

Report back from the WSSD Prepcom Feb. 2002

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For those of you who – like myself only 2 months ago – have never been to a UN conference, WECF asked me to give you an impression of such an event. I went to New York from January 28. till February 8. to represent WECF at the Prepcom II. This stands for “the 2nd session of the Commission of Sustainable Development acting as preparatory committee for the WSSD”.

The Prepcom was preceded by a multi-stakeholder dialogue, where the major groups could present their views to the delegates and other NGOs present.

The women are one major group. Other major groups are youth, indigenous people, farmers. In total there are 9 major groups.

As a new-comer to the process it is not easy to understand what is going on. First of all there are meetings where the government delegations go. Some of these delegations have NGO representatives in their delegations. Merel Bierkens who is here, was at the Prepcom II as part of the Dutch delegation. The delegations of the 15 EU countries are working together. There are lots of meetings happening in parallel, in between and even during the plenary sessions. And then the NGOs were having other type of meetings. Then there were also ‘side events’, workshops to highlight certain issues such as biodiversity, energy etc. I’ll try to give an overview

The first week of the Prepcom was dedicated to a general debate on the Chairman’s paper. All the delegations would sit in the large plenary conference hall and comment this paper. Some of the NGOs were listening

to follow the debate while others were having other meetings to decide who to approach to get our views into the debate. Every morning the women met for the the ‘women’s caucus’. We would discuss what issue we wanted to focus on and who would go and see which delegation to try and get this point presented by them at the plenary.

At end of the first week, the EU presidency, Spain, presented a statement that was done on behalf of all the EU countries as well as a whole lot of other partner countries such as most Central and Eastern European countries, Cyprus and Malta. This document was called the “EU forward looking positions”. In this paper the EU identified key issues for Johannesburg:

- poverty eradication and sustainable livelihood – this is high on the agenda
- making globalization work for sustainable development
- protecting the natural resource base
- strengthening governance. This is being proposed as the fourth pillar of Sustainable Development (social, environmental, economic AND governance)
- means of implementation

In the EU paper the gender perspective was there, it says “participation of women at all levels”. But it does not specify how.

So at the first look the EU position looked quite positive. BUT... there is one big problem. The EU strongly supported the DOHA agenda, the EU supports the enlargement of the powers of the World Trade Organisation. All NGOs see exactly in this the great barrier to sustainable development.

The EU paper was distributed and then the other countries starting making comments.

By the end of the first week a proposal was put on the table to better structure the delegate deliberations. It was suggested that they should focus on concrete proposals and specify clear targets, timetable, procedures for funding and technical transfer. That would have indeed been very useful. But instead the delegations were giving general remarks. It is 10 years after Rio and people are wondering if were going back in time, there is no timetable, no monitoring plan.

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What has been discussed all the time is what the expected outcomes should be of Johannesburg. We will have Type-1, and Type-2 outcomes. The type-1 outcomes are the commitments made by government in Johannesburg. The type-2 outcomes will be voluntary initiatives, focusing on deliverables. The NGOs are concerned that the governments are putting so much emphasis on the type-2 outcomes, so that it will not look so bad if they make commitments. Many NGOs feel that the type-2 outcomes will weaken the WSSD negotiations. The government were pushing us, NGOs, saying 'hey, you, NGOs, you should propose something'.

But I think that the partnerships can be very interesting, as long as we set criteria for them so that they can not be takeover by business, by the private sector. One partnership initiative is quite advanced now. I took part in the discussion of this partnership. It is a partnership on Sustainable Agriculture and Rural Development – "SARD". The initiative is chaired by the FAO. The FAO are in charge of Chapter 14 on Agriculture. They want to involve more major groups. I joined SARD for the women. There are other major groups represented, the Unions, Rural Population. But even though this group started 1 year ago - in november 2001 – everything is a bit vague. I don't know how far we will get to Johannesburg, but I really hope it will be successful.

Then in the beginning of the second week the WSSD Bureau brought out a good paper.

They looked at how to make globalization work for Sustainable Development and commented that the WTO is getting stronger whereas the UN is losing strength. The NGOs agree.

They warn that the WTO is going to dictate what we should do.

The bureau paper also looked at "strengthening governance for Sustainable Development at national, regional and international levels". This is the issue of governance. One problem is that we don't have the institutions to deal with the problems which we have at global level.

After the WSSD Bureau released this paper, the Women's Caucus made their comments. Our comments needed to be short. If not people don't read it. There were papers all over the place.

The EU also reacted. They gave a paper with their preliminary views, which was again very supportive of the DOHA agenda. Then the EU NGOs decided to have a statement together and to insist on a meeting with the EU delegation. We had a meeting with the EU presidency. One of the points we discussed was that we wanted more participation in the EU discussions. It was a short meeting and I was a bit disappointed. But at least we were promised that we would have 2 such meetings for the next Prepcum.

The last day the CSD chairman prepared a paper. The paper was late. Everybody was asking "where is the paper". The paper was read, it was very optimistic and supportive, saying that we were all happy to go home and looking forward to become more concrete in prepcom III.



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Why a Gender Approach is important – the Energy Example

Gender and Energy – a difficult partnership

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The speech I present today, refers to the situation of women in western Europe regard to energy – which may be partly different from the situation of women in eastern Europe – especially concerning the access of women to technology in general and to women in technical professions. However, I hope to gain information on gender aspects in the energy-area, which women in eastern Europe are addressing as well. Let me start with this question: 'Why is it so important to examine Gender issues in the energy sector?'

Why is "Gender and Energy" an important issue?

Energy production is one of the most important industries from an economic standpoint, and it is worldwide probably the most influential and powerful. Among the world's 20 largest private enterprises, most deal with energy: oil companies, electricity companies, and the transportation industry. Within these circles of economic power and influence,

Most of the world's 20 largest companies are in the energy and transportation sector

women are a rarity. Gender issues and gender mainstreaming in the energy sector are hard to find – maybe because it is a technically dominated issue, maybe because it is seen as a gender neutral issue, maybe because there are very few women experienced with this sector – be it in energy production, in energy research or energy politics – or perhaps there is simply no data and research available on gender differences in the energy sector.

But energy policies, production and consumption are not gender neutral.

There are differences in 2 ways:

1. The structural dimension

Within the structural dimension, there are issues concerning participation and positions of power (Gestaltungsmacht) of women and men in energy issues.

The energy sector has <1% women in important positions

There are very few sectors

outside of energy, where such a strong and rigid gender segregation is found. Energy production in industrialized economies is a technical field of work, where women are extremely under represented:

the share of women in the top-management in energy industries is below one percent, in the middle management level it is around 4 percent.

This means that decisions about energy production, energy distribution, and energy use are made without the participation or consideration of women. Consequently, women do not have any influence on energy concepts, energy planning, or the perspectives of this sector.

A clear gender separation is also found in private households with regards to energy equipment and environmentally friendly energy use: Men are primarily considered to be responsible for the technical

side and the investments for example in thermal

Men should decide what boiler to buy, women fill the dishwasher well

insulation of homes, boilers, and hot water installation. In contrast to this, women are expected to save energy based on behaviour and to communicate the necessary rules of conduct to the rest of the family, such as abstaining from the use of electric applications, reasonable loading of washing machines, dishwashers and so on.

2. the individual dimension

On the individual side, differences between women and men are strongly connected with their social situations and cultural backgrounds. Because of the gendered division of labour – productive work by men, reproductive work by women – there are different preferences regarding energy-policies or climate protection-measures. For example, health aspects are important issues for women, which are seldomly addressed in energy politics.

Surveys on environmental awareness and behaviour of the German population show that women have a recognizably lower environmental knowledge, but recognizably higher values in environmental awareness and especially in environmentally friendly behaviour. These results suggest that women tend to search for a more practical way to handle environmental problems – which many have difficulties in finding a starting point – in order to make use of the abstractly transferred environmental knowledge common in their everyday life. The production and use of electricity – an important part of the energy sector – is often associated with

60% of Swedish men are in favour of nuclear power, 80% of women are against

dangers and (health) risks. In general, women have a more cautious approach towards risks than men. For example, this is obvious in the different

opinions of nuclear energy use. Recent Swedish studies show that a majority of (young) men - 60 percent - are in favor of the long-term use of nuclear power, while 80 percent of women are against it. And there is another interesting difference: with regard to men, there are differences between those with a theoretical education and those with a practical education. Those with a theoretical education are usually pro-nuclear. But no such difference is apparent among women; their anti-nuclear stance is not affected by educational or professional factors.

I want to clarify these gender dimensions in one example from the electricity economy:

Women and the deregulation of the electricity market

In the United States, the European Union and other countries, during the last years, major changes in the energy economy have been induced by the governments to break energy monopolies and allow

consumers to choose their electricity supplier. This so called “liberalization” of the electricity market has been implemented in many different ways in the various countries, in terms of the degree of regulation of the market, and in particular, in terms of the degree of liberalization, whether the free choice of the supplier is valid only for large consumers like industries, or for small household consumers as well. In any case, stronger competition has led to negative effects on the labour market. On the other hand, price and tariff structures have changed considerably leading to lower prices, especially for large consumers and in many cases for households too. As for environmental effects,

Energy policy is not gender neutral because:

- of the gendered division of labour
- the unequal payment leads to energy poverty
- women do have different preferences...
- ...which are not taken into consideration

Requirements

to address ,gender and energy‘

- gender differentiated data base
- gender specific research
- break the vicious circle
- prepare the basis for gender mainstreaming
- motivate women’s organisations
- provide resources to implement the recommendations

in the course of liberalization and increased competition, many electricity supply companies reduced their efforts to offer energy services, such as energy conservation incentive programmes and schemes to promote renewables. On the other hand, liberalization has also opened up new opportunities for suppliers offering “green electricity” based on renewables or co-generation which weren’t available before.

