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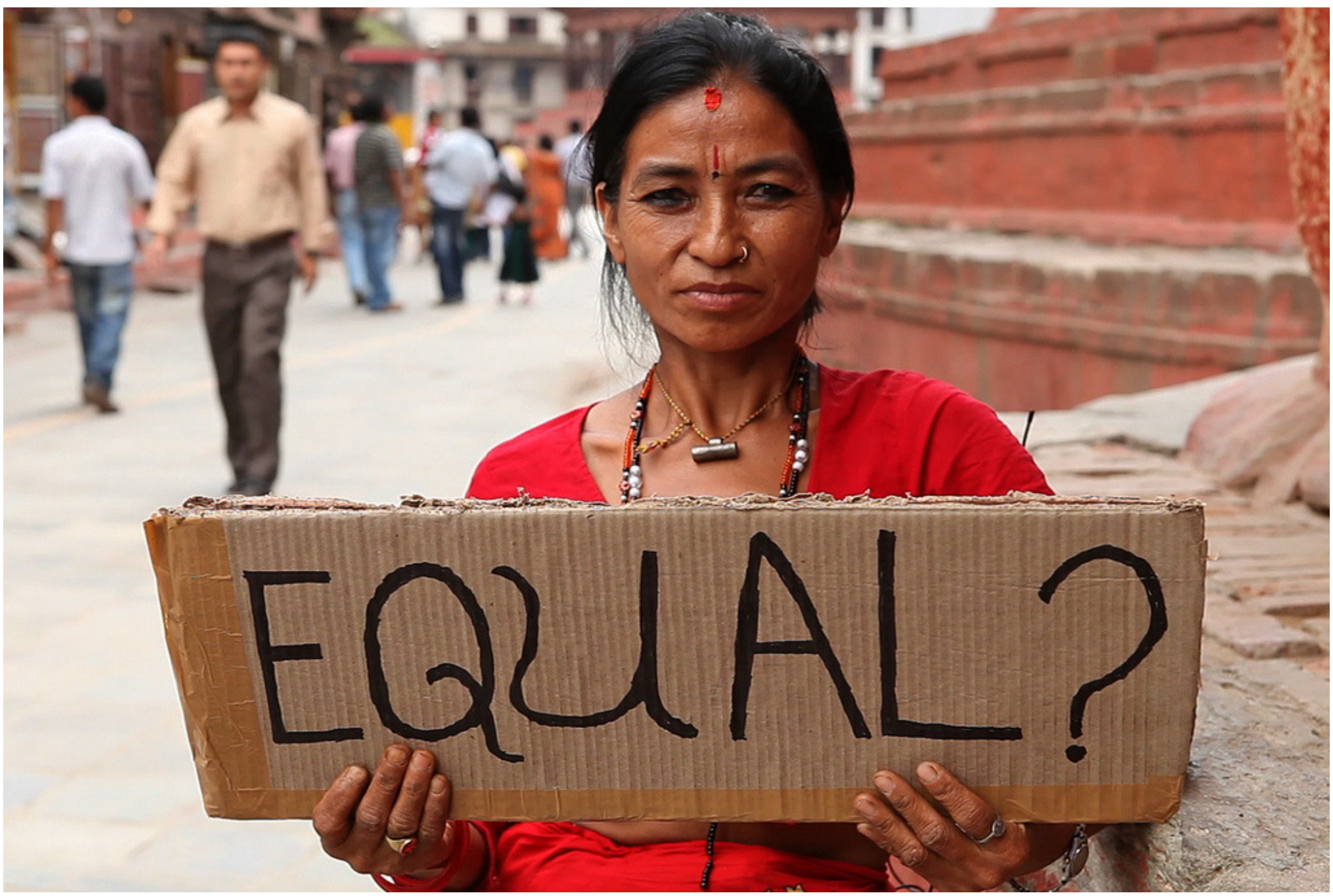

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Author: Liane Schalatek
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Heinrich Böll Stiftung
North America

