

Our survey suggests that focusing on aggregate numbers - as for instance, most of the press coverage of the day of 6 billion in October of 1999 tended to do - is less likely to interest the public than a focus on individual perspectives. A focus on individual- and family-level quality-of-life issues, such as achieving desired family size, is consistent with the ICPD "approach" to framing population issues, although we cannot assess whether ICPD has had any causal effect on American attitudes. (Adamson et al 2000, xviii)

Adamson *et al* advise UNFPA to pursue the transformative agenda of ICPD, and to present clear messages which emphasise its micro focus on individual women, with the long-term aim of educating the American public, whose support it so clearly needs.

5.6 Population and reproductive politics at the World Summit on Sustainable Development

The World Summit on Sustainable Development (WSSD) in 2002 provided the global community with an opportunity to review the concept of sustainable development ten years after Rio. How did population and reproductive politics fare in this stocktaking? Neo-Malthusian organisations worked hard to have population brought back into sustainable development debates and UNFPA made every effort to have the ICPD agenda endorsed by the conference. Its report on Agenda 21's Chapter five, Demographic Dynamics and Sustainability (UNFPA 2001b) found that countries' efforts to implement policies for sustainable development fell far short of commitments made at UNCED.

Despite broad acceptance of Agenda 21, by 2001 only eighty-five countries had produced national versions. Few of these had been implemented, however, due to circumstances outside the control of many of those countries: natural disasters, severe financial crises, continued economic stagnation in many poor countries, a steep drop in the prices of many commodities and social instability and conflicts (UNFPA 2001b, 4). Here is conclusive evidence that ICPD's concept of sustainable development failed to deliver the conditions in which countries could implement programs for women's empowerment, reproductive rights and health.

In the 2001 review document, UNFPA provides a more comprehensive definition of sustainable development than it offered in ICPD's POA. Nonetheless, it again prioritised economic growth and centralised the need to reduce population growth through implementation of the ICPD Programme.

Achieving sustainable development requires a combination of sustained economic growth based on equity, enhancement of the social well-being of all groups, protection of the environment and slower population growth. In many countries, environmental crises can be avoided if policy measures and steps are taken to conserve and manage natural resources while at the same time slowing population growth by providing families and individuals with information and services needed to make informed choices about reproductive health. (UNFPA 2001b, 9)

UNFPA's 2001 State of the World Population report relates the reproductive health agenda to improved environmental outcomes. At the PrepComs, however, UNFPA representatives highlighted population in their lobbying of government delegates and worked hard to have the following, population-focused language included in WSSD's final document.

Noting the interrelations between global population, demographic dynamics, poverty, the environment and sustainable development, as emphasized in Agenda 21 and the POA of the International Conference on Population and Development, it is essential to maintain and strengthen efforts, including resource mobilization, that will contribute to national capacity building for strategies, policies and programmes designed to achieve population related development goals for sustainable development. (PRB 2002)

By contrast, Zonny Woods of Action Canada for Population and Development questioned the concept of 'population', taking it from its demographic context and bringing it closer to 'people'. Turning 'population impact' into 'human impact' produces solutions beyond fertility control programs.

[W]hen talking about population, who are you really talking about? If talking about population impact, the discussion should really be about the human impact on the environment and consumption....if the actual word 'population' were addressed, we wouldn't get anywhere. ... Issues like sustainable cities and transportation are other ways to address population issues without actually calling them 'population issues'. (Woods in Population Reference Bureau 2002)

Both UNFPA's and Woods' approaches to population were rejected at WSSD. After the third PrepCom in Bali in April 2002, it was apparent that population, reproduction, sustainable cities and transport would not find their way into WSSD's final document. The United States' strong opposition to a reproductive health and rights agenda and the focus on trade, with China a new member of the WTO, pushed rights, population and consumption issues from the central agenda. The G77 countries united behind China and India in opposition to linking population issues with consumption issues. Richard Leete of UNFPA suggests that the dismissal of population issues was due to the alliance the G77 formed with developed countries.

Within the more developed countries, there were a lot of differing views and therefore there was no strong consensus on the idea that population is a causative factor in environmental management and protection. ... In some places throughout Europe the population is declining, so they're not really concerned. As a result, there is this odd alliance that is not really supportive of a discussion of population issues in the implementation plan. Essentially, in the end, those that felt population wasn't a major factor prevailed. (Leete in Population Reference Bureau 2002)

While neo-Malthusians were disappointed that population failed to make it into the final document, feminist reproductive health campaigners were equally disappointed to find that ICPD's micro program was neglected.¹⁷²

Woods' statement cited earlier indicates that environment and development organisations were pursuing issues like transport and sustainable cities in their campaigns for WSSD. This fits in with the broader campaign to reduce carbon dioxide emissions in an effort to counter climate change. Worldwatch, which had earlier taken a strong neo-Malthusian approach to environmental problems (Brown *et al* 2000), in 2002 focused on consumption-related issues.¹⁷³ The contribution to climate change of the world's increasing car population, in particular, was seen as a cause for concern.

There are now 555 million passenger vehicles on the world's roads, and factories churn out about 40 million new cars each year. ... Although car fuel economy is again improving after having stagnated for many years, it remains far short of technical possibilities. And in the United States, which has slightly more than a quarter of the world's cars, there is little prospect of significant improvement over the next decade (Flavin 2002).

I argued earlier that attempts to link population growth in the South with global warming failed to establish more than a proximate connection. If concern about numbers of people was transferred to growth in the number of cars, political ecology would become the common sense view of environment and population relationships. Hartmann took this approach in her critique of the six billionth child campaign: "[b]etter the one child family over there than a one car policy here, or raising taxes, god forbid, to finance public transport and energy conservation" (Hartmann 1999).

A fact sheet produced by UNFPA prior to WSSD offers an uncharacteristic critique of the tendency to blame population growth for environmental degradation.

¹⁷² See WEDO's spokesperson, June Zeitlin's comments in PRB 2002.

¹⁷³ Brown left Worldwatch Institute in 2000 and a new President, Christopher Flavin, took his place.

Demographically stable developed nations are now the driving force in global environmental degradation. They are responsible for most of the harmful emissions and generate the bulk of the world's wastes. With 20 percent of the global population, developed nations account for 85 percent of private consumption. In contrast, the world's poorest 20 percent account for only 1.3 percent of private consumption. A child born in the developed world has an ecological impact equivalent to more than 30 children born in the least developed countries. ...

Too often, talk of sustainable development focuses disproportionately on demographic issues, implying that stable population numbers are a requirement for sustainable development rather than a result of it. In fact, meeting basic human needs is essential to achieving both a stable population and sustainable development (UNFPA 2002b).

If population growth has moved from the focus of environmental organisations, it has also moved from the central stage of global concerns, according to the WSSD Plan of Implementation, which sidestepped the population issue altogether, avoiding even the euphemistic 'demographic trends'. Of greater concern to feminists who have spent the last several decades campaigning for women's rights, women's reproductive health needs were given no more than a passing glance. The fleeting endorsement of the outcomes of the 1990s conferences appears token.

[It is recommended that governments address effectively, for all individuals of appropriate age, the promotion of healthy living, including their reproductive and sexual health, consistent with the commitments and outcomes of recent United Nations conferences and summits, including the World Summit for Children, the United Nations Conference on Environment and Development, the International Conference on Population and Development, the World Summit for Social Development and the Fourth World Conference on Women, and their respective reviews and reports (UN 2002, 40).

This statement was an improvement, from women's perspective, on the draft version, which added as coda "consistent with national laws and religious values". The inclusion of this phrase would have allowed governments to disregard the entire human rights apparatus, providing a major setback for women's rights (Thompson 2002). Even so, WSSD barely held the line on women's reproductive health and reproductive rights did not rate a mention. It restricted discussion of reproductive health services to "[e]nsure equal access of women to health-care services, giving particular attention to maternal and emergency obstetric care", limiting women's reproductive health needs to pregnancy and childbirth. Gender equality is mentioned in a token fashion throughout the document.

WEDO, DAWN, Worldwatch Institute, and many other NGOs wanted WSSD to produce a Plan of Action setting targets related to the Millennium goals. The

'sustainable development' of WSSD was far from the 'rights-based' approach of feminist and development activists. While the Johannesburg conference set some targets, for instance, to halve the number of people without clean drinking water and basic sanitation by 2015, they lack detail, and in many cases, were debated so acrimoniously that environmental and development NGOs were pessimistic that they would be enacted (Flavin 2002). Progressive organisations saw few positive outcomes from WSSD. Shiva (2002) described it as the "World Summit for Supporting Destruction". Naty Bernardino of the International South Group Network called the conference Rio "Minus" 10 and the Indigenous People's Caucus announced that it was about "sustainable greed" not "sustainable development" (Thompson 2002).

These judgements express the dissatisfaction many felt with the concept of sustainable development that emerged from WSSD. African gender and trade activist Pheko (2002) observes that "[t]he Chairperson's text reinterprets sustainable development within the neoliberal trade paradigm and the liberalised trade system.... It is critical to note that the repositioning of development in the WSSD also creates a relocation of development issues from the United Nations to other institutions." Both these trends work against women's interests. Women fare badly under the globalised neoliberal economic agenda and Petchesky stresses that, for the recommendations of the 1990s conferences to be enacted, a strong interventionist state committed to social equity and human rights and democratic, transparent institutions is required, "insofar as they continually call upon signatory governments to take positive actions to implement gender equality, women's empowerment, eradication of poverty and access to health care, including comprehensive reproductive and sexual health services" (Petchesky 2000c). Yet, as Evans argues, "Structural Adjustment Programs (SAP) typify the redistribution of structural decision-making powers away from states and into global economic institutions" (Evans 2001, 48) and the discussion in Chapter four of this thesis suggests that commitment for these objectives is lacking there.

Writing after the Bali PrepCom, DAWN members were pessimistic about the Johannesburg conference. "It may be better to have a failed conference than a conference that ends with documents that fail the global community and default on sustainability and human rights" (DAWN 2002).

At the Bali PrepCom the good guys and the bad guys made deals with each other that prevented or relinquished any references to women's human rights and reproductive rights appearing in the draft documents. They did put women

into documents, but on questionable terms. Women and gender do not appear in any brackets, meaning that governments managed to reach consensus in all cases. In most cases this has happened at the lowest common denominator. ...

Not only women's rights but also "population", and "population growth", the cornerstone of environmental discourse in the times of Rio, is no longer on the agenda. In the Rio process it was a key contentious issue in debates on causes of environmental crises: was it wasteful consumption growth in the North, or population growth and poverty in the South? Today "population" is out and so are the tricky issues of control, abortion, access to contraceptives, women's human rights and reproductive rights, accessible and affordable healthcare. (DAWN 2002)

WSSD confirmed that the corporate environmentalism which had "come of age" at Rio (Karlner 1997, 31) has failed to deliver sustainability by anyone's definition (Karlner 2002). The agenda of the economic right was pushed by corporations, by their lobby groups and by governments. Canada, the United States, European Union and Australia took the corporate agenda into the negotiating rooms. As at Rio, where George Bush Senior argued for 'business rights', the United States delegation played a major role at Johannesburg, working with Saudi Arabia and other oil-producing nations to block initiatives on energy conservation and development of renewable energy sources. As noted earlier, these are the same states that the United States was prepared to ally with against women's rights.

The corporate sector was formally recognised at WSSD as a full partner in efforts to achieve sustainable development, and the Doha Round of WTO negotiations was endorsed as a key contributor to the process. A subtext of the conference was the instatement of the WTO's trade agenda over the UN's rights and development agenda. The Australian Government's summing up illustrates this.

The World Summit on Sustainable Development, held in Johannesburg this week, saw world leaders endorse the work of the WTO and recognise the importance of the Doha Round of negotiations for developing countries.