Market studies in the liberalized telecommunications sector indicate that women put less effort in familiarizing themselves with complicated tariff systems, and that they change provider less frequently than men do. Because of the similarity between the telecommunications and energy sectors in regard to the liberalisation, we can transfer this finding to the electricity market

and thus assume that men are better informed about their options and, depending on their interests, will seek out the cheapest or – because they have the

Women being over-represented in low income groups cannot afford the more expensive 'nuclear-free' energy suppliers

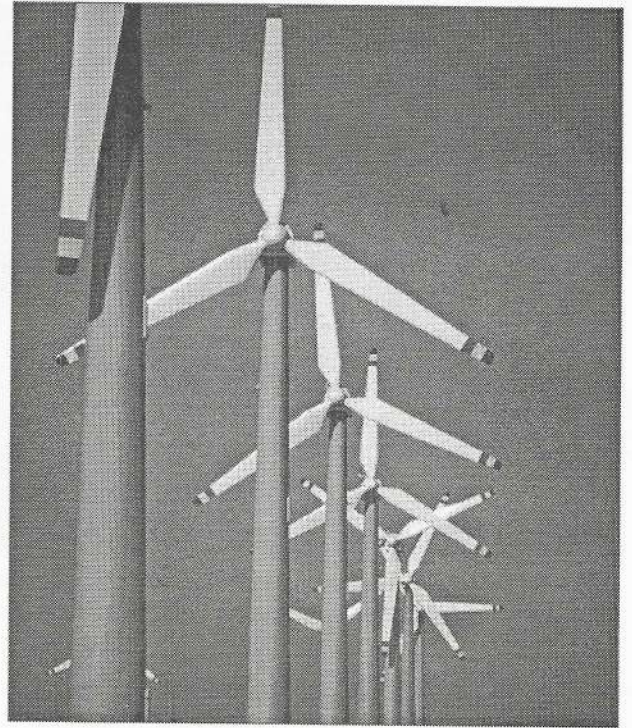
money to pay for – the most environmental-friendly energy offer.

In contrast, women tend to maintain the

electricity supplier they had before, because they are less informed about tariff and pricing systems. So, they will not apply for the best offer and will continue to depend a more expensive energy supplier, but not necessarily on the most environmental friendly energy, or they will continue to depend upon conventional “black” energy from fossil and nuclear fuels, because they are the cheapest offer available. A gender differentiated survey of individuals and households who changed their electricity supplier could lead to a better information strategy that addresses women in particular. This is true both in view of tariffs, education about how electricity is produced, and environmental impacts of the various options.

For the choice of the electricity supplier or a specific electricity tariff, it is also relevant that the “good” renewable electricity is obviously more expensive than conventional sources, which in many countries includes a high share of nuclear energy. Because of the lower income of women – caused by the unequal payment of women and men for the same work, and furthermore by shorter working times and more frequent and longer periods of unemployment – women are in the unfortunate situation of having to choose what they actually refuse, fossil and nuclear energy, because it is affordable. In that situation, women are additionally burdened with a bad conscience, for doing something they don't agree with, and because they are told that their consumer choice is a decisive factor for the electricity production or supply mix. With the argument of the energy company being: “We sell what the customer is asking for,” women involuntarily reinforce that which they reject.

Another consequence of the deregulation of the electricity market, which is especially relevant for women, is the afore mentioned abrupt cancellation of incentive programmes by the energy supply companies,



as a result of deregulation. In contrast to the former subsidies for purchasing of energy-saving “white products” (refrigerators, washing machines, dishwashers etc.) – which are usually more expensive than ‘normal’ ones – today, additional costs for a purchase are to be offset by cheaper electricity tariffs, consequently leading to a less environmentally benign energy system. Beside these effects in the “individual” realm there are also differences in the structural realm as well. It was expected that restructuring the energy markets would intensify the activities to offer energy services, marketing and customer services, and therefore have positive effects on the employment of women as well. But the contrary happened: In the countries where the reorganization is already occurring, the share of women has been significantly falling. In relation to a strong male over-representation in the energy

Energy market liberalization has reduced share of women employed

sector, the number of men that have lost their job is obviously higher in absolute figures than the corresponding number of women. This is often used as an argument to discredit or completely abolish the support programmes for women. It is usually hard to get data on the number of females employed in the energy industry, and since the restructuring of the energy sector, it is even more difficult if not impossible to get them.



„Our energy will change the world“. Women from the apprenticeship program „StrOHMerin. This is a project of LIFE e.V. where young women are trained in renewable energy technologies.

So far these example have considered several important changes in the electricity market during the last few years. Furthermore, it is debatable whether other policy instruments in the energy sector, like for example eco- or energy-taxes are gender neutral.

Let us take a look at what international agreements

No Women taking part in the Climate Negotiations

and conventions are saying on 'gender and energy' and what the outcomes of

international women conferences and meetings have been: In international agreements, the issue of gender and energy are primarily linked to women in the South. Referring to the North, five main areas are addressed:

- **Energy consumption:** The influence attributed to women regarding sustainable consumption and change of production patterns.
- **Education:** Formation and further training in energy-related, scientific and engineering professions.
- **Involvement:** Improved participation in processes and in decision making regarding environmental protection and the energy sector.
- **Gender Impact Assessment:** The screening of all policies, planning and conceptions with regards to their effects on women.
- **Mainstreaming:** The inclusion of gender aspects in energy and climate change policy.

These demands have been put forward in conferences concerning the environment, development and women's issues, by the United Nations and their follow-up processes. At UN conferences related to climate change (and thus to energy), gender aspects have not been taken into consideration, whether related to the South, the North or the East. Women's organizations are also absent from the conferences. I quote a mail from a woman belonging to an environmental organisation, who explains the absence of women's organisa-

tions at the UN Climate Change conferences:

"The arguments used here are almost entirely economic. Decisions are made mostly with little consideration being given to survival. Perhaps women felt they could not penetrate this masculine perspective - and stayed at home" (Sargent 1997).

The only exception was the First Conference of the Parties to the Framework Convention on Climate Change in 1995 held in Berlin. On that occasion, the German organization "Women for Peace and Ecology" organized an International Women's Forum called „Solidarity in the Greenhouse", which was attended by 150 women from 25 nations who discussed for two days the social, economic and health impacts of climate change on the situation of women around the world.

Women suffer more from energy-poverty (>20% of income for energy) than men

It should be noticed, that at these international conferences on climate change, a strong emphasis is put on equity questions with regard to North-South relations. Inequality within individual countries is completely left out of consideration. This is true both for gender issues and for the growing gap between poor and rich within industrialized countries.

The gender discussion would be a good way to bring social issues into the debate on sustainable energy use and climate change.

Let me summarize:

Energy policy measures are not gender neutral because:

- the gendered division of labour allocates women to a less recognized sphere
- the unequal payment of women for the same work leads to a higher share of women suffering by „energy poverty“ (which is defined by having to spend more than 20 per cent of your income for energy)
- women have different preferences regarding energy policies and production, but...
- these preferences are not taken into consideration due to the small percentage of women employed in the energy sector in general, and an even smaller percentage involved with decision making

Which leads to some important requirements to address gender and energy in the future:

1. We need a gender differentiated data base on gender and energy.

• For example: In which fields, on which levels of the energy sector are women employed? What is the share of women in decision-making positions in the energy sector? How can girls and young women be motivated for apprenticeships and education in energy technologies or energy economy? But also: How should courses of studies and working conditions in the energy industry be changed to make them interesting for women? In the fourth framework programme for equal opportunities between women and men of the European Commission a project was funded called “ENEQO – Equal Opportunities in the Energy Sector”. In the framework of ENEQO a survey was undertaken asking Irish pupils if they are interested in an apprenticeship in the energy sector. The shattering result: female pupils, girls, don't have any interest in it. None of them, zero percent, articulated that they would like to work in

0% of Irish girls said they want to work in the energy sector

the energy sector. The upcoming question is: Is it because they are girls in

the sense of a genetic determination? Or is it because of the gender specific socialization? Or is it because of the technical lessons in school which do not meet the interests of girls and do not promote them in developing an interest in technical questions?

- A database is also required for the whole field of

energy use and energy consumption: Who is using how much energy and for which purpose? Who is buying and using electrical appliances, and why? Is it for spending the leisure time, for education or information, or for caring work?

- Gender disaggregated data should also be put on disposal or utilized in the field of environmental awareness, environmental behavior and environmental information – especially concerning the energy sector. These are just some examples, whereas the list of inevitable data could be continued.

Basically the first step could be a law like the regulation in Sweden which stipulates all data ascertained referring to persons to be disaggregated in a gender differentiated way.

2. There is a strong need for gender specific research in the energy sector. This will help to break the vicious circle between non-acceptance of the issue “women and energy” and the lack of data and research.

- This regards principally all areas of the issues energy and climate protection: studies on access of women and girls to these fields, on energy consumption and its gender specific implications, and on the effects of energy policy and climate protection policy.

For example, the effect of eco taxes on women respectively on the gender relation should be analysed before introducing them.

- But not only gender specific research should be undertaken: it must be guaranteed that all research projects in the field of energy policy and energy economy integrate gender questions into their work. That's the only way to get a broad database and discussion.

3. This research will also help prepare the basis for gender mainstreaming and gender impact assessment in the energy sector.

- Today, the ignorance of planners about gender aspects hampers such approaches. Planners and decision-makers need to take notice of improved data bases and to learn about the results of research.

A method for sensitization could be gender trainings that should be attended especially by decision-makers within every energy policy and planning related institution and organization.

- A further step into the right direction might be to

work out guidelines to simplify, standardize and operationalize policies that take gender aspects into consideration.

- Finally, over all, there must be the strong political intention to set the gendermainstreaming in the energy sector into practice.

4. The political intention to support and promote gender mainstreaming must be carried through and practiced in all organizations dealing with energy questions – whether it's in economy, policy, planning, research or education.

- This concerns the question of participation of women in decision making in the energy sector
- As well as regarding the contents the organizations are dealing with from a gender view.

5. Last, but not least, women's organizations must be motivated and supported to discuss energy issues and their impacts on women's lives. The gap between feminist approaches, requests for sustainable development, and involvement in typically 'men-only' technical issues must be bridged.

Conspicuous is the nearly total absence of women's organizations from the north at national and international conferences on energy and climate change. This may be due to the facts but also to the feeling of not getting access to and influence on these technically dominated conferences especially if women realize, that social aspects are completely left out of these discussions. But this is also a vicious circle: as long, as women's organizations stay at home, this situation will not change.

Hopefully this conference will be a further step on the way to link energy issues with gender issues and stimulate the interest of women in energy issues.



