

Gender Justice for Women & Girls in Asia

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Sandie Cornish

What are the challenges facing women and girls in Asia? The fundamental challenge is to achieve gender justice, so I will use this lens to view the situation of women and girls in Asia. I will take the girl child as the icon of children because the girl child suffers doubly being a child and being female.

Across Asia we ask how we might promote gender justice in societies that may not fully accept the idea that women's rights are human rights, or that human rights are more than a western construct? How might we better witness to our belief that both women and men are made in the image and likeness of God, and that their common personhood gives rise to the same human dignity and human rights?

Data for the Millennium Development Goal 3 indicators concerning gender equity and the empowerment of women paint a general picture of gender inequality in the world, and in our region. I will situate these indicators within economic, political and social systems, and recall the issues named as priorities by women and their organizations.

God is at work in our world, in the particularities of every part of Asia today. It is the task of each of us to attend to the movement of God's Spirit and to respond concretely in our own places, as well as responding together at a Pan-Asian level. I will note some deep desires arising in our region, which I believe to be positive signs of the times.

Scripture, Catholic Social Teaching, and human experience will help us to discern our call to incarnate God's love in our societies, giving it flesh and bones here and now. By doing this we also make our own small contribution from the unique contexts of Asia to the unfolding of the global tradition of Catholic Social Teaching. I will highlight four key principles which provide an ethical framework that can guide our necessarily diverse local efforts to promote gender justice.

Finally, I will offer some concrete suggestions of ways in which the Church might promote gender justice.

So let us start by following the incarnational path of Jesus by entering into the data of human experience.

1. Regional Context

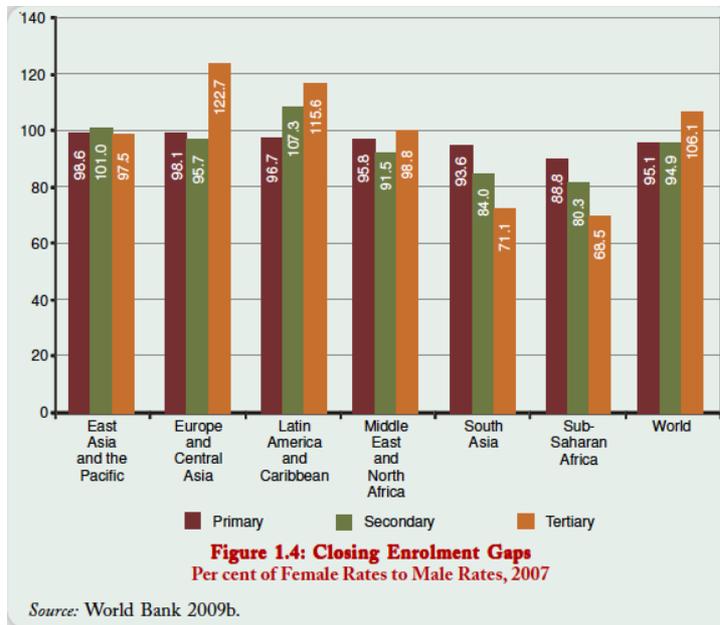
1.1 Indicators of Gender Inequality

Millennium Development Goal 3, which focuses on gender equity and the empowerment of women, is being tracked using the following indicators: the ratios of girls to boys in primary, secondary and tertiary education; the share of women in wage employment in the non-agricultural sector; and the proportion of seats in national parliament held by women.

In the table below we see that East Asia comes close to gender parity in educational enrolments but in South Asia the picture is quite different¹. At every level of education females are under-represented compared with males, and the gender gap is greater in South Asia than in any other region of the world except Sub Saharan Africa.

¹ United Nations Development Program, *Asia-Pacific Human Development Report: Power, Voice and Rights a Turning Point for Gender Equality in Asia and the Pacific* (New Dehli: MacMillan, 2010). P 35.

