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Transnational Women and Feminists for Climate Justice: The Gender Bias at the Root of the Climate Emergency

By

Julie Gorecki

A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of the

requirements for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

in

Environmental Science, Policy, and Management

and the Designated Emphasis

in

Women, Gender, and Sexuality

in the

Graduate Division

of the

University of California, Berkeley

Committee in charge:
Professor Rachel Morello-Frosch, Chair
Professor Carolyn Merchant
Professor Paola Bacchetta
Professor Michael Mascarenhas

Summer 2024

Transnational Women and Feminists for Climate Justice:
The Gender Bias at the Root of the Climate Emergency

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by

Julie Gorecki

Abstract

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Doctor of Philosophy in Environmental Science, Policy, and Management

Designated Emphasis in Women, Gender, and Sexuality

University of California, Berkeley

Professor Rachel Morello-Frosch, Chair

The climate emergency is wielding a gender bias. Scholars and international organizations have shown that climate change and environmental degradation disproportionately affects people of marginalized genders across the globe. Indigenous women and women in the global south are especially impacted. Affected women have organized the Women and Feminists for Climate Justice (WFCJ) movement—a transnational activist network composed of women and gender-marginalized participants for a "feminist system change, not climate change" (Gorecki, 2015). WFCJ seek to remedy the disproportionate effects of global warming on women by advocating that there can be "no climate justice without gender justice," as stated by one of the movement slogans (Gorecki, 2015).

In the face of today's climate emergency, this dissertation proposes a new theoretical framework for Ecological Feminisms through time spent with the transnational movement of WFCJ. This work is a critical discourse and concept analysis of the theoretical foundations of "Gendered Systemic Oppression," which is grounded in the participatory action research (PAR) of international multi-sited ethnographies and interviews of WFCJ. I bring the former and the latter together to re-examine *the root causes* of climate change's gender bias. Drawing on five years of qualitative PAR, including multi-sited ethnographies and interviews, my research maps and compares the narratives and experiences of WFCJ activists at the annual United Nations Climate Conference (COP) and at numerous miscellaneous global climate justice gatherings.

Yet, how do disparate women and gender-marginalized people from varying locations across the globe build solidarity to collectively foster common discourse, advocacy, and international demands on climate and gender in transnational climate justice arenas? More specifically, how do different women, from varying hemispheres of the globe and from differing political and socio-economic realities and histories gather in the same spaces to discuss, debate, and develop both divisions and solidarities about gender and climate change?

My work finds that solidarity is built amongst WFCJ through a common named resistance to some iteration of the global capitalist system. I refer to this global system, or common enemy, as **The Racial Capitalist Climate Patriarchy**— a global earth commodifying economic and socio-political system that has been historically uplifted and sustained through colonialism, imperialism, and an imposition of dominant cis-hetero subjectivities and social relations.

Within this overlying structure are a multiplicity of **Racial Capitalist Climate Patriarch*ies***. These Climate Patriarchies comprise a plurality of distinct and more localized, national, regional, or place-based manifestations of the larger global system, and are characterized by specific geographical locations, socio-political histories, and positionalities of gender, race, and class.

Chapter 1 revisits the foundational literature on Gendered Systemic Oppression to tend to the links between today's climate emergency and its disproportionate burdens on gender-marginalized people across the globe. There, I identify two paradigmatic shifts that are fundamental to climate change's structural impact on gender today. The inception of these two paradigmatic shifts occurred on parallel tracks without converging, thus creating a gap in the foundations of the literature. The first paradigmatic shift was put forth by original Ecological Feminist theories, which incorporated the domination of ecology as part of Gendered Systemic Oppression, but fell short on race. The second paradigmatic shift is an early form of intersectionality that showed structural racism to be "interlocked" with gendered and class oppression but did not elaborate on the domination of the environment (The Combahee River Collective Statement, 1977).

Chapter 2 is devoted to a full analysis of the intersectional side of the gap. I trace the genesis of the intersectional side of the gap through a letter of critique written by Audre Lorde to Mary Daly in 1979. Thereafter, I identify three post-inaugural Ecofeminist works of systemic oppression that did acknowledge and incorporate the significant concerns about race and racism, as articulated by Lorde. A presentation of Black Ecological Feminisms follows a discussion of the intersection of Ecological Feminist and Intersectional Feminist perspectives, revealing the ongoing critique of Ecofeminism's white legacy. Lastly, this chapter explores the intersection of gender and ecology outside of academia, tracing gaps in scholarship and presenting early examples of women-led ecological resistance and activism on the ground

Chapter 3 explores the empirical findings and theoretical frameworks that underpin the global movement of WFCJ, elucidating how these disparate women build solidarity. As a result of my data collection, this dissertation suggests that what invokes collectivity between WFCJ is a shared recognition of naming two or more of the following global systems: capitalism, patriarchy, white supremacy, racial capitalism, hetero-patriarchy, and/or colonialism as the historical and current source that is responsible for disempowering and subordinating gender by causing and exacerbating climate change itself. These findings produce the empirical support for The Racial Capitalist Climate Patriarchy. Simultaneously, these observations were paired with a continual emphasis by WFCJ, on the geographic, racial, class, and gendered (in the case of further marginalized gender identities, such as LGBTQIA2++) disparities between the incredibly diverse women comprising WFCJ. The theoretical framework of The Racial Capitalist Climate Patriarch*ies* are grounded within these latter observations and presented within this chapter.

Chapter 4 develops the concept of the Androcene. The Androcene is both a feminist approach to the Anthropocenic literature and the historical epoch which produced the structure of The Racial Capitalist Climate Patriarchy. The Androcene is an epoch defined by patriarchal social relations and structures, built from an interlinked subordination of gender, race, and nature.

This dissertation concludes by offering instances of ongoing resistance that visibilize Climate Patriarchies. As a primarily theoretical dissertation, this conclusion, therefore, looks toward future research into ethnographic case studies that interrogate the possibilities opened by frontline communities when Climate Patriarchies are dismantled. This, then, offers a hopeful look at a future heralded by revolution and feminist system(s) change for climate justice, and gestures towards the necessity of future research into these examples of "Climate Revolutions" (Sultana, 2022).

Dedication

For Moo Moo
For Flower

For my father, Dariusz Górecki
For my mother, Barbara Górecka

For a Feminist System Change not Climate Change
For Women and Feminists for Climate Justice Everywhere

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Acknowledgements

I would like to begin by acknowledging that The University of California, Berkeley, is situated on Xučyun* (also spelled Huichin), the ancestral and unceded land of the Chochenyo Ohlone people.

The completion of this dissertation was made possible because of the care and extraordinary support of numerous people. An eternal *merci beaucoup* to the inimitable Moo Moo. From collaborator to culinary chef, his unconditional support every step of the way has given me the strength to perservere. *Aychek* to the cherished Flower Belkadi for his boundless attention, presence, and deep care, which have been integral to the completion of this work.

To my parents, Barbara and Derek Gorecki, for their unconditional love and whose endless courage, curiosity, and resilience in life have undoubtedly influenced my research interests and the pursuit and completion of this dissertation. To my sister Dominika Gorecki, for the personal 24/7 editing hotline that 100% got me through my undergraduate studies, and onto the longer path of this dissertation. To Melina Packer, whose steadfast dependability and compassionate encouragement got me across that finish line. To Frances Roberts-Gregory, who, without fail, has provided over two years of monthly checks-ins on this work and on life. And to the miraculous Heather, who has been there in ways that have made all the difference.

I consider the beginning and duration of this dissertation to have equal value to its end. An inexpressibly special acknowledgement goes to an individual who sincerely changed the trajectory of my work and my life, not once, but twice. The first time was in 2010, when I went to search for this person's book, *the Death of Nature*, in the American Library in Paris. This text shattered my understanding of the world because once I saw it, it marked the starting point of what has become a 14-year commitment to Ecological Feminist research and activism. The author of this work is, of course, Carolyn Merchant, and the second time she altered the course of my future was by accepting to supervise me for the last years of her faculty career at UC Berkeley. I am deeply grateful to Carolyn for believing in my work, and for mentoring me throughout the years, and ushering in, what has been for me, the opportunity of a lifetime.

