

Primer 10: On the Road to Busan: What is at stake for gender equality and women's rights?

DEVELOPMENT COOPERATION AND WOMEN'S RIGHTS SERIES

By Nerea Craviotto and Anne Schoenstein, AWID
with contributions from WIDE Network



ABOUT THE SERIES DEVELOPMENT COOPERATION AND WOMEN'S RIGHTS

The purpose of this series of primers is to share critical information and analysis with women's rights advocates about the new development cooperation system that has emerged as a result of the Paris Declaration and the Accra Agenda for Action. The aid effectiveness agenda—born out of the Paris Declaration—currently determines how and to whom aid is delivered as well as how donor and developing countries relate to one another. Development cooperation allocation and distribution is clearly not just a mechanistic process, but a political one. The issues discussed within these primers aim to encourage women's rights advocates and civil society organizations to continue and deepen their engagement—or join in the process—of calling for a more comprehensive, balanced, and inclusive approach to development cooperation that promotes sustainable and inclusive development for all.

Primer 10: On the Road to Busan: What is at stake for gender equality and women's rights?

This primer is devoted to outlining official and civil society preparations in the lead up to the 4th High Level Forum on Aid Effectiveness (HLF-4) taking place in Busan, South Korea, from November 29 to December 1, 2011. Throughout this document we refer to this process as “On the Road to Busan HLF-4”. The information presented here includes plans of the OECD-DAC Working Party on Aid Effectiveness and sub-groups, initial plans of women's rights organizations and networks and the BetterAid platform. The primer also points out what is at stake for gender equality and women's rights at the HLF-4. AWID would like to acknowledge the valuable contributions made by WIDE Network to this Primer.

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Primer No. 2: Key Official Bodies Related to the Implementation of the Paris Declaration

Primer No. 3: CSOs Engagement in the Aid Effectiveness Agenda: The Parallel Process, CSOs Concerns and Recommendations

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Primer No.10: On the Road to Busan: What is at stake for gender equality and women's rights?

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The Association for Women's Rights in Development (AWID) is an international feminist, membership organization committed to achieving gender equality, sustainable development and women's human rights. AWID's mission is to strengthen the voice, impact, and influence of women's rights advocates, organizations, and movements internationally to effectively advance the rights of women.

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ACRONYMS

AAA	Accra Agenda for Action
AWID	Association for Women's Rights in Development
BA	BetterAid
BACG	BetterAid Coordinating Group
BOD	Busan Outcome Document
CEDAW	Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women
CSO	Civil Society Organization
DAC	Development Assistance Committee
DCF	Development Cooperation Forum - United Nations
EU	European Union
ExCom	Working Party on Aid Effectiveness - Executive Committee
FEMNET	African Women's Development and Communication Network
GENDERNET	OECD-DAC Network on Gender Equality
GOVNET	OECD-DAC Network on Governance
HLF- 2/3/4	High Level Forum on Aid Effectiveness -2/3/4
IADG	Internationally Agreed Development Goals
ICESCR	International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights
INSTRAW	International Research and Training Institute for the Advancement of Women
MDG	Millennium Development Goals
ODA	Official Development Assistance
OECD	Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development
PD	Paris Declaration
POVNET	OECD-DAC Network on Poverty Reduction
RoA	Reality of Aid Network
TBC	To be confirmed
UN	United Nations
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UN Women	United Nations Entity for Gender Equality and the Empowerment of Women
WIDE	WIDE Network
WP-EFF	Working Party on Aid Effectiveness

INTRODUCTION: CHALLENGING THE AID EFFECTIVENESS PARADIGM

In 2005, civil society organizations (CSOs) bore witness to the signing of the Paris Declaration on Aid Effectiveness¹ (PD) an agreement to reform aid delivery and management in order to strengthen its impact and effectiveness. The PD was adopted in March 2005 at the 2nd High-Level Forum (HLF-2) on Aid Effectiveness organized by the Development Assistance Committee (DAC) of the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD). Since then, 25 donor countries², eight European Union (EU) emerging donor countries³, 101 developing countries⁴, and 27 multilateral institutions have formally adhered to the PD.⁵

While many CSOs acknowledge the importance of the five principles (ownership, alignment, harmonization, mutual accountability and management for results⁶) contained in the PD and the need for reform in official donor/developing country government development cooperation practices, CSOs are not signatories to the PD. They are critical of the process and are engaging in it from that angle.

CSOs and women's rights activists are concerned that the PD agenda is a highly technical process, donor driven, and focused more on aid management and delivery procedures than aid impact in achieving development goals. Along these lines, the United Nations (UN) Secretary General report on *Trends and Progress in International Development Cooperation*⁷ ahead of the UN 2008 Development Cooperation Forum (DCF) raised the following concerns (still relevant): "the Paris Declaration marked a step change in articulating benchmarks for progress, yet the negotiation process did not engage the full range of stakeholders [and] (...) discussions were dominated by members of the Development Assistance Committee." The PD came about "without the approval of a conventional international multi-stakeholder process." In addition, "the aid effectiveness agenda is not yet demonstrating its ability to change donor behaviour."

In 2010, 129 billion USD⁸ flowed in the form of Official Development Assistance (ODA) from bilateral and multilateral funding agencies to developing countries.⁹ Aid as a structuring device, process, and resource has had debatable effectiveness in reducing poverty and inequality, promoting development, and supporting gender equality and women's rights. Moreover, after more than fifty years of aid allocation, the beneficiaries of these public resources have rarely been women, who receive only a tiny proportion of overall ODA.¹⁰ Even if more recently aid allocation to gender equality and women's rights issues has raised somewhat, this is still far from what is required and demanded.¹¹

1. For further information on the Paris Declaration on Aid Effectiveness process, from a gender equality and women's rights perspective, please take a look at AWID's former *Primers on Aid Effectiveness*, available in English, French and Spanish.

2. DAC member countries, plus Iceland.

3. New EU member states, namely: Czech Republic, Cyprus (Republic of), Estonia, Hungary, Poland, Romania, Slovak Republic and Slovenia.

4. However, this group includes new emerging donor countries like: India, Kuwait, Korea, Malaysia, People's Republic of China, Russia, Saudi Arabia, South Africa and Thailand.

