

**CHAPTER 3 FROM ed BUCKINGHAM S AND LIEVESLEY G, 'IN THE HANDS OF WOMEN' 2006 (Manchester: Manchester University Press)**

**Chapter 3 Environmental action as a space for developing women's citizenship**

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Introduction

I write as a geographer and an environmental feminist (or a feminist environmentalist?) on a concept that has relatively recently been incorporated into geographical scholarship and, more problematically, into environmental discourses. I write 'problematically' because, traditionally, 'citizenship' has been defined by its relationship to the nation-state, whilst environmental concerns are increasingly being seen as transcending national frontiers. Whilst Morrow's preceding chapter has considered the ways in which women's and environmental discourses and activity are leapfrogging from the local, over the national, to the global, the national is arguably still a critical dimension of citizenship.

The nexus between women, the environment and citizenship is also problematic for a number of potentially overlapping reasons:

- i) Women often get involved in the politics of environmental concerns *because* they are disproportionately affected by the issues (for example, as prime carers of family members' health), or because they feel that these concerns are not adequately addressed by existing political structures or mainstream environmental campaigns.
- ii) The environmental concerns with which women generally get involved (or more specifically, the angle which they take on these concerns) is often intimately linked with their social roles as mothers, carers, domestic

workers, and this involvement can ossify these roles just as much as it can liberate women from them.

- iii) Women tend to be more vulnerable to environmental pollution in that their body mass and body chemistry differ from men's, on whom chemical loadings have traditionally been measured. Potentially this could be seen as illustrating an, albeit problematic, biologically essentialist relationship with the environment, but could, perhaps, more usefully be conceived as a social model of vulnerability, in which a society which privileges the male (as the 'norm' for measuring chemical exposure), bears responsibility.

All three of these reasons are predicated on the uneven relationship between men and women, which Chapter 1 has already illustrated. It is therefore paradoxical that it is precisely this unevenness which renders women unequal citizens that propels some women into an arena and activities in which their status as citizens becomes more well defined, thereby challenging dominant decision making (though not necessarily the underlying decision making structures). This chapter seeks to explore a number of areas where women have thereby tested and developed their rights to citizenship and, by extension, the reality of citizenship itself. It does so through an analysis of women's involvement in environmental action and their relationship to environmental problems.

Aspects of citizenship that have been found to be useful over the past decade and a half in the geography and environmental literature will be used to contextualise the work that women have been doing to combat environmental problems. Specifically attention will be focused on the concept of environmental citizenship and on the importance of space, place and geographic scale in forging women's identity as citizens with reference to the environment.

‘Environmental issues’ are a useful way of exploring both the strength and dynamism of women’s citizenship status, and of the potential for representative and participative democracy at a variety of scales to incorporate this<sup>1</sup>. It is useful here, also, to reflect on Karen Morrow’s point in Chapter 2 that whilst the two campaigning movements of environmentalism and feminism are separate, each stands to gain substantially from mutually beneficial prosecution. Women’s environmental activities scale up from local campaigning to prevent, for example, the construction of a local incinerator, to lobbying international organisations to sensitise programmes to gender differences; at all scales these activities bring women face to face with gendered structures of power. These campaigns attract or galvanise women’s involvement in large part because they affect their roles as mothers, carers, domestic workers and consumers, and in the process can either reinforce these roles or be profoundly disruptive of them – as this chapter will later show in presenting the activities of women in environmental campaigning.

It is, however, important not to equate being a woman with being a mother. There are issues around women’s exposure to environmental pollution, gendered occupational and pay structures and gendered access to political power that affect women regardless of whether or not they have children. It is also important to note, as Reed points out, that motherhood and environmental concern can also be falsely conflated and that these are not mutually contingent factors, even though most surveys of environmental attitudes and behaviour reveal women with children to be the group most concerned about environmental issues.<sup>2</sup>

Despite a widespread increase in environmental campaigning – and a growing institutionalisation of a large sector of the environmental movement – citizenship is

not a concept that necessarily informs much of this activity. Many environmental non-governmental organisations (hereafter ENGOs) are undemocratic in that they are funded, but not defined, by a subscription membership, and decisions are not always arrived at consensually or collectively. They also tend to replicate gendered (and racialised) hierarchies found in many for-profit companies and government organisations, and tend to be driven by issues rather than process. Joni Seager's review of the North American environmental movement in the early 1990s demonstrated this clearly, and most UK environmental groups in the early 2000s are still characterised by this structure.<sup>3</sup> In the EU, a review of ENGOs which are members of the 'Civil Society Contact Group' established that 43 per cent of the heads of these groups were women, while only 24 per cent of members of their highest decision making bodies were women. Contact Group members have agreed as a condition of their membership to promote gender parity, so it is reasonable to assume that ENGOs not part of this group are unlikely to have better women's representation in senior management levels.<sup>4</sup> If, as Morrow suggests, NGOs are the 'key agents of civil society', there is clearly work to be done in creating more representative civic organisations.

The environmental justice movement has begun to address some of the inequalities of environmental exposure, particularly with regard to race and poverty. For example, Friends of the Earth (FoE) Scotland's campaign for environmental justice, sparked by concerns that higher incidences of environmental damage are found close to communities with higher levels of poverty and social disadvantage, demands 'no less than a decent environment for all; no more than our fair share of the Earth's resources.'<sup>5</sup> In the US, in 1987, The Commission for Racial Justice collected evidence that strongly suggested that race was found to be the most potent variable in

predicting where a factory would be located, and reinforced a popular movement that resulted in an Executive Order being passed in 1994 to ensure that Federal Actions were taken ‘to address environmental justice in minority populations and low income populations’.<sup>6</sup> However, gender inequalities, are not yet a prominent feature in either environmental justice campaigns or their academic analyses, although there are exceptions, such as Wickramasinghe’s work in South Asia.<sup>7</sup> Overwhelmingly, the environmental movement can often be characterised as macho and its campaigns do not always best serve women.

Joni Seager<sup>8</sup> regrets that a mainly male led environmental movement in North America ignores the more social and urban focused environmental justice issues, which she believes preoccupy women, confining their interests to ‘hyper-events’ and the large scale. In the UK, The Women’s Environmental Network (WEN) was formed as a breakaway group from Friends of the Earth in 1988 because WEN’s founders did not feel that these more localised concerns were being addressed by the mainstream environmental movement – a point developed later in this chapter.

One of the reasons that women are disproportionately negatively affected by environmental degradation is poverty and whilst this is, of course, not unique to women, they are far more likely to be poor than men, as will be demonstrated later in this chapter. In the 1950s, T. H. Marshall, in developing a social dimension to citizenship, argued that it was insufficient for citizenship to be legally defined and defended if the mechanisms for translating it into a fully functioning citizenship were weak (see also Lievesley’s discussion in Chapter 1). Ruth Lister develops this by arguing that women’s lack of access to adequately paid work, childcare and so on in effect renders them second class citizens.<sup>9</sup> This argument can be extended by considering that an added exposure to environmental problems that poorer women

cannot buy their way out of (such as the link between poorer environmental quality and low cost housing, cheap genetically modified food compared to more expensive organically guaranteed quality) compounds this secondary status. This thread of women's relative poverty has been pulled through the feminist geography literature in the 1990s and 1990s and has been shown to work against women, and especially marginalised women such as refugees, immigrant women and those seeking asylum.<sup>10</sup> Geography has a well developed literature on gender inequalities, and whilst not all is explicitly linked to citizenship, the connections can clearly be made.