Thank you to my dissertation committee for sticking with me until the very end. I am truly appreciative of Rachel Morello-Frosch for taking up the supervision of my research in the final years of my dissertation and for the wealth of guidance she has offered me during our lengthy monthly meetings, along with her supreme letters of support. Thank you, Michael Mascarenhas, for seeing the passion that I have for my work and for appreciating my commitment to the writing and to the movement. And a massive thank you to Paola Bacchetta, whose feminist insights and knowledge truly go unmatched. I feel so lucky to have connected with you so early on and I am deeply thankful for your extended mentorship beyond the university and the dear friend you have become to me.

As for Women and Feminists for Climate Justice (WFCJ). It is difficult to articulate the deep gratitude and respect I have for this transnational movement as both individuals and as a collective. I would like to acknowledge the level of impressive organization and dedication that consistently embodies WFCJ across transnational gatherings. The conviction, courage, and

resistance towards a “feminist system change not climate change” (Gorecki, 2015) is awe-inspiring, to say the least.

I extend my deepest appreciation to the multitudes of women and marginalized genders that compose WFCJ. I give particular acknowledgments to each and every WFCJ who generously offered their time, reflections, trust, and sometimes qualms to speaking with me in interview. From Chiapas to Lisbon and many other transnational locations, thank you. It has been an immense honor to walk alongside this fierce and determined movement for so many years, learning from and engaging in the remarkable ways that the climate emergency is being resisted with feminist wisdom and prowess. Your transnational dynamism and unapologetic resistance to systemic oppression is the praxis to the theoretical developments within this project.

Because of the breadth and richness of WFCJ, I find it counterproductive to name any specific WFCJ person, project, or organization in the acknowledgements. This would only lead to leaving people out, including WFCJ who are resisting some form of ecological or climate oppression in less visible locations. WFCJ, no matter how unseen, are so crucial to this work, and for that reason, I would like to explicitly acknowledge them.

That being said, it would be impossible not to acknowledge the precious time spent working together with Osprey Orielle Lake, Katherine Quaid of the incredible Women’s Earth Climate Action Network (WECAN) *outside of this research.* Two additional international communities must be named. The first is my treasured transnational climate justice COP community: you are extremely dear to my heart and your magic goes unsurpassed. The second is my beloved chosen family from Chatham, to Toronto, to Paris, for whom I owe absolutely everything.

The culmination of my dissertation continues to have a strong and active connection all the way back to my undergraduate work at the University of Toronto. Rebecca Kingston and Mark Kingwell are two dear mentors, and now friends, from my undergraduate studies that were pivotal to my academic path and remain current supports in my life.

In Paris, there is Geneviève Pruvost, Laurence Marty, Emilie Hache, Jade Lindgaard, and Isabelle Cambourakis for our time sharing and reflecting on Ecofeminism together. A special emphasis of gratitude goes to the outstanding Geneviève Pruvost for her exceptional academic supervision of my Master’s thesis, a relationship that has developed into almost a decade of deep and ongoing academic support, mentorship, and wonderful friendship. And to the remarkable Myriam Bahaffou, for the deeply enriching experience of collaborating on Ecofeminist writing together.

At UC Berkeley, Louise Fortmann and the Fortmann Ladies Lab, Alastair Iles, Trinh T. Minh-ha, Barbara Barnes, and Nancy Lee Peluso are additional faculty that have all been instrumental in shaping my scholarly journey.

To the majestic East Bay powerhouses that are Annie Leonard, Dewi, Melina Packer (again), Ámate Cecilia Perez, and Karen Elliot. Thank you for taking me into your homes and your communities during my time living in California for this work. Thank you to Pratibha Parmar and Shaheen Haq for being part of this beautiful family that I am forever grateful to have met.

And an extremely important final thank you for all the enriching encounters, exchanges, and new friendships within the graduate community at UC Berkeley and beyond: Chryl Corbin, Ashton Wesner, Julie Alanna Pyatt, Jess Dorrance, Julia Havard, Ellen Feiss, Megan Hoetger, Nain Martinez, Sebastián Rubiano Galvis, Erin Lam, Laura Dev, Lisa Hofmann-Kuroda, Ansel Olive Klein, Tracy Burnett, Christine Wilkinson, Oliver Muellerklein, Vera Chang, Daniel Suarez, Hossein Ayazi, Hekia Bodwitch, Benji Kessler, Natalie R. Graham, Dylan Beal, Brian Whyte, Aidee Guzman, Nina Pak, Becca Brunner, James LaChance, Lou Silhol-Macher, Michiko Arai, Sarah Ashley Whitt, Derrika Hunt, Kenly Brown, Rob Connell, Desiree Valadares, Brian Klein, Margiana Petersen-Rockney, Matt Libassi, Lou Soler, Juliet Lu, Miyuki Baker, Vanessa Radits, Dominic J. Bednar, and the night-writers group. (Apologies if I have missed anyone dear; an easy mistake to make when surrounded by such a large community of stellar people).

Introduction

"Climate breakdown is the hot toxic breath of the white supremacist capitalist patriarchy."
-Julie Gorecki, "The Racial Capitalist Climate Patriarchy," *The Ecologist,* December 2021

Scholars and international organizations have shown that climate change and environmental degradation disproportionately affect people of marginalized genders across the globe. Indigenous women and women in the global south are especially impacted. The existing literature shows us that women are most encumbered by food and water shortages, caused by climate change-related catastrophes, because they produce the majority of the world's food and are primarily responsible for fetching water. As caregivers of their families and communities, they are disproportionately exposed to the illnesses and diseases caused by droughts, floods, and water contamination. Women fall ill and die at markedly higher rates during global warming-related natural disasters because of their lower economic status and socio-political power. They are left stranded in domestic spheres without economic resources or access to healthcare. Women carry increased responsibility and accountability for the effects of climate change upon them, which leads to a heightened risk of violence against women both inside and outside of the home (Agarwal, 1992; Buckingham, 2023; Chauhan & HM, 2016; Dankelman, 2010; Detraz, 2023; Godfrey & Torres, 2016; Gupta, 2015; Nagel, 2016; O'Brien, 2018; Sen Roy, 2018; Shiva, 2016; Terry, 2009).

Affected women have organized what I have termed the Women and Feminists for Climate Justice (WFCJ) movement—a transnational activist network composed of women and gender-marginalized participants for a "feminist system change, not climate change" (Gorecki, 2015). The terminology WFCJ is not the official or certified name of any movement. This nomenclature grouping and acronym is my characterization of the constellation of global movements of marginalized gendered groups, and will be further explored in Chapter 3. WFCJ seek to remedy the disproportionate effects of global warming on women by advocating that there can be "no climate justice without gender justice," as stated by one of the movement slogans (Gorecki, 2015).

Scope and Synopsis

In the face of today's climate emergency, this dissertation proposes a new theoretical framework for Ecological Feminisms, based on interviews, ethnography, and participant observation through time spent with members of the transnational movement WFCJ.

This work is a critical discourse and concept analysis of the theoretical foundations of "Gendered Systemic Oppression," which is grounded in the participatory action research (PAR) of international multi-sited ethnographies and interviews of WFCJ. I bring the former and the latter together to re-examine *the root causes* of climate change's gender bias.

Drawing on five years of qualitative PAR, my research maps and compares the narratives and experiences of WFCJ activists at the annual United Nations Conference of Parties (COP) and at numerous miscellaneous global climate justice gatherings. This study is designed to generate a transnational empirical data set of WFCJ that illuminates the global systemic links between climate change, environmental degradation, and gender.

Research Questions
My principal research questions are:

How do disparate women and gender-marginalized people from varying locations across the globe build solidarity to collectively foster common discourse, advocacy, and international demands on climate and gender in transnational climate justice arenas?

More specifically, how do different women, from varying hemispheres of the globe and from differing political and socio-economic realities and histories gather in the same spaces to discuss, debate, and develop both divisions and solidarities about gender and climate change?

Findings and Results
As a result of my data collection, this dissertation suggests that what invokes collectivity among WFCJ members is a shared recognition of naming two or more of the following global systems: capitalism, patriarchy, white supremacy, racial capitalism, hetero-patriarchy, and/or colonialism as the historical and current source responsible for disempowering and subordinating gender by causing and exacerbating climate change itself. Simultaneously, this observation was paired with a continual emphasis by the incredibly diverse women comprising WFCJ about the geographic, racial, class, and gendered (in the case of further marginalized gender identities such as LGBTQIA2++)[1]) disparities between themselves. This was a widespread pattern and theme that emerged across a total of 117 interviews and 38 multi-sited ethnographies conducted with WFCJ members. I reached a point of theoretical "saturation"[2] in the fifth year of my fieldwork, and confirmed my findings through an additional two years of PAR. The specific methodological approaches are discussed in-depth in Chapter 3.