5. See *Countries, Territories and Organisations Adhering to the Paris Declaration and AAA*.

6. For further analysis, see Alemany C., Craviotto N. et al, *Implementing The Paris Declaration: Implications for the promotion of women's rights and gender equality* (AWID, 2008).

7. *Trends and progress in international development cooperation, Report of the Secretary-General, (ECOSOC, 2008)*, 15.

8. This number gathers only DAC members' ODA.

9. See *Development: Aid increases, but with worrying trends* (OECD, April 2011). Or read AWID's analysis in *Women Mobilizing for Profound Changes In Development Cooperation* (AWID, May 2011).

10. Although ODA was most frequently mentioned by a total of 35% of AWID "Where is the Money for Women's Rights" Survey respondents, it is clear that funds for gender equality represent a very tiny proportion of overall ODA. See page 48 of AWID's 2007 Second Fundher Report: *Financial Sustainability for Women's Movement's*.

11. See Alpizar L., Clark C., et al, *Context and Trends Influencing The Funding Landscape For Gender Equality And Women's Organizations and Movements*, (AWID, 2010), 6.

The PD commits donor countries to a common set of principles and targets to achieve aid effectiveness but CSOs are calling for more fundamental reforms in current aid priorities and practices, guided by principles and approaches¹² to ensure development effectiveness¹³ drives international development cooperation¹⁴:

1. Promote **development effectiveness** as the guiding framework for reforms in international development cooperation and reform the aid architecture to be inclusive, multilateral and equitable.
2. Focus on **human rights**, recognize the centrality of **poverty reduction, gender equality, social justice, decent work and environmental sustainability**.
3. Promote a transition from a narrow focus on aid management to a more **inclusive and outcomes-oriented emphasis on development**, less dependent on development cooperation.
4. Promote full implementation of existing commitments on (democratic) ownership, use of country systems and ending policy **conditionalities**.
5. Commit to **gender equality** and **women's rights**, as well as to the promotion of **decent work** and **equitable economic development**, as key objectives for sustainable development.
6. Create an enabling environment for **democratic ownership** and participation at all levels: CSOs, including women's rights organizations, along with parliaments, the media, the private sector and other development actors.
7. Improve **mutual accountability for development results** by expanding the range of actors involved in assessing aid and development effectiveness, particularly at the country level.
8. Make **aid transparent** to improve the accountability of donors and developing countries to each other and to their citizens — and to increase the impact of aid for sustainable and just development.
9. Address the reduction of poverty and inequality through a **comprehensive set of policy reforms** (aid, agricultural, financial, trade, investment, migration and other policies) that impact development.
10. The **monitoring of the PD** commitments must be fully transparent and inclusive of women's rights organizations and CSOs, and should not be an instrument to impose policy conditionalities that undermine the ownership principle and the right to development.
11. Indicators measuring progress must **focus on development effectiveness outcomes and be gender sensitive and gender specific**, requiring action on a much broader range of women's rights issues than those captured by the existing PD indicators.¹⁵ In relation to broad-based democratic ownership, an additional indicator to capture the scope of the participation of all stakeholders in relation to the national development strategy must be integrated. This includes asking if civil society participated in the formulation/monitoring of the national development strategy.¹⁶

Overall, development cooperation processes and policies must be aligned with international and regional agreements on human rights and gender equality, including the Beijing Platform for Action and the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW).¹⁷

CEDAW, the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (ESCR) and other conventions pose legal obligations to governments regarding issues of development, human rights, gender equality, and environmental sustainability. While the PD is not a binding agreement, international treaties endorsed by governments in the last decades must be the framework for development policies and practices. Governments should be held accountable for these commitments also within the PD agenda.¹⁸

12. Based on Human Rights, a truly democratic and inclusive multi-stakeholder approach, systemic coherence among global policies (including fulfillment of women's rights frameworks and just global governance), the goal to eradicate the root causes of poverty and structural inequalities, and alignment with international and regional agreements on human rights and gender equality.

13. While meeting aid effectiveness commitments is essential for development effectiveness, current reforms are insufficient because they are focused primarily on aid efficiency. Development effectiveness promotes sustainable change that addresses the root causes as well as the symptoms of poverty, inequality, marginalization and injustice. This approach positions poor and marginalized populations as central actors and owners of development, challenging many of the current approaches to aid effectiveness (BetterAid, 2010).

14. Adapted from BetterAid (2010). *Development Cooperation, Not Just Aid. Key Issues: Accra, Seoul and Beyond*.

15. Schoenstein, A, Alemany, C. et al., *Development cooperation beyond the aid effectiveness paradigm: A women's rights perspective* (AWID, 2011). The DAC Network on Gender Equality of the OECD has developed draft indicators on gender equality and aid effectiveness that "partners and donors can "choose to use" to measure their support for gender equality in the implementation of the Paris Declaration and the Accra Agenda for Action at the country level" (GENDERNET, 2010). While helpful these are only voluntary indicators, thus there are no sanctions for non-application.

16. Cluster A contribution to the 2011 Paris Declaration Monitoring Survey. (WP-EFF Portal)

17. Ibid. 15.

18. Adapted from the Accra Women's Forum statement (2008).

1. ON THE ROAD TO BUSAN

1.1 HLF-4 in Busan, South Korea, 2011

The 4th High Level Forum on Aid Effectiveness (HLF-4) will take place in Busan, South Korea, from November 29 to December 1, 2011, and is expected to be a milestone for international development, reflecting the collective effort by donors, developing countries and all development stakeholders to implement the international framework to improve the quality of aid. According to the *Road to Busan Document*¹⁹ submitted by the Development Assistance Committee of the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD-DAC) Working Party on Aid Effectiveness (WP-EFF), the HLF-4 will be a political multi-stakeholder event involving up to 2000 participants (including ministers, heads of bilateral and multilateral institutions, developing country governments, partners in south-south cooperation, civil society institutions, parliamentarians, local governments, foundations, the private sector and academia), from over 150 countries.

The goals of the HLF-4 are:

- Draw conclusions on whether the commitments and targets set for 2010 in the PD (2005) and the Accra Agenda for Action (AAA, from HLF-3, 2008) have been achieved or not, and why;
- Draw on evidence to identify characteristics of high quality aid to be reaffirmed and taken forward towards implementation by 2015 and beyond;
- Frame actions around aid quality in the broader context of development effectiveness to situate the role and impact of aid in the broader development contexts, challenges and partnerships.

