming women's rights agenda into the development agenda. Such integrationist approaches conflate 'sex' (biological) with 'gender' (socially constructed), and assume that certain sectors, such as macroeconomic policies and infrastructure are gender neutral. The resulting sex disaggregation in policy design, implementation and monitoring in various ministries means that women are added and stirred into existing development plans, if at all, without thought to tackling entrenched gender inequalities in labor market policies, taxation systems, trade and monetary policies, etc. (Sen, 2000). A significant reason for this is the limited technical capacity of various ministries and national women's machineries, a problem that is compounded by insufficient accountability mechanisms and commitment at the highest levels of

leadership (Chiwara and Karadeizli, 2008; Grown et al 2005). This mechanical, ad-hoc approach to gender mainstreaming is not countered, indeed even perpetuated by the absence of substantive women's empowerment related targets in the MDG machinery.

Consequently, financial outlays for gender equality does not match the lip service given to MDG3. For instance, the European Commission, which generally takes a progressive stance on sexual and reproductive rights, makes no mention of women's rights and gender equality objectives in its 2007-2013 financial framework, leave alone suggestions of women's rights specific programs in its outline of objectives and budgetary resources. Similarly, there are studies of various donor agencies and bilateral donors that illustrate how strong statements and intention of mainstreaming do not translate into gender perspectives reflected in programs, resource allocations, accountability mechanisms, and monitoring and evaluation (Clara et al 2006, Aasen 2006). Further, as resources become available for mainstreaming, mainstreaming itself has led to a cut in the staff and budgets for stand-alone gender programs, and also for the promotion of women's rights and gender equality per se.⁸

Comparing financial flows for development to the shares of such flows for gender equality during the early-1990s through the 2000s corroborate such insufficient funding priority given to women's empowerment. Bilateral and multilateral flows from OECD DAC remains the principal source of funding for gender equality per se and for women's rights organization, being consistently ranked as such by women's rights groups 2006 - 2011 (Clark et al 2006, Alpizar et al 2010, Pittman et al 2012). Clark et al (2006) argue that donor interest in funding gender equality that had sparked in early 1990s by Cairo and Beijing diminished in the late 1990s but picked up again with the adoption of MDGs. Nevertheless, the 2 billion USD that approximated all gender focussed official aid flows in 2002 is not only paltry compared to the 47.5 billion USD that was all development aid; both are meager compared to the 900 billion USD spent on weapons and war (Table 1, Clark et al 2006).

[Table 1 about here]

The volume and shares of total bilateral aid committed to between 2002-11 reveal low priority for

⁸ Clara et al (2006) provide examples. UNIFEM's budget was 36 million USD in 2002 compared to UNFPA's 373 million and UNICEF's 1.5 billion. The Dutch government converted its funding for UNIFEM to gender mainstreaming within the UNDP. In 2006, Norway diverted its financing of the Women and Development Fund in the Inter-American Development Bank to mainstreaming such as salaries for gender consultants on other projects. The Dutch and Norwegian governments support a trust fund called GENFUND for gender mainstreaming within the World Bank, which has allocated only a little over 3 million USD to 68 activities between 2001 and 2006. GENFUND put one million USD into mainstreaming gender in economic policy and lending instruments, and has provided 6.3 billion USD to support girls' education between 1995 -2006, but has also directed billions more into conditionality-based lending that arguably undermines women's rights.

women's empowerment in the extent to which a donor countries screens resources for gender priorities or not, and the actual shares of gender focussed aid in total aid (Table 1)^{9, 10}. Aid volumes have increased steadily and the share of this screened for gender equality rose from about one tenth to nearly two thirds by 2011. The jump in screening seems to have occurred in 2005 when the Millennium project, especially the thematic task force on gender reaffirmed the continued need for financing gender equality. Nevertheless, this increased consciousness about gender equality is not matched by greater volumes of gender focussed aid, which has remained a very low 2-5 percent of all bilateral aid. More, only half of all gender focussed aid goes to projects where gender equality was the fundamental objective. That is, as Duran (2012) argues funding for gender equality is tied to gender mainstreaming rather than to stand alone women's projects and women's organizations.

Aid effectiveness measures may be exacerbating the reliance on ad-hoc gender mainstreaming as an implementing strategy, thereby perpetuating poor funding for women's empowerment projects, women's rights organizations and machineries. First, new modalities such as sector-wide approaches (SWAPs), basket funding and budget support have increased ODA going to developing countries but women's organizations, even ministries or machineries for women, lose access to assistance funding (Aasen, 2006; Clara, et al 2006). Second, as aid effectiveness is adopted to improve the financing available to achieve MDGs, there have been greater flows to low-income governments. Middle income countries, which typically look successful on the education and non-agricultural employment MDG indicators, become less attractive to donors supporting gender issues. Yet, the pervasive extent of women's human rights violations such as occupation segregation, lack of reproductive rights, and acts of violence against women in middle income countries such as Brazil and India illustrate the continued need to support national machineries and women's rights organizations to eradicate gender inequality and empower women.

Country ownership as an aid effectiveness principle is another route through which access to civil

⁹ The OECD-CRS online database has data on commitments from 2002 to 2011 in constant and current prices, but data on actual disbursements are given only for the years 2009, 2010 and 2011. The patterns of aid disbursement are not different from those aid committed. Data retrieved from <http://stats.oecd.org/Index.aspx?DataSetCode=GENDER> on March 25th, 2013.

¹⁰ OECD aid flows are supposed to be screened for whether they are targeted at activities that meet gender equality and women's empowerment as a principal or significant objective or not at all. "Principal means gender equality was an explicit objective of the activity and fundamental in its design. Examples include expanding the legal literacy of women, supporting male networks against domestic violence, etc. Significant means gender equality was an important, but secondary objective of the activity such as projects that provide drinking water and sanitation facilities and which add safe and easy access for women (See OECD 2008, 2009, 2010, 2011, 2012, 2013).

society funding declines. It can present conservative states with a justification to abandon promotion of gender equality as a “foreign-imposed agenda”. To the extent that they do support women's NGOs, such groups end up being beholden to their governments, becoming an extended implementing agency of the state and unable to take critical stances. There are also instances where women's rights groups whose agendas conflict with the state also end up getting penalized (Clara et al 2006, Duran 2012).

The poor financial support for women's rights groups is apparent in Table 2. Bilateral aid for women's equality organizations from all DAC donors forms between 0.2 – 0.6% of all aid flows indicating low and volatile flow of funds for such organizations. Given the relative stability of total aid flows (Table 1), volatility of aid for women's organizations cannot be attributed to the 2001 and 2008 recessions alone. The low and inconsistent financial support for these organizations may be the unintended consequences of narrowly defined goals, insubstantial gender mainstreaming approaches and aid effectiveness measures more focused on country ownership. However, subjective state perceptions of women's organizations and donor policies such as the US 'global gag rule' do illustrate the role of conservative interests intentionally blocking resources (Clara et al 2006). Intentional or not, the US, which is one of the biggest donors with respect to total volume and share of all ODA flows (Table 2, column 6), commits far lower shares of its total aid to women's equality organizations than all DAC donors combined (Table 2, columns 4 and 5). The same is true of the flows coming from various philanthropic organizations (Clara et al 2006).

[Table 2 about here]

Low financial support for women's rights organizations means poor support for the women's rights agenda. Wherever institutional mechanisms allow for gender equality advocates' participation in priority setting processes, there is some progress in integrating gender priorities effectively in development plans. Similarly, greater technical capacity to undertake gender analysis of macroeconomic policy, and integrate appropriate gender equality targets and indicators in expenditure and results frameworks is critical to integrate a gender perspective in development practice and transform intangible norms that buttress gender inequalities (Grown et al, 2005; Clara et al, 2006; Chiwara and Karadeizli, 2008; Duran, 2012). In other words, consistent engagement of gender equality activists and experts is required to ensure that gender equality priorities are met, and this requires financial and institutional support.

Focusing the Development Agenda on Women

This paper has argued that MDG3 on gender equality and women's empowerment and its targets and indicators was probably unfit for purpose from the beginning. It could not galvanize real transformation or mobilize resources effectively. At the heart of the problem was its inability to address the indivisibility and interdependence of women's human rights. But how can an interdependent agenda be translated into clear targets and indicators? How can sufficient space for substantive civil society engagement be an integral part of this agenda?