A similar picture emerges concerning the ratio of female to male adult literacy rates shown in the second table². The ratio for East Asia and the Pacific is closer to equal than that for the world as a whole, but even there a greater percentage of women than of men are illiterate. The gender disparity in adult illiteracy rates for the South Asian region is the worst of any region in the world.



These figures are important because literacy and educational attainment impact on so many aspects of a person's capacity to achieve their full potential and make their unique contribution to the world. Education and literacy impact the ability to secure a livelihood, to access healthcare and achieve adequate nutrition, and the capacity to participate in decision-making, leadership and political life.

Research by the United Nations Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific indicates that the majority of those living in absolute poverty in the Asia Pacific region are women.³ Do we want to be the Church of the poor? Then we must be a Church that stands up for women, a Church that stands with women, a Church that values women and employs their gifts for mission.

The share of women in paid employment in the non-agricultural sector is seen as an important indicator of women's empowerment because it points to the extent to which women have independent access to income, and because paid work enhances women's autonomy, life choices and exposure to the world outside the home. Fairness and equal opportunity in employment are also good for the whole community and economy.⁴

The graph below⁵ shows that the female to male labour force participation rates are unequal in all regions of the world, and they are the most unequal in South Asia.

² Ibid. p 23

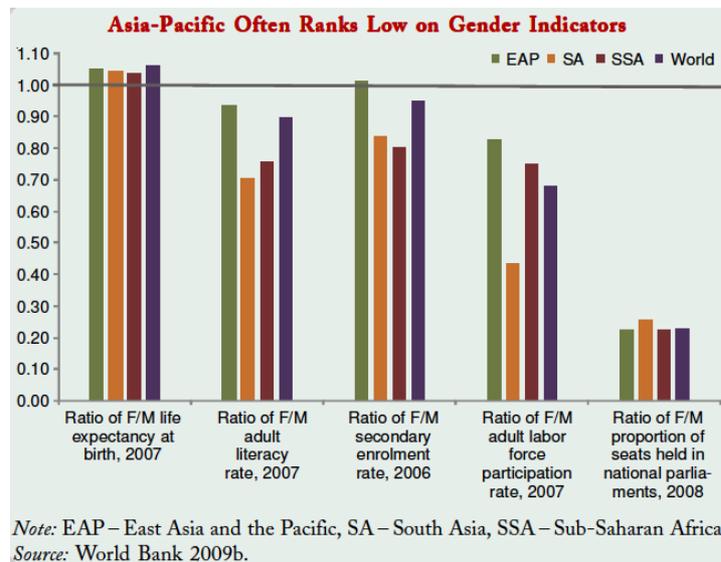
³ ESCAP, *Advancing the Status of Women in Asia and the Pacific: A Profile of the ESCAP Region* (ESCAP, 2005). P 3.

⁴ The United Nations Development Program observes that the East Asian region has the highest rates of economic growth and also the smallest gender gap in the world in employment to population ratio together with lower segmentation of jobs by gender. United Nations Development Program, *Asia-Pacific Human Development Report: Power, Voice and Rights a Turning Point for Gender Equality in Asia and the Pacific*. p 6.

⁵ Ibid. P 23.

The proportion of seats in national parliament held by women points to the extent to which women have a say in national life, in politics and the development of public policy in their societies. It is an indicator of power and decision-making. The figures are shockingly low – women are dramatically under-represented in national parliaments worldwide.

Here we see a surprisingly different pattern to the other MDG 3 indicators. The ratio of women to men in national parliaments in South Asia is higher than that of East Asia and the Pacific, and higher than the world ratio.



These are broad indicators but they do show that our reality in Asia is that women and girls are disadvantaged compared with men and boys. If our primary concern is for the least, the last and the lost, then we must be concerned about women and girls. Our option for the poor must be an option for women and girls.

For Reflection:

How would you know if gender justice was improving or getting worse in your country? What might be three visible signs of gender justice? Could you construct measurable indicators for them?

