

# After Beijing— Mainstreaming Gender into Government and NGO Development Practice

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*Starting with a background to introduction to the context of the Conference, this article examines some key issues emerging at the Fourth World Conference on Women (FWCW). Based on this it looks at the resolutions for dealing with them which form part of the Platform for Action (PEA) and the policy implications which these will have for governments and NGOs, looking particularly at the Irish context.*

## Introduction

**T**he 1995 *Human Development Report* of the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) states that development over the past fifty years has been marked by inequality – between nations, within nations and, most persistent of all, between men and women. This is not to deny that there has been progress. Women and girls are better educated than ever before; they live longer and health risks incurred in bearing children have declined. In some areas, women's gains have been faster than men's, e.g. female life expectancy has increased 20% faster than male life expectancy over the past twenty years; and

female rates of adult literacy and combined school enrolment in the developing world increased twice as fast as male rates between 1970 and 1990. On the other hand, the Report notes that even today, "...in no society do women enjoy the same opportunities as men".<sup>1</sup> It is still an unequal world in relation to gender. Women outnumber men two to one in illiteracy; 60% of children without access to primary school are girls.

Most serious of all is the growing feminisation of poverty over the past decade. 70% of the 1.3 billion people living in poverty are women. There are paradoxes in these findings. The first is that poverty over the past fifteen years has escalated during a period in which economic growth (at least in the first five years of the 1980s) increased on average by 3.2%, compared to 2.4% during the previous twenty years.<sup>2</sup> The second is that, as the HDR findings illustrate, income is not the decisive factor in poverty, but rather "...a firm political commitment..." towards gender equality.<sup>3</sup> Because of this commitment, countries like China, Sri Lanka and Zimbabwe have managed to raise women's literacy to 70% in contrast to several richer countries.

## **Background and Conference preparations**

At the Third World Conference on women held in Nairobi in 1985, the Forward Looking Strategies for the Advancement of Women to the Year 2000 (FLS) were agreed and there was a fresh impetus for UN member states to ratify the UN Convention Against All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW). Ireland did so in December 1985, albeit with a few reservations, some of which still apply for technical reasons and pending equality legislation. For example, the article dealing with access to credit, recreational activities and other services, when these are provided by the private sector, is still under consideration, pending proposed equal status legislation.<sup>4</sup>

As well as specific UN fora dealing with gender questions, in recent years a number of international conferences with considerable gender implications have taken place under the auspices of the UN, such as the 1992 Conference on the Environment, the 1993 Conference on Human Rights, the Conference on Population and Development in 1994, and the World Summit on Social Development, which took place in Copenhagen in March 1995.

Preparations for the Fourth World Conference on Women and

NGO Forum held in Beijing were organised at the national, regional and international level.

At the national level, each participating state was asked to prepare a National Report to be submitted to the Secretariat of the FWCW in New York. Besides evaluating progress made for women during the past decade in the context of CEDAW and the FLS, the Irish National Report also included submissions from a number of NGOs, including, in relation to development, Dóchas, the Irish Association of Non-Governmental Development Organisations and Banúlacht, Irish Women for Development. According to Minister of State Joan Burton, speaking at the annual NGO Forum in Maynooth, these submissions were 'taken on board by the Irish delegation from the outset' of the Beijing process.<sup>5</sup>

At the regional level, five preparatory meetings were organised under UN auspices during 1994 and Regional Platforms for Action agreed. The European regional meeting was held in Vienna in March 1995 under the auspices of the European Commission for Europe (ECE) which included not only Europe in the widest sense, but also the USA and Canada. The European Union (EU) also held its own preparatory meetings at the Commission and Council of Ministers level in order to facilitate close EU-coordination and to prepare a Commission communication to the Council and an EU position paper for the negotiations themselves. Core groups from European NGOs and women's organisations and their umbrella bodies attended these preparatory meetings as observers, lobbied and submitted position papers to individual governments and the Commission.

One of the most interesting developments was the initiation at the ECE Conference of an alliance on alternative development strategies between European networks such as Women in Development Europe (WIDE) and their US and Canadian counterparts, such as ALT-WID in the US and CRIAW in Canada. This alliance was the nucleus of a northern caucus of women's organisations and NGOs concerned to work in solidarity with women's organisations from the south, such as DAWN, and with international networks such as WEDO in a women's global alliance. The Alliance worked closely together on economic justice questions at the New York Preparatory Committee Meetings for Beijing, at the UN Conference on Social Development in Copenhagen, and at the Beijing Conference itself.