One clear way to do this is to focus on people rather than on issues alone. The framework that we propose is to retain *goals* as broad and issue-focused but *targets* derived from the goal should be specific to groups of people who are disadvantaged, marginalized or subordinate. For instance, the goal of gender equality can remain as stated in the MDG framework, "Promote gender equality and empower women" but the targets can relate to particular women who have been historically and/or currently marginalized, e.g. *dalit* women.

An examination of the evidence on the MDGs shows that, across different goals, certain groups of people recur in terms of the observed achievement gaps for many different targets. For instance, in Cameroon, 54 percent of all Pygmy children suffered nutrition deprivation compared to the national 13 percent. Twenty nine percent of all households were deprived of water but more than half all Pygmy households had this problem (World Bank 2011). In India, *dalits* and *adivasis* are much poorer than other Indians, regardless of the metric. Poverty ratios for *adivasis* was double that of all India at 48 percent by the official poverty line. Disaggregation by population groups shows that 81 percent of all *adivasis* are poor as compared to 65.8 percent of *dalits* and a third of all other Indians (Alkire and Santos 2010). When gender is linked to such estimates, a consistent pattern emerges by which the girls and women in such groups are at the bottom of the social and economic ordering.

Identifying groups of people who should be at the heart of people-focussed targets will vary as groups marginalized and most at risk vary across regions and countries. The decision about whom to target should be based on clear criteria for indicators determined globally in accordance with human rights standards and human development achievements.

Setting targets in terms of the empowerment, development and well-being of chosen groups implies that the needs of group members be addressed holistically to take advantage of synergies across issues and to prevent degeneration into silos. Five dimensions that should be tackled to address these needs are:

- Legal empowerment including enabling legislation;
- Political participation and voice;
- Economic resources (including livelihoods, work and incomes, childcare);
- Human development (health, education, water, sanitation, housing)
- Social protection to prevent, mitigate and protect against risks and vulnerabilities

Thus, for example, to address the goal of gender-equality and women's empowerment with a focus on poor rural women, the targets would have to address women's rights to land, inheritance rights and rights within marriage; participation and voice in local development planning; wages, access to productive inputs and infrastructure that cuts down significantly women's time to tasks such as fetching water, fuel and fodder; literacy, education and vocational training; adequate access to health care (including sexual and reproductive health services); water, housing, sanitation; and maternity related benefits that are appropriate to the informal sector. In short, these bring us back to the commitments and obligations set out in the Beijing Platform for Action, and CEDAW. They are also in line with the seven strategic

priorities listed by the Millennium Project's Task Force on Gender Equality (Box 2).

New institutional arrangements in a 'mission' mode will almost certainly be required in order to ensure substantive

BOX 2: SEVEN STRATEGIC PRIORTIES TO ACHIEVE GENDER EQUALITY

“Seven interdependent priorities are the minimum necessary to empower women and alter the historical legacy of female disadvantage that remains in most societies of the world:

1. Strengthen opportunities for post-primary education for girls while simultaneously meeting commitments to universal primary education.
2. Guarantee sexual and reproductive health and rights.
3. Invest in infrastructure to reduce women's and girls' time burdens.
4. Guarantee women's and girls' property and inheritance rights.
5. Eliminate gender inequality in employment by decreasing women's reliance on informal employment, closing gender gaps in earnings, and reducing occupational segregation.
6. Increase women's share of seats in national parliaments and local governmental bodies.
7. Combat violence against girls and women.” (Grown et al 2005)

treatment cutting across line ministries and departments. But such institutions will only be as effective as the resources (financial and human) with which they are set up, and the level, placement and status that they are given (Kabeer and Subrahmanian 1999). One example is the recently constituted National Mission for Empowerment of Women (NMEW), set up in 2010 by the Indian government. Its Mission Statement says that, “The Mission aims at strengthening processes that promote holistic development of women, gender equality and gender justice through inter-sectoral convergence of programmes impacting women, forging synergy amongst various stakeholders and creating an enabling environment conducive to social change.” (National Mission for Empowerment of Women, no date.). It is as yet too early to tell whether and how much impact the NMEW will have, but it is a pioneering attempt aiming at holistic treatment and synergy. One possible weakness is that the NMEW has been placed within the line ministry for women, thereby reducing its autonomy and also possibly its status.

Another critical element of the ‘how’s’ is participation and accountability. Defining targets in terms of people makes it logical to involve them in determining what should be done and how it should be done to meet the goal. A major criticism of the MDGs was that the design and implementation of targets and indicators was too much of a technocratic exercise without any broad guidelines on implementation strategies. Targets and indicators were decided upon by powerful state and development institution stakeholders and the absence of implementation guidelines meant that the targets and indicators themselves were interpreted as the issue to be focused and implemented. For MDG3, gender equality policies become synonymous with reducing gender disparities in education. In contrast, the outcome documents of BpFA and CEDAW outline multiple strategies along several fronts to tackle gender equality and were advocated by the very groups they sought to represent. Shifting towards a stronger affirmation of human rights including basic freedoms of self-determination and autonomy need to be a core part of the post-2015 development agenda. Central to this will be how the agenda itself is set, and how much of a role people will have in shaping it. Involving people directly in determining what will be done on their behalf will tend to make the choices more grounded and robust.

All the key elements of empowerment and human rights of such groups would be addressed by issue-based goals and people-based targets. This includes the advantage of moving beyond issue silos. Other things remaining the same, such an approach could address people's needs directly while simultaneously having an impact on several facets of inequality. This would be especially pertinent for poor women who are typically at the junction of several intersecting inequalities. Other advantages that

flow from this approach includes the ability to retain the simplicity of having clear goals that are easy to understand while also tackling the question of processes, participation and accountability (Sen, forthcoming).

Figure 1

Gender gaps in Economic Participation and Opportunities vs. Gender Gaps in Education Achievement