1432 K Street NW
Suite 500
Washington, DC 20005
United States
T +1 202 462 7512
F +1 202 462 5230
E info@us.boell.org
www.us.boell.org

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On year after the UN Conference on Sustainable Development (UNCSD), commonly referred to a "Rio +20" elaborated on the global community's shared understanding of "the future we want", follow up processes have started to sketch out possible outlines of a post-2015 framework with a set of sustainable development goals (SDG) as likely successor to the millennium development goal process (MDG), which ends in 2015. Gender-equitable sustainable development approaches will be key to addressing the shortcomings of the MDG process, which largely failed to significantly reduce persistent poverty and inequalities, including between men and women, in a natural environment that is overstressed, continues to be depleted in the name of economic growth and development, and is taken as a given. In order to succeed, truly sustainable development needs the marrying of the care economy which recognizes and accounts for primarily women's unpaid social reproduction and care burden with the instruments of a green economy approach that internalizes and values (not necessarily prizes and commodifies) the use of environmental resources. Making development and climate finance processes and mechanisms more democratic and gender-responsive and devoting significant resources to interventions targeting gender equality and women's empowerment is necessary to translate states' rhetorical commitment into concrete policy actions.

Introduction: the MDGs and Gender-Equitable Sustainable Development

In September 2000, some 189 countries signed the Millennium Declaration and endorsed a set of 8 Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) with 21 specified targets and elaborating 60 indicators to monitor progress toward MDG achievements by 2015 against a 1990 base year. Constructed not as a normative comprehensive vision of "the future we want" (one devoid of exploitation of people and nature, injustice and inequality), but instead as a pragmatic and practical action plan focused on addressing the worst excesses of the "world we have", the MDGs set two specific, but largely separated goals for both gender equality (MDG3) and environmental sustainability (MDG7). In doing so, the MDGs conceptually failed to integrate a key message from the 1992 Earth Summit: sustainable development, which is centred on the notion of intergenerational and societal justice, of care and precaution in dealing with each other and the earth, is inconceivable without the inclusion of gender equality ideals into all aspects of development work and without giving women a key role in environmental and development policy decision making.[1]

Despite some progress, the years since the Earth and Millennium Summits have seen both non-advancement and setbacks on gender-equitable sustainable development, with multiple interrelated crises of finance, economy, ecology, food and fuel over the last years hitting women disproportionally hard. Gender-based violence and discrimination stubbornly persists despite the existence of a binding international legal framework with the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW). Global poverty retains a predominantly female face, despite and in many critical aspects because of economic and financial globalization and liberalization efforts centred on a market-based growth-profit-efficiency trilogy. Many heterodox

1 Agenda 21 and the Rio Declaration, particularly Rio Principle 20, explicitly recognized women as key actors for environmental protection and poverty eradication; Principle 10 affirmed their rights to participate in environmental and development policy decision making

and feminist economic thinkers feel that without fundamental reforms and strict government re-regulations the prevailing neoliberal market-based economic model is simply incapable of supporting gender-equitable sustainable development. The care economy – predominantly women's poorly paid or unpaid work of caring for their families and their livelihoods, for nature or for future generations – remains largely unrecognized and undervalued in the economic sphere, excluded from national accounting systems and non-considered in economic policy-making from the macro to the micro level. If care and social reproduction are not viewed as intrinsically linked with economic production, they cannot be reflected in macroeconomic policy making that puts people and their ties to the environment, not shareholder interests and profits, at the centre of sustainable development. At the same time, the externalization of the environment and natural resources in the prevailing market-liberal macroeconomic model which treats them as a free and unlimited production inputs has to be overcome.