The Executive Committee (ExCom)²⁰ led the preparation of the Busan Outcome Document (BOD) for negotiation at the WP-EFF plenary. A first draft of the Busan outcome document was released and discussed at the WP-EFF plenary meeting in July 2011. The results of that meeting and further consultations will serve as the basis for the second draft of the BOD that will be produced by the Co-chairs and the OECD Secretariat and released two weeks ahead of the October full meeting of the WP-EFF, where a second round of formal negotiations will begin. A final draft of the BOD will then be produced based on discussions at the October WP-EFF and the consultations that follow; this will be circulated at the ministerial level in the first week of November. The BOD will be finalized at HLF-4 itself. See Box 1 for more information:

BOX 1: Tentative milestones for the Busan Outcome Document (BOD) drafting process

Milestones	Timing	Consultation fora	Description
Preliminary: Menu of options	March – May 2011	Regional Meetings Executive Committee	Menu of options identifying issues. This was circulated for discussion at regional level events and other opportunities.
First draft	July 2011	WP-EFF Executive Committee	A first draft informed by the 2011 monitoring survey, PD Evaluation and other official HLF-4 reports, which was discussed at the July WP-EFF meetings.
Second draft	October 2011	WP-EFF Executive Committee	A second draft prepared in light of the comments received and based on the July discussions and other consultations, but still open to incorporate key outcomes and decisions taken during the Political Debates at the HLF-4.
Final draft (to be finalized at Busan HLF-4)	November 2011	Circulated at the ministerial level	A final draft will be circulated following discussions at the October meetings, comments received thereafter and other consultations to be finalized at the Busan HLF-4.
Busan HLF-4	2011	Busan HLF-4	HLF-4 will be defined in due course.

Source: OECD, WP-EFF, DCD/DAC/EFF(2010)2/REV2

19. OECD-DAC WP-EFF, Updated Road to Busan. The Fourth High Level Forum on Aid Effectiveness, (29 November-1 December 2011). The document is an updated version of the Roadmap (DCD/DAC/EFF(2010)2REV1). It provides minor updates on Section 5: Preparation Process and Milestones" OECD: Paris, France. The information presented in this primer 10 does not cover all the consultations and processes going on at the official level.

20. The body in charge of ensuring an effective implementation of the WP-EFF's mandate throughout the year is the WP-EFF Executive Committee. The Executive Committee manages the work plan, coordinates the clusters/work streams, ensures synergies, makes operational decisions, and prepares plenary meetings. All policy and strategy decisions must be put to the full Working Party membership, thus ensuring a transparent and accountable decision-making process. For more information please see AWID'S Primer 9: The Road to Korea 2011: Key official and civil society actors (AWID 2010) available in English, and Spanish.

In terms of subjects to be tackled during the HLF-4, the WP-EFF and its ExCom started to identify potential themes for Busan in the fall of 2010. The ExCom proposed the themes should address the key questions of: what worked (evidence), what did not work (why), and what is next (the “how-to”). Proposals for themes were refined throughout the first half of 2011 as the preparation process advanced. During the months of December 2010 and January 2011 all interested stakeholders were invited to propose themes that the WP-EFF Secretariat put into a document (called menu of options²¹) for discussion at the March 2011 WP-EFF ExCom meeting. Participants had the opportunity to further amend and update the draft as necessary until June 2011, when the menu of options was replaced by the first draft outcome document for discussion at the July WP-EFF plenary. BetterAid²² also submitted themes on gender equality, human rights, ending policy conditionalities, and building an inclusive development cooperation architecture, among others. The OECD-DAC Network on Gender Equality (GENDERNET) and the Korean government also made a submission on the theme of gender equality.

Developing countries identified their priority issues for the HLF-4 in the “Partner Countries’ Position Paper”²³, citing, among others: predictable aid, use of country systems, an end to policy conditionality, alignment with country goals, country-driven capacity development, mutual accountability and focus on results, and reduced transaction costs.

Regarding the structure of the HLF 4:

- Day 1 will focus on “Progress since Paris”, reviewing evidence and lessons learned from countries in implementing the PD and AAA commitments with the objective of identifying good practice, and areas that require further action and reaffirmation.
- Day 2 will begin with an official **Opening Plenary**. Keynote speakers will discuss trends in aid and development finance highlighting emerging challenges and opportunities to forge a new consensus on aid and development effectiveness. In addition, the opening plenary will provide an opportunity to report back on recommendations and conclusions from aid effectiveness sessions and the Parliamentary Forum that will take place on Day 1.
- Days 2 and 3 will consist of **high-level (ministerial) sessions** to discuss, where necessary, outstanding issues to be resolved so that these can be reflected in the “Busan HLF-4 Outcome Document”. More importantly, the high-level sessions should propose and endorse “**building blocks**” for post-Busan action and implementation. Building blocks can include for example, finding practical ways to implement principles contained in the outcome document; showcasing initiatives around a few key themes and leaving space for willing stakeholders to sign up to further concretize implementation initiatives.
- Day 3 will end with a **Closing Plenary** that will review and consolidate the conclusions from the high-level sessions leading to the finalization and endorsement of the “Busan HLF-4 Outcome Document”.

Additional components of HLF-4 include:

- **On-site negotiation of the “Busan HLF-4 Outcome Document”**: The format and linkages with the high-level sessions will be defined in due course.
- A **Parliamentary Forum**, on Day 1, will provide a platform for parliamentarians to exchange their views on, and experiences with, implementing the aid effectiveness agenda.
- A **Knowledge and Innovation Space (KIS)** for organizations and countries to showcase and share their good practice, and innovation on HLF-4 themes.
- A **Program of Side Events** at the Bexco Convention Center. Sponsors for these events will be responsible for their preparation and organization.
- A **Youth Forum** on Day 3 organized by the Korean government to raise awareness on development cooperation amongst youth.

Leading up to Busan, the WP-EFF will be the principal forum for the HLF-4 preparations, with two plenary meetings planned for 2011. The ExCom will meet at more regular intervals over the course of 2011.

