
ECOFEMINIST MOVEMENTS

NOËL STURGEON

Ynestra King, one of the founders of US ecofeminism, has called it the "third wave of the women's movement," indicating her sense, at one time, that this most recent manifestation of feminist activity was large and vital enough to parallel the first-wave nineteenth-century women's movement and the second-wave women's liberation movement of the 1960s and 1970s.1... I want to attempt some descriptions and definitions of ecofeminism as a movement2 and as a set of theories.

Most simply put, ecofeminism is a movement that makes connections between environmentalisms and feminisms; more precisely, it articulates the theory that the ideologies that authorize injustices based on gender, race, and class are related to the ideologies that sanction the exploitation and degradation of the environment.3 In one version of its origins, the one I will privilege... ecofeminism in the United States arises from the antimilitarist direct action movement of the late seventies and eighties, and develops its multivalent politics from that movement's analysis of the connections between militarism, racism, classism, sexism, speciesism, and environmental destruction. But, as I will also show, ecofeminism has multiple origins and is reproduced in different inflections and deployed in many different contexts. In particular... I will argue that ecofeminism has roots in both feminism and environmentalism.

Given both its attempt to bridge different radical political positions and its historical location as at least one of many third-wave women's movements, US ecofeminism aims to be a multi-issue, globally oriented movement with a more

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diverse constituency than either of its environmentalist or feminist predecessors. Ecofeminism is thus a movement with large ambitions and with a significant, if at the moment largely unorganized, constituency. Many people are interested in the scope of ecofeminism, its drawing together of environmentalism and feminism. Environmentalism is one of the most popular and significant locations for radical politics today; it attracts people because of the seemingly apocalyptic nature of our ecological crises and the many ways in which environmental problems affect people’s daily lives, as well as the sense of its global relevance. As a feminist movement, ecofeminism reworks a long-standing feminist critique of the naturalization of an inferior social and political status for women so as to include the effects on the environment of feminizing nature. Coupled with environmentalism, this version of feminism gains a political cachet not easily matched by other radical political locations, particularly for young US feminists who already think of themselves as environmentalists, having been more or less socialized as such. Ecofeminism is a significant and complex political phenomenon, a contemporary political movement that has far-reaching goals, a popular following, and a poor reputation among many academic feminists, mainstream environmentalists, and some environmental activists of color. Part of what I want to do... is to understand the sources of that poor reputation and to explore the reasons for the failure of ecofeminism to live up to its potential.

ECOFEMINIST GENEALOGIES

A name that can usefully if partially describe the work of Donna Haraway and Mary Daly, Alice Walker and Rachel Carson, Starhawk and Vandana Shiva, ecofeminism is a shifting theoretical and political location that can be defined to serve various intentions. The present chaotic context of the relatively new and diverse political positionings that go under the name of “ecofeminism” allows me to construct... a series of definitions and historical trajectories of the movement, ones I recognize as always interested and certainly contestable... I will piece together stories about ecofeminist beginnings and evolution by tracing the use of the word “ecofeminism” as it appears in political actions, organizations, conferences, publications, and university courses. Not a history so much as a genealogy, embedded in this tracing is an effort to tease out the label’s shifting meanings and political investments in order to delineate the construction of ecofeminism as an object of knowledge, as a political identity, and as a set of political strategies within the convergence of local and global environmentalisms, academic and activist feminisms, and anticolonialist and antiracist movements...

Both an activist and an academic movement, ecofeminism has grown rapidly since the early eighties and continues to do so in the nineties. As activists, ecofeminists have been involved in environmental and feminist lobbying efforts, in defense of Earth First! and many... 

