GENDER ISSUES IN CONTEMPORARY DIPLOMACY

Dissertation submitted to Jawaharlal Nehru University
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the
award of the Degree of

MASTER OF PHILOSOPHY

MEDHA BISHT

DIPLOMATIC STUDIES DIVISION
CENTER FOR STUDIES IN DIPLOMACY,
INTERNATIONAL LAW AND ECONOMICS
SCHOOL OF INTERNATIONAL STUDIES
JAWAHARLAL NEHRU UNIVERSITY
NEW DELHI-110067
INDIA
2004.

JAWAHARLAL NEHRU UNIVERSITY
SCHOOL OF INTERNATIONAL STUDIES

CERTIFICATE

This is to certify that the dissertation entitled **"Gender Issues In Contemporary Diplomacy"**, submitted by Medha Bisht is in partial fulfillment of the requirement of tne degree of the Master of Philosophy of this University. It is her original work and may be placed before the examiners for evaluation. This dissertation has not been submitted for the award of any other degree of this University or any other University.

PROF. MANOJ PANT

Chairperson

PROF. PUSHPESH PANT

Supervisor

*DEDICATED TO ALL THOSE WHO HELPED ME
TO MAKE THIS WORK POSSIBLE*

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

Though I did manage to venture into a territory unknown, it was full of anticipated challenges. I was at times disappointed by the little work that has been done, in my chosen area. However digging into the primary and secondary sources and hours of thinking and research, finally fructified into this dissertation, which has been titled as Gender Issues in Contemporary Diplomacy. Acknowledged here are those to whom I am personally most indebted.

I owe special thanks to my supervisor, Dr. Pushpesh Pant, a literary barometer and a person of exceptional intellect. I thank him for his patience with my ignorance .He gave me the autonomy to work in this area and an opportunity to link the yet unexplored topic gender and diplomacy. I would also like to thank Dr V. H. Jambolkar. Dr. Indrajeet needs a special mention, for his considerate posture towards the students and supporting me when I was giving up on hope. I also thank Dr Anuradha Chenoy for her support and guidance.

I extend a very special thanks to Anita and Paritosh for all their help. I am also grateful to my classmates and specially Sagari, Prashant, Shrobonti, Purnima, Mitu, Sarmistha who were always there to help me whenever I needed them.

I would also like to write a note of appreciation for the Central Library, JNU, Indian Social Institute, Indian Institute for Public Administration, Center for Science and Environment where I got the required material for this dissertation.

Last but not the least, a special note of thanks to Ma and Ba, as without their support this work would not have been possible.

MEDHA BISHT
19th April J.N.U.
New Delhi.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ABBREVIATIONS

CEDAW: Committee On Elimination On Discrimination Against Women

CHR: Commission on Human Rights

CSD: Commission On Sustainable Development

DAWN: Development Alternatives for Women in New Era

GONGOS: Government Owned Non Governmental Organisations

ICERD: International Convention On Elimination On All Forms Of Racial Discrimination.

ICPD :International Conference On Population And Development

IDP :Internally Displaced People.

IDSN: International Dalit Solidarity Network

IUCN: International Union for Conservation and Union.

IWG: Interim Working Group

MAB: Movement for Dam Affected People

MOWR: Ministry for Water Resources

MRG: Minority Rights Group

NBA: Narmada Bachao Andolan

NCDHR: National Campaign for Dalit Human Rights

NGO: Non-Governmental Organisation

OED: Operation Evaluation Department

OHCHR: Office for Commissioner for Human Rights

PREPCOM: Preparatory Committee

SAHRC: South Asian Human Rights Commission

SSP: Sardar Sarovar Project

UNEP: United Nations Environmental Program

UNGA: United Nations General Assembly

UNIFEM: United Nations Development Fund For Women

WCAR: World Conference Against Racism, Racial Discrimination, Xenophobia

     and Related Intolerance

WCD: World Commission On Dams

WEDO: Women's Environment and Development Organisation

WSSD: World Summit on Sustainable Development

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION TO GENDER ISSUES IN CONTEMPORARY DIPLOMACY

CHAPTER – I

INTRODUCTION TO GENDER ISSUES IN

CONTEMPORARY DIPLOMACY

The notion of diplomatic studies or the study of diplomacy in context to contemporary world affairs has stimulated an academic response to the emerging trends in contemporary diplomacy. These emerging trends range from the factors, which point towards the imminent demise of diplomacy[1] to a growing body of literature, which inclines towards the expanding scope of diplomacy beyond the traditional western perspective[2], which has revolved around a state centric approach. Some of the factors, which have led to, the gradual metamorphosis and weakening of the concept of state are: political and economic independence and interpenetration, the emergence of multinational corporations, non-governmental organizations and sub-national actors. These emerging factors are not only complicating analysis and removing old guide-posts but are also opening ways to expand the understanding of what diplomacy means and how can it be employed by various negotiating actors to

[1] Harold Nicholson, `Diplomacy' (NewYork:OUP, 1953) Henry Kissinger, `Diplomacy' (Simon and Schuster,1994);K.Hamilton and R.Langhorne,`The Practice of Diplomacy: Its Evolution, Theory and Administration '(Routelege :London and NewYork,1995).

[2] James. D.Darian., `On Diplomacy '(London: Blackwell Publishers,1997);Paul Sharp, For Diplomacy:Representation and Study of International Relations',International StudiesReview1,1999,pp33-58;Strobe Talbott,`Globalisation and Diplomacy: Practitioner's Perspective, Foreign Policy,108,1997,pp70-87;Rein Mullerson, `Human Rights Diplomacy '(Routelege:London and NewYork,1992);Peter.B.Evans etal (ed)., `International Bargaining and Domestic Politics'(U.S.A: University of California Press,1993).

Thus a study of contemporary international negotiations as will be reflected in the chosen case studies not only demand an analysis of the civil society and non-governmental organizations as emerging actors in international negotiations but also underlines the need to address the various challenges to the state which are being posed in the name of development, human rights, good governance and the accountability of the states at the international level.

Three case studies have been chosen for study-Women in the context to World Summit on Sustainable Development, 2002; Dalits in context to World Conference Against Racism, Racial Discrimination, Xenophobia and Related Intolerance, 2001 and Internally Displaced People in context to the negotiations held during the formation of the World Commission on Dams, 1997-98.To what extent have these groups succeeded in negotiating tradeoffs for themselves at the international level is the central thesis of this work. Women have been studied as a different category because women lobbies have become a distinct participating group in all the UN conferences that have been held since the nineties. Further a separate case study on women is undertaken because women groups are playing a significant role in mainstreaming gender equality perspective in contemporary international negotiations. Also a conceptual clarification on the title of the work *Gender Issues in Contemporary Diplomacy* is needed. In the following chapter an explanation is given on the choice of the word gender, which could have been substituted with women or feminism. It is for this reason that a brief discussion on the feminist discourse in International Relations is also touched upon.

As the case studies show contemporary international negotiations is not always an exercise in self promotion by the privileged but the coming together of many groups (like minorities, internally displaced people, refugees, women, indigenous people, racially differentiated groups etc.) aspiring to change the existing paradigms which are shaped by issues of high politics. A case study of Dalits and Internally Displaced People is also undertaken. Dalits, in particular has been chosen for study because this was the first time that a binary divide became explicit between dalits and the concept of race. Internally displaced people (IDPs) have been chosen, because unlike refugees there is no special legal regime for IDPs. Further as IDPs remain inside the territory of the concerned state, their protection or articulation of interests often clashes with principles of sovereignty, which often impedes the prospects for effective negotiations at the international level on their behalf. These chapters not only point out the emerging nuances in contemporary diplomacy but also underline the importance of studying the role of women lobbies that have a different assessment on development and human rights perspective in international negotiations. It is for this reason that three different case studies is undertaken to contrast the need for a more detailed study on Gender Diplomacy.

Gender Issues in Contemporary Diplomacy

The word gender first appeared amongst American feminists who wanted to insist on a fundamentally social quality of distinction based on sex[3]. The word

---

[3] Carol .C,Gould (ed)., 'Gender : Key Concepts In Critical Theory, (New Jersey, : Hunandes Press, 1977) pp. 32.

3

denoted a rejection of the biological determinism implicit in the use of such term such as sex as sexual difference. Gender also stressed the relational aspects of normative definitions of feminity. Those who worried that women's studies scholarship focused too narrowly and separately on women, used the term to introduce a relational notion into an analytical vocabulary. According to this view women and men are defined in terms of one another and no understanding of either can be achieved by entirely a separate study. This concept of gender has greatly animated the debate amongst the feminist scholarship that feels the ambiguity of the word has trivialized the significance of the feminist movements.[4]However in international relations, the feminist discourse has provided a conceptual clarification of this dichotomy. For instance Rebecca Grant and Catherine Newland[5]write that the lens of gender offers not only an alternative vision of the world but one that is more representative of the spectrum of experiences. Feminist scholars also add that isolating women into a separate category usually portrays them as victims of international political system and gives rise to what one scholar has called an ` add women stir syndrome.'[6]Two things are striking about this argument: First, this approach does not invite women to interpret international politics by drawing on their experiences as women. Second, it also portrays women as victims of international political system and not as active participants. In this worldview therefore women are forever being

[4] Suni Ali, `Global Feminist Politics:Identities in a Changing World'(Routelege:London and Newyork,2000).pp17
[5] R Grant, and C. Newland ,` Gender in International Relations'. (Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1994). pp12-15
[6] Deborah Steinstra.,`Cuttiing to Gender:Teaching Gender In International Relations' International Studies Perspective,1,2000.pp236

acted upon; rarely are they seen as actors. Thus the feminist discourse in international relations revolves around gender relations, which also constitute the central concern of feminist theory. This concern has revolved around the criticism of four main themes of the mainstream discipline of International Relations:

(1) Women are generally perceived as objects and not as active participatory actors in international relations.

(2) The fact/value dichotomy in international relations theory associates women to soft issues thereby obviating the need of a feminist perspective to a mainstream analysis.

(3) The separation of the public and private sphere is another contending aspect between feminist and non-feminist scholars. AND

(4) The inclination of international relations has traditionally been towards high politics and gender issues are often associated to the domain of low politics.

The first of these themes can be related to the epistemological concerns of the feminist and non-feminist scholars. Where in International Relations Theory, a gender lens has been ignored due to the prevailing insecurity about the limits and parameters of the discipline[7]; there in Diplomacy a gender perspective has been invisible due to the absence of women at the negotiating tables[8]. It is for this reason that a feminist discourse has had little impact on the understanding of gender issues in international relations. Cynthia Enloe writes, Women's

---

[7] M.Light and A.J.Groom. 'Contemporary International Relations:A Guide to Theory'(London:ST:Martin's Press,1994),'pp45
[8] McGlen, Nancy and Sarkes, R. M.,' Women In Foreign Policy: The Insiders.'(USA: Rutgers University Press, 1995)

5

experiences of war marriage, trade, travel, factory work are relegated to *human interests* column'.[9] Thus women as actors have not been defining the problems but are contributing as objects and victims raising specific 'women issues' without necessarily problemitising either women or international relations.[10] It is in this sense that a separate case study on the women lobby in context to Johannesburg is undertaken. The choice of this case study is contrasted with two other case studies on Dalits and Internally Displaced People (IDP) where women issues were also undertaken but due to the greater emphasis on other issues gender-equality did not come out in an explicit manner. This aspect also underlines the urgency for more research specifically in those cases where a study on the diplomacy of the deprived groups is undertaken.

Likewise in the discipline of International Relations and Diplomacy women are excluded by highlighting certain roles and concepts while excluding others This often leads to claims that women are more peaceful than men which works to women's disadvantage reserving a different sphere for them thus furthering away their contributions to the mainstream analysis.[11]Thus positive feminine and masculine values, which emphasize full realization of human potential in both individuals, are not highlighted and issues get framed within *feminine stereotypes.* This stereotyping relegates women to the sub-discipline of peace studies where a gender perspective again fails to redefine international relations. Many IR feminists argue that association of women with peace plays

---

[9] Cynthia Enloe., *'Bananas,Beaches and Bases:Making Feminist Sense of International Politics. '(London:Pandora Books,1989).*
[10] Ibid, pp18
[11] C.Sylvester.'Some Dangers in Merging Feminist and Peace Projects',*Alternatives*,XII,1987.pp 493-509

into unfortunate gender stereotypes that characterize men as active, women as passive men as agents women as victims, men as rational women as emotional.[12] The fact/value dichotomy thus damages women particularly their credibility as actors in matters of international politics and national security. Also this approach fails to clarify many issues like development, good governance, peace, war, security and environment with which feminist scholarship is concerned.

The third theme on separation of public and private spheres has been one of the most controversial issues amongst feminist and non-feminist scholars. The most important explanation on, why women have been absent in international relations, is the argument that international relations are gender-neutral. i.e. it can be no more about women than it is about men.[13]Furthermore, it has been accepted that the sphere of gender(relationship between sexes) and the sphere of international relations are separate. However, of late, concepts like personal is international, metaspaces (spaces located between \beyond the public and private spheres); universalistic versus particularistic notions based on human rights have been coined by feminist scholars to bridge the gap between private and public spheres.[14]In the World Conference of Human Rights, Vienna (1993), the slogan '*women rights are human rights*' was raised to underscore the urgency of recognizing private sphere in human rights regime. This dichotomy between public and private sphere is now being cemented as the influence of domestic

---

[12] M.Light and F.Halliday.,`*Gender and International Relations'in* M.Light and A.J.Groom. `*Contemporary International Relations: A Guide to Theory*'(London:ST:Martin's Press,1994),pp`45-55.
[13] J.Ann.Tickner.,`You Just Don't Understand: Troubled Engagement Between Feminists and IR Theorists'., *International Studies Quaterly,*41,1997.pp611-632
[14] Mary.A.Tetreault.,`Frontier Politics:Sex,Gender and the Deconstruction of the Public Sphere'*Alternatives,*26,2001.pp53-72

politics in international politics, which no longer can be negated, is being recognized. Some scholars have argued that states supportive of gender equality are less violent and more favorably disposed to compromise.[15]

The fourth theme, which revolves around the focus of international relations and diplomacy to issues of high politics, needs to be revisited according to the feminist scholars as in the post-cold war era, low politics issues such as environment, health, refugees, and rights of minorities are becoming an important area of research agendas. Notion of 'security' is changing from national to human and the meaning of power is being redefined from the traditional masculine characteristics to power-relations between the two genders. This approach has been elaborated by probing in to the genealogy of international relations and diplomacy.[16] The argument on genealogy, which has been built on genealogical works of the French philosopher Michael Foucault, questions the basic assumptions, which underline the accepted notion of studying these disciplines. Thus it is this perspective in mind that a fresh look is required to emerging issues in contemporary diplomacy. Gender Issues in Contemporary Diplomacy is not just about women it is also about "discovering a gender perspective in international negotiations. It is about revealing the partial and gendered nature of intellectual work, which is built on men's experiences. Thus the conceptual meaning of gender-issues in contemporary diplomacy can be classified into two broad interpretations: (a) It is diplomacy of women by women and for women, as

[15] Mary Tessler and Ina Warriner,'Gender,Feminism and Attitudes :Exploring Relationships With Survey Data from the ,'*World Politics,*49,No.2,1997,pp250-281.
[16] James. D.Darian.,'On Diplomacy'(London: Blackwell Publishers,1997).

in the case study of World Summit on Sustainable Development. (b) It is a diplomacy which underlines the concept of neutrality, linked with issues of marginalized groups, since to a large extent they overlap with gender issues which challenge the existing paradigms around which policy decisions are made during international negotiations. This argument becomes apparent when separate case studies on Dalits and Internally Displaced Peoples are undertaken. As most of the issues raised during the negotiations can be identified with the feminist discourse which challenge the existing paradigms to understand the international political system, it can be argued that the word gender symbolically subsumes those demands of the marginalized groups which hinge on the pillars of equity, rights and development. However as mentioned before gender is not a static concept, and differs in varied cultural contexts, this work as an exploratory study has tried to highlight the need of studying women as a separate interest group in international negotiations. A separate case study on Dalits and IDPs has been chosen to understand the gravity of this argument. Another aspect that is touched upon on the basis of empirical case studies is the emerging contours that contemporary diplomacy is evolving into.

This work emphasizes on two main aspects:

(a) Issues like good governance, significance of monitoring mechanisms created by international treaties and a right-based approach are increasingly being legitimized by international negotiations.