All WP-EFF cluster and work-stream²⁴ leaders are implementing their work plans with a view to providing inputs for HLF-4 by informing evidence of progress and identifying areas for further efforts.

BOX 2: Meeting dates in 2011

WP-EFF	ExComm
July 7-8, 2011, Paris	March 9-10, 2011, Paris
October 5-6, 2011, Paris	July 9, 2011, Paris
	October 7, 2011, Paris

21. Menu of options: Themes for HLF4 (March 2011).

22. More information on BetterAid at www.betteraid.org/.

23. OECD, Position Paper: Partner Countries’ Vision and Priority Issues for HLF-4, 12 June 2011.

24. For further information on clusters and work streams see Primer 9: The Road to Korea 2011: Key official and civil society actors (AWID 2010)

1.2 On the Road to Busan HLF-4: Regional Meetings²⁵

In the fall of 2010, regional 2011 Monitoring Survey Launch Workshops were completed in all five regions, in Cape Verde, Tunisia, Guatemala, Cambodia, and Jordan. The workshops were organized by the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), in cooperation with the OECD to provide an opportunity for National Co-ordinators and Donor Focal Points to become familiar with the PD survey process and methodology. These workshops also provided an opportunity for initial consultations with developing countries on their interests and expectations for HLF-4.

Other regional-level consultations have taken place in South Africa, Tunisia, Barbados and Guatemala. Others are being planned at the regional, sub-regional, and thematic level for 2011.

1.3 On the Road to Busan HLF-4: Consultations for Developing Countries²⁶

The current WP-EFF process established a group of focus countries with the objective of increasing the consistency between headquarter and field implementation of aid effectiveness commitments. This exercise aimed to provide evidence on implementation from a number of countries, including Ghana, Malawi, Rwanda, Mali, and Ecuador.

The Partner Country Caucus, which meets under the guidance of the WP-EFF, has the role of identifying and prioritising issues for decision at Busan HLF-4. Groupings of countries, such as the g7+²⁷ and fragile states groups, as well as partners in south-south cooperation, are pursuing stakeholder-specific consultative processes. To ensure inclusiveness and transparency of the process, an on-line and public developing country consultation tool was available until December 2010.

Respondents to the online consultation²⁸ felt strongly that HLF-4 should place emphasis on the PD and AAA commitments and focus on high quality aid. Many respondents – particularly partner government officials – emphasized the need for accountability and action to implement existing commitments. Some indicated continued monitoring of efforts as an important element. Alignment, capacity development, managing for results, and transparency were highlighted as particularly important areas of the aid effectiveness agenda to date. Civil society representatives stressed the importance of deepening implementation of commitments to civil society and the environments within which it operates in developing countries.

Alongside this, respondents expressed a range of views on how and whether the agenda should be broadened to consider more actors, other sources of finance, and non-aid dimensions of development effectiveness. For example, aid from non-DAC donors, climate change financing, and aspects of domestic revenue mobilization featured in the responses, as did the role of aid in fragile states, issues relating to aid exit strategies, and aid to middle income countries.

In addition, developing countries stressed the need for their active involvement in preparations for HLF-4. Several respondents highlighted the need for political-level engagement, and for opportunities to support this before HLF-4. The need to consult a broader set of stakeholders providing adequate and timely information on HLF-4 and its preparation process was also stated as important.

Moreover, according to the WP-EFF updated Road to Busan document, several WP-EFF members support the establishment of a "Partner Country Contact Group" to bring together high-level developing country representatives. Its proposed role is to provide advice on the content of the HLF-4, and is potentially comparable to the role played by the DAC among donor countries. This group exists now but does not have the same weight as the DAC. It is a caucus formed by the WP-EFF.

25. Further information can be found in the OECD website 2011 survey on monitoring the Paris Declaration.

26. Based on Road to Busan updated Roadmap (WP-EFF, OECD, March 2011).

27. The g7+ is an independent and autonomous forum of fragile and conflict affected countries and regions that have united to form one collective voice on the global stage. See OECD page on g7+ .

28. WP-EFF, What do partner countries want from HLF-4? Results of the online consultation (OECD-DAC, 2011).

1.4 On the Road to Busan HLF-4: Evidence and Inputs - Main official reports

Ahead of Busan HLF-4, discussions and decisions are based on evidence. Therefore, accessible evidence of progress and messages on the challenges in implementing the PD and AAA commitments and future priorities will be consolidated into three main official HLF-4 reports. These reports target politicians, international development professionals, as well as the general public and a more technical audience.

The three main reports are:

- **Progress Since Paris:** This report is being coordinated by the DAC Secretariat and will capture results from the “2011 Survey on Monitoring the Paris Declaration” (carried out in 88 developing countries²⁹), conducted jointly with the Fragile States Principles Survey (14 countries/territories). The findings of the surveys will draw on prioritized qualitative and quantitative evidence from clusters and work streams, as well as from external sources including the DAC subsidiary networks (i.e. GENDERNET, GOVNET, POVNET), external partners, and CSOs, including women’s organizations.³⁰ This report will be published in September 2011.
- **Phase II of the Independent Evaluation of the Implementation of the Paris Declaration:** This report will capture evidence on the outcomes and impact of increased aid effectiveness. The evaluation report, that went through a validation process within the International Reference Group,³¹ is now available online.³²
- **Key Findings and Recommendations:** A single, brief volume that highlights key issues identified, targeting a political audience and the general public. The “Key Findings and Recommendations” report was drafted by the DAC Secretariat will be available in September 2011.

29. See Countries Participating in the 2011 Survey, (OECD, April 2011).

30. For further information on the 2011 Survey on Monitoring the Paris Declaration visit the website.

31. Comprised by partner country members of the WP-EFF, members of the DAC Evaluation Network, and representatives of civil society.

32. To read and download the report, please see the Paris Declaration Evaluation webpage.

2. ROAD TO BUSAN HIGH LEVEL FORUM 4: WHAT IS AT STAKE FOR GENDER EQUALITY AND WOMEN'S RIGHTS?

Aid is extremely important for some countries—representing over ten percent of recipient Gross National Income for nearly fifty percent of poor countries—therefore, it is vital to have a consistent development cooperation architecture in order to address inequalities. However, compared to other financial flows (i.e. loans, foreign direct investment, etc.), for developed countries, aid flows represent a relatively small investment while South-North flows remain at a much higher level to the detriment of Southern countries' development possibilities.