At the international level, three preparatory committee meetings of the FWCW were held under the auspices of the UN Commission for the Status of Women (CSW). Because of failure

to reach even broad consensus on the draft Platform for Action, "informal consultations" were held between 31 July-4 August 1995 to try and remove some at least of the square brackets (unagreed text). NGO activists attended the preparatory meetings as observers, but were not formally invited to the final informal consultations, an issue which has not yet been resolved.

By the beginning of the FWCW around 40% of the text remained in brackets. The Department of Foreign Affairs Steering Note to the Irish delegation stated for instance that "...the text of the PFA (remained) in an unprecedented state of dispute...and the extent of brackets and the range of subject matter involved...cause for concern."<sup>6</sup> Even more ominous, it seemed that previously agreed formulas at UN conferences on key issues related to human rights, social development and population, to name some of the most important, were in danger of falling apart.

## The negotiating process

In negotiations at the UN, several blocks have emerged over the years which normally negotiate as one. Since the end of the Cold War, however, these traditional groupings have begun to break down. The former socialist states, including Russia, are now classified as societies in transition and formally are not part of any group. The Group of 77 or developing countries also found it difficult to adopt a single negotiating position, in view of the tremendous differences of language, culture and economic wealth dividing them. The Pacific rim countries, the so called JUSCANZ (Japan, USA, Canada, Australia and New Zealand) are the latest group to emerge, even though they are not as yet at least formally identified as a negotiating group.

So far as Ireland is concerned, negotiations at international fora since Maastricht are conducted chiefly through the EU presidency, in the case of Beijing, Spain. Negotiations related to the individual national interests of EU states including Ireland are therefore conducted at EU coordination meetings prior to negotiations. For instance, in Beijing, a major issue related to reproductive health had to be taken up by the EU immediately prior to the opening of the conference, due to the reopening of language previously agreed at the Conference on Population and Development (ICPD) the previous year in Cairo. Ireland was particularly concerned to retain Cairo language because of Irish constitutional and legislative difficulties around abortion.

The draft Platform for Action (PFA) contains a declaration summarising broadly the main aims and issues of the platform; this is followed by a Mission Statement and Global Framework, which give the agenda for action and the historical and political framework in which the status of women must be situated. Chapter III lists the twelve critical areas of concern which relate to specific issues of importance concerning women and girl children: poverty, education, inequalities in access to health and related services, violence against women, armed conflict, the economy, women in decision-making, mechanisms to promote the advancement of women, human rights, the media, the environment, and finally, the situation of the girl child. Chapter IV goes into greater depth and focuses in particular on strategic objectives and actions to be taken at the international, regional and national level by the different actors, governments, multilateral institutions, NGOs and others. Chapters V and VI deal with institutional and financial arrangements in the implementation of the Platform for Action.

## Key issues

At the UN, virtually all discussions involve development questions or, to put it another way, every UN conference whatever the theme, has to balance the interests of the Group of 77 in securing finance, technology, and other support against those of the donor nations. Beijing was no exception. There were several contentious issues related to international development, including financial aid, debt, structural adjustment, armed conflict and women's access to resources, including inheritance rights.

In relation to finance, there was a reluctance on the part of the major donor nations (USA, Germany, France, Japan and Britain) to concede any new finances for the implementation of the Platform for Action. On the other hand, the EU and the USA were eager to promote the equality of women and girl children in the language of the text and to secure agreement for concrete steps forward in the areas of inheritance, sexual and reproductive rights, participation in decision-making, and access to economic resources. The issue of financial commitments to implement the Platform for Action was used as a bargaining tool by the North, particularly by the USA, which proposed a "package" of help in return for concessions on issues such as inheritance rights and human rights issues in general. Throughout the PFA draft text,

references to the need for “new and additional” resources for promoting one or more of the issues under discussion were bracketed by the Northern countries.

On the whole, paragraphs agreeing the need for financial commitments were weaker than the G77 and NGOs had wanted. The text finally agreed stated that countries would ensure the “adequacy of resources”.<sup>10</sup> However, paragraph 34b states that the “mobilisation of additional resources, both public and private, including resources from innovative sources of funding, may also be necessary”.<sup>11</sup> It was also encouraging that donors are asked in paragraph 61a: “In accordance with the commitments made at the World Summit on Social Development, to seek to mobilise new and additional resources that are both adequate and predictable and mobilised in a way that maximises the availability of such resources....”<sup>12</sup>

This short review is limited to discussing in detail those issues which seem to be particularly important from a development perspective and/or of importance to an understanding of the negotiating process at UN fora.