The next section of this chapter will look at some of the concepts referred to above in more detail – particularly that of environmental citizenship and the link between citizenship and the places (from private to public – one of the defining aspects of Chapter 1's first modality: universal and particular notions of citizenship) in which this is expressed. Following this, the chapter will explore a number of overlapping relationships: between women and poverty; between gender and social roles; and between gender and political power (contained within Lievesley's second modality), which limit women's access to full citizenship. In the light of these relationships, I will examine the implications for women's entitlement to environmental justice – an entitlement not to be disproportionately negatively affected by environmental degradation, relative to men, and in their own right. Women's involvement in various forms of environmental campaigning is then considered: both its empowering dimension and its ability to confine women to the social roles to which society habituates them (us?). This analysis will explore the gendered nature of the environmental movement, women's place in it, its 'safeness'/'acceptability' as a forum in which women can test citizenship rights and responsibilities, and what happens when women transgress what is considered 'acceptable'. (For example, in the

UK, the Greenham Common women who left their homes to camp out – in some cases for months and years - in protest against American nuclear warheads being housed in Britain. Much of the popular press castigated these women for ‘abandoning’ their homes and families.)

Finally, the chapter will explore ways in which political identities (Lievesley’s third modality) have been developed through environmental action, and how the ways in which this has been achieved may challenge dominant notions of citizenship.

There are different scales at which this political process takes place and the chapter will consider its development at the international and transnational scale, and, at the other end of the spectrum, at how women are making the links between the intensely local – or even bodily – scale and the trans- and inter- national. Without the nation-state can this be understood as citizenship? Does the concept need further adaptation? Seager recognises citizenship as a dynamic process – how far are women involved in its reformulations? Feminism, like environmentalism is, of course, also an international and transnational movement, both historically and contemporarily, with much equal opportunities legislation originating at the inter- and trans- national scale (see Morrow’s previous chapter).

These strands, then, will be drawn together in the conclusion where I will consider how concepts of citizenship used in Geography and environmental discourses are applicable to an understanding of the social relationship between women and the environment.

### Environmental citizenship and its spaces

Most of the environmental movement, and increasingly environmental legislation, is predicated on a rights based approach – for example, the UN Sub Commission on

the Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities (also known as the Ksentini Report) provides for the ‘universal right to a secure, healthy and ecologically sound environment.’<sup>11</sup> Perhaps because a ‘rights’ based approach does not necessarily involve real ‘equality’ this has not served women well up to now, with regard to social justice, and it is therefore questionable how far a rights based approach to social-environment relations will achieve this. Simply securing a right does not necessarily enable that right to be exercised or realised. Continuing with the example of the Ksentini Report, it identified the following rights :

- To information concerning the environment
- To receive and disseminate ideas and information
- To participate in planning and decision-making processes, including prior environmental impact assessment
- To freedom of association for the purpose of protecting the environment or the rights of persons affected by environmental harm
- To effective remedies and redress for environmental harm in administrative or judicial proceedings.

Clearly, in order for these rights to be realised, there has to be universal literacy (including environmental and legal literacy – everyone needs to be aware of these rights). People also have to be able to organise their time in order to effectively participate, which implies an equality within the family so no family member is prohibited or dissuaded from attending meetings or getting involved in participation exercises. As sections later in this chapter will show, and have been shown elsewhere in this book, this situation is far from being obtained for women in the West, let alone the world as a whole.

The environmental justice movement has come to the fore at a time when human rights discourses have become more prominent. With this comes a universalist assumption that is challenged in some quarters by arguments to recognise diversity and difference, but which may sit more easily within a rights based than an equalities based regime. There may be an argument for separating out rights from equality as far as women (and sub groups of women) are concerned, in order to enable them/us to ‘catch up’ with our male counterparts. For example, an argument could be made for women to be accorded greater rights than men, or children than adults, or the more vulnerable than the strong, although there has been prohibitive resistance to this in many countries where equal rights legislation has resolutely stopped short of quotas as a form of positive discrimination. The Treaty of Amsterdam, which came into effect for the European Community and its member states in 1999 requires that the ‘Community must aim to eliminate inequalities, and to promote equality, between men and women’. ‘Active measures’ are expected to ensure that ‘the principle of equal treatment is applied...[and] Member States may maintain or adopt measures providing for specific advantages in order to make it easier for the under-represented sex to pursue a vocational activity or to prevent or compensate for disadvantages in professional careers.’ The European Court of Justice, however, has, to date, ruled against ‘strict quotas’.<sup>12</sup>

Environmentalists are concerned about the most appropriate form of democracy to deliver environmental equalities and rights. Participatory democracy is often favoured as being a more community based and direct form of decision making. On the face of it, since this is likely to thrive in more localised communities in which women have historically had a more active part to play, it is likely to have greater potential to secure environmental rights and equalities for women. The community, as a site in

which citizenship can be exercised, received momentum through Marshall's thesis of social citizenship and Peled has proposed a two tier system of citizenship in which the community provides the context for the most developed form of 'strong' citizenship. While this might benefit particular groups of women who are well embedded in their local community, as Yuval-Davis points out, this could work against minority ethnic women and others considered outsiders<sup>13</sup>. Marion Roberts develops this argument in Chapter 4, and also cautions against the neighbourhood being assumed to always serve women well. Both forms of democracy, then, are problematic in how they provide women with opportunities for expressing their rights and responsibilities as citizens. Since both human rights and participatory democracy have emerged from and are shaped by patriarchal political systems that have privileged the male over the female, the human over the non-human, the degree to which it is capable of an internal transformation has to be raised, as it is by Seager, Emel, and Plumwood, amongst others.<sup>14</sup>

Environmental citizenship is additionally problematic, particularly so for women. Its origins in the international political arena challenge the nation-state boundedness of citizenship. The international agreements which have emphasised the universal right to a clean, healthy and viable environment are frequently at odds with national, regional and local realities. Mason, arguing the case for an environmental democracy, observes links between the strength of a national environmental policy and inclusive political practice, and optimistically suggests that a regard for environmental citizenship can help to 'wean democratic identities away from self-interest, nationality and consumerism'.<sup>15</sup> Whilst this observance favours a move towards more open, transparent and participative governance, it also reinforces the point that international agreements still need to be nationally brokered and implemented, which accounts for

national variations in achieving environmental citizenship. The relationship between the transnational and the national is dialectical and iterative in that as well as transnational agreements and decisions affecting the locally grounded situation of citizens, ‘being an environmental citizen...means exercising rights and responsibilities that have a transnational scope’.<sup>16</sup> Environmental citizenship can, therefore potentially be seen as a contemporary development of political identity away from the nation state. As such, it may be useful to consider this alongside feminist calls to transnationalise citizenship from Werbner and Yuval-Davis.<sup>17</sup> With regard to women, as other chapters in this book also show, the state is a grossly limiting factor for equality of citizenship. Moreover, much of the rights based literature on environmental citizenship ignores the fact that a rights-based practice has been severely restrictive for women (as a body, or differentiated by race, class, income and so on). Grounding new forms of citizenship in a historically divisive system is, then, not without its problems.

Mason uses the ‘political opportunity structure’ to analyse the profile and impact of non-institutional political mobilisation and its subsequent integration within the political system and in particular, how non-institutional political actors shape the nature of the political opportunities they encounter.<sup>18</sup> Since political structures and systems reflect existing unequal gender relations, it is arguable that the opportunities and the shape of non-institutional political mobilisation will also reflect these, and so subsequently shape them. However, it is within these gendered structures and systems that, as Gibson-Graham suggests ‘activists make political space for themselves in the light of strategic assessments of their geographical, historical and institutional contexts’.<sup>19</sup> Elsewhere, Gibson-Graham is optimistic that both the women’s and environmental movements ‘have generated new discourses of social and ecological

identity' that have challenged pre-existing forms of exploitation. She argues that these 'alternative rights discourses' have challenged masculine hegemonies sufficiently to create new claims on resources.<sup>20</sup> These analyses provide a context in which, whilst recognising broader constraining structures and processes which limit women's exercise of citizenship, suggest some room in which women can manoeuvre the environmental agenda. Whilst these manoeuvres may be small, subtle and disconnected, they create 'micro-ruptures' which Lipietz has optimistically suggested have the potential to, cumulatively, disrupt broader structures.<sup>21</sup>