(b) As development and equity issues affect men and women differently, gender issues are providing important linkages to women lobbies in international

9

negotiations. The second chapter, Dalits: Negotiating Caste Versus Race studies the role played by the dalit delegation (which was headed by National Campaign for Dalit Human Rights) at the national and international level. The chapter touches upon some emerging issues in contemporary diplomacy such as (i) the growing influence of domestic issues in international negotiations. (ii) The role of civil society in influencing negotiations. (iii) The significance of monitoring mechanisms such as Committee on Elimination of Racial Discrimination (CERD) for demanding accountability of state actors at international level and (iv) The importance of sovereignty bargaining by the state actors in context to issues which do not have an economic tradeoff. The chapter has been studied in context to the dalit lobbies and not in context to Women Human Rights Caucus (which represented the issues of deprived women) to highlight the need of articulating the issues of women separately. Studying the diplomacy employed by NCDHR, where women were portrayed more as victims and objects, can draw this conclusion. A gender balance in the dalit delegation was clearly lacking as far as representation of women in NCDHR was concerned. Thus a gender prism was not applied to issues like redistribution of land and financial provisions for the upliftment of dalits. As a result the dalit issue of poverty dissolved in to the logic of development and social violence of dalit women became a gender problem, which failed to provide linkages and politicize the dalit problem at the international level. The third chapter Internally Displaced People: Negotiating Dams Versus Development is studied in context to the formation and the mandate of World Commission on Dams (WCD). This chapter brings out the waning

10

momentum of inter-state diplomacy. The significance of this chapter is analysed in context to the multi- stakeholder dialogue, which was one of the prominent feature of the negotiations. It also illustrates that from the viewpoint of nation-states, the more important lens is a national one. This was clearly reflected in the case of India and China, the two countries that have majority of large dams in the world. A discussion on gender issues becomes significance in studying the negotiating process of WCD because the examination process was based in the context of equity and distribution. Gender-equality is one of the fundamental issues relating to these two basic principles. However, as participants, who brought a gender perspective was not included as a separate stakeholder group and there was a slot for women issues, a gender perspective in WCD was lacking. This chapter also highlights the importance of precedents (international covenants) specifically the human rights regime, which was cited by the Commission to put pressure on the state actors.

The fourth chapter –Women: Negotiating Gender- Equality is studied in the context to the women lobby in Johannesburg-*Women Action Tent*. This chapter provides a comparison with the previous two chapters where the women issues were not taken separately. In what ways did the gender diplomacy crisscrossed the North-South issues is studied. What is the difference in negotiating agreements when women are the participating actors is also analyzed. In what ways does gender provides linkages to economic trade-offs is brought into light. The precedents of international covenants and UN conferences, which

took up women issues in the nineties, are explored to study the diplomacy employed by the women lobbies.

In the concluding chapter an analysis is made on the modus operandi of the women networks at the international level. Also a brief analysis is made on the emerging issues in contemporary diplomacy will be made.

SCOPE OF THE STUDY

The reason to study these deprived groups under a particular framework of international negotiations is their transnational reach to social, cultural, economic and environmental variables. The proposed study also brings out the intersection between domestic politics and international negotiations. The centrality of the controversial issues to states identity and power is assessed. This is in response to the sovereignty bargains vis a vis the potential for resource tradeoffs. This aspect becomes an interesting study as it draws a comparison between cultural values versus the economic tradeoffs attached to such negotiations. The significance of the non-state actors in these negotiations will be highlighted as important protagonists in the debates over monitoring mechanisms. The proposed study is of contemporary importance, as identity politics is becoming significant issue in international negotiations. Focusing on change rather than statusquo, the emerging pressures of these groups on state actors is redefining the contours of diplomacy, which is now engaging the interests, and expectations of public at large. This work through the selected case studies aims to address these emerging issues in contemporary diplomacy. As the existing

literature on the diplomacy of the deprived lacks in-depth studies, primary source material is used. This is supplemented with secondary texts.

Another important aspect of the study is to point to some significant changes in the area of international negotiations. This is because they are growing in number, becoming more complex and are acquiring new dimensions, such as being an alternative to coercive solutions of disputed problems. One of the possible approaches suggested in this work is to regard gender as a significant variable, making a breakthrough in those negotiations, which are concerned with development issues.

Therefore going by these arguments, I have looked at some contemporary international negotiations where development issues are of primary concern. To provide an analytical base to the study, I have avoided an exclusive focus on women. Though an important component, an exclusive focus on women would have meant that women are the subject of enquiry and would have encouraged the view that the subject of women is just one of the many possible optional add-ons to international relations.

OBJECTIVE OF THE STUDY

The primary objective of research is to analyse the emerging nuances that contemporary diplomacy is evolving into. It aims to study the diplomacy of the deprived groups through a comparison of the three case studies it has showed the urgency of studying the issues of women separately. Though many works have been written from a feminist perspective, none have adequately analyzed gender

13

issues in contemporary diplomacy. This study aims to fill this gap in the academic discipline and aims to test the following hypothesis:

- That non-state actors are increasingly challenging the definitions of sovereignty and are playing an important role in contemporary negotiations thus raising the stakes and costs for states as they negotiate new commitments.

- That for state actors, options to mitigate domestic interests against international pressures is becoming increasingly complex as precedents on new commitments in international negotiations are established.

- That constituency building efforts must be undertaken in tandem with the development of negotiations and mitigation responses.

- That mainstreaming of issues on lines of gender- equality can help in overcoming blocking coalitions.

CHAPTER II

DALITS: NEGOTIATING CASTE VERSUS RACE

CHAPTER II

DALITS: NEGOTIATING CASTE VS RACE

Certain subjects seem quite clear, as long as we leave them alone. The answers look obvious until one asks questions, the concepts appear to be well understood until we wish to define them, and all rules pass for valid until we try to prove them.[1] The following chapter deals with such an issue. This issue of Dalits, which was debated as a distinct category in a World Conference against Racism, Racial Discrimination, Xenophobia and Related Intolerance (WCAR), not only brought to surface the dichotomy between caste and race but also underscored the importance of sovereignty challenges to the state actors at the international level. The conference offered an opportunity for many deprived groups to politicize their grievances but also by an extensive use of the idea of racism, it expressed the issues of domestic politics often opens up new possibilities for international accords.

WCAR, which was held in Durban from 28th August to 7th September 2001, had 7 main objectives: (1) review progress in the fight against racism and racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance. (2) Consider ways and means to ensure application of existing standards and the implementation of existing instruments. (3) Increase the level of awareness about scourges of racism. (4) Formulate concrete recommendation on increasing the effectiveness of the UN

---

[1] Charles, Fred, Ikle, *How Nation Negotiate* (New York: FA Praeger, 1967), pp.1

in these connections. (5) Review the factors leading to racism. (6) Formulate concrete recommendations to further action- oriented national, regional and international measures (7) Draw up concrete recommendations for insuring that the UN has the necessary resources for its actions.[2] The conference was action oriented and focused on practical measures, taking into full consideration the existing human rights instruments. The General Assembly appointed the High Commissioner for Human Right, Mary Robinson, as Secretary General of the Conference and invited her to draw up a Draft Declaration and Program for Action for its consideration. This was based on the regional preparatory meetings and experts seminars, on suggestion of UN member state, specialized agencies treaty bodies and concerned NGOs. As the General Assembly's decision was based on recommendation from the Commission on Human Rights (CHR), a provisional agenda of the conference was adopted by consensus in the first preparatory committee appointed by the CHR, which held its first session in May 2000.[3] These five themes were the basis for the planning of four regional conferences; those of the European states in Strasbourg in, October 2000;of the American States in Santiago, December 2000; of the African State in Dakar, January 2001, of the Asian States in Tehran in February 2001.The related sub-regional NGO meeting were held in Warsaw/Poland, Katmandu/Nepal,

---

[2] United Nations General Assembly, WCAR, Provisional Agenda for the World Conference on Practical Issues, Note by Secretary General, A/CONF. 189/PC 13/10,25 July, 2001.
[3] Five themes were recognized at the first PrepCom: sources, forms, victims of racism, measures of protection, education and prevention at international, regional and national level; provisions of effective remedies and strategies to achieve full and effective equality and cooperation of international organisations.

Cairo/Egypt and Quito/Ecuador.[5] As the issues discussed in the WCAR ranged from contemporary forms of racism, to xenophobia and related intolerance, to give a focused approach to this chapters, a case study of the Dalit group has been undertaken. The following aspects will be discussed in details: (a) the formation of the Dalit group or the Dalit caucus as it was known during the conference. (b) What were the linkages attached to the Dalits issues and how were the issues identified at the national and international level. (c) What was the response of the Indian government to the Dalits issue and how did it mobilized support to keep the issue off the negotiating table and (d) finally, what conclusion can be drawn from these negotiations in context to the points raised in chapter one relating to gender issues in contemporary diplomacy.

DALITS – BALANCING CASTE AND RACE

According to the Oxford English Dictionary, the origin of the word race is obscure. It seems to have come from the Old Norse, in which it meant a running or a rush of water. Many of the earlier, meanings relate to a sense of movements either in space (like a horse race) or over generations as its use from the middle of the 16th century to denote a line of decent.[6] Jotirao Phule, to describe outcaste and untouchable, originally used the word dalit. A Marathi word derived from Sanskrit, it means broken people. In the 1970s, the dalits panthers used it as a generic term for poor peasants, tribal and landless.[7] The WCAR becomes an interesting starting point to study the dalits issue vis-à-vis the caste vs. race debate

---

[5] Durban 2001,*United against Racism*, UNHCR, Issue 1,December 2000.
[6] Michael Banton., *International Politics of Race*.(NewYork;Oxford University Press,2002)pp10.
[7] Shiv Vishvanathan, 'The Race for Caste: Prolegomena to Durban Conference'. *Economic & Political Weekly*, July 7, 2001, pp.2513.

because it brought to its surface both these divides. Before I embark on to analyse the divide between caste and race, a historical understanding of the past two conferences on racial discrimination becomes an important starting pointing to analyze the present case study.

Unlike WCAR, which was held in Durban, South Africa, the previous conferences were held in Geneva in 1978 and 1983. They focused mainly on ending apartheid in South Africa, and highlighted other critical issues including the right of minorities, indigenous people, migrant workers and importance of education in preventing racism and discrimination. The WCAR, on the other hand focused on developing practical, action-oriented measures and strategies to combat contemporary forms of racism and intolerance. Also WCAR unlike its preceding conferences was held in 2001 and not in early 1990s due to the focus of early 90s on human rights, which was emphasized by the Second World Conference on Human Rights at Vienna in 1993. The issue of apartheid, which was the central focus of the earlier conferences, had been settled as the South Africa government had released Nelson Mandela. With these changes the Vienna Conference set the direction for other themes such as xenophobia, increase of intolerance, racism and racial discrimination and highlighted the rights of minorities' women and indigenous people. On these grounds on December 20 1993, the General Assembly proclaimed the third decade to combat racism and racial discrimination (1994-2005)[8] Also in 1993, the Commission on Human

---

[8] Ibid.pp.2516.

Rights appointed a special rapporteur on contemporary forms of racism, racial discrimination and related intolerance[9]

The WCAR marks a watershed in studying contemporary international negotiations especially because of the convergence of issues on sovereignty bargains, which highlighted the growing influences of domestic politics in international negotiations, role of civil society as influential actors and the growing relevance of the human rights regime, which underlined the notion of the 'Asian Value' debate and the relevance and legitimacy of the monitoring mechanisms such as CERD at the international level. The significance of the dalit issue is also highlighted by the fact that though race and caste as two distinct categories has been generally accepted, the former representing a biological/genetic category and the latter a mode of social stratification, the dalit lobby was successful in merging the two during the negotiating process. Towards the end of the chapter a gender analysis of the dalit issue at WCAR is also explored.

The leading role in promoting the dalits cause at WCAR was provided by National Campaign for Human Rights (NCDHR). Mr. N. Paul Divakar was the convener at WCAR and two hundred delegates from India ranging from dalits rights activists to victims of racial discrimination attended the conference.[10] About twenty of them were from Andhra Pradesh, which included Mr.B Tharakam of A.P unit of Republican Party of India and Professor Chalam of

---

[9] Dalits at Durban: Exposing Caste, Work and Descent based Discrimination. Available at www.http//www.dalit.org. /uninterventions.html#1.

[10] *The Hindu*, August 15, 2000.

Andhra University. The NCDHR delegation was headed by Mr Prakash Ambedkar, M.P; Pune University Professor Gopal Guru, Mr. Martin Macwan, NCDHR Convener, Tamilnadu; Mr Mr.H.Tipaigne, Secretary for NCDHR Public Hearing and N.P Diwakar Secretary for Advocacy.

THE DALITS LOBBY AT THE DOMESTIC AND THE INTERNATIONAL LEVEL

To mark the inclusion of dalits at the domestic level a Global Conference against Racism and Caste based discrimination was held between 1-4 March in New Delhi, 2001 and included representatives and victims form India, Nepal, Srilanka, Bangladesh, Denmark, Germany, Hong Kong SAR, the United Kingdom and United States.[11] The participants of the Global Conference condemned caste (occupation and descent based) discrimination and the practice of untouchability, which was said to be the source of immense human suffering and the cause of gross human rights violations and of dehumanising and degrading treatment of 240 million people.[12] Also a three-day National Conference in Hyderabad known as the Hyderabad Dalits Declaration was organized by NCDHR, which aimed at training delegates to the Conference. Commencing from August 28, this three day Seminar demanded protection of dalits human rights after a thorough discussion of the rights violation. The urgency of organizing the discrimination against dalits as a horrendous practice in WCAR was the thematic focus of the seminar. To pressurize the center to comply

---

[11] A Shot In Arm For Dalits, *The Hindu*, August 15,2001.
[12] See Inclusion of Caste in Racism Agenda Hailed, *Times of India*, August 17 2000; Protection of Dalit Human Rights Demanded, *The Hindu*, August 17,2001.

with the UN request on providing information on discrimination at the conference, NCDHR also sought support from National Human Rights Commission (NHRC). As a result NHRC supported the dalits' cause by following the consultation on dalits issue, which were held in Hyderabad and Delhi prior to WCAR and drew attention over the widespread prevalence of manual scavenging. It also highlighted a right based approach by pointing out the UN Conference was an opportunity to debate human rights issues which included eradication of discrimination bases on race, caste and descent. Also NCDHR's, extensive advocacy with various sectors of the Indian Government proved fruitful: the Communist Party of India and the Republican Party passed resolutions for the first time on caste, supporting its inclusion on WCAR discussion. Further fourteen members of Parliament responded to appeal letters from NCDHR by openly supporting the dalits cause.
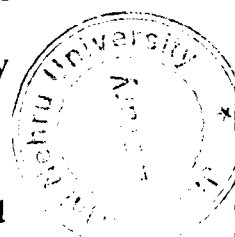
Due to these initiatives by the civil society in India, which represented different sectors like non-government organization, academics and political parties, caste became a hot topic, explicitly being debated within the country.

At the International Level prior to WCAR, NCDHR participated in the Bellagio Consultation, Italy, organized by the International Human Rights Law Group with the support of the Rockfeller Foundation.[14] In addition to the dalits representatives from NCDHR, there were twenty-five other representatives from discriminated communities from various countries senators, human right organization and UN bodies. These included representation of the minority

---

[14] *Bellagio Consultation on the UN WCAR*, International Human Rights Law Group, January 2000a

21

communities in the America and Europe (e.g. Africa, America Latino America) ,Buraku community is Japan and Korea, Ozu in Nigeria, Roma gypsies of East Europe and Rodiyars form Srilanka. Also participating were official members of UN Commission on elimination of all forms of racial discrimination, sub-commissions on protection and promotion of Human Rights. United Nations Development Fund for Women (UNIFEM), South Asian Human Rights Commission (SAHRC), Amnesty International (A.I), Minority Rights Group , human right experts (MRG), academics from various countries. The resolution prepared by the Bellagio Participants recommended that caste discrimination against dalits be taken up at the WCAR and in the PrepCom meeting among other issues. It stated that every human being has multiple basis of identity including race, colour, ethnicity, national and linguistic origins, class, caste, gender and sexual orientation.15

Another influential lobby at the international level was the International Dalits Solidarity Network (IDSN), comprising of civil society and human Rights organizations, who lobbied their own governments to support the cause of dalits helping block Indian government's maneuver to dismiss the issue from discussion at the conference. On 3 July 2001, NCDHR and IDSN jointly organized a Global Day for Action in 12 cities across three continents to protest against the Indian Governments attempt to sweep caste discrimination issues under the carpet. With these linkages at both international and national level, the dalit caucus became one of the largest and best organised groups as it enjoyed strong solidarity from

---

[15] Ibid

other groups at the conference including the Roma, African and African American, anti-apartheid activists and even South - African Indians. Another event, which supported the dalit cause, was the two-day International youth summit, which placed caste on par with racism. This document looked into the causes, manifestations, victims and interventions needed to eradicate the caste-system. With these precedents and the transnational reach of the dalit cause through linkages on descent based discrimination one of the four plenary sessions was devoted to the dalit cause. The NGO forum declared the practice of untouchablity as a crime against humanity [16].