### **Language**

The use of language played a key part in the deliberations. First, words were sometimes bracketed not so much out of a disagreement with the thrust of the paragraph, but rather in order to preserve internationally agreed formulae related to international law and/or UN convention language, e.g. in the language related to anti-personnel landmines, the term “excessively injurious” is linked to the language of a 1981 Convention.

Second, there were substantial differences between the language used in the Forward Looking Strategies (FLS) which emerged from the 1985 Nairobi Conference and that agreed in the PFA in Beijing. The concept of the empowerment of women, and an emphasis on gender, were central to the Beijing negotiations; and the link between women’s situation and the wider political and economic arena was stressed. In Nairobi, the FLS centred more on women as a category and their needs at the micro rather than the macro level. The Beijing PFA is thus more analytical and more complex than the FLS. Above all, it tackles the societal relationship between men and women, in which women largely play an unequal part.

There were many disputes over language. First, disagreement around the use of the term family arose in several paragraphs of the PFA. The notion of the family as the basic unit of society,

consisting of a husband, wife and children has been challenged for some time on economic and sociological grounds by feminist scholars and others who point out that this definition fails in several ways to illuminate the true situation. First, it fails to grasp that within the family, resources and status are often unequal between men and women, so that an examination of relations *within* the family is vital for a full understanding of the contributions made by women to society and the needs and interests of women. The important question of the unremunerated work of women is also closely related to the question of the family. Apart from this, there was also the very real question in today's world of whether the term family is a realistic or accurate way of describing the many different kinds of ways in which people live communally. Today, for instance, around 20% of households worldwide are headed by women.<sup>13</sup>

Disagreement centred around whether the term family or families (to mean different kinds of communal living, whether extended, single sex, or female headed) should be used. It was agreed finally that the term should be used, but that in the context of the PFA, it was meant generically, i.e. it was to be used to cover all notions of the family.

The need for gender sensitivity and analysis came up in several important ways, but perhaps most importantly, arose in relation to the emphasis on the need for a gender perspective in all policies and programmes, e.g. in paragraph 38 of the Beijing Declaration,<sup>14</sup> and in paragraph 49 of the Strategic Objectives on Poverty,<sup>15</sup> where it is stated that macroeconomic policies in relation to debt, structural adjustment, and gender disparities in economic power sharing need to be rethought through a gender analysis.

### **Inheritance rights**

Equal inheritance rights for women was a contentious issue in Beijing because of religious and customary laws in many developing countries. Some Islamic countries for instance cited the shariah (muslim) law to demonstrate that equal inheritance rights could not be granted to women, although at least one maintained that the idea that the shariah forbids equal inheritance rights was a misunderstanding of language. Many African states on the other hand were emphatically in favour of equality for women in relation to inheritance rights, even though customary law in many African countries denies women equal inheritance rights. The EU took the view that they would act as honest brokers in relation to this issue and supported the

reaching of agreement in this way. Negotiations were finally concluded with reservations from Libya, Sudan, and Iraq to the agreed paragraph 274(d), which stated that governments should take action to “eliminate the injustice and obstacles in relation to inheritance faced by the girl-child so that all children may enjoy their rights without discrimination, by inter-alia, enacting as appropriate and enforcing legislation that guarantees equal right to succession and ensures equal right to inherit regardless of the sex of the child.”

### **Economic systems, debt and structural adjustment**

There is an acceptance in the PFA that the causes of poverty are complex and linked to global political and economic forces. There was also an admission that women’s lives are directly and adversely affected by Third World debt and structural adjustment programmes, as well as by inequality in economic power sharing. Accordingly, paragraph 177b agreed on the need to “integrate a gender perspective into all economic restructuring and structural adjustment policies and design programmes for women who are affected by economic restructuring, including structural adjustment programmes (SAPs), and for women who work in the informal sector”;<sup>16</sup> and paragraph 157 states unequivocally that “insufficient gender analysis has meant that women’s contributions and concerns remain too often ignored in economic structures...” and that “where progress has been made in integrating gender perspectives, programme and policy effectiveness has also been enhanced.”<sup>17</sup>