For example, while the average ODA for the 2002-2006 period was of 84 billion USD, new loans – that are debt creating—accounted for an average of 380 billion USD. For this same period, developing countries paid an average of 456 billion USD only in debt servicing, which amounts to at least five times the ODA channelled.³³

CSOs, including women's rights organizations, have criticized the aid effectiveness process of the PD and AAA for being a highly technical agenda, concentrated on reforming aid delivery and management. They point out that the aid effectiveness process neglects the contribution of aid and development cooperation towards achieving sustainable and just development. CSOs, including women's rights organizations, are sceptical that a mere technical aid reform will work to reduce poverty and inequalities or generate development results. In addition, the focus on the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) is also highly problematic from a gender equality and women's rights perspective because MDGs provide a limited framework for guiding development aid, compared to the achievements of: the UN conferences in the 1990s (notably, the IV World Conference on Women in Beijing, China, 1995); the Monterrey Consensus; the internationally agreed development goals (IADG).³⁴ Above all, the aid effectiveness process is a setback with respect to the existing instruments of human rights.

Recently, women's rights movements—who have been critical of the dominant development paradigm for decades due to its over-reliance on the economy and markets—gained ground in high-level fora representation. For example, space was created in the official meeting for representatives from women's rights groups to discuss aid during the HLF-3 and at the Follow-up International Conference on Financing for Development to review the implementation of the Monterrey Consensus in Doha (November/December 2008). Since HLF-3, CSOs obtained full membership to the WP-EFF and are represented there by the open CSO platform BetterAid Coordinating Group (BACG), where women's groups are actively contributing.

The HLF-3 brought some progress for gender equality and women's rights agendas (see AWID Primer #8: *The Accra Agenda for Action: A brief review from a women's rights perspective*). However, advances in language were undermined by the lack of new targets or time-bound monitorable commitments to measure progress on these actions and some other key areas were left out or addressed insufficiently (i.e. decent work, policy conditionality, tied aid, mutual accountability and the reform of the aid governance system). Thus, CSOs, including women's rights' groups, argue that policy and advocacy work needs to continue ahead to the HLF-4.

According to the WP-EFF, “the HLF-4 will be a major landmark in the long-term process of building global, regional, and national partnerships for the effective achievement of development results. It can also be a turning-point at which it will be important to chart future directions for the aid effectiveness and partnership agenda, beyond the PD and MDGs, engaging all players in addressing the development challenges for the coming years and decades.”³⁵

Engaging with women's rights groups and networks, gender equality advocates from official spaces, donors and international organizations, is a necessary step to promote an inclusive debate on gender equality, women's rights, development effectiveness,³⁶ development cooperation, and to influence the preparations and the HLF-4. Therefore, ahead of HLF-4, building from the mobilization done for HLF-3 in Accra, it makes sense to continue promoting women's participation and proposals. Given what is at stake in Busan, the

33. EURODAD, Eurodad fact sheet: Capital flight diverts development finance (EURODAD, 2008).

34. Schoenstein, A, Alemany, C. et al., Development cooperation beyond the aid effectiveness paradigm: A women's rights perspective (AWID, 2011).

35. WP-EFF, Draft 2: Vision for the Fourth High Level Forum (OECD-DAC, 2010).

36. For more information about the concept of development effectiveness see Development cooperation beyond the aid effectiveness paradigm: A women's rights perspective, chapter four (AWID 2011).

voices of women's rights and gender equality advocates must be heard and translated into action. In order to make this a reality, women's groups are already mobilizing and preparing, as box 5 shows. Critical advocacy areas for HLF-4 and beyond are outlined in Box 4.

BOX 4: Critical advocacy areas for Busan and Beyond from a gender equality and women's rights perspective

- **Moving beyond aid effectiveness to a human rights based development cooperation framework:** A human rights-based approach to development would be key to a new development cooperation framework that bridges international human rights standards and development interventions. It would help emphasize women's rights, the right to development and environmental justice, and economic, social, and cultural rights (ESCR).³⁷
- **Moving from the OECD-DAC to the United Nations:** A rights-based approach would allow for a more comprehensive development cooperation framework, which needs to come together with a serious reform of the system that is currently in place for development cooperation. HLF-4 is an opportunity to come to a truly inclusive, sustainable, just, and comprehensive framework.
- **Ensuring policy coherence for development:** Donor and developing country governments must take a coherent approach to development, closing the gap between macroeconomic and social policies. The current system results in a growth of social inequality and the perpetuation of gender equality and discrimination against women worldwide.
- **Monitoring gender equality commitments:** Commitments must go hand in hand with concrete targets and monitoring indicators that are sensitive to gender equality and women's rights. While the three GENDERNET indicators on gender equality and aid effectiveness integrated into the 2011 PD monitoring survey are important for the current process, in the future, such indicators cannot be optional. All parties to the aid effectiveness agenda and UN member states should have an obligation to respond to them.
- **Ensuring accountability and CSO participation in development cooperation processes:** The main issues promoted by women's groups on the Road to Accra and on the Road to Busan, include: making governments and international organizations accountable to their commitments on gender equality, human rights and sustainable development; a call for high standards on transparency and access to information; promote participatory and multi-stakeholder processes where civil society in general and women's groups in particular have a voice and participate in a systematic manner.
- **Ensuring adequate financial resources to accomplish commitments made towards gender equality and women's empowerment**³⁸; In order to implement commitments made to gender equality and women's rights it is important to integrate a strategic plan for financing gender equality and women's empowerment at international, regional, and national levels.³⁹
- **Ensuring CSOs and women's rights groups meaningful participation in the Busan process, as well as the inclusion of their recommendations:** The meaningful participation of CSOs and women's rights groups throughout the preparatory process and in Busan is required in order for the above mentioned issues and others (such as democratic ownership, ending policy conditionality, untying aid, and decent work) to be addressed.

37. Raaber, N, Cecilia Alemany, and Anne Schoenstein, *Alternative development models and practices from feminist perspectives*, Debate Issues prepared for the 53rd Session of the Commission on the Status of Women (AWID, 2009).