THE WORLD CONFERENCE AGAINST RACISM, RACIAL DISCRIMINATION, XENOPHOBIA AND RELATED INTOLERANCE

It was through resolution 52/III that General Assembly decided to convene Conference on Racial Discrimination. It also decided that the Commission on Human Rights would act as a preparatory committee for the World Conference. These deliberations were aimed at full participation of all members of the UN and members of the specialized agencies and the observers. In the resolution 1999/78, the CHR called upon the High Commissioner to help states and regional organizations to convene national and regional meetings and the undertake other initiatives including those at the expert level to prepare for the World Conference.

---

[16] The youth summit took place on 26 and 27 August 2001 at Kingsmead Cricket Stadium in Durban and was organized by the youth summit secretariat and the youth task team (both from South Africa) and the International Youth Committee. International Youth Summit kicks off WCAR NGO Forum by Gerald Lemalle, 29 August 2001,available at http//amnestyusa.org/wcar.updates.html.

Consequently in resolution 2000/14,the Commission recommended that the World Conference should adopt a Declaration and Programme of Action and called upon the regional preparatory meetings to submit to the Prep Com reports on their deliberation. An NGO forum associated with the World Conference took place from 28 August to 1 September at the Kingsmead Stadium in Durban.[16]

The issue of caste figured out prominently in all the expert seminars and regional preparatory meetings of NGOs, which were held parallel to the inter-governmental meetings. Various terms like hidden apartheid, crime against humanity segregation, modern day slavery, extreme forms of violence and exploitation were coined to express discrimination based on descent. In May 2000, NCDHR sent a five member lobbying team to WCAR PrepCom being held in Geneva, Switzerland to vigorously assert that the issue of caste discrimination be seriously taken up by the WCAR [17]. NCDHR made an oral and written submission to the PrepCom where various human rights organizations like Human Rights Watch, Pax Romana, and Amnesty International supported the issue of caste discrimination.

Government of India's stand was that caste and race are different and therefore should fall beyond the domain of the conference. It also argue that local and social problems cannot be treated aS official or legally constituted

---

[16] *Declaration of Programme Of Action of the WCAR*, NGO Forum, Durban, 3 September, 2001,available at http//www.dalits .org/Dalits Excerpts NGO declaration. WCAR.html.
[17] Asia Pacific Seminar on Experts in Preparation for WCAR, *Migrants and Trafficking with persons with particular reference to Women and Children*,5-7 September, Bangkok, Thailand.

discrimination.[18] Some Governments organised NGOs (GONGOs) like International Institute for Non-Aligned Studies and the Indian Council of Education, also took the some position as the Indian Government. Mr. Bapurao Pakkidy of New Delhi, who introduced himself as the member of the Dalit Panthers, stated that caste discrimination should not be included as the item for discussion at WCAR, as the dalit situation in India had improved. To succeed in its attempt the government had appointed a national commission to lock into question of including the issue of caste discrimination on the agenda of WCAR. The task of this conference was to evolve consensuses on the official governmental position at the UN conference. By appointing the committee of this nature an image was projected that the Indian government is serious about the issue of discrimination. Also by appointing a high level committee of this nature, the government had assured the presence of a strong contingence in the UN conference to throttle every attempt made by the dalit intellectuals and activists. At the same time NGO representatives who participated in the first PrepCom, initiated an NGO forum for WCAR and established a facilitation committee. A twelve-member facilitation Committee with one Dalit representative, two representatives for each of the five region of the world (Africa, Asia, Eastern Europe, Latin America and the Caribbean/Western Europe/USA/Canada) was decided. Therefore in the second WCAR PrepCom, which was held in Geneva in May 2001, NCDHR was represented in the International NGO steering Committee. The committee met with the Mary Robinson, the High Commissioner

---

[18] A.S Narang, 'WCAR: Prospects And Challenges' *Economic and Political Weekly*, July 7,2001.pp2495

of Human Rights, and appealed to her to take up the Dalit human right issue under the provision of Conference. The Dalit caucus from the NGO's also met Ms Robinson independently. In the third WCAR PrepCom, which was also held in Geneva in July-August, 2001 NCDHR delegates strongly lobbied for the inclusion of discrimination against Dalits under the term *work and descent based discrimination*. The term discrimination based on descent provided scope to highlight the issue of untouchability and caste based discrimination and violence against Dalits in South Asia, thus providing linkages to the descent and occupation based discrimination faced by the Buraku community in Japan and Korea and by Ozu communities in Nigeria, Senegal and Mauritania. Also the caste issue was taken up in the Asian preparatory meeting in Tehran, Iran, which was held from 19-21 February 2001. The Government of Asian countries, held a dialogue about the sources, causes, forms and contemporary manifestation of racism and also focused on its prevention through education, remedies/reparation/compensation/humanitarian law, regional and international cooperation and regional and international institutions.[19] The Government of Nepal admitted the problem of caste discrimination against dalits in the country and declared the issue should squarely be addressed in the WCAR. Though the caste issue succeeded in making its presence felt at the NGO forum (Strasbourg/ Addis Ababa and various satellite conference) and PrepComs, it was not mentioned explicitly in the specific issue based expert seminars. The first time

---

[19] Letter addressed to the Chairman of the Asian Preparatory Meeting, WCAR, Tehran, a 9-12 February 2001.

that gender-based discrimination of dalit women was taken was at the expert seminars, which were held from 5-7 September 2000 in Bangkok, Thailand[20]. The reason being that the Bangkok Seminar focused on particular issues and vulnerabilities of women and children where the dalit issue got divided on basis of double discrimination faced by dalit women. In January and February, 2000 serious concerns over the treatment of dalit children and dalit women was also expressed by the Committee on Elimination of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW). In addition OHCHR, along with the republic of Croatia, United Nations Development Fund for Women (UNIFEM) helped plan an expert meeting on Gender and Racial Discrimination in Zagreb, Croatia, which was held from 21-24 November 2000. Though the expert meeting in Croatia touched on different forms of gender related aspects of racial discrimination, the issue of dalit women failed to appear in the background papers. Linkages to these international covenants and meetings raise questions on the dalit leadership at WCAR, which[21] failed to highlight issues of dalit women.

LINKAGES ACROSS RACE

Where the civil society was led by NCDHR from India, the then Minister of External affairs, Omar Abdullah led an eight member Indian delegation to the meet at WCAR.[22]The support to caste-based discrimination in the WCAR was

---

[20] Durban 2001:*United Against Racism*, OHCHR, Newsletter, Issue1, December 2000

[21] Gender and Racial Discrimination, Report of the Expert Group Meeting, 21-24 November 2000,Zagreb, Croatia, United Nations Division of Advancement Of Women (DAW.Office Of High Commissioner Of Human Rights (OHCHR), United Nations Development Find For Women (UNIFEM).

[22] *Deccan Chronicle*, August 27, 2001.

confirmed by the title of the conference and numerous international bodies, which created it. Dalit activists to widen the explanation of the term caste versus race used the forty-ninth session of Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination (CERD) held in August/September 1996, as an issue linkage. CERD under the International Convention on Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination, 1965 (ICERD) had affirmed that situation of schedule castes and scheduled tribes falls within the scope of the convention. This issue linkage through precedence proved to be an important platform because it helped linking the issue of caste to discrimination based on descent, as the committee had clearly stated that the term 'descent' contained in Article 1 of the convention does not refer solely to race and encompasses the situation of schedule caste and tribes. On 9th August 2001 CERD concluded its discussion on discrimination based on descent with a number of committee experts expressing the need to urge states parties to implement positive measures against the discrimination. Addressing CERD, NGOs from Nepal, Japan, Senegal addressed the committee on the urgency to focus on the definition of racial discrimination and find ways at eliminating it.[23] It also addressed the commonality of the descent issue in different countries like Japan, Nepal, Senegal, India, Burkina Faso and Pakistan. Mr. Bhagwat Das, president of Dalit Solidarity Peoples insisted on the notion of visibility. He said caste is not visible but race is visible, race is a product of geography and caste is product of religion.[24] The caste issue got recognition in

---

[23] Grandcolas,Brimbelle,'NGOs address CERD on the Caste issue at the UN in Geneva', 9 August 2000,Geneva.Available at http//www.hri.ca/racism.

[24] Smita, Nirula.,'Caste Discrimination',*Seminar*,508,December,2001.pp.18.

August 2000, when the UN Sub-Commission on the promotion of human rights passed resolution 2000/4 on discrimination based on work and identified issues like poverty, land rights, bondage labour, gender hierarchies, which gave the dalit caucus an added advantage to certain trade offs with the other two most contested issues in WCAR which was Palestine/African Descendants and Reparations for Slavery. The preparatory committees thus proved useful, as they became platforms for bargaining among NGOs. Organizations lobbying for inclusion in the declaration and Programmes of Action for Dalits and caste discrimination were promised support from African NGOs if they would support the African demand for reparations, while NGOs sympathetic to the position of the Indian government were willing to trade their support in return for the exclusion of references to caste. Not only do these responses highlight issues of sovereignty claims by state actors but also underscore the importance of economic trade-offs in international negotiations.

This structural resonance between race and caste also implies the strategy for a search of affinity and not identity. This was, employed through the use of words like hidden apartheid and human rights, which were used to assert dalit discrimination. The emphasis on human rights regime was emphasized due to its universalistic feature as it is assumed every body from G-7 to UN was ready to recognize it.[25] However, the universalistic and particularistic tendencies of the issue came to the fore in contradictory shades as the response of the state actors as discussed later, related to their own foreign policy commitments.

---

[25]Amir Ali,'Durban and After' *Economic and Political Weekly*, September 15,2001 and Michael Banton.,opcit. Pp.166.

Another aspect that came out very explicitly during WCAR was the definite form that the dalit consciousness had taken during the conference. Not only did it represent a case of the south Vs the South (in case of India) but also revealed an emerging paradigm of seeking reparation and demanding apology from the North which was opposed to the inclusion of compensatory measures.

The Response of State Actors

India wasn't alone in coming to the world conference with an anti agenda. Many governments, including United States, Europe used all economic and political influence at their disposal to ensure that racial injustices in their own nations and that they would not be addressed at the conference's Program of Action. China supported the Indian Government and despairing over the prospective condemnation of Israel, the USA and Israel withdrew their delegations. The African groups, having been lobbied by African America single-issue campaign, stiffened their demand for specific apologies from countries of Europe and US. Representatives of Canada and Syria expressed strong reservations on the draft declaration of the draft Program of Action stating that they were not satisfied with the Conference, stating that the text is ultravires. Canada stated that under international law there is no right to remedy for historical acts that was not illegal at the time at which they occurred. Australia made a statement along similar lines and objected that the language used to condemn colonialism should have been the same as that which was used to condemn apartheid and genocide. New Zealand associated itself with these

objections maintaining that only where colonialism had been founded on racist attitudes and practices could it have been a source of racism. Representatives of the Syria Arab Republic condemned the generalization used in the draft to address reparations. It demanded the language to be very concise and very specific and not to be applied to every nation on earth. Iran on the other hand applied the Palestinian crime and complained that the suffering of the Palestinian people and their legitimate rights, which have been grossly violated by the occupying racist power in the course of past 50 years, have not been given proper consideration. Similarly the delegation of Iraq declared that it is neither party to nor bound by the consensus concerning the paragraphs relating to the Middle East. Switzerland on the other hand sided India by stating that it perceives race as a social construct and that it should not be used as a justification for discriminatory practices or to advocate ideologies of racial superiority. On the other hand Kenya speaking on behalf of the Africa Group, answered Western objection by observing that the judgment of Nuremberg in 1946 had made it clear that crimes against humanity are not time bound. Representatives of Belgium speaking on behalf of Europe insisted that the Declaration and the Program of Action are political not legal and that these documents cannot impose obligations, or liabilities or right to compensation on anyone.

Going by these statements of various state actors the position of the Government of India in the context of Durban Conference is therefore not surprising. In 1975, India voted in favour of UN General Assembly resolution that equated Zionism with racism. USA was not as aggressive then as it was

during the Durban conference because of its own political benefits. In Durban, India supported USA of the European Nations on issues of both Zionism as well as demand for reparation, probably as a trade off on the caste question.

The Program of Action identified caste discrimination as a crime against humanity and called for time bound action for the removal of atrocities. It demanded redistribution of land and other provisions to protect the right of dalits and other discriminated communities. It advocated sufficient financial provisions be made for the upliftment of dalits in a time bound manner. Alongside the NGO Forum also called for international enforcements like appointment of a special rapporteur to examine complaints about various forms of discrimination and human rights violations.[26]

CONCLUSIONS

Though the dalit lobby could not succeed at gaining appropriate tradeoffs at the WCAR, the caste issue at WCAR did reflect a dalit discourse at the international level the dalit issue also reflects the legitimacy and validity of the monitoring mechanisms like CERD to vocalize and internationalize domestic issues. However at the domestic level, the exclusion of dalits was prominent with its absence in the print media. The dalit discourse of caste and race remained academic and had little relation between the discourse in print media and dalit mobilization without any authentic sense of peoples' perception.[27]Also due to

---

[26] The Indian Government had refused permission to a special rapporteur in 1996.See, Prakash Louis 'Regaining Lost Faith', *Seminar*, 508,December 2001. pp 25
[27] Gopal Guru., Politics of Representation',*Seminar*,508,December 2001.pp.29-32.and Shiv Visvanathan,'Durban and Dalit Discourse', *Economic and Political Weekly*, August 19,2001. pp 3123-3125.

inadequate leadership of the dalit women at the national level a gender lens to the dalit problem was not brought out specially in the case where gender mainstreaming of the rights of minorities were concerned. The dalit issue also brings forth the accountability of the states at the domestic level especially on issues such as distributive justice and human rights, which reflect the growing importance of trans -boundary linkages. Another striking aspect of the dalit diplomacy was the influence of domestic politics in international negotiations and the challenges to state sovereignty by sub-state actors, which have transnational approach.

Also the negotiations on caste vs. race reflect a clear emphasis on second generations rights which are the social and economic rights of the people vis a vis the first generation of human rights which emphasize a universalistic human rights régime. Further India's human rights diplomacy reflects a switch from an assertive to a defensive mode. At WCAR India became aggressive in the preservation of its sovereignty in both substance and appearance. The ruling dispensation was of the view that caste is not an issue to be deliberated in the UN conferences.

CHAPTER III

INTERNALLY DISPLACED PEOPLE: NEGOTIATING DAMS VERSUS DEVELOPMENT

CHAPTER III

INTERNALLY DISPLACED PEOPLE: NEGOTIATING DAMS Vs DEVELOPMENT

This chapter deals with the negotiating process, which gave way to the formation of World Commission on Dams (WCD), set up in 1998. Issues and linkages used by the commission to produce a consensus report, Dams and Development which was released at London in November 2000, is also studied. As this chapter is studied in context to Internally Displaced People (IDPs), in the latter half of the chapter, a special focus is given to affected peoples' group, to evaluate the influence of deprived groups at the international level. In what ways did the WCD succeed in articulating the interests of displaced people are studied. How far the commission was successful in balancing a gendered perspective on development is also analysed. The following basic issues will be placed under scrutiny (i) how did the WCD negotiating process under aegis of World Bank and IUCN begin (ii) to what extent did it succeed in reconciling the interests of proponents and opponents of big dam and what were the strategies used to achieve consensus amongst the stakeholders. (iii) How did the negotiating process influence the posture of state-actors? What pressures did NBA, representing the issues of the displaced people, put on the Indian

government and finally what conclusions can be derived from the diplomacy of these affected people's group at the international level.