### **Unremunerated work**

The question of valuing and measuring women’s unremunerated work was also a major issue in Beijing, as it had been at Copenhagen. There was no real disagreement around the overall objective of recognising women’s unpaid work as an economic contribution to society, but rather around how to do this. To incorporate women’s unpaid work into GNP would not only be technically difficult, but would pose real economic problems related to the increase in GNP that would result. Some argued that developing countries would risk losing their status as aid recipients. Others maintained that this was not a realistic outcome, since all countries’ GNPs would rise. The Scandinavians, particularly Sweden and Denmark, were fearful that their already high social expenditure would escalate even more if an economic value was put on women’s work in the



home. There was also an ideological issue involved for those countries and for many feminist groups that the intention of valuing women's unpaid work was to pressurise women out of paid employment in the workplace. Consensus was finally reached that efforts should be made to measure unremunerated work by research around satellite accounts<sup>18</sup> and paragraph 167h agreed to provide developing countries with technical assistance and funding to collect data on unpaid work and to incorporate them into their national accounts and other economic statistics.<sup>19</sup> It was also agreed that this work should if possible be carried out at national as well as international level.<sup>20</sup>

### **Armed conflict**

Another macro issue of importance in relation to gender and development is armed conflict. There were six strategic objectives discussed in Beijing under this heading, from increasing women's contributions and participation in decision-making and conflict resolution and peace to supporting and protecting women living in situations of armed and other conflicts or under foreign occupation. One important breakthrough was the agreement under "violence against women" in paragraph 147e that rape in the conduct of armed conflict constitutes a war crime and that under certain circumstances it constitutes a crime against humanity and an act of genocide as defined in the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crimes of Genocide.<sup>21</sup> It was also agreed that women's skills in preventive diplomacy and peacekeeping should be brought more fully into the peace keeping process, including the highest level.

## **Institutional arrangements**

Within the UN structures, three bodies in particular deal specifically with gender, the Commission for the Status of Women (CSW), the United Nations Fund for Women (UNIFEM) and INSTRAW, the International Research and Training Institute for the Advancement of Women. In the run up to the Conference, there was much discussion about the future of these institutions and even some talk about a merging of UNIFEM and INSTRAW. This was opposed by the G77 and many NGOs who felt that both bodies were essential for promoting the advancement of women in particular ways. It was agreed that these bodies should be reviewed and strengthened.

In addition, the PFA asks the Secretary General to set up a high level post to advise on gender issues and to help ensure implementation of the PFA. While there is some concern that such a post may marginalise gender concerns, it could also be seen as a sign of a commitment towards a more integrated approach within the UN system towards gender mainstreaming in all the institutions of the UN. At the time of writing the Secretary General has declined to do so, preferring to allocate the task to an existing high level advisor

## Non-governmental organisations

Women's organisations, networks and NGOs have been drawn more closely into the UN system in recent years in two ways. The UN has broadened its acceptance of NGOs at official conferences beyond the traditional international NGOs to take in newer and perhaps sometimes more activist organisations and networks. In Beijing, NGOs attended the official conference either as observers or, in some cases, as advisers on national delegations. Within the EU for instance, Austria, Belgium, Denmark, Finland, Germany, Ireland, Netherlands, Norway, and the UK included NGOs with a background in development cooperation.

The NGOs organised their work in Beijing through a caucus system of various interests, including economic justice, development, and human rights. Among the most effective of the caucuses was the Linkages caucus which brought together a coalition of women's networks and organisations campaigning for alternative development strategies, led by WEDO, the Women's Environment and Development Organisation; and the European Development NGO caucus coordinated by WIDE and the NGO Liaison Committee.

National initiatives to bring NGOs into partnership with government were also given weight in each section of the PFA, where specific actions are required. Paragraph 27 of the Global Framework stressed the influence of NGOs and feminist groups advocacy activities in promoting women and acknowledged their role as "catalysts for new approaches to development."<sup>22</sup> Paragraph 62b recommended that NGOs and women's organisations should "engage in lobbying and establish monitoring mechanisms, ... to ensure implementation of the recommendations on poverty eradication outlined in the PFA and aimed at ensuring accountability and transparency from the

State and private sectors". NGOs are thus given a mandate to participate in follow up to Beijing in a very specific and targeted way.