... Ecofeminist direct action groups concerned with women's issues, militant or WISE, organized in different communities. Women and 1980, organized Gyorgy (an environmental, or WISE), or...
in demonstrations and direct actions, in forming a political platform for a US Green party, and in building various kinds of ecofeminist cultural projects (such as ecofeminist art, literature, and spirituality). They have taken up a wide variety of issues, such as toxic waste, deforestation, military and nuclear weapons policies, reproductive rights and technologies, animal liberation, and domestic and international agricultural development. In academic arenas, scholars who are either identified with or interested in ecofeminism have been active in creating and critiquing ecofeminist theories. A wave of publications in the area, including several special issues of journals, indicates research activity on ecofeminism in religious studies, philosophy, political science, art, geography, women’s studies, and many other disciplines.7

...Ecofeminism can be seen primarily as a feminist rebellion within male-dominated radical environmentalisms, where I have found it popping up in almost every arena, often without communication between these slightly or greatly different versions of ecofeminism. Thus, one can find ecofeminists appearing within the antinuclear movement, social ecology, bioregionalism, Earth First!, the US Greens, animal liberation, sustainable development, and, to a lesser extent, the environmental justice movement. ... The origins of this varied activity called “ecofeminism” have been described in different ways.8 Certainly, an ecological critique was an important part of women’s movements worldwide from the mid-1970s, particularly those concerned with nuclear technology, neocolonialist development practices, and women’s health and reproductive rights. In my reading of these developments, ecofeminism in the United States arose in close connection with the nonviolent direct action movement against nuclear power and nuclear weapons. Until the Women’s Pentagon Actions in 1980, however, there were numerous events and groups connected with ecofeminism that were concerned with a number of issues, militarism being only one of many.

The earliest event I’ve seen described as making the connection between women and the environment was in 1974, at the Women and the Environment conference at UC Berkeley organized by Sandra Maburg and Lisa Watson. An ecofeminist newsletter, W.E.B.: Wimmin of the Earth Bonding, published four issues from 1981 to 1983, concerned with feminist and lesbian back-to-the-land communities, health, appropriate technology, and political action.9

Most influentially, however, US ecofeminism’s initiating event was the Women and Life on Earth: Ecofeminism in the 1980s conference at Amherst in 1980, organized by Ynestra King (then of the Institute for Social Ecology), Anna Gyorgy (an organizer in the antinuclear Clamshell Alliance), Grace Paley (a feminist writer and pacifist activist), and other women from the antinuclear, environmental, and lesbian-feminist movements.10

The Women and Life on Earth conference organized panels and workshops on the alternative technology movement (staffed by the group Women In Solar Energy, or WISE), organizing, feminist theory, art, health, militarism, racism, urban ecology,
theater, as well as other topics: eighty workshops in all. Over 650 women attended, far beyond the expected hundred or so.11 Speakers included Patricia Hynes of WISE; Lois Gibbs, then of the Love Canal Homeowners Association and later of the Citizen’s Clearinghouse for Hazardous Waste (CCHW);12 and Amy Swerdlow, feminist activist and historian.13 The conference generated an ongoing Women and Life On Earth (WLOE) group in Northampton, Massachusetts, which published a newsletter entitled Tidings, as well as several other WLOE groups in New York, Cape Cod, and other areas in the northeastern United States.14

Several other ecofeminism conferences and organizations were either inspired by Women and Life On Earth or assisted by WLOE organizers. A conference already in the planning stages in 1980, Women and the Environment: The First West Coast Ecofeminist Conference drew five hundred women, who listened to talks by Angela Davis, Anna Gyorgy, China Galland, and Peggy Taylor. Workshops were offered on “alternative energy, global view, planning, health, organizing media, no nukes, and peace.”15 In London, a Women For Life On Earth (WFLOE) group formed, inspired by the Amherst conference, and organized a conference in 1981. Energy from that conference spawned numerous WFLOE groups, twenty-six in the United Kingdom and nine in other countries, including Australia, Canada, France, Japan, and West Germany.16 WFLOE put out a newsletter at least until winter 1984, organized a number of gatherings, and supported the Greenham Common peace camp. Organizers of WFLOE, Stephanie Leland and Leonie Caldecott, edited the first ecofeminist anthology, Reclaim the Earth: Women Speak Out for Life on Earth, in 1983.