Trade issues, and in particular issues relating to the negotiations, played a pivotal role in the debate throughout the Summit. The final political declaration and the Plan of Implementation, both of which were agreed to by all UN Members, highlight the important role that trade liberalisation and the WTO play in the development prospects of the world's poorer countries. (Office of Trade Negotiations, Australian Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade 2002)

The other victory at Johannesburg went to the moral right. No states were prepared to fight the United States for women's rights at WSSD. Charkiewicz (2002) points out that "the long battle to include language on women's human rights and reproductive

rights was lost ... [through] tacit agreement amongst three major players - the US, the EU, and G77”.

The global political context of WSSD was a post-September 11 world, with a United States-led focus on terrorism providing the back drop that the Cold War had provided prior to UNCED and ICPD. While it marked a return to the ‘realist’ approach to International Relations which characterised the Reagan era, ‘the enemy’ was no longer embodied in state power and aggression. “The strengthening of US hegemony in the aftermath of 11 September 2001 is a rather new element in global politics. There has never been a single superpower in remembered history. The US, as a global player, is experimenting with how to exercise its power as others try to figure out how to live with it and/or how to resist it” (DAWN 2002).

WSSD confirmed that the period when progressive civil society organisations could influence UN global conferences is over, at least for the time being. At WSSD, NGOs were geographically marginalised in buildings distant from the conference and voiceless in comparison with business representatives who had members on delegations. Since WSSD, progressive civil society organisations have retreated to consider new ways of expressing opposition to the dominant moral and economic right paradigm and working for development which enhances human rights and environmental sustainability. Women are intensely debating the value of UN conferences, since the World Summit on Children and WSSD reveal the limitations on their ability to advance women’s aims while most governments endorse a neoliberal economic agenda and the most powerful nation in the world is actively working to reduce women’s rights (WIDE 2002).

As social and biological reproducers, women are at the intersection of moral and economic agendas. Knowing that only feminists have, until this point, explicitly campaigned for human rights and social justice for women, organisations such as DAWN, WEDO, the International Gender and Trade Network are actively participating in initiatives like the annual World Social Forum which is working to rewrite globalisation through the convergence of social movements, trade unions and progressive political parties (Francisco 2001). Women are welcomed in campaigns for broad aims like debt forgiveness of highly indebted countries, for corporate regulation and accountability and for environmental sustainability, but bringing broader movements into women’s campaigns for legal, safe abortion, and the right to determine

one's own sexual life will test broader progressive movements' commitment to women's human rights (Correa 2003).

5.7 Conclusion

In Chapter five I have provided an overview of the ways that population, development and the environment are linked in environmental debates. I have emphasised that debates about these relationships are political debates, since they suggest policy interventions which are either reformist or transformative. In particular, I have focused on the way that 'sustainable development' was presented in the ICPD POA and in subsequent documents produced by its main organising body, UNFPA. The review suggests that, in the decade since the ICPD, UNFPA has developed a more nuanced understanding of the complex relationships among population, gender issues, the environment and development than it presented in Chapter III of the POA. Indeed, analysis of key documents indicates that UNFPA has ceased to rely upon the term 'sustainable development' as an adequate description of the 'enabling environment' for the ICPD agenda. Many feminist and environmental organisations no longer see the concept as a useful and adequate aim for promoting sustainability, following its cooptation by governments, organisations and institutions to promote a globalised political economy which has proven to be antithetical to ecological sustainability, human rights and social equity.

In its endorsement of an approach to sustainable development "in the context of economic growth" the ICPD failed to challenge global economic trends which it now understands have obstructed its micro objective of improving women's access to reproductive health services and its macro objective of reducing population growth in Southern countries, where large cohorts of young people are entering their reproductive years. Chapter five indicates that UNFPA and many environmental organisations are moving away from a neo-Malthusian approach to population towards an approach critical of consumption patterns and inequitable development processes. The political ecology approach is now better represented in academic studies and activists' campaigns.

Within this expanded understanding of the political nature of debates about human relationships with the environment, reproductive issues emerge as integral to strategies

for sustainability, human rights and social justice. The ICPD agenda for reproductive rights, women's empowerment and reproductive health appears more radical from this end of the decade than in 1994, since these concepts are currently out of favour in an increasingly militarised global political environment where the moral right polices women's sexual and reproductive behaviour. This is occurring at a time when neo-Malthusian arguments find less favour, as UNPD progressively brings forward the date when world population is projected to stabilise. They also project a lower figure than that produced at the beginning of the 1990s. This conjunction of trends forces populationists and feminist reproductive health activists to re-examine their thinking and their strategies in a post-ICPD world.

Chapter six Closing the gaps: Reproduction and population in the new century

For population is a quintessentially international field in which big global theories have concrete and sometimes drastic implications for the most intimate personal elements of a woman's or man's life: sexuality and reproduction. (Freedman and Isaacs, 1993, 19)

6.1 Overview

In this concluding chapter of the thesis I present a summary response to the question, did the ICPD change the world? As the thesis has argued, the conference has made a profound impact on population debates and in the way that reproductive health is discussed. 'The world' of International Relations and global political economy, however, remains largely unaware of the changed paradigm wrought in Cairo in 1994. This raises a number of questions. Could any UN conference achieve transformation on a global scale, and in particular, could a conference on population and development? Could a conference on population, which for the first time, talked about women's empowerment, reproductive rights and reproductive health do more than change the population field in which it was set? What was left out? These are questions I address in this chapter.

At the outset, I declared this thesis to be a contribution to the gendering of the discipline of International Relations. In section 6.4 I take stock of the contributions this thesis makes to the major schools of International Relations identified in Chapter one. I argued there that a critical feminist eclecticism talking about population and reproduction within the discipline of International Relations would reveal a different terrain to that usually surveyed in the literature, and here I produce the evidence of this.

In the thesis' introductory chapter, I suggested that 'transversal politics' offers an approach for dealing with the complex issues around reproduction and population. In particular, it can assist in identifying intersections between the micro and macro areas where women are to be found. I consider two progressive movements, in which feminists are involved, which deal with issues of profound importance to poor women.

Finally, I return to the United Nations (UN) where the ICPD POA was endorsed. Feminists are questioning the usefulness of UN processes for furthering the feminist agenda. Women who have never attended a UN conference are asking to be brought

into the process. Their inclusion, the engendering of population discourses and the broadening of the demographic agenda which must occur if the next UN conference on population and development is to be relevant in the twenty-first century will make any future population conferences entirely different from preceding events.

6.2 Did the ICPD change the world?

The world has changed, but not because of the ICPD POA. The changes were already afoot before Sadik made her statement. Her claims about the transformative potential of the ICPD were in two parts: on the one hand she declared “[t]his POA has the potential to change the world”; on the other, she stated that, “in our field it represents a quantum leap to a higher state of energy” (UNFPA 1994, 1). The first is the exuberant statement of someone who has worked for several years for the POA that was endorsed. The second refers to impacts that the POA’s micro agenda would have on the population establishment. Sadik worked tirelessly to entrench the Cairo language in UNFPA documents and fora and in government and institutions’ practices.

In her closing speech to ICPD, Sadik claimed that the conference had “crafted a POA for the next 20 years which starts from the reality of the world we live in, and shows us the path to a better reality” (ICPD 1994, 1). This is only partially true, if the ‘we’ of Sadik’s statement are poor women. Sadik expected a great deal of the POA. She believed that “[e]nergetic and committed implementation of the POA over the next 20 years” would “ensure that every pregnancy is intended, and every child is a wanted child” (UNFPA 1994, 2). Chapters IV and VII state the measures required to achieve this. If implemented, ICPD’s micro agenda would provide a “path to a better reality” for poor women in countries like Indonesia which have focused more on family planning than reproductive health.

However, there are many gaps between rhetoric and reality that poor women are likely to fall through. The ICPD POA does not describe the macro reality of poor women’s lives. Sadik claimed that it would “bring women at last into the mainstream of development ... protect their health; promote their education, and encourage and reward their economic contribution” (UNFPA 1994, 1-2). This has not occurred, in large part because of weaknesses in the POA’s macro agenda.

Sadik's second assessment that the POA was a 'quantum leap' in approaches to population has proved to be more prescient. The process of forming the Common Ground alliance was part of that change. Through the Common Ground alliance, neo-Malthusian organisations gained understanding of the impact of fertility control programs on poor women. The core transformative concepts of empowerment, reproductive rights and health provided a language for the micro agenda of the ICPD.

These concepts have been adopted by many organisations with an interest in population. While a number of organisations still focus on fertility as 'the problem', many now see women's access to quality reproductive health care as the primary concern. UNFPA has maintained a strong commitment to its reproductive health approach, although the increased opposition of the moral right has led to a strategic focus on reproductive health rather than reproductive rights in its publications.

The ICPD took a narrow view of 'population'. In focusing on fertility, albeit through the perspective of reproduction, it paid less attention to, or made weak recommendations about, many demographic trends already evident in 1994. These include the repercussions of low fertility and subsequent ageing in many countries; the sexual and reproductive health needs of people outside their reproductive years; internal and international migration; and morbidity and mortality, apart from maternal mortality. Language about sexual health and rights, abortion and in relation to adolescents' sexual health and reproductive rights in the draft POA did not survive the ICPD process due to the concerted opposition of the Vatican representatives and some Islamist governments.

However, the ICPD was not just about population, it was about population *and* development. This means population *in the context of* development in the fullest sense, not the narrower definition of 'sustainable development', and this relationship was inadequately considered at Cairo. Thus, even if fully implemented, the POA could not challenge the economic and political structures which constrain women's empowerment and ability to exercise their reproductive rights.

Could more have been expected of the ICPD? As Petchesky observes, "[t]he outcomes of the Social Summit and the ICPD+5 processes ... give depressing confirmation that [UN] conferences do not fundamentally challenge global structures of power" (Petchesky 2000c, 30). The successful outcome of the ICPD was the understanding that

poor women's lack of power and services to control their reproductive lives is the problem to be tackled. The POA gives women a powerful tool.

Without the documents, however, and the transformative feminist values they contain despite their weaknesses, and because of women's efforts, there would be little to hold governments accountable for. (Petchesky 2000c, 30)

By itself, however, the POA is not enough to change the world as poor women experience it.

6.3 The gaps

The outcomes of the ICPD reflect the themes of its political context, as did earlier conferences on population. The global political environment was conducive to the transformative micro agenda of the ICPD for only a few years in the early 1990s. These were the early years of the Clinton administration in the United States when the Democrats held the majority in Congress. The first half of the 1990s was a high point in global feminist organising for women's rights at all the UN international conferences of the 1990s, culminating in the Beijing Conference on Women, which confirmed and progressed the ICPD agenda by recognising women's sexual rights. Since that time, instead of progressing the feminist agenda, health activists have been forced to defend the language of Cairo and Beijing.

The consequences of decisions to cut funds, oppose particular kinds of services and insist that only married people can have sex - the approaches of the United States' Bush administration - is that poor women fall through the gaps. In Indonesia, the age of marriage has dropped; this is not due to the United States campaign to 'just say no' but to reduced choices for the poor. The ICPD not only failed to foresee that governments would walk away from their commitments, its POA didn't provide for the enabling conditions for women to exercise their health and rights.

Many of the POA's failures are not due to the efforts of the *moral* right, but result from the influence of the *economic* right at the drafting stage. As a result, the ICPD POA suffers from a kind of linguistic schizophrenia. On one hand, its chapters on empowerment, reproductive rights and health are peopled by men, children and women, with some attention to differences of race, age, class as well as gender. On the other hand, in the chapters dealing with population, economic growth and sustainable development, and technology, research and development, people in all their diversity

disappear. There are no linkages made between these chapters, reflecting the failure to link women's reproductive rights and health with the enabling conditions to achieve them.