THE ORIGINS OF WCD: A BACKGROUND TO THE PRE-NEGOTIATION PHASE

The WCD was formed following a meeting of diverse dam related stakeholders in the early 1997, to discuss the past and future of large dams. One of the main reasons, which led to the consultation process for the WCD, was the mounting controversy, particularly over the last two decades, about the role of large dams in development.[1] The controversy revolved around the changing definition and priorities for development due to the experiences accumulated with the construction and operation of large dams around the world as various affected groups argued that expected economic benefits were not being produced and that major environmental, economic and social costs was being taken into account. As a consequent, in the 1980s proposals for large dams (for e.g. Sardar Sarovar) began to be fundamentally questioned by locally affected interests and global coalitions of environmental and human rights groups.[2] This resulted in a succession of calls for a moratorium on World Bank funding and large dams. For instance, in June 1994, on the 50th anniversary of the formation of the Bretton Woods Institutions, a coalition of 326 social movements and non-governmental organization (NGOs) from 44 countries around the world endorsed a statement

---

[1] A detailed analysis is provided in, P. McCully,` *Silenced Rivers: The Ecology and Politics of Large Dams*, (London : Zed Books, 1996), E. Goldsmith and N. Halyard.,` *The Social and Environmental Effects of Large Dams'*, (Wade bridge: Wade bridge Ecological Center, Cornwall, U.K, 1984) and Shripad Dharmadikary, 'Dam Fundamentalism', *Himal*, 3 November, 1998.
[2] Toney Dorcey, Achin Steiner etal (ed),'Workshop Proceeding Gland, Switzerland, April 11-12, 1997. (IUCN &World Bank. Group, 1997) pp1.

calling for a moratorium on the World Bank's funding of large dams. This statement named as the Manibeli Declaration demanded that the World Bank should set up an independent comprehensive review of Bank funded large dams projects to establish the actual costs, including the direct and indirect, economic, environmental and social costs, and the actual realized benefits of each projects.[3] The second call for mobilizing support against large dams was the Curitaba Declaration, which went beyond the Manibeli Declaration's almost exclusive focus on World Bank. The Curitaba Declaration (1997) called for the suspension of construction of new dams until an independent international commission conducted a complete review of "all large dams financed or supported by international credit and aid agencies."[4] Initiated in March 1997, in Curitaba, Brazil where the first International Meeting of the People Affected by Large Dams, was held, it was attended by activists and dam-affected people from more than 20 countries who shared the long history of social, cultural, economic and environmental problems associated with large dams.[5] It was in this context that the Operations Evaluation Department (OED) of the World Bank began a review of large dam projects. The first phase was designed to be an internal desk study of 50 large dams assisted by the Bank and was completed by OED in September 1996. The second phase was planned to be a broader study, involving the collection of new data and participation by other stakeholders, to evaluate the development

---

[3] Manibeli Declaration was named in recognition of one of the first tribal villages . See 'Manibeli Declaration Calling for a Moratorium on World Bank Finding of Large Dams,'

[4] Declaration of Curitaba: Affirming the Rights to Life and Livelihood of People Affected by Dams, 14 March 1997.Available at www.irn.org/programes/euritaba.html.

[5] Dubash, Navroz, Mairi Dupas and Smitu Kothari., 'A Watershed in Global Governance? An Independent Assessment of World Commission on Dams', (Washington D.C. World Resource Institute, 2001) pg. 31.

effectiveness of large dams in terms of technical, economic, social and environmental implication for future financing by the World Bank Group and other sources.[6] With the idea that a joint workshop should be convened to discuss the findings of the OED desk review the World Bank approached IUCN in 1996, on the basis of an agreement negotiated with the World Bank, which was signed in 1994.[7] Robert Picciotto, director general of Operation Evaluation of the World Bank and George Greene, assistant director general of IUCN, were given overall responsibility for the workshop Reporting to them were Achim Steiner, who was IUCN's liaison officer to the World Bank and Andres Liebenthal who had led OED's desk review. They were also asked to organise the workshop and focus on five key preparatory tasks: agreement on specific objectives, development of background information, selection of participants, facilitation of the sessions and design of the agenda.[8]

Thus to start with, the Gland Workshop brought together thirty-nine participants representing governments, the private sector, international financial institutions, civil society organization and affected people group.[9] This gathering as is explicit from the participating actors consisted of people who had been on opposite sides of the most fierce and bitter of environmental controversies – the building of large dams. Thus, the WCD marks real progress in

---

[6]Liebenthal. A, etal: *"The World Bank's Experience with Large Dams: A Preliminary Review of Impacts'* (Washington : Operations Evaluation Department, The World Bank, 1996).

[7] The director general of IUCN, David McDowell, initiated this agreement in 1994. His aim was to seek strategic partnerships with key international agencies so that they might work together to resolve controversial issues and meet joint interests.

[8] Tony Dorcey, Steiner Achin etal., (ed). Opcit. Pg 5.

[9] World Commission on Dams. *Dams And Development: A New Framework For Decision Making'* (London: Earthscan, 2000) pg. 27.

large dams controversy at least in two ways: (a) as a statement of the norms that should govern dam related decision – making and (b) as a process of dialogue between proponents and critics. Also the WCD witnessed opportunities for stakeholder dialogues, skillful leadership and interpersonal dynamics amongst the commissions and highlighted trends in global environmental governance and a unique trend in public policy making.[10] The formation of World Commission of Dams as a global commission was also linked to the ongoing discourse as to what is meant by development. As Kader Asmal, the chairman of the commission stated, 'from the beginning I have believed that this is not simply a dam's commission but rather a commission about dams and development. The challenge is to understand how infrastructure such as dams can best reflect the needs and values of the diverse societies they are meant to serve.[11]

THE NEGOTIATION PROCESS

The first challenge before a multi stakeholder process such as WCD was to convene the diverse actors and keep them constructively engaged. For this process to be successful it was therefore necessary that the stakeholders feel they have access to the process that their voices be fully heard and that their participation in the deliberations become meaningful. The Commissions' framework was based on five core values: equity, sustainability, efficiency,

---

[10] Ken, Conca.,'The World Commission of Dams and Trends in Global Environmental Governance'., *Politics and Life Science*, Vol, 21, no. 1, March 2001, pg. 67-70.
[11] Message from the Chair: 'It's Not Just About Dams', *Dams Newsletter*, World Commission on Dams, No. 5 December 1999.

participatory decision-making and accountability.[12] As WCD brought together

proponents and opponents in the dams' debate, including one group's perspective

risked alienating the other. In order to solve there complexities the WCD process

passed through many stages such as the formation of the Gland Reference Group,

which under took the process of negotiating the form and mandate of the WCD,

the selection of the Commission and the composition of the Secretariat, which

was designed as the administrative body.

The Gland Reference Group as the stakeholders representing

governments, multilateral and bilateral financial institution, industries NGOs and

affected peoples group and water and energy resource development professional

were called was formed due to two main reasons: *First*, the reference group and

the working body that arose from it should follow a process of inclus'veness,

independence and transparency in the deliberations about what needs to be done

and *second*, the stakeholders could be given the reassurance that the guiding

principles proposed by them would be imbedded in WCD's constituent structures

and work programs.[13] David McDowell, director general of IUCN established an

Interim Working Group (IWG) composed of IUCN and World Bank staff. The

Interim Working Group was to draw on the Gland participants (Reference Group)

for advice and support.[14] This formulation quickly led to an argument over the

degree to which Reference Group members would have a say in the

Commissions' structure and composition. This stalemate was broken by selection

---

[12] World Commission on Dams, *Dams, and Development: A New Frame work for Decision Making'* (London: Earthscan, 2000 pg. xxxiii)

[13] S. Parasuram and Sohini Sengupta, ' World Commission on Dams: Democratic Means for Sustainable Ends.' *Economic and Political Weekly*, May 26, 2001. pg 1883.

[14] Tony Dorcey, Achim Steiner etal (ed)., ' Workshop in Gland Switzerland. opcit. Pg 12.

of WCD chair, vice-chair and commission members. Kader Asmal was selected as a chairman of the commission. This selection indicated the lenses through which different groups would view the new battle ahead. Each side in the debate saw signs of hope in this selection. As a government minister from South, Professor Asmal was seen as a credible minister by governments, particularly in Southern dam building nations. Moreover, the legitimacy conferred on him as an elected politician was of great importance particularly to governments[15] Private sector interests supported his candidacy based on his status as a minister country in a southern country with a trail record of concern for economic development. They noted his past approval of a larger dam in the Lesotho Highlands Water Project Complex in South Africa. As one forum member from the private sector noted, `a minister could be counted on to uphold sovereign rights to decision-making over national resource and not to abdicate authority to non-elected stakeholders.[16] Civil Society group were initially wary of Prof. Asmal's selection. In particular, they were concerned, about his past support for the Lesotho water project, but were heartened by his distinguished background as a human right and anti-apartheid activist. They decided to support him as chair – person, but subject to a tacit understanding that the portion of vice-chairperson worked be filled by a person who had their complete trust Another factor which helped solving this deadlock was the decision of Prof. Asmal to resign if the group failed to reach consensus. This compromise provided for an `expanded IWG' with small number

---

[15] *From Gland to Capetown: The Making of WCD*. in Dubash Navroz etal, Watershed in Global Governance: An Independent Assessment of WCD : Opcit pp 37.
[16] Interview with Forum Member, June 2000 in Dubash Navroz etal (ed). Opcit. Pg 39.

of interest groups representatives from the Gland Meetings, in addition to World Bank and IUCN representatives. The main change from earlier lists was the addition of Medha Patkar.[17]

Thus as a result of difficult negotiations between the World Bank/ IUCN Interim Working Group and participants, the Commission turned out to be characterized by representation of stakeholders' interest, rather than purely by the eminence of its members. The stakeholders who selected the commission were an adhoc group of participates from Gland, chosen for their diverse political views and prominence in the dams' debate. They sought balance on the Commission between the North and South and diversity of experience in government, private sector, community organizing, environmental management, academic discipline and other related issues. The emphasis on representation rather than eminence had a far-reaching implication for Commissions' relationship with interest groups in the debate and on the stakeholders' subsequent support for the Commissions' work, also Commissions' individual legitimacy stemmed from their prominence in international networks and their unspoken claim to represent certain viewpoints.[18] Another landmark of the WCD negotiation was the benchmark it set for the stakeholder engagement throughout the process. However one shortcoming of the WCD's stakeholder formation was that participants who brought a gender perspective were not explicitly included as a separate

---

[17] Dubash, Navroz, Mairi Dupas and Smitu Kothari., 'A Watershed in Global Governance? An Independent Assessment of World Commission on Dams', (Washington D.C. World Resource Institute, 2001) pg. 53.
[18] The Commission included nationals from the world's four largest dam building countries: China India Brazil and the United States. Both chairperson and vice chairperson came from the South where majority of future dams were forecast to be built.

stakeholder group. a slot for women's issues was declared by the Commission and the international women's network- DAWN (Development Alternatives for Women in New Era) which has a rotating secretariat amongst southern countries filled this slot. As a result, gender concerns were captured for future. Gender thus was a missing links in the impact assessment of large dams.[19] Though the selection process sought to balance gender diversity amongst the commissioners, as of thirteen original commissioners, five were women; the composition of the secretariat showed a preponderance of men over women. The lack of women in the secretariat proved to be of critical concern to gender sensitive participants as private sector and NGOs later concluded that the secretariat was the critical element of the commissions' structure and that the composition of the secretariat shaped outcomes. This became particularly evident later during the thematic reviews when commissioners reviewed the terms of reference for case studies, and the secretariat was largely on the frontline and in control of the negotiating process. Examined for gender balance, the secretariat thus was unbalanced with only two women (one of whom left during the process) among ten senior advisors.

ISSUES AND LINKAGES FOR RECONCILING DIFFERENCES AMONGST STAKEHOLDERS

The Commission proposed using United Nations instruments, on human right and the right to clean environment and development, as to bridge the

---

[19] Bina Srinivasan and Lyla Mehta, *'Balancing Pains and Gains: A Perspective paper on Gender and Dams,'* Commissioned Paper for World Commission on Dams, 1997.

gap between its evaluation of past mistakes and in prescription for future

Specifically, the commission evoked the Universal Declaration on the Rights to Development adopted by UN General Assembly (1986) and the Rio principles at the UN Conference on Environment and Development (1992). The link to UN instruments was highly strategic. This helped turning to values set forth by formal representatives of the people- the member states of United Nations to ground its recommendations. Further in order to get the process right to ensure legitimacy, the Commission committed to a set of guiding principles for its work program. These included transparency, inclusiveness, independence and accountability. The dialogue was accomplished through four activities which came to be know as 'four pillars.[20] These were: *First* in depth case studies, which helped in illuminating large dams' performance. *Second*, a survey of 150 large dams, which helped capturing, trends in performance. *Third*, cross-cutting issue papers (thematic reviews) which helped highlighting best practices and recurring problems from around the world, as well as alternatives to large dams in providing water supply, energy and flood control, services and *Fourth*, public – consultations were held in all major world regions to provide stakeholders with the opportunity to share their views directly. Thus with this participation of private sector organizations industry and citizens' group, who participated actively, usually with opposing interests offered differing perspectives to the negotiations on WCD. These differing interpretations resulted in epistemic policy coordination, which further influenced the peaks for WCD negotiations

---

[20] *Implementing the Work Program* in Dubash Navroz.,opcit.pp53-70.

According to Peter.M Haas major dynamics for epistemic policy coordination are uncertainty, interpretation and institutionalization.[21]Peter M. Hass defines epistemic community as a network of professionals with recognized expertise and competence in a particular domain and an authoritative claim to policy relevant knowledge within that domain or issue area.[22] As the information produced is neither guesses nor raw data, but a product of human interpretations of social and physical phenomenon, epistemic communities become one possible provider of this sort of information and advice. The role of epistemic communities became relevant in the knowledge generation process for the WCD which otherwise could have had taken different paths. This was particularly evident in the decision regarding the approach which was to be included for the assessment option which were to be undertaken. The selection of case studies that encompassed diversity in geography, function, age size and catchments area emphasized the commission's effort to satisfy most major stakeholder group who were monitoring the process,[23] to gain general agreement and consensus amongst the epistemic communities perse. These strategies had mixed success in soliciting information from the broader community of stakeholders.

---

[21] For instance for contrasting viewpoints see Nirmal, Sengupta.,`World Commission on Dams: Biased if Misread,' *Economic and Political Weekly*, May 12, 2001 pp. 1647-1649 and B. N. Navalawa, 'World Commission on Dams: Biased? *Economic and Political Weekly*, March 24, 2001. pp. 1006-1010.

[22] Peter M. Haas., 'Introduction: Epistemic Communities and International Policy Coordination'. *International Organization* 46, I. Winter 1992, pp. 1-35.

[23] World Commission on Dams, *Dams and Development: A New Framework for Decision Making* (London: Earthscan, 2000), p. 351-351.

THE SPACE FOR STATE ACTORS

Governments were the hardest group to be accommodated within a representative model. As the WCD process was a platform of multi stakeholder negotiations, it was up to the World Bank and IUCN and the members of IWG to reach out to the government to inform them about the new opportunity for dialogue and shared learning. In this sense it has been argued that the commission was a watershed in going beyond intra-state diplomacy because it departed from the model of past global commissions' that had been entirely comprised of eminent retirees from the government. Three commissioners were active in government service during their time on the commission Professor Asmal of South Africa; L.C. Jain, the Indian High Commission to South Africa of India and Shen Guoyi of China. A former government official of another huge dam building nation, Jose Goldemburg of Brazil was appointed to the commission; similarly other commissioners were either former government officials or officials of para-statal organizations, such as Don Blackmore, the chief executive of World's largest river basin authority.[24] The profile of governmental experience while satisfactory to many stakeholders' from the broad middle of the dams debate, proved unsatisfactory to some governments. The Commissioner from China's Ministry of Water Resources withdrew midway through the process, because the Chinese government was becoming uneasy with range of views on the commission. While the Chinese government did not make any formal statement of disagreement regarding the substance of Commission work at the time of Guoyi's

---

[24] *Commission on Dams*, Business Standard, India, 8 March 2000.

departure, a later memo from the Chinese government to the World Bank indicated that it disagreed with the positions of most commission members.[25] The government of India's Central Water Committee perceived both commissioners' from India as being anti-dam and complained that it should have had a greater role in selection process. The Indian government's preference for greater governmental participation in the WCD selection process and subsequent events illustrates a political trade off faced by WCD's conveners.[26] The Indian governments dissatisfaction was revealed later when Indian water officials disapproved of the unfolding the WCD. Patrick McCully writes that the anti-dam movement's involvement was contingent upon weak governmental involvement, because it was government's water and energy policies that protest movements fundamentally were opposed to.[27] The Government of India, Ministry of Water Resources (MOWR) gave a negative response to the negotiations. It questioned the composition of the commission, its procedures, the adequacy and representatives of the sample studies, the knowledge base behind the report and the manner in which report was finalized. The explanation for this negative response was two fold: *First*, against the background of the prolonged and bitter battle over the Sardar Sarovar Project (SSP) and the increasing polarization of debates on the large dam controversy. The Indian water resources establishment tended to react with dismay to the very idea of the setting up of a World Commission on Dams, which seemed to them a sinister anti- dam move.

---

[25] Fredrich Kahrl.,'*Under the Shadow of Three Gorges Dam: The World Commission of Dams and China*'., Background paper prepared for WCD Assessment,January,2001.
[26] Cordiali*ty, Resolve Mark Meet On Dams., The Hindu*.8 Feburary,2001
[27] Patrick McCully.,'How To Use Trilateral Network: An Activist's Perspective On WCD' .,*American University Law Journal*..,vol,16,2001.pp,35.