From the Women and Life on Earth conference at Amherst also grew the organizing efforts for the Women’s Pentagon Actions (WPA) of 1980 and 1981, in which large numbers of women demonstrated and engaged in civil disobedience. As defined by the Unity Statement of the WPA,17 the politics behind these early ecofeminist actions were based on making connections between militarism, sexism, racism, classism, and environmental destruction (however unevenly the action may have addressed these issues).18 Influenced by the writings of Susan Griffin,19 Charlene Spretnak,20 Ynestra King,21 and Starhawk, a set of political positions that began to be called ecofeminism developed among women sympathetic to the politics of the WPA and other antimilitarist and environmental actions. Many women involved in later antimilitarist direct actions thus began to call themselves ecofeminists in the middle eighties as a way of describing their interlocking political concerns.22 In fact, an article in the 1981 issue of Tidings, the newsletter of WLOE and the WPA, states that organizers decided not to get involved with a Mother’s Day Coalition for Disarmament March in Washington, DC, because “The Mother’s Day action is a single issue action and not explicitly feminist.” Furthermore, the march was not organized using a “participatory feminist process.”23 Thus, even after the WPA, “ecofeminism” referred not to antimilitarism alone but to a particular kind of feminism, radically democratic antimilitarism that made connections to other political issues. Rather than arising from “the peace process”...
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As the label became more common among feminist antimilitarist activists, a concomitant interest in ecofeminism was emerging in the academy. The two arenas were intertwined at the Ecofeminist Perspectives: Culture, Nature, Theory conference in March 1987 at the University of Southern California (USC), organized by Irene Diamond and Gloria Orenstein. This well-attended conference was the beginning of a rapid flowering of ecofeminist art, political action, and theory that continues today. This conference also marked the point where the word “ecofeminism” began to be used outside the antimilitarist movement to describe a politics that attempted to combine feminism, environmentalism, antiracism, animal liberation, anticolonialism, antimilitarism, and nontraditional spiritualities.

During the years following the USC conference, US ecofeminists became active in the international arena, intervening in the process of the globalization of environmentalism. In 1991, a World Women’s Conference for a Healthy Planet in Miami, Florida, was organized by the Women’s Environmental Development Organization, or WEDO. For political reasons . . . WEDO did not explicitly identify as “ecofeminist,” but its rhetoric and vision were clearly in the ecofeminist tradition. This conference brought together women from all over the world to discuss environmental issues in the context of women’s knowledge, women’s needs, and women’s activism. It served as a springboard for an ecofeminist presence at the UN Conference on Environment and Development at Río de Janeiro in 1992, which had some influence on the international deliberations about solutions to worldwide environmental problems. Besides this activity in an international arena, there have been other important ecofeminist conferences, such as the Eco-visions: Women, Animals, the Earth, and the Future conference in Alexandria, Virginia, in March 1994 (which emphasized connections between feminism, environmentalism, and animal liberation), and the Ecofeminist Perspectives conference at University of Dayton, Ohio, in March 1994 (which emphasized ecofeminist interventions into environmental philosophy). In all these events, organizers stressed ecofeminism’s ability to make connections between various radical politics. Which part of this multivalent politics is emphasized or even included varies widely and remains deeply contested among those that identify as ecofeminists. In particular, until the late eighties, antispeciesist theories were underdeveloped portions of the ecofeminist tool kit. Theories of the connections between heterosexism and naturism remain underdeveloped within ecofeminism as of this writing.25

WOMEN AND NATURE, FEMINISM AND ENVIRONMENTALISM

Within this multivoiced and vibrant set of political positions were very different theorizations of the connections between the unequal status of women and the
life-threatening destruction of the environment. A constant and ongoing focus of ecolo­
feminist theorizing, as well as critiques of ecofeminism, has been how to con­ceptualize the "special connection" between women and nature often presumed by the designation ecofeminism. Very briefly and generally, I will outline five ways this relationship is described. Though I isolate these analyses as positions, in operation they are often combined and intertwined.