In turn, I argue that solidarity is built amongst WFCJ members through a commonly named resistance to some iteration of the global capitalist system.

I refer to this global system, or common enemy, as **the Racial Capitalist *Climate* Patriarchy**— a global earth commodifying economic and socio-political system that has been historically uplifted and sustained through colonialism, imperialism, and an imposition of dominant cis-hetero subjectivities and social relations.

Within this overlying structure are a multiplicity of **Racial Capitalist Climate Patriarch*ies***. These Climate Patriarchies comprise a plurality of distinct and more localized, national, regional, or place-based manifestations of the larger global system, and are characterized by specific geographical locations, socio-political histories, and positionalities of gender, race, and class.

[1] LGBTQIA2++ is the abbreviation for: lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, queer and/or questioning, intersexual, asexual, and two-spirited.
[2] In their article, "Saturation in Qualitative Research: Exploring its Conceptualization and Operationalization," Sauders et al. (2018) explain: "Saturation has attained widespread acceptance as a methodological principle in qualitative research. It is commonly taken to indicate that, on the basis of the data that have been collected or analysed hitherto, further data collection and/or analysis are unnecessary."

Together, this framework results in a two-tier theoretical approach that imbricates systemic analysis on an overarching *global scale* (The Racial Capitalist Climate Patriarchy), with systemic analysis on a differentiated local scale (The Racial Capitalist Climate Patriarch*ies*). The former responds to the WFCJs naming of common transnational powers and oppressions. The latter reflects an insistence on the "situatedness" of smaller scales of oppression that are characterized by locality, intersectionality, and differentiation.

This project begins with what has become a widely accepted premise— that the climate crisis is a systemic crisis of capitalism. Ultimately, my research faces off The Racial Capitalist Climate Patriarchy with the Climate, offering a wider systemic analysis of today's global overlapping global crises.

Developing a more all-encompassing understanding of the parts that make up today's global systemic apparatus is needed to deal with the current crisis at the intersection of climate and gender.

Gendered Climate Burdens: A Window into Unraveling Oppressive Structures

This dissertation lays out new entry points into understanding the old questions of Gendered Systemic Oppression.

Climate change and environmental destruction are exerting uneven burdens on gender, particularly on Indigenous women and women of the global south worldwide (Agarwal, 1992; Babugura, 2017; Braidotti et al., 1995; Dankelman, 2002; Denton, 2002; Enarson, 2000, 2012; Lambrou & Piana, 2006; Masika, 2002; Taylor, 1997; Terry, 2009; UNDP, 1995). Today, this finding has become a leading exemplar of the global nexus between gender and climate change both within academic and activist movements. The scholarship on the claim emerges in the early 1990s. Professor of Development Economics and Environment Bina Agarwal's "The Gender and Environment Debate: Lessons from India" (1992) provides an early understanding of climate changes' systemic discriminatory impacts (early enough that the terminology "environmental degradation" was still being applied to new understandings of a rapidly deteriorating and changing climate). Under the subtitle "Class-Gender Effects," Agarwal (1992) writes:

> We come then to the class-gender effects of the processes of degradation, statization and privatization of nature's resources, and the erosion of traditional systems of knowledge and resource management. These processes have had particularly adverse effects on poor households because of the noted greater dependency of such households on communal resources. However, focusing on the class significance of communal resources provides only a partial picture— there is also a *critical gender dimension, for women and female children are the ones most adversely affected by environmental degradation* [emphasis added]. (p. 137)

Agarwal (1992) gives three principal reasons for women and children bearing the brunt of environmental degradation:

> First, there is a preexisting gender division of labor. […] Second, there are systematic gender differences in the distribution of subsistence resources (including food and health

> care) within rural households […and] Third, there are significant inequalities in women's and men's access to the most critical productive resource in rural economies, agriculture land, and associated production technology. Women also have an systemically disadvantaged position in the labor market. (pp. 136-137)

To this theoretical groundwork, Agarwal (1992) adds six "'class-gender effects' (the gender effects mediated by class) of the processes of environmental degradation, statization and privatization," being: "time, income, nutrition, health, social-survival-networks, and indigenous knowledge" (pp. 137-138). Soon after, we see a steadily increasing body of literature that references and develops Agarwal's finding.[3]

Gaining eminence in the 1970s, feminist theories of patriarchy looked to locate the root causes of global Gendered Systemic Oppression (Dalla Costa & James, 1975; Davis, 1981/2019; Dupont [Delphy], 1970; Eaubonne, 1974; Eisenstein, 1979; Firestone, 1970/2003; Millet, 1970; The Combahee River Collective, 1977/1979; Vogel, 1983). Yet, these theories came before our present-day understanding of climate change and its unequal consequences on people of marginalized genders. In turn, feminist theory has not adequately examined the root causes of the climate emergency's disproportionate impacts based on gender within the frameworks that scrutinize Gendered Systemic Oppression. I take up this task in Chapter 1 and use it as a window of analysis for the rest of the dissertation.

Statement of Positionality: Situating Myself, The Research, and Myself in Research

As an interdisciplinary critical feminist working at the intersection of climate and gender, I find it vital to situate myself and establish my positionality before addressing the chapter roadmap that comprises this dissertation.

I am a white-cisgender woman (she/her) and first-generation Pole, born and raised in Canada. I have been based within a metropolitan setting in France for the last 15 years. During the first five years of writing this dissertation, I spilt my time between Paris and the unceded land of the Chochenyo-speaking Ohlone people at the University of California, Berkeley.

The queries within this dissertation are the reflection of the diverse, interdisciplinary trajectories of my academic history, which, for most part, have been in a reciprocal dance with my activist engagements. Neither my research nor my activism are a coincidence or unexplainable interests. Instead, the Ecological Feminisms both revisited and produced within the following chapters are a result of a long accumulation of personal life experiences, history, and situated positioning.

[3] This body of literature includes: feminist philosopher Rosi Braidotti's anthology *Women, the Environment and Sustainable Development: Towards a Theoretical Synthesis* (1994); environmental sociologist Dorceta E. Taylor's "Women of Color, Environmental Justice, and Ecofeminism" (1997); sociologists Elaine Enarson's Enarson's International Labor Organization (ILO) report "Gender and Natural Disasters;" Rachel Masika's anthology *Gender, Development and Climate Change* (2002); climatologist and director of the Ghanaian United Nations University Fatima Denton's article "Climate Change Vulnerability, Impacts, and Adaptation, Why Does Gender Matter?" (2002); researchers Yianna Lambrou and Grazia Piana's Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO) report "Gender: The Missing Component of the Response to Climate Change" (2006); and Irene Dankelman's textbook *Gender and Climate Change: an Introduction* (2010).

Here, I do not mean to go off on a tangent about myself or my life. I mean to commit to a feminist praxis in theory and within fieldwork. In theory, Donna Haraway (1988) reminds us of the value of situating ourselves as a method that disarms and rejects the white and patriarchal constructions and illusions of the objective observer and objective observations. And in fieldwork, Gabriela, a Guatemalan climate activist for trans rights who I met at the *Zapitista's Primer Encuentro Internacional de Mujeres que Luchan* (First International Gathering of Women Who Struggle) in Chiapas in 2018, told me with a giggle: "if you're gonna interview me, I want to interview you first" (Gabriela, personal interview, 2018).

With this, I would also like to admit that the theory-laden side of me, which feels strangely well and at home within the deeply impersonal foundations of Marxist and Socialist literature that underpin this dissertation, is rather reluctant to type any letter "I" that is not directly followed by the word "argue." Despite that being the case, my many years of feminist PAR "walking with" and "speaking nearby" lifechanging members of WFCJ, as feminist theorists and ethnographers Juanita Sunderg (2014) and Trinh T. Minh-ha have written, provides the theoretical courage to share the personal background that has shaped this dissertation (Chen, 1992). Simultaneously, presenting my positionality as the blueprint of this work is meant to be a humble and unquestionable act of solidarity and deep gratitude to each and every WFCJ member that so generously shared their words and "walked with" me (Sundberg, 2014).