Carter draws on 'discursive democracy' or 'the power of argument' as a more effective way to change people's attitudes and behaviour than the rights based approach of representative democracy. Participatory democracy, he argues, has greater scope to yield better ecological outcomes as citizens are more likely to develop a stronger understanding of social-ecological relationships, and through which public institutions may become more open and transparent. Arguably, participatory democracy thrives in smaller scale political units and Carter here looks to the work of advocates such as Kropotkin, Schumacher, Sale and Bookchin who have all extolled the virtues of the region/locality to provide more sensitive environmental and social governance.<sup>22</sup> However, Carter is concerned about the potential dangers of homogeneity and small mindedness such a form of governance may generate as this chapter's earlier use of Peled's two tier construction of citizenship cautions. Feminist geographers such as Liz Bondi have written about the liberating nature of city living for women, just as Roberts discusses the potentially limiting nature of 'the neighbourhood' for women.<sup>23</sup> However, there has recently been some interesting work on bioregional solutions<sup>24</sup> which rest on the appropriateness of scale. An *appropriate* focus on the regional and local may also, potentially, work in

the favour of women who customarily have had a stronger profile at the community level in informal political activity, as this chapter will later develop. Nevertheless, it is important to keep in sight the connectivity of the local/particular and the global/universal. John Lechte's proposal that the private (or local) constitutes the material reality of the universal is useful here. This conceptualisation offers environmental citizenship the potential to move between scales and helps to define it as something broader than the parochialism of the NIMBY movement.<sup>25</sup>

### *Public and Private Spaces*

The public-private dichotomy can be useful in conceptualising citizenship and in understanding women's partial incorporation into citizenship and political activity. It is also a profoundly geographical and spatial concept, which defines particular *spaces* by activities and consequently has been of some interest to feminist geographers. Ultimately, however, this is too crude and un-nuanced a division and does not satisfactorily explain ways in which the most intimately private spaces, for example, are bound to processes operating at much broader scales. For example, Margaret Walton-Roberts demonstrates the imbrication of the public and private through her analysis of Indian immigration to Canada in which global migration patterns are linked to the micro domestic and family politics of arranged marriages.<sup>26</sup> In an environmental context, this imbrication can be seen in how, for example, the development and marketing practices of transnational chemical and pharmaceutical companies have a particular impact on the bodies of women. Martin argues that this dichotomy of the private and public atomises lives into discrete components, which do not adequately reflect women's lives as they are lived, although she values the dichotomy as an 'illustrative analytical construct'.<sup>27</sup> Likewise, Yuval-Davis argues against dichotomising the public and private, arguing that all geographic spaces are

subject to state intervention. Her review of different attempts to categorise spaces and activities as private reveals the problems of doing so; indeed, she suggests that constructing the boundary between the public and the private is a political act in itself.<sup>28</sup>

There is a subtle balance to be achieved in recognising, valuing and politicising women's activities in the private sphere and in also recognising, securing and promoting the role women can play in the public realm. Moreover, there is a need to recognise and explore the intersection of the public and private which environmental concerns are well placed to expose and articulate. There have been various conceptions of an intervening space between the public and the private variously described as a 'community public sphere' (Martin), a 'third sphere' or 'neighbourhood sphere' (Milroy and Wismer) and an 'intermediate sphere' (Horelli and Vepsa).<sup>29</sup> This occupies a physical and an activity space which grows out of the private but is not fully public and in which women are predominantly active. An interesting Venezuelan example illustrates how, soon after the most local scale of government was reclassified from community and voluntary to more formal, professional and salaried status the same unit moved from being predominantly women - led to being dominated by men.<sup>30</sup>

This community public sphere is an important political space for environmental activity, which is both closely bound to community space and place as a generator or manifestor of concerns, and as a site for protest, as will be developed below. Whilst this combination of the content of the concern and the site of its protest is often well connected in environmental activity, the two are not necessarily contingently or causally linked and Staeheli emphasises the need to recognise this and uncouple these where necessary.<sup>31</sup> These discussions raise the importance of place –

another quintessentially geographical concept – in constructing citizenship. Fincher and Panelli focus on the strategic use of spaces, places and various spatial scales at which activist protest is constituted. Places at which daily practices are enacted can be symbolic and imbued with significance, factors which can be potent in constructing informal political action. These places also materialise and spatialise broader environmental concerns, as suggested earlier. Despite her caution above, Staeheli writes about how ‘material sites/places are helpful in the formation of political action’.<sup>32</sup>

This section, then has attempted to understand what environmental citizenship represents for women – not a consideration which features in the literature on environmental citizenship itself – and how geographies of citizenship (the public to private, the local to international) may be useful in this understanding. The following section will consider the environmental implications and results of women’s relative poverty, embodied vulnerability, political powerlessness and social position and will argue that there is a clear case to argue for an equality of both treatment and outcome for women which requires a different set of ‘norms’ to that which currently obtain.

Distributions of social, economic and political power: a case for environmental justice

#### *Women and poverty*

A survey of poverty and social exclusion published by the UK Equal Opportunities Council reported that 36 per cent of women, compared to 30 per cent of men lived in households with incomes less than 60 per cent of the median. In addition, women were more likely to be poor on all four dimensions of poverty used by the UK Government.<sup>33</sup> Even when controlling for other factors such as labour market status, age and number of children, household composition, and age, there was still a clear gender dimension to

poverty. In addition, women who are single pensioners, unemployed, of Pakistani or Bangladeshi origin, a teenage householder, or tenant, are *more* likely to be poor than men with the *same* characteristics. Those likely to experience the greatest degree of poverty are lone mothers and older single women.

Women in full time paid work in the UK will, on average, earn 81 per cent of the hourly wage earned by men in full time work. Although this gap is currently closing, the hourly pay rate gap between women in part time work and men in full time work is widening such that these women earn 61 per cent of the hourly rate of men in full time work.<sup>34</sup> The EOC report also suggests that there is unequal poverty within the household with some women having unequal access to household earnings, where the male partner is the main earner, and that mothers sometimes forego consumption in order to meet the demands of the rest of their family. The situation is worse in the USA where the National Commission on Pay Equity has reported that in 2004 the relative median earnings of full time, year round workers had worsened for women who earned 76 per cent of the equivalent men's wage (\$30,724 compared to \$40,668). This had reached an all time high of 77 per cent in 2003. Many ethnic minority women's share was significantly less, with African American women earning 60 per cent of the average male (all ethnic groups) earnings, and latinas earning 55 per cent. The Institute for Women's Policy Research has established that 90 per cent of long term low earners among prime age adults are women and that this, together with time off for child rearing, results in women's average earnings over a 15 year period being \$273,592 compared to \$722,693 for men. This has significant implications for women's long term independent financial security.<sup>35</sup>

Since links between poverty and poor environmental quality are well documented (FoE Scotland), the above suggests that women are, consequently, on average, more likely (because they are women) to experience poorer environmental

quality than men. Those with low income will be exposed to higher rates of traffic and industrial pollution as they do not have the resources to buy themselves out of the most environmentally degraded areas. They are more likely to experience fuel and food poverty by living in draughty, poorly insulated and damp accommodation, and having to be less discriminating with regard to food quality.

Around 1.2 billion people currently live below the UN defined poverty line of \$1 a day, whilst a further 2.8 billion earn less than \$2 a day. Seventy percent of these people in poverty are women.<sup>36</sup> The education gap between girls and boys in the developing world is still sufficiently wide to ensure that gender inequalities will persist into the next adult generation with girl/boy secondary school enrolment ratios standing at 0.96 in North Africa, 0.79 in sub-Saharan Africa, 0.79 in West Asia and 0.77 in South Asia. Only in Latin America (1.07, but a decline since a high 1.09 in 1998/99) is this reversed.<sup>37</sup> The percentage of women in paid non-agricultural employment is 46.1 per cent in developed regions, 18.2 per cent in South Asia, 19.2 per cent in West Asia, 20.5 per cent in North Africa, 28.9 per cent in Oceania, 38.5 per cent in SE Asia, 38.9 per cent in East Asia, 42.9 per cent in Latin America and 48.9 per cent in CIS and transition countries.<sup>38</sup> These figures suggest a lack of independent income for more than half, rising to around 80 per cent, of all women of some global regions. These concerns are articulated as some of the UN Millennium Goals, which are far from being met and raise the issue of the effectiveness of international legislation and agreements.

