

UNIVERSITY OF NAIROBI
INSTITUTE OF DIPLOMACY AND INTERNATIONAL STUDIES (IDIS)

// **THE ROLE OF NON STATE ACTORS IN ENVIRONMENTAL DIPLOMACY IN AFRICA;**
THE CASE STUDY OF WANGARI MAATHAI AND THE GREEN BELT MOVEMENT IN KENYA //

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DECLARATION

This research study is my original work and has not been presented for the award of a degree in this University or any other Institution of higher learning for examination.

Signature.....

Date.....16/11/2015

MWENDE SALLY

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This project has been submitted for examination with my approval as the University Supervisor.

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ABSTRACT

Environmental diplomacy is the process of enabling and encouraging environmental cooperation between two or more parties. It helps to promote peace through conflict resolution by supporting to prevent conflict before it escalates and turns into violence. This is done by both the state and non state actors. Non state actors compliment the actions of the state.

This research project aims at; 1) analyzing the role of non state actors in environmental diplomacy, 2) examining the influence of the Green Belt Movement as a non state actor in environmental diplomacy in Africa, 3) examining the strategies and techniques used by the Green Belt Movement in promoting environmental diplomacy and 4) examining the role Wangari Maathai played as an actor that employed environmental diplomacy to promote environmental conservation and human development.

The research is based on the Ecofeminism theory, which basically links women to the ecology. The research shows the linkage on the role played by women in the environmental conservation as well as their involvement in the climate change debate in Africa. The recommendation is that more women should be empowered and provided with more resources in order to be engage in conservation related activities and thus solve conflicts that arise from them.

ABBREVIATION

CoP Conference of Parties

EU European Union

GBM Green Belt Movement

IGO Intergovernmental Organization

MDGs Millennium Development Goals

MNCs Multi National Corporations

NGO Non- Governmental Organizations

NSA Non State Actors

UN United Nations

UNCED United Nations conference on environment and development

UNDP United Nations Development Program

UNFCCC United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change

WEDO Women's Environment and Development Organization

WHO World Health Program

DEDICATION

This study is dedicated to my younger brother, Ronaldo Mbithi. May he be encouraged to achieve the best in his academic quest.

ACKNOWLEDGEMNT

I express my sincere gratitude to my supervisor Prof. Nzomo for the valuable guidance and support she extended to me since the inception of this project to its completion.

My mother, Eddy Mumbua who supported me throughout the course of this masters program.

My best friend Curtis Musembi who believed in me even when things were barely working.

To God.

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1 CHAPTER ONE

1.1 Background of the study

Environmental diplomacy is the process of enabling and encouraging environmental cooperation between two or more parties according to the International Institute for Sustainable Management. In regards to cooperation it helps promote peace through conflict resolution by preventing conflict before it escalates and turns into violence through addressing the root cause of the instability and promoting the proper way for dialogue between parties in order to help minimize and resolve disputes, by enabling more effective peace building processes, reconciliation among groups that have been divided and settling of post conflicts among countries. With the growing global population, the demand for resources also grows thus increasing the potential for natural resource conflict. In addition, the possible consequences for climate change in water availability, food security, prevention of diseases, coastal boundaries and population distribution may exceed existing tension and generate new conflicts. Unprecedented growth in population, in consumption, and in use of land and other natural resources have had the unintended effect of bringing forth a new generation of environmental problems that are significantly different from those of the past.

The environmental challenges of which we have become more recently aware are quite different in scope. Climate change, thinning of the stratospheric ozone layer, spread of dry lands and soil erosion, pollution of oceans and depletion of fish stocks, massive destruction of forests, widespread extinction of plant and animal species, persistent organic pollutants that spread their poison all over the globe: these problems represent a new kind of threat to human

well-being. Interrelationships among these apparently disparate issues exist in the form of common causal factors and physical, chemical and biological feedbacks.

The first major international attempt to bring all the nations together to solve the global environmental problems was the 1972 Stockholm Conference organized by the United Nations (UN). The major contribution of this Conference was that nongovernmental organizations (NGOs), for the first time were recognized by the state actors internationally. Two decades after the Stockholm Conference, the relationship between the UN system and NGOs evolved in a multi-dimensional way and many levels at the UN Conference on Environment and Development (UNCED) or the Rio summit¹. Both the UNCED process and Agenda 21 encouraged the establishment of environmental NGOs and included them on environmental management issues.

Environmental diplomacy truly came of age at the 1992 UN Conference on Environment and Development (UNCED) in Rio de Janeiro. Also known as the "Earth Summit," UNCED was the largest gathering of heads of state ever held up to that time: nearly 180 nations participated, 118 at head-of-state level. In addition, there were dozens of United Nations and other intergovernmental organizations, plus thousands of observers representing hundreds of nongovernmental organizations and media sources from every corner of the world.²

As a consequence of the Rio process, foreign affairs and other ministries, especially environmental affairs, defense and finance, were no longer able to dismiss environmental issues as irrelevant in the context of 'more strategic' aspects of national policy, as well as

¹ Conca, Ken. "Greening the UN: Environmental Organizations and UN System," *NGOs, the UN, and Global Governance*, Thomas G. Weiss and Leon Gordenker, Jr., eds., Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner, 103-20, 1996.

² Richard Benedick, *Diplomacy for the environment: the new generation of environmental dangers*, Environmental Diplomacy Conference Report, American Institute for Contemporary German Studies, Washington DC (1999), 4-5

defining national interests expressed in foreign, defense and economic policies. The environment and its protection became a shared global phenomenon and a variable that defines security, in particular 'human security'³ The Rio process and other processes that followed significantly influenced environmental negotiations and, in effect, represented a sea change in international diplomacy. Both small and large states had a stake in this new form of diplomacy and the 'diplomat' in general had to espouse these qualities.⁴

The late Wangari Maathai played a critical role in using environmental diplomacy to promote sustainable development as well as promoting good governance. She was the founder of the Green Belt Movement and the 2004 Nobel Prize laureate. She was internationally acknowledged for her struggle for democracy, human rights and environmental conservation.

Wangari Maathai interest in environmental sciences began at a young age. She obtained a degree in biological sciences in 1964. In 1976, she became active in the National Council of women. As the chairman, she began to structure grassroots organization that encouraged women to plant trees in order to conserve the environment. This effort assisted women in planting more than 20 million trees on farms, schools and churches and led to the formation of the Green Belt Movement (GBM). Due to her active role in linking environmental concerns to development, security and rights using the Green Belt Movement platform, numerous other countries in Africa have attained a greater understanding of the linkage between the environment and conservation to human development security.

³ The UN Development Programme (UNDP) has defined human security as having seven dimensions, namely economic security, food security, health security, environmental security and personal security. *Human Development Report*, UNDP, New York :United Nations Press, 1994.

⁴ The contemporary and changing roles of diplomats, in RG Feltham, *Diplomatic Handbook*, 8th ed., London: Oxford University Press, 2002.

1.2 Statement of the problem

Environmental diplomacy seeks to promote use of natural resources or common environmental threats as a platform for dialogue, confidence building and cooperation between divided communities and countries. As we look to the future, population growth, economic development, and technological change are likely to increase the demand for natural resources, while environmental degradation and previous exploitation of these resources will decrease the supply. Furthermore, climate change will act as a threat multiplier, exacerbating current vulnerabilities and adding to levels of uncertainty. These trends enhance the potential for natural resources to contribute to conflict in the future and highlight the growing importance of environmental diplomacy as an integrated part of conflict prevention, mediation and peace building

The world can unite to solve challenging environmental problems. When it became clear that several human-made substances were severely damaging the Earth's ozone layer and that the result was likely to be millions of additional cases of skin cancer and cataracts worldwide, governments reacted. The 1987 Montreal Protocol and its subsequent amendments have dramatically reduced the emission of ozone-depleting substances into the atmosphere. Because of this landmark agreement, scientists now believe that the ozone hole will begin to close sometime soon after the turn of the century. Technological innovation has spurred the development of ready substitutes for the worst ozone-depleting chemicals. The greatest remaining challenge is to continue to help developing countries make the transition to these alternatives

Environmental diplomacy and mediation can be applied at the local level, the national level and the regional level where cooperation over natural resources can be brokered between divided groups. One of the fundamental questions regarding the purposes of diplomacy is, who is or should be involved in it? What forms and practices it should assume to deal with new policy challenges need to be urgently addressed? This applies to international organizations as well as the institutions of national diplomacy and offers a fundamentally different perspective from that based on the familiar claim that diplomacy is irrelevant to contemporary global needs. Rather, diplomacy has a central role but needs to adapt to the demands of a rapidly changing environment.

Environmental diplomacy cannot be the responsibility of the states alone, non states actors such as NGOs and individuals play an instrumental role in promoting diplomacy. The significance of environmental diplomacy is becoming more elaborate since environmental issues ranging from climate change, hazardous chemicals to loss of biodiversity are affecting policy making aspects in the world. Environmental protection and sustainability remain paramount due to the complex and highly important reality of environmental challenges that threaten human survival.