## The role of Ireland at the FWCW

The Irish role in the negotiations was conducted chiefly at EU level; since Maastricht the EU coordinates member states' positions on most issues at international fora. Ireland's position was also officially given in the Minister for Equality and Law Reform's speech to the Conference.<sup>23</sup>

Ireland's approach to the negotiations on the PFA as described in a briefing note to the Irish delegation was to:

- a) emphasise the importance of human rights of women in relation to the other areas of concern;
- b) support the retention of language which reflected the agreements of previous international conferences while guarding against any references to issues which would be unacceptable in the light of the Irish Constitution and law;
- c) strongly support parts of the Platform which reflect Government policy, for example in relation to anti-discrimination legislation and the additional disadvantage that some women may face due to ethnicity, disability, poverty; and
- d) seek to ensure that the vital role of women in development was recognised and reflected in all aspects of the Platform."<sup>24</sup>

It was mainly in relation to b) that Ireland's views came into some conflict with other European positions. At the outset of the conference, fears that the previously agreed language of the Cairo Conference on Population and Development on reproductive rights would "unravel" were already justified in that language previously agreed in Cairo remained in brackets. Certain members of the Group of 77, in particular the Islamic States, as well as the Holy See, criticised a tendency as they saw it to impose a specific western model of the promotion of women. The Holy See also maintained that there was an over-emphasis on health problems related to sexuality, compared to other issues of concern to women. More serious for the Irish government was the fact that within the EU, there were moves by the newer member states, notably by Finland and Sweden, to push for a more radical position on women's reproductive and

sexual rights. For Ireland the reopening of previously agreed language on these sensitive areas created constitutional difficulties. Quite heated discussions took place within the EU at the beginning of the conference before a united EU position could be ironed out and even later in the negotiations there was a tendency for EU consensus to break down on the reproductive rights issue when trade offs on different issues took place.

It is important when assessing Ireland's contribution to the FWCW to draw attention also to the Irish government's statement to the conference. Most importantly from the viewpoint of international cooperation, Ireland's commitment to increasing official ODA by 0.05% each year in order to achieve the UN target of 0.7% of GDP was reaffirmed, as it had been by the Taoiseach at the Social Summit in Copenhagen. The statement also committed Irish Aid to mainstreaming question of gender in the context of its programmes. And it reiterated the government's commitment to the 20/20 compact also included in the Social Summit Programme of Action. The statement also stressed the importance of NGOs in "agenda-setting and in charting practical strategies of action" and pledged that NGOs would be invited to participate in the implementation of the PFA.

## Policy implications

There are a number of policy implications for Irish NGOs and for government arising from the Beijing Conference.

1. The Platform for Action endorses the need for a gender perspective in policy and planning at international, governmental and local level. On the government's part, several relevant commitments were made in Beijing, including in particular, the mainstreaming of gender in Irish Aid programmes and into evaluation methodologies. Statistical backup for this is essential. The government should also increase its support to UNIFEM and INSTRAW. At the level of the international financial institutions Ireland should use its influence towards ensuring that loans and grants are allocated to programmes implementing the PFA.

NGOs have tended to lag behind government in respect of written policy on gender. Now, is an appropriate time for Irish NGOs to put their own houses in order and to set up mechanisms to implement gender mainstreaming in their own organisations. In this respect, gender awareness training,

policy documents, and focal points within organisations for the implementation of the PFA should have a high priority.

2. In Beijing, in contrast to previous women's conferences and other UN fora, there was substantial agreement between Southern and Northern NGOs on many issues; and a pledge from organisations like DAWN, WEDO and WIDE to continue to work together in the future, particularly on the task of genderising global issues, like debt, SAPs, refugees, and trade. Such alliances and structures should be supported.<sup>25</sup> Divisions in Beijing were not so much North/South as on issues related to class, religion and fundamentalism, sexuality and reproduction. The question of conditionality, which was resisted by Southern governments, was for instance, encouraged by some Southern networks, particularly those from West Africa, which appealed to Northern NGOs to lobby against the corruption of their own governments. It was also clear, however, that for Southern NGOs, issues such as sexual orientation and the environment, while considered important, do not have as high a priority as basic human needs.
3. For future conferences NGOs must also examine ways, some of which are lower cost, in which they could as effectively lobby governments attending such conferences, e.g. the use of e-mail and electronic conferencing. Enabling NGOs, with the assistance of government, to participate at a much earlier stage in the negotiating process, i.e. at the preparatory committees when governments have not yet fixed their positions would increase their influence.
4. The role of NGO advisers on official delegations is also an important policy issue. NGOs could also consider sending their heads of agency/senior staff to international fora because they may carry more weight with official policymakers.