Despite the international women's health movement's efforts to challenge the neo-Malthusian approach, it pervades the chapters which deal with macro issues. Thus, the POA was able to satisfy two constituencies: reproductive rights and health activists and populationists. The gap between their objectives is big enough to cause the neglect of poor women's needs.

The POA fails to acknowledge that "the two to four billion human beings that will inevitably be added to the world population over the next fifty years have not only the right to exist but also the right to a decent life" (Lassonde 1997, 137). If 'population' is about people, as well as about demographic trends, and 'development' is about increasing peoples' access to their entitlements, then the ICPD is the appropriate place to address means available to the international community to deliver "a decent life" to poor women. Lassonde suggests some of the issues which need to be addressed.

Given current population trends and on the basis of the principles set by the international community, it is necessary to rethink many aspects of the economic and social system: the definition of productive activities, the nature of wealth, women's participation in reproduction and production, the compatibility of parental and work roles with individual aspirations, time management, income and social security policies, and generally, the structuring of the economy to enhance as much as possible each country's demographic potential ... (Lassonde 1997, 137)

To achieve this, the people in 'population' require a voice and the ability and power to articulate the terms of 'development'.

'Gaps' occur when intersections fail to connect. In particular, women's needs fall between the disjunctures between macro, meso and micro economic levels. The first gap is between the state and the global economy which is overseen by powerful players like the World Bank, IMF and the WTO. States subject to the disciplines of these bodies are often more respectful of corporate rights than of citizens' rights (Evans 2001). As Brown Thompson points out, "in the case of international women's human rights, citizens and transnational NGOs ... *are asking states to assume additional responsibility and obligation in the so-called private sphere of the home and family*" (Brown Thompson 2002, 118, italics in original). Poor people need strong, democratic

states to provide the services they cannot afford in the private sphere of the market. Second, there are gaps between institutions at the global level; as Charlesworth and Chinkin (2000) point out, international human rights institutions are yet to incorporate the understanding that women have distinct rights. Third, there are also gaps in state and NGO partnerships which are particularly relevant in the delivery of reproductive rights and health programs. Adolescent needs tend to fall through this gap, which is enlarged by governments' exclusion of vulnerable groups on 'moral' grounds, as in Indonesia, where government-funded family planning services exclude unmarried people and NGOs are being asked to respond to these needs. Fourth, women's organisations often set up gaps themselves, as the study of Indonesia shows; there, women's organisations recognised by the states are unrepresentative of anyone but their own, elite, members.

Fifth, there are gaps in environmental approaches to population and reproduction, which often ignore women altogether. Neo-Malthusian organisations have recently recognised that education and access to health services for women is likely to reduce fertility, but they don't actively campaign for these services. Consumption approaches compare collectivities, but as yet, researchers haven't produced gendered results. Ecofeminist approaches centralise women but fail to recognise their diversity. In contrast, a feminist political ecology approach consciously sets out to find women *where they are*, at the intersections of gender, class, race, location and age, and to see environmental issues through their eyes.

Finally, women are victims of military conflict. Here they may literally fall through the gaps created by gender blindness, as Rehn and Sirleaf (2002) show. In conflict situations, women's sexual and reproductive health is often the last consideration, yet, as they point out,

[c]learly, women in conflict situations need sufficient food, safe drinking water, protection from violence, basic primary and reproductive health care, and psychosocial support. These are extensions of what women need anywhere. Yet even though war-affected women have greater needs, they often end up with few, if any, services. The knowledge and the tools exist to protect women's health, even in complex emergencies – but is the political will there? There are guidelines for psychosocial counselling, for providing reproductive health services, for ensuring safety in camp situations, for gender-aware food distribution. But these services and protection arrangements still remain the exception, not the norm. (Rehn and Sirleaf 2002, 43)

International Relations theorists do not commonly address these issues, although they are there to be observed, if a gender lens is applied. Indeed, as the next section shows, there are many gaps in the discipline of International Relations through which women continue to fall.

6.4 And the bodies keep falling through...

This thesis is written as part of the feminist project of revealing women's location in the discipline of International Relations. Realist theorists focus on power and security in an anarchic world. Women appear as victims and occasionally, participants, in wars and other conflict situations; Enloe (1989) has written women into these situations as sexual bodies, but they remain invisible as reproducing bodies.

Neorealists are concerned that population growth creates conditions conducive to conflict. Despite these theorists' concern about population growth, women's reproductive bodies are not visible in the scenarios they present, where, as Rehn and Sirleaf point out, they experience the impacts of conflict in multiple ways.

Women are not only victims of the general violence and lack of health care – *they also face issues specific to their biology and to their social status*. To add to the complexity of the picture, women also carry the burden of caring for others, including those who are sick, injured, elderly or traumatized. (Rehn and Sirleaf 2002, 33, italics mine)

International Relations scholars who take a transnationalist approach are already working in areas related to population politics. Questions which might be asked in a gendered approach include: where are women in organisations related to population and reproduction; are they more likely to be found in organisations focused on reproductive rights, and are neo-Malthusian organisations more likely to be run by men? Why do women dominate social movements focused on micro issues such as health while men dominate financial institutions like the World Bank and WTO?

Feminists are deeply engaged in gendering global political economy approaches to International Relations. This is an area of critical importance since it contains the players who set the economic conditions which create conditions of poverty for some and wealth for others. Where do poor women fit in the gap between the global political economy of population and the global political economy of reproduction?

The discipline of International Relations has provided this thesis with a range of approaches. But these approaches do not provide tools that poor women can use in environmental campaigns in their communities or suggest how they can increase their power to shape the global political economy so that their needs are better served. Poor women, who are often illiterate, need a practical politics that works for them in their location. Many are already engaged in political struggle at the everyday level. How can their efforts be made more effective?

6.5 Transversal politics

To achieve their human rights, poor women must cross many divides. Here, I consider two movements with the potential to improve the lives of poor women: these movements are campaigning to bring rights into development and to transform the global political economy. These movements fit the transversal model. They span a number of divides, include grass roots and global players, connect individual rights with the rights of collectivities and link grass roots issues with global trends.

Efforts to integrate a rights-based approach in the rhetoric and practice of development provide a framework for the inclusion of the enabling conditions identified by Correa and Petchesky (1994). This movement has been given a vocabulary by Amartya Sen's work (A. Sen 1999) on development and human freedom.

[The rights-based approach to development] gives primacy to the participation and empowerment of the poor, insists on democratic practices and on the fulfilment by the international community, nation-states, the commercial sector and local communities and associations of their obligations to respect, fulfil and promote human rights. It emphasises the moral and legal duties of global society to ensure a just and equitable social, political and economic order in which all people and persons can live in dignity. (Commonwealth Human Rights Initiative 2001, 40)

This campaign is supported by many development organisations in the North and South, and has been considered by government development agencies and international financial institutions like the World Bank (see Chapter four). Women are involved as the members of organisations like the international development NGO, Oxfam, and the Jubilee Campaign for debt forgiveness. The International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (ICESCR) has potential as a tool for claiming the rights of poor women. UNIFEM commissioned a background paper on the potential of the

ICESCR to provide a mechanism for forcing economic planners to consider the impact of economic policy on women's rights.¹⁷⁴ Elson and Gideon point out the importance of common property rights to women in their cautious conclusion to their study, and note the lack of machinery to enforce rights.

In strengthening the operation of the ICESCR from women's point of view it seems important to pursue both a violations approach which can focus on individual cases and a capacity building approach which can focus on the systematic design of a rights-based approach to economic policy, informed by a gender-aware understanding of how economies function. There has to be an emphasis on strengthening the property rights of poor women, not only in terms of their ownership of private property (including not only land rights, but also job rights etc), but also in terms of their rights not to be excluded from common property, both national resources and social and physical infrastructure. (Elson and Gideon 1999)

The rights-based approach to development attempts to reform existing structures. The second movement I consider arose out of a growing lack of faith in reformist strategies and the belief that existing institutions will always be resistant to change. Participating organisations are attempting, instead, to create an alternative to the neoliberal global political economy which they believe to be at the root of social oppression, environmental degradation and poverty. The movement has adopted the slogan, 'another world is possible', and was launched at the first World Social Forum (WSF) in 2001 at Porto Alegre in Brazil. Representatives of trade unions, development organisations, fair trade campaigners and social justice groups are organising together around economic and trade issues, in the understanding that these underlie the diverse issues they cover on a day-to-day basis.

Annual meetings of the World Social Forum (WSF) attract up to 100,000 participants. Women have been involved from early stages. South American feminists are central to the feminist campaign to 'engender' the movement through *Articulacion Feminista Marcosur*, an alliance of feminist organizations, coalitions, and networks. In the WSF, however, feminists have encountered many of the problems that they have experienced with other, less progressive organisations.

Despite being a movement dedicated to global social justice, equality and sovereignty of all people, World Social forum has, over the years, seen

¹⁷⁴ See Elson and Gideon 1999.

marginalization of women's workshops and relatively fewer feminist presentations in the plenaries. (Salazar 2003)

Candido Grzybowski, a member of the WSF organizing committee, suggests that this situation persisted at the 2003 forum. However, his comment suggests that the involvement of women and their persistence in arguing for the incorporation of a gendered approach have changed his view, at least.

[Women are a] minority, created by ourselves within civil society. With respect to that, there is no point in blaming capitalism, neoliberalism, globalization, exclusionary states, etc. This is a major problem that is engendered, developed, and maintained in the culture of civil society itself. (Grzybowski cited in Duddy 2003).

Many women have been involved in revolutionary struggles, subsuming their own interests until 'after the revolution', only to find that the power structures that they have helped to establish are as oppressive to women as those they replace (Molyneux 1985). Consequently, women are entering into alliances at the WSF with caution. As Joanna Kerr, Executive Director of Association for Women's Rights in Development (AWID), suggests, there is limited cross-fertilisation of alliance building across the movements outside the WSF.

[T]he tokenism and marginalization of gender issues at the WSF has as much to do with the profound gender blindness on the part of other social movements as the weaknesses within the women's rights community. ...

However, it is important to acknowledge honestly that the women's movement will lose certain battles if (*sic*) it strives to integrate into broader social movements. (Duddy, reporting Kerr 2003)

Despite misgivings about the WSF, many feminist organisations have formed a coalition within the WSF alliance. This both maximises their strength and gives them a 'safe' space to caucus. The Women's International Coalition for Economic Justice (WICEJ) includes feminist organisations from every region and global networks DAWN and the International Gender and Trade Network. The Statement WICEJ issued at the 2003 WSF announced the Coalition's intention to work transversally to progress feminist objectives and to engender other social movements.

The women's movement should inject a feminist perspective into global movements for social change as we create alternatives to the neo-liberal agenda. This means deepening our own analysis and alternatives from the perspective of multiple oppressions, and increasing our leadership role within global justice movements, particularly the World Social Forum. This entails a dual strategy of organizing in women-only spaces, and seeking to integrate a gender/race perspective into mixed forums. Together, we must take our agenda into multiple international arenas rather than having our agenda set by

institutions such as the WTO, the IMF, the World Bank and the United Nations. In this context our vision and strategies must pay more attention to:

* the incorporation of a sharper focus on the intersection of race, class, gender and international relations in our analysis ...