This project seeks to investigate the question of what role non state actors play in Africa as well as the techniques and strategies that GBM and Prof. Wangari Maathai use in the environmental diplomacy in Africa. The project also aims to investigate the influence GBM as a non state actor has played in the environmental diplomacy field in Africa.

1.3 Objectives

1.3.1 General objective

- To analyze the role of non state actors in environmental diplomacy

1.3.2 Specific objectives

- To examine the influence of the Green Belt Movement as a non state actor in environmental diplomacy in Africa
- To examine the strategies and techniques used by Non State Actors and to promote environmental diplomacy
- To examine the role of Wangari Maathai as an actor that employed environmental diplomacy to promote environmental conservation and human development

1.4 Justification of the study

1.4.1 Academic justification

Environmental diplomacy can be viewed from the perspective of international relations, conflict management, international law and foreign policy analysis. For this project, the conflict management perspective was considered. There is a need to engage track two actors in environmental discourse, especially in foreign policy deliberations. Non state actors are have constituted the bulk of specialists that are involved in decision making process for the public good and coming up with the equivalent of an environmental marshal plan.

Non-state actors are actor's that are not representatives of states, yet that are able to operate at the international level and that are potentially relevant to international relations. Non State Actors see themselves as more effective, efficient and faster at tackling climate change than nation state actors because of the difficulties and slowness in diplomatic procedures and also reaching agreements but they recognizes that having a rigorous international policy framework is critical for achieving long term deep cuts in emission

1.4.2 Policy justification

NGO and individual inclusion in diplomacy does not come at the expense of state centrality. Rather, it is at the advantage of the states. Increased awareness, complexity and severity of transboundary environmental problems have led to increased International Corporation and states have thus expanded and coordinated their regulatory powers. States have incorporated NGOs because their participation enhances the ability in both technocratic and political terms of the resources, skills and domestic influences of NGOs. Their participation provides policy advice, helps monitor commitments and delegations, minimizes ratification risks and facilitates signaling between governments and constituents.

NGOs are now an integral part of the negotiating process and have changed the face of environmental law. They have been increasingly incorporated in what were previously states only governance activities. They participate actively in the corridors of diplomacy which is central in negotiations, receive documents, present proposals and are consulted by and lobby delegations. States are inextricably linked to the societies within which NGOs flourish. The strategies applied by both state and non state actors may vary, but the outcome is that both are trying to find a way to make the environment more sustainable.

1.5 Literature review

1.5.1 Green Belt Movement

The Green Belt Movement was founded In 1977 by Professor Wangari Maathai. It takes a holistic approach to development by working at grassroots, national and international level to promote environmental conservation, build climate resilience and empower communities especially women and girls and fosters democratic space and sustainable livelihood. GBM organizes women in rural areas to plant trees, restore their main source of fuel for cooking, generate income and stop soil erosion. Wangari Maathai incorporated advocacy and empowerment for women, eco-tourism and just economic into GBM.

1.5.2 Gender in the climate change debate in Africa

Neither the impacts of climate change on people nor the ways in which people respond to climate change are gender-neutral. Gender inequalities and different gender roles, needs and preferences which vary over space and over time influence the different ways in which young, adult and elderly males and females experience the impacts of climate change and develop strategies to adapt to or mitigate them.

Gender equality is both a development goal in itself – reflected, for example, in the third Millennium Development Goal on gender equality and women’s empowerment and a condition for the achievement of sustainable development. As such, gender equality is also a condition for successful adaptation to climate change, and the successful transition to low-carbon pathways in developing countries. This means that, if they are to be effective, climate change adaptation and low-carbon efforts need to be gender-responsive.

Taking into account the specific needs of men and women and the gendered inequalities that may compound the impacts of climate change for poor women in particular, or prevent women from benefitting from climate change policy responses. This in turn will ensure effective, sustainable poverty reduction. Yet, climate change responses also have the potential to challenge existing gender power imbalances and, by doing so, can contribute to the realization of greater gender equality and women's rights.

Therefore, any development programme or policy addressing climate change should be premised on the principle that neither the impact pathways nor the responses to climate change are gender-neutral, and that a gender-responsive approach is required from the outset. Few strategies for climate change adaptation and low-carbon development take an appropriate, comprehensive gender-responsive approach. Amongst known and new sets of stakeholders working on climate change and development-related issues including governments, civil society and the more recently emerging role of the private sector in low-carbon initiatives donors' leadership on promoting a much greater focus on the social and gender dimensions of climate change is, therefore, essential.

Gender and climate change is no longer a largely unexplored area, but there are still wide knowledge gaps, particularly in areas where the specific impacts of climate change on women and men are not immediately obvious. Civil society and international organizations working on gender have generated a range of new knowledge products that have discussed the gendered impacts of climate change and disasters in sectoral areas perceived as most 'directly' affected by climate change, such as food security, agriculture or water, as well as mapping some more 'indirect' impacts on social sectors such as health and education. However, the areas where

gender dimensions appear less obvious such as transport and infrastructure, energy access, housing, and formal or informal employment are far less well explored.

A lot of work on gender and climate change has emphasized women and their specific vulnerability, but there is increasing emphasis on the unequal relations between women and men, the different needs and experiences of women and men, girls and boys and women's and children's capacities to address climate change. A strong focus on women's specific vulnerabilities has favored approaches that put women at the receiving end of adaptation responses and some small-scale low-carbon initiatives. They have for a large part not addressed the gender inequalities underlying these differences in vulnerability, and have lacked consideration of the roles, preferences, needs, knowledge and capacities of men and women, boys and girls at all levels, particularly at the national and regional levels, and particularly in efforts to mitigate climate change.

Gender is insufficiently addressed under the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC) and in the emerging climate finance architecture. The level of attention and support to the integration of gender equality, beyond simply including more women in decision-making processes in the negotiations and a new binding climate change agreement, has remained limited. The current global policy response to climate change largely market and technology driven and focused on the reduction of greenhouse gas emissions has remained weak on securing social and gender justice. As long as women tend to have less access than men to property, information and funds, they will be unlikely to benefit from market- and technology-based solutions for climate change mitigation and adaptation.

While some progress has been made over the past few years, the social – and particularly the gender dimensions of climate change and its responses are insufficiently addressed under the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC), in the emerging climate finance architecture and in developing countries' strategies for climate change adaptation and low-carbon development. The spheres of policymaking and programming on climate change, both at the national and the international levels, remain dominated by technical and natural science perspectives and solutions, whether they are implemented at the household, community, national or global level. Amongst known and new sets of stakeholders working on around climate change and development-related issues including governments and civil society as well as the more recently established private-sector low-carbon initiatives donors' leadership on promoting a much greater focus on the social and gender dimensions of climate change is, therefore, essential. However, despite the rapid development of new knowledge and policy products on gender and climate change, there has been hardly any consideration of how donors as a particular set of actors in climate change and development could achieve this.

Climate change is 'rapidly creating new conditions for development in poor countries', primarily by inflicting increasing variability and uncertainty on the lives and livelihoods of their rural and urban populations, and by increasing the frequency and intensity of natural hazards⁵. Without adequate mitigation of and adaptation to climate change its direct and indirect impacts will cause 'substantial damage to human well-being and prosperity'⁶. There is thus an emerging

⁵ Cannon, T. and Müller-Mahn, D. (2010) 'Vulnerability, resilience and development discourses in context of climate change', *Natural Hazards* 15(1).

⁶ UNDP (2008) Human Development Report 2007/2008. Fighting Climate Change: Human solidarity in a divided world. New York: UNDP.

consensus that ‘any effective development planning process’ needs to take climate change into consideration⁷

With an increasing understanding of climate change as a development issue not only requiring scientific but also social, political, economic and behavioral solutions, the need to ensure these solutions are gender-responsive should be self-evident. As a scientifically proven, global phenomenon⁸, the impacts and perceptions of climate change vary at the local level, and they also vary between women and men, girls and boys. Including both men and women in decision-making on climate change adaptation and mitigation, and understanding the reasons for and implications of their different roles, responsibilities and capabilities is, therefore, clearly essential for poverty reduction and gender equality as well as successful climate-resilient and low-carbon development. Moreover, when addressing global poverty, not taking both women and men, and girls and boys into account would mean neglecting a large part of the people whose well-being we seek to improve⁹

Gender dimensions of climate change impacts: understanding the context, i.e. understanding how gender relations shape climate change impacts. For example, women’s greater likelihood to be illiterate often inhibits their access to life-saving disaster early warning information; cultural expectations in male risk behavior can put men and boys at greater risk of death or injury during a climate-related disaster; due to women’s unequal legal and economic status in many developing countries, disasters kill more women at a younger age than men; lack of

⁷ McMichael and Bertollini (2009) ‘Effects of climate change on human health’ in *Synthesis Report from climate change: global risks, challenges and decisions*, Copenhagen: University of Copenhagen.