Nowhere does this become clearer than when looking at progress toward implementation of MDG7 on ensuring environmental sustainability. Nearly one third of marine fish stocks have been overexploited; biodiversity is in decline with many species at risk of extinction, despite an increase in protected areas worldwide (UN 2013a). Climate change, called the "greatest market failure" by the 2006 Stern review on economics and climate change, has dramatically worsened with global emissions of carbon dioxide (CO2) increasing by more than 46 percent since 1990. Today, climate change, which in the MDG framework did not even secure a separate target under MDG7 and only garnered one of 60 MDG progress indicators, is already undercutting and threatening current and future fragile equality and development gains, affecting many women disproportionally, especially in the developing world. How climate change is addressed globally, including through financing mechanisms and with funding provided for climate change actions, does therefore provide an instructive lens to analyze persisting short-comings of efforts to finance gender-equitable sustainable development. For the international climate context as well 2015 is a crucial year as political agreement by the international community on a new international agreement to address climate change has to be reached by 2015 to take effect in 2020.

The Care Economy Deficits of the Green Economy Approach

Two decades after the Rio Earth Summit, the UN Conference on Sustainable Development (UNCSD) in 2012 missed the opportunity to break with the business-as-usual global economic model which is a root cause of global environmental destruction and social exploitation and inequality and to advance new prosperity, lifestyle and consumption models built around equity and justice with sufficiency and a "good life" as the ultimate goal of human economic activity (Unmüssig, 2012). Instead, Rio+20 endorsed aconcept of green economy as a market-based approach, which focuses on decoupling economic growth from increasing carbon emissions and suggests prizing and commodifying natural resources like forests, land and water as a way to address the overuse of natural resources, including by further enclosing and privatizing global commons. In the climate change context, this thinking translates into mechanisms such as REDD+ schemes (focusing on reduced emissions from deforestation and forest degradation and supporting forest conservation), large-scale biofuel production and soil carbon approaches to land and forest management which prioritize the carbon storage potential of land and forests over their contributions to national and local food security, local livelihoods and gender-responsive land use and land tenure practices, encouraging land grab and displacement of local communities, especially women subsistence farmers who form the backbone of food production in most developing countries.

The green economy approach endorsed by the Rio+20 outcome document (UN 2012)is to be largely implemented by the corporate sector with the public sector acting as enabler by reducing investment risks and creating enabling environments globally and domestically for private sector actions. In the climate finance context this translates into using scarce public resources to leverage private sector investments, instead of prioritizing public climate funding for actions that promote normative values and essential additional benefits, such as social equity, the promotion of gender equality, poverty reduction goals or non-climate related environmental concerns such as biodiversity protection, for which a profit margin is mostly absent. The green economy policy approaches have been criticized on many grounds (van Heemstra 2012), including their lack of theoretical consistency (infinite growth in a finite world); empirical blindness (neglect of the rebound effect); ideological narrowness (market and growth fundamentalism); and challenging implementation (such as public resource constraints and narrow corporate shareholder interests often incompatible with wider multi-stakeholder interests). While addressing the overexploitation of natural resources, these approaches neglects aspects of social exploitation and gender discrimination (Gottschlich 2012). Conceived largely as an enormous global green investment and job creation programs for low-emission, pro-poor development with suggested investments of up to US$1.3 trillion per year (or two percent of global economic investment), these approaches do not address compliance with human rights principles and other rights and norms (such as the right to water, right to food or international environmental law) as the normative framework to guide such investments nor integrate a gender-differentiated view (Unmüssig 2012). Women in these concepts are thus primarily seen as possible suppliers of labour for a greener economy – although because of gender-segregated employment patterns and discrimination few of the expected 50 million green jobs globally actually might accrue to women (Stevens 2012) – or as passive victims and welfare recipients, but not as holders of economic, social, political and cultural rights and agents of fundamental change (Bidegain/Nayar 2012). Likewise, neither the UN Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC) nor climate financing instruments apply a human and gender rights lens.[2] To the extent that they address women as beneficiaries and stakeholders, they focus mostly on the need to reduce women's vulnerabilities as victims to climate change, but not on supporting women's agency in contributing to climate change solutions.