We seek to explore new venues and partnerships; we continue to build alternatives to current economic and social models in a focus on national and multi-lateral accountability; to resist war and fundamentalisms; and to model in our relationships and our advocacy our desired outcomes for justice. (WICEJ 2003)

6.6 The future of UN conferences

As the international community approaches the ten year review of the ICPD, closely followed by Beijing + 10, feminists are questioning whether large UN meetings are useful for women in the current political environment. The growing influence of the moral right and the political outlook of the United States government suggest that the most valued aspects of the Cairo Programme of Action will be challenged if reviewed in an international forum. Events at the ESCAP meeting in December 2002 in Bangkok confirmed these concerns. Although the United States delegation's attempts to roll back the language of reproductive rights and reproductive health were opposed by almost every other delegation, family planning advocates and governments keen to maintain the Cairo language fear that the same battle will be fought at regional meetings prior to the main ICPD + 10 event. Most governments at the meeting of the Commission on Population and Development in March 2003 opposed, for political and financial reasons, a major global event in 2004. The final decision will be made by UNGA.

Since a working group appointed by the General Assembly is considering what kind of coordinated approach to +10 events (for Cairo, Beijing, Copenhagen etc.) would be most suitable, G-77 and China and the EU (representing 25 countries) indicated that they would leave it to the GA to decide on the basis of the report of this working group what action should be taken, if any, on Cairo+10. The working group is expected to complete its work by the end of June 2003 and to submit its report to GA at its session starting in September 2003. GA's final action will come towards the end of the year. It is therefore unlikely that anything other than a purely commemorative event on **ICPD+10** in 2004 will come out of this process. (Anon 2003)¹⁷⁵

Consequently, UNFPA will not press for a large international conference, although some United States-based right wing organisations are pressing for it, seeking

¹⁷⁵ The points of view of other major players, organisations of the moral right and neo-Malthusian population and environmental organisations with a global focus are not available on public web sites.

opportunities to challenge the language of reproductive rights and health (Pierce 2002). Sinding's organisation, IPPF, favours a large international conference since "every time we have a fight we win" (Sinding 2002b). IPPF relies upon the media exposure of international events to attract financial support. UNFPA plans a technical and scientific conference for ICPD + 10, while IPPF will organise a roundtable where invited NGOs can review progress in the implementation of the Programme of Action.

Most women's organisations agree with UNFPA's plans for ICPD + 10 and are debating the value of a major conference for the ten year review of the Beijing Platform for Action. This discussion is occurring at women's conferences and through electronic discussion groups. Analysis of contributions to one discussion group indicates that feminists' arguments reflect the weariness of women who have attended many of the UN conferences and follow-up meetings in the 1990s and early 2000s, and the desire of many Southern feminists to be involved in any processes set up for the Beijing review.¹⁷⁶

We in Trinidad and Tobago support this as women in our region who cannot afford to attend activities at home will be motivated to participate at home and in the region, less expensive, the fear of travelling to a strange where they cannot speak the language.

We experienced some difficulties in getting some of our rural women to leave their comfort zone and travel more than 20 miles to learn computer technology, now after three lessons they are so excited with the new technology and the new knowledge gained opportunities such as the one suggested will be of great benefit to them. (Taylor 2003, grammar in original)

DAWN spokesperson, Sonia Correa (2002) warns women to ensure that their opposition to large UN conferences is not seen to endorse the arguments of governments opposed to large-scale conferences because they dislike the UN's democratic style of multilateralism. DAWN has decided to oppose a large Beijing + 10 conference after consulting with members and other organisations. With the 'war on terrorism' in full swing, DAWN suggests that creating opportunities to open up the ICPD and Beijing documents would set back the hard work of the 1990s.

Post 9/11, DAWN feel even more strongly that these are dangerous times in which to risk agreements reached through earlier UN Conferences. Anyone who doubts it need only look at what is happening in the preparatory processes

¹⁷⁶ The debate is being conducted through WIDE and AWID, and the emails are posted on the WIDE site (see WIDE 2003).

for ICPD+10, where reproductive rights language is being targeted by the US government for exclusion from the Conference document. If successful in their endeavours, the gains for women won through the ICPD, and reiterated in Beijing, and retained through both ICPD+5 and Beijing+5 will be lost. (Slatter 2002)

Hessini (2002), an Egyptian feminist, agrees that women should lobby for a postponement of the Fifth World Conference on Women until a more favourable time. She suggests that women's organisations should reassess their focus on the UN.

In addition, women's and health groups need to rethink the focus on UN processes; while it has been instrumental in the past, this work has run its course and it is now important to focus on different types of global advocacy (i.e. interacting more with human rights systems, special rapporteurs, general treaties, etc.). (Hessini 2002)

Liu, a Chinese woman researching the involvement of Indian and Chinese women in world women's conferences, emphasises that UN conferences provide yardsticks which Southern women can use in lobbying their governments. She reminds "‘fatigued’ stars" that "the legitimacy of the United Nations outside the western world is striking" (Liu 2002). Japan's Women's Watch are keen to use the Beijing + 10 process to counter the growing backlash of right wing opponents of women's rights in Japan (Hashimoto 2002). Vere (2003) of the Pacific Concerns Resource Centre argues that a major women's conference would provide Pacific women with an opportunity to review governments' commitments.

Since the ICPD, technologies which allow wider participation have been integrated into women's networks, creating new opportunities for women to participate through electronic communication. Communication technologies, however, open up another gap into which poor women fall. The cost and skills involved in using computers and communications programs put them out of most poor women's reach. When they have computer facilities at all, Southern women's organisations struggle with outdated equipment, lack of electricity and phone lines in rural areas and the need to achieve high levels of literacy, often in languages other than their own. Is this an area where Northern women can assist in the empowerment of Southern women, putting theory into practice?

An email conversation is not a decision making forum, so it is likely that some women will lobby for a conference and others will oppose it. It is apparent from the postings I

have read, which cover more than three months, that many Southern women want a conference, but they want it to be conducted in a way that involves them. The participation of more women from the South will change the agenda of future UN conferences - if they are involved in setting the agenda.

If their concerns are reflected, there will be more emphasis on 'development' in future conferences on population and development. While the current empowerment, reproductive rights and reproductive health agenda is likely to be endorsed, there will be more of a focus on providing conditions in which these concepts become reality. The voices of women like the Indonesian women who participated in the sustainable livelihood study (Mukherjee *et al* 2002) provide an indication of Southern women's concerns: they want good reproductive health services, and the condition most likely to 'enable' them is an end to their poverty and marginalisation.

Global trends already evident will contribute to a broader demographic focus. Any change in UNFPA's agenda will be contested, inside the organisation, with other UN member agencies, by governments and among the NGOs which have close associations with its current agenda. For, as this thesis shows, population and reproduction are highly political areas which reflect the broader politics of the international community and provide a vehicle for contests between impassioned, deeply-felt values and ideologies. Due to the efforts of feminists from the North and the South, any future conference about population will ensure that 'population' is not discussed without its parallel process, 'reproduction'. Next time, with the economic literacy feminist networks are gaining through their engagement in the WSF and campaigns to engender macroeconomics, it might also address reproduction in its broader sense. This might give ICPD +? the capacity to change the world.

Bibliography

AAP 1999: *Population six billion and counting*, Canberra Times, October 13, 1999

Abernethy, Virginia 1993: Population Politics - the choices that shape our future, Plenum Press, New York

Abzug, Bella 1991: Empowering Women, Welcoming speech at the World Women's Congress for a Healthy Planet, 8-12 November, Miami, Florida.

Acosta-Belen, Edna & Christine E. Bose 1990: *From Structural Subordination to Empowerment – Women and Development in Third World Contexts* pp 299-320 in Gender & Society Vol 4, No 3, September 1990

Adams W.D 1992: Green Development: environment and sustainability in the third world, Routledge, UK

Adamson, David M, Nancy Belden, Julie DaVanzo & Sally Patterson 2000: How Americans view World Population Issues - A Survey of Public Opinion, Population Matters, A Rand Program of Policy-Relevant Research Communication, USA

AFP 2000: *A billion Indians leave little to cheer*, Canberra Times, 12.5.00

Agarwal, Bina 1997: *Gender Perspectives on Environmental Action* in Joan W. Scott, Cora Kaplan & Debra Keates (eds): Transitions, Environments, Translations - Feminisms in International Politics, Routledge, USA

Agence France Presse 2000: Resource crunch looms as India's billionth citizen is on its way, npg news service 8.5.2000

Agence France 2003: HIV/AIDS: Annan Urges African Leaders To Focus On Women, 20.2.03 accessed 21. 2. 03 at <http://www.unfoundation.org/organisation/unwire/>

Aitken, Iain & Laura Reichenbach 1994: *Reproductive and Sexual Health Services: Expanding Access and Enhancing Quality* in Gita Sen, Adrienne Germain & Lincoln Chen (eds): Population Policies Reconsidered - Health, Empowerment, and Rights, Harvard University Press, US

Akhter, Farida 1996: Depopulating Bangladesh - essays on the politics of fertility, Narigrantha Prabartana, The Feminist Bookstore, Bangladesh

Akhter, Farida 1996a: *On the question of Reproductive Right* in Farida Akhter: Depopulating Bangladesh - essays on the politics of fertility, Narigrantha Prabartana, The Feminist Bookstore, Bangladesh

Akhter, Farida 1996b: *Eugenic and Racist Premise of Reproductive Rights and Population Control* in Farida Akhter: Depopulating Bangladesh - Essays on the Politics of Fertility, Nangrantha Prabartana, Bangladesh

Alailima, High Chief Leiataua 1994: Sustainable Development Crucial to Resolving Population Issues, Southern NGO Development Forum Statement to the ICPD, accessed 5.12. 1996 at [gopher://gopher.undp.org.70/00/ungophers/popin/icpd/conference/ngo/940912185233](http://gopher.undp.org.70/00/ungophers/popin/icpd/conference/ngo/940912185233)

Alexander, Patricia and Sally Baden 2000: Glossary on macroeconomics from a gender perspective, Bridge Report No 48, prepared in collaboration with German Technical Cooperation

Allen, Michael 1999: *Women, bargaining and change in seven structures of world political economy* pp 453-474 in Review of International Studies, Vol 25

Amalric, Franck & Tariq Banuri 1994: *Population: malady or symptom?* pp 691-706 in Third World Quarterly Vol 15, No 4, December 1994

Amalric, Franck 1995: *Population Growth and the Environmental Crisis: Beyond the 'Obvious'* in V. Bhaskar & Andrew Glyn (eds): The North the South and the Environment - Ecological constraints and the Global Economy, St. Martin's Press, New York

Amalric, Franck 1997: *Finiteness, Infinity and Responsibility: the population-environment debate* in Wendy Harcourt (ed): Feminist Perspectives on Sustainable Development, Zed Books, London

Anderson, Sarah 2002: Health Economics: DALYs – Disability Adjusted Life Years accessed 2.10.03 at www.healthknowledge.org.uk

Annan, Kofi 2000: Secretary-General, in address to 'Women 2000' Special Session, says future of planet depends upon women, Press Release 5, 6, 00 accessed 5. 6. 00 at <http://www.un.org/News/Press/docs/2000/20000605.sgsm7430.doc.html>

Anon 1996: What radical environmentalists believe, accessed 15.12.02 at <http://www.all.org/communique/cq961018.htm>

Anon 2000: *Number of abortions performed last year "astonishing"* in Jakarta Post, 8. 3. 00

Anon 2002a: *Europe will plug US gap in family planning aid*, Sydney Morning Herald 25. 7. 02

Anon 2002b: *Hungry Children*, Canberra Times 13.11.02

Anon 2003: *Global UN Event in 2004 Unlikely*, Population 2005, accessed 30.9.03 at <http://www.population2005.org/Global%20UN%20Event.doc>

Antrobus, Peggy 1989: *The Empowerment of Women*, pp 189-207 in Rita S. Gallin, Marilyn Aronoff & Anne Ferguson (eds): The Women and International Development Annual, Vol 1, Westview Press, Colorado

Antrobus, Peggy 1994: Statement to the Plenary at ICPD PrepCom III, April 1994, accessed 26.6.96 at gopher://gopher/icpd/prepcom/ngo/940414112735

Antrobus, Peggy 1998: *Women's Defense of Local Politics in the Face of Structural Adjustment and Globalization*, pp 72-76 in Development Vol 41, No 3

Anwar, Zainah 1999: *Report of the Regional Consultation on Strategies for Change*, Chapter 10 in ARROW: Taking Up the Challenge: Country Studies in Asia-Pacific, ARROW, Kuala Lumpur

AP 1994: *For many women, it looks like a hijack* in Canberra Times, September 8, 1994, p 10

Arafat, Ibtihaj S. and Donald E. Allen 1995: Thinking About Population: An Introduction to Modern Demography, General Hall Inc, NY

Arias, Margarita 1991: It's Time for Women to Mother Earth, 8.11.1991, keynote address at World Women's Congress for a Healthy Planet, 8-12 November, Miami, Florida.