⁸ IPCC (2007) *Climate Change 2007 – Impacts, Adaptation and Vulnerability. Contribution of Working Group II to the Fourth Assessment Report of the IPCC*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

⁹ Brody, A., Demetriades, J. and Esplen, E. (2008) *Gender and Climate Change: Mapping the Linkages. A scoping study on knowledge and gaps*, Brighton: Institute of Development Studies.

women's property and inheritance rights puts them at greater risk of livelihood and food insecurity when climatic shifts lead to displacement or seasonal/long-term migration¹⁰

In order to understand and address the differential impacts of climate change and disasters, it is fundamental to understand how gender inequality shapes vulnerability¹¹. For example, 'natural' disasters, on average, kill more women at a younger age than men¹²

Gender mainstreaming is about more than simply adding a gender dimension to existing policy and practice; rather, it should be about ensuring all thinking, planning, implementation and evaluations across all sectors are informed by a gender-responsive approach. Moreover, it should provide a lens for examining relationships and processes within donor institutions at all levels. As various respondents expressed, it is vital that integrating gender dimensions into climate change responses is not simply perceived as 'another task on the list' or a superficial 'tick-box' exercise and, instead, becomes an integral part of policy dialogue, and of planning, implementation, monitoring and evaluation, from the outset of any initiative.

Viewing gendered climate change impacts through an MDG lens, for example, has emphasized how, due to gender inequalities, climate change disproportionately affects women and girls in each of the MDGs' areas¹³. Under MDG1, 'eradication of extreme poverty and hunger', for example, climate change can further inhibit women's access to productive assets and food, and cause women's and girls' nutritional status to deteriorate more than that of men and boys, because the 'tradeoffs between consumption and survival' which climate change and other

¹⁰ UNDP (2009a) *Resource Guide on Gender and Climate Change*, New York: UNDP.

¹¹ World Bank, FAO and IFAD (2009) *Gender in Agriculture Sourcebook*, Washington, DC: The World Bank.

¹² Neumayer, E. and Plümpner, T. (2007) 'The Gendered Nature of Natural Disasters: The Impact of Catastrophic Events on the Gender Gap in Life Expectancy, 1981–2002', *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 97(3), pp551–66.

¹³ Rodenberg, B. (2009) *Climate Change Adaptation from a Gender Perspective. A cross-cutting analysis of development-policy instruments*. Discussion paper 24/2009, Bonn: Deutsches Institut für Entwicklungspolitik.

pressures such as rising food prices inflict on people 'can exacerbate gender bias in nutrition'¹⁴. Nutrition is both affected by and key for resilience to climate variability¹⁵. It is also a crucial issue in the nexus between climate change and health – particularly maternal and neonatal health and water and food security, which to date has received insufficient attention in the context of climate change¹⁶.

Apart from hunger and under-nutrition there are various other health impacts of climate change that are 'gendered in their effects', such as increases in injuries and death in disasters, epidemic outbreaks, deteriorating mental health or increases in violence, but there has been 'little research or case studies analyzing and highlighting them'¹⁷. At a macro-economic level, UNFPA and WEDO (2010) expect that climate change has similar impacts on maternal and reproductive health as other phenomena such as financial crises and recessions. With spending cuts that usually hit gender, family planning and health service budgets first, 'maternal and neonatal health complications rise, childhood nutrition declines and HIV/AIDS infections may increase'¹⁸

The official texts of the overarching institutional and political framework for global action on climate change, the 1992 UNFCCC and its Kyoto Protocol, which sets targets for reducing carbon emissions, do not refer to gender issues¹⁹ this could be attributed to a 'perceived need to focus on universal issues and not divert attention towards gender aspects, given the limited

¹⁴ UNDP (2008) Human Development Report 2007/2008. Fighting Climate Change: Human solidarity in a divided world. New York: UNDP.pg 86

¹⁵ Cannon, T. (2002) 'Gender and climate hazards in Bangladesh', *Gender and Development* 10(2), pp45–50.

¹⁶ UNSCN (2010) 'Climate Change. Food and Nutrition Security Implications', *SCN News* 38, Geneva: WHO.

¹⁷ WHO (2010) 'Gender, Climate Change and Health', Draft Discussion Paper, Geneva: WHO.pg 3

¹⁸ *ibid.*: 31

¹⁹ Roehr, U. (2006) *Gender relations in international climate change negotiations*, Genanet. Pg 8

human resources for negotiation, and the crisis in which the whole debate on the Kyoto Protocol found itself at that time²⁰.

However, the issue of gender in the context of climate change gained some initial official recognition at the seventh Conference of Parties (COP) to the UNFCCC in Marrakech in 2001, when decision called for increased participation of women in UNFCCC and Kyoto Protocol bodies and tasked the UNFCCC Secretariat with determining a quota and disclosing data on women's participation at each COP²¹. Since then, participation of women and organizations representing women in the negotiations has been increasing but female participation in negotiations is only *one* small part of a much broader, more comprehensive approach to gender and climate change that is urgently needed in international climate change policy.

The level of attention and support for the integration of gender equality, beyond simply adding more female delegates in the negotiations and a new binding climate change agreement, has remained limited. The current global policy response to climate change largely market and technology-driven and focused on the reduction of greenhouse gas emissions – has remained weak on securing social and gender justice. As long as women tend to have less access than men to property, information and funds, they will be unlikely to benefit from market- and technology-based solutions for climate change mitigation²² and for adaptation. The Nairobi Work Programme which 'has been a good mechanism for catalyzing action on adaptation'

²⁰ Skutsch, M. (2002) 'Protocols, treaties and action. The 'climate change process' viewed through gender spectacles', *Gender and Development* 10 (2) pp30–9.

²¹ UNFCCC Decision FCCC/CP/13/aad.4

²² GenderCC (2009) *Gender into climate policy. Toolkit for climate experts and decision-makers*, Berlin: GenderCC.

under the UNFCCC has not included gender issues in its work on impacts, vulnerability and adaptation²³

Gardiner says, "a surprising convergence of philosophical writers on the subject: they are virtually unanimous in their conclusion that the developed countries should take the lead in bearing the costs of climate change, while the less developed countries should be allowed to increase emissions for the foreseeable future."²⁴

Climate change is a difficult policy problem which requires replacing a large global energy infrastructure and requires coordinating hundreds of nations and thousands of actors, each with their own self-interest.

The first and most important global climate change treaty is the Framework Convention on Climate Change, negotiated in 1992.²⁵ Virtually all nations, including the United States, are signatories. The Framework Convention is, to a great extent, inspirational. It does not impose specific obligations to reduce emissions. Nevertheless, the first principle adopted in the framework holds as follows:

The Parties should protect the climate system for the benefit of present and future generations of humankind, on the basis of equity and in accordance with their common but differentiated responsibilities and respective capabilities. Accordingly, the developed country Parties should take the lead in combating climate change and the adverse effects thereof.²⁶

²³ GenderCC (2010) *Submission to the SBSTA: Views and information on the effectiveness of the Nairobi Work Programme*. Submitted by GenderCC – Women for Climate Justice, August 2010.

²⁴ Gardiner, Stephen M. 2004. Ethics and Global Climate Change. *Ethics* 114 (3):555-600

²⁵ *United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change*. S. Treaty Doc. No. 102-38.

1992.

²⁶ *Ibid* Article 3, paragraph 1.

The lack of attention to gender issues according to some authors can be considered as the result of the perceived need felt by negotiators to focus their attention, and the limited available resources, on more universal issues.²⁷ Both with regards to mitigation and adaptation policies, scientific and technological measures are preferred to “soft” policies addressing behavior and social differences, particularly with regards to incomes and general opportunities. Historical climate records show that Africa has already experienced a warming of 0.7°C, with global models predicting a further increase at a rate of 0.2–0.5°C per decade²⁸. There are also observed changes in rainfall distribution with decreased rainfall expected in the Sahel and an increase for central Africa. Further physical impacts include sea-level rise, changes in temperature extremes (such as heat waves), and an increase in the frequency and intensity of storms. Such physical impacts combined with a high dependence on natural resources and an overdependence on rain fed agriculture mean that many African countries face high vulnerability in the coming decades. Poverty, inequitable land distribution, conflict, HIV/AIDS, and debt also mean that many African countries lack the adaptive capacity to cope and adjust compared to more developed countries.

The millennium development goals recognize the need to promote gender equality and empower women to participate in all facets of economic and social life with the aim of achieving sustainable development. Climate change poses a significant challenge to the achievement of sustainable development for the rural poor, especially women, who will suffer disproportionately from its impacts. To date little has been done to mobilize and empower

²⁷ Wamukonya, N., Skutsch, M., “Is there a gender angle to the climate change negotiations?”, *Energla Paper*, 2001.

²⁸ IPCC (2007) *Climate Change 2007 – Impacts, Adaptation and Vulnerability. Contribution of Working Group II to the Fourth Assessment Report of the IPCC*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

women and men particularly in Africa to address global environmental challenges such as climate change.

1.5.3 Non state actors in environmental diplomacy

Globalization has rendered non state actors an integral part of global governance. A growing number of non state actors participate in global conferences and authority is increasingly exercised by non state actors in the implementation of international treaties and decisions²⁹. With international climate change negotiations continuing to be locked into inadequate levels of commitments by states³⁰), non states actors are expected to play a more prominent role. This development has been widely perceived as a way of increasing both efficiency and legitimacy of in global governance.³¹

At the intergovernmental level, non state actors seek to shape policies and norms. They can lobby states to ensure either general or specific policy outcomes or draw attention to particular concerns. They often highlight specific causes as being important for the effectiveness of the issues under negotiation, which is often described as NGO diplomacy³². For example, GBM highlights the plight of the environment and the role of women. Non state actors participating in intergovernmental meetings can thus be considered as both stakeholders and international lobby organizations.