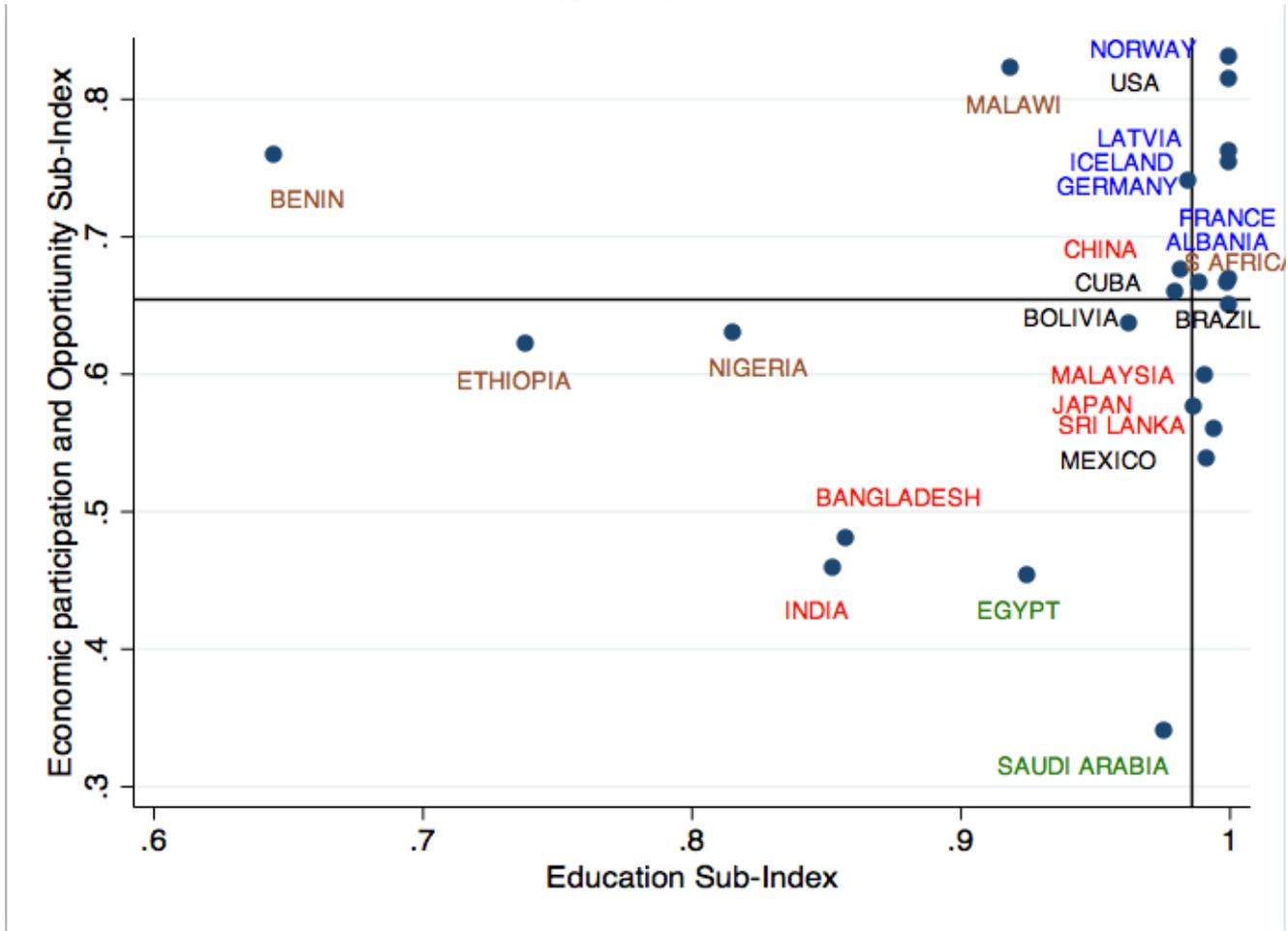


Figure 2
Global Gender Gap Index and Per Capita GDP

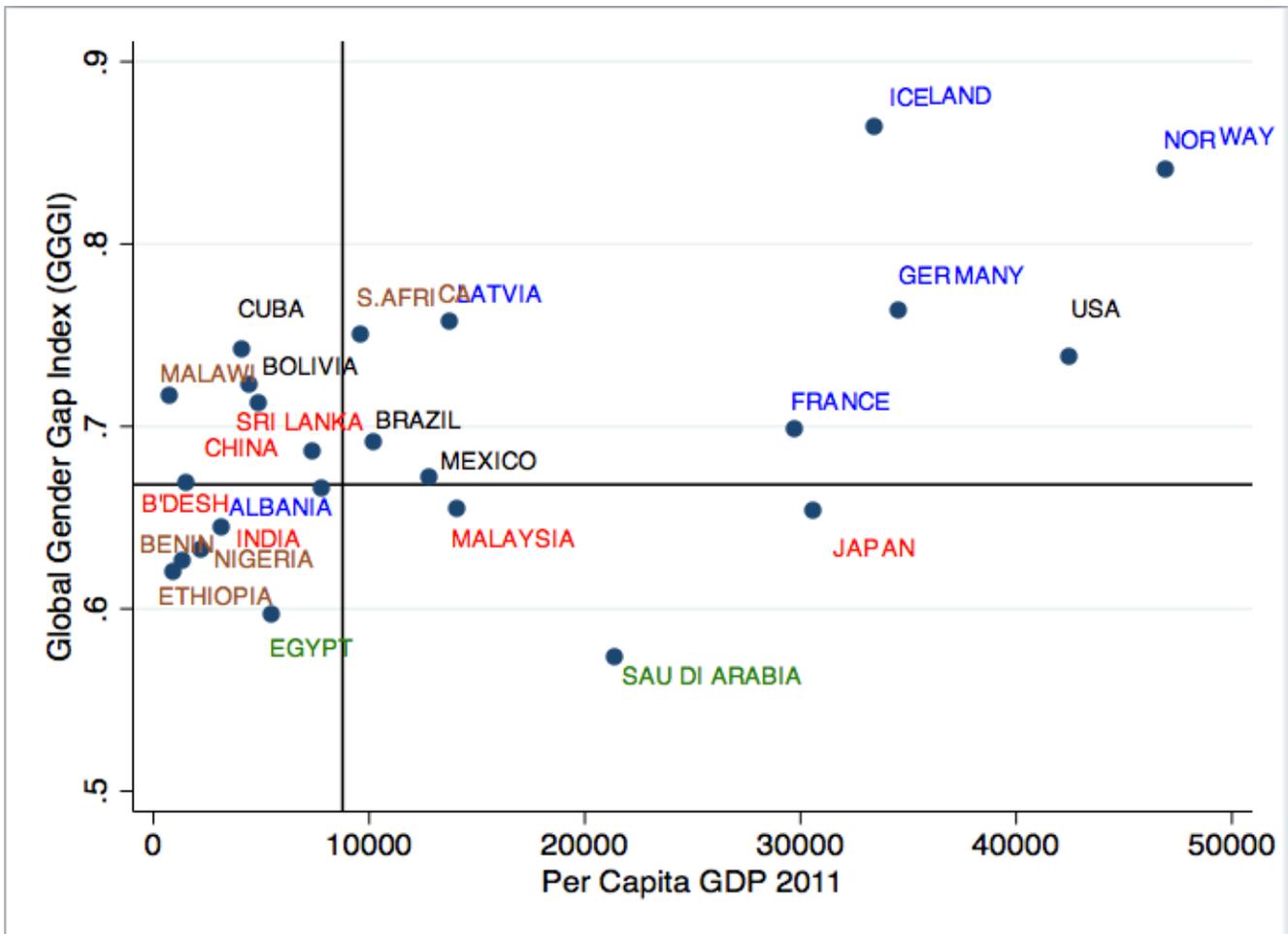
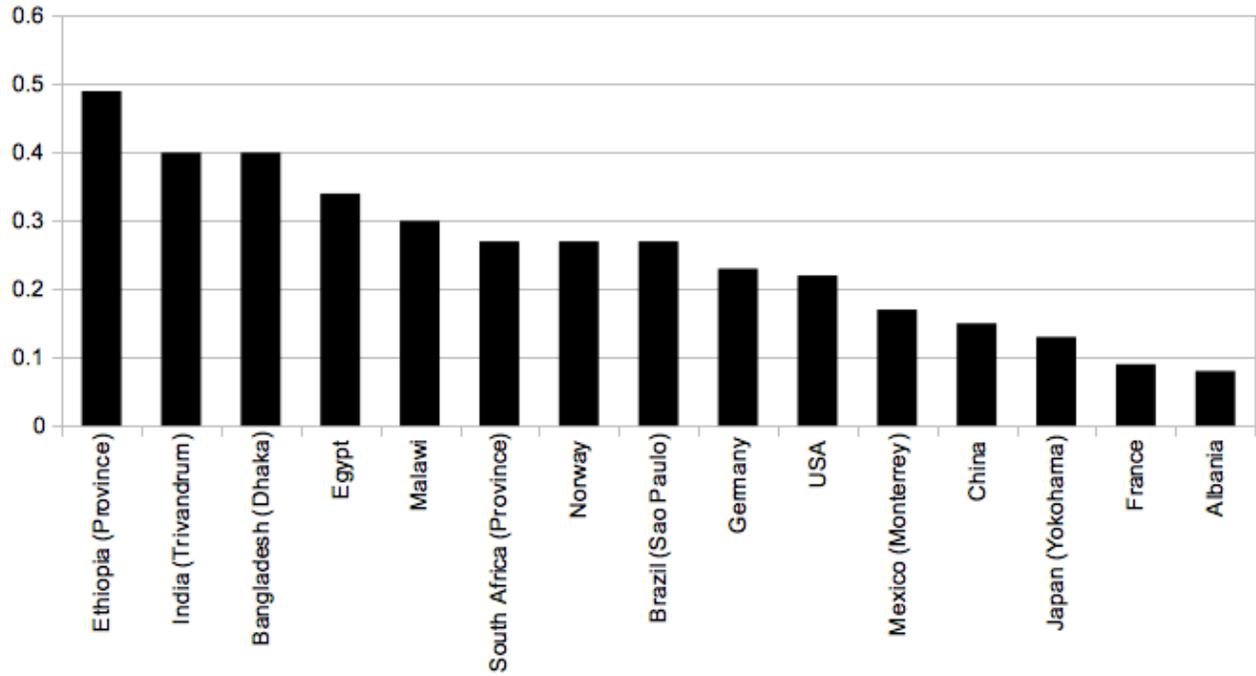