Secondly, the establishments suspicion and hostility were particularly aroused by the membership of the commission, which include Medha Patkar (whom it regarded as their enemy) and L.C Jain (whom it considered to be her friend and sympathizer).[28]

The WCD process also revealed a sensitive interface of global politics and local politics. This was brought into light when WCD's first consultation was planned for the south Asian region, to be held in. Bhopal, India in September 1998.[29] The visit was cancelled due to the criticism by Gujarat government of the WCD. A day before the Commission's visit, a delegation headed by the Gujarat Chief Minister, Mr. Keshubhai Patel met the Indian Prime Minister and demanded the permission granted by government of India hold a hearing be withdrawn.[30] This put questions on the lack of transparency on part of the government over public issue. However, overall several southern governments, such as Brazil and Nepal praised the core values of decision- making, sustainability and accountability.[31] Southern officials based their opposition to the recommendations partly on national sovereignty issue and charges of Northern hypocrisy. They interpreted the commission's highlighting of unmitigated environment and social problems and dams economic under performance as an argument against further dam building- a contravention of their perceived national imperatives. They found

---

[28] Ramaswamy Iyer, 'World Commission On Dams and India. Analysis of a Relationship.' *Economic and Political Weekly,* June 23, 2001.pp 2275

[29] Summary of South Asia Consultations, Colombo, Srilanka 10-11 December 1998 available at: http://www.dam.org.consultations,html.

[30] 'Next Hearing Unlikely To Be In India' *The Hindu,* 9 December 1998and Mahendra Ved, ' Center and Gujarat must share blame for WCD blunder, *The Times of India News Service,* 15 Septembers, 1998.

[31] The Commission's Final Report: The International Response in D. Navroz, etal.pp 99-114.

inadequate recognition in the report of dam's role in resolving issues like food security; water energy and the overall developments need of countries. They also suspected that the WCD had been an attempt by Northern governments' and financing agencies to impose standards upon developing regions that the North had not followed when they had completed the majority of their dam building.[32]

DIPLOMACY OF THE AFFECTED PEOPLES' GROUPS

One of the most contentious issues in the dams' debate was the impact of dams on indigenous and tribal peoples and ethnic minorities. Extensive research findings presented by the World Commission on Dams showed that between 40 and 80 million people were forced to leave their homes as a result of the construction of large hydroelectric dams.[33] As there is no special regime for IDPs, the issue of displaced people usually is not identified at the international level and often is left to NGOs, the media and academic to probe the government inflicted human right abuses related to development – induced displacements. It was in this context that a paper was written by Dr. Marcus Coichester from U.K. based Forest Peoples Programme to document experiences of minorities in relation to dams. The paper included inputs from multilateral development institutions (e.g. World Bank, Inter-American Development Bank), dam developers and utilities.[34] The World Commission on Dams, the World Council of Churches, the International

[32] Ibid.,105
[33] World Commission On Dams: *Dams and Developments*,opcit.,pp.104
[34] *Closing the Circle the WCD Canvasses Opinions of Minorities by Dams,* WCD Press Release., 5 August 1999. Available at http://www.dams.org/news events / press 306.html.

Work Group For Indigenous Affairs, and the United Nations Office of the Commissioner organized a Working Group on Indigenous Populations, for Human Rights and Oxfam. Fifty participants attended the workshop including representative of indigenous people and ethnic minorities from Peru, Brazil, South Africa, Bangladesh, Indonesia, Thailand, India, Taiwan, Canada and the Philippines. The meeting also included representative from Hydro Quebec. (a major North American utility), the international engineering firm Asea Brown Boveri, the UN International Labor International Labour Organization, the World Wide Fund as well as the organizers i.e. IUCN and World Bank . Many speakers stressed the fundamental significance of territories to indigenous people and ethnic minorities. Some of the major inputs of the indigenous people included emphasis on prior informed consent. Also the establishment of a mechanism to deal with the demand for restitution for past losses was stressed. Some other groups that participated quite actively in the WCD process were the Brazilian Movement of Dam Affected People (MAB) and the Narmada Bachao Andolan of India (NBA). Issues of affected groups from Uganda (Bujagali Falls Dam); Turkey(Illusu Dam);South Africa(Lesotho Dam);Laos(Nam Theun-Hinobu Dam);Japan(San Rouque Dam)were also discussed in the Commission. With these precedents the WCD report stressed the role of dam-affected people in negotiating agreements is essential for their future. The WCD also suggested a mechanism for implementation.[35] However as far as the gendered social impact of large dams was concerned, the negotiating process did not apply a gender prism in

---

[35] Bina Srinivasan, ' Social Impacts of Large Dams; Gender, Equity and Distribution Issue, *Economic And Political Weekly*, October 27,2001. pp. 4108-4114.

consulting issues on IDPS. Gender thus became one of the missing links in impact assessment: this resulted in negating the study of gender dimension of costs and benefits of large dams which affect men and women in very different ways.[36] Therefore though the notion of people oriented growth in context to development and a right-based approach t was emphasized, the negotiations failed to engender the policy framework on dams and development.

After the release of the WCD report in London, 2000, the NBA put pressure on the Indian Government to accept the recommendations of the World Commission on Dams (WCD), urging it to put a moratorium on the construction of all large dams, provide reparations to those already displaced and implement the water and energy alternatives.37 Not only did it threaten to initiate the legal proceedings but also demanded that the benefits of large dams be re-evaluated and assed with the participation of the stakeholders. Also during the negotiating process of WCD, NBA leader, Medha Patkar, who was also one of the commissioners, criticized the decision of the Central Government to stop the visit of WCD. Further by linking with activist group in countries like Germany, Brazil, United States of America, NBA underlined the significance of international networking. Thus organizations like International River Network and MAB welcomed the report and said it offered a very constructive way forward. However dam-building industry through organizations such as International Commission on Large Dams (ICOLD) and Asea Brown Boveri (ABB) were

---

[36] Bina Srinivasan and Lyla Mehta, 'Balancing Pains and Gains: A Perspective paper on Gender and Dams,' Commissioned Paper for World Commission on Dams, 1997.
[37] Accept WCD report: NBA, The Hindu, November 26, 2000

scathing in their criticism, complaining that they had not been given the chance to read and react to the report before as it was released publicly. On the other hand the Ministry of Water Resources of the Government of India sent to the WCD a formal letter in which it stated that the "guidelines for development now suggested by the WCD in its final report6 are wholly incompatible with our development imperatives." Also "India proposes to continue with its programme of construction to create another 200 billion cubic meters of storage in the next 25 years or so to ensure continued self-sufficiency in food grains production and to meet the energy and drinking water needs of a growing population". Along similar lines, China made its position clear at a recent meeting of the Asian Development Bank in Manila, where it asserted that it was the largest dam-builder, accounting for 23,000 out of 45,000 large dams in the world. The Commission originally had a Chinese representative who had to withdraw due to ill health. The Chinese Government chose not to send a replacement for her. . However, the WCD negotiations are important in sense that they call attention to some striking trends in global environmental governance. The trends include the waning momentum of traditional inter-state diplomacy on environmental matters, the growing transnationalization of previously localized social conflicts around natural resource development and a changing set of authority relations in global environmental politics.

CONCLUSIONS

The negotiations on dams versus the development debate built upon a history of global commissions that have sought either to reconcile economic

growth and environmental sustainability such as the Brundtland Commission and the Stockholm and Rio Conference) or to address the north south inequalities and questions of justice. WCD though marked a step forward by incorporating the themes of social justice, human rights ecological sustainability and development in its work it lacked a gender prism on assessing the thematic and country reports.

The dams arena also illustrates the growing ability of transnational civil society networks to contribute to global public policy agendas. Also the WCD stood out from previous commissions in its diversity including pro-dam lobbyists and anti dam protestors-rather than limiting it self to participants from a broad middle ground.

Finally the WCD was one of the many governments, private sector and civil society dialogues on development policy that have proliferated since the UN conferences on environmental and development. By including a broad range of stakeholders, the WCD was leading example of a multi-stakeholder process.

CHAPTER IV

WOMEN: NEGOTIATING GENDER EQUALITY

CHAPTER – IV

WOMEN: NEGOTIATING GENDER EQUALITY

This chapter is an extension of the issues raised in the preceding chapters on the conceptual meaning of gender issues in contemporary diplomacy. An attempt is made to highlight the relation of gender, as an issue linkage in context to the negotiations, which were held during the World Summit on Sustainable Development, Johannesburg, South Africa, 2002. The following pages will reveal how the women groups, identified as one of the major groups, lobbied and influenced the meaning of sustainable development in the two main documents at Johannesburg: the Plan for Implementation for WSSD and the Political Declaration. The following issues will be undertaken for study. How did the women groups formally establish themselves during the negotiating process in Johannesburg? How did it balance not only voices but also policies between North and South? What was the agenda of the women lobby during the negotiations and how was this agenda infused into the negotiating process? On which issues relating to women did the North give up concessions in favour of South; On which specific issues did women face a blocking coalition of state actors, and finally what conclusion can be drawn from the structures and positions manipulated during the negotiations.

WOMEN AND ENVIRONMENTAL DIPLOMACY

The close-knit relationship of women with the ecosystems was recognized at the Earth-Summit in Rio de Janeiro in 1992, where they were identified as one of the 'major groups' whose genuine involvement was necessary for sustainable development. Agenda 21, the global plan for sustainable development that emerged from Rio, emphasized the full equal and beneficial integration of women in all development activities (in accordance with the Nairobi forward looking strategies for the advancement of women, 1985) which underscored women's participation in national and international eco-system management and control of environmental degradation.[4] Ten years after, the World Summit on Sustainable Development (WSSD) offered a unique opportunity to re-engender the debate on women and environment, the launch pad for this being the thematic focus of the summit, which was sustainable development. The present chapter is studied in context to gender-equality because gender as an issue linkage was regularly emphasized by both North and South and by the women groups. Further where in the Rio Conference women were considered as a major group whose involvement was necessary to achieve sustainable development, there in the Johannesburg summit, there was a growing emphasis on gender mainstreaming of issues relating to sustainable development. Also the issue of women and sustainable development was not a part of the work program of the Commission on

---

[4] United Nation, Agenda 21: Report of United Nation's Conference on Environment and Development (New York: United Nations Divisions for Sustainable Development, 1992) Chapter 24, Section 24.1.

Sustainable Development (CSD)[5] until 2002 and it was only at the 10th session that CSD-10 acted as the first global preparatory committee, which brought the issue of gender mainstreaming to the agenda.[6]

The concept of gender mainstreaming emerged in early 1980s when the United Nations Decade for Women (1975-1985) had been underway for over five years. Although the activities of the decade had increased international concern with women's issue as well as programming for women, women remained underrepresented in the international development institutions, and the majority of women in Africa, Asia and America remained poor, overworked and without access to productive resources.[7] However in the 1990s women's national and international NGOs exerted and directed pressure by lobbying government delegates to pay attention to gender issues in the international fora. This was reflected in the various conferences like the Rio conference (1992), the World Conference on Human Right (1993), the International Conference on Population and Development in Cairo (1995). One important dimension of each of these conferences was the 'women's caucus' which included representatives of government, NGOs and UN agencies. These caucuses enabled a sharing of information and strategies between 'insiders' and outsiders' during the conference and helped to unleash the power of civil society at the United Nations.

---

[5] CSD was established at the United Nations Conference on Environment and Development, Rio de Janeiro, 1992. It meets usually at New York to oversee the implementation of Agenda 21 but has no decision-making powers.

[6] Paper prepared by the CSDNGO Women's caucus for Discussion at the UN Commission on Sustainable Development for its 8th session, 24 April – 5 May 1999. Available at http//www.cdsngo.org/csdngo.

[7] Minu Hemanti, *Women and Sustainable Development:From 200 to 2002* in Felix Dodd(ed)., *A New Deal*(Earthscan,2000).pp68.

The issue of women and environment formally started with a parallel NGO event at the Earth Summit-1, where Planeta Femea, brought together women from around to develop strategies through building women's movemen. and strengthening women's rights, this culminated in the formation of a Womer. Action Tent, the women lobby during the Johannesburg Summit. Prior to Johannesburg and the Earth Summit–1, two major conferences of women organizations were convened in November in Miami, 1991.[8] These were:

- Global Assembly in Women and Environment Partners in Life, which was organized by United Nations Environmental Programme (UNEP), are world WIDE network Inc. During the conference studies on women and development were presented.

- The World Women's Congress for Healthy Planet, organized by Women's Environment and Development Organization (WEDO), where more than 1,500 women from 83 counties came together to formulate Agenda -21, a blue print for a healthy and peaceful planet in the 21st century.

These women advocates undertook a major review and revision of the Women's Action Agenda 21, in the lead up to the Johannesburg Summit, 2002. A Women's Action Agenda for Healthy Planet, 2002, was launched at the Johannesburg Summit, which included feedback from broad consultations organized through the preparatory processes.

---

[8] Women's strategies for Earth Summit: Women's Action Agenda for healthy planet 2002. Available at http//www.wedo./org.

THE JOHANNESBURG SUMMIT, 2002

The decision to hold a summit on sustainable development was taken in November 2002, at the 55th session of UN General Assembly, where Indonesia and South Africa vied to hold summit in their respective countries. Indonesia focused on urbanization and associated problems of poor air quality, water management and loss of bio-diversity and coastal resources. South Africa welcomed increased North-South partnerships and environmentally sound technology transfer particularly in energy as critical for combating poverty and sustainable development.[9]

In December 2002, it was decided by the United Nation General Assembly that South Africa would host the WSSD and Indonesia would chair the process and hold the final preparatory meeting. The goal of WSSD, according to UNGA Resolution 55/199 was to hold ten-year review of the 1992 UNCED at the summit level to reinvigorate global commitments to sustainable development. The review was supposed to focus on accomplishments, identify areas, requiring further efforts to implement Agenda 21 and other UNCED outcomes, lead to action oriented decision and result in renewed political commitment to achieve sustainable development.[10]

Preceding the Summit were four preparatory meeting (PrepComs). CSD-10 acted as the first PrepCom for the WSSD (30 April- 2 May 2001, New York) and adopted in its first session decision on: progress in WSSD preparatory

---

[9] V. Munnik and Jessica Wilson; *The World Comes to one Country: An Insiders Story of the World Summit on Sustainable Development 2002* (Johannesburg: Heinreich Boell Foundation, 2003) pp. 14.

[10] *Earth Negotiation Bulletin*, Vol. 22, no.. 42, available at http//www.iisd.ca/linkages/2002/wssd.

activities at local, national, regional and international levels; modalities of future PrepCom session; tentative organization of work during the WSSD; provisional sales of procedure and arrangement for accreditation and participation of Major Groups. Emil Salem (Indonesia) was elected as chair of the PrepCom. PrepCom II (28 January – 8 February 2002, New York) conducted a comprehensive review of progress achieved in the implementation of Agenda 21, and agreed that the chairman's paper produced from discussions at this session would serve as the basis for negotiations at PrepCom III. PrepCom II also adopted, proposals for Partnership/Initiatives to strengthen the implementation of Agenda 21 (Type II outcomes). PrepCom III (25 March – 5 April 2002, New York) held preliminary discussion on the sustainable development governance and began consideration of type II outcomes. Preparation for a text on sustainable development governance for negotiations at PrepCom IV was also mandated at PrepCom IV, PrepCom IV, (27 May – 7 June 2002, Bali, Indonesia) was prepared by informal consultation held on 25-26 May to consider the revised chairman's paper. During the session, delegates produced the draft plan of Implementation for WSSD, which was transmitted to the summit in Johannesburg (WSSD) for further negotiation. Negotiation on draft plan of implementation were conducted in working groups and contact groups, while the plenary, multi-stakeholder dialogues and high level ministerial segment provided input for the implementation plan and the political declaration. There was also informed consultation on partnerships / initiatives.

Although the session had opened to conclude negotiation of the implementation plan, round the clock negotiations by ministers during the last

there days of the session failed to produce consensus on key aspects of the plan, particularly on energy, trade, finance and globalization. [9]

GENDER PERSPECTIVE ON SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT

Sustainable Development as a concept first appeared in the world Conservation Strategy and was published in 1980 by the International Union for the Conservation and Union (IUCN). Describing the concept of managing a given resource with a view to its conservation, it implied regulation of the use and exploitation of the resource in such a manner that its benefits are optimized or made available on an equitable basis to the largest number over the longest term. As the concept of development from this definition did not relate to economic and social condition, the World Commission on Environment and Development worked a broad definition. Chaired by Gro Harlem Brundtland and therefore known as the Brundtland Commission, the term sustainable development was defined as the type of development, which meets the need to the present generation without jeopardizing the ability of the future generation to meet their needs.[10]

The report also emphasized the importance of sustainable development and therefore talked not only of equity for the present but also of inter generation equity with the Rio Conference, which followed in 1992, 'Our Common Future' framed much of the 40 chapters of Agenda 21 and the 27

---

[9] Ibid

[10] *World Commission on Environment and Development: Our Common Future* (New York: Oxford University Press.)

principles of Rio Declaration on Environment and Development. While adopting

Agenda 21, the UNCED introduced a major groups concept, by which the global

community acknowledged that achieving sustainable development would require

a broad based partnership with non-governmental actors.[11] To facilitate such

participation, Agenda 21 linked the nine major groups, with specific roles and

responsibilities in the follow-up process and described the type of support and

collaboration they could legitimately expect from governments and inter

governmental organizations. The two main elements of major groups, concept are

(i) participation in decision-making and (ii) new forms of participation. The first

refers to the active presence of major groups in the design, execution and

monitoring of sustainable development follow up activities at all levels, going

beyond the possible exchange of information which creates the basis of

transparency and accountability. The second demands a continuous search for

optimal mechanisms of engagement, which are meaningful, influence outcomes

and generate partnerships.