#### *Impact of environmental damage on women's social roles*

Despite the alleged rise of the 'New Man' in the 1990s, surveys, such as the UK's Social Trends, continue to demonstrate that women do the majority of grocery shopping, cooking, cleaning, childcare and care of other vulnerable family members.

This is not unique to the UK, and studies from across the EU and in places as far apart as Colombia and Sri Lanka confirm that this is a global pattern.<sup>39</sup> Such activities bring the participant into closer contact with environmental concerns and problems, whether this is the woman who has to walk an extra hour to collect water for cooking, drinking and cleaning because of groundwater depletion, the woman whose daily journey to collect firewood is lengthened due to deforestation, or the woman who is checking food or toiletries in the supermarket to ensure that it is organic, not tested on animals, is GM free and otherwise free of chemicals likely to cause allergic reactions in her family members. Surveys consistently show that women are more concerned about environmental issues than men and are more likely to take action to mitigate these (such as recycling, cutting down water use or buying ‘environmentally friendly’ products).<sup>40</sup> Disturbing reports from some CIS countries highlight the impact that deteriorating environmental conditions are having on women’s reproductive health, and the burden that electricity power deficits and water quality issues are putting on women’s domestic activities.<sup>41</sup> Problems associated with this political transition such as reduced employment and education opportunities, health problems, poverty and violence disproportionately affect women, with 60 per cent of those now registered unemployed being women. All the domestic work made increasingly burdensome by economic and environmental problems is unpaid, and, as such greatly undervalued by society.

In the past 25 years there has been some interesting work undertaken by women to attempt to quantify the monetary value of housework and caring to expose its real value and encourage governments to add this value to national accounting systems. This has included Marilyn Waring’s work on challenging the United Nations’ approved system of national accounting which is used to judge the financial

salience of all countries.<sup>42</sup> UNEP has estimated the global figure that women's unpaid work produces in terms of output to be \$11 trillion, compared to a global GDP of about \$23 trillion. This includes subsistence production (such as growing food and making clothes for family members), informal sector employment (where women work, unpaid, to support family businesses), domestic and reproductive work (such as cleaning, cooking, shopping or collecting material for the home and caring for children and other dependents) and voluntary community work.<sup>43</sup> Clearly much of this work is both affected by the environment and is involved in managing it in some respect.

*Women's embodied vulnerability:*

It is becoming better recognised in environmental policy making circles that pregnant women are particularly vulnerable, for example to environmental toxins, along with children, the elderly some ethnic groups and those with pre-existing health problems. The new European Registration, Evaluation Authority for the Restriction of Chemicals (REACH) has stated that DNELs (derived no-effect levels) may be needed to be identified separately for different human populations (such as workers, consumers) and sub-groups (such as pregnant women). However, there is very little mention of women in the REACH documentation or the European Environment Agency 2003 Environmental Assessment Report which, incidentally cautions that there remain a number of instances where target levels for chemicals are exceeded and which necessitate particular food recommendations for pregnant women, such as dioxins and mercury in fish. The UK RCEP's 24<sup>th</sup> report on Chemicals in Products: (safeguarding the environment and human health) published in 2003, carried only three references to women. Nor are pregnancy and old age the only vulnerable periods in a woman's life: according to Dr Lilian Corra, (Vice President of the International

Society of Doctors for the Environment), anatomical and physiological changes during puberty and the menopause affect the way in which the body absorbs and gets rid of toxins, circulation, fat distribution and metabolism.<sup>44</sup> Women's particular susceptibility to chemical pollution has resulted in women's health, particularly reproductive health, becoming an 'indicator of environmental pollution'.<sup>45</sup>

Kathleen Jones has claimed that 'the body is a significant dimension in the definition of citizenship'. Whilst her argument centres on the right some women claim to represent the state in armed struggle, nonetheless it is a useful organising concept to understand how women's bodies are sites in which environmental citizenship is worked through. As well as the gendered body responding differently to environmental pollutants, decisions regarding the calculation of 'safe' levels of pollutants, and the norm on which these are calculated are also profoundly gendered. Other environmental impacts on the body can include the increased incidence of male physical violence against women in times of environmental stress.<sup>46</sup>

#### *Women's political role*

As Catherine Danks' chapter on women in Russia demonstrates later in this book, women are usually in a minority in governments worldwide: in the European Parliament, around 25 per cent of elected representatives are women, in the UK 19 per cent of Members of Parliament are women – with just over 25 per cent of the UK cabinet being women. Half of the Welsh Assembly is now composed of women, with 4 women in its 9 strong Cabinet; 39 per cent of Members of the Scottish Parliament are women, but only 28 per cent of the Scottish Cabinet.<sup>47</sup> In the USA in 2005, 14 per cent of senators and 16 per cent of state governors were women. Table 3.1 shows the low participation of women in formal political activity in parts of Europe, whilst Table 3.2 illustrates a similar pattern in selected commonwealth countries.

Table 3.1

Positions held by women and men in European institutions, and in Ireland and UK

<b>Role/Institution</b>	<b>%Women</b>	<b>%Men</b>
Members of European Parliament	28	72
Senior Ministerial Positions – Ireland	14	86
Senior Ministerial Positions – UK	21	79
Junior Ministerial Positions – Ireland	12	88
Junior Ministerial Positions – UK	31	69
Senior Ministerial Positions – EU average	25	75
Junior Ministerial Positions – EU average	22	78
Members of Parliament – Ireland	12	88
Members of Parliament – UK	18	82
Members of Parliament – EU Average	23	77
Members of Upper House – Ireland	17	83
Members of Upper House – UK	16	84
Members of Upper House – EU Average	21	79

Source: European Commission, Employment and Social Affairs, 2004

Table 3.2: Women in Politics in Selected Commonwealth Case Studies

<b>Country/date of election</b>	<b>% Women Upper House</b>	<b>% Women Lower House</b>	<b>% Women Cabinet</b>
Australia/1996	30.7	15.5	13.3
Canada/1996	23.3	17.6	26.5
Bangladesh/1996		11.2	8.0

Dominica/1995		10.0	22.2
Guyana/1996		19.4	11.1
India/1994	8.0	7.4	2.9
Malaysia/1995	17.4	6.8	8.0
Seychelles/1993		27.3	25.0
South Africa/1994	17.8	26.5	28.0
Uganda/1994		20.6	11.1

Source: Commonwealth Secretariat, 1998

Worldwide there are few political fora, then, where women are able to form a critical mass, which Bhattar argues is necessary for women to support each other in policy initiatives, to be a catalyst for other women to become involved and to be in a position to allocate and control resources.<sup>48</sup> Thirty to thirty five per cent is a proportion generally written about which constitutes this critical mass. Of course, such a proportion of itself is only a proxy for the degree of change - simply having women in power is no guarantee that attitudes towards anything, and particularly gender equality or environmental policy, will change, but it does represent the potential for change which, as will be illustrated below, can make a difference. A recent Commonwealth Secretariat document suggests that ‘even a few women in the corridors of power lead to a more participatory, less autocratic style of government’.<sup>49</sup>

National power structures are generally characterised by an inverse relationship between degrees of power on the one hand and degrees of localness and higher proportions of women, on the other. Women are generally more prominent in local government – in England and Wales, for example, around 30 per cent of local councillors are women - most notably women are most active in grass roots

community action, which is often the only forum in which women feel they can express their concerns. This chapter has already raised the issue of affirmative action and quotas within the European context. Sweden was the first country worldwide to introduce a quota system to increase the number of women in Parliament, and is the first country to have reached gender parity in its representation. The ANC, in its first elections in post-apartheid South Africa, set a quota for 30 per cent of women candidates, resulting in women taking 26.5 per cent of the lower house of representatives in 1994. Similar quotas have been used by the FRELIMO party in Mozambique, the Canadian Liberal Party and the Australian Labour Party. If, indeed, there is a likelihood that more women elected representatives lead to more participatory government, and that more participatory government benefits both women's citizenship status as well as being more environmentally sensitive, as this chapter has already suggested, then this must be a significant step towards both full citizenship for women, and environmental citizenship. Having explored issues of poverty, social role, embodiment and representation that limit women's full access to environmental (as well as other forms of) citizenship, the next section will consider the campaigning that women have engaged in, have been successful in, and the implications of this.