1.2 MDG Indicators in Context

The MDG 3 indicators point to dynamics of gender injustice in social, economic and political systems. As Virginia Saldanha has suggested, these are often rooted in cultural systems.⁶

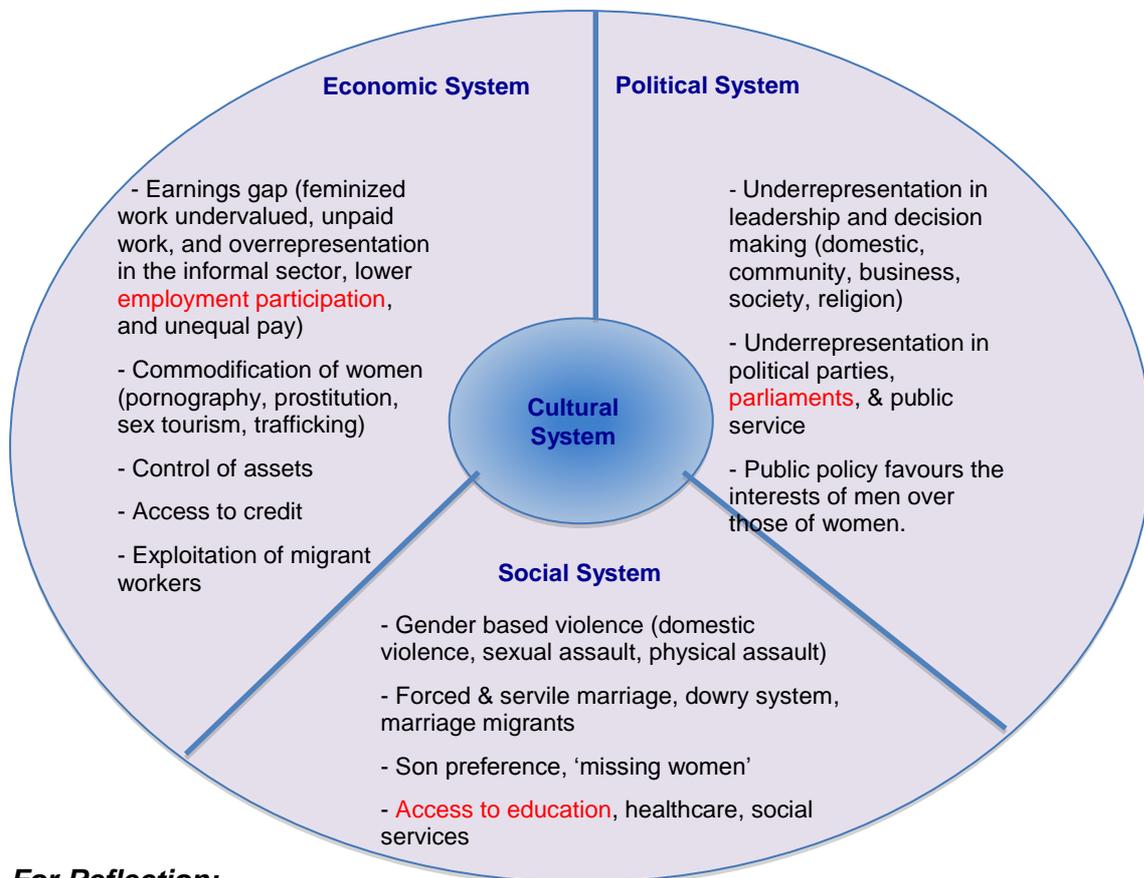
At the heart of cultural systems are questions of how we make meaning, of whom and what we value. These values, attitudes and beliefs influence patterns of behavior in the economic, social and political spheres too. Values, attitudes and beliefs about women and men, adults and children, will influence how resources are organized (the economic system), how power and decision-making function (the political system), and how groups in society relate to one another (the social system).