Gender equality has been considered central to issue of sustainable

development mainly due to two main issues (a) women are not only the largest

but also a very specific major group in this cultural diversity and share the

commonality of a long history of oppression and that women's rights and human

rights when their participation is not grounded on anything else but that of a

fundamental human right and (b) women's roles in sustainable development are

---

[11] The groups are women, children and youth, indigenous people, non-governmental organizations, local authorities, workers and trade unions, business and industry, scientific and technological communities and farmers.

not limited to contributions in specific area of expertise but their knowledge needs to be brought into the decision making process.[12] Thus gender equality is considered to be an essential building block resting on the three pillars of sustainable development, which are environmental protection, economic well-being and social equity.

During the Earth summit II, 1997 the United Nation General Assembly Special Session for the purpose of an Overall Review and Appraisal of Implementation of Agenda 21, the following issues were identified as particularly important to women and development – poverty, management of natural resources, water, commercialization of agriculture, environment and human health and environmental activism of women NGOs.[13] Some other events, which have been defining the particular importance of women regarding women and sustainable development, are: the UN conferences and summits following the earth summit, 1992. For instance, the International Conference on Population and Development (ICPD), Cairo, 1994 built on and broadened the consensus achieved at previous conferences on population (Bucharest, 1994 and Mexico City, 1984). The major success of ICPD was shifting from focus on population on family planning to women's reproductive rights and reproductive health. ICPD also reflected the widespread recognition that population is inextricably linked to the full range of human development concerns including poverty alleviation, women's empowerment and environment protection. The conference emphasized

---

[12] Minu Hemanti., op cit, Pp 70.
[13] Tom Bigg and Osborn Derek, 'Earth Summit 2: Outcomes and Analysis (London: Earth Scan, 1998) pp. 42.

two themes choices the responsibilities i.e. the need to incorporate population consideration into all national and international efforts to achieve sustained economic growth and sustainable development.

ICPD +5, the Review of International Conference on Population and Development, New York, 1999 also outlined a series of recommendations on population and development issues including gender equality, equity and improvement of women reproductive health and HIV/AIDS. The Fourth Conference on Women, Beijing 1995 dealt with twelve areas of critical concern to women out of which seven were particularly relevant to sustainable development. Based on a compressive analysis of the inter-relationship of crucial factors such as gender equity, poverty, unsustainable patterns of consumption and production, the destruction of ecosystem, the pollution of rural and urban environments and the depletion of resources. It stated that women have an essential role to pay in the development of sustainable and ecologically sound consumption and production patterns and approaches to natural resources management. Beijing +5, UN General Assembly Special Session, June 2000, has been one of the most important one regarding women and sustainable development issues as it discussed clearly gender mainstreaming of issues relating to environmental policy. Similarly the World Summit on Social Development Copenhagen, 1995 and its special session held in June 2000 also addressed issues, which can affect women and men differently and highlighted the need of incorporating a gender perspective. Likewise the World Summit on Human Settlement, Istanbul 1996 and its review process in 2001 dealt specifically with gender equity and the

primary role of women in human settlement. Infact the United Nation center for Human Settlements embarked on two global campaigns: Global campaign on secure tenure and Global campaigns for good urban governance. Another summit which highlighted the role of women in environmental issue was the World Food Summit (WFS) Rome, 1996 and its follow up in September 2000, which constituted the most comprehensive international commitment and agreement on global food security through the conservation of bio-diversity and management of key forest and water resources.

With these precedents, the inclusion of gender was therefore amongst one of the many struggles in WSSD. Women's Action Agenda for a Healthy and Peaceful Planet 2015 served as the basis of lobbying throughout the WSSD process. Women Action Tent demanded that peace and human rights are central to the overall framework for implementation, it exposed the negative impacts of globalization, likely the neo-liberal economic model to widespread poverty, violence and environmental degradation. Women's access and control of natural resources was strongly linked to poverty eradication and sustainability and implementation of treaties to protect eco-system. Achieving women's equal participation in decision-making and governance was a high priority of women participating in WSSD. Also the restructuring of the Commission on Sustainable Development was a central feature for the achievement of existing and new commitments.

THE BASIS FOR WOMEN'S ACTION AGENDA FOR

A PEACEFUL AND HEALTHY PLANET-2015

The word negotiation has caused a lot of confusion because of like differing

contact it is given. Johan Kaufmann defines negotiations as sum total of all talks

and contacts intended to work in a cohesive spirit towards one or more

objectives.[14] As this definition of negotiation lovers all contacts between

delegations, the PrepComs also falls into this category, creating a preparatory

base for negotiations. June Zeitlin, Executive Director of the WEDO, in a

statement during PrepCom spoke of the concept of sustainable development

premised on a broad and integrated approach including apart from the ecological,

also the social and economic dimension of development and specifically gender

equality.[15] Attention was also sought on the cross cutting concern of gender

equality, poverty eradication and environmental justice.

The international conference "Gender Perspectives for Earth Summit

2002, held at Berlin, 10-12 January 2001, established an outline to prepare a

Women's Action Agenda for a peaceful and Healthy Planet 2015 and engender a

consultation process with women groups and networks world wide. The

conference, which was supported by Henreich Boell Foundation, emphasized an

---

[14] Johan, Kaufmann, *'Conference Diplomacy. 'An Introductory Analysis'* (London: Macmillan PresS, 1996) pp. 1-5

[15] PrepCom 1: Statement of Women CSD Multistakeholder Dialogue. Women as a CSD Major Group, New York, April 30, 2001.

access to information and the knowledge as well as opportunities for participation, particularly between North and South and between men and women.[16]

The second draft by the women groups was presented at PrepCom II, and PrepCom III, which were held in New York. During the PrepCom II a dialogue paper was prepared in consultation with woman organization world wide facilitated by Women Environment Development Organization where some most pressing issues on gender equality and its linkage on sustainable development were identified. With an emphasis on the issues raised during the Fourth the World Conference in Beijing, 1995, a specific mention of those countries that have considered gender mainstreaming at the national level was touched upon.[17] These included aspects relating to recognition and participation of women, women's access to and control of natural resources, women's poverty, education and work, women's health and security, women's organization and empowerment of sustainable development, women's right, information and knowledge and the institutional aspect of gender equality.[18]

The papers thus presented by the women's groups or the women caucuses, as it has been called, focused more on operational aspect and poverty eradication by promoting a gender lens to sustainable development. The proposed means by which this aim was to be achieved were by the emphasis on aspects of good

---

[16] International Conference, "Gender Perspectives Earth Summit 2002- Energy, Transport, Information for Decision Making". Berlin, 10-12 January 2001.Available at http//www.earthsummit2002.org/workshop.
[17] Some of the countries mentioned in the dialogue paper are Colombia, Cote d' Ivore, Canada, China Tunisia, Argentina, Malaysia, United Kingdom, Uzbekistan Uganda, Congo, Iran, Jamaica, Mali, Moldavia, Turkey, Guatemala etc.
[18] United Nation General Assembly, Preparatory Committee, E/CN .17/2002/PC/Add 1, Dialogue Paper by Women, 28 January 2001.

governance, accountability, effectiveness and efficiency responsiveness to all stake-holders, the rule of law and gender equality and equity.[19] Women's right of access to land and other natural resources and right to sexuality and reproductive health were also categorically stated. Also implementation of the security council resolution 1325 and reallocation of funds from military expenditure to budgets for peace building, human security and to counter environmental devastation was called for. It was with this preparatory agenda that the women groups participated in the final negotiations at the Johannesburg Summit, which was held between 26 August -4 September 2002 at South Africa where launched a Women Action Agenda for a healthy and peaceful planet was launched. The agenda addressed the following five goals: peace justice, equitable access to and use of resources, environmental security and governance whereby women would comprise 50% of the decision making at all levels of government.[20]

NEGOTIATIONS IN JOHANNESBURG

PrepCom III from 25 March to 5 April 2002 was the first time that governments met to negotiate. It was also when thing started coming together for non-state actors. For instance, until then there had been real ambivalence from international NGOs about participation in the summit and about support from parallel NGO forum. The women groups formed a Women Action Tent, which was jointly organized by WEDO and Ilitha Labuntu. -a South African Women Organisation. The Women Action Tent provided space for women from all

---

[19] Jessica Wilson and Victor Munnik Opcit .,pp. 45-51.
[20] WSSD Press Conference by Women's Caucus - 27 August 2002, Department of Public Information – News and Media Division, New York.

regions to plan and coordinate their lobbying efforts. This working group not only supported the effort of the women's group to advance a gender perspective and showcased women projects in the region as part of summit activities but also sought gender balance among NGO participates at the regional and global meeting consulting widely with women at these events.[21] The women installed themselves in a giant tent at Nasrec at the Old Fort, an apartheid jail renovated to serve as the head quarters of the South Africa landless commission. The negotiations at the 10-day summit focused on two main documents to be adopted in Johannesburg: The Plan of Implementation for WSSD and the Political Declaration. On 24-25 August informal negotiations were held to facilitate progress on bracketed language in the draft plan of implementation. Starting from day one these negotiations continued till the main committee. There were also concurrent plenary sessions on health, biodiversity, agriculture and cross- sectoral issues like water and sanitation, energy and regional implementation. Beginning on 29th August, the plenary heard statement from non-state entities and a general debate began in Plenary on 2 September with statements from over 100 heads of states and government, ministers, head of delegation and other high level round table discussion were held during this period addressing the theme "Making it Happen". Also throughout the meeting, there were numerous side events at the Sandton Convention Center (SCC), where the negotiations were taking place. Some of the controversial areas that figured prominently during the negotiations were:

---

[21] Women's Strategies for Earth Summit 2002 : Women's Action Agenda for a Healthy Planet 2002. Available http//www.wedo.org

- The Principle of common but differentiated responsibilities.

- Issues of corporate accountability and global governance.
  WEHAB issues.[22]

- Political commitments and future negotiations.

- Relationship between civil society and governments.

- Poverty eradiation and sustainable development.

- Time bound targets and transfer of technology.

To sort out some of these issues on July 17, 2002, South Africa convened

Friends of the Earth meeting in New York, which was chaired by South Africa.

Minister of Foreign Affairs, Nkosazana D. Zuma. A note of items that were

difficult to resolve in Bali was circulated to assess the countries flexibility on the

issues. Most of these bargaining and negotiating strategies were centered on

economic trade offs by the state actors and aspects of accountability and poverty

eradication by the non-state actors. The issues of partnerships between

governments, civil society and the corporate world to start implementing some of

the actions agreed upon were also debated.

The bargains in gender terms crisscrossed around issue like participation

of women and technology transfer by G-77 countries. G -77 countries, a coalition

of 133 developing countries headed by Venezuela found a blocking coalition of

actors from the JUSCANZ group[23] which tried to link the issue of CBDR with

paragraph 14 on production and consumption and argued that some of all larger G

-77 economies like India, Brazil, South Africa and Indonesia and have a tendency

---

[22] WEHAB refers to Water, Energy, Health, Agriculture and Diversity.
[23] JUSCANZ, includes Japan, United States, Canada, Australia, New Zealand and Norway.

to produce and consume in the same way as some Northern countries do. G-77 proposed to give women full and equal access to productive resources including the right to inherence and to ownership of land, credit, natural resources and appropriate technology. Corporate accountability and good governance as an efficient means for sustainable development and the participation of civil society in decision making process was supported by Switzerland and E.U. Canada focused on a right based approach whereas G-77 and China argued for transparency and equity in the financial, monetary and trading system. EU was distinctly supportive of women rights, which is reflected in a statement of Carster Staur, who speaking on behalf of European Union noted that women and their fundamental rights and freedoms must be promoted and safeguarded. If not society as a whole would suffer.[24] Eradication of poverty as a greatest global challenge was also proposed as the indispensable requirement for sustainable development. Where E.U. and G-77 Supported the empowerment of women as a central constituent element of strategies to eradicate poverty the a major lobby organized by the women caucuses, in collaboration with supportive governments (Switzerland, Canada, Norway G-77 and Danish-92 group) coordinated the NGO major group position papers for PrepCom II and IV and succeeded in gaining language that referenced to human rights thus salvaging existing agreements made at international conference on Population and Development in Cairo in the Fourth World Conference on Women in Beijing and Beijing +5 .Another, area that resulted it one of the most significant gains was the right of women to inherit

---

[24] 17th Plenary Meeting a Round Up, Department of Public Information, News and Media Service Division, New York 26 August- 4 September 2002.

land particularly critical to the livelihood of African women and communities. The importance of this commitment lay in the recognition of all rights of women to access land, resources, credit and a groundbreaking decision on the rights to inherit land.[25]

The women caucus also mobilized other NGOs and governments to uphold the universality of human rights and fundamental freedoms in access to basic health services for the inclusion of human rights which was a critical counterbalance to national laws and cultural and religious value. The main blocking coalition for women groups to formulate a gender language to the provisions of linking health care services to human rights were the United States and the Vatican, on the grounds that would condone abortion.[26] On aspects of institutional framework for sustainable development, the Northern states favoured gender mainstreaming of issues. This was specifically evident in the statement made by the head of states and governments of Canada, Australia, New Zealand, and Norway.

Group of women demonstrated in front of the conference hall for the addition of words to a sweeping blueprint for halving poverty by 2015 by fighting AIDS, slowing global warming and deforestation and bolstering fish stocks. WEDO argued that sustainable development hinges on the power of poor to negotiate with the rich and women with men in private spheres.[27] Due to the disagreement discussions on the proposal to include references to confirming to

---

[25] *International Herald Tribune*, 1 September 2002.
[26] A bubble squeak Summit, *The Economist*, 4 September, 2002.
[27] *Environmental Negotiation Bulletin*, Vol, 22, No. 48.

human rights and principles of fundamental freedoms was postponed. However, Women Action Tent argued that health is a question of human rights including access to proper sanitation, education and safe and affordable health services. However with support from E.U, Canada, Japan, Australia, women group were able to link health care with basic human rights as well as religious and cultural value; a measure that human right groups said enshrined women rights to reproductive health care on critical WEHAB issue. A gender reference was categorically made with issues relating to gender mainstreaming for more access and control of natural resources, central role of women for implementation of treaties to protect eco-systems and good governance at the domestic level. The main non-state actors supporting a gendered framework on the issues were World Health Organization, UNICEF, United Nation Development Programme and UNHCR. On renewable energy due to the blocking coalition of US, Japan, Australia and Arab state the date of targets could not be settled and therefore left some countries and non governmental organizations dissatisfied of cultural values.

It can be argued that gender issue at the WSSD established some important precedents for the emerging contours in contemporary diplomacy. The Johannesburg negotiations, not only confirms the four paradigmatic approaches discussed in the introductory depart, but also highlight the conditional strains on such issues. For instance, the Johannesburg bargaining centered on economic issues. The environmental bargaining invoked both the autonomy and control dimensions of sovereignty centering on the potential tradeoffs between choices

71

over who directs states environmental and development planning (autonomy) versus how states would gain the resources to act on there plans (control). The gender mainstreaming in such bargains was a central issue linkage used specifically by G-77. However in the case of cultural values gender issues faced greater opposition, the counter argument of states was based on the sovereignty issue. Similarly, the Women's Action Agenda for a peaceful and healthy planet – 2015 underscores the accountability issue regarding the moral standing of states. The emerging importance of the civil society as participating actors during the negotiations was also highlighted through the Women Action Tent an endorsement of growing relevance of transnational feminist networks as increasing pressure groups in the form of civil society. Concepts like distributive justice environmental security, good governance corporate accountability also highlights the emerging normative aspects in contemporary international negotiations. Also the precedents set in earlier conference help in understanding the importance of the negotiated agreements to create an effective bargaining posture.

CONCLUSIONS

Some major focal points, which emerge during the negotiations during the Johannesburg Summit, are:

The establishment of a major group concept, which revolves around two main elements: participation in decision-making and new forms of participation. The first refers to the active presence of the major groups in the design, execution and monitoring of sustainable development follow-up activities

at all the levels, going beyond the passive exchange of information. The main rationale behind such active participation is to create the basis of transparency and accountability necessary in sustainable development efforts. The second demands a continuous search for optimal mechanisms of engagement, which are meaningful, influence outcomes and generate partnerships. Creating such mechanisms require changes in the way economic social environmental and political debates and discourses take place.

Women lobbies are becoming critical actors in mainstreaming a gender perspective in environmental negotiations. Gender mainstreaming as an issue linkage facilitates an international negotiation in three ways: *First* by adding a gender linkage, one party can offer other an additional advantage and thus a reason to agree. *Second* by adding a gender linkage and thereby bringing other parties to the bargaining table, it is also possible to counteract the power of the blocking coalition (by increasing the size of the coalition that favors agreement). *Finally* a gender linkage makes it possible to shift the institutional locus of a negotiation to a new venue in which implementation may be easier.