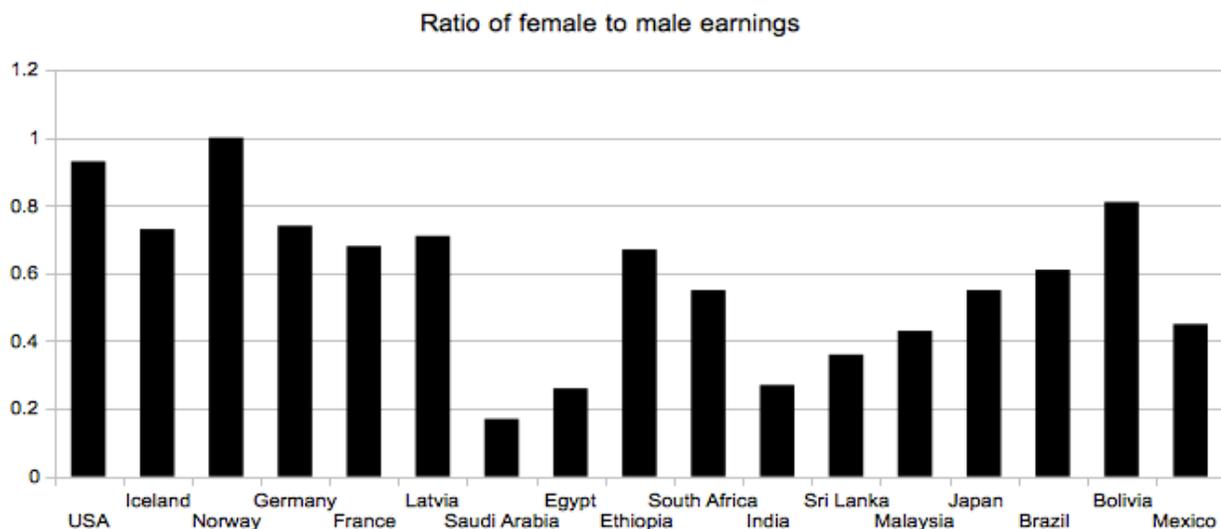
Figure 3

Share of women have experienced intimate partner violence ever in their lifetime



Source: UN Secretary General's Report on Violence against Women, 2006

Figure 4



Source: The Global Gender Gap Report 2012, World Economic Forum

Table 1: Annual bilateral total and gender-focussed aid flows

Year	Total sector allocable bilateral aid to developing countries	Share of aid flows that were screened for the gender marker	Gender focussed aid flows (secondary and principal objectives)	Gender focussed aid flows (principal objective only)
2002	47.5	0.11	2.0	1.1
2003	53.7	0.16	2.7	1.7
2004	64.3	0.18	2.3	1.2
2005	67.7	0.46	3.0	1.8
2006	75.0	0.51	3.4	2.0
2007	75.4	0.60	4.2	3.1
2008	92.2	0.58	3.5	1.8
2009	92.7	0.65	4.7	2.2

2010	98.8	0.93	6.2	2.4
2011	84.8	0.67	5.0	2.4

All figures in constant 2010 USD billion from OECD-CRS online database

Table 2: Bilateral Aid flows from DAC donors to all sectors and to women's equality organizations

Year	Women's Equality Organizations (USD Million)		Share of women's equality organizations in all flows (All DAC %)	Share of women's equality organizations in all flows (USA %)	Share of total bilateral aid from USA to total bilateral aid from all DAC donors (%)
	All DAC	USA			
2002	174.6	7.9	0.4	0.12	14
2003	131.1	8.1	0.2	0.06	23
2004	127.4	10.2	0.2	0.05	32
2005	142.6	16.3	0.2	0.09	28
2006	192.6	5.8	0.3	0.03	24
2007	347.2	29.7	0.5	0.15	26
2008	531.0	13.8	0.6	0.06	26
2009	464.3	25.6	0.5	0.12	23
2010	360.7	21.1	0.4	0.09	24
2011	509.3	23.9	0.6	0.11	25

All figures in constant 2010 USD billion from OECD-CRS online database

Appendix I:

BpfA 1995 Strategic Area	BpfA 1995 Strategic objective	BpfA 1995 Quantitative targets	Relevant MDG Target	Relevant MDG Indicator	Relevant CEDAW Paragraph and/or Article
A. Women and Poverty	A1. Review, adopt and maintain macroeconomic policies and development strategies that address the needs and efforts of women in poverty.	N/A	N/A	N/A	<p><u>Preamble, para 8:</u> “Concerned that in situations of poverty women have the least access to food, health, education, training and opportunities for employment and other needs”</p> <p><u>Article 14</u> 1. “...take into account... particular problems faced by rural women and the significant roles which rural women play in the economic survival of their families, including their work in the non-monetized sectors of the economy, and...take all appropriate measures to ensure the application of the... present Convention to [rural] women... 2. “...take all appropriate measures to eliminate discrimination against [rural] women ...in order to ensure... that they participate in and benefit from rural development and,... ensure to such women the right: (a) To participate in the elaboration and implementation of development planning at all levels; (b) To have access to adequate health care facilities, including information, counselling and services in family planning; (c) To benefit directly from social security programmes; (d) To obtain all types of training and education, formal and non-formal, including that relating to functional literacy, as well as, inter alia, the benefit of all community and extension services, in order to increase their technical proficiency; (e) To organize self-help groups and co-operatives in order to obtain equal access to economic opportunities through employment or self-employment; (f) To participate in all community activities; (g) To have access to agricultural credit and loans, marketing facilities, appropriate technology and equal treatment in land and agrarian reform as well as in land resettlement schemes; (h) To enjoy adequate living conditions, particularly in relation to housing, sanitation, electricity and water supply, transport and communications.</p>
	A2. Revise laws and administrative practices to ensure women’s equal rights and access to economic resources.	N/A	N/A	N/A	<p><u>Article 2</u> “... condemn discrimination against women in all its forms, agree to pursue by all appropriate means and without delay a policy of eliminating discrimination against women and, to this end, undertake: (a) To embody the principle of the equality of men and women in their national constitutions or other appropriate legislation if not yet incorporated therein and to ensure, through law and other appropriate means, the practical realization of this principle; (b) To adopt appropriate legislative and other measures, including sanctions where appropriate, prohibiting all discrimination against women; (c) To establish legal protection of the rights of women on an equal basis with men and to ensure through competent national tribunals and other</p>

					<p>public institutions the effective protection of women against any act of discrimination;</p> <p>(d) To refrain from engaging in any act or practice of discrimination against women and to ensure that public authorities and institutions shall act in conformity with this obligation;</p> <p>(e) To take all appropriate measures to eliminate discrimination against women by any person, organization or enterprise;</p> <p>(f) To take all appropriate measures, including legislation, to modify or abolish existing laws, regulations, customs and practices which constitute discrimination against women;</p> <p>(g) To repeal all national penal provisions which constitute discrimination against women.</p>
	A3. Provide women with access to savings and credit mechanisms and institutions.	N/A	N/A	N/A	<p><u>Article 13 (b)</u> “..The right to bank loans, mortgages and other forms of financial credit;”</p> <p><u>Article 14.2 (e)</u> To organize self-help groups and co-operatives in order to obtain equal access to economic opportunities through employment or self employment;</p> <p><u>Article 14.2 (g)</u> To have access to agricultural credit and loans, marketing facilities, appropriate technology and equal treatment in land and agrarian reform as well as in land resettlement schemes</p>
	A4. Develop gender-based methodologies and conduct research to address the feminization of poverty.	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
B. Education and Training of Women	B1. Ensure equal access to education.	By the year 2000, provide universal access to basic education and ensure completion of primary school education by at least 80 % of primary school-age children. Close the gender gap in primary and secondary school education by 2005, and provide universal primary education in all countries before the year 2015.	3A: Eliminate gender disparity in primary and secondary education, preferably by 2005, and in all levels of education no later than 2015	3.1 Ratios of girls to boys in primary, secondary and tertiary education	<p><u>Article 10</u> “... take all appropriate measures to eliminate discrimination against women in order to ensure to them equal rights with men in the field of education and in particular to ensure, on a basis of equality of men and women:</p> <p>(a) The same conditions for career and vocational guidance, for access to studies and for the achievement of diplomas in educational establishments of all categories in rural as well as in urban areas; this equality shall be ensured in pre-school, general, technical, professional and higher technical education, as well as in all types of vocational training;</p> <p>(b) Access to the same curricula, the same examinations, teaching staff with qualifications of the same standard and school premises and equipment of the same quality;</p> <p>(c) The elimination of any stereotyped concept of the roles of men and women at all levels and in all forms of education by encouraging coeducation and other types of education which will help to achieve this aim and, in particular, by the revision of textbooks and school programmes and the adaptation of teaching methods;</p> <p>(d) The same opportunities to benefit from scholarships and other study grants;</p> <p>(e) The same opportunities for access to programmes of continuing education, including adult and functional literacy programmes, particularly those aimed at reducing, at the earliest possible time, any gap in education existing between men and women;</p> <p>(f) The reduction of female student drop-out rates and the organization of programmes for girls and women who have left school prematurely;</p> <p>(g) The same Opportunities to participate actively in sports and physical education;</p> <p>(h) Access to specific educational information to help to ensure the health and well-being of families, including information and advice on family planning.</p>
	B2. Eradicate illiteracy among women.	Provide universal access to, and seek to ensure gender equality in the completion of, primary education for	2A: Ensure that, by 2015, children everywhere, boys and girls alike, will be able to complete a full course of	2.3 Literacy rate of 15-24 year-olds, women and men	<p><u>Article 10 (e)</u>:The same opportunities for access to programmes of continuing education, including adult and functional literacy programmes, particularly those aimed at reducing, at the earliest possible time, any gap in education existing between men and women</p> <p><u>Article 14.2(d)</u>:To obtain all types of training and education, formal and non-formal, including that relating to functional literacy, as well as, inter alia, the benefit of all community and extension services, in order to</p>