Gender injustice occurs when economic, social and political systems reflect cultural valuations of women as inferior to men. These systems will then favour the needs and interests of boys and men over those of women and girls. For example, if men are considered to be of greater value than women, more resources are likely to be allocated to

⁶ Virginia Saldanha, "The Church in the New Millennium: Learning to be in Solidarity With Women," *FABC Papers* 92c(2000).

the health, education and interests of men and boys than to those of women and girls, and activities typically undertaken by men will be assigned greater economic value and social status than those typically undertaken by women. If men are believed to be more intelligent than women, then decision-making and leadership are likely to be considered male domains and women will be relegated to subordinate and ancillary roles. If motherhood is believed to be every woman's biologically determined primary role, then cultural norms will seek to restrict women to the private sphere. If men consider themselves to be superior to women, they may feel entitled to have their preferences imposed on women, and laws and customs may enable this behavior. Marital rape and other forms of domestic violence are less likely to be illegal or prosecuted. If women are considered to exist to be 'helpers' to serve men, what is to stop them from being bought, sold or traded in marriage?

The following diagram shows some of the ways in which gender injustice is expressed in economic, political and social systems in Asia. Men who belong to groups that suffer discrimination on bases such as race, caste, religious or cultural beliefs, political opinions or sexual identity may also experience many of these forms of disadvantage. Women who belong to such groups may suffer compound forms of oppression as several bases of discrimination intersect in their lived experience, for example the triple oppression of Dalit women (gender, caste, and poverty). The struggle for gender justice is thus intertwined with all other struggles for social justice.



For Reflection:

What are the core beliefs and attitudes about women and men that underpin gender injustice in your country?

What cultural patterns of behavior most need to be transformed by the light of the Gospel?

1.3 Women's Priority Concerns

Respect for women as subjects rather than objects of the struggle for gender justice, requires that we listen to what women themselves are saying about their experiences and hopes. Concrete manifestations of gender injustice vary between countries as do the priorities of women. This table gives some examples.

For Reflection: What are women naming as the most important issues in your country?

<p>FABC Consultations⁷ <i>Issues raised by women in FABC consultations include:</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Negative attitudes towards women's bodies such as the stigmatization of women's physical functions as 'impure', and the sexual objectification of women • The restriction of women to the home and exclusion from decision-making and leadership in public life • Trafficking of women and children, and sex tourism • Violence against women which is rooted in a cultural valuation of women below men, including domestic violence • Poverty which forces women to seek work in urban centres or overseas, where they are often vulnerable to exploitation and abuse • Extreme religious and cultural controls exercised over women in the name of protection • Dowry customs • Female feticide and infanticide • Gender exclusive language 	<p>International Union of Superiors General⁸ <i>The International Union of Superiors General Directions Statement provides us with a picture of what is concerning these women leaders within the church:</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Abuse and sexual exploitation of women, especially trafficking • Education and formation of women • Cancellation of international debt • Creation of a culture of peace • Integrity of creation. <p>The Sisters of the Good Shepherd <i>Similarly we can look to the international and regional priorities of the orders of religious women who are active in our own local contexts. By way of example, the Good Shepherd Sisters, for whom I am working, have set three international priorities. These have been taken up enthusiastically in their Asia Pacific region networks:</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Migration • Prostitution and Trafficking • The integrity of creation. 	<p>World Union of Catholic Women's Organizations <i>The resolutions passed at the 2010 international assembly of World Union of Catholic Women's Organizations⁹ provide an interesting indication of the shared action agenda of Catholic Women's Leagues around the world:</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • End the Use of Information Technology in Sexual Exploitation of Children • Promote a Covenant between Human Beings and the Environment • Rescue the Children of the Street • Campaign for a Culture of Life • Work to Abolish Forced Marriage • Strengthen Training of Catholic Leaders • Defend and Support Migrants • Commit to Ecumenical and Interfaith Dialogue • Produce a Statistical Evaluation of Poverty According to Sex • Prevent Inappropriate Sexualisation of Children • Mobilize to Halt Infanticide • Reaffirm the Family Unit 	<p>The Beijing Platform for Action <i>The Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action (issued by the Fourth World Conference on Women in 1995) identified twelve critical areas for action to achieve gender justice.</i></p> <p><i>The work of many women's NGO's regionally and internationally, along with successive +5 reviews of the Beijing Platform, including at the UNESCAP level, continue to affirm the importance of these areas for action:</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Women and Poverty • Education and training of women • Health • Violence against women • Armed conflict • The economy • Power and decision making • Institutional mechanisms for the advancement of women • Human rights of women • The media • The environment • And the girl-child
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⁷ Saldanha, Virginia. "The Church in the New Millennium: Learning to Be in Solidarity with Women." *FABC Papers* 92c (2000).