One position involves an argument that patriarchy equates women and na­
ture, so that a feminist analysis is required to understand fully the genesis of environmental problems. In other words, where women are degraded, nature will be degraded, and where women are thought to be eternally giving and nurturing, nature will be thought of as endlessly fertile and exploitable.

Another position, which is really the other side of the position just described, argues that an effective understanding of women's subordination in Western cul­tures requires an environmentalist analysis. In a culture that is in many ways anti­nature, which constructs meanings using a hierarchical binarism dependent on assumptions of culture's superiority to nature, understanding women as more "natural" or closer to nature dooms them to an inferior position. Furthermore, in a political economy dependent on the freedom to exploit the environment, a moral and ethical relation to nature is suspect. If women are equated with nature, their struggle for freedom represents a challenge to the idea of a passive, disembodied, and objectified nature.

A third position argues for a special relationship between women and nature using a historical, cross-cultural, and materialist analysis of women's work. By looking at women's predominant role in agricultural production and the man­aging of household economies worldwide (cooking, cleaning, food production, and purchasing of household goods, healthcare, and childcare), this position maintains that environmental problems are more quickly noticed by women and impact women's work more seriously.26

A fourth position argues that women are biologically close to nature, in that their reproductive characteristics (menstrual cycles, lactation, birth) keep them in touch with natural rhythms, seasonal and cyclical, life- and death-giving. Ecofeminists who are comfortable with this position feel that women potentially have greater access than men do to sympathy with nature, and will benefit them­selves and the environment by identifying with nature.

A fifth position is taken by feminists who are interested in constructing resources for a feminist spirituality and who have found these resources in nature-based religions: paganism, witchcraft, goddess worship, and Native American spiritual traditions. Because such nature-based religions historically contain strong images of female power and place female deities as at least equal to male deities, many persons who are searching for a feminist spirituality have felt comfortable with the appellation of "ecofeminist."

Before proceeding, I want to point to just one of the most obvious contra­dictions within ecofeminism: the serious lack of agreement between positions
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one and two and position four. The first two positions see the equation of women and nature as patriarchal; the fourth position sees this equation as empowering to women and as providing resources for a feminist environmentalism. Some variations of position five, concerned with feminist spirituality, also see the equation of women and nature as empowering. This contradiction is obscured by reductive depictions of ecofeminism as “essentialist” without noting the existence of strong constructionist positions within ecofeminism. That this contradiction—between the critique of the connection between women and nature and the desire for a positive version of that connection—is so deeply embedded illuminates the consistent recurrence to essentialist notions of women and nature that ecofeminism encounters in its attempt to construct a collective subject within a social movement. It is also what prevents me from assigning one or the other of the positions described above to one or another ecofeminist author; in most cases, these different analyses of the connections between women and nature are operating at the same time. One of my contentions . . . is that white ecofeminist discourses about “indigenous” women function to obscure this particular division within ecofeminism. Thus, particular ecofeminist discourses of racial difference sidestep the contradictions between particular theorizations of the connection between women and nature . . . . But . . . there has been a greater effort within ecofeminist theory to make connections between women and nature rather than between feminism and environmentalism as political movements, even though . . . such movement connections are often at stake in the production of these theories. The subtext of movement contexts influences theoretical constructions in which essentialist connections between women and nature are more frequent than they otherwise might be.

To construct these and other variations of the theoretical connections between women and nature, or between environmentalism and feminism, ecofeminists have drawn on a number of feminist theories that, while not necessarily aimed at answering questions about the relationship between feminist and environmental politics, provided crucial analytical tools. Feminist philosophical critiques of forms of abstract rationality that reify divisions between culture and nature, mind and emotion, objectivity and subjectivity; psychoanalytic theories of the ways in which masculinist anxiety about women’s reproductive capacities structures male-dominated political and economic institutions; feminist reth-

ings of Christian theology; critiques of the patriarchal nature of militarism; feminism anthropological research; feminist critiques of science; feminist analyses of the sexual objectification of women and feminist poststructuralist theories of constructed subjectivities and critiques of essentialism: these are only a few of the vital feminist resources for ecofeminist theories.27 Despite its reliance on central feminist theories, most strongly reflected in position two above, ecofeminist theory remains in a tenuous relation to feminist theory . . . .