The Ecological Feminist theory proposed within this project springs from what feminist philosopher Sara Amed has explained as "Bringing Feminism Theory Home," the title of her introduction to *Living a Feminist Life* (Ahmed, 2017). Ahmed (2017) explains how she wants the book "to think of feminist theory too as homework, as a way of rethinking how feminist theory originates and where it ends up" (p. 7). In what follows below, I take up Ahmed's question as a way of diving a little deeper into my positionality, sharing some personal origins of the Ecological Feminist theory that undergirds this dissertation.

On December 6, 1984, my 26-year-old parents and 3-year-old sister arrived in Canada. Migrating from their native country Poland, they did not speak English and knew no one. Months prior, my father had become a political refugee, fleeing state interrogation and the threat of imprisonment for his involvement in "Solidarity"—a non-violent, anti-government movement that heavily contributed to the fall of the Berlin Wall. Restricted rights and freedoms, long lines for food rations, and a low quality of life defined my family's life behind the iron curtain. The martial law of 1981 added a new oppressive layer of military tanks, night curfews, and closed borders to everyday life. My parent's dream was to raise their children in a freer and more equal Poland, but the government had targeted my father, and life became too dangerous to stay. My father fled to an Austrian refugee camp, where he, my mother, and sister would be granted political asylum. My parents wanted to migrate somewhere they could give their children and themselves the things they were fighting for in Poland. In 1986, I was born into my family's new Canadian hometown of Chatham Ontario, on the traditional lands of the Three Fires Confederacy: the Odawa, Potawatomi, and Ojibwe, also known as the Anishinaabeg and Lunaapeew Nations. Chatam-Kent is a small city of 40,000 inhabitants, known for its wide spanning cornfields and classic cars.

My parent's history made me acutely aware of the hardships present in our societies. Their integrity and courageous outspokenness ignited a lifelong passion for understanding societal

inequality and philosophical questions of justice and ethics. This passion was fused with some level of unfounded self-assurance that encouraged me to fight hard and dream big, regardless of the hurdles that laid before me. My first big dream was to complete the post-secondary education that was restricted for my parents in Poland.

My undergraduate studies at University of Toronto (UofT) unleashed a fervor for questions of ethics and social justice. In retrospect, I can now see that UofT and academia served as a safe platform to develop my critical thinking and understanding of systemic violence. To this day, Jennifer Nedelsky's feminist graduate seminars still mark one of the most transformational moments of my life. There, I learned that feminist thinking is essential to understanding the complexities of societal inequality. After discussing this realization with my mother one evening, she revealed to me how the Montreal École Polytechnique Massacre of 1989, which gunned down engineering students for being women, made her think that women were not any safer in the West than they were under the military rule of Poland. With this, I became fixated on the French feminist question, *la condition des femmes* ("the condition of women"), which seeks to uncover the roots of women's long and global systemic patriarchal subordination. Although my undergraduate studies ended, my zeal for feminist questions was only beginning.

Feminism provided a throughline to my understanding of the world, shaped by my own, and my family's transnational personal history. What explained the endless forced migration of people across the world? Simultaneously, how did my family's so-called "freedom" depend on further settling the stolen lands of several Indigenous nations? Above all, why were women, racialized populations, and LGBTQIA2S+ peoples overwhelmingly impacted at varying levels of society both locally and globally? How did this all come to be? It is within feminist theory and its foundational telos of tracing the origins of systemic oppression, that I first found persuasive and comprehensive responses to such immense questions.

Captivated by the European academic setting in which some of these questions were rooted, I packed up my belongings and moved to Paris in 2009. My original intentions were to gain valuable life experience and learn French to sharpen my skill set for my return to Canada. Upon my arrival, I immediately started attending open academic seminars which explored French feminists like Luce Irigaray, Julia Kristeva, and Hélène Cixous, and their foundational contributions to the question of *la condition des femmes*. 2009 was also the year of the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC), 15th Conference of Parties (COP15) in Copenhagen. Following the COP15 through a feminist lens, I first discovered that women were among the most vulnerable to climate change. How was it that women were once again at the brunt end of another global crisis? I started to see connections between the French feminist questions that I was interrogating during my academic seminars and the activist climate justice frameworks that would come to define the next six years of my life in Paris.

During my time in France, several avenues informed and structured my current PhD research on gender and climate change. I spent my first two years prioritizing my fluency in French. Learning French was a personally challenging feat, and I overcame my obstacles by remembering my parents' successes of learning English in much more taxing circumstances. Acquiring French became a transformative experience which empowered me to successfully orchestrate the intricate international research conducted within this dissertation. It also enabled me to enroll in a French master's program, where I would be the first to produce an academic

analysis on what was, then, the untranslated, forgotten, and ignored theories of French feminist Françoise d'Eaubonne–the originator of the term Ecofeminism. Writing my first year's master's thesis on the first Ecofeminist texts equipped me with a unique body of knowledge that has remained foundational to my research path. Within this dissertation, an anti-racist critique of d'Eaubonne is formative to illuminating a gap in the literature that produces the theoretical framework of The Racial Capitalist Climate Patriarchy.

My second year master's thesis shed new light on foundational Ecofeminist reasoning through eight interviews with Indigenous Feminist scholars and writers across Northern Turtle Island (also known as Northern Canada). The Gendered Systemic theory generated by Indigenous Feminism shattered my understanding of the roots of Gendered Systemic Oppression, acting as a gateway to my current research interests. Its groundbreaking systemic insights on capitalism, gender, and the environment are in some ways unmatched, particularly in its pre-colonial accounts of ecological balanced societal models regarding women's power and reverence, in both transnational and specific ways. Indigenous Feminism makes up one-third of Chapter 4's presentation of "The Androcene," which provides a historical analysis of the epoch that produced The Racial Capitalist Climate Patriarch*ies*.

Around the same time (2013), I acted as a coordinator for a French National Mobilization, *le Printemps du Climat* (Climate Spring), a citizen's campaign towards real energy transition in France. Despite being a commendable effort, I felt a tangible absence of the broader mechanisms responsible for the climate crisis. Just a few months later, I participated in 350.org's global mobilization campaign, "Global Power Shift" in Istanbul. This once-in-a-lifetime opportunity allowed me to connect with other climate activists from over 80 countries who were acting locally but meeting globally to discuss systems that, up to that moment, I had only found in the classroom. "Global Power Shift" also marked my first encounter with a self-mobilized group on gender and climate. I clearly recall discussions of an international system hinged on the subordination of both gender and nature, which began almost immediately. It was here, that I had my first introduction to WFCJ, who are now at the heart of this dissertation.

Gendered Climate Burdens and Gendered Systemic Oppression:
Forging New Pathways Unraveling Enduring Oppressive Structures

Chapter 1 brings together the disproportionate impacts of climate change on people of marginalized genders worldwide and the foundational canonical feminist theories on Gendered Systemic Oppression, and thus forms the literature review of this dissertation. Part I starts with a re-reading of the "Woman Question," laying out the foundational literature that examined the underlying reasons for women's oppression globally. From this re-reading, I outline two distinct paradigmatic shifts that, on parallel tracks, emerge from the "Woman Question." The first paradigmatic shift is marked by the earliest *Ecological Feminist theories*, which named environmental destruction as integral to Gendered Systemic Oppression, and was introduced by Shulamith Firestone and Françoise d'Eaubonne. The second paradigmatic shift is indicated by the earliest conceptual beginnings of Intersectional[4] Feminist theories, which named systemic

[4] Here, I am referring to the conceptual theoretical founding of intersectionality by the Combahee River Collective in 1977 and not the term intersectionality itself, which was coined by Kimberlé Crenshaw, as explained later in Chapter 1.

racism as "interlocked"[5] with Gendered Systemic Oppression and was initiated by the Combahee River Collective. After tracing and defining the development of each of these separate and groundbreaking paradigmatic shifts, I turn to the gap that sits between their divergent understandings of Gendered Systemic Oppression.

Part II of Chapter 1 critically examines the forking paths between these shifts, categorizing them as "the ecological side of the gap" and "the intersectional side of the gap." I determine that the ecological side of the gap, which crucially named ecology as pivotal to Gendered Systemic Oppression, ultimately proves significantly deficient in addressing issues of race. The intersectional side of the gap, which transformed the discipline by recognizing structural racial oppression as intertwined with Gendered Systemic Oppression, did not engage ecology.

