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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

From: *Ecofeminist Natures: Race, Gender, Feminist Theory and Political Action* (New York: Routledge, 1997), pp. 23–30, excerpts.

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,⁴ 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.⁵ . . . 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.⁶ . . .

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,

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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

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from "the peace movement," ecofeminists deeply influenced the nature of feminist peace politics in the 1980s.

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.²⁴ 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 Rio 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

0 women attended, Patricia Hynes of ciation and later of nd Amy Swerdlow, n ongoing Women usetts, which pub- WLOE groups in ited States.¹⁴ tions were either organizers. A con- Environment: The l women, who lis- and Peggy Taylor. /, planning, health, omen For Life On ference, and orga- spawned numerous in other countries, any.¹⁶ WFLOE put r of gatherings, and izers of WFLOE, feminist anthology, 983. aerst also grew the of 1980 and 1981, d in civil disobedi- olitics behind these etween militarism, wever unevenly the e writings of Susan 'k, a set of political ong women sympa- and environmental ctions thus began to of describing their 81 issue of *Tidings*, s decided not to get arch in Washington, n and not explicitly "participatory fem- referred not to anti- idically democratic . Rather than arising

life-threatening destruction of the environment. A constant and ongoing focus of ecofeminist 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 nature, 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 anti-nature, 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 rethinkings of Christian theology; critiques of the patriarchal nature of militarism; feminist 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

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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 antimilitarist 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.

3. This definition paraphrases Greta Gaard, "Living Interconnections with Animals and Nature," in *Ecofeminism: Women, Animals, Nature*, 1–12, esp. p. 1 (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1993).

4. Donna Haraway, a white socialist feminist deeply influenced by poststructuralism, explicitly aligns herself with ecofeminism in "Situated Knowledges: The Science Question in Feminism and the Privilege of Partial Perspective," in *Simians, Cyborgs, and Women: The Reinvention of Nature*, 201 (New York: Routledge, 1991), and in Haraway's interview with Marcy Darnovsky entitled, "Overhauling the Meaning Machines," *Socialist Review* 21, no. 2 (1991): 65–84, esp. pp. 69–70, 78. Mary Daly's radical feminist classic, *Gyn/Ecology* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1978; 1990) is now considered by many to be one foundation for ecofeminist theory. Alice Walker, a prominent best-selling African American writer, has contributed explicitly to ecofeminist antimilitarist and animal liberationist concerns, most clearly through her pieces, "Only Justice Can Stop a Curse," in *In Search of Our Mother's Gardens*, 338–42 (San Diego: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1983), and "Am I Blue?" in *Living By The Word*, 3–8 (San Diego: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1988). Rachel Carson, a natural scientist who was not an explicit feminist, is claimed as an ecofeminist foremother because of her book *Silent Spring*, which arguably initiated the first nonconservationist environmental movement in America (see Grace Paley's dedication to Rachel Carson in *Reweaving the World: The Emergence of Ecofeminism*, ed. Irene

Diamond and Gl Starhawk, a pagan writer, and theorist *Dark* (Boston: *Be of the Great God* Francisco: Harper director of an envi *Women, Ecology* ecofeminist text.

5. However participation in th experience as th 1990–1996), give contact with a w lowing section of radical, cultural, I typologies would

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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.

6. The term “genealogy” in its current usage is derived from Nietzsche via Michel Foucault in the latter’s essay “Nietzsche, Genealogy, History,” in *Language, Counter-Memory, Practice*, ed. and trans D. F. Bouchard, 139–64 (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1977).

7. The last few years have seen a rapid increase in the literature on ecofeminism, in the context of a growing body of environmental literature. An analysis of the publication history of ecofeminist literature indicates a trend from more marginal “movement-oriented” publications to more scholarly journals and university presses. Journals that have devoted special issues to the topic are: *Heresies* 13 (1981); *New Catalyst* 10 (Winter 1987–1988); *Woman of Power* (Spring 1988); *Studies in the Humanities* 15, no. 2 (1988); *Hypatia: Journal of Women and Philosophy* 6, no. 1 (1991); *American Philosophical Association Newsletter on Feminism and Philosophy* 2 (Fall 1991); and *Society and Nature* 2, no. 1 (1993). Besides those listed above, journals that have published numerous articles on ecofeminism include *Capitalism, Nature, Socialism; Environmental Ethics; Environmental Review; The Trumpeter; Women and Environments; Women’s International Network News; and Women’s Studies International Forum*. A partial, chronological listing of books on ecofeminism would include Rosemary Radford Ruether, *New Woman/New Earth: Sexist Ideologies and Human Liberation* (New York: Seabury Press, 1975); Susan Griffin, *Woman and Nature: The Roaring inside Her* (San Francisco: Harper and Row, 1978); Elizabeth Dodson Gray, *Green Paradise Lost* (Wellesley, MA: Roundtable Press, 1979); Carolyn Merchant, *The Death of Nature: Women, Ecology and the Scientific Revolution* (San Francisco: Harper and Row, 1980); Brian Easlea, *Science and Sexual Oppression: Patriarchy’s Confrontation with Women and Nature* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicholson, 1981); Leonie Caldecott and Stephanie Leland, eds., *Reclaim the Earth: Women Speak Out for Life on Earth* (London: The Women’s Press, 1983); André Collard with Joyce Contrucci, *Rape of the Wild: Man’s Violence against Animals and the Earth* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1988); Vandana Shiva, *Staying Alive: Women, Ecology and Development in India* (London: Zed Books, 1988); Irene Dankelman and Joan Davidson, *Women and Environment in the Third World* (London: Earthscan Publica-