Feminist antiracist theory was also an important resource for ecofeminists, providing a foundation from which to analyze the ways in which hierarchies
were created and maintained as well as a guide to constructing a movement that attempts to be inclusive and antiracist. Antiracism was thus a political position apparent in the very beginnings of ecofeminism as theory and as practice, even though it has been a movement that is predominantly white. At the same time, there are many women of color who are either prominent in the movement or who serve as role models for white ecofeminists. To further complicate the picture, many environmental activists are women of color who do not identify as ecofeminists, given that the genealogy of the label arises from the white feminist antiracist movement and that US ecofeminism has continued to be a movement largely of white, middle-class women.28

NOTES

1. Ynestra King, personal communication, May 1990, repeated in several public speeches. The concept of ecofeminism as a “third wave” is echoed by Val Plumwood, who usefully qualifies the claim by stating: “It is not a tsunami, or freak tidal wave which has appeared out of nowhere sweeping all before it. Rather, it is prefigured in and builds on work not only in ecofeminism but in radical feminism, cultural feminism, and socialist feminism over the last decade and a half.” Feminism and the Mastery of Nature (London and New York: Routledge, 1993), p. 39.

2. As I have mentioned in the introduction, I do not see ecofeminism as a “social movement” in most traditional senses, i.e., a particular mobilization around a specific grievance that acquires organizational form. Neither do I see it purely as an “intellectual movement,” the other way the term is often used—that is, a set of ideas elaborated by a school of thinkers and writers.


5. However, participation in the experience as it 1990–1996), give contact with a w lowing section of radical, cultural, l typologies would 6. The term Foucault in theMemory, Practic Press, 1977).

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Sturgeon: Ecofeminist Movements

Diamond and Gloria Feman Orenstein, ii [San Francisco: Sierra Club Books, 1990]). Starhawk, a pagan, witch, activist in the nonviolent antimilitarist direct-action movement, writer, and theorist, has been an important influence on ecofeminism; see her Dreaming the Dark (Boston: Beacon Press, 1982), The Spiral Dance: A Rebirth of the Ancient Religion of the Great Goddess (San Francisco: Harper and Row, 1988), and Truth or Dare (San Francisco: Harper and Row, 1985). Vandana Shiva is a theoretical physicist who is also the director of an environmental research institute in Dehra Dun, India; her book Staying Alive: Women, Ecology and Development in India (London: Zed Press, 1988) is an important ecofeminist text.

5. However, my description is not simply an arbitrary construction. Both my own participation in the ecofeminist movement as an activist and theorist since 1984, and my experience as the editor of the Ecofeminist Newsletter (published annually from 1990–1996), give me a broad and immediate sense of the movement and ongoing personal contact with a wide variety of people who call themselves “ecofeminists.” In the following section of this chapter, I deliberately avoid the typologizing of ecofeminisms as radical, cultural, Marxist, socialist, and poststructuralist. . . . Here, I will just say that such typologies would work against the genealogical method I employ in this chapter.


Nature, Emergence of Ecofeminism

Breaking the Boundaries: Toward a Feminist Green Socialism

Finding Continuum Press, 1991; Rosemary Radford Ruether, 246

Routledge, 1993); Maria Mies and Vandana Zed Books, 1995); Carol Adams, ed., Ecological Feminism