²⁹ Andonova, L. B., Betsill, M. M., & Bulkeley, H. (2009). Transnational climate governance. *Global Environmental Politics*, 9, 52–73.

³⁰ UNEP. (2010). The Emissions Gap Report - Are the Copenhagen Accord Pledges Sufficient to Limit Global

³¹ Ibid

³² Betsill, M., & Corell, M. (Eds.). (2008). *NGO Diplomacy: The Influence of Nongovernmental Organizations in International Environmental Negotiations*. Cambridge MA: MIT Press.

At a transnational level, new forms of governance arrangements means that non state actors have new opportunities to exercise authority and to take on a greater responsibility to manage collective responsibilities³³. The lack of a centralized government arrangement means that non state actors have taken on new roles and challenged the monopoly of states in some areas, including establishing policies, practices and norms.³⁴ At this level therefore, non-state actors can be considered both as implementers and governors in their own right.

There has been concern that non state actors may represent a challenge to the state power³⁵. However, focus has now shifted to the empirical documentation of their activities and examining their influence in international governance³⁶. Recently, non state actors have become important players that carry out a multitude of roles including but not limited to information sharing, capacity building and implementation as well as rule sharing³⁷. According to Raustiala, non state actors perform a number of tasks in environmental governance. This services range from offering policy advice to assisting in the monitoring of commitments³⁸. Different categories of non state actors this have different functions in the negotiations depending on their source of power. Since source of power is distributed unequally across categories of non state actors and because no actor can dominate all types of power sources,

³³ Cerny, P. (2010). *Rethinking World Politics. A Theory of Transnational Pluralism*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

³⁴ Hoffmann, M. J. (2011). *Climate Governance at the Crossroads: Experimenting with a Global Response after Kyoto*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

³⁵ Mathews, J. T. (1997). Power Shift. *Foreign Affairs*

³⁶ Betsill, M., & Corell E. (2001). NGO Influence in International Environmental Negotiations: A Framework for Analysis. *Global Environmental Politics* 1(4), 65-85.

³⁷ Andonova, L. B., Betsill, M. M., & Bulkeley, H. (2009). Transnational climate governance. *Global Environmental Politics*, 9, 52–73.

³⁸ Raustiala, K. (1997). States, NGOs, and international environmental institutions. *International Studies Quarterly*, 41, 719–740.

no group is expected to have privileged position across all stages and policy process. Depending on the combination of the power sources held by the non state actors, their function in environmental governance will vary.

1.5.4 Diplomacy and good governance

Good governance is a crucial element of the global struggle for sustainable development and peace. The United Nations Millennium Declaration of 8 September 2000 stipulates that success in meeting the key objectives of the current century depends, inter alia, on good governance within each country and at the international level. Governance is the exercise of political, economic and administrative authority to manage a nation's affairs. Governance encompasses a whole range of complex mechanisms, processes, relationships and institutions through which citizens and groups articulate their interests, exercise their rights and obligations and mediate differences.

Some of the main elements of good governance which entered into the generally accepted international vocabulary as a result of successful efforts undertaken on its substantive aspects at various levels of multilateral diplomacy. The enumeration of those elements, as suggested by the United Nations after intensive diplomatic negotiations, includes: participation, rule of law, transparency, responsiveness, consensus orientation, equity, effectiveness and efficiency, accountability and strategic vision.³⁹ It is understood that these elements and the characteristics attached to them are mutually reinforcing, are interrelated and cannot stand

³⁹ "Governance For Sustainable Human Development", A UNDP policy document, UNDP, New York, January 1997, pp.2-5.

alone. Long and detailed negotiations are needed to come to consensus definitions of all these notions, taking into account the different cultural contexts in which they are used.

Good governance is a significant issue on the diplomatic agenda of both bilateral and multilateral negotiations. It has been emphasized both in the specialized literature and in different stages of debates and negotiations that good governance was by its essence an attribute of democracy. In the era of globalization and competition, good governance is expected to combine in a rational, predictable manner economic reforms and social responsibility with the aim of promoting institutional reforms, social stability and justice.⁴⁰

Good governance is frequently praised by national delegations in international organizations, being recognized that it is an essential building block for meeting the objectives of sustainable development, prosperity and peace.⁴¹ Lack of good governance has a negative influence on business development and economic growth. Poor governance poses serious threats to security and stability at national level and can generate "hot spots" among states.⁴² Dysfunctional, unresponsive and non-transparent institutions generate incoherent and inefficient governmental policies, and open the way for corruption and abuses, underdevelopment, economic and social polarization.⁴³

As the primary instrument of international communication and negotiation, diplomacy is permanently called upon to contribute to channeling global changes in an evolutionary, peaceful, democratic and rule-based manner. Its objectives include identification of common

⁴⁰ Mircea Geoana, Address at the Ninth Meeting of the OSCE Economic Forum 2001, Prague, 15 May 2001.

⁴¹ Kofi A. Annan, *Renewal and Transition*, United Nations, New York, 1997, p.10.

⁴² Daniel Dalanu, *Concluding Remarks at the OSCE Economic Forum 2001*, Prague, 18 May 2001.

⁴³ *ibid*

interests and agreement on collective or parallel action in their pursuit as well as the recognition of conflicting interests and possible agreement on compromise solutions.

Diplomacy contributes in a specific way to an orderly system of international relations and is the most common political technique for the peaceful settlement of disputes. It is permanently involved in conveying and clarifying of messages between governments, in the gathering of information and the cultivation of friendly relations. One of its priorities, as the main vehicle of foreign policy, is to facilitate the promotion of good governance both at domestic and international levels.

Non-state actors represent a range of interests and discourses. Their activities take place at different levels—ranging from local to global. However, we know relatively little about how non-state actors are turned into agents by virtue of their authority. Most commonly, agency is understood as a function of unequal knowledge of rules, access to resources, and differing levels of transnational connectivity and geopolitical status⁴⁴

While non-state actors often lack traditional forms of political power/authority (legislative and executive), they have alternative sources of power. The key skills and resources that non-state actors possess have been identified as deriving from their intellectual, membership, political, and financial bases⁴⁵: More specifically, the different sources of non-state actor power are believed to

⁴⁴ Fisher, D., & Green, J. (2004). Understanding disenfranchisement: Civil society and developing countries' influence and participation in global governance for sustainable development. *Global Environmental Politics*, 4(3), 65–84.

⁴⁵ Gulbrandsen, L., & Andresen, S. (2004). NGO influence in the implementation of the kyoto protocol: Compliance. Flexibility Mechanisms, and Sinks, *Global Environmental Politics*, 4(4), 54–75.

include knowledge and information⁴⁶ economic resources and position in the global economy⁴⁷; organizational capacity, transnational networking and mobilization capacity⁴⁸ and legitimacy⁴⁹.

The growth of diverse non-state actors and institutional arrangements has begun to change the dynamics and outcomes of global environmental politics. New actors in areas such as business, civil society and science now play a more prominent role internationally and in multi-actor and multilevel governance networks. This trend towards transnationalization is likely to continue into the future. It will not end state-sponsored international governance but it does create new opportunities and challenges. If managed carefully, greater involvement of non-state actors can enhance the problem-solving capacity of international institutions, add new governance mechanisms to existing international treaties and provide for a more inclusive and legitimate form of international policymaking.

World politics in general and global environmental politics in particular are characterized by a proliferation of actors and the emergence of new forms of global governance.⁵⁰ States and intergovernmental institutions may still be at the heart of much international policymaking but non-state actors and novel governance mechanisms increasingly shape outcomes in global politics.

⁴⁶ Betsill, M., & Corell, E. (2001). NGO influence in international environmental negotiations: A framework for analysis. *Global Environmental Politics*, 1(4), 65–85.

⁴⁷ Falkner, R. (2010). Business and global climate governance: A neo-pluralist perspective. In M. Ougaard & A. Leander (Eds.), *Business and global governance* (pp. 99–117). London: Routledge.

⁴⁸ *ibid*

⁴⁹ Gough, C., & Shackley, S. (2001). The respectable politics of climate change: The epistemic communities and NGOs. *International Affairs*, 77(2), 329–346.

⁵⁰ Cerny, P. G., 2010, *Rethinking World Politics: A Theory of Transnational Pluralism*, Oxford University Press, Oxford.

Naturally, the degree to which non-state interests are represented internationally varies from issue to issue. In environmental politics, by far the most prominent example of this trend is in the field of climate change, where steadily more civil society and business groups attend international negotiations. This process reached its pinnacle with the 2009 Conference of the Parties to the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC) in Copenhagen, which was attended by 10 500 official delegates, 13 500 observers and 3 000 media representatives, according to official UN sources⁵¹.