In contrast, truly sustainable development needs the marrying of the Care Economy with the instrument of a green economy approach that internalizes and values (not necessarily prizes and commodifies) the use of environmental resources. Unfortunately, the planning for a post-2015, post-MDG global framework leaves the principles of a caring economy – such as prioritizing meeting human needs and ensuring sustainable use of natural resources, a valuation and remuneration of personal care services, the right to equal access to resources and an equal distribution of unpaid work between women and men – largely outside of proposed Rio+20 follow-up processes, including a set of Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) as suggested in the High Level Panel (HLP) Report released in May 2013 (UN 2013b) . Building on the Rio+20 outcome document, the HLP Report upholds a corporate-driven extractivist[3] economy as a way "to create more value and drive sustainable and inclusive growth," but ignores the unpaid care contributions to development made by women at all levels as the most fundamental pillar of rural livelihoods and community well-being. And while it strives to utilize a gender mainstreaming approach by recognizing gender equality both as a cross-cutting issue for the proposed 12 universal SDGs and as a stand-alone goal (SDG 2: "empower girls and women and achieve gender equality"), the report fails to address the need for policy coherence between economic, aid, trade and financial global and national policy frameworks with international human and women's rights and environmental law agreements, including labour and Indigenous Peoples' rights and the systemic reform and regulation of financial flows and markets in pursuit of this coherence must entail. It also does not pick up on proposals for alternative economic models and development approaches coming from diverse communities around the world (AWID 2013), such as food sovereignty[4] or agroecology[5], in which women in developing countries already play a leading role without recognition or compensation already play a leading role and which are, incidentally, also crucial to minimizing the contribution of agriculture and land management practises to global greenhouse gas emissions.

Financing for Gender-Equitable Sustainable Development – Existing Shortcomings[6]

Financing for gender-equitable sustainable development has to be seen both in the context of systemic policy coherence as well as an effort to create and be accountable for tracking and reporting on gender-specific

2 This despite the fact that all 187 parties that are signatories to CEDAW are also without exception parties to the UNFCCC, although not all 195 parties to the UNFCCC have ratified CEDAW (with the United States, Iran, Somalia, Sudan and South Sudan being among the exceptions).

3 The term extractivism was first coined in Latin America to refer to an export-oriented economy based on natural resource exploitation, particular of minerals and fossil fuels.

4 Food sovereignty is the right of peoples to healthy and culturally appropriate food produced through ecologically sound and sustainable methods, and their right to define their own food and agriculture systems.

5 Agroecologyseeks to create a truly sustainable food system, environmentally, economically, socially, politically, and culturally.

6 This and the following section draw substantially on an earlier article of mine (see Schalatek 2012b).

financing benchmarks. In the systemic context, stabilizing the global financial system (whose collapse G20 countries tried to prevent at the height of the financial crisis with a coordinated response with spending more than one trillion US$ just in 2009), addressing illicit money flows and corporate tax evasion, as well as increasing the recovery of stolen assets and the overdue fulfilment of the long-standing goal of 0.7% of gross national product (GNP) as official development assistance (ODA), as the HLP report correctly proposes, generates necessary finance flows, primarily North to South. Developed countries have an existing obligation because of equity considerations and the application of the "polluter pays" principle with its elaboration of "common but differentiated responsibilities and respective capabilities" (CBDR) to help pay developing countries for immediate action toward sustainability at the same time as financing the economic and energy paradigm shift at home. Emerging market economies increasingly have at increasingly "respective capabilities" to forcefully fund gender-equitable sustainable development pathways domestically. These principles are elaborated as part of international obligations and equity considerations under the UNFCCC. But creating sufficient public domestic and international resources to fund gender-equitable sustainable development needs to go much further to include the introduction of innovative financing instruments such as a Financial Transaction Tax (FTT), carbon taxes and levies on maritime and air transport adjusted to provide no incidence on poorer societal and developing country groups (such as SIDS or LDCs), a redirection of harmful subsidies for the production of fossil fuels and for trade-distorting developed country agricultural exports and a shrinking of military budgets in order to create both necessary fiscal and policy space in developed and developing countries alike.