		girls by the year 2000.	primary schooling		increase their technical proficiency;
	B3. Improve women's access to vocational training, science and technology, and continuing education.	N/A	N/A	N/A	<u>Article 10</u> (same as above) <u>Article 14.2(d)</u> (same as above)
	B4. Develop non-discriminatory education and training.	N/A	N/A	N/A	<u>Article 10(c)</u> The elimination of any stereotyped concept of the roles of men and women at all levels and in all forms of education by encouraging coeducation and other types of education which will help to achieve this aim and, in particular, by the revision of textbooks and school programmes and the adaptation of teaching methods;
	B5. Allocate sufficient resources for and monitor the implementation of educational reforms.	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
	B6. Promote life-long education and training for girls and women.	N/A	N/A	N/A	<u>Article 10(e)</u> : The same opportunities for access to programmes of continuing education, including adult and functional literacy programmes, particularly those aimed at reducing, at the earliest possible time, any gap in education existing between men and women; <u>Article 10(f)</u> : The reduction of female student drop-out rates and the organization of programmes for girls and women who have left school prematurely
C. Women & Health	C1. Increase women's access throughout the life cycle to appropriate, affordable and quality health care, information and related services.	Reduce maternal mortality by at least 50 per cent of the 1990 levels by the year 2000 and a further one half by the year 2015; ensure that the necessary services are available at each level of the health system and make reproductive health care accessible, through the primary health-care system, to all individuals of appropriate ages as soon as possible and no later than the year 2015.	5A: Reduce by three quarters the maternal mortality ratio	5.1 Maternal mortality ratio 5.2 Proportion of births attended by skilled health personnel	<u>Article 12</u> : 1. States Parties shall take all appropriate measures to eliminate discrimination against women in the field of health care in order to ensure, on a basis of equality of men and women, access to health care services, including those related to family planning. 2. Notwithstanding the provisions of paragraph 1 of this article, States Parties shall ensure to women appropriate services in connection with pregnancy, confinement and the post-natal period, granting free services where necessary, as well as adequate nutrition during pregnancy and lactation. <u>Article 14.2(b)</u> : To have access to adequate health care facilities, including information, counselling and services in family planning;
		By the year 2000, reduce mortality rates	Target 4.A: Reduce by two thirds,	4.1 Under-five mortality rate 4.2 Infant	

	of infants and children under five years of age by one third of the 1990 level, or 50 to 70 per 1,000 live births, whichever is less; by the year 2015 and infant mortality rate below 35 per 1,000 live births and an under-five mortality rate below 45 per 1,000.	between 1990 and 2015, the under-five mortality rate	mortality rate 4.3 Proportion of 1 year-old children immunised against measles	
	Implement commitments made in the Plan of Action on Nutrition including a reduction world wide of severe and moderate malnutrition among children under the age of five by one half of 1990 levels by the year 2000, giving special attention to the gender gap in nutrition, and a reduction in iron deficiency anaemia in girls and women by one third of the 1990 levels by the year 2000.	N/A	N/A	
C2. Strengthen preventive programmes that promote women's health.	N/A	N/A	N/A	<p><u>Article 10 (h)</u>: Access to specific educational information to help to ensure the health and well-being of families, including information and advice on family planning.</p> <p><u>Article 14.2(b)</u> : To have access to adequate health care facilities, including information, counselling and services in family planning;</p> <p><u>Article 12</u>:</p> <p>1. States Parties shall take all appropriate measures to eliminate discrimination against women in the field of health care in order to ensure, on a basis of equality of men and women, access to health care services, including those related to family planning.</p> <p>2. Notwithstanding the provisions of paragraph I of this article, States Parties shall ensure to women appropriate services in connection with pregnancy, confinement and the post-natal period, granting free services where necessary, as well as adequate nutrition during pregnancy and lactation</p>

	C3. Undertake gender-sensitive initiatives that address sexually transmitted diseases, HIV/AIDS, and sexual and reproductive health issues	N/A	5B: Achieve universal access to reproductive health	5.3 Contraceptive prevalence rate 5.4 Adolescent birth rate 5.5 Antenatal care coverage (at least one visit and at least four visits) 5.6 Unmet need for family planning	<u>Article 12.1</u> : States Parties shall take all appropriate measures to eliminate discrimination against women in the field of health care in order to ensure, on a basis of equality of men and women, access to health care services, including those related to family planning.
			6A: Have halted by 2015 and begun to reverse the spread of HIV/AIDS	6.1 HIV prevalence among population aged 15-24 years 6.2 Condom use at last high-risk sex 6.3 Proportion of population aged 15-24 years with comprehensive correct knowledge of HIV/AIDS 6.4 Ratio of school attendance of orphans to school attendance of non-orphans aged 10-14 years	
	C4. Promote research and disseminate information on women's health.	N/A	N/A	N/A	<u>Article 10 (h)</u> : Access to specific educational information to help to ensure the health and well-being of families, including information and advice on family planning. <u>Article 14.2(b)</u> : To have access to adequate health care facilities, including information, counselling and services in family planning;
	C5. Increase resources and monitor follow-up for women's health	N/A	5B: Achieve universal access to reproductive health	5.5 Antenatal care coverage (at least one visit and at least four visits)	<u>Article 12</u> : 1. States Parties shall take all appropriate measures to eliminate discrimination against women in the field of health care in order to ensure, on a basis of equality of men and women, access to health care services, including those related to family planning. 2. Notwithstanding the provisions of paragraph I of this article, States Parties shall ensure to women appropriate services in connection with pregnancy, confinement and the post-natal period, granting free services where necessary, as well as adequate nutrition during pregnancy and lactation
D. Violence against women	D1. Take integrated measures to prevent and eliminate violence against women.	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
	D2. Study the	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A

	causes and consequences of violence against women and the effectiveness of preventive measures.				
	D3. Eliminate trafficking in women and assist victims of violence due to prostitution and trafficking.	N/A	N/A	N/A	<u>Article 6:</u> States Parties shall take all appropriate measures, including legislation, to suppress all forms of traffic in women and exploitation of prostitution of women.
E. Women and Armed Conflict	E1. Increase the participation of women in conflict resolution at decision-making levels and protect women living in situations of armed and other conflicts or under foreign occupation	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
	E2. Reduce excessive military expenditures and control the availability of armaments.	Work actively towards ratification of the 1981 Convention on Prohibitions or Restrictions on the Use of Certain Conventional Weapons Which May Be Deemed to Be Excessively Injurious or to Have Indiscriminate Effects, particularly the Protocol on Prohibitions or Restrictions on the Use of Mines, Booby Traps and Other Devices (Protocol II), 26/ with a view to universal ratification by the year 2000.	N/A	N/A	N/A
	E3. Promote	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A