Transnational networks bring together a diversity of actors that are like-minded and focus on global, rather than national, policy objectives. Such networks usually include those actors needed to pursue such objectives successfully, following a functional logic of transnational problem-solving. For example, multistakeholder initiatives such as the Kimberley Process include business, NGOs and states and draw on their respective capacities to eliminate international trade in so-called 'conflict diamonds'.⁵²

The rise of non-state actors and new forms of multi-actor and multilevel governance is a complex phenomenon that cannot be explained with reference to any single causal factor. Instead, four key drivers of global change can be identified: economic globalization; information asymmetries; technological change; ideational change (i.e. changes in the formation of ideas and norms). They are not direct, immediate causes of transnational governance and politics but provide a fertile environment in which these new forms of global governance are demanded and supplied.

⁵¹ UNFCCC, 2009, 'The United Nations Climate Change Conference in Copenhagen, 7–19 December 2009' (http://unfccc.int/meetings/cop_15/items/5257.php)

⁵² Kantz, C., 2007, 'The power of socialization: engaging the diamond industry in the Kimberley process', *Business and Politics* 9(3): 1–20.

1.6 Theoretical framework

This study borrows from the ecofeminism framework, which basically refers to movement and philosophies that link ecology with feminism. The term "ecofeminism" was first used by a group of feminists in France who established the Ecology-Feminism Center in 1974, based on their analysis of the connections between male-dominated social institutions and the destruction of the physical environment⁵³. The theory argues that there are significant connections between women and nature. Ecofeminism interprets their repression and exploitation in terms of repression and exploitation of the environment. These connections are illustrated through female values such as reciprocity, nurturing and cooperation, which are present in both nature and among women. They are also united through their shared history of oppression by patriarchal western society. Domination of women and the domination of nature are fundamentally connected and therefore environmental efforts are integral with work to overcome the oppression of women.

As Rosemary Ruetler wrote in her 1975 book 'New Woman/New Earth;

Women must see that there can be no liberation for them and no solution to the ecological crisis within a society whose fundamental model of relationships continues to be one of domination. They must unite the demands of the women's movement with those of the ecological movement to envision a radical reshaping of the basic socioeconomic relations and the underlying values of this modern industrial society⁵⁴

⁵³ D'Eaubonne, R. 1994. The time for ecofeminism. In *Ecology*, edited by C. Merchant. Atlantic Highlands, NJ: Humanities Press.

⁵⁴ Ruether, Rosemary Radford. 1975. *New Woman/New Earth: Sexist Ideologies and Human Liberation* (New York: The Seabury Press)

Ecofeminist philosophers agree that there is an important connection between the domination of women and the domination of nature and that a failure to recognize the connections results in inadequate feminism, environmentalism and environmental philosophy. What the nature of these alleged connections is and which, if any, are accurate descriptions of the nature and root sources of the twin dominations of women and nature is largely what ecofeminist philosophers' debate.

Dr. Wangari Maathai was very vocal in matters concerning tree planting and empowering women. She used her position as a woman to voice out the challenges that face women, as well as to encourage them to be self sufficient. The Green Belt Movement works almost exclusively with women on various projects. This has helped alleviate their position in the community. The movement has planted millions of trees in Kenya and other parts of Africa in an effort to restore ecosystems, promote sustainable livelihoods, empower women and promote democracy.

When reading about Wangari Maathai, the theory of eco feminism comes up quite often because she liked very much to link the philosophies of feminism and ecology. In this study though, we are going to focus on the tragedy of commons by Garrett Hardin, which eludes that individuals acting independently and rationally, according to each other's self interests behave contrary to the interests of the whole group to the best interests of the whole group depleting some common resource.

1.7 Hypotheses

This study assumes that;

- Non state actors play a role in environmental diplomacy

- GBM a non state actor has influence on environmental diplomacy in Africa
- There are strategies and techniques employed by non state actors in environmental diplomacy
- Wangari Maathai as an individual played a role in environmental diplomacy

1.8 Methodology

1.8.1 Research design

The research shall exclusively make use of secondary data in its investigation. The data will be collected mainly from sources such as academic books, journal articles by eminent scholars found in libraries of institutions of higher learning, Ministries of Foreign Affairs and the Green Belt Movement offices. Additionally, credible and verifiable Internet websites and reliable organizational publications such as those from the United Nations, World Bank and the African Union among other organizations will be used. The use of this secondary data is justifiable based on the fact that access to primary information would require immense proportions of financial and logistical capabilities that are not within the access of the researcher.

1.8.2 Data Analysis

Data analysis shall be done centrally by the principal researcher. An inductive approach to analyzing the data will be followed. Drawing from David Thomas, this approach will assume that: Data analysis is determined by both the research objectives and multiple readings and interpretations of the raw data; the research findings result from multiple interpretations made from the raw data by the researchers who code the data. Inevitably, the findings are shaped by the assumptions and experiences of the researchers conducting the research and carrying out

the data analyses; and The trustworthiness of findings will be assessed through: a) comparison with findings from previous research, (b) review of the data and findings by other partners in the research (c) feedback from participants in the research, and (e) feedback from key experts on the focus areas regarding the research findings.⁵⁵

1.9 Chapter outline

Chapter one consists of the introduction to the study and discusses statement of the problem, objectives, literature review and methodology. Chapter two discusses the role of non state actors in environmental diplomacy. Chapter three looks at the strategies and techniques employed in environmental diplomacy. Chapter Four analyses the data collected in the previous chapter in the light of the hypotheses and theoretical framework already stated. Chapter five provides conclusions of the study, gives recommendations and provides suggestions on areas for further study.

⁵⁵ Thomas, D. R. (August 2003). 'A General Inductive Approach For Qualitative Data Analysis', School of Population Health, University of Auckland: New Zealand, p. 3-4.

2 CHAPTER TWO

2.1 ROLE OF NON STATE ACTORS IN ENVIRONMENTAL DIPLOMACY

2.1.1 Introduction

Environmental Diplomacy (ED) addresses contentious disputes and controversies related to the use and management of ecological and/or natural resources, development and growth, and a range of additional and related concerns among them international diplomatic negotiations. Large-scale human-induced environmental pressures may seriously affect national and international security. This chapter tries to analyze the role of non state actors, with emphasis on the role played by ecofeminists, in environmental diplomacy.

2.1.2 Role of non state actors

There are over seven major environmental problems that can in one way or the other contribute to conflict in the developing world and these include: greenhouse warming, stratospheric ozone depletion, acid deposition, deforestation degradation of agricultural land, overuse and pollution of water supplies, and depletion of fish stocks. This list excludes a number of other environmental problems including declining biodiversity which might in a way contribute to acute conflict by weakening agricultural productivity over the long term but even more indirectly than the seven environmental stresses. These can be characterized as large-scale human-induced environmental problems, with long-term and often irreversible consequences, which is why they are often grouped together under the rubric 'global change,'⁵⁶ using the environmental security debate as lenses to gain a deeper understanding of the

⁵⁶ *World Resources 1990-91* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1990) and *World Resources 1988-89* (New York: Basic Books, 1988).

relationship between the environment, resources, and conflict as well as their diplomatic encounter.

Non state actors play an instrumental role in complimenting the governments when it comes to environmental diplomacy. They highlight the environmental issues that might be overlooked, such as natural resource degradation, misuse of resources and conflicts due to the scarcity of natural resources.

It is important to trace the relationship between the environment and conflict and compare that with that of the security debate. This means that there is a need to look at how environmental change affects conflict, rather than security to start with and how women are involved in these conflicts. While environmental change may contribute to conflicts as diverse as war, terrorism, or diplomatic and trade disputes, it may also have different causal roles, be they proximate and powerful causes or minor and distant players in tangled stories involving political, social, economic, and physical factors. It is a generally-accepted norm that environmental change play a variety of roles as a cause of conflict and that environmental change may shift the balance of power between states, regions and even globally. It means these environmental changes produce instabilities that could, and sometimes, lead to war. Looking at from another angle, as global environmental damage increases the disparity between the developed and the developing (or between North and the South), one will note that, poor nations may from different fronts confront the rich for a greater share of the world's wealth.

Some of the reasons for the current salience of environmental issues include the fact that poor countries are in general more vulnerable to environmental change than rich ones; therefore

stressing the argument that environmentally-induced conflicts are likely to arise first in the developing world. In these countries, a range of atmospheric, terrestrial, and aquatic environmental pressures will in time probably produce, either singly or in combination, four main, causally interrelated social effects: reduced agricultural production, economic decline, population displacement, and disruption of regular and legitimized social relations. These social effects, in turn, may cause several specific types of acute conflict, including scarcity disputes between countries, clashes between ethnic groups, and civil strife and insurgency, each with potentially serious repercussions for the security interests of the developed world. As anti-Malthusians have argued for nearly two centuries, numerous intervening factors--physical, technological, economic, and social--often permit great resilience, variability, and adaptability in human-environmental systems.