38. Recommendation coming out from the Accra International Women's Forum Statement (August 2008).

39. For example, donors and developing countries should follow the recommendation of the meeting of the UN Expert Group on Financing for Gender Equality asking governments to commit to reach 10% of ODA for gender equality and women's empowerment by 2010 and 20% by 2015, setting out in the action plan of donors, recipient countries and the DAC strategies for reaching the target, monitoring performance and evaluating impact (Expert Group on Financing for Gender Equality - the UN Commission on the Status of Women, Oslo, September 2007). Gender Budget initiatives should also be promoted and strengthened: domestic resource mobilization should encourage gender-responsive budgeting to ensure that relevant commitments to gender equality, poverty eradication and social welfare and protection are resourced.

3. WOMEN'S RIGHTS ORGANIZATIONS' PLANS ON THE ROAD TO BUSAN

The relative successes during the Accra HLF-3 and its outcome text (the AAA) for gender equality and women's rights were a consequence of advocates' preparatory work, including: gender equality advocates within governmental institutions; the GENDERNET; UN Women; women's rights organizations and networks; and women's rights advocates in general.⁴⁰

Women's rights organizations and networks held several consultations and meetings related to the Road to Accra HLF-3 resulting in ambitious expectations for the HLF-3⁴¹:

1. International Women's Consultation: Ottawa, Canada, January 31–February 1, 2008.
2. European Women's Consultation: Brussels, Belgium, May 7, 2008.
3. African Women's Consultation: Nairobi, Kenya, May 26-27, 2008.
4. West African Women's Consultative Meeting: Lomé, Togo, June 25–27, 2008.
5. Latin American Women's Consultation: Bogotá, Colombia, June 3, 2008.
6. Accra International Women's Forum: Accra, Ghana, August 30, 2008.

Lessons learned from the mobilization toward the HLF-3 showed that gender equality and women's rights messages are stronger when working in alliances within women's movements and with other civil society platforms. Thus, alliance building and capacity building among women's rights organizations, parallel to lobby and advocacy work, is crucial to have a strong presence and integration of gender equality and women's rights issues On the Road to Busan, the HLF-4, and its outcome.

Box 5 presents some of the activities⁴² both completed and planned by some women's rights organizations and networks.

BOX 5: On the Road to Busan: Gender equality and women's rights activities in 2011

- February 8, 2011, World Social Forum, Dakar, Senegal: **Awareness raising session on the road to Busan HLF-4 on "Women transforming the development cooperation system: Opportunities and challenges for gender justice."** Convenors: FEMNET, WIDE, AWID with support of UN Women.
- February 28, 2011, Commission on the Status of Women (CSW), New York, United States: Awareness raising session on **"On the Road to Busan HLF4: Women transforming the development cooperation system and practices"**. Convenors: AWID, WIDE, FEMNET with support of UN Women.
- February 26–27, 2011, New York, United States: **International strategy meeting. "On the Road Again: Feminist visions and strategies towards Busan and beyond"**. Convenors: AWID, WIDE, FEMNET with support of UN Women.
- May 30–31, 2011, Yaoundé, Cameroun: **Regional consultative meeting on opportunities and challenges on the implementation of Paris Declaration () and Accra Agenda for Action () in Africa.** Organized by FEMNET in partnership with RoA Network, NETRIGHT and FEMNET Cameroon.
- June 9–10, 2011, Brussels, Belgium: **International consultation on development cooperation, women's rights and gender equality. "On the Road Again: Feminist visions and strategies towards Busan and beyond"**. Hosted by WIDE in cooperation with women's groups of the BACG: AWID, the Asia Pacific Forum on Women, Law and Development (APWLD), Coordinadora de la Mujer/Bolivia, the African Women's Development and Communication Network (FEMNET). This activity is part of the BetterAid program.
- November 26, 2011, Busan, Korea: **Women's Forum on Development Cooperation: women's rights and gender equality.** The current proposal is for the Women's Forum to be part of the planned CSO preparatory meetings prior to HLF-4. See box 7 for further information.

40. For further information on the outcomes of the HLF-3 from a gender equality and women's rights perspective see Primer 8: The Accra Agenda for Action: A brief review from a women's rights perspective (AWID 2011).

41. For further information on the Consultations' outcomes, see Primer 7: Gender equality and Aid Effectiveness: regional perspectives in the preparation process towards Accra (AWID 2010)

42. This list of activities and plans is not complete. Other equally important processes and activities may be going on that may not be reflected here.

In addition, women's groups are currently carrying out different activities relevant for the Road to Busan process and HLF-4 itself. The following provides a detailed description of each organization's activities.

- FEMNET has conducted country-based studies in a number of African countries (Kenya, South Africa, Senegal, Burkina Faso, Uganda). The purpose of the studies is to assess the extent to which the targets of the Paris Declaration have been achieved since the adoption of the AAA, including the monitoring of how the aid effectiveness agenda is contributing to the achievement of gender equality results. The studies assess if implementation of the AAA has contributed to supporting women's economic empowerment, improved policies, and access to training, employment opportunities and productive resources for women.⁴³ Key findings from the research will also inform African women's position at the HLF-4.
- WIDE has prepared a mapping study on six EU member states: Spain, Poland, the United Kingdom, Austria, the Netherlands, and Denmark. This looks at EU aid levels and analyzes donors' efforts to implement the PD and AAA with regard to gender equality and women's empowerment. The evidence gathered shows that the aid effectiveness framework has not engendered EU practice and that the commitments made haven't been operationalized. Box 6 shows the key findings from the mapping report. These efforts are crucial to have evidence-based information on the implementation of the PD and the AAA in relation to gender equality and human rights, including women's rights.

Box 6: Key findings from the WIDE mapping report on the Implementation of the PD and AAA in EU donor countries

1. Recognition of gender equality and women's empowerment within development policies of the EU Member States has increased since 2005.
2. There has been more engagement with civil society as an actor in its own right at least at the national level in the EU countries.
3. Aid transparency improved but there is lack of information and primary data to determine the level of gender policies' implementation and the results on the ground.
4. EU donors are lacking capacity to track funding for gender equality within the new aid modalities context.
5. While there has been progress in attention to gender equality and human rights in the EU Member States policies, operationalization of gender strategies and action plans is less advanced.
6. Conceptualization of gender equality and women's rights remains narrow in the development programmes of the EU donors.
7. The PD and AAA raised the profile of democratic ownership, yet the EU donors haven't advanced it enough.
8. Progress is less consistent on mutual accountability while transparency and the value for money approach⁴⁴ is on the rise.
9. Although the PD facilitated major changes within development cooperation throughout the EU, there are still actors that find the aid effectiveness agenda new and difficult to engage with.
10. The current political climate in the EU Member States is not very enabling to push for more progressive commitments during HLF-4 and in the worst case scenario can even threaten the sustainability of the work already done.