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Social, economic and environmental sustainability from a gender perspective

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14 issues to tackle

At the major UN conferences of the nineties, the governments committed themselves to sustainable development, to combating poverty and environmental degradation and to respecting human rights and women's rights. In 1992, the central message of the Rio de Janeiro Agenda 21 was the concept of sustainability. Development can only be 'future compatible' if it embraces ecological, social and economic issues. But the message from Rio has also been that sustainability without a qualified participation of women, i.e. participation also in decision making, will not work. The 4th World Conference on Women in Beijing identified a dual track strategy to this end: empowerment on the one hand and gender mainstreaming, the systematic integration of a gender perspective in all institutions and policy areas, on the other.

In 1991, women from all over the world drew up their own agenda for the 21st century at the "World Women's Congress for a Healthy Planet" in Miami. The cornerstones of this agenda - a new code of environmental ethics, preserving biological and cultural diversity, justice between the North and the South, gender equity and justice, demilitarisation - have remained highly topical. In fact, if anything, globalisation over the past decade made them even more relevant. In spite of a number of successes scored on individual issues, the necessary process of reorienting and restructuring in terms of ecology and economics in the wake of the Rio

Conference has yet to commence. Conventions that are binding in accordance with international law ranging from the conservation of biodiversity to the protection of social and ecological labour standards have still not been implemented.

In Johannesburg in August 2002, a new "World Summit for Sustainable Development" is to pinpoint the sustainability strategies for the future. On the way to Johannesburg, civil society groups world-wide will be appraising progress made in terms of sustainability and the credibility of governments and other players in society. The agenda for Johannesburg is still negotiable. With the issues mentioned in the following, the German NGO Women's Forum and the Working Group 'Women in the Forum Environment & Development' want to outline topics that are central to the Johannesburg Conference from a gender perspective. They wish to position themselves and to identify the need and scope for action at various political levels.

One of their central concerns is to integrate social, economic and ecological issues and to bridge the existing fragmentation in sectors and political competencies. In the same way as the local, national and global level for action, the political micro, mezzo and macro level should be linked. The general framework for discourse is the economic globalisation, i.e. liberalization, privatization, commercialization and patenting of resources. The unpaid care work of women and the precautionary principle are systematically taken as points of reference in the argumentative discourse. Their demands are based on the understanding that the social and ecological crisis which will be debated in Johannesburg represents a problem of society which needs to be dealt with by societal changes.

1) Globalisation and sustainability

With economic liberalisation, the globalisation process has increased the predominance of economics since the Rio Conference. Growth, efficiency and profit-maximizing have been turned into guiding principles of development and elevated the market and commodity logic to the supreme rationality. The World Trade Organization (WTO) is creating a regime of order and rules for neo-liberal globalisation that gives priority to free trade rather than social rights and ecological rules. This is why WTO agreements are threatening environmental protection rules and ecological alternatives. They are counteracting social security and redistribution mechanisms. In this way, globalisation has increased social disparities and created new antagonisms between countries and within societies, between the rich and the poor, between a wealth of commodities and the destruction of nature.

Sustainability requires that the dogmas of commodification and marketing be scaled down and that the over-exploitation of natural and human resources as well as over-production and over-consumption be reduced. Economic growth and profit maximization have to be subordinated to sustainability, environmental protection and social justice. Liberalisation is not a suitable tool to this end. A re-regulation of the financial markets and trade (i.e. taxation on currency transactions to limit speculation and on kerosine), of labour and resource markets according to social and ecological standards is called for. Prices have to reflect the truth by integrating ecological and social costs. The convention proposed by NGOs on the accountability of transnational corporations has to be forwarded. Fair trade, "ethical" investments, socially and ecologically "clean" or resource-saving production patterns and companies oriented on equity ought to enjoy support i.e. through fiscal policies.

2) Peace, non-violence, human and women's rights

Peace is the most fundamental prerequisite for sustainability. The globalisation process over the last few years has been accompanied by an increasing degree of militarisation, a growth in legal and illegal arms trade and the internal and external rearmament of state enforcement systems. Armed conflicts and wars about power and resources destroy futures, human lives and the environment. Military force is not an

appropriate means of combating terrorism and leaves its causes untouched.

However, peace also means freedom from violence against women, from violations of human rights and racism. Peace means respecting local and national sovereignty and respecting cultural and biological diversity. The future can only be based upon a culture of peace in all relations in society and vis-à-vis nature that all societal actors, above all including children and youths, have to learn, as well as a democratisation from below.

Sustainability requires addressing the social, economic and power-political causes of conflicts, violence and terror. Getting rid of inequalities and promoting democracy among countries, social classes, ethnic groups and gender is conflict prevention and the structural securing of peace. War must not be a means of politics. Instead, military expenditure has to be cut back, with funds emerging from this process being reallocated to non-violent forms of conflict resolution. Women are to participate democratically in negotiations and decision on peace, livelihood, and resources. Concepts of feminist research on peace and conflict as well as those from anti-violence programmes are to be integrated, while gender-specific causes of flight and migration are to be recognised, and support of female refugees and asylum seekers has to be increased.

3) Concepts of economy, care work and gender relations

Women are the Sisyphean workers for the future. Their looking after children, sick and elderly people, maintaining social relations, their work in food and health provision, cleaning and waste management secures the viability of societies and generates social capital. This care work represents an interface between social, economic and ecological aspects.

However, the present neo-classical concept of the economy focuses on the market and paid work. The work in the care economy is kept invisible, regarded as not productive and only paid for poorly or not at all. Since increases in productivity are hardly possible in this area, care and services at a personal level are slipping into a crisis. The double burden women have to endure by paid work and care work remains their pri-

vate problem, confronting many of them with a double scarcity: a lack of income and a lack of time.

Economic statistics have to adequately account for unpaid and paid labour, as has already been called for at the World Conference on Women in Beijing. Women need an infrastructure oriented by its social use and by care work as well as public institutions making provisions to secure livelihoods. Moreover, the fiscal and social systems have to treat women as independent economic subjects who have a right of their own to claim social support rather than as dependants of a man.

4) Securing survival without social exclusion and poverty

Globalisation is resulting in a growing integration of women into the market for paid work, but it is also creating new forms of economic and social exclusion. While skilled women find employment at middle levels, the majority of women in the global markets only get insecure, low-paid, flexible jobs. More women are migrating to the towns, export production zones or abroad to seek employment, or they are even trafficked into low-paid jobs or prostitution. Women and children are the jokers in the global underbidding competition. As prototypes of part-time and supply-workers, home-workers and tele-workers, women provide the flexibilisation pool for the labour markets and above all work in precarious and insecure employment markets devoid of rights and social and ecological minimum standards. They are precisely the ones who have to bear the brunt of deregulation, and they are the majority of the working poor.

Women in the so-called informal sector need legal recognition and social security as well as opportunities to gain qualifications and to get organised. The feminisation of poverty has to be countered by checking in advance what the gender-relevant effects of austerity measures and structural adjustment programmes will be as well as a gender compatibility assessment of employment, flexibilisation and liberalisation measures. The ILO conventions on industrial health and safety standards, social security and ecological safety, on equal status of men and women and of migrant workers are to be boosted. Private companies, and above all transnational corporations, are to be made socially and ecologically responsi-

ble via re-regulation and codes of conduct. Self-determined, ecologically and socially integrative forms of economy at regional and local level that are beyond the capitalist world market economy have to be supported.

5) Securing livelihoods and biodiversity by resource and gender justice

Sustainable and careful use is a method of preserving natural resources. Access to land, water, forests and biodiversity and control of these resources are the most important preconditions for securing the livelihoods of the majority of the population in the countries of the South. Most women in the South regard securing their social, natural and cultural livelihood as the central aspect to survival. While women hold considerable responsibility for the use of resources, they enjoy only little control of them. Privatisation of common and public goods as well as patenting seeds and intellectual property deprives women of their resources, the cycles of local economies are disrupted and women's indigenous knowledge is devalued. The privatisation of public utilities and infrastructure as well as basic public services, from garbage collection to water supply, creates new social disparities in access to resources and leads to more work in the care economy.

Resource and gender justice have to be linked with poverty eradication and environmental protection. Women need land rights, rights of access to forests and biodiversity, recognition of their indigenous knowledge and a right to information and further education. Conserving biodiversity and protection against bio-piracy by agro- and pharmaceutical corporations are pro-active ways of securing livelihoods. Access to clean water is a human right, and water has to remain a public good. No privatisation of public utilities!

6) Food sovereignty and health

Health provides the foundations for sustainability, and it depends to the utmost degree on the environment and social conditions. Just like food, it is one of the core responsibilities of women.

BSE has highlighted the life-threatening cul-de-sac of industrialised agriculture. Agro-poisons, the application of hormones and genetic engineering pose unacceptable health and environmental hazards. The pollution and over-fishing of the seas, rivers and lakes as well as

aquacultures maintained with high levels of chemicals lead to further food insecurity. At the same time, highly subsidised imports from the industrialised countries are torpedoing smallholder agriculture and their markets in Southern countries.

A new direction in agriculture oriented on food and ecological security as well as regional cycles is in the interest of women as those who are responsible for food and health. Both the majority of women consumers and women smallholders reject green genetic engineering.

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In the countries of the South, the right to one's own seed and the use of indigenous know-how is of utmost importance to the women farmers and their role in the local economies. However, the WTO agreement on trade related aspects of intellectual property rights (TRIPs) promotes the patenting of indigenous knowledge, seeds and genetically modified organisms by transnational corporations in the agro- and pharmaceutical industries.

People in the South are to pay for their medicinal plants, which they themselves have bred as cultivated plants, after the pharmaceutical corporations from the North have had their use patented or have genetically modified them. The issue of patents for drugs as final products is resulting in expensive monopolies and is excluding more and more people from the basic right to health.

The export subsidies of the industrialised countries for agricultural products are to be cancelled, and their markets are to be opened to products from countries in the South. Non-tariff trade obstacles must not undermine initiatives to open the markets of the industrialised countries.

Exceptions from free trade and TRIPS rules are to be introduced in the WTO that guarantee food sovereignty in the countries of the South. The precautionary principle, i.e. protection from health hazards, has to be established in WTO agreements. The supply of affordable drugs to the poorer countries has to be ensured with licences. Ecological farming is to be promoted by a change in the agricultural policies. Forests, bodies of water and soils are to be protected against commercial over-exploitation. No to patenting of living organisms! No to genetically modified food!