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSION: AN EVALUATION

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSION: AN EVALUATION

From the preceding chapters, four prominent paradigms can be identified in contemporary diplomacy:

A growing emphasis on a rights based approach, which is accompanied not just by the rights of an individual but also by social and economic rights. This aspect comes out quite explicitly during the negotiations on dams' verses development debate. As the case studies show, there is a clear emphasis on collective rights, which contradicts the universalistic position of the human rights regime. In other words the first generation rights as they are generally known are not just accompanies the rights of an individual, but also the second-generation rights which are the social and economic rights of the people. On similar lines at WCAR, caste was reduced to a sub continental phenomenon and to an ethics of particularism rather than universalism. To increase the lobbying strength, the deprived groups seemed to embody the use of consensual strategies in pursuit of group goals and objectives. The goal of dalit lobby was therefore not a search for identity, but affinity where untouchability as a hidden apartheid marked the similarity and the link between deprivation and segregation and gave rise to what is called the 'Asian values' debate. The argument was that, rather than there being a single human rights regime applicable to all, there should be a range of different regimes adapted to particular circumstances, which in a way undermines the very

notion of human rights, i.e. rights applicable to all human beings simply by the virtue of their humanity. This argument gave rise to the issues of work and descent based discrimination, which was one of the three mostly represented issues in the WCAR, the other two being Palestine and African descendants and reparation for slavery. Thus the domain of contention was not of reforms but of rights where the dalit movement came in the form of an international human rights movement. However, as can be concluded from the Indian government's stance that caste and race are different and therefore fall beyond the domain of the conference and that caste is a local and social phenomenon which cannot be treated as official or legally constituted discriminations reveal the sovereignty argument and the distinction between the domestic and the international. It is this proposition that is contested by many contemporary feminist writers and the way in which they contest it has relevance for the dalit argument. This missing link at WCAR, could have provided grounds for diplomatic bargaining.

Another feature that has to be looked at, while discussing contemporary international negotiations is the growth of civil society and multistakeholder dialogues, which highlights the rising significance of non-state actors. The contemporary understanding of the civil society stems largely from Hegel and to a lesser extent Tocqueville; Hegel's main contribution has been to define civil society in contrast to the state. According to him civil society is a sphere or moment of political order, within which citizens can come together to realize joint aims. The three case studies illustrate the growing ability of transnational civil society network agenda. Similarly the process of multistakeholder dialogues is

also gaining popularity in contemporary international negotiations. This was reflected in the WCD negotiations, which has now become a leading example of multistakeholder process. By including multiple perspectives, integrating diverse viewpoints early in the policy process and building constituencies for implementation, multistakeholder processes are proving to be an inclusive pragmatic form of policy formulation. Another concept, which has gained roots in negotiating development issues, is that of epistemic communities which has been defined as those communities, which consist of social scientists or individuals from any discipline, or profession who have a sufficiently strong claim to a body of knowledge that is valued by society. They can originate from a shared knowledge about the nature of social or other processes based on analytic methods or techniques deemed appropriate to the discipline or professions they pursue.[11] Most of the research on civil society and epistemic community has revolved around this concept. Some issues which stand out in these overlapping topics for debates are: whether national behaviour is determined or broadly conditioned by system level factors, unit level factors or some complex interplay between the two; whether state policy makers can identify national interests and behave independently from the social groups they nominally represents and whether sates respond consistently to opportunities to create, define or expand their own wealth and power to exchange collective material values.[12] Despite the mounting evidence that the civil society and epistemic communities do make a

---

[11] Peter M. Haas, 'Introduction to Epistemic Communities and International Policy Co-ordination,' *International Organization*, 46, 1. Winter 1992, pp. 1-35

[12] See for ex. Peter M. Hass, Opcit; Alexander Wendt, 'Morphogenesis Versus Structuralism : On combining state and action in agent structure debate?' *International Organisation*, 93(summer 1989) pp441-73.

difference in international negotiations, the question of how and under what conditions these groups matter remain unanswered. As is discussed later in the chapter, transnational feminist networks have been more efficient and effective in negotiating international issues vis a vis the other deprived groups.

The third aspect which stands out while studying these case studies is that international negotiations can be increasingly be perceived as a double edged process in which every actor tries to take into account, expected reactions at both international and domestic level. International explanations following a neo-realist approach assume that nation – states are unitary actors responding to external incentives and that states have stable and broadly similar domestic preferences decision making procedures and abilities to extract resources from society. According to this neo-realist approach they are distinguished only by their relative position in the international system.[13] Domestic explanations by contrast locate the determinants of foreign policy and international relations within the nation state itself. According to the domestic explanation, state behaviour does not respond to the international system but constitutes it. However faced with common challenges states react differently. These domestic explanations are becoming increasingly relevant in context to contemporary international negotiations as they draw explanations from the emerging paradigms under discussion. Thus not only domestic influence highlights challenges to sovereignty and growing emphasis of normative approaches by the civil society but also underscores the issue of good governance, corporate responsibility,

---

[13] Moraversit, Andrew, 'Introduction: Integrating International and Domestic Theories of International Bargaining in Peter B. Evans (ed), 'Double Edged Diplomacy (OUP, 1993).

accountability of state actors at national level and legitimacy of monitoring

mechanisms like Committee on Elimination of Racial Discrimination in case of

Dalits, Commission on Sustainable Development in case of Women and World

Commission on Dams in case of Internally Displaced People. However the

undertaken case studies reflect the conflicting behaviour between the domestic

and the international as in the cases of WCD and WCAR. This raises questions on

research related to state centric literature in international relations, which is an

uncertain foundation for theorizing about how the domestic, and the international

politics interact. Also the intersection of domestic and international level becomes

particularly relevant in the context of negotiations on development. As reflected

in the undertaken case studies, which have development orientation, often the

accountability of states dominate during the negotiations. This has raised

fundamental questions of how we think about justice in the global system, which

brings to focus governance agendas of both international organizations and

development agencies. Loans are often tied to democratizing of state institutions

and bureaucracies and political pressure is applied to ensure compliance in this

regard. Issues, which have transnational concerns, therefore are playing an

important role of linkage politics in contemporary diplomacy. Another factor of

growing relevance is the importance of transnational networks, which can

influence the bargaining process at work. Also political network of advocacy

work done by these transnational networks become an important starting point to

analyse the policy discourse used in development contexts. Here the feminist

engagement with international development institutions, which will be discussed

later in the chapter, can help in understanding the success and the failure of the deprived groups at the international level and the domestic level.

Finally the fourth paradigm, which can be identified, is that of sovereignty claims by the state actors, which are constantly being challenged with issues that have a transnational reach. A major diplomatic tool used by the civil society to put pressures on state sovereignty are the monitoring and the enforcement provisions which are providing more opportunities for contention than any other single aspect of international treaty negotiations. However as international law enshrines the right of sovereignty, all efforts to monitor performance, establish the accuracy of claims of non compliance, punish proven non compliers or impose remedial action must be accepted voluntarily by parties to the negotiation. As state actors seldom show deep commitments, such global agreements have weakened monitoring and enforcement provisions. Another significant aspect, which can be concluded from the preceding chapters, is that compromises of sovereignty are more likely when the political gain is high, as in the case of negotiations on environment and less likely when states perceive core identity issues to be at stake as in the case of dalits and dams.

This study therefore has led to the conclusion that contemporary diplomacy is evolving into a phase where deprived groups are increasingly making their presence felt in international negotiations. Some reasons, which have led to change, are the four paradigms that are identified and discussed above. However within these groups women have begun to organize themselves as actors in global politics at all levels by way of multilateral conferences and structures.

Not only are they providing an alternative perspective, which complements the feminist discourse in international relations, but or also, highlighting the importance of gender which is playing significant role as issue linkage. Gender, as an issue linkage can be important in overcoming blocking coalitions in the following ways.

First, on a confidential basis with each party, a neutral agenda can be constructed which all parties can accept. This helps in increasing the number of coalitions mainly because of the bargaining strength attained when pursuing a common goal, particularly when it comes to majority voting.

Second, coalitions aim at facilitating the exchange of points of view and the coordination of positions. This also serves as a caucus groups when members who attend a wider conference can meet and act collectively as semi-autonomous bodies in the negotiations.

Third, this helps in determining the very dynamics of negotiations, even though it has no official status-thereby improving the lobbying strength and offering a framework within which the exchange of information and the pooling of human and financial resources can occur. A comparative study of these case studies also clears the points raised in the introductory chapters, regarding women as participatory actors in international relations.

As stated in the introductory chapter, this works as an exploratory study has showed the significance of studying gender-issues in contemporary diplomacy. Not only, is the women lobby establishing important international precedents but also becoming relevant actors in multilateral diplomacy which is

the management of international relations by negotiations between three or more states through official representatives without the service of specialized secretariat. Further as the deprived groups have been studied, the central thesis of this work, was to test the hypothesis that whether women issues are adequately represented within these groups, who bear the brunt of double discrimination. As can be concluded from the preceding chapters, a gender lens was missing both in cases of dalits and internally displaced people. As gender mainstreaming has been an underlining concept since the 1980's an effort has been made to show that awareness of women rights, where leadership is lacking has proved to be inadequate. This failure can be attributed as in the case of dalits, due to the lack of adequate representations or leadership of the lack of adequate representations or leadership of dalit women at the national level and as in the case of the of WCD, due to the absence of a separate stakeholder group, who could study the adverse effect of dams on women as a separate category. Also gender mainstreaming in the undertaken case studies becomes an important variable to study because the issues negotiated were about development and equity, which affect men and women differently. The following chapter will explore these aspects and underline the significance of gender diplomacy at the international level.

The term mainstreaming emerged in the women in development movement in the early 1980s. The United Nations decade for women (1975-1985) had increased international concern with women issues as well as programming for women. The movement focused on two issues:

- The need to improve overall development programming to address the situation of the growing number of the poor people in the world. And

- The need to ensure the equality of women's participation in implementations and outcome of development.

Explicit in these two thrusts was the belief that when the women were fully involved in development could true and significant development can occur. The WID movement insisted that development is as much result as a cause of gender equality. Another reason of the growing need of mainstreaming gender issue in international negotiations, which can benefit, certain countries is the international debate on development policy. According to the Danish states current policy agenda gender issues are among the priorities that should cut across all aspects of foreign assistance.[4] Thus the very nature of development aid and policies in place to promote are gendered. The countries in the European Union, Australia, and New Zealand etc are following such progressive policies. This factor was one of the main reasons for providing the Women Action Text at the Johannesburg Summit, to overcome the blocking coalition of actors who were initially against the logic of gender mainstreaming.

Also, the trans-national feminist networks at the international level have contributed to feminist theorizing of gender dynamics at international level. These trans-national networks serve as conduits not only of information about differing policy models and initiatives but also, of knowledge concerning alternative

---

[4] Liza, A.R., 'In search of Feminist Foreign Policy: Gender Development and Danish State Identity' *Cooperation And Conflict*, 36(2), 2001.pp177.

political strategies and how they may be applied to further promote policy change. The diffusion of state machineries for gender mainstreaming has been facilitated in part by the diffusion of power to interalia, women and non-governmental organisations (NGOs) linked through these trans-national networks. In the World Summit for Sustainable Development, Women and Environment Development Organisation (WEDO) played an important role in mobilizing the gender perspective in Sustainable Development. Also WEDO can be studied as the paradigm case of the conference centered political process, modeled on structures of male dominated politics and NGO practice. Seen in overall perspective, the trans-national feminist networks, have been more effective in gaining the support of state actors mainly due to the transnational politics of women NGOs that are shaping domestic politics in new and potentially transformative ways.

Two main ways can be identified at the ways domestic advocates have sought to promote gender concerns within development organizations:

That they have tended to promote gender concerns using instrumental arguments. In other words, instead of basing their case for attention to women, primarily on gender equality, they have tended synergistic arguments about the linkages between gender concerns and other developments goals, such as efficiency, poverty, alleviation, social development and environmental sustainability.

Political and financial pressures extended by a handful of donor governments has been important in channelizing greater attention to gender concerns into concrete action. Also responses of multilateral organization like

UNDP, ILO and World Bank to gender sensitive politics is providing an important platform gender policy. Also in the Johannesburg summit the women lobbies engendered the agenda of sustainable development perse. Holding parallel international conferences and engendering the consultation process with women groups and networks worldwide helped achieving this goal. Also issues raised during the Cairo Conference, 1994 and the Beijing Conference, 1995 was emphasized upon, which shows the growing importance of precedents set by the international covenants. Another underlining factor was that women used instrumental arguments in the dialogue paper. In other words instead of basing their case on attention to women primarily on grounds of gender equality, synergistic arguments were used about the linkages between gender concerns and the development goals such as poverty alleviation, social development and environmental sustainability. This specifically helped in overcoming blocking coalition of state actors of the North and the South. For instance bargain in gender terms crisscrossed over issues like participation of women and technology transfer by G-77 countries. This observation of contemporary changes in states and world politics is therefore striking, if one intends to study the emerging nuances in international negotiations. Gender Diplomacy thus can become an interesting study, as it paves way for a fresh understanding that the discipline of international relations is evolving into. This is specially so in the case of environmental diplomacy where women are actors and sustainable development an agenda. Gender diplomacy thus can be termed as diplomacy for women, by women and of women. Where the feminist understanding of international relations provides a

conceptual base to understand gender issues, there a more detailed empirical study of women lobbies on gender bargaining and multilateral diplomacy can provide an important starting point to study the translations of theoretical inputs of feminist theory to diplomatic practice at the international level.

For long the various activities concerning international relations were assessed and dealt with, from a male perspective. Men controlled the corridors of power, as well as the mechanisms of war and peace. They formed the foreign policies of states-while women were generally excluded from giving their perspective at all. It never occurred to the men in power to contemplate just how these global matters were affecting women. Women were compartmentalized within the domestic sphere and were quite frankly, under the protection of men. Also, both as victims and role players, women were excluded from international relations and diplomatic discourse. As a social science international relations have been impervious to feminist critique and theorizing. This imperviousness perpetuated the absence of a gender focus on global issues and undermined a gender sensitive approach to the study of international relations. However, the shift in focus in international relations from military to humanitarian security, after the end of cold war has had a decisive influence in making the advancement of women's rights a global issue and underlining the urgency of recognizing women as important actors in international negotiations.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

PRIMARY SOURCES

UN DOCUMENTS

- United Nation General Assembly, WCAR, Preparatory Committee, Third Session, Geneva, 30 July-10 August 2001.Report of the Preparatory Committee on its Third Session, Vice Chairperson, Rapporteur, Mr. Arturo Hernedezbaseve, (Mexico) A/CONF.189/PC.3/11.

- -----------Agenda, A/CONF.189/1/Rev.1, 2 September 2001.

- United Nations Economic and Social Council., Major Groups, Report of the Secretary General, CSD acting as the Preparatory Committee for WSSD,30 April-2 May 2001.E/CN.17/2001/PC/4.

- United Nations General Assembly, Multistakeholder Segment of the Second Preparatory Committee Dialogue Paper by Women, 28 January-February2003.E/CN.17/2002/PC.ADD1.

- United Nations General Assembly, Preparatory Committee, E/CN .17/2002/PC/Add 1, Dialogue Paper by Women, 28 January 2001.

- United Nations General Assembly, WCAR, Preparatory Committee, Third Session, Note by the Secretary General, A/CONF.189/PC.3/5.

- -----------Note for the Preparatory Meetings and Activities of The International Regional and National Levels, A/Conf 189/PC 1/8 April, 2000a.

- -----------Reports Studies and other Documentations for the Preparatory Committee and the World Conference, A/CONF 189/PC 1/13/ADD 1.

- United Nations, Agenda 21: Report of United Nation's Conference on Environment and Development. Chapter 24, Section 24.1. (New York: United Nations Divisions for Sustainable Development, 1992).

- United Nations, Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights, Newsletter, Issue1, December 2001
- ------------------Newsletter, Issue 2, January 2001.
- ------------------Newsletter, Issue 3,February 2001

REPORTS AND PRESS BRIEFINGS

- Asia Pacific Forum on Women: Law and Development (APWLD), Women's Human Rights: Engendering the Agenda of the World Conference against Racism, Racial Discrimination, Xenophobia and Related Intolerance, 2001,APWLD, April 2001.

- Asia Pacific Seminar on Experts in Preparation for WCAR, Migrants and Trafficking with Persons with Particular Reference to Women and Children,5-7 September ,Bangkok, Thailand.

- Background Paper for the Expert Meeting on the Gender Related Aspects of Racial Discrimination, Zagreb, Croatia, November2 1-24,2000.

- *Bellagio Consultation on the UN WCAR*, International Human Rights Law Group, January 2000a.