Part III of Chapter 1 asserts that a rereading of these foundational theories is needed to explain and understand the root causes of how and why women and gender-marginalized people are being disproportionately impacted by climate change across the globe today. In turn, Part III also presents the literature on the global disproportionate burdens of climate change on gender-marginalized people. It asserts that the foundational theories of Gendered Systemic Oppression on both sides of the gap, are needed to explain the root causes of how and why women and gender-marginalized people are being disproportionately impacted by climate change across the globe today. Concurrently, re-examining the foundational literature through the current and escalating global phenomenon of climate changes' disproportionate burdens on gender across the globe also sheds significant new light on older and unresolved questions regarding Gendered Systemic Oppression.[6]

Part IV of Chapter 1 endeavors to address the gap in the literature by introducing my concept of the "Racial Capitalist Climate Patriarchy." I propose it as a more comprehensive starting point for understanding Gendered Systemic Oppression (Gorecki, 2021). This framework provides a more all-encompassing point of departure and, thus, a stronger-equipped theoretical structure to explain the elemental systems of oppression responsible for the climate crisis and its disproportionate global impacts on gender-marginalized, racialized, and working and impoverished peoples.

Rooting New Ecological Feminisms in a Tradition of Intersectionality

In an interview for the online media source *Green Dreamer*, Chelsea Mikael Frazier (2022b), one of the emerging Black Feminist Ecologists focused on within Chapter 2, explained that "Ecofeminism is not rooted in Black feminism." Frazier (2022b) further articulates:

> In fact, unfortunately, ecofeminism has suffered from a lot of the same things that eco-criticism and the broader environmental movement have suffered from, which is a lot of homogeny. There was only one type of person represented in those conversations.

[5] "Interlocked" systems of oppression is the term the Combahee River Collective first used to indicate what would come to be understood as intersected positionalities and systems of gender, race, and classed domination .

[6] Here, I am referring to the new escalation of attacks on reproductive rights and health worldwide (from the Polish constitutional court attempting to diminish already radically reduced abortion access in 2020, to the 2022 reversal of the almost 50-year-old Roe vs. Wade in the United States), a cross-border crisis of femicide, and continuing worldwide subordination of all women's (cis and trans) bodies and power.

Chapter 2 returns to the gap between the two paradigmatic shifts identified in the previous chapter, scrutinizing the space that sits between them. In Chapter 1, the absence of ecology from the intersectional side of the gap is briefly covered, while Chapter 2 takes an in-depth look at the intersectional portion. It is important to note within this Introduction that the lack of "the ecological," was not at all specific to the intersectional side of gap. As discussed in Chapter 1, the inaugural literature on Gendered Systemic Oppression overwhelmingly ignored ecology as well, which is precisely what makes Firestone and d'Eaubonne so pivotal, although so seriously flawed. Nevertheless, Chapter 2 is devoted to investigating why the first Intersectional Feminisms steered cleared of an ecological critique, revealing a fertile terrain of analysis that informs The Racial Capitalist Patriarchy.

Part I of Chapter 2 centers on a letter written by Audre Lorde to Mary Daly in 1979. I propose that Lorde's letter acts as an early and rare intersectional commentary of inaugural Ecofeminist presumptions about Gendered Systemic Oppression. Presenting Lorde's letter as a starting point, I posit that this message acts as a protype for successive Intersectional Ecological critiques that emerge over the next fifty years. Primarily led by Black feminists, these scholars all recognize valuable and necessary contributions of Ecofeminism but persist in outlining the problematics surrounding its white-centricity. I compare these emerging commentaries with Lorde's 50-year-old letter to elucidate four enduring critiques of Ecofeminism. These critiques then act as guiding principles towards new proposal of Ecological Feminist frameworks that thoughtfully center intersectionality.

In Part II of Chapter 2, I highlight three post-inaugural Ecofeminist works that recognized and incorporated the issues around race and racism discussed in Part I. Even though these are not embryonic Ecofeminist texts that characterize the ecological side of the gap, these theories are foundational to the field of Ecofeminism. In this section, I track how they cohere with Lorde's four cardinal points and, in turn, contribute to the building blocks of an Intersectional Ecological Feminist tradition that informs The Racial Capitalist Climate Patriarchy.

Part III of Chapter 2 spotlights the development of Intersectional Ecological Feminisms from the 1990s to today and studies their ongoing concerns of Ecofeminism's white legacy. It models the exciting retrospective ecological readings of influential Black feminist works, emanating from new Black Ecological Feminist approaches as methodology that can also work to root new Ecological Feminist theories in Intersectional Feminist traditions.

Part IV of Chapter 2 analyzes the junction of gender and ecology outside of academia, showing that it is, in fact, Indigenous and Southern women who were the first to illuminate the systemic links between gender through early examples of what I have termed "Ecological Feminist Resistance." This part of the chapter acts as a portal from theoretical discourse into the empirically grounded action of WFCJ presented in Chapter 3. It does so by applying the strategies outlined in the first three parts of the chapter into a repertoire of methodologies towards Intersectional Ecological Feminist pathways that narrow the theoretical gap between foundational Ecological Feminisms and wider Intersectional Feminist systems of oppression theories at the center of this dissertation. This is a prerequisite to moving forward with current Ecological Feminist thinking that is needed to respond to the ecological and feminist crises

ongoing in the world. Retracing a history of Ecological Feminist Resistance also responds to the longstanding invitation that Black feminist ecological literature has requested from Ecofeminisms. Inclusion of Indigenous and global southern women's examples seeks to address the erasure of non-white women's central role in ecologically centered feminisms. It recognizes the intersectional differences in privilege and oppression between women within Ecological Feminist analysis, elaborates on the rich histories of leadership, resistance, and existence amongst women of color across the globe in nuanced and non-victimizing ways, and reads and cites women of color.[7] In addition, bringing visibility to early historical examples of Ecological Feminist Resistance led by women of color responds to the unprecedented proliferation of new Black Ecological Feminist scholarship by decentering the typical predominantly white feminist heritage of such a lineage.

Empirical Findings and Theoretical Frameworks: Grounding the Racial Capitalist Climate Patriarch*ies* in WFCJ

Chapter 3 explores the empirical findings and theoretical frameworks that underpin the global movement WFCJ, elucidating how these disparate women build solidarity to combat The Racial Capitalist Climate Patriarchy.

Women, feminists, and LGBTQIA2S+ peoples across the planet have been claiming for decades that the climate crisis has patriarchal roots. Whether they call themselves Ecofeminist, climate feminists, or eco-queers, feminist climate activists are pushing for a "feminist system change not climate change," as one of the movement's slogans goes.

Women and Feminists for Climate Justice has become a transnational force deserving of their very own acronym — WFCJ. As global warming accelerates this movement is doubling down on activism towards a feminist climate justice across continents. And although WFCJ has gone global, the movement springs from resistance and action at place-based community, regional, and national levels.

The Indigenous women water protectors of Standing Rock Sacred Stone Camp and their victory against the XL Dakota Access Pipeline have become emblematic of the countless localized fights against extractive mining projects led by Indigenous women across the globe. The peasant women of *La Via Campesina's*—the International Peasant's Movement—community campaigns to confront and dismantle household patriarchal structures are foundational to their internationalist activism for a peasant's feminism against global industrial agriculture. Then, there is the African Eco-Feminist Collective, advocating for a reclaiming of the commons while resisting multi-national corporatism and global neoliberalism. And, the Kurdish Women's Movement, who are strengthening cross-border Ecological Feminist alliances rooted in their home-based construction of an Ecofeminist society in Rojava. There is also the Queer Pink bloc at the German anti-coal action Ende Gelände challenging the cis-heteronormative structure of a

[7] Although I sometimes use the word "exclude" to explain how women of color's ecological writings and histories have been ignored or erased within the dominant discourse, the term should not be read as the antonym to liberal and neoliberal uses of the word "inclusion" or "inclusivity," especially on institutional or policy levels, which socialist and feminist literature has shown to reproduce the structural power hierarchies this work aims to dismantle.

transnational climate destroying patriarchal system. These are just some examples of local Ecological Feminist actions that have built transnational solidarities with WFCJ across the globe.

Chapter 3 describes this earth-spanning phenomenon of WFCJ, outlining the contours of its transnationality as a movement. In doing so, I ask: how do such disparate women and gender marginalized people from varying locations across the globe build solidarity to collectively foster shared yet diverse rhetoric, advocacy, and international demands on climate and gender in transnational climate justice arenas? I answer this research question by showing how WFCJ builds solidarity over a shared sense of resisting and combating today's global economic system, rooted as it is in racist colonial legacies, as the historical and ongoing source responsible for disempowering and subordinating gender-marginalized people by causing and compounding climate change itself. In other words, it is the common struggle against a global, patriarchal, racialized neoliberal and capitalist economic system that brings this widely diverse and international group together.