Arizpe, Lourdes, Priscilla Stone & David C. Major 1994: Population and the Environment – Rethinking the Debate, Westview Press, Boulder

Athanasίου, Tom 1996: Divided Planet - the ecology of rich and poor, Little, Brown and Company, USA

Athey, Stephanie 1997: *Reproductive Health, Race and Technology: Political Fictions and Black Feminist Critiques*, Bibliographic Essay pp 2-27 in Sage Race Relations Abstracts, Vol 22, No 1, February 1997

Audubon undated: Population and Habitat: Making the connection, accessed 20.12.02 at <http://www.audubon.org>

AUSAID 1999: Australia and Indonesia - Partnership for recovery and sustainable development, Australian Agency for International Development, Canberra

Avila, Maria Bethania 1997: *Making Alliances and Partnerships: Challenges for the Feminist movement*, pp 117-123 in Reproductive Health Matters, No 19, November 1997

AWID 2002: *A Rights-Based Approach to Development*, Womens' Rights and Economic Change No 1, August 2002

Bakker, Isabella 1997: *Identity, Interests and Ideology: the gendered terrain of global restructuring* in Stephen Gill (ed): Globalization, Democratization and Multilateralism, United Nations University Press/Macmillan Press UK

Balakrishnan, Radhika 2000: *Population Policy Revisited: Examining ICPD*, in re/productions #3, accessed 3. 7. 00 at <http://www.hsph.harvard.edu/grhf/Sasia/repro3/radhika.html>

Bandarage, Asoka 1997: Women, Population and Global Crisis - A Political-Economic Analysis, Zed Books, London

Barney, Gerald O 1981: The Global 2000 Report to the President - entering the Twenty-first century, Blue Angel Inc, US

Barroso, Carmen & Jodi L. Jacobson 2000: *Population Policy and Women's Empowerment: Challenges and Opportunities* in Harriet B. Presser & Gita Sen (eds): Women's Empowerment and Demographic Processes: Moving Beyond Cairo, Oxford, University Press, UK

Barsh, Russel Lawrence 1994: *Indigenous Peoples, Population, and Sustainability* in Laurie Ann Mazur (ed): Beyond the Numbers: A Reader on Population, Consumption and the Environment, Island Press, USA

Basu, Amrita (ed) 1995: The Challenge of Global Feminisms: Women's Movements in Global Perspective, Westview Press, USA

Batliwala 1994: *The Meaning of Women's Empowerment: New Concepts from Action* in Gita Sen, Adrienne Germain & Lincoln C. Chen (eds) Population Policies Reconsidered - Health, Empowerment, and Rights, Harvard Center for Population and Development Studies and International Women's Health Coalition, Boston

Bauer, P.T. 1981: Equality, the Third World and Economic Delusion, Harvard University Press, US

Beaton, Lindsay 1999: NGO Report UNGASS June 30-July 2 ICPD+5, NGO official report, 12. 8. 99

Becker, Gary S 1960: *An Economic Analysis of Fertility* in Richard Easterlin (ed): Demographic and Economic Change in Developing Countries, Princeton University Press, US

Behrman, Jere R 2001: *Why Micro Matters* in Birdsall, Nancy, Allen C. Kelley & Steven W. Sinding (eds): Population Matters: Demographic Change, Economic Growth, and Poverty in the Developing World, Oxford University Press, UK

Bello, Walden 1993: *Population control: The real culprits and victims*, pp 11-14 in Third World Resurgence, No 33, August 1993

Beneria, Lourdes 1995: *Toward a Greater Integration of Gender in Economics*, pp 1839-1850 in World Development Vol 23, No 11

Berelson, Bernard 1969: *Beyond Family Planning*, p 533 in Science Vol 163, February

Berer, Marge & TK Sundari Ravindran 1996: *Fundamentalism, Women's Empowerment and Reproductive Rights* in Women's Health Matters, No 8, November 1996

Berer, Marge 2000a: *Safe Sex, Women's Reproductive Rights and the Need for a Feminist Movement in the 21st Century*, pp 7-11 in Reproductive Health Matters Vol 8, No 15

Berer, Marge 2000b: *Reproductive Rights, Advocacy and Changing the Law*, pp 6-9 in Reproductive Health Matters Vol 8, No 16

Berer, Marge 2002: *Health Sector Reforms: Implications for Sexual and Reproductive Health Services*, pp 6-15 in Women's Health Matters, Vol 10, No 20

Birdsall, Nancy & Steven W. Sinding 2001: *How and Why Population Matters: New Findings, New Issues* in Birdsall, Nancy, Allen C. Kelley & Steven W. Sinding (eds): Population Matters: Demographic Change, Economic Growth, and Poverty in the Developing World, Oxford University Press, UK

Birdsall, Nancy 1994a: *Population, Growth and Poverty: A Win-Win Tale* in Lindahl-Kiessling, Kerstin & Hans Landberg (eds): Population, Economic Development, and the Environment, Oxford University Press, USA

Birdsall, Nancy 1994b: *Another look at population and global warming* in Population, Environment, and Development, pp 39-54, Proceedings of the United Nations Expert Group Meeting on Population, Environment, and Development, January 1992, United Nations, New York

Birdsall, Nancy 2001: *New Findings in Economics and Demography: Implications for Policies to Reduce Poverty* in Nancy Birdsall, Allen C. Kelley & Steven W. Sinding (eds): Population Matters: Demographic Change, Economic Growth, and Poverty in the Developing World, Oxford University Press, UK

Birdsall, Nancy, Allen C. Kelley & Steven W. Sinding (eds) 2001: Population Matters: Demographic Change, Economic Growth, and Poverty in the Developing World, Oxford University Press, UK

Blaikie, P and H. Brookfield 1987: Land Degradation and Society, Methuen, London

Blakers, Margaret (ed) 2001: The Global Greens, Australian Greens and Green Institute, Hobart

Bledsoe, Caroline H, Jennifer A. Johnson-Kuhn & John G. Haaga 1999: *Introduction* in Caroline H Bledsoe, John B. Casterline, Jennifer A. Johnson-Kuhn & John G. Haaga (eds): Critical Perspectives on Schooling and Fertility in the Developing World, National Academy Press, Washington

Block, Jennifer 2003: *Christian Soldiers on the March*, The Nation 3.2.03, accessed 25.2.03 at <http://www.thenation.com/doc.mhtml?i=20030203&s=block>

Boland, Reed, Sudhakar Rao & George Zeidenstein 1994: *Honoring Human Rights in Population Policies: From Declaration to Action* in Gita Sen, Adrienne Germain & Lincoln C. Chen (eds) Population Policies Reconsidered - Health, Empowerment, and Rights, Harvard Center for Population and Development Studies and International Women's Health Coalition, Boston

Bolton, Pamela, Carl Kendall, Elli Leontsini & Corinne Whitaker 1989: *Health Technologies and Women of the Third World* in Rita S. Gallin, Marilyn Aronoff & Anne Ferguson (eds): The Women and International Development Annual, Vol 1, Westview Press, Colorado

Bongaarts, John & Judith Bruce 1995: *The Causes of Unmet Need for Contraception and the Social Content of Services*, pp 57-75 in Studies in Family Planning, Vol 26, No 2, March/April 1995

Bongaarts, John 1992: *Population Growth and Global Warming* pp 299-319 in Population and Development Review, Vol 18

Bookchin, Murray 1986: Towards an Ecological Society, Black Rose Books, Montreal

Bookchin, Murray 1987: The Modern Crisis, Black Rose Books, Montreal

- Boserup, Ester 1970: Women's Role in Economic Development, St Martin's Press, US
- Boston Women's Health Collective 1985: The New Our Bodies, Ourselves, Penguin, Australia
- Braidotti, Rosi & Ewa Charkiewicz, Sabine Hausler & Saskia Wieringa 1994: Women, the Environment and Sustainable Development - Towards a theoretical synthesis, Zed Books in association with INSTRAW, UK
- Brain, Peter 1999: Beyond Meltdown: the global battle for sustained growth, Scribe, Melbourne
- Brooks, L. Anthea & Teresa Chandler 1994: *American Religious Groups and Population Policy* in Laurie Ann Mazur (ed): Beyond the Numbers - A Reader on Population, Consumption and the Environment, Island Press, United States
- Brown, Frank 2000: contribution to an email discussion on population and environment, Greens Activist list, June 7, 2000
- Brown, Heather 2000: *REAL Women at UN Conferences* in REAL women newsletter August 2000 accessed 17. 7. 02 at <http://www.realwomenca.com/>
- Brown, Lester R and Brian Halweil 2000: *India reaching one billion on August 15: No celebration planned*, Worldwatch Newsbrief 99-6
- Brown, Lester, Gary Gardner and Brian Halweil 2000: Beyond Malthus: nineteen dimensions of the population challenge, Earthscan, London
- Brown Thompson, Karen 2002: *Women's Rights Are Human Rights* in S. Khagram, J. Riker and K. Sikkink (eds): Restructuring World Politics: Transnational Social Movements, Networks and Norms, University of Pennsylvania, Minneapolis
- Bruce, Judith 1990: *Fundamental Elements of the Quality of Care: A simple framework*, pp 61-91 in Studies in Family Planning Vol 21, No 2
- Brunet-Jailly 1999: *Has the World Bank a strategy for health?* pp 347-362 in International Social Science Journal 161, September 1999
- Bryant, Raymond L & Sinead Bailey 1997: Third World Political Ecology, Routledge, London

Bunch, Charlotte, Samantha Frost & Niamh Reilly 1999: *Making the Global Local: International Networking for Women's Human Rights* in Kelly D Askin & Doreen M. Koenig: Women and International Human Rights Law, Vol 1, Transnational Publishers, NY

Bustelo, Carlota 1995: *Reproductive Health and CEDAW*, pp 1145-1155 in American University Law Review 44, accessed on 8. 1. 01 at <http://www.law-lib.utoronto.ca/Diana/fulltext/bust.htm>

Buvinic, Myra 1983: *Women's Issues in Third World Poverty: A Policy Analysis* in M. Buvinic, M. Lycette and W.P. McGreevey (eds): Third World Poverty: A Policy Analysis in Women and Poverty in the Third World, John Hopkins University Press, US

Caldwell, John C 1994: Statement made on behalf of the International Union for the Scientific Study of Population to ICPD, accessed 26.4.1996 at <gopher://gopher.undp.org:70/00/ungophers/popin/icpd/conference/ngo/940909204939>

Caldwell, John C 1996: *The nature of the forum*, pp 71-72 in Health Transition Review 6

Caldwell, John C 1997: *The Global Fertility Transition: The Need for a Unifying Theory*, pp 803-812 in Population and Development Review 23, 4, December 1997

Caldwell, John C 1998: *Malthus and the Less Developed World: The Pivotal Role of India*, pp 675-696 in Population and Development Review Vol 24, No 4, December