#### Women's environmental campaigning: exercising citizenship

Women's environmental campaigning frequently moves between different spatial scales and locations. Notable and well documented campaigns include the formal lobbying of the United Nations through preparatory committees for the 1992 Conference on Environment and Development, the 1995 Fourth Women's Conference at Beijing and the World Summit on Sustainable Development in 2002. These formal

engagements in the international policy setting arena are time consuming and expensive and the resources available to women's groups limit this involvement, although significant publicity coups (see Figure 3.1 below) and some groundbreaking work has been achieved.<sup>50</sup>

Insert Figure 3.1 here: Paper 'doves' representing women's hopes 'set free' at the World Summit on Sustainable Development, Johannesburg, 2002 (Source: Women's Environmental Network)

Many of the concerns brought together at these events relate to the domestic and the community – safe waste disposal, access to clean drinking water and sewage disposal, exposure to environmental pollution and the health consequences of these exposures. Women's groups internationally have derived strength from a common purpose and a recognition that on some issues women's concerns are shared in many different places and circumstances. At the same time, there is concern that better resourced, more powerful women's groups from the North outbid those from the South.

Results of women's specific involvement in international policy making, through preparatory committees and through direct lobbying at the conferences, include Chapter 24 on Women for Agenda 21, a programme for environmental action which was agreed at the UN Conference on Environment and Development in 1992. This argues that women need to be involved in environmental decision making as equal partners as they have at least an equal stake in environmental outcomes, have a particularly valuable perspective on environmental issues through their roles as mothers, cooks, provisioners, and subsistence farmers, and have been previously

excluded from decision making. Moreover, the eleventh session of the UN Commission on Sustainable Development (CSD) recognised gender as a key cross cutting issue in its ten year work plan. The commitment to ‘gender mainstreaming’ emanated from the Beijing Conference on Women in 1995 which requires signatories to ‘mainstream a gender perspective into all policies and programmes, so that, before decisions are taken, an analysis is made of the effects on women and men respectively’.<sup>51</sup> In 2002, the World Summit on Sustainable Development arguably moved the agreements of the 1990s forward from specific chapters on women, with little inclusion of women in proposals beyond these chapters, to a much broader inclusion of women and gendered concerns throughout the agreement. This has drawn a mixed response from the cautious optimism of Women in Environmental and Development Organisation (WEDO) to the more sceptical analysis by the Women’s Environmental Network (WEN). In contrast to its cautious optimism regarding the WSSD, WEDO is critical of the CSD’s reports for its reviews on water, sanitation and human settlements which, WEDO accuses, lack:

- i) the identification of gender differences and an integration of practical and strategic gender needs;
- ii) disaggregated data on gender which undermines informed policies and decision making procedures;
- iii) a recognition of the contributions and involvement of women in maintaining and providing resources;
- iv) an analysis of the harmful social and economic effects on women caused by privatisation policies;

- v) an estimation of economic and social burdens, including increasing insecurity and neglect of women's dignity, carried by female-headed households impacted by poor environmental and sanitary conditions;
- vi) a recognition of the need to systematically bring women's expertise to decision-making at all levels of policy making, political administration and management;
- vii) any concrete recommendations to benefit women such as guaranteeing land and resources tenure, targeting poor women with subsidies to ensure housing, water and sanitation provision, supporting women's efforts in water management, mainstreaming gender through all plans and procedures and guaranteeing gender balance in advisory, planning and decision-making bodies.<sup>52</sup>

That WEDO is raising these issues eight years after the Beijing conference indicates the scale of the problem of operationalising gender, a point to which this chapter will return. Transnational lobbying activity by women on environmental issues is also evident in the European Union which has incorporated a number of these international directives, and this chapter will shortly examine the extent to which these are challenging the EU's and member states' practice of citizenship and environmental governance.

In the political pyramid that characterises environmental decision making (and most other kinds of decision making), however, women only feature significantly at the foundation. This is often women's only resort to raising their concerns about how the environment may be negatively affecting the health of their own bodies, their children, other family members and neighbours, and the environment more widely.

Although many women feel frustrated at their lack of influence, and angry at how gender (and poverty, and race) insensitive decisions are made, there are a number of campaigns that exemplify what women can bring to the policy table – sometimes with a humour, grace and camaraderie not evident elsewhere. Three examples are presented here – contributing to Lipietz’s ‘micro-ruptures’ referred to earlier - which illustrate what can be achieved at different scales of informal political activity: the Women’s Environmental Network, a UK based environmental campaigning organisation; Love Canal, an internationally known example of grass roots women’s political action which has entered the environmental campaigning/environmental justice vocabulary; and lastly, an example from South Wales which illustrates that even if an individual battle is felt to be lost, the politicisation and empowerment that women have acquired as a result of their involvement is likely to make a real difference in the future.

#### *The Women’s Environmental Network*

The Women’s Environmental Network (WEN) was formed in 1988 by some women campaigners from Friends of the Earth – which, WEN founder members felt, was not sufficiently engaged with the concerns and situation of ‘ordinary women’. Their work from the late 1980s until now combines a pragmatic, practical attitude to getting things changed with a feminine/feminist flamboyance, which attracts headlines. Their pragmatism has led to significant inputs into central and local government policy including women’s health, local food production, and waste prevention. The promotion of real nappies to replace disposables has been one of WEN’s highest profile campaigns in which they have fought off complaints by manufacturers of disposable nappies, concerned about their loss of market share.<sup>53</sup> WEN is particularly keen to raise awareness on issues considered ‘taboo’ (e.g.

sanitary and incontinence protection) and issues that other environmental groups do not or will not take on. There have been several instances where WEN has developed campaigns which were not popular elsewhere at the time (real nappies being a good case in point) only to see other environmental organisations embrace these at a later date, often without acknowledgement. WEN is also concerned with the process of developing projects and involve the subject (whether Bangladeshi women in community gardening projects, or women who had been diagnosed with breast cancer in mapping cancer ‘hot spots’) with the hope that women will become empowered through this experience (as the example of Theresa Brzoza below will show). WEN is aware that its emphasis on women can attract prurient, as well as increasingly serious, press coverage and occasionally puts this to use. For example, part of their ‘Putting Breast Cancer on the Map’ project involved Toxic Tours of Westminster and Wrexham: on the Westminster tour, a performance artist ‘Monique Toxique’ led the tour with a provocatively revealed left breast cut out of her pin striped suit, which guaranteed high press coverage. (See Figure 3.2 below.)