Where does the environmental security debate fit within this? It has been argued for awhile now that environmental issues are equally important security issues that must be part and parcel of national security policy-making. This is due to the fact that "environmental problems have become increasingly significant in producing conflicts. Especially in developing countries, desertification, water scarcity, and climatic change play a large part in the origin and escalation of current conflicts and usually act in combination with other factors, such as poverty, economic decline, over-population, bad governance, and political instability"

Robert Kaplan's 1994 *Atlantic Monthly* article titled "The Coming Anarchy,"⁵⁷ popularized the idea that mounting population and environmental pressures can contribute directly or indirectly to conflict. Although his graphic depiction of a world beset by swelling population

⁵⁷ Daniel Schwartz and Ashbindu Singh "Environmental Conditions, Resources, and Conflicts: An Introductory Overview and Data Collection", (Nairobi: UNEP, 1999).

numbers, severely degraded environmental resources, and escalating violence, may have shocked the public, these ideas are not new to the international security community. For example, nearly three decades ago, the prospect of environmentally-induced conflict was identified, and subsequently the idea of “environment and conflict” has been hotly debated in academia and international policy circles. The debate went on and contributed to the fact that the “environment and conflict” argument was somehow placed in a perspective relative to the larger field of “environmental security.” The analytical positions on “environment and conflict” were then characterized and categorized according to three areas: renewable vs. non-renewable resources, direct vs. indirect conflict, and international vs. intra-national conflict. This categorization, which is an attempt to provide a framework for analysis, somehow provided policy-makers and researchers with a means of systematically analyzing environmental conflicts, which in turn allowed a better application of conflict management prevention, management and resolution techniques. Non state actors highlight all the above factors.

Since the end of the Cold War, international agenda has changed considerably - changing with them the character of diplomacy. As Brian White describes, diplomacy has become more global, complicated and fragmentary.⁵⁸ Thus, changes in diplomacy are especially visible by the involvement of many new actors in the area of international cooperation. A fast developing international system opened doors to many new actors, including international organizations, transnational corporations, and important interest groups. Diplomacy that, from the middle of

⁵⁸ White, B. “Diplomacy” in Baylis, J., Smith, S. (ed), *The Globalization of World Politics: An Introduction to International Relations*. 3rd edition. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005. P. 393.

the 15th century, was known as an important tool of foreign policy became wider in the post-Cold War era. In fact, the transformation of diplomacy has not been completed yet. Nowadays, for instance, governmental diplomacy must deal with various non-state actors that shape its agenda. As Giandomenico Picco points out, "diplomacy, one of the last monopolies of a government, is now accessible to and performed by nongovernmental organizations as well as individuals who have one main characteristic: credibility".⁵⁹ At the same time it would be a big mistake to consider that the role of governmental diplomacy has declined. "Although the entry of these new players has ended the effective monopoly diplomats once enjoyed over international relations, governmental diplomacy continues to have an important role"⁶⁰.

Nowadays, the role of the state has changed in response to the rapidly changing international environment and the involvement of new actors. The result, of course, is that diplomacy has changed with it. Multilateral processes connected to security, economic, social, technological and other changes influence the essence of modern diplomacy. One of the authors who has been able to elegantly express the subject of change is Richard Langhorne. According to him, "the current sense of flux in diplomacy which is evident both on the ground and in studies of the subject is primarily due to the conjunction of major growth in the diplomacy of states at a time when the role of states is changing and this change is leaving space for the emergence of new and untrained users of diplomacy, users who sometimes do not acknowledge that either need or in practice actually employ diplomacy at all".⁶¹ Thus, it is true that contemporary

⁵⁹ Picco, A. „A New International System?“, *Whitehead Journal of Diplomacy and International Relations*, 4/2 (2005), P. 32.

⁶⁰ Riordan, S. *The New Diplomacy*. Cambridge: Polity Press, 2003. P. 130.

⁶¹ Langhorne, R. „On Diplomacy“, *Political Studies Review*, 6/1 (2008), P. 55.

diplomacy has become a transnational process of social relationship realized by an enlarged diplomatic community.

2.1.3 Conclusion

Non state actors compliment the actions of the government on matters of the environment. They are more effective in playing this role because they have the resources ready and they avoid the bureaucratic procedures in implementing the decisions made. They are also effective in keeping the government in check and ensuring that the policies that are passed are more progressive.

Women play a good role in conflict resolution. Involving women in diplomatic proceedings ensures that the process runs smoothly and that they are able to make their contribution from a point of experience and academic point

3 CHAPTER THREE

3.1 THE STRATEGIES AND TECHNIQUES USED BY NON STATE ACTORS TO PROMOTE ENVIRONMENTAL DIPLOMACY

3.1.1 Introduction

The Movement approaches development from the bottom and moves upwards to reach those who plan and execute the large-scale development models whose benefits hardly ever trickle down to the poor. It has no blue print, preferring to rely on a trial and error approach which adopts what works and quickly drops what does not. It calls upon the creative energies of the ordinary local women, on their expertise, knowledge and capabilities.

Negotiation follows a three step approach. The first stage should commence whenever 50% of the parties agree that there is a threat that requires attention. The goal here is to ensure that there is a document that defines the scope of the threat and lists the key principles to be applied in the formation of a response. This is done within a six month limit. The second stage is defining how long a problem should take to avoid being vague. The final stage involves reporting and monitoring the progress of the project and could lead to tightening of the requirements.

Wangari Maathai as an individual played a role in voicing the plight of the environment in Africa. She was a globally recognized ecofeminist who started a movement that was involved in several projects. She was also the 2004 Nobel peace prize laureate due to her role in environmental conservation.

This chapter looks at the techniques and strategies that non state actors employ in environmental diplomacy as well as the role played by Wangari Maathai played in good governance as well as how the Nobel prize affected her responsibilities.

3.1.2 Techniques

Mediators use a number of strategies and tools to directly or indirectly address natural resources issues which include and are not limited to;

Addressing natural resource issues in a manner suited to their role in the conflict: when resources are central to the conflict, mediators recommend provisions on resource ownership, access, and management in the peace agreement. If natural resources helped sustain the conflict and finance different armed groups, a peace agreement should limit access to related resource revenues or include transparency safeguards. When natural resources are damaged, degraded, or destroyed over the course of a conflict, the peace agreement should consider issues around environmental assessments, restoration, compensation, and alternative livelihoods.

Using potential benefits from natural resources as an incentive to keep parties at the negotiating table: During the negotiation of peace agreements discussions can be derailed by specific political or security issues, or simply from negotiation fatigue. In some cases, the economic prospects associated with natural resources have been used as an incentive to keep the talks going and to help maintain momentum. It is the role of the Mediators to help the parties see how natural resources are an essential element in any future economic vision, thereby recognizing the opportunity costs of a return to conflict.

Establishing mechanisms or institutions to address resource issues in the future: Natural resource issues often require solutions that are too complicated or long-term to be comprehensively addressed in a peace negotiation. For that reason, mediators may choose to use the peace agreement as a means to create an institutional framework that will, in turn, deal with resource issues in the future. In this regard, natural resources can be addressed through direct or indirect provisions in peace agreements, or through follow-up

Environmental diplomacy and mediation: Where shared natural resources or common environmental threats are creating tensions among communities, companies and/or countries, UNEP can provide a range of environmental diplomacy and mediation support. Services include identifying rising tensions and conflicts over natural resources, opportunities for cooperation and technical entry points for engagement; brokering meetings and providing a neutral platform for dialogue, information sharing, training and joint action; providing impartial expertise (honest broker), scientific analysis and policy advice over contested natural resources or sources of environmental degradation; catalyzing and leveraging resources for the implementation of joint action plans and projects; and conducting independent monitoring and offer dispute resolution to support the implementation of joint action plans.

3.1.3 Strategies

Communities and countries on Continents including Africa have developed intricate ways and social responses to manage disputes and for diffusing tensions in order to cooperate, rather than enter into conflict, over shared natural resources. The need for environmental diplomacy

in the 21st century is however rising sharply and across multiple issues-some of which remain local or regional, but others linked with global impacts.

And indeed even local impacts are becoming part of the global diplomacy landscape-one thinks of the Inuit in Canada who have filed a legal action against some developed nations alleging their emissions are linked to the loss of Arctic sea ice that endangers the health, food security and future of civilizations in the far North.

Africa, with just four per cent of global greenhouse gas emissions, is also a highly vulnerable region-this international climate change diplomacy is a key area of concern on this Continent as it is in the Arctic, small island developing states and other 'front line' locations such as low lying Bangladesh.

The escalating importance of environmental diplomacy is linked with a fundamental change in the scale and the reach of humanity's footprint-pollution can travel across Continents via the jet stream or in ocean currents from those who have generated it for economic development to those who are impacted, but who have not reaped any benefits from its production.

If global environmental policy is to enhance human security and non human security in a sustainable manner, policy needs to be moved beyond hasty reactions to disaster or imminent disasters. Through holistic management of environmental threats, states are free to act in the real interests of its citizens. From an ecofeminist perspective, giving more responsibility to women at the negotiating table would improve the quality of the results since they experience most of these problems first hand.