I refer to this global system, or common enemy, as the Racial Capitalist Climate Patriarchy— a global earth commodifying economic and socio-political system that has been historically uplifted and sustained through colonialism, imperialism, and an imposition of dominant cis-hetero subjectivities and social relations. Within this overlying structure are a multiplicity of Racial Capitalist Climate Patriarchi*es*, as aforementioned in this Introduction. Racial Capitalist Climate Patriarchies are theoretically defined and deconstructed by the decolonial approaches of Transnational Feminisms introduced within Chapter 3.

Qualitative Methods: Multi-Sited, Feminist Participatory Action Research and Interviews
Within Chapter 3, I identify my methodology and data sources. Here, I provide a brief overview. I use critical feminist interdisciplinary research methodologies. I gathered ethnographic data via two complementary qualitative methods: multi-sited PAR with WFCJ, and structured and semi-structured interviews with WFCJ participants.

My field sites are categorized into two main domains, both of which are multi-sited:

> *The first domain* is the annual United Nations Climate Change Conference of Parties, commonly referred to as "The COP." The COP is hosted by a different country every year. Interviewing and ethnographies have been conducted at the COP21 in Paris (2015), COP23 in Bonn (2017), COP24 in Katowice (2018), COP25 in Madrid (2019), COP26 in Glasgow (2021) (which was postponed from 2020 due to the global health pandemic), and COP27 in Sharm El-Sheikh (2022).
>
> *The second domain* is composed of international miscellaneous field sites that occur intermittently.

I designed these two domains within this research for the following reasons:

> *The first domain*: I identified the COP as a central field-site because it acts as a reliable annual meeting point where transnational WFCJ gather within the larger global climate justice community. The COP holds a significant ability and capacity to bring together global-spanning WFCJ at every level of society, providing a unique landscape to

interrogate the transnational systemic analysis that underpin this research.

The second domain: One-time or intermittent global gatherings, like the 2010 World People's Conference on Climate Change and the Rights of Mother Earth in Cochabamba, or Fridays for Futures Youth Global Strikes, are crucial to the architecture of the Global Climate Justice movement. In turn, they represent a different scale of WFCJ that meets one another "from the bottom up," as a sub-movement within the larger Global Climate Justice Movement, distinct from the institutional levels that the COP encapsulates, for example.

Criteria for Selecting Both Interviewees and Ethnographies. The criteria for selecting both interviewees and ethnographies in both domains was measured by any person, group, or entity that fit within the definition of WFCJ. I define WFCJ to include any activist, movement, group, organization, initiative, or institution that understands gender and environmental justice as inseparably linked within their struggles for liberation. This primarily refers to gender and feminist approaches to environmental and climate justice but could also take other forms.

In short, between the years of 2014-2022, I took every opportunity to interview activists who consider themselves a part of, and in support of, the transnational WFCJ movement. In general terms, this included a strong focus on individual grassroots activists, community organizers, and activists involved or working for groups, initiatives, campaigns, non-governmental organizations (NGOs), international governmental organizations (IGOS), policy advocates, or climate negotiators. It also overwhelmingly included community leaders and activist mobilizers of direct actions, climate justice occupations and camps, and land defenders.

The Androcene as the Historical Epoch Which Produced the Structure of The Racial Capitalist Climate Patriarchy

Chapter 4 develops the concept of the Androcene. The Androcene is both a feminist approach to the Anthropocenic literature and the historical epoch which produced the structure of The Racial Capitalist Climate Patriarchy. The Androcene is an epoch defined by patriarchal social relations and structures, built from an interlinked subordination of gender, race, and nature. The historical subordination of varying women's bodies, power, labor, and epistemologies acts as points of departure for the Androcenic casual forces of climate change and the varying impacts of the Androcene on different women. A feminist account of this period of modernization, therefore, illuminates how a new capitalism underpinned by industrialization and fueled by colonization were bred out of Androcenic social relations.

Within this chapter, I present an Ecological Feminist history of the inception of global capitalism through the making of the "modern man" in the period of modernization from the 16th century onwards. I do so by tracing three central histories that underpinned the rise of industrialization and the world-spanning capitalist market: I) The Androcene in Europe, II) The Androcene on Turtle Island, and III) The Androcene on the American Plantation. An Androcenic epoch is visible through the examination of Western European women, Indigenous women on Turtle Island, and enslaved Black women on the American plantation during the making of a modern world. This chapter, thus, presents a historical account of how capitalism's rise, or more precisely how The Racial Capitalist Climate Patriarchy's rise, depended on the creation of

systems of Gendered Systemic Oppression that structurally subordinated feminine cosmologies of the earth and women's labor, power, and knowledge transnationally, but in dramatically different ways depending on race, class, and relationships to the earth. Colonialism spread The Racial Capitalist Climate Patriarchy across the globe. This chapter concludes with little known histories of Ecological Feminist Resistance (introduced in Chapter 2) to The Racial Capitalist Climate Patriarchy and its colonial violence, and interprets them as some of the earliest mobilizations of WFCJ. Such an approach brings forward a radical history of women, especially Indigenous and global southern women and non-binary people, resisting earlier forms of environmental destruction from a gendered positionality.

To make this argument, Chapter 4 uses Ecological Feminism, Indigenous Feminism, and Black Feminism as theoretical lenses to explain the aforementioned patriarchal and racial roots of today's climate crisis.in order to provide a historically transnational and intersectional approach to an Androcenic history of climate change. Namely, Ecological Feminist accounts show how the ideologies behind the so-called "Enlightened man of science" were detrimental to women in a pre- and early-modern Europe, where earth was feminine and women's power and work relatively valued. The Indigenous Feminist literature expounds the European colonization of North America, where a Mother Earth cosmology structured society and was inextricably linked to highly esteemed women's economies, power, and labor. Black Feminist critiques of modernity demonstrate how the development of an industrial America was contingent on enslaved Black women's productive and, particularly, reproductive labor, meaning the literal birthing of enslaved laborers, on the plantation. Approaching a radical history of the Androcene from these three bodies of feminist literature also works as a methodology rooted in the principal arguments of this dissertation: it provides a non-monolithic, non-universalist, non-Eurocentric, and non-essentialist analysis when examining global systems of oppression.

From Climate Patriarchy(ies) to "Climate Revolutions"

This dissertation concludes by offering instances of ongoing resistance that visibilize Climate Patriarchies. As a primarily theoretical dissertation, this conclusion, therefore, looks toward future research into ethnographic case studies that interrogate the possibilities opened by frontline communities when Climate Patriarchies are dismantled. This, then, offers a hopeful look at a future heralded by revolution and feminist system(s) change for climate justice, and gestures towards the necessity of future research into these examples of Climate Revolutions.

Farhana Sultana (2022) recently introduced the term "Climate Revolutions" to counter "Climate Coloniality." Considering the revolutionary activism of WFCJ and Sultana's extremely relevant work to the subject at hand, I find "Climate Revolutions" to be an ideal term to also counter Racial Capitalist Climate Patriarch(ies). I humbly employ it to show how Indigenous and global southern WFCJ have always been the champions of climate and environmental justice through the Climate Revolutions they wage against racist, sexist, and classists systems that, together, are destroying the planet.

Chapter 1
Gendered Systemic Oppression
and The Racial Capitalist Climate Patriarchy

The planetary crisis of climate breakdown is systemic. Global warming is a result of global capitalism (Harvey, 2011; Klein, 2015; Malm, 2016; Moore, 2015) which is patriarchal,[1] racialized,[2] and colonial.[3] Before presenting my specific focus within this planetary systemic configuration, it is important to briefly layout how capitalism produces global warming. Although this dissertation hones in on new understandings of genders' systemic relationship to the climate emergency, it is predicated on the foundational assertion that the economic and socio-political structure of capitalism caused the climate emergency. In turn, I begin with what has become a rapidly and widely accepted conclusion amongst a majority of researchers and scholars on the issue— that the climate crisis is a systemic crisis of capitalism.[4] The unifying argument in this literature is that capitalism's doctrine of never-ending economic growth, requires the limitless extraction of limited natural resources (Harvey 2010, Klein 2014, Moore 2015, Malm 2016). Capitalism also gives predominance to immediate economic returns, which results in several more dimensions of environmental and climate destruction. This includes the toxic contamination and pollution of the world's water, soil and air. Capitalism's industrial model, which acts as the engine of its global modes of production, also produces the greenhouse gas emissions that have caused the climate to change (Harvey 2010, Klein 2014, Moore 2015, Malm 2016).