Insert Figure 3.2 here: Women’s environmental health campaign to draw attention to the link between environmental pollution and breast cancer (Source: Women’s Environmental Network)

Other campaigns have included an Easter egg hunt in local high streets to highlight the perils of lindane laced non-organic chocolate which persist despite the 2002 ban on lindane in Europe. One of WEN’s latest campaigns - as this chapter was being written - ‘Getting Lippy’, highlights the presence of toxic chemicals in cosmetics and toiletries and challenges manufacturers to list these to enable women to

use their consumer power to lobby for a ban on such chemicals in cosmetics. The focus on women as consumers is potentially controversial in that it can reify social roles, although the problems of so categorising women needs to be balanced against the benefits of appealing to what power women do hold in their ascribed social roles. As a campaigning group promoting women's power as consumers, as well as inequality as regards environmental issues, which takes on a number of high profile manufacturers (for example, of disposable nappies, sanitary protection, cosmetics and toiletries, flooring, food products, and packaging), WEN is unable to accept donations from commercial organisations, and is reliant on a relatively small membership compared to many other ENGOS, grants from charitable foundations and some limited government grants for research and capacity/social capital building. As such it is in a state of permanent financial insecurity incommensurate with its now quite high national profile.<sup>54</sup> This raises real issues concerning the salience of small, highly principled environmental campaigning groups and, clearly, by focusing on women, WEN halves the support available to other, non gender - specific groups. Nevertheless, WEN is offered here as an example of a women's environmental NGO which achieves its success despite these limiting factors and which has built up cross party political support amongst women MPs and MEPs representing UK constituencies. This illustrates the advantages for women of mobilising at a range of scales and contexts noted by Lievesley in Chapter 1 as essential for securing any advancement in women's citizenship status.

#### *Lois Gibbs and Love Canal*

In the 1970s, Lois Gibbs lived in what she described as a lower middle class blue collar neighbourhood in a town in upper New York state, where she began to notice a rise in miscarriages, peri-natal deaths and cancers in her local neighbourhood,

which coincided with the construction of a local primary school on a disused chemical waste dump (Love Canal). After a years-long campaign using meticulously collected primary data (famously dismissed as ‘housewives data’ by local and State politicians), during which time houses became unsaleable, marriages broke up, people became ill and died, the State eventually agreed that residents had been affected (though by the ‘mental anguish’ rather than by the more incriminating chemical poisoning), and paid compensation. Only a partial victory, in that the land was later used to build public housing, Lois Gibbs went on to found the Center for Health, Environment and Justice and has written and spoken about how the experience ‘opened her eyes to...how corporate power and influence had more influence and rights than tax paying citizens.’<sup>55</sup> Central to the way in which the Love Canal campaign has been taken up as emblematic for the women’s environmental/justice movement is the fact that Lois Gibbs was (and is) a woman, lacked a higher education and came from a moderate income neighbourhood. These were undoubtedly contributing factors to the extreme length of time it took for any decision to be reached on the community, the dismissal of research that did not fit the ‘expert’ mould, and the contingency of the campaign’s limited ‘success’ on political expediency. Arguably, the successes achieved by the campaign exploited political opportunities opened up by elections at the State and Federal level. The feminist environmental movement also sees in Lois Gibbs a woman who has transcended her domestic role to take a leading political stance in her community, a role she was ill prepared for either scientifically or politically. This led to considerable personal cost (strained friendships, divorce, stress), although as Gibbs herself also points out, it also resulted in a degree of empowerment which has led her to become an enduring national figure in the US environmental justice movement.<sup>56</sup>

### *Anti-incineration campaign in Wales*

There are echoes on a smaller scale of Love Canal and Lois Gibbs in Theresa Brzoza's story. Prompted by health concerns arising out of her role as a mother, Brzoza had campaigned against the incinerator proposed for Neath/Port Talbot, an old industrial area in South Wales. Although the campaign was unsuccessful in that the incinerator has been built (though not commissioned as this chapter was written), Theresa says that the campaign changed her: it questioned her political values and attitudes, caused her to join the Green Party for which she stood as a candidate for councillor in 2004, and raised her sights from an individual, localised campaign to environmental inequalities more widely (a good example of the local expressing the materiality of wider environmental processes and concerns). Brzoza set up a campaigning organisation: PAIN (Parents Against the Incinerator) in her words 'set up with a bunch of mums over cups of tea'. This was her second transformation – the first was having a baby - which, Theresa said, changed her life, previously not much concerned with environmental problems. Brzoza then is another woman politically empowered through community environmental action, which has acted as a step from immediate community concerns to more broadly based environment concerns. This demonstrates the potentially powerful role that environmental campaigning, mobilised around core concerns such as health, can perform.<sup>57</sup>

### Challenging contemporary forms of citizenship and governance

Campaigning of the type reviewed above is both an oppositional activity and an activity of 'last resort'. It emerges once other avenues of representative (voting for a candidate who will pursue congruent lines) or participative (in which women would be involved in the original decision making) democracy have failed. Does the

emergent politicisation of women through campaigning provide an alternative route to representative or participatory democracy for women? If so, this suggests that women have to claim rights and equalities to be heard, and to have issues that they consider to be important taken seriously – they will not be offered to them. This might, indeed, provide the strength behind this mobilisation that Gibson-Graham argues is creating those new discourses and alternative rights referred to earlier in this chapter and what Lipietz suggests is accumulating as a series of ‘micro-ruptures’ to challenge hegemonic discourse. The problem with this, despite the power of the experience, is that single issue politics and campaigns have a notoriously short life and carry a high burn out rate, so it is crucially important that women’s environmental activities are not confined to the grass roots level – this is unfair on the women and their lives - which makes lasting structural changes more difficult to achieve. These grass roots campaigns, necessary as they are, must have a way of being incorporated into the wider policy context, if they are not constantly to be reinvented, and the gender (and other) inequalities they reveal must also be redressed. By the same token, national and international campaigning on environmental issues which are considered priorities by women, and which have largely been hitherto ignored, need adequate support if they are not to be casualties of inadequate funding (a problem that dogs many women’s organisations, not just environmental).

I argue that not only must more women get involved, and be supported in doing so, in environmental politics and decision making, but that they do so in enough numbers to create co-operative and sensitive ways of doing business which keeps gender (and other) concerns in the picture, and not to get sidetracked into ‘political business as usual’. Potential ways of achieving this may be through gender mainstreaming and through positive discrimination, which are strategies that the

European Union has taken seriously at the strategy development level as have the Commonwealth Secretariat, the United Nations and the World Bank. The European Treaty of Amsterdam permits/encourages the use of positive discrimination, although stops short of quotas, as Section 2 has already demonstrated, to bring more women into decision making. The European Commission Communication on [Gender] Mainstreaming which came into force in 1996, specifies that

All general policies and measures [be mobilised] specifically for the purpose of achieving equality by actively and openly taking into account at the planning stage their possible effects on the respective situation of men and women. This means systematically examining measures and policies and taking into account such possible effects when defining and implementing them.<sup>58</sup>

The problem with gender mainstreaming, and similar policies, is that there are no effective mechanisms for cascading this down the policy chain. Research undertaken for the EU (DG-Environment) to examine how far gender mainstreaming had been incorporated in municipal waste management revealed that whilst national policies had developed policy statements in their 'women's units', the strictures these contained did not easily penetrate either horizontally to other central government departments (although this was less so in Ireland which had applied a gender critique to all central government policies, including environment), or vertically through to local government. In the UK it proved impossible to find out just how gender mainstreaming could be monitored, and its application in municipal waste management, central government monitoring (via the Environmental Agency) and central government environmental policy making was patchy to say the least.<sup>59</sup> With

regard to environmental governance, then, women's involvement in formal or informal political decision making is tenuous.

This may be of less concern if, as Morrow suggests in Chapter 2, the nation-state is becoming less important and NGOs are increasingly able to leapfrog the national level of government to the transnational and global. However, although the demise of the nation-state has been much debated, particularly in Europe, it is a risky strategy or default position if this is not certain. John Gray has recently written, to my mind, disturbingly persuasively, of the 'comeback' of the nation state. His evidence for this mostly relates to the USA and cites its readiness to impose trade barriers and ignore international agreements – a trend exacerbated since 9/11. In the light of such concerns, it is important that women continue to focus their attention at the national level and attempt to claim a much greater share of its decision making power.<sup>60</sup>

## Conclusions

### *Citizenship through environmental action*

Women continue to be second class citizens inasmuch as how their voices are heard, their concerns marginalised, their bodies considered 'abnormal', their social roles persistently ingrained and undervalued and how they are subject to unequal treatment through greater likelihood of poverty. It is unsurprising, therefore, that a study of environmental activism and women's position in environmental decision making as ways of examining women's access to citizenship in the West reveals it to be partial, claimed rather than easily accessible, and problematic.