3.2 Wangari Maathai as an individual in environmental diplomacy

Professor Wangari Maathai played an instrumental role in environmental diplomacy. She shone the light on the plight of the environment by encouraging tree planting. She believed that trees were a symbol of peace and hope. She used her tree planting initiative to elevate the plight of women and help eradicate poverty. Working as an individual, she was instrumental in promoting gender equality and empowering women was achieved by encouraging women to plant over 20 million trees. She also formed the Women's Environment and Development Organization (WEDO), which was specifically designed to encourage women. She was also very vocal on the role of women in the national assembly after she was elected a member. Her role in environmental conservation led to her being internationally recognized as a conservationist.

3.2.1 Good governance

Nobel laureate Wangari Maathai underscored the importance of good governance in the effective and sustainable management of the continent's natural resources. Prof. Maathai noted that poverty and environmental degradation on the continent were results of poor governance. She warned of dire consequences for Africa if the continent failed to create and maintain good governance structures that enhance natural resource development and environmental protection. "Species that have had their habitat destroyed eventually die off," she noted that though man is the only species that thinks and projects into the future, its activities are destroying the environment.

Professor Wangari Maathai called on leaders to be more critical on natural resource management, sustainable development and poverty eradication. According to her, the

continents perennial poverty is blamed on the mismanagement of the continents natural resources. Good governance can be viewed as the missing piece in the development paradigm. Poverty cannot be overcome if basic notions such as peace, equity and justice are not taken seriously. There is thus need for responsible and accountable leadership on the continent.

While working with GBM, she noted that common natural resources such as forests, rivers, land, wetlands, wildlife and lakes could not be protected unless the country had good governance.

Such governance would mobilize citizens such that they will avoid deforestation and degradation of forests and land as well as fight the deforestation process by tree planting, soil conservation, harvesting of rain water as well as protecting diversity.

On climate change, Prof. Maathai remarks that human action is partly to blame for the current challenges being faced by the continent. Sustainable forest and natural resource management would be a major step towards checking global warming. Deforestation and other human activities were destroying natural habitats and such actions were causing extinction of some species.. She stressed that the destruction of local diversity was putting a lot of pressure on the continent, adding that without local biological diversity, the continent's agriculture cannot be effective. She urged Africans to work towards repairing the damage done to the continent's environment by planting trees, stressing however that key to having a healthy environment was ensuring after-care for the trees to be planted.

3.2.2 Nobel peace prize

The Norwegian government has used the Nobel Prize to not only celebrate visionaries promoting peace but to also empower them and inspire others. It seeks to promote peace between conflicting human groups. Some of the prizes have implied that peace depends on healthy natural environments and equitable distribution of resources. by awarding the Peace prize to Wangari Maathai in 2004, the Nobel committee made the most powerful connection between peace, equity, human rights and the flourishing of nature.

Wangari Maathai was the first African scholar to receive a Nobel Peace Prize for her contribution to sustainable development, democracy and peace" Maathai's mobilization of African women was not limited in its vision to work for sustainable development; she saw tree-planting in a broader perspective which included democracy, women's rights, and international solidarity. In the words of the Nobel Committee: "She thinks globally and acts locally."⁶²

In recognition to her deep commitment to the environment, Wangari Maathai was appointed the UN Messenger of Peace in December 2009 with focus on the environment and climate change. In 2009, she was appointed to the MDG advocacy group; a panel of political leaders, activists and business people established with the aim to galvanize worldwide support for the achievement of MDGs. In 2010, she became the chairman of the Karura forest Environmental Education trust, established to safeguard the public land for whose protection she had fought for years. In partnership with the University of Nairobi she founded the Wangari Maathai Institute for Peace and Environmental studies which aims to bring together academic research

⁶²: "Wangari Maathai - Facts". *Nobelprize.org*. Nobel Media AB 2014. Web. 2 Aug 2015. <http://www.nobelprize.org/nobel_prizes/peace/laureates/2004/maathai-facts.html>

in land use, forestry, agriculture, resource based conflicts, peace studies with the GBM approach and members of the institution.

The case of Wangari Maathai and GBM she founded is worth the special attention they received from the Nobel Committee. Through this award Nobel Committee averred that grassroots organizations like the GBM promote peace, if often indirectly. Holistically viewed, the act of ecological restoration such as planting trees, the defense of the ecosystem from destructive forms of logging, challenging corrupt governments that do not actively support environmental protection can all contribute to the environmental and social conditions upon which peace depends

3.2.3 Conclusion

As a mediator in a natural resource conflict, you have to know what strategies and techniques to employ in order to get the best results and to ensure that the conflict does not end up as violent conflict. Wangari Maathai used her knowledge on the environment and how to solve environmental issues and her efforts were recognized when she won the 2004 Nobel Prize. As a laureate, she used her voice to shine more light on the plight of the environment, and ensure that governments were addressing the massive degradation as well as addressing the causes of climate change.

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4 CHAPTER 4

4.1 ANALYSIS OF THE GREEN BELT MOVEMENT AND ENVIRONMENTAL DIPLOMACY IN AFRICA

4.1.1 Introduction

Green Belt Movement addresses issues of wood fuel, both for the rural populations and the urban poor, the need for fencing and building materials, the rampant malnutrition and hunger, the need to protect forests, water catchment areas, open spaces in urban centres and the need to improve the low economic status of women. In the process this leads to activities which help to transfer farming techniques, knowledge and tools to women as well as to enhance leadership capacity of the participants.

4.1.2 Green Belt Movement in Africa

The Movement informs and educates participants about the linkages between degradation of the environment and development policies. It encourages women to create jobs, prevent soil loss, slow the processes of desertification, loss of bio-diversity and plant and to eat indigenous food crops. The organization tries to empower women in particular and the civil society in general so that individuals can take action and break the vicious circle of poverty and underdevelopment. In regions where women are able to be decision-makers over land use and resources, they are proving to be a positive force for sustainable change. It is not just the women in the developing countries that are involved in the climate change debate, research shows that more women are willing to take up the challenge and are more willing to adopt policies designed for global warming. Internationally, women leaders are at the forefront of a

global civil society network working to hold government, international institutions, and the private sector to account for their promises on climate action.

Addressing both the symptoms and the causes of environmental degradation at a community level is also part of the movements' mandate. This involves teaching the community members to recognize and differentiate between the causes and the symptoms and to discern their linkage. It also encourages the participants to develop expertise in their work and not to be limited by illiteracy or low level of formal education.

The movement also identifies and educates citizens on economic and political issues which form important linkages with the environmental concerns which are likely to have a negative impact on the environment. This is done through seminars, workshops and exchange visits. The role of the civil society in protecting the environment, developing a democratic culture

It also addresses the role of the civil society in protecting the environment, developing a democratic culture, pursuing participatory development, promoting accountable and responsible governance, which puts its people first, protecting human rights and encouraging respect for the rule of law.

4.1.3 GBM and tree planting in Africa

The Green Belt Movement is a grassroots non-profit NGO based in Kenya whose mission is to create community consciousness for self-determination, equity, improved livelihoods and security and environmental conservation. It uses tree planting to address the challenges of deforestation, soil erosion and water scarcity. According to Wangari Maathai, "The planting of trees is the planting of ideas. By starting with the simple act of planting a tree, we give hope to

ourselves Biocultural Diversity Learning Network and to future generations.” GBM advocates for human rights, good governance and peace democratic change through the protection of the environment. Its’ mission is to empower communities worldwide to protect the environment and to promote good governance and cultures of peace.

More than 40 million trees have been planted across Africa resulting in decreased soil erosion in critical watersheds, restored biodiversity-rich forests and empowerment of women and their communities. At present, GBM is in the process of implementing a BioCarbon Fund Pilot Project in Kenya that is Biocultural Diversity Learning Network considered to demonstrate the country’s capability of accessing the global carbon market to the benefit of less developed communities

To stop the loss of the loss of world’s forests, countries around the world have set a goal of replanting 150 million hectares of deforested and degraded land by 2020. There is more to meeting this target than just planting trees. How countries govern their farmland and forests plays a large role in the success or failure of restoration programs. Ecological restoration which is “the process of assisting the recovery of an ecosystem that has been degraded, damaged, or destroyed,” according to the Society for Ecosystem Restoration, requires long-term commitment by all levels of government as well as landholders, corporations, researchers and others.

The eventual success of forest restoration initiatives is often associated with systemic governance challenges, which are often overlooked during project design. In practice, countries must decide which activities they will stimulate, restoration plantations, natural regeneration, exotic tree plantations, forest management, or a combination and Identify the main challenges

in implementing them. This can be effectively achieved by both the state and non state actors. By doing this, they will reduce the conflict on the natural resources.

GBM began as a grassroots tree planting program to address the challenges of deforestation, erosion and a lack of water but has grown into a vehicle for women empowering. The act of planting a tree is helping women throughout Africa become stewards of the natural environment. In so doing, they are also becoming powerful champions for sustainable management of resources such as water, equitable economic development, good political governance, and ultimately, peace.

4.1.4 Tree planting and watersheds

Trees are a good measure of the health and quality of our environment. GBM uses a watershed based approach to restore degraded watersheds of key water catchments so as to improve their functions and improve the livelihood of local communities. Since it is an integrated approach, it sustainably supports and diversifies the sources of income for the communities neighboring the forest by generating income from tree planting activities and promoting alternative and profitable use of the forest. GBM also partners with institutions such as faith based groups, schools and the army to help access the remote areas for tree planting and also planting on public lands.