	non-violent forms of conflict resolution and reduce the incidence of human rights abuse in conflict situations.				
	E4. Promote women's contribution to fostering a culture of peace.	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
	E5. Provide protection, assistance and training to refugee women, other displaced women in need of N/A international protection and internally displaced women.	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
	E6. Provide assistance to the women of the colonies and non- self-governing territories	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
F. Women and the Economy	F1. Promote women's economic rights and independence, including access to employment, appropriate working conditions and control over economic resources.	N/A	1.B: Achieve full and productive employment and decent work for all, including women and young people	N/A	<p><u>Article 11.1:</u> States Parties shall take all appropriate measures to eliminate discrimination against women in the field of employment in order to ensure, on a basis of equality of men and women, the same rights, in particular:</p> <p>(a) The right to work as an inalienable right of all human beings;</p> <p>(b) The right to the same employment opportunities, including the application of the same criteria for selection in matters of employment;</p> <p>(c) The right to free choice of profession and employment, the right to promotion, job security and all benefits and conditions of service and the right to receive vocational training and retraining, including apprenticeships, advanced vocational training and recurrent training;</p> <p>(d) The right to equal remuneration, including benefits, and to equal treatment in respect of work of equal value, as well as equality of treatment in the evaluation of the quality of work;</p> <p>(e) The right to social security, particularly in cases of retirement, unemployment, sickness, invalidity and old age and other incapacity to work, as well as the right to paid leave;</p> <p>(f) The right to protection of health and to safety in working conditions, including the safeguarding of the function of reproduction</p> <p><u>Article 11.2:</u> In order to prevent discrimination against women on the grounds of marriage or maternity and to ensure their effective right to work, States Parties shall take appropriate measures:</p> <p>(a) To prohibit, subject to the imposition of sanctions, dismissal on the grounds of pregnancy or of maternity leave and discrimination in dismissals on the basis of marital status;</p> <p>(b) To introduce maternity leave with pay or with comparable social benefits without loss of former employment, seniority or social allowances;</p> <p>(c) To encourage the provision of the necessary supporting social services to enable parents to combine family obligations with work responsibilities and participation in public life, in particular through promoting the establishment and development of a network of child-care facilities;</p>

				(d) To provide special protection to women during pregnancy in types of work proved to be harmful to them.
F2. Facilitate women's equal access to resources, employment, markets and trade.	N/A	3A: Eliminate gender disparity in primary and secondary education, preferably by 2005, and in all levels of education no later than 2015	3.2 Share of women in wage employment in the non-agricultural sector 3.3 Proportion of seats held by women in national parliament	<u>Article 11.1 and 11.2</u> (same as above) <u>Article 13:</u> States Parties shall take all appropriate measures to eliminate discrimination against women in other areas of economic and social life in order to ensure, on a basis of equality of men and women, the same rights, in particular: (a) The right to family benefits; (b) The right to bank loans, mortgages and other forms of financial credit; (c) The right to participate in recreational activities, sports and all aspects of cultural life.
F3. Provide business services, training and access to markets, information and technology, particularly to low-income women.	N/A	N/A	N/A	<u>Article 14.2:</u> "...take all appropriate measures to eliminate discrimination against [rural] women ...in order to ensure... that they participate in and benefit from rural development and,... ensure to such women the right; (e) To organize self-help groups and co-operatives in order to obtain equal access to economic opportunities through employment or self employment (g): To have access to agricultural credit and loans, marketing facilities, appropriate technology and equal treatment in land and agrarian reform as well as in land resettlement schemes; (h) To enjoy adequate living conditions, particularly in relation to housing, sanitation, electricity and water supply, transport and communications.
F4. Strengthen women's economic capacity and commercial networks.	N/A	N/A	N/A	<u>Article 11.1 and 11.2</u> (same as above) <u>Article 13:</u> (same as above) <u>Article 14.2:</u> "...take all appropriate measures to eliminate discrimination against [rural] women ...in order to ensure... that they participate in and benefit from rural development and,... ensure to such women the right; (e) To organize self-help groups and co-operatives in order to obtain equal access to economic opportunities through employment or self employment (g): To have access to agricultural credit and loans, marketing facilities, appropriate technology and equal treatment in land and agrarian reform as well as in land resettlement schemes;
F5. Eliminate occupational segregation and all forms of employment discrimination .	N/A	N/A	N/A	<u>Article 11.1 and 11.2</u> (same as above) <u>Article 2:</u> "... condemn discrimination against women in all its forms, agree to pursue by all appropriate means and without delay a policy of eliminating discrimination against women and, to this end, undertake: (a) To embody the principle of the equality of men and women in their national constitutions or other appropriate legislation if not yet incorporated therein and to ensure, through law and other appropriate means, the practical realization of this principle; (b) To adopt appropriate legislative and other measures, including sanctions where appropriate, prohibiting all discrimination against women; (c) To establish legal protection of the rights of women on an equal basis with men and to ensure through competent national tribunals and other public institutions the effective protection of women against any act of discrimination; (d) To refrain from engaging in any act or practice of discrimination against women and to ensure that public authorities and institutions shall act in conformity with this obligation; (e) To take all appropriate measures to eliminate discrimination against women by any person, organization or enterprise; (f) To take all appropriate measures, including legislation, to modify or abolish existing laws, regulations, customs and practices which constitute discrimination against women; (g) To repeal all national penal provisions which constitute discrimination against women.
F6. Promote harmonization of work and	N/A	N/A	N/A	<u>Article 11.2:</u> (same as above) <u>Article 5(b):</u> To ensure that family education includes a proper

	family responsibilities for women and men.				<p>understanding of maternity as a social function and the recognition of the common responsibility of men and women in the upbringing and development of their children, it being understood that the interest of the children is the primordial consideration in all cases.</p> <p><u>Article 14.1:</u> States Parties shall take into account the particular problems faced by rural women and the significant roles which rural women play in the economic survival of their families, including their work in the non-monetized sectors of the economy, and shall take all appropriate measures to ensure the application of the provisions of the present Convention to women in rural areas.</p>
G. Women in Power and Decision-making	G1. Take measures to ensure women's equal access to and full participation in power structures and decision-making.	<p>Implement existing and adopt new employment policies and measures in order to achieve overall gender equality, particularly at the Professional level and above, by the year 2000, with due regard to the importance of recruiting staff on as wide a geographical basis as possible, in conformity with Article 101, paragraph 3, of the Charter of the United Nations.</p>	<p>3A: Eliminate gender disparity in primary and secondary education, preferably by 2005, and in all levels of education no later than 2015</p>	<p>3.3 Proportion of seats held by women in national parliament</p>	<p><u>Article 7:</u> States Parties shall take all appropriate measures to eliminate discrimination against women in the political and public life of the country and, in particular, shall ensure to women, on equal terms with men, the right:</p> <p>(a) To vote in all elections and public referenda and to be eligible for election to all publicly elected bodies;</p> <p>(b) To participate in the formulation of government policy and the implementation thereof and to hold public office and perform all public functions at all levels of government;</p> <p>(c) To participate in non-governmental organizations and associations concerned with the public and political life of the country.</p> <p><u>Article 8:</u> States Parties shall take all appropriate measures to ensure to women, on equal terms with men and without any discrimination, the opportunity to represent their Governments at the international level and to participate in the work of international organizations.</p> <p><u>Article 14.2:</u> States Parties shall take all appropriate measures to eliminate discrimination against women in rural areas in order to ensure, on a basis of equality of men and women, that they participate in and benefit from rural development</p> <p>(a) To participate in the elaboration and implementation of development planning at all levels;</p> <p>(f) To participate in all community activities;</p> <p><u>Article 2(d):</u> "... condemn discrimination against women in all its forms, agree to pursue by all appropriate means and without delay a policy of eliminating discrimination against women and, to this end, undertake:</p> <p>(a) To embody the principle of the equality of men and women in their national constitutions or other appropriate legislation if not yet incorporated therein and to ensure, through law and other appropriate means, the practical realization of this principle;</p> <p>(b) To adopt appropriate legislative and other measures, including sanctions where appropriate, prohibiting all discrimination against women;</p> <p>(c) To establish legal protection of the rights of women on an equal basis with men and to ensure through competent national tribunals and other public institutions the effective protection of women against any act of discrimination;</p> <p>(d) To refrain from engaging in any act or practice of discrimination against women and to ensure that public authorities and institutions shall act in conformity with this obligation;</p> <p>(e) To take all appropriate measures to eliminate discrimination against women by any person, organization or enterprise;</p> <p>(f) To take all appropriate measures, including legislation, to modify or abolish existing laws, regulations, customs and practices which constitute discrimination against women;</p> <p>(g) To repeal all national penal provisions which constitute discrimination against women.</p>
		<p>Continue to collect and disseminate quantitative and qualitative data on women and men in decision-making and analyse their differential impact on decision-making and monitor progress towards achieving the Secretary-General's target of having women hold 50 per cent of managerial and decision-making positions by</p>	N/A	N/A	