⁸ <http://www.uisg.org/uisg/English/misdirect.html>

⁹ <http://www.wucwo.org/app/MediaFile/File.bin?Pk=262>

2. Our Vision

2.1 Signs of the Times

Gender injustice is a global reality: too many girls are not born, suffer neglect or die too soon; women suffer multidimensional disadvantage; and in some regions of Asia the situation of women ranks among the worst in the world. Gender based violence, the trafficking of women and the exploitation of female migrant workers are among the starkest expressions of gender injustice today.

Yet we are not without hope. I see three deep desires rising up among peoples movements in Asia which I believe are positive signs of our times: the desire for harmony and respectful relationships; the desire for inclusive and sustainable economic structures; and the desire for participation in decision-making.

The Desire for Harmony & Respectful Relationships

The longing for social harmony and peace is evident in the many efforts in Asia for interfaith dialogue, cultural dialogue, conflict resolution and peace building. Women are active in these efforts because wherever there is social conflict or armed struggle women and children are among those who suffer the most.

We know from experience in Asia that harmony must be built on respectful relationships between different groups in society. So too must gender justice be grounded in respectful relationships between women and men, relationships which respect the equal human dignity and rights of women and men. It is a sign of hope that gender based violence is being named and placed more firmly on the development and peace agenda in Asia.¹⁰

The Desire for Inclusive & Sustainable Economic Structures

The movements against a neoliberal form of globalization and against climate change manifest a desire for a different way of organizing economic life and of relating to creation. The Global Financial Crisis and climate change have impacted the most strongly on women and those who were already economically disadvantaged.¹¹ Our economic structures are failing to provide for the needs of too many people and are threatening the integrity of creation.

People are demanding more just, inclusive and sustainable ways of managing resources to meet human needs. We want an economic system that values the caring work of women, an economic system that rewards the work of women whether it is undertaken in the domestic or public sphere, a system that puts resources in the hands of women as well as men.

International labour migration has become a structural component of the economy and these flows of people within and out of Asia are becoming increasingly feminized.¹² The movement for the rights of migrant workers stands against this instrumentalisation of people and the exploitation of vulnerable workers.

Campaigns by religious and civil society organizations against trafficking in persons, especially women and children, challenge the most extreme application of the logic of the market to human beings as though they were things.

¹⁰ ESCAP, *Advancing the Status of Women in Asia and the Pacific: A Profile of the ESCAP Region*. P 9-10.

¹¹ Asia-Pacific High-level Intergovernmental Meeting to, Review Regional Implementation of the Beijing Platform, and for Action and Its Regional and Global Outcomes, "Bangkok Declaration on Beijing +15," (Bangkok: UNESCAP, 2009). P 7.

¹² Graeme Hugo, "Migration in the Asia Pacific Region," (Global Commission on International Migration, 2005). P 17-21.

The Desire for Participation in Decision-Making

The third hopeful sign of the times that I would like to note is the desire for participation in decision-making. Authoritarian leaders are being challenged and governments held to account by civil society more than ever before. Women are courageously claiming a share in decision-making and leadership in their families, communities, in society and in the church. By challenging forced and servile marriage women are asserting their right to decide if and whom they marry and the right to equal partnerships within marriage¹³.

For Reflection:

What positive or negative signs of the times do you see?

2.2 Theological & Ethical Framework

What is God saying to us through these phenomena, through these deep desires? And how shall we respond? Scripture and Catholic Social Teaching can provide a framework that helps us to interpret the meaning of things and guides our responses.