7) Sustainability in urban, regional and traffic planning

Urban, regional and traffic planning treats care work as if it were an unlimited resource. It is not aimed at accessibility of locations which are, at the same time, compatible with environmental and social needs, the qualities of public areas, freedom to move in spite of structural male violence or meeting housing requirements and the provision of decentralised infrastructure for everyday life. Instead, they create the compulsion to motorise, subject public areas to car traffic, necessitate an additional labour and back-up transport and hamper quality standards in supplies. The requirements of women resulting from their needs of coping with day-to-day life and their work in two economic areas are ignored just as much as rural areas and the urban periphery.

Urban, regional and traffic planning which aims at avoiding traffic, as well as infrastructure and transport policies oriented to everyday life in society are a public responsibility. Binding minimum standards are required to prevent the privatisation of public transport from putting a strain on social conditions and the environment in the long run. Generating traffic at the expense of private households, i.e. through problematic entrepreneurial locational policies, has to be reduced by using regulatory policy instruments along the lines of the preventive and polluter principle. The myths about transport technology and high-speed transport are to be exposed. Impact and compatibility studies aimed at reducing gender discrimination as well as gender budgets are to be introduced for all means of transport.

8) Gender mainstreaming in climate protection

Since Rio, climate protection has been right at the top of the international agenda for the environment. However, in the industrialised countries, it is turning into a play thing for power interests, serving above all as an instrument to identify loopholes in the agreements. Instead of haggling for percentages in CO₂ reduction and instead of a mere sectoral perspective, more fundamental changes to existing economic structures and patterns of consumption are required. Accordingly, primary entry point in the industrialised countries would be the reduction of energy consumption in various fields of application (mobility, housing, production).

North-South equity has been receiving more and more attention in the international debate on climate protection, while inequalities at national level, including gender discrimination, have so far remained ignored. One reason for this is that, throughout the world, women are extremely under-represented in the field of energy and climate protection. As in all technology-oriented areas, there is a lack of gender-related data, analyses and research. However, what has been clearly established is the lower level of acceptance among women of high-risk technologies such as the use of nuclear power in comparison to men. In addition, the energy sector is characterised by a strong segregation. On the one side, there is the highly-valued (male-dominated) area of technical potentials to economise, and on the other, there is economising by behavioural patterns which tends to be valued less, but often results in an increasing workload for women.

A gender-disaggregated data basis in the area of climate change has to be compiled regarding causes and responsibilities on the one hand, and the consequences and solution strategies on the other. Gender research in the area of climate protection, especially energy, is to be promoted, and insights already available on the gender-specific impact of, and preferences in, climate protection and energy concepts are to be systematically integrated into the international negotiations. However, much more fundamentally, a restructuring of production, consumer patterns and lifestyles among the consume oriented middle classes world-wide, but above all in the countries of the North, has finally to be initiated: nothing more and nothing less than what the industrialised countries already committed themselves to in Rio.

9) The Local Agenda 21 and gender issues

Over the past few years, the participation of women in the Local Agenda processes has been growing. Today, there are hardly any communities that can afford to neglect the "women's issue". However, women are subordinated to the category of "social issues", and this is also the category they assign themselves to, which leaves the "hard" issues to men. Instead, the Local Agenda should really be a prime example of gender mainstreaming, of integrating a gender perspective into all political measures, processes and decisions. But this is not what is happening. On the contrary, it is

(almost) exclusively women who are dealing with gender issues, while everyone else is carrying on with business as usual.

The integration of gender issues into all thematic areas of the Local Agenda 21 must not depend solely on the goodwill of individuals but has to be specifically targeted. A political signal is needed. At the same time, networking and the exchange of experience among women active in the Agenda processes need to be promoted. Regional and national centres have to be created at which contents and structures can be discussed.

10) Redistribution of social and environmental responsibility

As a consequence of the restructuring processes taking place in the context of neo-liberal globalisation governments are increasingly withdrawing from their genuine social responsibilities. Public services are being privatised and either handed over to the market, or responsibility for them is passed on to the private households, which above all means to the women. There is a trend towards feminising social responsibility – ranging from bringing up of children to the care of Aids patients and looking after the elderly – as well as environmental responsibility – from sorting of waste (i.e. in Germany) to planting tree saplings in the countries of the South. Women function as airbags for the world-wide cutback in government social services. At the same time, the gender-specific division of labour among men and women is hardly changing.

Concrete political measures have to be taken to counter the feminisation of social and ecological responsibility. Along the lines of social and environmental justice as well as the polluter principle, a compensation for costs and efforts has to be made among the various players in society, but also among nations at international policy level. There must be no separation of "efficiency for the men" from "sufficiency for the women".

11) Sustainability policy as structural policy

So far, environmental, development and gender policy goals have not been integrated institutionally. The responsibility for environmental projects run by women is usually referred to the Equal Rights Offices. In sectoral development programmes in the South

women have been mobilised as a cheap protection and cleaning gang without sectoral development being redesigned to meet environmental and gender requirements. Environmental protection is reduced to technological and eco-efficiency approaches, and end-of-pipe strategies. So far, social security concepts and women's programmes have mainly been annexed to macro-economic programmes to cushion the impact of economic crises and impoverishment.

Policies for social and ecological sustainability have to be structural policies at all political levels and need to be established as cross-sectoral tasks. Sustainability strategies have to be integrated into macro-economic structures, international political programmes and concepts to eradicate poverty right from the start.

Environmental protection, social justice and the dismantling of gender hierarchies have to be linked up already at the macro-level in terms of systematic institutional and content wise integration. Instead of imposing a universal concept of economic stabilisation and growth, country and region specific requirements and diverse contexts ought to be decisive for development and sustainability strategies.

12) Concepts of nature and gender relations

Feminist scientists criticise the relation between humankind and nature being based on a logic of domination and exploitation that shapes both the understanding of nature and the relation between society and nature as well as the natural and engineering sciences. This is precisely the causal element of today's global environmental crisis.

In the concepts of sustainability developed so far, these relationships with nature are hardly addressed, insights from a gender perspective are ignored, and, by and large, a blockade prevents the adoption of feminist approaches.

Knowledge based on experience and research about the links between the concept of nature, the social and economic order and gender relations have to be integrated both into science and at political level. This is a precondition for sustainability policy to achieve a breakthrough with regard to social and gender discrimination and the destructive way in which nature and the environment are treated.

13) Gender impact assessment and gender budgets as precautionary instruments

Agenda 21 of Rio and the Platform for Action of the 4th World Conference on Women demand that the impact of environment and development policy measures on women and men be assessed. The Gender Impact Assessment instrument was developed to identify potential effects of political decisions and strategies on gender relations. However, with regard to environmental policy and sustainability research, methods of establishing their impact on women and assessing gender-relevant effects have so far hardly been tested or applied. This also applies to the Gender Budget instrument, which is aimed at breaking down revenue and expenditure of government, local authority and institutional budgets in terms of how they relate to gender and analysing their potential to boost or weaken gender hierarchies.

Gender Impact Assessment has to be applied with binding effect both in the development of sets of legal and political guidelines and in environmental and development research. Gender Budgeting should also be introduced at various levels as an instrument to establish transparency and support analysis and planning. Both instruments can operate preventively and contribute to restructuring politics and research on the environment, development and sustainability with a view to deconstructing gender hierarchies.

14) Women's empowerment and gender mainstreaming

Sustainable development cannot be achieved without the empowerment of women, in particular their participation in planning and decision making. This insight was gained at the UN Conferences in Rio de Janeiro and Beijing. There is still a "glass ceiling" for women in all environment and development related sectors. While they are active on a day-to-day basis at grass-roots level, the more the level of action includes technical, scientific or political elements, the more it is dominated by men.

Empowerment of women implies two aspects: on the one hand, participating in decision-making and planning processes and getting a share of the power to make decisions within political, economic and scientific

institutions. On the other, scope for networking and co-operation enabling a gender-sensitive discourse on sustainability and the adoption of an autonomous position.

Gender mainstreaming has to be established everywhere, both in terms of institutions and contents. The independent quest of women for gender equitable strategies for sustainability has to be reliably secured by financial and institutional resources. Networking of civil society at national and international level is indispensable in this context. This is why network projects on "global structural policy from a gender perspective" and "gender equity and environmental sustainability" have to be set up and financed at federal level.



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Environmental Rights are Human Rights: getting it on the WSSD agenda

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A Campaign for Environmental Human Rights

In March 2001 ANPED, the Northern Alliance for Sustainability launched an international campaign on environmental human rights. It was felt, that the principles of human rights, the right to life and the right to development, cannot be realised in the absence of the right to a healthy environment. The WSSD provides an excellent opportunity to pursue such rights. So, the immediate goal of the campaign was to get these rights on the Johannesburg agenda. A further aim was, that the WSSD launch a negotiation process for a global convention on environmental human rights. ANPED called on its member organisations to organise broad support for this campaign. In April 2001, the UN Commission on Human Rights acknowledged the right to a healthy environment as a basic human right.

From summer 2001 until now, the Monitoring Network Health and Environment, being such a member, has been campaigning in the Netherlands for environmental human rights. Thus far, some 80 civil society organisations and groups have sent us a letter of support. Below, I will explain how we achieved this impressive result and how we are preparing to proceed.

What do we mean by environmental human rights?

There is no international agreement as to exactly what environmental human rights might be. ANPED suggests that these rights be grouped in three areas:

1. The right to act to protect the environment

This right is inherent in the UN Declaration and associated conventions, through the right to organise and to free assembly. This right is under threat in many nations

and human rights groups are active on this issue.

2. The right to information and to participate in decision-making

These rights enable citizens to play an active part in creating a healthy environment, and they are directly linked to the key points in several UN conventions and declarations. In Europe these rights are enshrined in the 'Arhus Convention'; other regions will need to consider how best to achieve these rights within local circumstances.

3. The right to a clean and safe environment

These are 'substantive rights'. They are the most basic rights, and the hardest to define. Many organisations would support the idea that 'clean water and food security' are 'basic human rights' (quotes from UNEP Geo 2000 report). The UN Draft Principles from 1994 spell out what these might be in more detail.'

The Monitoring Network

The Monitoring Network Health and Environment is an environmental NGO that aims to achieve a better environmental quality with respect to human health. One of our main instruments to tackle this problem, is registration of environment-related health problems. We ask people reporting such problems to fill out a concise questionnaire pertaining to their symptoms and alleged environmental causes.

Results are saved in a national database, which we use to inform authorities and to campaign for improvements. We encourage victims to organise themselves and to take action and we support such groups as best we can.

Why are we interested in environmental human rights?