GBM encourages the investment in sustainable development of tree based bioenergy systems in Africa due to the rising demand for energy, population growth and urbanization. The need to bring Africa out of energy poverty is well recognized, including by the UN Sustainable Energy for

All initiative (SE4ALL) and the Sustainable development Goal (SDG) which includes a goal to 'ensure access to affordable, sustainable and modern energy services for all.'

Increased participation of NGOs in political processes reflects broader changes in the nature of diplomacy in world politics. In international relations scholarship, diplomacy is often viewed as something that states do; an important aspect of statecraft and foreign. Alternatively, Sharp (1999) argues that diplomacy is better understood in terms of representation; diplomats are actors who act on the behalf of a clearly identified constituency. We find that Sharp's definition better captures the reality of multilateral negotiations on the environment and sustainable development. As the contributions in this volume demonstrate, international environmental negotiations cannot be understood in terms of inter-state diplomacy. Rather, these processes involve myriad actors representing a diversity of interests. In multilateral negotiations on the environment and sustainable development, NGO representatives act as diplomats who, in contrast to government diplomats, represent constituencies that are not bound by territory but by common values, knowledge, and/or interests related to a specific issue.

To the extent that NGO diplomacy has been considered in the past, the emphasis has often been on unofficial acts, such as hosting foreign visitors or participating in cultural exchanges or scientific meetings. However, these discussions typically treat NGO diplomacy as something that occurs outside the realm of formal, inter-state politics. In contrast, the contributions in this volume illuminate the ways that NGOs engage directly in one of the most traditional diplomatic activities—formal international negotiations. In each of our cases, NGO diplomats perform many of the same functions as state delegates: they represent the interests of their

constituencies; they engage in information exchange, they negotiate, and they provide policy advice.

Negotiation processes and outcomes are shaped by more than just what happens during isolated, two-week formal negotiating sessions. NGO diplomats may influence multilateral negotiations during the pre-negotiation/agenda-setting phase, so it is important to consider how the negotiations came about in the first place. In addition NGOs may influence the negotiation process during formal inter-sessional meetings, through domestic channels and/or in more informal settings as well. Therefore, in assessing the influence of NGO diplomats in international negotiations, we have encouraged contributors to consider all activities related to multilateral negotiations, not just those that occur during the official two-week sessions.

For environmental NGOs, influence in the early stages of negotiations (e.g., debates over the negotiation agenda) may be necessary though by no means sufficient for achieving influence in later stages (e.g., debates over the specifics of the agreement text). The growth of diverse non-state actors and institutional arrangements has begun to change the dynamics and outcomes of global environmental politics.

4.1.5 GBM and the climate change debate

Women get the brunt of the impact of environmental degradation and thus need to be involved in the decision making process both nationally and internationally. Due to their role as family providers, women are aware of the food shortages and the forest degradation around them. They are thus involved in developing some of the solutions that can save the world from the impacts of global warming. Rural communities in Africa are experiencing the impacts of climate

change which includes severe drought and erratic rainfall. They thus need support and resources to build resilience. The impacts of climate change threaten to jeopardize the lives of women, from food shortage to forest degradation and complex health risks, as well as increased likelihood of conflicts over resources.

With women at the forefront, the Green Belt Movement in Kenya has planted tens of millions of trees to restore local habitats and reduce the reliance on forests for fuel. In Malawi, women farmers have joined together to share information on seeds and cultivation techniques that help them adapt to the degradation of soil and changes in rainfall patterns caused by global warming.

Women need to be given the basic democratic rights to participate as equals in matters of climate change. They also need the land and resource rights to implement progressive forestry and green agricultural practices because in many parts of the world, they do not own collective or individual titles on the land they live on. These lacks of control means that they are less able to implement sustainable agriculture or adapt forest management strategies to mitigate climate change.

As a community-led tree-planting organization GBM's priorities include strengthening the role communities play in protecting old growth forests, and helping to restore indigenous forests while improving livelihoods.

4.1.6 Green Belt Movement and environmental diplomacy

Non state actors in unprecedented numbers are finding roles in the new multilateral diplomacy. This is an improvement from the 1985 Vienna Convention where only three non-governmental observers, none of which were environmental. An international network began to evolve during the 1990 Montreal Protocol. These organizations became linked electronically enabling them to prepare and coordinate positions before and during negotiations in the same way as a governmental delegation. The 1992 UNCED negotiations saw representation from various NGOs representing the interests of environmentalists, women religion science, academe agriculture and local community governments.

The dramatic change in NGO activity in recent years reflects the equally dramatic increase in the scope and strength of international environmental law. That NGOs are more pervasive in environmental diplomacy illustrates the expansion, not the retreat of the state addressing global environmental problems.

According to Homer-Dixons' theory of scarcity, natural resource scarcity can cause conflict due to its negative social effects. This is true in the case of places affected by environmental degradation, soil erosion as well as logging of trees. This leads to decreased agricultural yields, as well as water scarcity. GBM uses its influence on the community to solve the conflicts that arise from the above effects. It encourages women to plant indigenous trees which in place help save the water catchment areas, thus minimizing the conflicts that arise from natural resource scarcity.

GBM tries to avoid the tragedy of commons whereby conflict arises from individuals who act independently on a shared resource. They encourage communal participation in safeguarding

the communal resources and thus instill a sense of pride on all the community members. It encourages community members to research on new techniques to improve the environment. This in turn leads to improved livelihoods of community members.

5 CHAPTER FIVE

5.1 SUMMARY, CONCLUSION AND RECOMENDATIONS

5.1.1 Summary

Non state actors play an instrumental role in complementing the state in achieving diplomacy.

Professor Wangari Maathai played an instrumental role in environmental conservation and promoting non state actors to the limelight. NGOs have been very influential in international environmental law. This study focused on how NGOs, specifically GBM have influenced international environmental law. NGOs complement state regimes instead of replacing them in their activities. How has GBM complimented the state and how has it been on the forefront in promoting good governance?

GBM plays an important role in mediating conflicts over natural resources as well as encouraging the women to be self sufficient. They promote environmental sustainability, education; poverty eradication and globalization all of which are found in the MDGs. Non state actors are now more vocal in more affairs that are affecting the globe, including climate change. Their contribution cannot no longer be ignored.

GBM has used women as advocates in promoting environmental conservation. Women empowerment is one of the key findings from the research. Women are involved in all manner of projects, from tree planting to education. Since they are on the receiving end of the effects of climate change, they are doing what they best can to reduce these effects. Civic education on environmental degradaton, soil erosion and water scarcity is part of the role of the Green Belt

Movement. GBM has also been instrumental in coming up with policies on how to tackle climate change.

Non state actors use various techniques and strategies to promote environmental diplomacy. Some of these techniques include negotiation and mediation of natural resources. As Homer Dixon states in the theory of scarcity, limited access to a resource can cause conflict as the resource diminishes. Planting trees is a way of saving the forest and saving the land from degradation and natural calamities such as drought.

5.1.2 Conclusion

Non state actors have been involved in the various ways in environmental diplomacy. Their involvement ranges from academic research to financing the many projects undertaken.

Recent developments in technology and better organization have allowed non state actors to have a more active role in diplomacy, bringing new challenges to international organizations seeking to build partnerships with them. Different organizations and different actors have found ways to work together and reach a common goal. On a broader level, however, it remains difficult to incorporate all NSAs into multistake holder diplomatic processes. Although previous experiences show that the Participation of NSAs can facilitate communication with civil society while providing accountability and transparency to the process, their role is yet to be defined.

With the rising rates of insecurity in the world, environmental security cannot be overlooked. Resource scarcity is a leading cause of conflict that cannot be mediated upon by states alone. Non state actors thus play a crucial role in mediating the conflicts that arise. The role of

ecofeminists like Wangari Maathai cannot also be overlooked when looking at issues on environmental diplomacy. They are very vocal on issues that affect the environment, and thus fight for better policies to be passed in order to prevent further degradation. They fight for afforestation and reafforestation in order to maintain the water sources, like in the case of Mau forest in Kenya.

Equity is one of the factors that environmental diplomacy entails. The global environmental threats have their historical origins in the untrammled production and consumption over the last half-century of a relatively small number of industrialized nations. there is thus need to come up with new strategies to involve every stakeholder in decision making, as this responsibility cannot be left to the state alone.

5.1.3 Recommendations

This study has tried to analyze the role Wangari Maathai as an individual that employed environmental diplomacy to promote environmental conservation and human development, as well as the strategies and techniques employed in environmental diplomacy. From the findings, I would like to recommend that women in Africa should be involved both locally and internationally in the decision making process, as well as in the climate change debate.

More institutions should get involved in environmental diplomacy, in order to compliment the work of the state, as well as finance more research into factors that are affecting the environment and address the resource issues.

The Green belt Movement is more active in Kenya, even though it has branches in other countries in Africa. I recommend that it spreads its wings and tries to reach those women in the remote regions and educate them on sustainability.

In the future, research on extent of the state in environmental diplomacy and the climate change debate in Kenya is recommended.

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