Reenchantment Defense of Animals


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of Ecofeminism: Historical Revolutions: The World: The 10); Janet Biehl, ed. (1991); Carol V. (New York: An Ecofeminist 1); Mary Mellor, ed. (1980). See her book review of Vandana Shiva's Fertile Ground: Ann Warren, ed. (New York: Const.” (1991). Sabine Development “feminism and the shiva and Inguna ‘nology (London: and Women: Femin- Sity Press, 1995); the notion of her authorship of the term appears to have been introduced by Karen Warren in “Toward an Ecofeminist Ethic,” Studies in the Humanities 15 (1988): 140-56; after that, d'Eaubonne appears as the coiner of the word in most accounts. Since d'Eaubonne's formulation enters histories of US ecofeminism well after the word comes to signify a set of interlocking concerns about the status of women and degradation of the environment articulated by feminist antinuclear activists in 1980, I am inclined to give Ynestra King the credit for the invention of the word in its US context. Ariel Salleh comments that the delay in translating d'Eaubonne to English signifies the US imperialist context of the production of feminist knowledge, while centering d'Eaubonne as the founder of ecofeminism in turn closes off possible non-Western origins for the word. Shiva comments that "the term 'ecofeminism' (was) spontaneously appearing across several continents in the 1970s" but for "politic-economic reasons...ecofeminists working from more visible niches in the dominant English-speaking culture have tended to get their views broadcast first." See Salleh's book review of Vandana Shiva's Staying Alive, Hypatia 6, no. 1 (1991): 206.

9. My thanks to Ann Megisikwe (Ann Filemyr) (who, along with Marjaree Chimera, edited W. E. B.) for telling me about the newsletter and providing me with copies. Another important ecofeminist newsletter was E. V. E. (Ecofeminist Visions Emerging) published in New York City by Cathleen and Colleen McGuire from 1991-1993. The newsletter I edit, the Ecofeminist Newsletter, was a similar effort. Because of the widespread, grassroots, and decentralized nature of the early period of ecofeminism's development, it is extremely difficult to track down materials documenting the movement. It is very likely that there were many more groups and publications than I name in this section.


12. CCHW is presently an important group in the environmental justice movement.

13. Other speakers were Ynestra King and Catherine Carlotti. I am citing speakers whose speeches I have copies of, but there were many more. I thank Riley Dunlap for lending me his archive on Women and Life on Earth.


18. For a discussion of the complex political agenda of the WPA, see T. V. Reed, “Dramatic Ecofeminism: The Women’s Pentagon Action as Theater and Theory,” in Fifteen Jugglers, Five Believers: Literary Politics and the Poetics of American Social Movements, 120–41 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992). In particular, the WPA actions were criticized for the “essentialism” of their rhetoric connecting women and nature. See Ellen Willis’s columns in the Village Voice 25, no. 25 (June 18–24, 1980): 28, and 25, no. 29 (July 16–22, 1980): 34. Additionally, and more relevant to my argument in ch. 3, many feminist activists of color identified the feminist antimilitarist movement as a white-dominated movement.


22. See Judith McDaniel, ed., Reweaving the Web of Life: Feminism and Nonviolence (Philadelphia: New Society Publishers, 1982), for several early formulations of the connections between feminism and environmentalism stemming from feminist antimilitarism. Note the reworking of this title in Diamond and Orenstein’s explicitly ecofeminist anthology, Reweaving the World.


24. See Irene Diamond and Gloria Fernan Orenstcin’s description of the conference and its importance; “Ecofeminism: Weaving the Worlds Together,” Feminist Studies 14 (Summer 1988): 368–70. There have been a number of important ecofeminist conferences since.

25. Greta Gaard’s essay, “Toward a Queer Ecofeminism,” thus promises to break new and exciting ground when it is published (Hypatia, forthcoming). In this essay, she notes that “the May 1994 special issue of the Canadian journal UnderCurrents is the first to address the topic of ‘Queer Nature.’ Gaard goes on (in n. 1) to note that though several of the essays in this special issue initiate an exploration of a “queer ecofeminism,”

conference and lies 14 (Summer nces since. omises to break this essay, she rens is the first hat though sev­ ecofeminism,"

none of them specifically develop connections between queer theory and ecofeminism, which is the purpose of her essay.

26. This position is especially common in the ecofeminist analyses that operate within the political and academic arena called "Women, Environment, and Development."