In our experience, the absence of executable personal

rights to a healthy environment is a major stumbling block for individuals suffering from poor environmental conditions. Authorities in general are not very responsive to what they perceive as individual problems. Even if more inhabitants of a certain residential area suffer health problems, they are inclined to give precedence to large economic interests of companies over subjective problems of small groups. Human rights are individual rights, where environmental legislation is mostly a collective arrangement to protect the environment. Weighing of interests in favour of the collective good, as described in the previous paragraph, is common to collective arrangements. In a human rights approach we expect that individuals and small groups really do count. Our major reason, however, to support ANPED's campaign is that such a campaign and hopefully a negotiation process following, provides ample opportunity to focus on health and the problems of individuals or small local groups.

During an international skill share on environmental human rights, organised by ANPED, health appeared to be one of the core issues. Health has a very strong gender dimension. Women, presumably because of their roles and responsibilities, are inclined to give health a higher priority in environmental policy than men. Related issues, also with important gender aspects, are food and water quality and quality of housing. Poverty is another core issue, as the poor don't get a fair share of the world's resources. In addition, the poor often suffer a disproportional burden of environmental hazards. This connection to poverty underlines the gender dimension of the issue in another area.

The campaign

From material provided by ANPED and UNEP we composed a campaign letter, which we kept as simple and straightforward as possible. We welcomed the acknowledgement of environmental human rights by the UNCHR and asked to support ANPED's action to articulate these rights in Johannesburg. We attached a return form to the letter for organisations and a signature list for individuals supporting the action. We put the campaign letter on the web and distributed to as many email addresses of CSOs as we could collect, with an additional request to forward it and to place a link on their own website. We also distributed the letter by regular mail to our own contacts. Target groups includ-

ed development assistance organisations, environmental, women, and human rights NGOs as well as green business firms. Most return forms, however, we obtained from local groups, apparently because these people strongly feel that their rights have been violated. The first mailing yielded some 65 return forms. Next we produced a special on environmental human rights of our regular magazine, which was launched at our debriefing meeting, which we organised after the Geneva Ministerial Conference, preparing for the WSSD. We sent the magazine, with return forms included, to our regular contacts, but also to NGOs that had been involved in a national discussion on the Cairo+5 and the Beijing+5 conferences. This second mailing yielded 15 more letters of support.

Follow up of the campaign

At the debriefing we started a discussion on the desirability as well as the content of environmental human rights. Topics to be addressed included vulnerable groups, environmental justice, a fair share of the world's resources, the precautionary principle, the burden of proof and institutional arrangements to strengthen the position of individuals. We also learnt, that some people already make use (or intend to do so) of existing human rights treaties to further their case. At present, we have engaged a science shop on law to research current possibilities in the Netherlands to appeal to human rights in health and environment disputes. A science shop is an office, connected to a university, where civil groups without money can drop their research questions. The science shop then tries to find a student to conduct the research under supervision of university teachers, as a part of their curriculum. An expert paper on the subject, tailored to our needs, will help us to articulate our demands and priorities in this area. We intend to use the results of this research to better inform concerned groups and to initiate a more focused debate on the content of substantive environmental human rights.

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Monitoring Network Health and Environment
International Project Coordinator

¹ Source: Environmental and Human Rights – A new approach to Sustainable Development. A briefing from ANPED, the Northern Alliance for Sustainability. (www.anped.org)

Threats and Opportunities of Enlargement: Agriculture, Safe Food and Biodiversity

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Some characteristics of agriculture in the accession countries

In all the accession countries, a process of changing the agricultural sector in order to prepare it for the accession to the EU is on its way. Since the very beginning of the enlargement process, agriculture has been seen as one of the most demanding sectors. This relates to the fact that agriculture is closely linked with several issues: economy, livelihood of rural communities, social and cultural aspects, environment, nature and biodiversity, and many more. These links are stronger in accession countries than in the existing EU (noting that also in EU the difference between individual countries is significant). The reason for this is the bigger importance of the agricultural sector. In accession countries a much higher percentage of people work in agriculture, agriculture represents a larger share of BDP, and these countries have a larger share of population living in rural areas.

Although we find substantial differences between accession countries and even within them, there are also some overall characteristics of the situation in the 'accession region', such as:

- relatively large share of extensive agriculture with low agro-chemical inputs;
- large areas with good agricultural land also suitable for intensive production, along with large agriculturally less-favoured areas;
- lack of money for investments;
- unclear situation of land ownership;
- lower living / working standard in rural areas (lack

of infrastructure, lack of employment opportunities, over availability and consecutively level of education, etc.)

- large areas with high biodiversity / high nature value (man-made and natural landscapes, special habitats, etc.).

It is important to note that existing natural wealth - high biodiversity in wild and man-created plant and animal world - has been to a large extent created by traditional agricultural practices, for example diversified use of meadows and pastures, traditional crop rotations etc., which have been adapted to specific climatic and pedo-geographical characteristics of the areas /regions.

Threats of EU accession

There are mainly two threats which are related to this wealth and the process of accession to the EU:

1. Intensification of agriculture in more suitable areas.
2. Abandonment of (traditional) cultivation in large less-favoured agricultural areas.

Both developments are a threat to the existing natural heritage in the accession countries. Existing programs, prepared by the governments responsible agricultural ministries of accession countries and agreed by European Commission (EC) do not seem to reduce this threat.

Rural Development Programmes (RDP) of accession countries

EU-financing under SAPARD should help accession countries in

- implementing CAP (EU Common Agricultural Policy) and related policies,

- solving priority and specific problems for the sustainable adaptation of agricultural sector and rural areas.

According to the 7-years national rural development programs of accession countries (2000-2006), EU-pre-accession help under SAPARD is focusing mainly on the improvement of structures for quality, veterinary and plant-health in accession countries and to the investments in agricultural holdings (indirectly incl. improvement of agricultural structure - increase farm size and favouritize younger farmers), but much less to sustainable rural development and agri-environment.

An overview of the allocation of SAPARD funds in the accession countries shows the following picture:

26%	all countries	Improving processing and marketing of agric. products, to meet veterinary, hygiene, sanitary, food quality etc. requirements.
22%	all countries	Investment in agricultural holdings
21%	all countries	Improvement of rural infra structures
11%	all countries	Diversification of activities, providing alternative income

The total funds of SAPARD do by far not match the existing needs for restructuring in agriculture and rural areas (For example, the total of 520 mio EUR per year for 10 countries in SAPARD corresponds to the sum spent for agri-environment measures alone in Austria

The funds for restructuring Agriculture in 10 CEE countries are insufficient, their 520 million EUR are equal to the total spent in Austria

in 1998.). That is why, according to the opinion of the relevant ministries and EC, the priorities have

been given to the measures which should adapt agricultural sector in accession countries to the present Common Agricultural Policy (CAP) of EU, with the aim to make this sector competitive on the future enlarged EU-market. The EC says that SAPARD is first of all 'school money' for the accession countries to learn how to manage EU funds after the accession. However, for

some countries this is still an important contribution as the investment money for agriculture is hardly available. It is clear that the programs and projects developed and implemented under SAPARD will be a sign-post for the actors in the agricultural sector in the accession countries.

Present RDPs show that the accession countries have tried to take into account their specific characteristics and needs, but the overall starting-point is the present CAP (with all its faults and deficiencies) and present state of agriculture in EU and its market. With such an approach there is the tendency that many mistakes of EU agriculture will be repeated, and due to the specific situation in accession countries, even some new mistakes may be 'invented'. And even if the agricultural sector will be 'modernised' in the EU-way, this is no guarantee for an economic success. Intensification and industrialisation of agricultural practices has proven fatal in many ways, not only for the environment.

Many mistakes of EU agriculture will be repeated

The demanding EU veterinary and sanitary requirements in food processing could not prevent well-known disasters in animal production (BSE, foot-and-mouth disease), because the roots are in the industrialised animal production itself. Apart of the hazard for consumers, one must not forget the enormous financial consequences.

It is also important to note that although the accession countries' programs which form the basis for financing under SAPARD are called "Rural Development Programs 2000-2006", we can hardly say that the emphasis is on the rural development.

Environmental NGOs (WWF, BirdLife) have already pointed out that agri-environmental measures under

Agri-environmental measures account for only 2% of SAPARD

SAPARD are marginal; measure "Environmentally friendly practices" accounts only for 2% of SAPARD (few pilot projects).

But even if the extent of agri-environment in accession countries would have been higher, that would hardly substantially reduce the mentioned threats to the natural heritage of accession countries.

The basis for sustainable agriculture and rural development before and after the enlargement

In order to avoid old and new mistakes and to enable sustainable (environmentally, economically and socially) agriculture and rural development, some additional factors should be taken into account. There are several strengths in the accession countries on which they can build upon.

1. Rich biodiversity and natural as well as man-made landscape. It is necessary to recognise the importance of biodiversity, nature protection and sustainable use of resources, from the point of view of enlargement as well as accession countries themselves.

Strengths of CEE countries: rich biodiversity, high quality agri-products, traditional knowledge and growing demand for safe food

2. The growing demand of the consumers for sustainable agricultural production, food safety and food quality. This relates firstly to the development in the domestic market in the accession countries, although there are large differences among them, and secondly to the EU as a whole, where such demands are much more pronounced. (Possibility of export from accession countries to the EU).

3. There are some positive aspects in the agricultural production in accession countries which may form the basis for meeting the demands of consumers, such as:

- higher quality of agricultural products in terms of nutritional value and taste, due to traditional production, lower use of agro-chemicals, favourable climatic conditions, traditional sorts and breeds of animals, but also existence of good varieties well adapted to regional conditions (classical plant breeding is/was in many accession countries well developed), small-scale production;
- diversity of (traditional) food products,
- knowledge on traditional methods and generally more direct relation of farmers to nature.

4. The importance of so-called second pillar of CAP - rural development - is rising, and also some substantial changes of CAP are to be expected before and after the accession.