I will focus on four key principles of Catholic Social Teaching and their implications for gender justice rather than analyzing each of the major international documents of the social magisterium in sequence. This method is systematic rather than historical and it is intended to put to one side socially conditioned contingent judgments about women contained in a body of teaching to which women are yet to have substantial input. By putting our grounded experience in this area directly in dialogue with the doctrinal core of Catholic Social Teaching we may make our own small contribution to the continued unfolding of the tradition.

Human Dignity

“Male and female we created them” (Gen1:27)

In the creation accounts we notice that human beings are made in the image and likeness of God. Every human being – male and female - therefore has a transcendent dignity that cannot be given away or taken away, even if it is not always respected. From this human dignity arise rights.¹⁴

Respectful relationships are built on the recognition of each one’s dignity and rights. At the heart of our abhorrence of trafficking in persons, gender based violence, the exploitation of female migrant workers, and gender injustice in general is a rejection of this disrespect for the dignity of the human person. People should not be treated as objects or things and should never be treated as a means or instrument for the benefit of others.

Women are human persons who are subjects of human rights. As early as 1963 John XXIII recognized women’s increasing awareness and assertion of their rights as a positive sign of the times:

“Since women are becoming ever more conscious of their human dignity, they will not tolerate being treated as mere material instruments, but demand rights befitting a human person both in domestic and public life.”¹⁵

John Paul II acknowledged that the Church itself has not always been good at recognizing and respecting the dignity and rights of women. His apology to women helps us to move on more positively:

“Unfortunately, we are heirs to a history which has conditioned us to a remarkable extent. In every time and place, this conditioning has been an obstacle to the progress of women. Women’s dignity has often

¹³ John XXIII, *Pacem in Terris* (1963). N 15 confirms the equal rights and duties of women and men in a freely contracted marriage as human rights.

¹⁴ *Ibid.* n 9.

¹⁵ *Ibid.* n 41.

been unacknowledged and their prerogatives misrepresented; they have often been relegated to the margins of society and even reduced to servitude. This has prevented women from truly being themselves and it has resulted in a spiritual impoverishment of humanity. Certainly it is no easy task to assign the blame for this, considering the many kinds of cultural conditioning which down the centuries have shaped ways of thinking and acting. And if objective blame, especially in particular historical contexts, has belonged to not just a few members of the Church, for this I am truly sorry. May this regret be transformed, on the part of the whole Church, into a renewed commitment of fidelity to the Gospel vision. When it comes to setting women free from every kind of exploitation and domination, the Gospel contains an ever relevant message which goes back to the attitude of Jesus Christ himself. Transcending the established norms of his own culture, Jesus treated women with openness, respect, acceptance and tenderness. In this way he honoured the dignity which women have always possessed according to God's plan and in his love. As we look to Christ at the end of this Second Millennium, it is natural to ask ourselves: how much of his message has been heard and acted upon?"¹⁶

Earlier Papal discourses on 'feminine genius', complementarity and 'women's own special nature'¹⁷ in some teaching documents were less helpful as they could be interpreted to support a dual anthropology in which the claims arising from human nature relate to men while 'women's own special nature' and the rights pertaining to it are by inference something else. In practice the social construction of complementarity may be more subordinate than equal, and even an "equal but different" approach to human nature can set up a dualism that supports rigidly segregated gender roles which limit the God given freedom of both women and men.¹⁸ I believe that it is more helpful to start from the fact that women are human beings and we share a common human nature with men and therefore have the same dignity and rights.

In planning our action for social justice, and evaluating any policy or situation, we can ask whether or not equal weight is given to the dignity and rights of women and men, adults and children. We can ask if the practical effect of cultural norms and social roles is to segregate or subordinate women.

We need to become more alive to the full humanity of children and the rights that this implies. Children are not our possessions. We have duties towards them and they have rights.