		the year 2000.			
	G2. Increase women's capacity to participate in decision-making and leadership.	N/A	3A: Eliminate gender disparity in primary and secondary education, preferably by 2005, and in all levels of education no later than 2015	3.3 Proportion of seats held by women in national parliament	
H. Institutional Mechanism for the Advancement of Women	H1. Create or strengthen national machineries and other governmental bodies	N/A	N/A	N/A	<p>Articles 17.1: For the purpose of considering the progress made in the implementation of the present Convention, there shall be established a <u>Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women</u> (hereinafter referred to as the Committee) consisting, at the time of entry into force of the Convention, of eighteen and, after ratification of or accession to the Convention by the thirty-fifth State Party, of twenty-three experts of high moral standing and competence in the field covered by the Convention. The experts shall be elected by States Parties from among their nationals and shall serve in their personal capacity, consideration being given to equitable geographical distribution and to the representation of the different forms of civilization as well as the principal legal systems.</p> <p>Remaining Articles 17.2-17.9, Articles 18-Articles 22 that deal with rules and principles related to setting up this committee for the monitoring and reporting at the international and national levels of measures and policies undertaken to bring the current convention into practice as well as assess progress made on the same.</p>
	H2. Integrate gender perspectives in legislation, public policies, programmes and projects.	N/A	N/A	N/A	
	H3. Generate and disseminate gender-disaggregated data and information for planning and evaluation.	N/A	N/A	N/A	
I. Human Rights of Women	I1. Promote and protect the human rights of women, through the full implementation of all human rights instruments, especially the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women.	<p>Ratify and accede to and ensure implementation of the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women so that universal ratification of the Convention can be achieved by the year 2000;</p> <p>Take urgent</p>	N/A	N/A	<p><u>Article 2, 10, 11, 12, 13 and 14</u> (same as above)</p> <p><u>Article 3:</u> States Parties shall take in all fields, in particular in the political, social, economic and cultural fields, all appropriate measures, including legislation, to ensure the full development and advancement of women, for the purpose of guaranteeing them the exercise and enjoyment of human rights and fundamental freedoms on a basis of equality with men.</p> <p><u>Article 5:</u> States Parties shall take all appropriate measures: (a) To modify the social and cultural patterns of conduct of men and women, with a view to achieving the elimination of prejudices and customary and all other practices which are based on the idea of the inferiority or the superiority of either of the sexes or on stereotyped roles for men and women; (b) To ensure that family education includes a proper understanding of maternity as a social function and the recognition of the common responsibility of men and women in the upbringing and development of their children, it being understood that the interest of the children is the primordial consideration in all cases.</p> <p><u>Article 16:</u></p>

		measures to achieve universal ratification of or accession to the Convention on the Rights of the Child before the end of 1995 and full implementation of the Convention in order to ensure equal rights for girls and boys; those that have not already done so are urged to become parties in order to realize universal implementation of the Convention on the Rights of the Child by the year 2000.	N/A	N/A	<p>1. States Parties shall take all appropriate measures to eliminate discrimination against women in all matters relating to marriage and family relations and in particular shall ensure, on a basis of equality of men and women:</p> <p>(a) The same right to enter into marriage;</p> <p>(b) The same right freely to choose a spouse and to enter into marriage only with their free and full consent;(c) The same rights and responsibilities during marriage and at its dissolution;</p> <p>(d) The same rights and responsibilities as parents, irrespective of their marital status, in matters relating to their children; in all cases the interests of the children shall be paramount;</p> <p>(e) The same rights to decide freely and responsibly on the number and spacing of their children and to have access to the information, education and means to enable them to exercise these rights;</p> <p>(f) The same rights and responsibilities with regard to guardianship, wardship, trusteeship and adoption of children, or similar institutions where these concepts exist in national legislation; in all cases the interests of the children shall be paramount;</p> <p>(g) The same personal rights as husband and wife, including the right to choose a family name, a profession and an occupation;</p> <p>(h) The same rights for both spouses in respect of the ownership, acquisition, management, administration, enjoyment and disposition of property, whether free of charge or for a valuable consideration.</p> <p>2. The betrothal and the marriage of a child shall have no legal effect, and all necessary action, including legislation, shall be taken to specify a minimum age for marriage and to make the registration of marriages in an official registry compulsory.</p> <p><u>Articles 17-22:</u> (same as above) (Also articles 9 and 15 listed below)</p>
	I2. Ensure equality and non-discrimination under the law and in practice.	N/A	N/A	N/A	<p><u>Article 2, 3, 7, 8, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14 and 16</u> (same as above)</p> <p><u>Article 9:</u> 1. States Parties shall grant women equal rights with men to acquire, change or retain their nationality. They shall ensure in particular that neither marriage to an alien nor change of nationality by the husband during marriage shall automatically change the nationality of the wife, render her stateless or force upon her the nationality of the husband.</p> <p>2. States Parties shall grant women equal rights with men with respect to the nationality of their children.</p> <p><u>Article 15:</u> 1. States Parties shall accord to women equality with men before the law. 2. States Parties shall accord to women, in civil matters, a legal capacity identical to that of men and the same opportunities to exercise that capacity. In particular, they shall give women equal rights to conclude contracts and to administer property and shall treat them equally in all stages of procedure in courts and tribunals. 3. States Parties agree that all contracts and all other private instruments of any kind with a legal effect which is directed at restricting the legal capacity of women shall be deemed null and void. 4. States Parties shall accord to men and women the same rights with regard to the law relating to the movement of persons and the freedom to choose their residence and domicile.</p>
	I3. Achieve legal literacy.	N/A	2A: Ensure that, by 2015, children everywhere, boys and girls alike, will be able to complete a full course of primary schooling	2.3 Literacy rate of 15-24 year- olds, women and men	<p><u>Article 3</u> States Parties shall take in all fields, in particular in the political, social, economic and cultural fields, all appropriate measures, including legislation, to ensure the full development and advancement of women , for the purpose of guaranteeing them the exercise and enjoyment of human rights and fundamental freedoms on a basis of equality with men.</p> <p><u>Article 10</u> (same as above; on equality of women and men in education)</p>
J. Women	J1. Increase	N/A	N/A	N/A	<u>Article 7:</u>