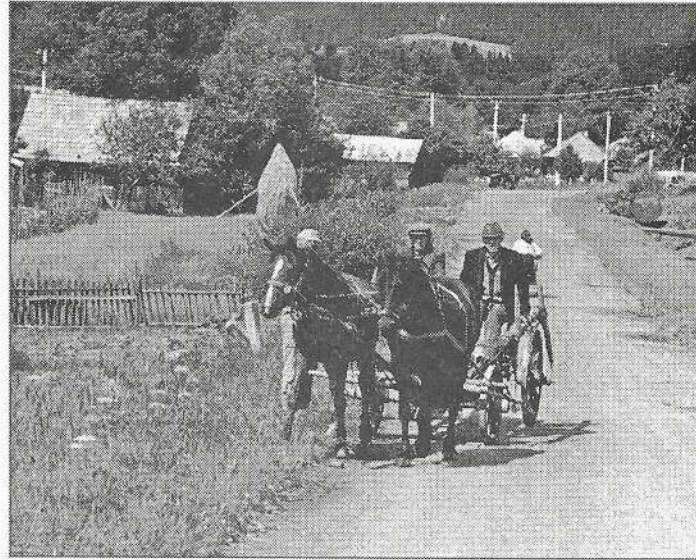


Photo 1: Eastern Europe can turn its traditional agriculture into a competitive advantage.

5. There is a growing demand for certified organic products in some accession countries and an evident constant rise of the demand for organic products in the EU.
6. The number of EU environmental requirements in all sectors, incl. agriculture, is growing every day.
7. Co-operation of farmers, processors etc. on (economical) interest basis offers opportunities which haven't been used yet in the accession countries. On the other hand, there are also many obstacles to sustainable rural development, which need to be identified and removed, although in some cases the process may be long and not very easy. To name just a few:
 - low level of trust, organisation and co-operation (practice and skills) in the rural areas in accession countries,
 - some EU requirements related to the sanitary and hygiene in food processing are very difficult to meet (unacceptable level of investments needed), etc.

Recommendations to the governments of accession countries and to the EU

Some recommendations have been elaborated at the Workshop on Agriculture, EEB Conference on EU Enlargement, 18. – 20.10.01 in Budapest. The working group established three general objectives on which to base its proposals: firstly the need to promote the shift to organic farming; secondly to minimise the harmful effects of intensive agriculture on the environment,

and thirdly to ensure that marginal land continues to be managed in a traditional way, in order to protect biodiversity and landscape.

The key proposals are:

1. To promote a shift to organic farming. Action plans for the development of organic farming should be developed, according to the conditions in individual accession countries. A key role in the development of action plans should be played by the organisations which have experience and knowledge on organic farming; many NGOs in accession countries have capacities to play such role.
 2. To increase the budget share substantially for rural development in national Rural Development Programmes of Accession Countries, respecting following rules:
 - a) The largest share of Rural Development budget should be earmarked for Agri-environment. It has to be ensured that its measures are environmentally effective and that also monitoring, control and reporting are effective [this is being proposed by NGOs for the EU mid-term CAP review as well].
 - b) Introduce, like in the EU, Less Favoured Areas (LFA) payments, as a potentially good instrument to keep farming in LFAs extensive and viable.
 3. Sustainable rural development programmes cannot be really realised without a bottom-up approach with strong involvement of local actors. Observing the present state in rural areas, it is necessary to support capacity building in local communities. Individual programmes should be developed in the framework of regional level programmes, which must have an integral approach.
 4. Direct payments should also be made available also to the farmers in Accession Countries. By 2004, there should be obligatory environmental conditions for all direct payments both for new and old Member States.
 5. The addition of an ecological objective to the dairy quota should be considered.
- In many accession countries (as well as in some EU member states) extensive grazing on permanent

grassland is very important for the maintenance of the landscape and thus rich biodiversity that developed there due to the specific agricultural use. The system of dairy quotas should be reviewed and modified in such a way that it can not conflict with the maintenance of the landscape and protection of biodiversity.



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The Impact of Globalization on Women

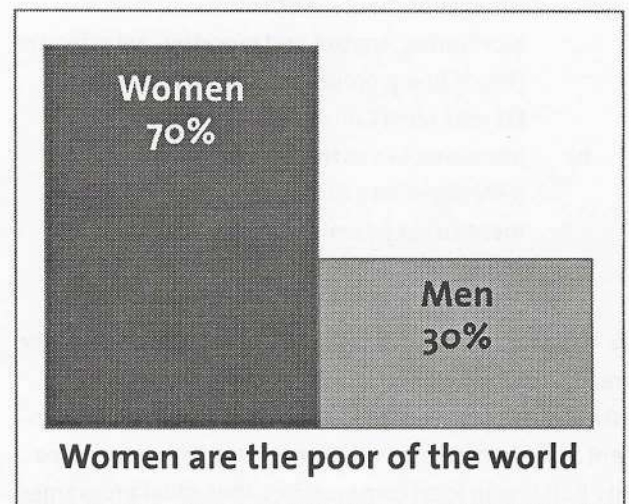
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The politics of economic liberalization worldwide seem to introduce the final phase of globalization as a process of the extended separation of diverse producers from their means of production, because globalization as an economic process indicates the integration of more and more national, regional and local economies in the World Economy. Globalization is also the attempt to imagine and to realize infinity within a finite world which is determined by natural cycles. Although the construction of the capitalist World Economy is supposed to be finished, globalization continues as a process of exploration. Altvater/Mahnkopf say that the conquest of the global space led to the fact that there are no "white spots" left on the map. But that doesn't mean that globalization, too, has finished: "The urge into the planetary and transgalactic space continues to be strong and it is directed to the micro- and nanostructures of life and at the genes. In those structures they are looking for possible sources of income. Hence globalization is more than expansion. It is also acceleration and usurpation."¹

Usurpation always leads to impoverishment - of nature and of the people themselves. Hence impoverishment is not just a side effect of the globalization process but even wanted to provoke social change, as you may see by the following example: To reduce European surplus depots in frozen meat, the European Union for years has been sending living animals to African markets, selling them for dumping prices. The result: Nomad cattle-breeders can't sell their products anymore because people buy the much cheaper subsidized European meat. The intention of this externalization

of costs: at the expense of African self-reliance, Europeans are able to empty their expensive depots and can at the same time manipulate traditional economic structures to create new markets, not only for meat but also for future European industrial commodities. This classical strategy to conquer new markets leads to economic dependency and impoverishment of masses of people who before have been able to survive under dignified and autonomous conditions.



The negative impact of globalization on women

Especially women are suffering from these impoverishment processes, not only in the countries of the South. Related to deregulation and privatization as important strategies of globalization the services' sector has grown all over the world. This sector has been dominated ever since by women. But that doesn't mean that women are now getting better jobs or would earn better wages - on the contrary: The leader of the ILO-delegation during the international women's conference in Beijing reported that women are still the first to get

dismissed and the last to get employed.² In Germany women are still earning about 65 per cent of men's wages.³ 53 per cent of German women don't earn an income which allows them to live without the help of a husband or the state - part time workers are nearly all female.⁴ On a world scale, 70 per cent of the 1.3 billion poor, are women.⁵

Processes of globalization and deregulation have especially negative impacts on women because of two reasons: On the one hand women are regarded as an "investment advantage" because of their cheap labour force.⁶ With other words: by globalizing the world economy the "housewifized" character of the international division of labour is getting more and more clear.

Subsistence production in a globalized world is redefined as useless, so called 'housewifization'

"Housewifization" is a process which accompanies the transition of subsistence orient-

ed to commodity producing societies. Within this process subsistence production which formerly has been the main production and performed by women and men has been defined as unproductive, worthless and economically irrelevant work which from now on is done by housewives. By this, the most important work of all works becomes socially invisible. Women are dispossessed of their knowledge and control over live production and land which means after all a dispossession of power.

I shall illustrate this process later on by an example. Already Rosa Luxemburg pointed out that capital accumulation is only possible on the basis of a combination of the process of 'ongoing primitive accumulation' based on direct violence, robbery and over-exploitation with the process of the so-called 'capitalist accumulation', based on the 'scientific' exploitation of the wage worker. Women's labour force belongs as well as the labour force of colonized peoples to the so-called 'primitive production', which means first of all that the work done by the majority of the world's population is not considered, valued and paid as the one of the few, mainly white wage workers in the world. There is a very simple reason for that: the world's economy would break down immediately, if housework or peasant's work would be paid under the same conditions as factory work in the so-called First World. So the ideological

justification of this obvious injustice consists in the affirmation that working women fulfill their "natural destiny". Since the processes of inner and outer colonization women count, just as the non-white population, as nature - and natural resources seem to be for free (Werlhof/Mies/Bennholdt-Thomsen 1983).

This means that the world economy and the actual mode of production can only be fully understood by explicit attention to the sexual and international division of labour. The sexual division of labour is characterized by the fact that women get the badly paid jobs or don't get paid at all, because they are housewives not only in the house but also in wage work, as Maria Mies points out: "... housewifization of women is not only the cheapest method for capital to reproduce the labour power but also the cheapest way of producing commodities for the world market. This is the reason why we find housewifized producers not only in the informal sector in the so-called Third World countries but also in the most modern factories in the Free Trade Zones... It is a common characteristic of all World Market Factories and relocated industries that the vast majority of their workers (about 80 per cent) are women, mostly young and unmarried. On an average the wages in such Free Trade or Export Production Zones are a fifth or a tenth, sometimes even a twentieth of the wages in similar factories in the old industrialized countries." (Mies 1996:8)

Barry Carter says that the Multilateral Agreement on Investment will entrench this "maquiladora strategy". More and more women work under conditions which don't even allow them

the most basic access to necessities. Salaries of Mexican maquilado-

"Maquiladora strategy", sexual harassment and dismissal if found pregnant

ra workers could barely enable them to meet immediate survival needs like food and minimal shelter. While wages are low "... sexual harassment and discrimination are rampant in the maquiladoras... Female maquiladora workers are routinely screened for pregnancy, and summarily dismissed if found pregnant." (Carter 1998).

This proves the assumption that women are treated as dependent housewives even as wage workers.

And here we find the second reason why globalization effects women in a different way than men: Women stay subsistence producers under constantly deteriorating conditions, or, as Vandana Shiva states:

Rural women living in absolute poverty has increased by 50%, in Africa even 80%

“The freedom for agribusiness is based on the denial of freedom to rural women to produce,

process and consume food according to the local environmental, economic and cultural needs. What GATT (and nowadays MAI as we can add) aims to achieve is the replacement of women and other subsistence producers by TNCs as the main providers of food.” (Shiva 1993:231) The ongoing expropriation of land which is evoked by globalization is always an expropriation of women, because on a world scale more than 50 per cent of the land is cultivated by women, in Africa it is even more than 80 per cent. In the past 20 years the number of rural women living in absolute poverty has increased by 50 per cent (Carter 1998). It is still women who contribute two thirds of all hours worked each day, but they earn only ten per cent of the world's income and possess only one per cent of the world's property, as the famous United Nations report states. Globalization is already making and going to make worse these incredibly unjust living conditions.