Carr, Marilyn, Martha Chen & Renana Jhabvala (eds) 1996: Speaking Out – Women's economic empowerment in South Asia, IT Publications on behalf of Aga Khan Foundation Canada and UNIFEM

Cassen, Robert 1994: *Overview – Population and Development: Old Debates, New Conclusions* in Robert Cassen (ed): Population and Development: Old Debates, New Conclusions, Transaction Publishers, US

Castles, Stephen 1999: *International Migration and the Global Agenda: Reflections on the 1998 UN Technical Symposium*, pp 5-19 in International Migration Vol 37, No 1

Catholics for a Free Choice 2000: The "See Change" Campaign, 28.4.00 accessed 22.5.00 at <http://www.seechange.org>

Catley-Carson, Margaret 2001: *International Population Policy*, pp 11798-11805 in Neil J. Smelser and Paul B. Baltes: International Encyclopedia of the Social and Behavioural Sciences, Elsevier, Oxford

CCMC 1999: 6,000,000,000: faces and facts, accessed 4.1.03 at <http://www.unfpa.org/6billion/ccmc/index.html>

CEDPA 2000: Sadik Retires, Pleased With Progress But Sees More to be Done, interview conducted November 6, 2000, accessed 4.1.03 at <http://www.cedpa.org/publications/newsletter/dec2000/sadik.htm>

Charkiewicz, Ewa 2002: *SUCCESS AT A PRICE: is failure preferable? World Summit on Sustainable Development*, Supplement to DAWN Informs, August 2002, accessed 9.9.02 at <http://www.dawn.organisation.fj>

Charlesworth, Hilary 1996: Women as Sherpas: Are Global Summits Useful for Women? address to the Sixth International Interdisciplinary Congress on Women, Adelaide, April 23, 1996

Charlesworth, Hilary and Chistine Chinkin 2000: The Boundaries of International Law: a feminist analysis, Juris Publishing, UK

Charlesworth, Hilary, Chistine Chinkin and Shelley Wright 1991: *Feminist Approaches to International Law*, pp 613-45 in American Journal of International Law, 85.

Chatterjee, Pratap and Matthias Finger 1994: The Earth Brokers – Power, Politics and World Development, Routledge, London

Cheema, Mohammed Aslam & William Keeler 1995: *Global Policies Should Condemn Abortion and Restore the Traditional Family* in Charles F. Hohm: Population - Opposing Viewpoints, Greenhaven Press, US

Chen, Martha Alter 1995: *Engendering World Conferences: the international women's movement and the United Nations*, pp 477-493 in Third World Quarterly, Vol 16, No 3, 1995

Chowdhry, Geeta 1995: *Engendering Development? Women in Development (WID) in international development regimes* in Marianne H. Marchand & Jane L. Parpart (eds): Feminism/Postmodernism/Development, Routledge, UK

Chussudovsky, Michel 1995: *The World Bank derogates women's rights*, in Third World Resurgence No 61/62, September/October 1995

Cincotta, Richard P 2001: *Global Trends 2015 - A Demographic Perspective* in Environment Change and Security Project Report, Issue No 7, The Woodrow Wilson Center, Summer 2001

Claiborne, William 1999: *Study Cites Abortion Law, Child Aid Link* in Washington Post, 9.10.1999

Clark, Ann Marie, Elisabeth J. Friedman and Kathryn Hochstetler 1998: *The Sovereign Limits of Global Civil Society: A Comparison of NGO Participation in UN World Conferences on the Environment, Human Rights, and Women*, pp1-35 in World Politics, Vol 51, No 1

Clausen, A.W. 1984: Population Growth and Economic and Social Development, Addresses by A.W. Clausen, President, World Bank and International Finance Corporation, World Bank, Washington

Cleland, John 1996: *ICPD and the feminization of population and development issues*, pp 107-110 in Health Transition Review 6

Cliquet, Robert & Kristiaan Thienpoint 1995: Population and Development - A Message from The Cairo Conference, Kluwer Academic Publishers, Boston

Cochrane, Susan H & Ernest E. Massiah undated: Egypt: Recent Changes in Population Growth, Their Causes and Consequences, Human Capital Development and Operations Policy Working Paper No 49, World Bank

Cohen, Joel E 1997: *Why Should More United States Tax Money Be Used to Pay for Development Assistance in Poor Countries?* pp 579-584 in Population and Development Review, Vol 23, No 3, September 1997

Cohen, Susan A 1993: *The Road from Rio to Cairo: Toward a Common Agenda* pp 61-66 in International Family Planning Perspectives Vol 19, No 2, June 1999

Cohn, Theodore H 2000: Global Political Economy - Theory and Practice, Longman, US

Commission on Global Governance 1995: Our Global Neighbourhood, Oxford University Press, New York.

Commoner, Barry 1971: The closing circle: confronting the environmental crisis, Cape, London

Commoner, Barry 1972: 'The Closing Circle', in *Boardroom V Bedroom*, pp 23-52 Environment Vol 14, No 3, April 1972

Commoner, Barry 1979: The Politics of Energy, Alfred A. Knopf, New York

Commonwealth Human Rights Initiative 2001: Human Rights and Poverty Eradication: A Talisman for the Commonwealth, Commonwealth Human Rights Initiative, New Delhi

Conca, Ken, Michael Alberty & Geoffrey D. Alberto 1995: Green Planet Blues - environmental politics from Stockholm to Rio, Westview, Colorado

Coney, Sandra 1997: *The Women's Health Movement in New Zealand: Past Achievements, Future Challenges*, pp 23-26 in Reproductive Health Matters No 10, November

Cook, R.J 1994: Women's Health and Human Rights, World Health Organization, Geneva

Cook, Rebecca 1995: Gender, Health and Human Rights in Health and Human Rights, Vol 1, No 4, accessed 1. 2. 2000 at <http://www.hsph.harvard.edu/Organizations/healthnet/frame/frame1/html>

Cook, Rebecca and Isfahan Merali 1999: A Human Rights Approach to Promoting and Protecting Reproductive and Sexual Health Rights: The Role of Treaty Bodies, United Nations Agencies and NGO Partnerships, Action Canada for Population and Development, accessed 8.1.01 at <http://www.hri.ca/partners/acpd/resources/tbodies.cfm>

Copelon, Rhonda & Rosalind Petchesky 1995: *Toward an Interdependent Approach to Reproductive and Sexual rights as Human Rights: Reflections on the ICPD and Beyond* in Margaret A. Schuler (ed): From Basic Needs to Basic Rights – Women's Claim to Human Rights, Women, Law and Development International, Washington

Core group of North Sumatra Peasant Union 1999: Statement of North Sumatra Peasant Union posted to GSN email list 19.9.1999

Corporate Europe Observer 2002: WSSD: A Little More Conversation, a Little Less Action, accessed November 2002 at <http://www.corporateeurope.org>

Correa, Sonia (ed) 2000: Weighing up Cairo – Evidence from Women in the South, DAWN, accessed 10. 1. 01 at <http://www.dawn.org.fj/>

Correa, Sonia 1994: Population and Reproductive Rights: Feminist Perspectives from the South, Zed Books

Correa, Sonia 1997: *From Reproductive Health to Sexual Rights: Achievements and Future Challenges*, pp 107-115 in Reproductive Health Matters No 10, November 1997

Correa, Sonia 1999: Moving Forward in the Eye of the Storm, DAWN, Suva

Correa, Sonia 2000: *First Words* in Sonia Correa (ed): Weighing up Cairo – Evidence from Women in the South, DAWN, accessed 10. 1. 01 at <http://www.dawn.org.fj/>

Correa, Sonia 2002: Contribution to The Great Debate: Have UN Conferences Benefited Women? Association for Women's Rights in Development Conference, October 2002 posted to WIDE Forum on Beijing + 10, accessed 1.12.02 at <http://www.eurosur.org/wide/UN/WCW.htm>

Correa, Sonia 2003: *Abortion is a Global Political Issue*, pp 1-4 in A DAWN Supplement for the WSF, Porto Alegre 23-28 January 2003

Correa, Sonia and Rosalind Petchesky 1994: *Reproductive and Sexual Rights: A Feminist Perspective* in Gita Sen, Adrienne Germain and Lincoln C. Chen (eds): Population Policies Reconsidered - health, empowerment and rights, Harvard Center for Population and Development Studies and International Women's Health Coalition

Cox, Robert 1986: *Social Orders, States and World Orders: Beyond International Relations Theory* in Robert O. Keohane (ed): Neorealism and its critics, Columbia University Press, New York

Cox, Robert W 1999: *Civil society at the turn of the millennium: prospects for an alternative world order*, pp 3-28 in Review of International Studies 25

Cox, Susan Jane Buck 1985: *No Tragedy on the Commons*, pp 49-61 in Environmental Ethics Vol 7, Spring 1985

Crane, Barbara 1994: *International Population Institutions: Adaptation to a Changing World Order* in Peter M. Haas, Robert O. Keohane & Marc A. Levy (eds): Institutions for the Earth: Sources of Effective International Environmental Protection, MIT Press, Massachusetts

CWPE 1999: *Appendix A: Women, Population and the Environment: Call for a New Approach* in Jael Silliman and Ynestra King (eds): Dangerous intersections: feminist perspectives on population, environment, and development, South End Press, Cambridge, MA

CWPE 1999: Opposition to "Day of Six Billion": the Campaign and Statement, accessed 4.1.02 at <http://www.cwpe.org/index1.html>

CWPE undated: Index to web site accessed 24.12.02 at <http://www.cwpe.org>

Dabelko, Geoffrey D 2002: *Report from Johannesburg: Wither Population, Environmental Change and Security?* pp1, 10-11, 13 in Population, Environmental Change and Security Newsletter, Fall 2002, Woodrow Wilson Center

Danguilan, Marilen J. 1997: Women in Brackets - A Chronicle of Vatican Power and Control, Philippine Center for Investigative Journalism, Manila

De Senarclens, Pierre 1994: *Population and Security* pp 439-454 in International Social Science Journal 141, September 1994

De Sherbenin 1995: *World Population Growth and U.S. National Security*, pp 24-39 in The Woodrow Wilson Center Environmental Change and Security Project Report Issue 1, Spring 1995

Dean, Jodi (ed) 1998: Feminism and the New Democracy: Re-siting the Political, Sage Publications, UK

Deen, Thalif 1999: NGOs Barred from Speaking at Special Session, accessed 12.7.1999 at <http://www.globalpolicy.org/organisation/ngos/99deb/ips-ocpd.htm>

Delaney, Carol 1995: *Father State, Motherland, and the Birth of Modern Turkey* in Sylvia Yanagisako & Carol Delaney (eds): Naturalizing Power – Essays in Feminist Cultural Analysis, Routledge, New York

Demeny, Paul 1985: *Bucharest, Mexico City and Beyond*, pp 99-106 in Population and Development Review 11, No 1, March 1985

Demeny, Paul 1988: *Social Science and Population Policy*, pp 451-479 in Population and Development Review Vol 14, No 3, September 1988

Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade 1998: Human Rights Manual, Commonwealth of Australia, Canberra

Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade 2002: *World Summit on Sustainable Development*, in WTO Doha Round Bulletin, p1, Issue 2002/33, Office of Trade Negotiations, Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade, Australia

Department of Public Information 1998: Human rights today: A UN priority, UN Briefing Papers, New York

Deudney, Daniel 1995: *The Case Against Linking Environmental Degradation and National Security* in Ken Conca, Michael Alberty & Geoffrey D. Alberto 1995: Green Planet Blues - environmental politics from Stockholm to Rio, Westview, Colorado

Devall, Bill 1988: Simple in Means. Rich in Ends: Practicing Deep Ecology, Peregrine Smith Books, Salt Lake City