Any empowerment that women achieve tends to be through opposition, rather than through spontaneous invitations into decision making fora. Such an oppositional challenge can be galvanising - as well as exhausting. The drawing up of alliances with

sympathetic NGOs can be productive and help to combat ‘campaign fatigue’, but women’s groups need to be constantly alert to the potential for their achievements and goals to be captured to serve the campaigns of these potential partners. But, while there is synergy between environmentalism and feminism, it is by no means automatic or inevitable and can actively be counter-productive as the discussion on environmental justice at the beginning of this chapter revealed.

Mechanisms for trying to incorporate women more into environmental decision making, thereby enabling conditions for full citizenship, are lamentably rare and are most prolific at international levels where it is much spoken of. This writer’s research indicates that the centrality of women and women’s concerns become less evident further away from the department which originates gender mainstreaming policy. For example, tracking gender sensitive policy developed by the UK’s Women and Equality Unit through the Department of the Environment, Farming and Rural Affairs to local authority departments charged with implementing environmental policy shows a distinct leakage along the way.<sup>61</sup>

This chapter began with questioning how the concepts of citizenship used in geography and environmental discourses are applicable to understanding the relationship between women and the environment. Two particularly geographical continuums: public/private space and global/local scale are intersected by a third continuum of power, which reduces in magnitude towards the local and the private. Women’s lives are more likely than men’s to be played out in spaces and places where power is less accessible and yet, the often subaltern political activity which brings to the foreground women’s concerns also has the capacity to forge an active and engaged citizen practice. Through this women may use and hone these citizenship skills which enable them to fulfil a civic role beyond the parameters of the state. This

begs the question of why, given this developed ‘social capital’ which governments and development agencies are at pains to point out needs to be developed to pursue the course of Western democracy, there remains such a gap between women’s considerable activity in grass roots civic engagement and the lack of women in the majority of governments worldwide. We might also be drawn to question the necessary link between civic engagement and positions of power both in terms of ‘career progression’ and of issue adoption. A third question raised is how women-rich campaigns have been able to leapfrog the nation-state to engage with issues at the international level, and to affect the international environmental and social policy agenda. However, this is only ultimately meaningful if there are mechanisms to translate these arguments into policies and actions which materially improve women’s lives.

As long as the nation-state remains the most powerful legislator, the concerns expressed by women at the community, civic and international level can more easily be marginalized. However, where power is genuinely devolved to the local, there is a chance that the claims women have wrought from the state have a chance to be embedded in a more enduring way, (although a perceptible gender bias in civil society – including the mainstream environmental movement – also needs to be taken on). There may, then, be an argument to extending Mason’s claim to a contingent link between strong environmental policy and inclusive political practice to include the activity of women in the local environment, which, indeed, ‘goes beyond self interest, nationality and consumerism.’<sup>62</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> By ‘representative democracy’ I refer to the practice of electing representatives to take decisions on our behalf, whereas I use ‘participative democracy’ to describe a practice of citizen’s direct involvement in governing and decision making.

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<sup>2</sup> See M. G. Reed, 'Taking Stands: a feminist perspective on 'other' women's activism in forestry communities of Northern Vancouver Island; *Gender, Place and Culture* 7,4 (2000) 363-387

<sup>3</sup> J. Seager, *Earth Follies: coming to feminist terms with the global environmental crisis* (London: Routledge, 1993). Information on how the UK environmental lobby and campaigning groups are structured comes from personal communications with these groups.

<sup>4</sup> Data from European Commission – Employment and Social Affairs Women and men in decision making. Database – Social and Economic Domain Decision Making in the European non-governmental organisations [http://europa.eu.int/comm/employment\\_social\\_women\\_men\\_stats/out/measures\\_out43](http://europa.eu.int/comm/employment_social_women_men_stats/out/measures_out43) (accessed 25.01.2005).

<sup>5</sup> In J. Agyeman, R. Bullard and B. Evans, *Just Sustainabilities. Development in an Unequal World* (London/Cambridge, Mass: Earthscan/MIT Press, 2003).

<sup>6</sup> See J. Agyeman *Environmental Justice* (London: TCPA, 2000), and Agyeman et al *Just Sustainabilities*.

<sup>7</sup> A. Wickramasinghe, 'Women and environmental justice in South Asia' in Agyeman, et al, *Just Environments*.

<sup>8</sup> J. Seager, 'Rachel Carson Died of Breast Cancer: The Coming of Age of Feminist Environmentalism', *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society*, 28,3 (2003), 945-972.

<sup>9</sup> T. H. Marshall, *Citizenship and social class* (Cambridge: CUP, 1950); R. Lister, *Citizenship: Feminist Perspectives* (London: Macmillan, 1997).

<sup>10</sup> E. Kofman, 'Contemporary European Migrations: civic stratification and citizenship' *Political Geography* 21, (2002), 1035-1054.

<sup>11</sup> UN Subcommission on the Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities, 1994, also known as the Ksentini Report, is drawn on by M. Mason, *Environmental Democracy* (London: Earthscan, 1999).

<sup>12</sup> The legal framework following the Treaty of Amsterdam, signed by Heads of State or Government in 1997, and entered into force on May 1<sup>st</sup> 1999 can be found at: <http://europa.eu.int/scadplus/leg/en/chc/c10101.htm> (accessed 10.02.2004).

<sup>13</sup> See Y. Peled (1992) in N. Yuval Davis, 'Women, Citizenship and Difference', *Feminist Review* 57 (1997) 4-27.

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- <sup>14</sup> Joni Seager, Jody Emel, and Val Plumwood all write about inequalities within the environmental context with regard to gender and to the non-human.
- <sup>15</sup> Mason, *Environmental Democracy* p. 234.
- <sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 235.
- <sup>17</sup> P. Werbner and N. Yuval-Davis, 'Women and the new discourse of citizenship' in N. Yuval-Davis and P. Werbner [eds], *Women, Citizenship and Difference* (London: Zed Press, 1999).
- <sup>18</sup> Mason, *Environmental Democracy*, p. 88.
- <sup>19</sup> J - K Gibson-Graham is quoted by R. Fincher and R. Panelli 'Making Space: women's urban and rural activism and the Australian state' *Gender, Place and Culture* 8,2 (2001),129-148.
- <sup>20</sup> J. K. Gibson-Graham, *The end of capitalism (as we knew it). A feminist critique of political economy* (Cambridge, Mass: Blackwell Publishers, 1995,) pp. 71 and 205.
- <sup>21</sup> See A. Lipietz, 'Political ecology and the future of Marxism', *Capitalism, Nature, Socialism* 11, 01, 2000.
- <sup>22</sup> N. Carter, *The Politics of the Environment, ideas, activism, policy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), p. 53.
- <sup>23</sup> L. Bondi L Gender, 'Class and gentrification: enriching the debate', *Environment and Planning D Society and Space* 17 (1999) 253-255.
- <sup>24</sup> A not for profit consultancy which seeks to localise the production of low order goods such as food, whilst enabling producer economies to specialise in higher order, and higher value goods such as IT.
- <sup>25</sup> See John Lechte's argument summarised by Yuval Davis, 'Women, Citizenship and Difference'. NIMBY movements – Not In My Back Yard – are defined by their objection to environmental pollution of various forms in particular spaces rather than opposing the activity in general.
- <sup>26</sup> M. Walton-Roberts, 'Rescaling Citizenship: gendering Canadian immigration policy', *Political Geography* 23, (2004) 265-281.
- <sup>27</sup> D. Martin, 'Constructing the 'Neighborhood Sphere': gender and community organizing', *Gender, Place and Culture* 9,4 (2002) 333-350 p 338.
- <sup>28</sup> Yuval-Davis, *Women, Citizenship and Difference*. Yuval-Davis' review of attempts to categorise what constitutes the private include the family (Pateman, Vogel), that which is not financed or

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controlled by the state, including religious institutions (Jayasuriya), leisure and the spiritual (Turner) and 'where the person is autonomous' (Walby).