But it's not only women who are treated as “housewives of the capital”. Characteristics of housewifization are more and more delegated to other, so-called female working fields, even if men are working in them. For Mies housewifization is the structural condition of the devaluation of all female wage work in capitalism (Mies 1983:118), but housewifized working conditions are installed increasingly in proletarianized working conditions which are up to now privileged (Werlhof 1983b). Low wage zones are going to be installed also in the rich European countries, in the US a constantly increasing number of the so-called “Mc-jobs” has been characterizing economic reality ever since.

Analyzing the internationalization of the housewife model it has to be stressed that there are not only continuities but also important differences between the two sets of women in the so-called First and Third World. There are “... the housewife-consumers in the North, and in the middle classes in the South, and the housewife producers ... The consumer housewife and

the producer-housewife however are connected by the world market.” (Mies 1996:9)

From the local economy to a globalized village

The proletarian and his housewife are put in the center of domesticated labour conditions irrespective of the real existence of this couple. But already as an aspired imagination it contributes to devalue and de-economize the daily work for the survival that is done by women all over the world. If globalization reinforces these tendencies could then a regionalization of the economy be an alternative, especially for women? I would like to follow this question by introducing two case studies of culturally very different local economies: one women-centered in the South of Mexico and one patriarchal, recently transformed in a rural zone in Germany. In both regions I have been doing research in the past seven years.

The case of Borgentreich: self-sufficiency of 2400 inhabitants until the late 60ties

Until the late sixties the German village Borgentreich surprisingly kept on working as a self-sufficient local economy, despite the fact that the industrialization process had advanced strongly in the rest of the country. This local economy guaranteed the self-sufficiency of more or less 2400 inhabitants. Social differences were released by a responsible and joint interchange of goods. For a remarkable long time the village has been dominated nearly exclusively by small and medium farmers as well as traders and artisans such as tailors, shoemakers, carpenters, smiths, millers, bakers, butchers, shepherds, saddlers, and cartwrights. Beside agriculture and handicraft the house- and farm-economy run by women formed the third indispensable part of the local economy. Women worked in the house, in the stables and on the fields. Women sold or interchanged the surplus products. Female members of the local economy were not housewives- first of all they disposed of their money and second their labor force was not only indispensable, it was also regarded as such.

If globalization reinforces ‘housewifization’, can regionalization be an alternative, especially for women?

The economy of the village was embedded in the social relationships of the people, as Polanyi would say. Economic actions of the local actors were oriented

towards securing the subsistence base. The local economy was a moral economy: All economic relationships within the village were based on reciprocity. The price fixing was based on social, not on business-oriented criteria. The economic rationality was characterized by taking social responsibility for the community as a whole. This was important for any actor because the survival of each inhabitant depended on the survival of the local economy. That means that practicing an economy based on solidarity doesn't mean that people are more "moral" than others. It was just a material necessity for them to act in a responsible way both for each other as for the natural resources.

Every member of the local economy had a right to survive. That means at the same time that a right to earn

Farmers and artisans worked for each other on the base of barter of natural produce, you may also call it exchange in kind

money couldn't be guaranteed. The artisans worked for the farmer and other households.

They produced fur-

niture, clothing, shoes and working tools. The farmers on the other hand cultivated beside their own fields the ones of the artisan households that also disposed of land on which they cultivated basic foods like potatoes and rye for themselves. In addition every household disposed of a garden in which the women cultivated vegetables and fruits. Farmers and artisans worked for each other on the base of barter of natural produce, you may also call it exchange in kind.

The other possibility for artisans who needed money to buy materials like leather or cloth was to send out bills once a year. But this didn't mean they received the money, sometimes people paid their bills, sometimes they didn't. That depended on if they disposed of money or not. The artisans meanwhile had to wait for the money patiently. If the artisans would have opened dunning proceedings they would have lost their social recognition. Because everybody knew each other, everybody was connected with the lives and destinies of the others and had to take into consideration the actual circumstances of life. All economic principles had to subordinate under the law of reciprocity. Even the few employers in the village had to abide by moral economic principles. A local contractor told me that it used to happen to him that during harvest time frequently

two or three of his workers didn't attend to work because they had to bring in their own rye harvest which they took to the mill and then after that to the bakery. Giving the meal and paying a very small amount of money for bak-

EU policy tied cheap farm-credits and subsidies to expansionism and big machinery.

ing they had free bread all year long. No wonder that the contractor complained: "The harvest was much more important for the people than their job in my business. I couldn't do anything about that. I couldn't fire the people because they had to bring in their harvest. That was not possible for me, I couldn't do that here, in the countryside."

The high degree of self-sufficiency and the independence from imports from other countries or continents made the moral economy an ecologically and socially sustainable social unit. For this reason this self-sufficiency system continued to work over such a long period of time. Nevertheless it didn't have any chance to survive the modernization process which started in this region in the late fifties. Of course the destruction of the local economy cannot be compared to the violent process of expropriation which took part in many countries and regions of the South, but we can find some structural similarities. The most powerful impulse for modernization was undoubtedly the agrarian politics of the German post-war-state integrating itself into the European Economic Union. "According to this policy the number of farmers were to be drastically reduced through modernization, mechanization, chemicalization, capitalization of agriculture. Europe considers itself an industrialized region, agriculture is subordinated to industry. Due to this development model the subsidies and cheap credits given to farmers were all tied to expansionism, big investments, big machinery and production for the market." (Mies 1995:)

In Germany more than 20.000 farms are giving up agricultural production every year.⁷ Farmers are not driven off their land directly by soldiers but indirectly by agrarian politics. In 1949 1.6 million farms existed in Germany, today there is only half a million left. More and more small, ecologically working farms give up and only growing, centralized mass production factories are surviving (Deutscher Bauernverband 1997:135).

But it was not only politics that caused the social changes, it was also the local actors themselves who started to orient their economic behaviour on the base of a changing value-system. The Borgentreich process of the separation of the producers from their means of production turned out to be not a very spectacular one. And, what is also quite important: the majority of the village inhabitants wanted and reinforced it. After some new factories had been constructed in the region especially younger people started to dedicate themselves to wage work. Money in comparatively large amounts entered in the local circulation of goods.

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One of the first things people bought were cars. With these cars they went to bigger cities and bought "cheaper" goods. They started to de-value what was made by the village people and believed in the higher value of the goods bought in the cities and with money. They replaced horses by tractors and self-made wooden wheels by imported rubber wheels. They changed the shared evenings in front of the houses by the TV set in the small-family-unit and they replaced their farms which used to demonstrate the farmer's pride on his and her work for the sterile, homely and provincial single-family-houses with automatically functioning stables for mass production added. The small stables in which every family hold three or four pigs, a cow and some sheep got pulled down and replaced by garages. In short: Subsistence production had to make room for commodity production.

The smith told me that from that moment on a time

One of the first things people bought were cars, to go to the city and buy 'cheap' things and thus their local production was devalued

he called "rubber time" started. I think this expression is very well-aimed as a synonym for what

people called the "new time" because rubber is at the same time a concrete symbol for the massive introduction of the international division of labor in the local economy: a product from the world market drives out local products and their producers in an astonishingly short time.

The local economy, formerly not participating in the world market is transformed little by little into a "globalized village" which is characterized first of all by the transformation of their inhabitants from producers of their own lives to consumers of products produced by

unknown people under unknown conditions from anonymous markets. Through this means the village starts profiting from what economists call "externalization of costs". Externalization renders possible to ignore central factors of the production like the exploitation of people and natural resources. In this way externalization produces a certain illusion on what is commodity production. Masarrat defines the term 'externalization of costs' like that:

Housewifization started with the move from subsistence to commodity production

"Externalized costs are real social and ecological costs that individuals, groups and nations impose on the public, on other groups, nations and following generations to minimize the own expenses and to maximize their own profit and to intensify economic growth." (Masarratt 1995:75)

At the same time we can observe an expropriation of the spacial dimension. More and more materials, services and machines from all parts of the world are entering the local scene. This competition, which is not localizable and therefore a sort of "spaceless" intervention, starts using the village-people as consumers but doesn't take over any responsibilities. The generalized reciprocity of production and consumption during the times of the local economy is being replaced by the uni-dimensionality of the relationship between production and consumption in the globalized village.

The changing objective of production led to the fact that for the social actors of the local economy it became possible for the first time to take an economic decision without having to consider the consequences their own behaviour had on other social actors.

By giving up the production for internal needs and for internal exchange, subsistence production loses its societal character and its position as the central economic institution in the village and gets de-economized. Subsistence production in a subsistence-oriented society is the socially relevant production, but in a commodity producing society it is only a marginalized and invisible part of the commodity production which little by little becomes the only esteemed one.

This process of de-economizing is a gender-mediated process in which a new, housewifized relationship

between women and men is enforced. This doesn't mean that the disdain towards women and their work came into the village only by modernization, in fact, long before there existed already a hierarchical gender-relationship, but as women's work was visible and indispensable it was valued in a different way than today. Today we have the male bread-winner, whereas women are only standing by his side "helping" the family's economy.⁸

Hence the societal relationship towards subsistence production can be reflected as a gender relationship. But subsistence production is not vanishing with modernization, it only changes its character from a socially generalized to a privatized one. Subsistence production continues to be the central basis of commodity production after the integration of a local economy in the world market.⁹ On the one hand the growing disregard of women as "old" and "new" subsistence producers reflects the low appreciation of women, and on the other the weak position of subsistence production itself. The reason why Borgentreich lost its local economy lies - among other reasons - in the lacking of a culturally embedded appreciation of subsistence production and their most important protagonists - women. This effect doesn't have to characterize necessarily any development process. I'd like to demonstrate this assumption by the following case study.

The case of Juchitán – a affluent Women's Town in a poor country

In a small town in the South of Mexico women are not only very highly regarded, but their economic power and social standing is the guarantee both for the relative abundance of goods and for the cultural and economic autonomy of the population.

Juchitán is a town of about 80.000 inhabitants in the south of Mexico. It lies on the Isthmus of Tehuantepec between the Pacific and the Atlantic Ocean which means that the town is an important railroad junction and forms a connection point between North and Central America. The population of Juchitán consists mainly of Zapotec people who talk their own Indian language in addition to Spanish - the language of the colonizers.