Devall, Bill and George Sessions 1985: Deep Ecology, G.M. Smith, Salt Lake City

Diamond, Ian, Margaret Newby & Sarah Varle 1999: *Female Education and Fertility: Examining the Links* in Caroline H Bledsoe, John B. Casterline, Jennifer A. Johnson-Kuhn & John G. Haaga (eds): Critical Perspectives on Schooling and Fertility in the Developing World, National Academy Press, Washington

Dionne Junior, E.J 2003: *Annexing the halls of justice*, Washington Post, republished in The Guardian Weekly, 19. 1. 03

Dixon-Mueller, Ruth & Adrienne Germain 1992: *Stalking the Elusive "Unmet Need" for Family Planning*, pp 330-335 in Studies in Family Planning Vol 23, No 5, September/October 1992

Dixon-Mueller, Ruth 1993: Population Policy and Women's Rights - Transforming Reproductive Choice, Praeger, USA

Dodgson, Richard 1998: The Women's Health Movement, the United Nations and the ICPD: Implications for a Politically Transformative IPE, Paper for the panel "Rethinking Change: Knowledge and Contest in IPE", 23rd British International Studies Association Annual Conference, University of Sussex, 16. 12. '98

Donaldson, Peter J 1990: Nature Against Us: The United States and the World Population Crisis, 1965-1980, University of North Carolina Press, US

Donaldson, Peter J 2002: *The elimination of contraceptive acceptor targets and the evolution of population policy in India* pp 97-110 in Population Studies Vol 56

Dornbusch, Rudiger and Stanley Fischer 1987: Macroeconomics, McGraw-Hill International Editions, Singapore

Dryzek, John S. 1997: The Politics of the Earth - Environmental Discourses, Oxford University Press

Duddy, Janice 2003: *How can the feminist's and women's movements learn from the Third World Social Forum?* AWID Friday File, Issue 115, February 28, 2003

Duden, Barbara 1992: *Population in Wolfgang Sachs: Development Dictionary - a guide to knowledge as power*, Zed, UK

Dumble, Lynette 1994a: *Population control or empowerment of women?* In Green Left Weekly, 2.11.1994

Dumble, Lynette 1994b: *The misogynist, racist plot that Cairo retains* in Canberra Times, 16.4.'94

Dumble, Lynette 1999a: personal communication, 31.10.1999

Dumble, Lynette 1999b: *The Global Emergency: Women's illiteracy, not some neo-Malthusian time-bomb* in Green Left Weekly March 10, 1999

Easterbrook, Gregg 1999: *Reproductivity* in The New Republic, October 11, 1999

Eberstadt, Nicholas 1991: *Population Change and National Security* pp 115-131 in Foreign Affairs Vol 70, No 3

Eberstadt, Nicholas 1995: *Robert Cassen and Contributors*, pp 419-426 in Population and Development Review, Vol 21, No 2, June 1995

Eberstadt, Nicholas 1998: *What if it's a World Population Implosion? Speculations about Global De-population*, Harvard Center for Population and Development Studies, March 1998

Eberstadt, Nicholas 2001: *World Population Prospects: The Shape of Things to Come*, American Enterprise Institute, accessed 13. 12. 01 at <http://www.aei.org/oti/oti12811.htm>

Eckersley, Robyn 1992: *Environmentalism and Political Theory - Towards an Ecocentric Approach*, UCL Press, London

Ecologist, The 1995: *"Carrying Capacity", "Over Population" and Environmental Degradation* in John Kirkby, Phil O'Keefe & Lloyd Timberlake (eds) 1995: *The Earthscan Reader in Sustainable Development*, Earthscan, London

Ehrlich, Paul 1968: *The Population Bomb*, Sierra Club/Ballantyne, US

Ehrlich, Paul 1999: *Human Reproduction: The Ecological Pile Driver*, Part Five of *Deep Ecology for the 21st Century*, New Dimensions Radio, Ukiah CA

Ehrlich, Paul and John P. Holdren 1972: 'Review of The Closing Circle', in *Boardroom V Bedroom*, pp 23-52 Environment Vol 14, No 3, April 1972

Ehrlich, Paul R and Anne H. Ehrlich 1990: *The Population Explosion*, Simon & Schuster, Australia

Eisenstein, Zillah R 1979: *Developing a Theory of Capitalist Patriarchy and Socialist Feminism* in Zillah R. Eisenstein (ed): Capitalist Patriarchy and the case for Socialist Feminism, Monthly Review Press, New York

Ekins Paul 1993: *Making development sustainable*, Chapter 6 in Wolfgang Sachs (ed) 1993: Global Ecology, Zed, UK

El-Hadi, Amal Abd 1996: *Islamic Politics in Beijing: Change of Tactics But Not Substance*, pp 47-53 in Reproductive Health Matters No 8, November 1996

Elson, Diane & Jasmine Gideon 1999: The International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights and the Empowerment of Women, Background Paper prepared for the UN Development Fund for Women (UNIFEM), October 1999, accessed 13. 6. 00 at <http://www.unifem.undp.org/progressww/esrights.html>

Elson, Diane & Nilufer Cagatay 2000: *The Social Content of Macroeconomic Policies*, pp 1347-1364 in World Development Vol 28, No 7

Elson, Diane & Rosemary McGee 1995: *Gender Equality, Bilateral Program Assistance & Structural Adjustment: Policy and Procedures*, pp 1987-1994 in World Development, Vol 23, No 11

Elson, Diane 1989: *The Impact of Structural Adjustment on Women: Concepts and Issues* in Bade Onimode (ed): The IMF, the World Bank and the African Debt: the social and political impact, Zed Books, London

Elson, Diane 1991: Male Bias in the Development Process, Manchester University Press, UK

Elson, Diane 1998: *Talking to the Boys: Gender and economic growth models* in Cecile Jackson & Ruth Pearson (eds): Feminist Visions of Development – Gender Analysis and Policy, Routledge, London

Endeavour Forum 2000: Towards a Healthy Society, accessed at <http://www.Endeavourforum.org.au/aug2000-1.htm>, 6. 9. 00

Engelman, Robert and Stephanie L. Koontz 1992: Population and the Environment: Impacts in the Developing World, Population Action International

Enloe, Cynthia 1989: Bananas, Beaches and Bases: Making Feminist Sense of International Politics, Pandora, London

Enloe, Cynthia 1996: *Margins, Silences and bottom rungs: how to overcome the underestimation of power in the study of international relations* in Steve Smith, Ken Booth & Marysia Zalewski (eds): International theory: positivism and beyond, Cambridge University Press, UK

Enzenberger, Hans Magnus 1974: *A Critique of Political Ecology*, pp 1-26 in New Left Review No 184, March-April 1974

Escobar, Arturo 1995: The Making and Unmaking of the Third World, Princeton University Press, New Jersey

Evans, Graham & Jeffrey Newnham 1998: The Penguin Dictionary of International Relations, Penguin, UK

Evans, Tony 2001: The Politics of Human Rights: A global perspective, Pluto Press, London

Evatt, Justice Elizabeth 1992: *World Women's Congress for a Healthy Planet* in Conserve, the newsletter of the Women's Conservation & Environment Network, June, Department of Conservation and Environment, Victoria

Falk, Richard 1997: *Resisting 'Globalisation-from-above' Through 'Globalisation-from-below'*, pp 17-24 in New Political Economy, Vol 2, No 1

Farah, Nadia 1991: *The Egyptian Women's Health Book Collective* in Middle East Report, November-December 1991

Feminists for Life 1999: Feminists for Life of America, accessed 3.4.00 at <http://www.serve.com/fem4life/>

Fetto, John 1999: *Six Billion Served* in American Demographics June 4, 1999

Fifty Years is Enough undated: Eliminating IMF and World Bank-promoted User Fees for Primary Health and Education, accessed 4. 3. 02 at <http://50years.org/action/s26/factsheet3.html>

Finger, Matthias & Ludivine Tamiotti 1999: *New Global Regulatory Mechanisms and the Environment – The Emerging Linkage between the WTO and the ISO* in IDS Bulletin Vol 30, No 3

Finger, Matthias 1993: *Politics of the UNCED Process* in Wolfgang Sachs (ed): Global Ecology – a new arena of global conflict, Zed, Canada

Finkle, Jason 2001: *Politics of Population Policies*, pp 11796 - 11798 in Neil J. Smelser and Paul B. Baltes: International Encyclopedia of the Social and Behavioural Sciences, Elsevier, Oxford

Finkle, Jason 2002: Impact of the 1994 International Conference on Population and Development, notes for a paper, UN/POP/CFT/2002/BP/2, presented to the Expert Group Meeting on Completing the Fertility Transition, Population division, Department of Economic and social affairs, United Nations Secretariat, New York, March 11-14 2002, accessed 21.3.2002 at <http://www.un.org/esa/population/publications/completingfertility/completingfertility.htm>

Finkle, Jason L & Alison McIntosh 1994: *The New Politics of Population* pp 3-34 in Jason L Finkle & Alison McIntosh (eds): The New Politics of Population: Conflict and consensus in family planning, supplement to Population and Development Review, vol 20

Finkle, Jason L & Alison McIntosh 1996: *Cairo revisited: some thoughts on the implications of the ICPD*, pp 110-113 in Health Transition Review 6

Finkle, Jason L & Barbara B. Crane 1975: *The Politics of Bucharest: Population, Development and the New International Economic Order*, pp 87-114 in Population and Development Review, Vol 1, No 1, September 1975

Finkle, Jason L & Barbara B. Crane 1985: *Ideology and Politics at Mexico City: The United States at the 1984 International Conference on Population*, pp 1-28 in Population and Development Review 11, No 1, March 1985

Finkle, Jason L & C. Alison McIntosh 2002: United Nations Population conferences: Shaping the Policy Agenda for the Twenty-first Century, Australian Reproductive Health Alliance, Occasional Papers Volume 2, Paper 2

Finnemore, Martha 1997: *Redefining Development at the World Bank* in Frederick Cooper & Randall Packard (eds): International Development and the Social Sciences – Essays on the History and Politics of Knowledge, University of California Press, US

Flannery, Tim 1994: The future eaters - an ecological history of the Australasian lands and people, Reed, Melbourne

Flavin, Christopher 2002: *Preface* in Christopher Flavin, Hilary French and Gary Gardner (eds): State of the World 2003 accessed 11. 1. 03 at <http://www.worldwatch.org/pubs/sow/2003/preface.html>

Folbre, Nancy 1983: *Of Patriarchy Born: The Political Economy of Fertility Decisions*, pp 261-284 in Feminist Studies 9, No 2 (Summer 1983)

Folbre, Nancy 1988: *The Black Four of Hearts: Toward a New Paradigm of Household Economics* in Judith Bruce and Daisy Dwyer (eds): A Home Divided - women and income in the Third World, Stanford University Press, USA

Folbre, Nancy 1997: *The Future of the Elephant-Bird*, pp 647-654 in Population and Development Review 23, 3, September 1997

Foran, Barney and Franzi Poldy 2002: Future dilemmas: Options to 2050 for Australia's population, technology, resources and environment, report to the Department of Immigration and Multicultural and Indigenous Affairs, Working Paper Series 02/01, Sustainable Ecosystems, CSIRO, Canberra

Fornos, Werner 2002: Population: Forgetting About People, accessed 30.8.02 at http://www.earthtimes.org/aug/populationforgettingaug23_02.htm

Foucault, Michel 1978: The History of Sexuality, Volume 1, An Introduction, Penguin, UK

Francis, Babette 2000: Beijing+5 Prepcom Stalemate in New York, at <http://www.endeavourforum.org/aug2000-3.htm>, accessed 6. 9. 00