As Naomi Klein's world shaking book *This Changes Everything: Capitalism vs. The Climate* explains (2014):

> our economy is at war with many forms of life on earth, including human life. What the climate needs to avoid collapse is a contraction in humanity's use of resources; what our

[1] Canonical works that introduced patriarchy's inseparable relationship to capitalism include: Friedrich Engels *The Origins of the Family, Private Property and the State* (1884), Alexandra Kollontai's *The Social Basis of the Woman Question* (1909), Clara Zetkin's *Lenin on the Woman Question* (1920), Simone de Beauvoir's *Le Deuxième Sexe* (*The Second Sex*) (1949), Christine Delphy's "L'Ennemi Principal: Economie, Politique du Patriarcat" (The Main Enemy: A Materialist Analysis of Women's Oppression) (1970), Kate Millet's *Sexual Politics* (1970), Shulamith Firestone's *The Dialectic of Sex* (1970), Françoise, d'Eaubonne's *Le Féminisme ou la Mort* (Feminism or Death) 1974, Selma James's *Sex, Race and Class* (1975), the Combahee River Collective's *Combahee River Collective's Statement* (1977), Zillah Eisenstein's *Capitalist Patriarchy and the Case for Socialist Feminism* (1979), and Angela Davis's *Women, Race & Class* (1983).

[2] Foundational texts that elucidated the racial nature of capitalism include: W.E.B. Du Bois's *Black Reconstruction in America* (1935), Oliver Cromwell Cox's *Caste, Class and Race: A Study in Social Dynamics* (1948), Angela Davis's *Women, Race & Class* (1981), Cedric J. Robinson's *Black Marxism: The Making of the Black Radical Tradition* (1983), and varying political writings by Stuart Hall, including *Policing the Crisis: Mugging, the State and Law and Order* (1978, co-authored) and *Race, Articulation and Societies Structured in Dominance* (1980).

[3] Foundational works that developed the colonial character of capitalism include: Marx's *Articles on India* (1853-1858), Rosa Luxemburg's *The Accumulation of Capital* (1913), Frantz Fanon's *The Wretched of the Earth* (1961), Walter Rodney's *How Europe Underdeveloped* (1972), Immanuel Wallerstein's *The Modern World-System* (1974), Edward Said's *Orientalism* (1978).

[4] David Harvey's *The Enigma of Capital and the Crisis of this Time* (2010), Naomi Klein's *This Changes Everything: Capitalism vs. The Climate* (2014), Jason W. Moore's *The Capitalocene, Part I: On the Nature and Origins of Our Ecological Crisis* (2015), and Andreas Malm's *Fossil Capital: The Rise of Steam Power and the Roots of Global Warming* (2016) are canonical works that have demonstrated this point.

> economic model demands to avoid collapse is unfettered expansion. Only one of these sets of rules can be changed, and it's not the laws of nature. (p. 22)

Klein argues that in addition to capitalism causing the climate crisis, it is also fundamentally incompatible with the ecological boundaries of our planet.

The multiple mechanisms that compose systemic oppression's global reach are those of social sciences' and theory's oldest queries. They are also enduring and vital to understanding the current systemic crisis at the junction of climate and gender. Climate change is having a disproportionate impact on women, especially Indigenous and southern women across the globe (Agarwal, 1992; Babugura, 2017; Braidotti et al., 1995; Dankelman, 2002; Denton, 2002; Enarson, 2000; MacGregor, 2017; Masika, 2002; Sen Roy, 2018; Taylor, 1997; UNDP, 1995). This finding has become one of the most circulated and recited observations on gender and climate change within the scholarship, grey literature, and, as my interviews with individual members highlight, within the transnational Women and Feminists for Climate Justice (WFCJ) movement (further explored in Chapter 3).Yet this relatively newer finding[5] on gender has not been considered, and, in turn, has gone unanalyzed within the prevalent foundational feminist literature on "Gendered Systemic Oppression," formerly known as "Women's Oppression," and its precursor, "the Woman Question" (Aveling et al., 1884/1987; Cooper, 1884/1969; Engels, 1884/1978; Zetkin, 1906/2018). Rising to prominence in the 1970s, these feminist theories of patriarchy interrogated the root causes of global Gendered Oppression (Dalla Costa & James, 1975; Davis, 2019; Dupont [Delphy], 1970; Eaubonne, 1974; Eisenstein, 1979; Firestone, 2003; Millet, 1970; The Combahee River Collective, 1977/1979; Vogel, 1983). However, these theories predate our understanding of climate change's global disproportionate impacts on gender globally. In turn, the root causes of climate change's heavier burdens on people of marginalized genders worldwide has yet to be sufficiently explored in the foundational literature. The central question of this chapter, then, is: what are the root causes of climate change's disproportionate systemic impacts on gender-marginalized people?

This chapter brings together the disproportionate impacts of climate change on people of marginalized genders worldwide and the foundational canonical feminist theories on Gendered Systemic Oppression, forming the literature review of this dissertation. Part I starts with a re-reading of the "Woman Question," laying out the foundational literature that examined the underlying reasons for women's oppression globally. From this re-reading, I outline two distinct paradigmatic shifts that, on parallel tracks, emerge from the "Woman Question." The first paradigmatic shift is marked by the earliest *Ecological Feminist theories*, which named environmental destruction as integral to Gendered Systemic Oppression, was introduced by Shulamith Firestone and Françoise d'Eaubonne. The second paradigmatic shift is indicated by

[5] By "relatively newer," I mean in comparison to the foundational feminist systems of oppression theory, especially prominent in the 1970s. The formative body of scholarship that initially brought evidence to the disproportionate burdens of climate change on gender can be traced back to the early 1990s. Development economist Bina Agarwal's "The Gender and Environment Debate: Lesson from India," (1992) along with statements made by feminist philosopher Rosi Braidotti in the anthology *Women, the Environment and Sustainable Development* (1994), and the UNDP Gender-related Development Index in 1995 (Dankelman, 2010), are central writings on the issue. I also distinguish between the foundational scholarship that theorized the finding and its initial observation found among on-the-ground activists, detailed in Chapter 3.

the earliest conceptual beginnings of *Intersectional*[6] *Feminist theories*, which named systemic racism as "interlocked"[7] with Gendered Systemic Oppression, was initiated by the Combahee River Collective. After tracing and defining the development of each of these separate and groundbreaking paradigmatic shifts, I turn to the gap that sits between their divergent understandings of Gendered Systemic Oppression.

Part II critically examines the forking paths between these shifts, categorizing them as "the ecological side of the gap" and "the intersectional side of the gap." I determine that the ecological side of the gap, which crucially named ecology as pivotal to Gendered Systemic Oppression, ultimately proves significantly deficient in addressing issues of race. The intersectional side of the gap, which transformed the discipline by recognizing structural racial oppression as intertwined with Gendered Systemic Oppression, did not engage ecology.

Part III asserts that a rereading of these foundational theories is needed to explain and understand the root causes of how and why women and gender-marginalized people are being disproportionately impacted by climate change across the globe today. In turn, Part III also presents the literature on the global disproportionate burdens of climate change on gender-marginalized people. Concurrently, re-examining the foundational literature from this theoretical lens also sheds significant new light on older and unresolved questions regarding Gendered Systemic Oppression.[8] I also outline how each of these foundational branches separately pioneered paradigmatic shifts within the literature on Gendered Systemic Oppression.

Part IV endeavors to address the gap in the literature by introducing my concept of "The Racial Capitalist Climate Patriarchy." I propose it as a more comprehensive starting point for understanding Gendered Systemic Oppression (Gorecki, 2021). This framework, propounded below, provides a more all-encompassing point of departure and, thus, a stronger-equipped theoretical structure to explain the elemental systems of oppression responsible for the climate crisis and its disproportionate global impacts on gender-marginalized, racialized, and working and impoverished peoples.