In the post-MDG framework, governments have to go beyond committing themselves politically with powerful rhetoric only. Instead they have to also set specific financial benchmarks that create public accountability and institute comprehensive tracking mechanisms for expenditures and financial flows on gender equality to address the structural deficits of the follow up processes of the earlier Earth and Millennium Summits, which were not working toward the fulfilment of specific financial commitment of the global community for gender equality. Accountability, for example, could be increased by building on and improving existing country and regionally relevant indicators and reporting requirements for national accountability in the context of CEDAW, the Beijing Platform of Action or the Human Rights Council Universal Periodic Report in addition to reporting on development and climate finance via the OECD-DAC and the UNFCCC.

While there have been numerous efforts to provide global cost estimates for specific development areas, energy investments or climate change action, there have been few comprehensive efforts to calculate the costs of needed investments by the international community to advance gender equity beyond the narrowly defined targets in MDG3. An analysis of gender-related finance needs and existing shortfalls is further inhibited by the significant gaps remaining in the quantity and quality of international and domestic collection of gender-disaggregated data, giving credence to the old adage: 'what is not counted, does not count…'. Yet, such data is the prerequisite to ensuring that international organizations and national governments translate their promises into practical policies and programs, with the gender-responsive participatory budgeting of public sector revenues and expenditures as a democratic goal. National gender budgets as an important tool become even more relevant because the ongoing Paris Aid Effectiveness process has led to an increase of ODA delivered via direct budget and sector support. In the future, a significant portion of public climate financing might also be channelled via so-called enhanced direct access in the form of budget support through the new Green Climate Fund (GCF). It is therefore even more important that international organizations, including multilateral development banks, UN agencies and climate funds become part of the solution to the gender-data-gap, by creating gender data baselines for all their projects and programmes and by providing funding, technical assistance and capacity-building to strengthen developing countries' statistical systems in collecting and analyzing gender- and sex-disaggregated data.

What governments do spend on gender-equality is unfortunately often gender-biased and thus narrowly focused on a few select sectors. Additionally, the few mechanisms tracking gender-focused development aid expenditure internationally, such as the gender equality marker system by the Development Assistance Committee of the Organisation for Economic Co-Operation and Development (OECD-DAC), lack transparency and detail. For example, using this marker, in 2010 and 2011 OECD countries reported that roughly $20.5 billion per year of their combined oversees development assistance (ODA) was having a 'principal' or 'significant' gender equality focus (OECD 2013); this amounted to roughly 22.3 percent of all ODA allocated in sectors during the 2010-2011 timeframe. Spending was highest for government and civil society and was more concentrated in traditionally 'soft' sectors such as health, education and population policies as opposed to gender-equitable allocations in the 'hard' sectors, such as economic infrastructures, business and financial services, environment, energy and industry, where the policy frameworks are set which impact women's lives. Reporting by OECD DAC countries is purely voluntary with no clear guidelines on how to classify ODA as gender-relevant, does allow for multiple classifications of the same ODA amount ("double-counting") and does not extend to non-DAC countries. Although it is technically feasible – and would politically reinforce the call for gender-responsive climate-related development expenditure – the OECD-DAC has so far not cross-referenced the existing gender equality marker with its Rio Markers tracking adaptation and mitigation expenditures under ODA, nor included a reference to climate change expenditures in its annual report on the development funding of OECD countries for gender-equality (Schalatek 2012).