Francisco, Gigi 1999: *Linkages to the WTO: Positive Conditionalities or Social Dumping?* in DAWN Informs No 3 1999, accessed 3.3.03 at http://www.dawn.org.fj/publications/di_3_1999/linkstowto.html

Francisco, Gigi 2002: *Summary Report: Panel Discussion on Gender, Trade and Sustainable Development, Indonesian People's Forum*, International Gender and Trade Network Monthly Bulletin Vol. 2, No. 07, July 2002

Francisco, Josefa (Gigi) and Gita Sen 2000: The Asian Crisis: Globalisation and Patriarchy in Symbiosis, accessed 24.2.02 at <http://www.dawn.org.fj/global/restructuring/wssd/asian.html>

Francisco, Gigi 2001: *Women make their mark at the World Social Forum*, DAWN Informs, January 2001, accessed 2.2.01 at <http://www.dawn.org.fj>

Freedman, Lynn P 1996: *The Challenge of Fundamentalisms*, pp 55-69 in Reproductive Health Matters, No 8, December 1996

Freedman, Lynn P & Stephen L. Isaacs 1993: *Human rights and Reproductive Choice*, pp 18-30 in Studies in Family Planning, Jan/Feb 1993

Freire, Paulo 1972: Pedagogy of the Oppressed, Penguin, UK

Furedi, Frank 1997: Population and Development - a critical introduction, St Martin's Press, New York

Gaeta, Anthony & Marina Vasilara 1998: Development and Human Rights - The Role of the World Bank, World Bank, Washington World Bank accessed 16.10.02 at <http://www.worldbank.org/html/extdr/rights/hr>

Garcia-Moreno, Claudia and Amparo Claro 1994: *Challenges from the Women's Health Movement* in Gita Sen, Adrienne Germain and Lincoln C Chen (eds) 1994: Population Policies Reconsidered - Health, Empowerment, and Rights, Harvard University Press

Gasman, Nadine 2001: How do we address the health needs of women and men internationally? Association for Women's Rights in Development Resource Net, Friday File, Issue 16, March 9, 2001

Gates Foundation 1999: Annual Report, accessed 4.1.03 at <http://www.gatesfoundation.org/nr/public/media/annualreports/annualreport99/grants/Rep.Child3.htm>

George, Jim 1994: Discourses of Global Politics – A Critical (Re)Introduction to International Relations, Lynne Rienner Publishers, Boulder

Geraldine Reardon (ed) 1995: Power and Process - A Report from the Women Linking for Change Conference, Thailand, Oxfam, UK

Germain, Adrienne, Sia Nowrojee and Hnin Hnin Pyne 1994: *Setting a New Agenda: Sexual and Reproductive Health and Rights* in Gita Sen, Adrienne Germain and Lincoln C. Chen (eds): Population Policies Reconsidered - health, empowerment and rights, Harvard Center for Population and Development Studies and International Women's Health Coalition

Gibbs, Christopher J.N & Daniel W. Bromley 1989: *Institutional Arrangements for Management of Natural Resources: Common Property Regimes* in E. O. Wilmsen (ed): Common Property Resources: Ecology and Community Based Sustainable Development, Belhaven Press, London

Gilpin, Robert 1984: *Can the Interdependent World Economy Survive? Three Perspectives on the Future* in Charles W. Kegley Jr & Eugene R. Wittkopf (eds): The Global Agenda – Issues and Perspectives, Random House, New York

Ginsburg, Faye D. & Rayna Rapp (eds) 1995: Conceiving the New World Order: the global politics of reproduction, University of California Press, US

Girard, Françoise 2001: *Reproductive health under attack at the United Nations*, p 68 in Reproductive Health Matters, vol 9, No 18

Gleditsch, Nils Petter 1994: *Conversion and the environment*, Chapter 7 in Jyrki Kanönen (ed): Green Security or Militarized Environment, Dartmouth Publishing, UK

Goetz, Anne Marie & Rina Sen Gupta 1996: *Who Takes the Credit? Gender, Power, and Control over Loan Use in Rural Credit Programs in Bangladesh* pp 45-63 in World Development Vol 24, No 1

Goetz, Anne Marie 1994: *From Feminist Knowledge to Data for Development: The Bureaucratic Management of Information on Women and Development* pp 27-36 in IDS Bulletin 25, No 2

Goldberg, Michelle 2002: The zealots behind President Bush's U.N. family planning sellout, June 13, 2002, Salon.com

Gordon, Linda 1990: Woman's Body, Woman's Right: Birth Control in America, Penguin, USA

Gorina-Ysern, Montserrat 1999: *The World Bank takes on human rights* pp 7-8 in human rights defender vol 8, September 1999

Grebenik, E 1989: *Demography, Democracy and Demonology*, pp 1-22 in Population and Development Review Vol 15, No 1, March 1989

Green, Cathy and Sally Baden 1995: *Integrated Water Resources Management: a Gender Perspective* pp 92-100 in ids bulletin vol 26, no 1

Greene, Ronald Walter 1999: Malthusian Worlds: US Leadership and the Governing of the Population Crisis, Westview Press, Boulder

Greenhalgh, Susan 1990: *Toward a Political Economy of Fertility: Anthropological Contributions*, pp 85-106 in Population and Development Review, Vol 16, No 1, March 1990

Greenhalgh, Susan 1996: *The Social Construction of Population Science: An Intellectual, Institutional, and Political History of Twentieth-Century Demography*, pp 26-66 in Comparative Studies in Society and History Vol 38, No 1

Greenhalgh, Susan 2002: Science, Modernity and the Making of China's One Child Policy, lecture delivered 22. 3. 2002 at Australian National University

Greer, Jed & Kenny Bruno 1996: Greenwash: The reality behind corporate environmentalism, Third World Network, Malaysia

Griffen, Vanessa 1999: Building Partnerships for Beijing Implementation and Women's Empowerment, paper presented to High Level Intergovernmental Meeting to review regional implementation of the Beijing Platform for Action, Bangkok 26-29 October 1999

Grown, Caren, Diane Elson & Nilufer Cagatay 2000: *Introduction* in World Development Vol. 28, No. 7

Guha, Ramachandra and J. Martinez-Alier 1997: Varieties of Environmentalism: Essays North and South, Earthscan, UK

Gujit, Irene 1997: Assessing Progress with Global Policies: What Agenda 21 and the Platform for Action Say about Gender and the Environment, unpublished paper, Department of Forestry, School of Resource Management and Environmental Studies, ANU, Canberra

Gupta, Vaneeta 2000: The World Bank Takes More than it Gives, interview with Julie Light in Corporate Watch April 14, accessed on 15.4.00 at <http://www.indymedia.org/display.php3/article>

Gupte, Pranay 1999: *Billion people and still counting: India and a terrible tragedy*, Earth Times News Service, August 10, 1999

Gururani, Shubhra 2002: *Construction of Third World women's knowledge in the development discourse* pp 313-321 in International Social Science Journal 173, September 2002

Guzman, Carmita 1997: *Planting the Seeds of a Latina Women's Health Movement*, pp 13-16 in Reproductive Health Matters No 10, November

Haddad, Lawrence, Lynn R. Brown, Andrea Richter and Lisa Smith 1995: *The Gender Dimensions of Economic Adjustment Policies: Potential Interactions and Evidence to Date*, pp 881-896 in World Development, Vol 23, No 6

Halliday, Fred 1994: Rethinking International Relations, Macmillan, UK

Haq, Farhan 1999: UNFPA and Vatican tussle over contraceptions, Interpress Service April 15

Haraway, Donna 1988: *Situated Knowledges: The Science Question in Feminism as a Site of Discourse on the Privilege of Partial Perspective*, pp 575-599 in Feminist Studies Vol 14, No 3

Haraway, Donna 1989: Primate Visions: Gender, Race and Nature in the World of Modern Science, Routledge, London

Haraway, Donna 1997: Modest Witness@Second Millennium.FemaleMan Meets OncoMouse, Feminism and Technoscience, Routledge, USA

Harcourt, Wendy 1997: *Conclusions: moving from the private to the public political domain* in Wendy Harcourt (ed) 1997: Power, Reproduction and Gender: The inter-generational transfer of knowledge, Zed Books, UK

Hardin, Garrett 1969: *The Tragedy of the Commons* in Garrett Hardin (ed): Population Evolution and Birth Control - A collage of controversial ideas, W.H. Freeman & Company, San Francisco

Hardin, Garrett 1974: *Living on a Lifeboat*, pp 561-568 in Bioscience Vol 24, No 10, October 1974

Hardin, Garrett 1999: The Ostrich Factor: Our Population Myopia, Oxford University Press, New York

Harding, Sandra 1992: Whose Science? Whose Knowledge? Rethinking from Women's Lives, Cornell University Press, US

Harkavy, Oscar 1995: Curbing Population Growth - An Insider's Perspective on the Population Movement, Plenum Press, NY

Hartmann, Betsy 1994: *Old Maps and New Terrains* pp 19-23 in Development 1994:1, Vol 1, Journal of Society for International Development

Hartmann, Betsy 1995: Reproductive Rights and Wrongs: the global politics of population control, Second Edition, South End Press, Boston

Hartmann, Betsy 1998: *Pastoral Symphony*, p 19 in The Women's Review of Books, Vol XVI, No 1, October 1998

Hartmann, Betsy 1999: Cross-Dressing Malthus, Znet Commentary, September 23, accessed 12.10.1999 at <http://www.zmag.org/sustainers/content/1999-09/23hartman.htm>

Hartmann, Betsy 2000: What's in a Word? Sierra Club Moves Right and Away from Democracy, ZNet Commentary, January 8, accessed 6.6.02 at <http://nuance.dhs.org/lbo-talk/0001/0611.html>

Hartmann, Betsy undated: Vertical Reform or Lateral Solidarity? The Politics of Privilege in the International Women's Health Movement, accessed 10.10.02 at <http://wscenter.hampshire.edu/ford/hartmann.html>

Hartsock, Nancy 1983: *The Feminist Standpoint: Developing the Ground for a Specifically Feminist Historical Materialism* in S. Harding & M. Hintikka (eds): Discovering Reality: Feminist Perspectives on Epistemology, Methodology and Philosophy of Science, Reidel, Dordrecht (Netherlands)/Boston (US)

Hartsock, Nancy C.M. 1997: *Comment on Hekman's "Truth and Method: Feminist Standpoint Theory Revisited": Truth or Justice?* Pp 367-374 in Signs Vol 22, No 2

Harvey, David 1996: Justice, Nature and the Geography of Difference, Blackwell, Cambridge, US

Hashimoto, Hiroko 2002: 26.10.2002 Post: Comments on organizing the 5th World Conference on Women, JAWW (Japan Women's Watch) posting to WIDE Forum on Beijing + 10, accessed 1.12.02 at <http://www.eurosur.org/wide/UN/WCW.htm>

Haupt, Arthur and Thomas T. Kane 1998: Population Handbook, Population Reference Bureau, Washington

Hausler, Sabine 1997: *Women and the Politics of Sustainable Development* in Wendy Harcourt (ed) 1997: Feminist Perspectives on Sustainable Development, Zed Books, London

Hawkins, John undated: Environmentalism Wacko Quotes, accessed 16.12.02 at <http://rightwingnews.com/quotes/wacko.php>

Hayes, Adrian 2002: personal communication, February 22

Hayward, Tim 1998: Political Theory and Ecological Values, St Martin's Press, NY

Hebblethwaite, Peter 1994: *Pope finds odd allies in holy war* in Canberra Times, p 9, September 13, 1994

Hessini, Leila 2002: 12.11.02 Post to WIDE Forum on Beijing + 10, accessed 1.12.02 at <http://www.eurosur.org/wide/UN/WCW.htm>