For more information visit: www.wide-network.org

- AWID, in addition to the Development Cooperation and Women's Rights Series, finalized a discussion paper on Development cooperation beyond the aid effectiveness paradigm: A women's rights perspective⁴⁵.

Looking back at the lessons learned from the mobilization towards the Accra HLF-3, it is important to build on the synergies among efforts by GENDERNET, UN Women and other women's groups, CSOs, and networks. One space for relevant information sharing about the aid effectiveness agenda and related processes, particularly from a gender equality and women's rights perspective, is the Google group listserv hosted by AWID: the-road-to-accra-and-beyond@googlegroups.org.

43. Terms of Reference for Research on Opportunities and Challenges on the Implementation of AAA in Africa.

44. Note from the authors: This emerging focus on 'value for money' is highly problematic from a women's rights perspective and is being criticized strongly also by other CSOs. It stands in total opposition to a human rights based approach to development cooperation.

45. Schoenstein, A., Cecilia Alemany, *Development cooperation beyond the aid effectiveness paradigm: A women's rights perspective* (AWID, 2011).

4. CSOs PLANS ON THE ROAD TO BUSAN: THE BETTERAID PLATFORM

On the Road to the Accra HLF-3, a broad coalition of over 380 CSOs from 80 countries put forward its messages and recommendations, voicing CSO critiques and concerns about the PD and its implementation and calling for a more inclusive and sustainable development cooperation framework. Looking at HLF-4 and beyond, CSOs remain committed to advocate for a new, inclusive, and just development cooperation architecture and more equitable global governance. The BetterAid⁴⁶ Platform (with a current member base of over 1000 organizations), through the BACG, and as representative of CSOs in the WP-EFF and its Executive Committee, is actively involved in the official processes related to the HLF-4 preparations (i.e. contributing to the consultation around the HLF-4 structure and themes or the HLF-4 outcome document). Women's organizations and networks within the group are also actively participating with their specific expertise and recommendations. BetterAid together with the Open Forum⁴⁷ is also taking care of the CSO selection process for HLF-4. Still, while these two CSO platforms and processes are very active, broad CSO, including women's organizations, mobilization towards the HLF-4 is crucial.

Box 7 shows some of the BetterAid activities. For further activities, information and updates please visit: www.betteraid.org

BOX 7: On the Road to Busan: BetterAid activities

The BetterAid platform, with coordination through the BACG, is organizing regional and global activities in preparation for the HLF-4 in Busan. Some of these activities are:

- **Regular BACG meetings and participation of BACG representatives in the WP-EFF and related meetings and consultation processes**, which includes participation in the WP-EFF ExCom meetings.
- **Country consultations (co-coordinated with the Reality of Aid Network/IBON)**: Four country level, two sub-regional level, and one regional level consultations in Africa; 13 country level and two sub-regional level consultations in Asia; and eight country level and two regional level consultations in Latin America. Further information is available at www.betteraid.org/country_consultations and at www.realityofaid.org
- January 20, 2011, Colombo, Sri Lanka: **BetterAid/People's Coalition on Food Sovereignty (PCFS) joint Conference on Aid and Development Effectiveness on the Issue of Food, Agriculture and Rural Development.**
- April 7–8, 2011, Dar Es Salaam, Tanzania: **BetterAid/PCFS - Regional Multi-Stakeholder Forum and CSO Consultation on Aid and Development Effectiveness in Agriculture and Rural Development.**
- March 8–10, 2011, Paris, France: **BetterAid / Trade Union Consultation on Development Effectiveness.**
- March 14–15, 2011, Hårnösand, Sweden: **CSO Strategy Meeting BetterAid - Open Forum.**
- June 9–10, 2011, Brussels, Belgium: **BetterAid/International consultation on development cooperation, women's rights and gender equality: "On the road again: Feminist visions and strategies towards Busan and beyond".**
- September 2011, Montreal, Canada, at CIVICUS World Assembly: Workshops and Fora. BetterAid on:
 - "Making development cooperation just: A new Aid Architecture"
 - BetterAid and Peoples' Movement on Climate Change: "Voices and Perspectives on Rio+20 and Green Growth"
 - "Green Climate Funds: Financing for climate justice, and not climate structural adjustment"
- November 26–28 & November 29–December 1, 2011, Busan, Korea: **Preparatory and parallel CSO events and activities to the HLF-4.**

In terms of CSO efforts towards Busan, it is also important to note that the Reality of Aid (RoA) is conducting a shadow report of the OECD's monitoring survey assessing the implementation of the Paris Declaration and the Accra Agenda for Action. The shadow report aims to:

- Provide a broad appraisal of aid effectiveness reforms promoted by the Paris Declaration and the Accra Agenda for Action, key issues surrounding aid and development effectiveness that may or may not be addressed by the Phase 2 Evaluation, as well as the imperatives for moving forward; and
- Offer country level, evidence based CSO monitoring that may counter, enrich or reinforce the findings of the official Monitoring Survey.⁴⁸ The report is set for publication in September 2011.

46. Primer 9 provides more details about BetterAid and its coordinating group. CSOs can join the BetterAid platform and mailing list (betteraid@betteraid.org) via the website, www.betteraid.org, or by contacting Clare Birkett at comms@betteraid.org. Anybody can register to receive the newsletter on the BetterAid website and it can also be downloaded there. Importantly, please also visit the BetterAid website to access key CSO documents such as the BetterAid policy papers and statements, including the document 'CSOs on the road to Busan: Key messages and proposals'.