and the Media	the participation and access of women to expression and decision-making in and through the media and new technologies of communication.				States Parties shall take all appropriate measures to eliminate discrimination against women in the political and public life of the country and, in particular, shall ensure to women, on equal terms with men, the right: (c) To participate in non-governmental organizations and associations concerned with the public and political life of the country. <u>Article 11.1:</u> States Parties shall take all appropriate measures to eliminate discrimination against women in the field of employment in order to ensure, on a basis of equality of men and women (see (a) -(f) above) <u>Article 11.2:</u> In order to prevent discrimination against women on the grounds of marriage or maternity and to ensure their effective right to work, States Parties shall take appropriate measures (See (a) – (d) above)
	J2. Promote a balanced and non-stereotyped portrayal of women in the media.	N/A	N/A	N/A	<u>Article 5:</u> States Parties shall take all appropriate measures: (a) To modify the social and cultural patterns of conduct of men and women, with a view to achieving the elimination of prejudices and customary and all other practices which are based on the idea of the inferiority or the superiority of either of the sexes or on stereotyped roles for men and women; (b) To ensure that family education includes a proper understanding of maternity as a social function and the recognition of the common responsibility of men and women in the upbringing and development of their children, it being understood that the interest of the children is the primordial consideration in all cases.
	K1. Involve women actively in environmental decision-making at all levels.	N/A	N/A	N/A	<u>Article 7:</u> States Parties shall take all appropriate measures to eliminate discrimination against women in the political and public life of the country and, in particular, shall ensure to women, on equal terms with men, the right: (a) To vote in all elections and public referenda and to be eligible for election to all publicly elected bodies; (b) To participate in the formulation of government policy and the implementation thereof and to hold public office and perform all public functions at all levels of government; (c) To participate in non-governmental organizations and associations concerned with the public and political life of the country. <u>Article 8:</u> States Parties shall take all appropriate measures to ensure to women, on equal terms with men and without any discrimination, the opportunity to represent their Governments at the international level and to participate in the work of international organizations.
K. Women and the Environment	K2. Integrate gender concerns and perspectives in policies and programmes for sustainable development.	Ensure that clean water is available and accessible to all by the year 2000 and that environmental protection and conservation plans are designed and implemented to restore polluted water systems and rebuild damaged watersheds.	7.C: Halve, by 2015, the proportion of the population without sustainable access to safe drinking water and basic sanitation	7.8 Proportion of population using an improved drinking water source 7.9 Proportion of population using an improved sanitation facility	<u>Article 14.2</u> States Parties shall take all appropriate measures to eliminate discrimination against women in rural areas in order to ensure, on a basis of equality of men and women, that they participate in and benefit from rural development and, in particular, shall ensure to such women the right:
	K3. Strengthen or establish mechanisms at the national, regional and international	N/A	N/A	N/A	<u>Article 17.1</u> For the purpose of considering the progress made in the implementation of the present Convention, there shall be established a <u>Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women</u> (hereinafter referred to as the Committee) consisting, at the time of entry into force of the Convention, of eighteen and, after ratification of or accession to the Convention by the thirty-fifth

	levels to assess the impact of development and environmental policies on women.				<p>State Party, of twenty-three experts of high moral standing and competence in the field covered by the Convention. The experts shall be elected by States Parties from among their nationals and shall serve in their personal capacity, consideration being given to equitable geographical distribution and to the representation of the different forms of civilization as well as the principal legal systems.</p> <p>Remaining Articles 17.2-17.9, Articles 18-Articles 22 that deal with rules and principles related to setting up this committee for the monitoring and reporting at the international and national levels of measures and policies undertaken to bring the current convention into practice as well as assess progress made on the same.</p>
L. The Girl Child	L1 Eliminate all forms of discrimination against the girl child	Take urgent measures towards signing or ratifying the Convention on the Rights of the Child before the end of 1995.	N/A	N/A	<p><u>Article 2</u> (same as above)</p> <p><u>Article 3:</u> States Parties shall take in all fields, in particular in the political, social, economic and cultural fields, all appropriate measures, including legislation, to ensure the full development and advancement of women, for the purpose of guaranteeing them the exercise and enjoyment of human rights and fundamental freedoms on a basis of equality with men.</p>
	L2 Eliminate negative cultural attitudes and practices against girls.	N/A	N/A	N/A	<p><u>Article 5:</u> States Parties shall take all appropriate measures:</p> <p>(a) To modify the social and cultural patterns of conduct of men and women, with a view to achieving the elimination of prejudices and customary and all other practices which are based on the idea of the inferiority or the superiority of either of the sexes or on stereotyped roles for men and women;</p> <p>(b) To ensure that family education includes a proper understanding of maternity as a social function and the recognition of the common responsibility of men and women in the upbringing and development of their children, it being understood that the interest of the children is the primordial consideration in all cases.</p> <p><u>Article 16.2:</u> The betrothal and the marriage of a child shall have no legal effect, and all necessary action, including legislation, shall be taken to specify a minimum age for marriage and to make the registration of marriages in an official registry compulsory.</p>
	L3. Promote and protect the rights of the girl child and increase awareness of her needs and potential.	N/A	N/A	N/A	<p><u>Article 10(c):</u> The elimination of any stereotyped concept of the roles of men and women at all levels and in all forms of education by encouraging coeducation and other types of education which will help to achieve this aim and, in particular, by the revision of textbooks and school programmes and the adaptation of teaching methods</p>
	L4. Eliminate discrimination against girls in education, skills development and training.	Ensure universal and equal access to and completion of primary education by all children and eliminate the existing gap between girls and boys, as stipulated in article 28 of the Convention on the Rights of the Child. Ensure equal access to secondary education by the year 2005 and equal	3A: Eliminate gender disparity in primary and secondary education, preferably by 2005, and in all levels of education no later than 2015	3.1 Ratios of girls to boys in primary, secondary and tertiary education	<p><u>Article 10</u> State parties shall take all appropriate measures to eliminate discrimination against women in order to ensure to them equal rights with men in the field of education and in particular to ensure, on a basis of equality of men and women:</p> <p>(a) The same conditions for career and vocational guidance, for access to studies and for the achievement of diplomas in educational establishments of all categories in rural as well as in urban areas; this equality shall be ensured in pre-school, general, technical, professional and higher technical education, as well as in all types of vocational training;</p> <p>(b) Access to the same curricula, the same examinations, teaching staff with qualifications of the same standard and school premises and equipment of the same quality;</p> <p>(c) The elimination of any stereotyped concept of the roles of men and women at all levels and in all forms of education by encouraging coeducation and other types of education which will help to achieve this aim and, in particular, by the revision of textbooks and school programmes and the adaptation of teaching methods;</p> <p>(d) The same opportunities to benefit from scholarships and other study grants;</p> <p>(e) The same opportunities for access to programmes of continuing education, including adult and functional literacy programmes, particularly those aimed at reducing, at the earliest possible time, any gap in education existing between men and women;</p>

		access to higher education, including vocational and technical education, for all girls and boys, including the disadvantaged and gifted.			(f) The reduction of female student drop-out rates and the organization of programmes for girls and women who have left school prematurely; (g) The same Opportunities to participate actively in sports and physical education; (h) Access to specific educational information to help to ensure the health and well-being of families, including information and advice on family planning.
L5. Eliminate discrimination against girls in health and nutrition.	N/A	N/A	N/A		<u>Article 12.1:</u> States Parties shall take all appropriate measures to eliminate discrimination against women in the field of health care in order to ensure, on a basis of equality of men and women, access to health care services, including those related to family planning. <u>Article 5(a):</u> States Parties shall take all appropriate measures to modify the social and cultural patterns of conduct of men and women, with a view to achieving the elimination of prejudices and customary and all other practices which are based on the idea of the inferiority or the superiority of either of the sexes or on stereotyped roles for men and women;
L6. Eliminate the economic exploitation of child labour and protect young girls at work.	N/A	N/A	N/A		<u>Article 11.1:</u> (d) The right to equal remuneration, including benefits, and to equal treatment in respect of work of equal value, as well as equality of treatment in the evaluation of the quality of work; (e) The right to social security, particularly in cases of retirement, unemployment, sickness, invalidity and old age and other incapacity to work, as well as the right to paid leave; (f) The right to protection of health and to safety in working conditions, including the safeguarding of the function of reproduction
L7. Eradicate violence against the girl child.	N/A	N/A	N/A		N/A
L8. Promote the girl child's awareness of and participation in social, economic and political life.	N/A	N/A	N/A		<u>Article 3:</u> States Parties shall take in all fields, in particular in the political, social, economic and cultural fields, all appropriate measures, including legislation, to ensure the full development and advancement of women , for the purpose of guaranteeing them the exercise and enjoyment of human rights and fundamental freedoms on a basis of equality with men.
L9. Strengthen the role of the family (as defined by para 29) in improving the status of the girl child.	N/A	N/A	N/A		<u>Article 3:</u> States Parties shall take in all fields, in particular in the political, social, economic and cultural fields, all appropriate measures, including legislation, to ensure the full development and advancement of women , for the purpose of guaranteeing them the exercise and enjoyment of human rights and fundamental freedoms on a basis of equality with men. <u>Article 5:</u> States Parties shall take all appropriate measures (a) to modify the social and cultural patterns of conduct of men and women, with a view to achieving the elimination of prejudices and customary and all other practices which are based on the idea of the inferiority or the superiority of either of the sexes or on stereotyped roles for men and women; (b) To ensure that family education includes a proper understanding of maternity as a social function and the recognition of the common responsibility of men and women in the upbringing and development of their children, it being understood that the interest of the children is the primordial consideration in all cases.

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