<sup>29</sup> Martin, 'Constructing the 'Neighborhood Sphere'', 336; B. M. Milroy and S. Wismer, 'Work and public/private sphere models', *Gender, Place and Culture*, 1, 71-91 (1994); L. Horelli and K. Vepsa, 'In search of supportive structures for everyday life', in I. Altman and A. Churchman, *Women and the Environment* (New York: Plenum, 1994).

<sup>30</sup> M-P. Garcia Guadilla, 'ECOLOGIA: Women, Environment and Politics in Venezuela' in S. A. Radcliffe and S. Westwood, 'Viva' *Women and popular protest in Latin America* (London: Routledge, 1993)

<sup>31</sup> L. Staeheli, 'Publicity, privacy and women's political action', *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space* 14, (1996) 601-619 quoted in Fincher and Panelli, 'Making Space'.

<sup>32</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>33</sup> These are: lacking two or more perceived necessities; earning less than 60 per cent of the median income; subjective poverty; receiving income support. For details of the survey, see J. Bradshaw, N. Finch, P.A. Kemp, E. Mayhew and J. Williams J, *Gender and Poverty in Britain* (Manchester: Equal Opportunities Commission, 2003).

<sup>34</sup> D. Kingsmill, *Kingsmill Report on Women's Employment and Pay* (London:DTI, 2001).

<sup>35</sup> See The National Commission on Pay Equity [www.pay-equity.org/index.html](http://www.pay-equity.org/index.html) (accessed 18.4.2005) and S. J. Rose and H. I. Hartman, 'Still a Man's Labor Market: the long term earnings gap' (Washington DC: Institute for Women's Policy Research, 2004).

<sup>36</sup> I. Dankleman, 'Poverty Eradication as a Challenge for Sustainable Development' in Women in Europe for a Common Future, *Why Women are Essential for Sustainable Development Results of the European Women's Conference for a Sustainable Future* Celakovice (Prague), 14-17 March 2002.

<sup>37</sup> United Nations General Assembly, *Implementation of the United Nations Millennium Declaration, report of the Secretary-General/A/59/282* New York 59<sup>th</sup> Session, 2004.

<sup>38</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>39</sup> For the UK see: HMSO, *Social Trends*, (London: HMSO, 1998); for France: J. Fagnani, 'Family policies and working mothers: a comparison of France and West Germany' in M. D. García-Ramon and J. Monk, *Women of the European Union, the politics of work and daily life* (London: Routledge, 1996); for Sri Lanka: Wickramasinghe, 'Women and environmental justice'; and for Colombia: J.

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Townsend, 'Gender and the Life Course on the Frontiers of Settlement in Colombia' in C. Katz and J. Monk, *Full Circles: Geographies of Women over the Life Course* (London: Routledge, 1993).

<sup>40</sup> The Digest of Environmental Statistics 20, (London: The Stationery Office, 1998) showed that women were more concerned than men on 26 out of 32 environmental issues; surveys accessed from DEFRA reveal that women claimed to be 'more worried' than men on 18 out of 20 environmental issues ([defra.gov.uk/environment/statistics/pubatt/download/csv/pa01tbl4b.csv](http://defra.gov.uk/environment/statistics/pubatt/download/csv/pa01tbl4b.csv) Accessed 19.1.2005)

<sup>41</sup> Women in Europe for a Common Future, *Why Women are Essential for Sustainable Development Results of the European Women's Conference for a Sustainable Future* Celakovice (Prague), 14-17 March 2002, p148.

<sup>42</sup> M. Waring, *Counting for nothing: what men value, and what women are worth* (Wellington, New Zealand: Allen and Unwin, 1988); S. James, *The Global Kitchen. The case for governments measuring and valuing unwaged work*, (London: Crossroads Books, 1995) .

<sup>43</sup> Commonwealth Secretariat, *Gender Mainstreaming, Commonwealth Strategies on Politics, Macroeconomics and Human Rights*, London (1998) pp. 42-43.

<sup>44</sup> REACH is the single integrated system for the 'registration, evaluation and authorisation of chemicals' which the EU is proposing to establish (<http://europa.eu.int/scadplus/leg/en/lvb/l21282.htm>); EEA 2003 Environmental Assessment Report; UK RCEP 24<sup>th</sup> Report on Chemicals in Products, safeguarding the environment and human health. 2003; Dr Lilian Corra's speech was reported in WEN News (London: Women's Environmental Network, Autumn 2003) p. 5.

<sup>45</sup> Women in Europe for a Common Future, *Why Women are Essential*.

<sup>46</sup> For a discussion of Kathleen Jones on women in the military, see N. Yuval-Davis, 'Women, Citizenship and Difference'. For information of violence against women in times of environmental stress see Women in Europe for a Common Future, *Why Women are Essential* . See also S. Krupp 'Environmental Hazards: assessing the risks to women', *Fordham Law Journal*, 111 (2000) for a wideranging discussion on how women's bodies are disproportionately exposed to environmental pollutants.

<sup>47</sup> All data downloaded on 22<sup>nd</sup> July 2005 from respective government web sites.

<sup>48</sup> G. Bhattar, 'Of geese and ganders: mainstreaming gender in the context of sustainable human development', *Journal of Gender Studies*, 10,1 (2001).

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<sup>49</sup> Commonwealth Secretariat, *Gender Mainstreaming*.

<sup>50</sup> See both *Women in Europe for a Common Future*, *Why Women are Essential* and Karen Morrow in Chapter 2 of this volume.

<sup>51</sup> See the UN Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action, strategic objective H: Institutional mechanisms for the advancement of women (<http://www.un.org/womenwatch/daw/beijing/platform/institu.htm#object2>).

<sup>52</sup> From WEDO 2004 Women's Recommendations for 12<sup>th</sup> Session of the Commission on Sustainable Development

<sup>53</sup> As this chapter was being revised the Environment Agency had just brought out its highly controversial report on the relative environmental impacts of disposable and reusable nappies – Environment Agency, *Life Cycle Assessment of Disposable and Reusable Nappies in the UK* (Bristol, Environment Agency, 2005) which concluded that there was no significant difference between the two. The report and the methodology the commissioned researchers used is currently contested by at least 2 of its Advisory Board members and more widely.

<sup>54</sup> For details about the Women's Environmental Network and its campaigns please access: <http://www.wen.org.uk>. Please note that the author of this chapter is a Board Member of WEN and that some information reported here has been made available through personal communications.

<sup>55</sup> L. Gibbs, *Love Canal: the story continues* (Gabriola Island, British Columbia: New Society Press, 1996).

<sup>56</sup> Many discussions of environmental movements and environmental feminism refer to Lois Gibbs and the Love Canal protests, often inaccurately, depending on the purpose to which the case study is being put. For example, since Love Canal is often seen as an achievement by women campaigners (which it undoubtedly is in many respects), its lack of a satisfactory resolution is often glossed over or omitted. For a rich and full account of the years long campaign, Lois Gibbs' own account is valuable, *ibid*.

<sup>57</sup> Material from personal communication with Theresa Broza.

<sup>58</sup> European Commission Communication on Mainstreaming 2/1999.

<sup>59</sup> For a detailed discussion of this see S. Buckingham, D. Reeves, The Women's Environmental Network, A. Batchelor and S. Colucas, *Research into Gender Differentiated Impacts of Municipal Planning in the European Union*, Report to the European Commission DG-Environment (2004).

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<sup>60</sup>J. Gray, *Al Qaeda and what it means to be modern* (London: Faber and Faber, 2003).

<sup>61</sup> Buckingham et al *Research into Gender Differentiated Impacts*.

<sup>62</sup> Mason, *Environmental Democracy* p. 234.