47. Further information about the Open Forum for CSO Development Effectiveness can be accessed on their website.

48. See Better Aid, CSO shadow report of OECD's Monitoring Survey, on the way (February 2011).

CONCLUSION

The PD and AAA symbolize the highest degree of consensus and determination to reform aid and make it more effective with the aim of fighting poverty and inequality and accelerate progress towards meeting the MDGs.⁴⁹ The PD neglected the inclusion of universal matters such as human rights which include women's rights, gender equality and the empowerment of women. These are the cornerstones for sustainable development and social justice. Although the commitments undertaken at the Accra HLF-3 reflected an effort from different arenas (governmental and non-governmental) to integrate gender equality and women's rights into the aid effectiveness framework, they were still modest.⁵⁰ Furthermore, the advances in language were undermined by the lack of new targets or time-bound, monitorable commitments to measure progress.

Several civil society organizations – through the BetterAid platform - already submitted their [responses to the BOD](#) based on a set of [key messages and proposals](#) agreed on a CSO strategy meeting in Sweden in March 2011.

Women's organizations and gender equality advocates, in addition, agreed on a set of [six key demands](#) that reaffirm their vision for transformation and offer concrete recommendations for improving the international development cooperation architecture. This first draft of the BOD is not acceptable to women's organizations because it is gender silent and does not advance a vision or framework where the existing internationally agreed development goals (IADGs) on gender equality, human rights, decent work and environmental sustainability are at the center.

Women's rights and gender equality groups are clear about key demands⁵¹ towards HLF4 and beyond:

A new development cooperation framework should be based on human rights. Moving beyond aid effectiveness, the new framework, policies, and practice must align with international human rights and gender equality standards.

A new equitable development cooperation system should be under the United Nations, thus ensuring the equal participation of countries, which have been traditionally excluded from decision-making processes at the regional and international levels. The DCF should be strengthened to become the main space for standard-setting on development cooperation and the promotion of systematic coherence among global policies for development, including effective mechanisms of ongoing participation of CSOs.

On the Road to Busan HLF-4, there is a risk that gender equality and women's rights issues are left out, or not meaningfully integrated, as the first draft of the Busan Outcome Document shows.

The process towards Busan HLF-4 and the civil society forum presents a significant opportunity to keep promoting our concerns and recommendations.

As gender equality and women's rights advocates, we aim to shift the traditional development discourse towards an inclusive, sustainable, and just paradigm that recognizes and values reproductive and care work and enables all people to fulfill their rights, engage in policy processes, and promote their own development vision, based on their local experiences, needs and responses, free from any kind of violence.⁵²

49. De la Cruz, C., Financing for Development and Women Rights: a critical review. (WIDE, 2010).

50. Craviotto, N., Engendering aid: analysis of the Accra outcomes (FRIDE, 2008).

51. From Key Demands from women's group to Busan agreed at women's consultation (2011).

52. Schoenstein, A., Cecilia Alemany, et al., Development Cooperation Beyond the Aid Effectiveness Paradigm: A women's rights perspective. A Discussion Paper (AWID 2011).

WHY SHOULD WOMEN'S RIGHTS GROUPS CARE ABOUT THE AID EFFECTIVENESS AGENDA? WHAT IS AT STAKE FOR WOMEN AND GENDER JUSTICE?

GOAL: To promote a new framework for development cooperation from a women's rights perspective that includes: i) Human Rights, including environmental, economic, social, and cultural rights, with an integrated gender approach; ii) A truly democratic, inclusive and multi-stakeholder approach ensuring participation of women's rights organisations; iii) systematic coherence among global policies, including fulfilment of women's rights frameworks and just global governance; and iv) the goal to eradicate the root causes of poverty and structural inequalities.

The Paris Declaration and the AAA are still gender blind!

Within these documents no measures to promote women's rights, gender equality, or human rights standards are proposed or acknowledged through impact assessments or any other measures. Hence, gender sensitive and gender specific indicators measuring progress on development effectiveness outcomes must be integrated into development cooperation processes.

Women's rights and gender equality are often not reflected in national development plans!

The new aid architecture is designed to align aid to nationally-determined development priorities—severely problematic in some government contexts where gender-sensitive strategies are neither practiced nor promoted. Alignment with a country's priorities, while desirable in theory, can negatively impact the lives of women and hinder the achievement of key development commitments when implemented in political contexts characterised by gender inequality and human rights violations, for example. In sum, developing countries' priorities and development plans must be aligned with international and regional agreements on human rights and gender equality (including the Beijing Platform for Action and CEDAW), with no policy conditionalities and no tied aid.

Government actions alone will not reduce poverty—adversely affecting women!

The Aid Effectiveness agenda focuses on institutional reforms in government for a more effective and efficient aid system, instead of on conditions for effective and sustainable development and for democratising the international cooperation processes. We call for a broader vision of development cooperation promoting development effectiveness for all.

Preserve the strategic roles that CSOs play for women!

Civil society and women's rights organisations have little space to influence the Aid Effectiveness process. Their contributions and roles as key development actors are essential for creating a climate of social, political, and economic change and reducing poverty, social inequality, and gender inequality. Furthermore, predictable, long-term and diversified funding for women's organisations promoting gender equality and women's rights should be ensured.

The PD is another effort to agree on international targets and indicators (such as the MDGs) for aid effectiveness.

The PD agenda was defined by donors (at the OECD) and the current Aid Effectiveness process is being monitored by indicators developed by the World Bank (WB). Where are the voices and contributions of women's organisations and other CSOs in this context? Why should international development priorities be agreed at the OECD instead of at a multilateral/multistakeholders' forum such as the UN?

Nowadays, civil society groups and several development actors understand development effectiveness (not aid effectiveness) as a more comprehensive framework for development cooperation. As women's rights activists we should aim for a shift in the development cooperation system and the aid effectiveness paradigm towards an inclusive, sustainable, and just paradigm. The ultimate goal is to contribute to social justice and engage substantively in building participatory democracies at the local, national, regional, and global levels, towards a more equal and inclusive global governance system.



ABOUT THIS PRIMER

Primer 10: On the Road to Busan: What is at stake for gender equality and women's rights?
DEVELOPMENT COOPERATION AND WOMEN'S RIGHTS SERIES

This primer is devoted to outlining official and civil society preparations in the lead up to the 4th High Level Forum on Aid Effectiveness (HLF-4) in 2011, and what is at stake for gender equality and women's rights.