In the early nineties I participated in a field study which was sponsored by the German Research Association (DFG) and implemented by German and Mexican

women sociologists. We asked ourselves how it is possible that the deep economic and financial crisis Mexican people are suffering from since 1982, doesn't show any effects in this town. In Juchitán the infantile mortality rate is the lowest in the state of Oaxaca; the life-



Photo 1: Zapotec women in Mexico are central to the thriving local economy, here the women are preparing food for a festival

expectancy is the highest. Meanwhile 24 millions of Mexicans - which is about a quarter of the nation's population - is undernourished, yet the food supply is no problem in Juchitán - even more: a nutrition study shows that the nutritional conditions in Juchitán are even better than in the United States.

Our assumption then was that the national crisis does not reach Zapotec people because they themselves have maintained a local and regional economy which is directed towards their subsistence needs, not to the needs of commodity production and accumulation of capital. Even if some men have found wage work in the petrol industry nearby, Zapotec people in general terms are not dependent on the imponderable conditions of wage work, but subsist on agriculture, fishing, handicraft and petty trade.

Right in the center of Juchitán the most important place in town: the market place is located. It is open every day from eight in the morning to ten in the night. During the day it is frequented by about 15.000 to 20.000 buyers and sellers. Petty trade is exclusively controlled by women; Zapotec women control

Whilst 24 million mexicans are undernourished, Juchitán is not effected by Mexico's economicy crisis



Photo 2: Zapotec women dancing at one of the 600 large festivals. All guests bring their share; the men drinks, the women money.

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the money by selling the articles men have produced. Not only work in agriculture is subsistence-oriented in Juchitán, trade is also. What does this mean? The traded goods originate to a high percentage from local production. That means that there is an autonomous local and regional commodity circulation between production, trade and consumption. On the market everything needed can be bought: fruits, chicken, meat, handmade cheese, vegetables, locally produced traditional costumes, sandals, gold-ornaments, wickerworks, flowers, grains and so on. The most important principle of the trade is that a Zapotec woman exclusively buys from a Zapotec woman. This cultural attitude, which is based on the high evaluation of the own ethnical group and of the regional products, leads to the fact that the local market hardly ever opens for national or international commodities. There

Zapotec women control the money by selling the articles men have produced

have been several trials of the Mexican government and of international compa-

nies to introduce supermarkets in town, but people just refused to buy there so they had to be closed again. Zapotecs ignored the supermarkets not because of any ideological reasons but simply because of the fact that articles from the region are highly valued, whereas those from outside are regarded with suspicion. This ethnical self-assurance renders possible an economy of reciprocity, which guarantees an economic survival not only of the social unit in general but of everybody who participates in the local economy. Even those who just sell ice-cooled water on the market, can make

a living on that, assuming that they spend the money they earn to buy food from the market stand nearby. Everybody is dependent on everybody, but not on abstract economic laws or uncontrollable markets from outside. So as far as a fruit seller takes her meal on the stand of a meal seller and she herself buys her ingredients from a chicken seller who buys corn from a corn seller, local economy can survive and the subsistence oriented market will never be sated, simply because of the everlasting fact that human needs have to be satisfied every day.

Another important principle is that commerce is supposed to be implemented not only under regional terms but should stay transparent and controllable. Veronika Bennholdt-Thomsen describes an example of the immunity of Zapotec people to the seductions of modern economy: Recently the preserved-fruits merchant Maria Ciro was asked by a representative of a national development bureau to participate in a leading position in the overregional and international trade of preserved fruits. The development bureau would give a credit and Maria would organize the production and instruct other women how to produce the regional speciality. Maria would be paid well by a manager from outside Juchitán who would lead the trade and control the incomes.

It took the fruit merchant only short time to think about the deal and to decide not to participate in it. Production conditions like the proposed ones wouldn't be overlooked by her anymore, she said. She prefers to sell by herself and hold the money earned in her own hands at night. What, if the selling would go wrong? What, if the prices would be too low? And why should she give away her know-how which is in spite of everything a secret?

Just because of the expected big profit she doesn't believe in anyway? But even if the deal would work out perfectly, she herself wouldn't be able to dispose of her time anymore. What, if she would like to go to one of the numerous festivals? After all she has a lot of social obligations. No, she decided, she would not participate in an undertaking like this. Besides, she said, she has already enough to live on. The majority of Juchitán's population lives from hand to mouth, but nearly everybody is able to put aside

a little money for expenses just as children's education, the renovation of the house or new clothes. But the main part of the individual surplus made, flows back to the local economy. Festivals are an important expression for this principle of reciprocity. More than 600 big festivals are held every year in Juchitán. The queens of the festivals are women. Women dance with each other, sit together, drink and interchange the latest news in town. Women sit in the center of the festival place, men sit apart. Festivals are an important demonstration of the social presence of women.

People spend a lot of money not only by arranging festivals but also by visiting them. Those who have got lots of social obligations are supposed to participate nearly every day in one of the festivals held. Their presence is necessary because of the so-called cooperation they have to give. Each festival-arranger is dependent

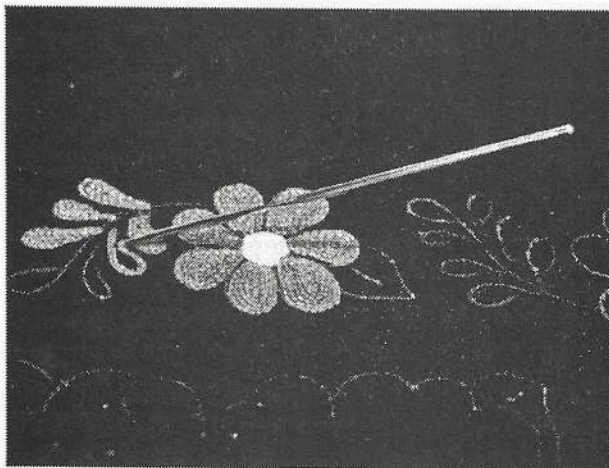
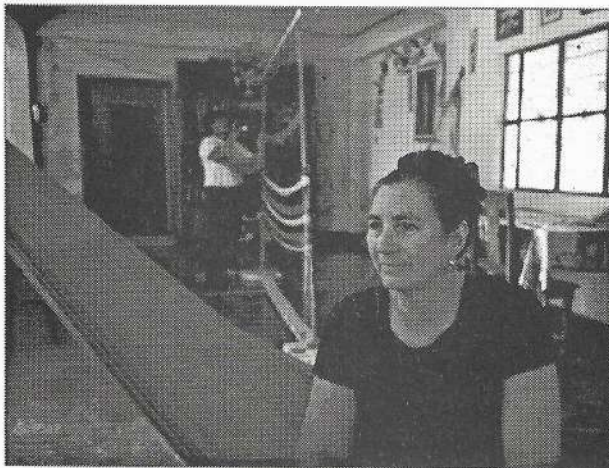


Photo 3+4: Zapotec handicrafts are of great quality and preferred over commodity products

on the cooperations of the guests, which means that no one ever goes to a festival without anything in his or her hand. Men are supposed to bring a pack of beer, women cooperate with a small amount of money. If people refuse to accept the invitations they receive several times, one day, when they themselves arrange a festival, no one would

Profits of the family remain in the local economy

show up to cooperate. So participating in a festival is more than having fun, eating, drinking and dancing: it is a social duty.

At a festival, large amounts of money and goods are spent; festivals express the dissipated character of Zapotec economy, which does not mean that enjoyments of this kind would weaken the local economy; it is the other way round: the abundance of festivals strengthens it: again because of the fact that a major part of products and services consumed originate from local surroundings. Festivals play an important role as employers. Musicians, cooks, tailors and embroiderers of the traditional costumes women wear can count on secure working places, because festivals are always implemented. In Juchitán there are even professions which deal exclusively with festivals such as decorators of the festival places or pyrotechnics who construct and light the beloved fireworks.

Festivals guarantee a constant redistribution of social wealth. People who are wealthier than the large majority are supposed to participate in lots of festivals and arrange themselves many and abundant ones; if they refuse to do this, they are badly regarded. The highest social status is not enjoyed by those who accumulate their money for their individual use, but those who ruin themselves by arranging a specially big festival which can be enjoyed by lots of people.

Juchitán's prestige economy helps to weaken social differences between the Zapotecs. The significance of money in the subsistence-oriented economy is different than the one in a commodity-producing system.

Money's character is more determined by its exchange value than by

Festivals guarantee a constant redistribution of social wealth

its character of accumulation. Money is mainly a medium to value special services and products to guarantee a more or less equal exchange of goods. As the character, also the social treatment of money is different. The

Zapotec way to treat money strengthens the strong position of daily survival and through this, it strengthens the strong social position of women. In Juchitán the separation between highly regarded male work and devalued female work simply doesn't exist.

For a conclusion let's go back to the question I started with: Can a localized or regionalized organization of the economy be an alternative to globalization? I believe it can but is not under all circumstances an alternative. To work for the benefit of all people a de-centralized, self-organized local economy from my point of view has to try to embed economic relations and economic action in a new, subsistence-oriented culture which first of all recognizes and values the high importance of women for the production of life – and at the same time tries to involve men. Looking at the structures of our societies all over we realize that it's not only a lack of land and other modes of production to be reclaimed and re-conquered but also a lack of consciousness. So what we need is no less than a cultural revolution. At the same time it would be a good idea to start with influencing national and supranational politics reinforcing:

- regional and local markets, especially according to food production
- no patents on life
- no subsidies for the export of animals and agricultural products
- no subsidies for cash crops: food first / subsistence over profits
- no privatization of public domains (Daseinsvorsorge)

¹ Altwater/Mahnkopf 1996:42; (non authorized translation)

² Bennholdt-Thomsen 1995:3

³ CREW reports 7/94, cited in Bennholdt-Thomsen 1995:7

⁴ Möller, cited in Bennholdt-Thomsen 1995:7

⁵ UNDP, cited in Bennholdt-Thomsen 1995:4

⁶ Wichterich in: die tageszeitung, 10.12.1997

⁷ BUND/Misereor 1996:312

⁸ Mies 1979, Werlhof/Mies/Bennholdt-Thomsen 1983,

Bennholdt-Thomsen 1984

⁹ Bennholdt-Thomsen 1981

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