tions, 1988); Judith Plant, ed., *Healing the Wounds: The Promise of Ecofeminism* (Philadelphia: New Society Publishers, 1989); Carolyn Merchant, *Ecological Revolutions: Nature, Gender and Science in New England* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1989); Irene Diamond and Gloria Feman Orenstein, eds., *Reweaving the World: The Emergence of Ecofeminism* (San Francisco: Sierra Club Books, 1990); Janet Biehl, *Finding Our Way: Rethinking Ecofeminist Politics* (Boston: South End Press, 1991); Carol Adams, *The Sexual Politics of Meat: A Feminist-Vegetarian Critical Theory* (New York: Continuum Press, 1991); Rosemary Radford Ruether, *Gaia and God: An Ecofeminist Theology of Earth Healing* (San Francisco: Harper and Row, 1992); Mary Mellor, *Breaking the Boundaries: Toward a Feminist Green Socialism* (London: Virago Press, 1992); Greta Gaard, ed., *Ecofeminism: Women, Animals, Nature* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1993); Carol Adams, ed., *Ecofeminism and the Sacred* (New York: Continuum Press, 1993); Val Plumwood, *Feminism and the Mastery of Nature* (New York: Routledge, 1993); Maria Mies and Vandana Shiva, *Ecofeminism* (London and Atlantic Highlands, NJ: Zed Press, 1993); Vera Norwood, *Made from This Earth: American Women and Nature* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1993); Karen Warren, ed., *Ecological Feminism* (New York: Routledge, 1994); Irene Diamond, *Fertile Ground: Women, Earth, and the Limits of Control* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1994); Vandana Shiva, ed., *Close to Home: Women Reconnect Ecology, Health and Development Worldwide* (Philadelphia: New Society Publishers, 1994); Rosi Braidotti, Ewa Charkiewicz, Sabine Häusler, Saskia Wieringa, *Women, the Environment and Sustainable Development* (London: Zed Books, 1994); Carol Adams, *Neither Man nor Beast: Feminism and the Defense of Animals* (New York: Continuum Press, 1994); Vandana Shiva and Inguna Moser, eds., *Biopolitics: A Feminist and Ecological Reader on Biotechnology* (London: Zed Books, 1995); Carol Adams and Josephine Donovan, eds., *Animals and Women: Feminist Theoretical Explorations* (Durham, NC, and London: Duke University Press, 1995); Carolyn Merchant, *Earthcare: Women and the Environment* (London and New York: Routledge, 1996); Karen Warren, ed., *Ecological Feminist Philosophies* (Indianapolis: Indiana University Press/Hypatia, 1996), and Karen Warren, ed., *Ecofeminism: Women, Culture, Nature* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1997). A number of books on ecofeminism are forthcoming at this writing, including Ynestra King, *Ecofeminism: The Reenchantment of Nature* (Boston: Beacon); Chaia Heller, *The Revolution That Dances: From a Politics of Desire to a Desirable Politics* (Littleton, CO: Aigis Publications). Manuscripts in process that I know of are those by Greta Gaard, *Ecological Politics: Ecofeminists and the Greens* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, forthcoming); and Christine Cuomo (on ecofeminist ethics). For a sampling of the periodical literature on ecofeminism, see Carol Adams and Karen Warren, "Feminism and the Environment: A Selected Bibliography," *American Philosophical Association Newsletter on Feminism and Philosophy* 90, no. 3 (Fall 1991): 148-57. A popular interest in ecofeminism is indicated by special issues of *Ume Reader* 36 (November/December 1989) and *Ms.*, no. 2 (1991); the sporadic, uneven column on ecofeminism in *Ms.*, as well as the growing interest in ecofeminism evinced by trade publishers (Beacon, Harper and Row, Vintage, etc.). The word "ecofeminism" became a Library of Congress subject heading around 1992.