The Common Good

"You are all one in Christ Jesus". (Gal 3:28)

Our collective life is also a reflection of the image of God because we are made in the image and likeness of a triune God who is and who makes community. Cultures, communities and social groups as well as individuals reveal something of the image of God. Every social group is worthy of respect. Respectful relationships between groups in society are at the heart of social harmony and the common good.

The common good refers to those social conditions that enable every group in society to meet its needs and realize its potential. Such conditions enable every person and group to share equitably in the benefits of life in society. To achieve this every group must take into account the legitimate needs and aspirations of others in order to achieve the good of all.

Women as well as men reflect the image of God. Women's needs and aspirations must be taken into account if the common good is to be achieved – otherwise it is not "the good of all

¹⁶ John Paul II, "Letter to Women," (1995). N 3.

¹⁷ ———, "Mulieris Dignitatem," (1988).

¹⁸ John D'Mello, "Paradigms for A Feminization of the Church," *FABC Papers* 92c(2000).

of us”¹⁹ but only that of some of us. Gender injustice harms the common good. It is a denial of the unity of the human family.

Whenever *any* group is excluded, marginalized or oppressed the common good is harmed and we are all diminished. The principle of the common good reminds us that we are all really responsible for each other. To foster the common good is to promote social harmony by removing injustices that cause conflict. Gender justice is linked with all other struggles for justice for disadvantaged groups through the common good.

Subsidiarity

“They marveled that he was talking with a woman”. (Jn 4: 27)

Respecting the agency of all persons and groups is a requirement of respect for the dignity of the human person. Women and other groups are asserting their personhood by claiming a right to participate in decisions that affect them. This desire for a share in leadership and decision-making is in harmony with the principle of subsidiarity.

The principle of subsidiarity concerns how participation and decision-making should be organized. It holds that responsibility should be kept as close as possible to the grassroots. The people or groups most directly affected by a decision or policy should have a key decision making role in it.

No group, including women, should be the passive recipients of the decision making of others. All should have the opportunity to exercise their God-given freedom and responsibility.

More encompassing groups should only intervene to support smaller, more local or more specific groups in case of need, and where this is necessary in order to coordinate their activities with the activities of other groups in order to promote the common good. It is from this aspect of help offered by larger to smaller groups that the term subsidiarity (from the Latin *subsidium* for help or assistance) comes.²⁰

The principle of subsidiarity points to the need for both women and men to be involved in decision making and leadership roles. Our advocacy of this principle would be enhanced by a clearer witness to it in the life of the Church.

Children too should share in decision making by expressing their views – they are entitled to be heard on matters that affect them. Because they are children we have a duty to care for them, protect them and make decisions in their best interest, but as their capacities evolve, their role in decision-making should increase.

Solidarity

“The Word became flesh and dwelt among us”. (Jn 1:14)

We are all members of the one human family, children of the same God, and our salvation is bound up with that of each other. We come into being through relationship and can only grow and develop in the context of our relationships with others, God, and creation. We are not isolated individuals but persons in community.

Attitudes of superiority and inferiority have no place in God’s vision for humanity. We are all on this journey towards God together.

¹⁹ Benedict XVI, "Caritas in Veritate," (2009). N 7

²⁰ Pontifical Council for Justice and Peace, *Compendium of the Social Doctrine of the Church* (Citta del Vaticano: Liberia Editrice Vaticana, 2004). N 186.

When we exercise the virtue of solidarity we are able to place ourselves in the shoes of others and to commit ourselves to acting for their good. Can we imagine ourselves in the high-heeled shoes of the women of Pattaya? Or the rubber boots of the migrant workers standing in water and bleach all day in a seafood factory? Or the 'shoes' of the women who go without shoes to feed their families?

Gender injustice is a failure in solidarity between women and men. An ethic of solidarity calls men to consider how they would like the economic, social and political systems to function if they were women – and to work actively for those changes. Solidarity calls women to stand together rather than climbing over each other to get ahead.

For Reflection:

What would relationships between women and men look like if the principles of human dignity, the common good, subsidiarity and solidarity were fully respected? Can you describe this vision?