The Experience and Challenges of Gender-Responsive Climate Finance Approaches

For global climate change action, the financing needs have been defined and calculated, and (insufficient) pledges made (such as for US$ 30 billion in fast start finance from 2010-2012 to scale up to US$100 billion per year by 2020). Some tracking of public climate finance pledges and expenditures exists, if incomplete, including through civil society monitoring and transparency efforts.[7] Yet, there are no regular or mandatory gender audits of public climate financing to account for whether it is spent in a gender-responsive way. Up to now adaptation and mitigation project design and funding only insufficiently (and often as an afterthought) consider women's specific knowledge, experiences and contributions in addressing climate change, for example in safeguarding the natural resources on which they depend more heavily than men for providing a livelihood for their families. A bias of climate change projects towards larger, capital-intensive projects instead of the low-tech, small-scale and community-based activities women typically engage in, aggravates this. Financing is missing for many of thoseadaptation and mitigation projects addressing climate-related forest, land and water management, which would provide additional non-climate specific multiple benefits, especially to women and communities (such as economic empowerment, social protection support or biodiversity support) beyond emissions reductions and by focusing more on the human victims of severe climate change impacts.. Those can only be realized in the context of sustainable development in a gender-responsive way. However, the results measurement approaches of current climate financing instruments rely on mostly narrowly defined, quantitative indicators measuring short-term results that leave no room for the qualitative measurements that for example improvements toward more gender-equitable climate actions would require (such as meaningful participatory processes or changes in societal attitudes over time). Effectiveness of climate finance is often exclusively defined in the context of cost-effectiveness, thus penalizing multi-benefit approaches via smaller interventions for which transaction costs constitute a higher percentage of the total funding sum (Schalatek 2012b).

Gender-responsive climate action plans are urgently needed. In order to implement them, climate funding mechanisms must be more democratic and gender-responsive. This will require improving climate funding mechanisms' structure, composition and operations. At the moment, dedicated climate financing mechanisms do not systematically address or integrate gender considerations—many mechanisms have started out largely gender-unaware. Although some improvements have been made, many more actions are necessary. For example, the Green Climate Fund is the first dedicated multilateral climate fund to include a gender perspective from the outset, containing key references to gender and women relevant to its mission, governance and operational modalities. As the Board attempts to finalize the fund's business model framework, the challenge is to ensure that these gender references—only the beginning of a gender-responsive approach for the Green Climate Fund—are operationalized into concrete measures and mechanisms in parallel to policy decisions addressing results areas and core indictors, allocation, financial instruments, the role of the private sectors, as well as accountability mechanisms and mechanisms for stakeholder participation at fund levels and in recipieten countries. Progress toward gender

7 See for example the efforts by www.climatefundsupdate.org, a joint Heinrich Böll Foundation and ODI website tracking developed countries' climate finance pledges and payments via some two dozen climate finance mechanisms and climate funds.

equality has to be measured as a core results area of the transformative impact that the GCF hopes to achieve with its funding in developing countries (Schalatek/Burns 2013).

Some of the other key actions to comprehensively make climate change funds more gender-responsive are needed such as developing gender-responsive funding guidelines and criteria for each funding window or instrument; achieving a gender-balance on all decision-making governing bodies and and in funds' secretariats; ensuring funds' staff has sufficient gender-expertise; stipulating the inclusion and use of specific gender as well as gender-responsive indicators within a fund's operational and allocation guidelines; requiring a mandatory gender analysis and gender budget for all project and programme proposals; integrating regular gender audits of all funding allocations; developing best practices with robust social, gender and environmental safeguards that comply with existing human and women's rights conventions, labour standards and environmental laws; and redefining country-ownership beyond national governments to include a multitude of sub-national actors as a fund's eligible counterparts. It is crucial to allow non-profit groups, including women's organizations, women's movements and women's grassroots activities to gain direct access to funding mechanisms, for example via a designated small grants facility or special funding programs for women, local communities and indigenous peoples in existing climate funds, and particularly under the new GCF (Schalatek/Burns 2013).

Conclusion

Providing adequate and predictable financing resources for gender equality is crucial to achieving the goals and political commitments on sustainable development, such as those that the international community is hoping to formulate in the post-2015 framework. Such a framework has to marry care economy and green economy approaches to address the persistent exploitation of women's largely unpaid care work as well as in order to stop treating natural resources and the environment as an inexhaustible and unaccounted for source of productive inputs for truly gender-equitable sustainable development. Knowing the specific interventions needed (via action plans, targets and benchmarks) and their costs as well as tracking available funding comprehensively will help close the gender accountability gap in sustainable development financing. Similarly, allowing for more participatory and gender-responsive decision-making within budget processes, financing mechanisms and allocation frameworks will support the agency of women as a key stakeholder group. Both could help in driving a fundamental shift of the economic development paradigm towards inclusion of the life-sustainaing contributions of the environment and the gendered care economy.

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