8. The most thorough historian of ecofeminism to date is Carolyn Merchant. See her section entitled "Ecofeminism," in *Radical Ecology: The Search for a Livable World*, 183-210 (New York: Routledge, 1992), and *Earthcare: Women and the Environment* (New

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York: Routledge, 1995), esp. chs. "Earthcare: Women and the American Environmental Movement" (pp. 139-66) and "Conclusion: Partnership Ethics: Earthcare for a New Millennium" (pp. 209-24). Other accounts of ecofeminism's beginnings and development can be found in Ynestra King, "The Eco-Feminist Imperative," in *Reclaim the Earth*, ed. Caldecott and Leland, pp. 12-16, and "Ecological Feminism," *Z Magazine* 1, nos. 7/8 (1988): 124-27; Charlene Spretnak, "Ecofeminism: Our Roots and Flowering," in *Reweaving the World*, ed. Diamond and Orenstein, pp. 3-14; Braidotti et al., "Ecofeminism: Challenges and Contradictions," in *Women, the Environment and Sustainable Development*, pp. 161-68; and Greta Gaard and Lori Gruen, "Ecofeminism: Toward Global Justice and Planetary Health," *Society and Nature* 2, no. 1 (1993): 1-35. Many of these accounts (except for King's) start with the coining of the word "ecofeminism" in 1974 by Françoise d'Eaubonne and cite her *Le Féminisme ou la Mort* (Paris: Pierre Horay, 1974), though Braidotti cites "Feminism or Death?" in *New French Feminisms: An Anthology*, ed. Elaine Marks and Isabelle de Courtivron, 64-67 (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1980). Aside from the 1980 essay cited above, which does not explicitly mention ecofeminism, d'Eaubonne's work was not available in English translation until 1994, in an essay translated by Ruth Hottel as "The Time for Ecofeminism," in *Key Concepts in Critical Theory: Ecology*, ed. Carolyn Merchant, 174-97 (Atlantic Highlands, NJ: Humanities Press, 1994). Though undoubtedly d'Eaubonne's 1974 formulation was an early use of the term, since her work was not available in English translation until 1994, 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 antimilitarist 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. She states that "the term 'ecofeminism' (was) spontaneously appearing across several continents in the 1970s" but for "politico-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.

10. See Spretnak, "Our Roots and Flowering," for a fuller list of organizers; also see Barbara Epstein, *Political Protest and Cultural Revolution: Nonviolent Direct Action in the 1970s and 1980s* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991), p. 161.

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11. Ynestra King, "Where the Spiritual and Political Come Together," *Women for Life on Earth* (Winter 1984): 4. King has given different figures in "What Is Ecofeminism?" *Nation* (December 12, 1987): 730, claiming eight hundred attendees and two hundred workshops. I am inclined to stick to the description dated closer to the conference itself.
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.
14. *Tidings* (May 1981): 1-16.
15. Anna Gyorgy, "Evaluating Eco-Feminism West Coast," *Tidings* (May 1981): 14.
16. *Women for Life on Earth* (Winter 1984): 58-59.
17. The Unity Statement, including its original illustrations depicting women of all races and ages, has been reprinted in Lynne Jones, ed., *Keeping the Peace* (London: Women's Press, 1983), pp. 42-43. For descriptions of the action, see Ynestra King, "All Is Connectedness," in *Keeping the Peace*, pp. 40-63, and Rhoda Linton and Michele Whitham, "With Mourning, Rage, Empowerment and Defiance: The 1981 Women's Pentagon Action," *Socialist Review* 12, nos. 3/4 (1982): 11-36.
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.
19. Particularly Griffin's *Women and Nature: The Roaring inside Her* (New York: Harper and Row, 1978).
20. Especially as the editor of *The Politics of Women's Spirituality: Essays on the Rise of Spiritual Power within the Feminist Movement* (New York: Anchor Books, 1982).
21. An important ecofeminist theorist, King has usefully collected many of her classic essays in *What Is Ecofeminism?* (New York: Ecofeminist Resources, 1990).
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*.
23. Anonymous, *Tidings* (May 1981): 14.
24. See Irene Diamond and Gloria Feman Orenstein'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,"

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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."

27. For a detailed description of the different theories useful to ecofeminism, see Greta Gaard and Lori Gruen, "Global Justice and Planet Health," *Society and Nature* 2, no. 1 (1993): 1-35.

28. Gwyn Kirk, "Blood, Bones, and Connective Tissue: Grassroots Women Resist Ecological Destruction," paper presented at the National Women Studies Association, Austin, June 1992; Giovanna Di Chiro, "Defining Environmental Justice: Women's Voices and Grassroots Politics," *Socialist Review* 22, no. 4 (October-December 1992): 93-130.