- *Closing the Circle the WCD Canvasses Opinions of Minorities by Dams*, WCD Press Release., 5 August 1999.

- Conference Against Racism Continues to hear concerns of Non-Governmental Organizations, WCAR, Plenary Meeting, Department of Public information-News and Media Services Division, New York.,2002.

- Dams and Development New Framework for Decision Making, Report of the World Commission of Dams. (Earthscan, 2000).

- Declaration of Programme of Action of the WCAR, NGO Forum, Durban, 3 September, 2001,available at http//www.dalits.org/DalitsExcerptsNGODeclaration.WCAR.html.

- Declaration of Programme of Action of WCAR, NGO Forum, Durban, 3 September 2001.

- Durban Conference Marks Fresh Start and Sets New Roadmap, Department of Public Information-News and Media Service Division, New York, 8 September 2001.

- Fredrich Kahrl., 'Under the Shadow of Three Gorges Dam :The World Commission of Dams and China'., Background Paper Prepared for WCD Assessment,January,2001.

- Focusing on Women: UNIFEM's Experience on Mainstreaming, United Nation's Development Fund for Women, 2002.

- Letter addressed to the Chairman of the Asian Preparatory Meeting, World Conference Against Racism Racial Discrimination, Xenophobia and Related Intolerance, Tehran, 9-21,February 2001.

- NGO Statement of the Asian Preparatory for the World Conference Against Racism, Racial Discrimination, Xenophobia and Related Intolerance on Discrimination on the basis of Occupation and Descent.

- Preparatory Committee1: Statement by Women Prepcom1: Statement by Women CSD Multistakeholder Dialogue: Women as a Major Group, New York, April 30,2001.

- Seventeenth Plenary Meeting a Round Up. Department of Public Information, News and Media Service Division, New York 26 August- 4 September 2002.

- World Commission On Dams, Summary Of South Asian Consultation, Colombo, Srilanka, 10-11,December, 1998.

- World Commission on Dams: Dams and Development: A New Framework of Decision Making (London: Earth scan, 2000).

- World Conference on Sustainable Development, Press Conference by Women's Caucus, Department of Public Information-News and Media Services Division, New York 27August, 2002.
- World Summit of Sustainable Development: Plan of Implementation.
- World Summit Declares Fault Lines between Rich and Poor, Threatens Prosperity, Adopts Broad Measures to Alleviate Poverty, Protect Environment, Department of Public Information, News And Media Division, New York, 4 September 2002
- Written Statement submitted by the Federation of Cuban Women, Commission on Human Rights, 12 march, 2003.E/CN.4/2003/NGO/114.
- WSSD closing address at the Women's Action Tent: Address by Deputy President, Jacob Zuma, Nasrec, Johannesburg, 31August, 2002.
- WSSD Press Conference by Women's Caucus - 27 August 2002, Department of Public Information – News and Media Division, New York.

SECONDARY SOURCES
BOOKS

- Ali, Suni.,Global., `Feminist Politics: Identities in a Changing World'., (Routelege:London and NewYork,2000).
- Andrew Arthur., `Defense By Other Means: Diplomacy for the Underdog(Canadian Institute for International Affairs,1970).
- Ashworth.Georgia,ed.,*Diplomacy of the Oppressed.*(London:Zedbooks,1995)
- Banton, Michael, *International Politics of Race* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2002).
- Barrett Scott., *Environment and Statecraft: The Strategy of Environmental Treaty Making*(Oxford University Press,2003).

- Benkingler Susan., *Gender and Environment.*(Routeledge: London and Newyork,2000).

- Bigg, Tom and Derek, Osborn, *'Earth Summit 2: Outcomes and Analysis* (London: Earth Scan, 1998).

- Brown Chris., *Sovereignty ,Rights and Justice: International Political Theory Today*{London: Blackwell publishers,2002).

- Burton,W.J.,System,States Diplomacy and Rules.(Cambridge University Press,1968).

- Chimni,B.S.(ed),*International Refugee Law: A Reader*(Sage Publication,2000).

- Darian D.James., *On Diplomacy* (London: Blackwell Publishers,1997).

- Diehl.F.Paul(ed).,*The Politics Of Global Governance: International Organizations In An Interdependent World.*(London: Lynne Rienner Publishers,2001).

- Dodd, Felix (ed), Earth *Summit, 2002: A New Deal* (Earthscan,2000).

- Dorcey, Tony, Steiner, Achim,etal., *Large Dams:Learning from the Past looking at the Future, Workshop Proceedings*, Gland, Switzerland, April 11-12,1997.(IUCN, the World Conservation Union and the World Bank group).

- Dubash. K. Navroz, Dupar Mairi, etal., *A Watershed in Global Governance*(USA: World Resource Institute,2001).

- Enloe Cynthia.,*Bananas,Beaches and Bases: Making Feminist Sense of International Politics.(London: Pandora Books,1989.*

- Forsythe,David.,P.M(ed)*Human Rights and Comparative Foreign Policy* (New York: United Nations University Press,2000).

- Goldsmith E. and Halyard, N., *The Social and Environmental Effects of Large Dams,* (Wadebridge: Wadebridge Ecological Centre, Cornwall, U.K, 1984)

- Gonzales,A,G and Vos.O.Robert(ed)*Flash Points in Environmental Policy Making:Controversies In Achieving Sustainability.*(Suny,1997).

- Gould, Carol .C., (ed)., 'Gender : Key Concepts In Critical Theory, (New Jersey, : Hunandes Press, 1977) .

- Grant, R and Newland, C.,' Gender in International Relations'. (Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1994).

- Hamilton K. and Langhorne R., The Practice of Diplomacy: Its Evolution, Theory and Administration(Routelege :London and Newyork,1995).

- Ikle Charles, Fred, How Nation Negotiate (New York: FA Praeger, 1967).

- Kaufmann, Johan, 'Conference Diplomacy: An Introductory Analysis' (London : Macmillan Press,1999).

- Kaufmann, Johan, ed., Effective Negotiations :Case Studies in Conference Diplomacy.(Martinus Nijhoff Publishers,1989).

- -----------------.,Conference Diplomacy: An Introductory Analysis.(Macmillan Press,1996).

- Kissinger, Henry .,'Diplomacy'(Simon and Schuster, 1994).

- Konrad Gintter,Eric Dentas etal(ed),Sustainable Development and Good Governance.(London,1995).

- Liebenthal, A, etal., 'The World Bank's Experience with Large Dams: A Preliminary Review of Impacts'(Washington : Operations Evaluation Department, The World Bank, 1996).

- Light M. and Groom A .J. 'Contemporary International Relations: A Guide to Theory' (London:St Martin's Press,1994),'

- Louis,Prakash.,'Political Sociology of Dalit Assertion'(New Delhi :Gyan Publishing House,2003).

- McCully, P., ' Silenced Rivers: The Ecology and Politics of Large Dams, (London: Zed Books, 1996).

- McGlen, Nancy and Sarkes, R. M, Women In Foreign Policy: The Insiders.(USA: Rutgers University Press,1995)

- Miller, Carol and Razavi, Shahra.,(ed),Missionaries and Mandarins: Feminist Engagement with Development Institutions(United Nations: Intermediate Technology Publications,1998).

- Munnik V and Wilson Jessica; *The World Comes to One Country: An Insiders Story of the World Summit on Sustainable Development 2002* (Johannesburg: Heinreich Boell Foundation, 2003).

- Nicholson, Harold.,` Diplomacy'(Newyork: Oxford University Press,1953)

- Peter Evans B., etal (ed).,*International Bargaining and Domestic Politics*,(U.S.A:University of California Press,1993).

- Peterson Spike,V,ed.,Gendered State:Feminist Revisions Of International Relations Theory.(U.S.A:Lynne Reiner Publishers,1992).

- Rao, Anupama.,*Gender and Caste*(New Delhi : Kali for Women,2003).

- Rein, Mullerson., *Human Rights Diplomacy*(Routelege: London and Newyork,1992).

- Robb Peter(ed), *The Concept of Race in South Asia* (OUP, 1995).

- Sunshine .B. Russel, *Negotiating for International Development* (London: Martinus Nijhoff Publishers, 1990

- Susskind ,E. Lawrence., *Environmental Diplomacy :Negotiating More Effective Global Agreements*(New York,OUP,1994).

- Thompson,W.K.,*Traditions and Values in Politics And Diplomacy:Theory and Practice*.(Lousiana State University Press,1992).

ARTICLES

- Ali, Amir `Durban and After' *Economic and Political Weekly*, September 15,2001.

- Betsill, M, Michele and Elisabeth, Corell.,`NGO Influence in International Environmental Negotiations: A Framework for Analysis.' *Global Environmental Politics*,1:4,November 2001.pp.65-85.

- Brimbelle, Grandcolas .,`*NGOs address CERD on the Caste issue at the UN in Geneva'*, 9 August 2000,Geneva.Available at http//www.hri.ca/racism.

- Caiazza, Amy.,`Why Gender Matters In Understanding September 11:Women Militarism And Violence', Institute For Women's Policy Research, November 2001.

- Campanill, Maura., `World Commission Analysis: Impacts Caused By Large Dams',*Socioamblental*,22 September,1999.

- Conca, Ken.,`The World Commission of Dams and Trends in Global Environmental Governance'., *Politics and Life Science*, Vol, 21, no. 1, March 2001, pg. 67-70.

- Dalits at Durban: Exposing Caste, Work and Descent based Discrimination.Available at www.http//www.dalit.org. /uninterventions.html#1.

- Dharmadikary ,Shripad, 'Dam Fundamentalism', *Himal*, 3 November, 1998.

- *Earth Negotiation Bulletin*, Vol. 22, No. 42, 26 August 2002.

  --------------------------------, Vol. 22, No.43, 27 August 2002.

  --------------------------------, Vol. 22, No.44, 28August, 2002.

  --------------------------------, Vol. 22, No.45, 30August, 2002.

  --------------------------------, Vol. 22, No.46, 31 August 2002.

  --------------------------------, Vol. 22, No.48, 2 September 2002.

  --------------------------------, Vol. 22, No.49, 3 September 2002.

- Ferguson,Y,H and Mansbach,W.R, `Global Politics At The Turn Of The Millenium: Changing Bases Of Us And Them', *International Studies Perspective,*1,2000.pp78-107.

- Louis, Prakash ,`Regaining Lost Faith', *Seminar,*508,December 2001.

- McCully, Patrick., How To Use Trilateral Network: An Activist's Perspective On WCD'.,*American University Law Journal.*,Vol,16,2001.pp35-79.

- Keohane.R.O.,` Beyond Dichotomy: Conversations Between Feminists and IR Theorists., *International Studies Quarterly(1997),41.pp611-632*

- Narang, A.S.,'WCAR :Prospects And Challenges' *Economic and Political Weekly*, July 7,2001.pp2495

- Smita Nirula.,'Caste Discrimination'.,*Seminar*,508-December,2001.pp.18

- Sylvester Christine., 'Some Dangers in Merging Feminists and Peace Projects,' *Alternatives* ,XII(1987).pp493-509.

- Tetreault,Mary,Ann.,'Frontier Politics: Sex Gender and the Deconstruction of the Public Sphere', *Alternatives* ,26(2001).pp53-72.

- Srinivasan Bina, 'Social Impacts of Large Dams: Gender Equity and DistributionIssues', *Economic and Political Weekly*, October 20, 2001.pp4108-4114.

- Sharp Paul, 'For Diplomacy: Representation and Study of International Relations', *International StudiesReview1*,1999,pp33-58.

- Talbott Strobe,'Globalisation and Diplomacy: Practitioner's Perspective, *Foreign Policy*,108,1997,pp70-87.

- Tessler Mary and Warriner Ina, 'Gender, Feminism and Attitudes: Exploring Relationships With Survey Data from the,'*World Politics*, 49,No.2, 1997,pp250-281.

- Shiv Vishvanathan, 'The Race for Caste: Prolegomena to Durban Conference'. *Economic & Political Weekly*, July 7, 2001, pp.2513.

- Deborah Steinstra., 'Cutting to Gender: Teaching Gender In International Relations' *International Studies Perspective,*1,2000.pp.236.

- Hass .M. Peter., 'Introduction: Epistemic Communities And International Policy Coordination, International Policy Coordination,' *International Organization,*46,1,winter,1992.pp 1-35.

- Iyer, R Ramaswamy, 'WCD and India Analysis of a Relationship. *Economic & Political Weekly*, June 23,2001.pp 2075-2228

- Jamal,Amal.,'Engendering State Building: The Women's Movement and Gender Regime in Palestine'., *Middle East Journal*,vol,55,no.2 Spring,2001.256-276.

- Keohane.,O,Robert.,`Beyond Dichotomy: Conversations Between International Relations And Feminist Theory', International Studies Quarterly(1998),42.pp195-198.

- Macwan, Martin.,`(Un)Touchables in Durban',Seminar,508,December 2001.pp21-24.

- Marchand, H, Marianne, `Different Communities/Different Realities/Different Encounters: A Reply to J.Ann Tickner', International Studies Quarterly,(1998)42, pp199-204.

- Mehta,Lyla and Srinivasan,Bina,`Balancing Pains and Gains: A Perspective Paper on Gender and Large Dams.'

- Moghadam,M,Valentine.,`Transnational Feminist Networks:Collective Action In The Era Of Globalisation',International Sociology,Vol 15(1),march 2000,pp57-85

- Narula, Smita, `Caste Discrimination', Seminar, 508, December, 2001.pp16-20.

- Navalawala,B.N.,` World Commission on Dams :Biased?'., Economic and Political Weekly, March 24,2001.pp 1008-1010.

- Parasuram,S and Sengupta Sohini.,` WCD: Democratic Means to Sustainable Ends'. , Economic and Political Weekly, May 26,2001,pp1861-1864.

- Pinto,Ambrose.,`UN Conference against Racism: Is Caste Race?', Economic and Political Weekly, July 28,2001.pp2817-2820.

- Richey,Ann,Lisa.,`In Search Of Feminist Foreign Policy:Gender Development and Danish State Idenitity',Cooperation And Conflict,Vol.36(2) 2001.pp.177-209.

- Rio +10,World Summit on Sustainable Development, Johannesburg, August 26-September 4,2002,Down To Earth, July 15 2002.

- Sebnius,K,James.,`Challenging Conventional Explanations of International Cooperation: Negotiation Analysis and the Case of Epistemic Communities', International Organization,46,1,Winter,1992, pp 321-365.

- Schlesinger.,Arthur, 'The Measure of Diplomacy: What Makes A Strategy Grand', *Foreign Affairs*,July/August,1994.pp146-151.

- Sengupta,Nirmal,'WCD: Biased if Misread', *Economic and Political Weekly*,May12,2001.pp 47-49.

- ------------and Parasuram.S.,'World Commission On Dams: Democratic Means For Sustainable Ends', *Economic and Political Weekly*, May 26,2001. pp 1881-1891.

- Sorabjee.j.Soli,'The Official Position',*Seminar*,508,December,2001.pp14-15.

- Steinstra,Deboraha,'Cutting To Gender:Teaching Gender In International Relations, *International Studies Perspective*(2000),1,pp.233-244.

- Sylvester,C.R.,'Some Dangers in Merging Feminist and Peace Projects',*Alternatives*,XII,1987.pp 493-509.

- Tickner,J.Ann.,'You Just Don't Understand: Troubled Engagement Between Feminists and IR Theorists', *International Studies Quaterly*,41,1997.pp611-632

- ---------'Why Women Can't Run The World: International Politics According To Francis Fukuyama', *International Studies Perspective*, Vol, 1.No.3, December 2000,pp 3-11.

- Visvanathan,Shiv.,'Durban and Dalit Discourse', *Economic and Political Weekly*, August 18 2001.pp3123-3125.

- ------------.,'The Race for Caste: Prolegomena to Durban Conference', *Economic and Political Weekly*, July 7,2001.pp2512-2516.

- True, Jacqui.,' Transnational Networks and Policy Diffusion: The Case For Gender Mainstreaming.' *International Studies Quarterly* (2001) 45,pp.27-57.

- *Women and Sustainable Development, 2000-2002*,Paper presented by the CSD/NGO Women's Caucus, Inter-sessional Working Group, 8th Session, 24 April-5 May 2002.

NEWSPAPERS

Business Line, India, 3 March 2000

------------------, 8 MARCH 2000.

Business Standard, India, 8 March 2000.

The Hindu, India, 8 December 1998.

----------, 14,DECEMBER 1998.

----------, 3 MARCH 2000.

Indian Express, India, 13 December 1998

Times of India, India, 15 September1998

WEBSITES

http://www.jchannesburg.org

http://www.wedo.org/susdev/tent.htm

http://www.un.org/events/wssd/pressconf.htm

http://www.earthsummit2002.org/wcaucus.htm

http://www.unhrc.org.htm

http://www.isiwomen.org/pub/archive.htm#wcar