In different EU countries NGOs had varied roles and access. In one large EU country, the NGO adviser attended EU Coordination meetings and actually negotiated on occasion. Two smaller countries faced with staffing problems drew on their NGO advisers for expertise in the negotiating groups. In another, the NGO development adviser was formally requested to help draw up the government position on development issues. Some governments tended to use their "official" NGOs, in the words of one European NGO, to

“fend off the lobbying of other NGOs”. (This did not apply to the Irish delegation, which held detailed daily briefings for all Irish NGOs.) Thus at national and EU level a more transparent and accountable relationship with NGOs on official delegations is necessary. Given the varying experiences outlined above, a key policy issue which arises is the access of European NGOs to EU coordination and national delegation meetings where policy is formulated.

5. The links between international development and domestic NGOs and women’s organisations working on local issues have become a key issue since the Rio Conference on the Environment in 1992, which led to the setting up of an Irish Network of Environmental and Development Organisations (NIEDO). In Beijing, superficially at least, local and development NGOs and networks worked well together and supported each other’s policy priorities. More fundamentally, however, there are problems which need to be faced up to if effective cooperation is to be brought about. In particular, development NGOs need to take on a gender perspective in their work and domestic NGOs must begin to understand the global and economic issues affecting women at the local level.
6. On the composition of Irish Aid an informal survey of some African NGOs identified some priorities which include local capacity building on gender issues, support for government-NGO fora to follow up on the PFA and media education on gender.<sup>26</sup>

## Conclusion

The implementation of the PFA requires political commitment to make available human and financial resources for the empowerment of women.<sup>27</sup> The primary responsibility for implementation rests with governments. However, the PFA text reflects the UN’s and governments’ acknowledgement of the need for monitoring progress and their commitment to bring NGOs into the implementation process. Governments are asked in the PFA to have their preliminary plans for implementation in place before the end of 1995. In the case of the Irish government, particularly the Department of Foreign Affairs, this process has an added urgency as Ireland assumes the presidency of the European Union in July 1996. As such Ireland will not only have national but also international obligations to promote the Platform for Action.

## Footnotes

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3. *Human Development Report 1995*, op.cit. p.3
4. UN Fourth World Conference on Women, National Report of Ireland, October 1994, Dublin, Stationery Office, p.35
5. Opening Address to the National Forum on Development Aid by Joan Burton TD, Minister of State at the Department of Foreign Affairs, Maynooth, 7 October 1995
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8. Draft PFA, Beijing Declaration, p.5.
9. Draft PFA, Ch.IV, Section A. A/CONF.177/L.5/ADD.5, Beijing, 13 September 95, p.2
10. *Ibid.*, Ch.VI, Financial Arrangements, Doc. A/CONF.177/L.5/Add.18, Beijing, para 360, p.4
11. *Ibid.*, p.2
12. *Ibid.*, Ch.IV Section A. Corr.1
13. *The World's Women*, op.cit.
14. Draft PFA, Beijing Declaration, op.cit., p.5.
15. Draft PFA, Ch.IV, Section A, A/Conf.177/L.5/ADD.5, Beijing, 13 September 1995
16. *Ibid.*, Ch.IV, Section F, A/CONF.177/L.5/Add.10, Beijing, p.11
17. *Ibid.*, p.3
18. *Ibid.*, p.6
19. *Ibid.*, Ch.IV Section H. Doc.A/CONF.177/L.5/Add.12, Beijing, p.5
20. *Ibid.*, Ch.IV Section E. p.7. Doc. A/CONF.177/L.5.Add 9
21. *Ibid.*, Ch.II, Global Framework, p.6. Doc. A/CONF. 177.177 L.5. /Add 2, 13 September 1995
22. *Ibid.*, Ch.IV, Section A, p.7, Doc. A/CONF.177/L.5. Add.5, Beijing, 13 September 1995
23. Statement by Mervyn Taylor TD, Minister for Equality and Law Reform, to the UN FWCW, Beijing, 6 September 1995
24. Briefing note for for Irish delegates, op. cit.
25. Address by Gretchen Fitzgerald, Irish Aid Advisory Committee, to the National Forum on Development Aid: Gender and Development, 7 October 1995, p.9
26. *Ibid.*, p.6
27. *Ibid.*, pp.8-9

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