3. Church Action Towards Gender Justice in Asia

The principles of Catholic Social Teaching help us to judge situations but they are also intended to guide action for change. Drawing on these principles and on my reading of the social reality, I offer the following ideas for action by local Churches in Asia. Not all of them will be practical or effective in every situation – prudential judgments by people of wisdom familiar with the particular context will be needed. Nor do these ideas constitute a comprehensive action plan, rather it is my hope that they will get the conversation started and encourage creative thinking about responses.

3.1 Modeling Shared Decision Making & Leadership

If the Church wishes to teach it must also be a witness to its own proclaimed values. Models of inclusive leadership could be developed for local churches and gender quotas for management, professional and leadership positions in Church agencies could be considered.

Permanent, ongoing and appropriately resourced structures and processes are needed for the inclusion of women's perspectives and experiences. The Churches of Asia have a strong tradition of dialogue with cultures and other religious traditions to draw on. The 'triple dialogue' methodology – dialogue of life, of action, and of theological reflection – can serve the struggle for gender justice. It is particularly important that women's input to the development of the local social magisterium be actively sought.

3.2 Gender Based Violence

By providing shelter, medical, legal and psychological support services to women and children affected by gender-based violence Churches affirm their dignity and rights and stand in solidarity with them. This sends a public message that the Christian faith condemns and does not justify or condone gender-based violence. As cultural institutions local Churches have a strong role to play in forming people's values, attitudes and patterns of behavior towards women.

Marriage preparation courses should acknowledge the reality of gender based violence and could explain that Church teaching supports the dignity and human rights of women.

Information about how to access help in case of gender based violence could be provided to women.

Preventative programs with young people can focus positively on building respectful relationships and living free from violence.

Programs for perpetrators can help them to understand and change their behavior.

As part of civil society Churches can contribute to the common good by lobbying governments to ensure that all forms of gender-based violence are criminal offences and that laws are effectively enforced. By listening to the women affected by gender violence in their countries local churches will understand what changes in laws, policies and practices should be advocated.

Church organizations can also leverage connection with the global human family by lobbying national governments to ratify the Convention on the Elimination of Discrimination Against Women²¹ and to actively fulfill the treaty obligations that it creates.

Research by Catholic universities and scholars into effective ways of changing the behavior of perpetrators of gender-based violence would be a valuable contribution.

3.3 Trafficking and Forced & Servile Marriage

Although these practices may be covert and hidden, women religious and their organizations are often able to reach at least some of the women affected. Local Churches could embrace the leadership of religious women in this area and get behind their efforts more actively.

Church organizations can be active in lobbying for laws that address trafficking in persons and forced and servile marriage, and for effective policing of any relevant laws that exist.

Churches are sometimes seen as uncritical supporters of marriage and the family – we can communicate more clearly that we do not see forced or servile marriages as real marriages but rather an evil to be eradicated.

In many places the nature and extent of forced and servile marriage is not well understood. Research could assist in the development of more effective responses.

3.4 Exploitation of Female Migrants

Education and vocational training for women and girls may provide some potential migrants with decent livelihood options at home avoiding migration.

Better connections between local churches in sending and receiving countries or regions can facilitate more effective pastoral care and practical assistance to migrants.

No significant receiving country has ratified the International Convention on the Protection of the Rights of All Migrant Workers and Their Families²². Churches in sending countries can appeal to the churches in receiving countries to act in solidarity by bringing pressure to bear on their governments to sign and ratify this Convention.

An awareness campaign and appeal to solidarity could be directed to those Catholics who employ migrant women workers.

Finally, the Church could contribute to research into the gender impact of budgets at local and national levels and better collection of gender disaggregated data through our universities and research bodies where they exist.

²¹ Convention on the Elimination of Discrimination Against Women, 1979 <http://www.un.org/womenwatch/daw/cedaw/>

²² International Convention on the Protection of the Rights of All Migrant Workers and Their Families, <http://www2.ohchr.org/english/law/cmw.htm>

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