PART I
The Literature Review of Feminist Theories of Patriarchy Disassembled: Reexamining the Origins of Gendered Systemic Oppression

This section undertakes a review of an early lineage of the feminist theories of patriarchy that interrogated the core origins of Gendered Systemic Oppression, or what the foundational literature referred to as "Women's Oppression" and its precursor, the "Woman Question" (Aveling et al., 1884/1987; Cooper, 1884/1969; Engels, 1884/1978; Truth, 1851/2009). To be

[6] Here, I am referring to the conceptual theoretical founding of intersectionality by the Combahee River Collective in 1977 and not the term intersectionality itself, which was coined by Kimberlé Crenshaw, as explained later in this chapter.

[7] "Interlocked" systems of oppression is the term that the Combahee River Collective first used to indicate what would come to be understood as intersected positionalities and systems of gender, race, and classed domination.

[8] Here, I am referring to the new escalation of attacks on reproductive rights and health worldwide (from the Polish constitutional court attempting to diminish already radically reduced abortion access in 2020, to the 2022 reversal of the almost 50-year-old Roe vs. Wade in the United States), a cross-border crisis of femicide, and continuing worldwide subordination of all women's (cis and trans) bodies and power.

precise, I am referring to the systemic theorizations of the "Woman Question" generated within leftist and revolutionary[9] discourse of the epoch.

From this overview, I delineate two separate paradigmatic shifts that, on parallel tracks, originate from the "Woman Question," ultimately exposing a gap between them. The gap in these inaugural theories is taken up in Part II of this chapter. Here, in Part I, I define both paradigmatic shifts. I identify the first paradigmatic shift as Ecological Feminist theories, which identified environmental destruction as inseparably linked to widespread Gendered Systemic Oppression, but did not sufficiently understand the way that race and racism were intertwined within this relationship. The second paradigmatic shift was the beginning of an early Intersectional Feminism, which imbricated structural racism with Gendered Systemic Oppression, but did not undertake ecology within their analysis.

Before we advance with these shifts, however, it is important to clarify fundamental vocabulary and language used within this chapter.

Language and Terms within the Literature Review

Most of the literature reviewed here uses the terms **"sex/sexual,"** which were the normative terms used prior to the introduction and gradual shift to the word "gender"[10] in the late 1980s and early 1990s. "Gender" has become dominant in feminisms across the world today. I use the word "gender" to reengage the classic literature through a current feminist lexicon, unless I am explaining, paraphrasing, or citing the original literature, in which case I cite the original use of the term "sex."

Then, there is the usage of **"category of women"** that has come to be highly problematized in current feminisms, but is terminology used both within the foundational literature and the global finding of climate change's disproportionate burdens on women. The foundational literature used the phrase "category of women" because feminism had not yet transitioned to the word "gender." However, there are still some instances today where feminist scholarship refers to the "category of women" in non-problematic ways. For instance, the study of feminicide, which is the gender-based killing of women and girls primarily by men, is one way in which we still employ the "category of women." The disproportionate burdens of climate change on those who are gendered women would be another way. When I use the term "women" to refer to the subjects involved that identify as such, I am referring to a "category of women" that has expanded to include trans women, as Judith Butler recently explained in an interview published in *The Guardian* in response to current essentializing employments of the category that are attempting to prolong old and problematic understandings of the "category of women" that excluded trans women (Gleeson, 2021). This is a trajectory that much of the literature included here predates, but it is foundational to understanding ongoing Gendered Systemic Oppression. According to Butler, "[t]he category of woman can and does change, and we need it to be that way. Politically,

[9] I mean "revolutionary" in the practical political sense here, in addition to the ideological sense. Varying forms of leftist feminisms theorized the roots of oppression for the explicit purpose and hope of literally uprooting the systems that maintained such oppression.

[10] Anne Oakley's book *Sex, Gender and Society* (1972), Joan W. Scott's "Gender: A Useful Category of Historical Analysis" (1986), and Judith Butler's groundbreaking book *Gender Trouble: Feminism and The Subversion of Identity* (1990) are fundamental works which both explain and led to the overwhelmingly shift towards using gender instead of sex.

securing greater freedoms for women requires that we rethink the category of 'women' to include those new possibilities. The historical meaning of gender can change as its norms are re-enacted, refused or recreated" (Gleeson, 2021). In this sense, the "category of women" that I employ, especially when referring to Women and Feminists for Climate Justice (WFCJ) in later chapters, also extends to femme identities, Two-Spirit people, gender fluid, gender queer, and non-binary bodies (in cases where such bodies identify, at least to some extent, as woman).

I use **"Gendered Systemic Oppression"** or its synonym **"Structural Gender Oppression"** as current vocabulary to refer to the original terminology of "Women's Oppression," the "Woman Question," and its evolution into "systems of oppression." When it comes to the terminology of "systems of oppression," it is important to note that it has also been referred to as "Systems of Domination" within the literature. Usage of the terms "oppression" and "domination" are, in turn, synonymous. For example, the "oppression" of women is used in the same sense as the "domination" of women. The same logic applies in my usage of "system" and "structure."

I use the term **"Ecological Feminisms"** instead of "Ecofeminism" in order to incorporate the various feminist texts that center land and ecology in their analysis, but do not necessarily consider themselves as Ecofeminist. In turn, I use "Ecological Feminisms" as a reference to any theory or body of literature that intersects gender and ecology. This spans from Ecological Feminist texts that have sometimes been considered Ecofeminist when they have never used the term themselves, to ecological Black Feminist writings (expanded on in Chapter 2), to Transnational Feminist theories (discussed in Chapter 3) that have incorporated environment into their analysis, to the Indigenous and Black feminist writings (of Chapter 4) that have contributed analysis around the junction of racialized gendered bodies and land. I use "Ecological Feminisms" in plural to emphasize the widely spanning approaches to the intersection of land/ecology across diverse feminisms and fields. This gesture aims to widen the field of study concerning gender and ecology, while also emphasizing the diversity (and tensions) that exist within it. The term "Ecofeminism" is used only in cases where the text and/or author has explicitly referred to themselves as Ecofeminist, and in moments explaining critiques of Ecofeminism.

The "Woman Question"

The "Woman Question"[11] is an investigation into the root causes of women's oppression everywhere to understand and dismantle the long-standing global trends of gendered exploitation and subordination (Aveling et al., 1884/1987; Cooper, 1882/1969; Engels, 1884/1978; Truth, 1851/2009; Zetkin, 1906/2018). These theories rose to prominence in the 1970s and revolutionized feminist thinking as the first theorizations of patriarchy as a structure (Dalla Costa & James, 1975; Davis, 2019; Dupont [Delphy], 1970; Eaubonne, 1974; Eisenstein, 1979; Firestone, 1970/2003; Millet, 1970; The Combahee River Collective, 1977/1979; Vogel, 1983).

[11] The "Woman Question" I am referring to is the one that preoccupied Western leftist and socialist feminists of the 1960s and 1970s in an attempt to produce " a new historical and theoretical analysis of the interrelation between women's exploitation and oppression and that of other categories of people and nature […]a new theory of society all together," as prominent theorist Maria Mies (1998) put it (pp.12-13). The "Woman Question" has also taken many other forms since the earliest discussions of women's rights and feminism dating back to the 1400s.

The "Woman Question" is embedded in a historical materialist tradition that investigated the root causes of global *class* oppression (Aveling et al., 1884/1987; Engels, 1884/1978; Engels & Marx, 1848/2021; Luxemburg, 1884/2003; Marx, 1867/1990; Zetkin, 1906/2018). It comes from a Marxist approach that identified the international pattern of poverty, labor exploitation, and the creation of the proletariat, not as a natural occurrence or a coincidence, but as the result of a capitalist economic structure. Such inequalities or "antagonisms," as the literature first called them, were the earliest systemic oppressions identified within systems of oppression theory. Finding the root causes and, thus, the historical conditions underlying such problems were needed to change and end them (Engels, 1880/2021). Marxist literature named the proletariat and bourgeoises divide, a division orchestrated by the capitalist class's exploitation of working-class labor, as the root cause of widespread economic hierarchy and oppression. Marx and Engels elaborate on the global nature of capitalism through what Marx called the "world market":[12] "The bourgeoisie has, through its exploitation of the world market, given a cosmopolitan character to production and consumption in every country" (Engels & Marx, 1848/2021, p. 9).

Marxist theories of capitalism laid the foundation to sociology in the 1800s and remain indispensable in explaining the globalization of capitalism today.[13] However, into the 1970s, with the rise of neoliberalism and globalization, these theories developed and proliferated across disciplines, often in an attempt to explain the ongoing (and in many ways exacerbated) social stratification of the global economy.[14] Feminist theorizations of systems of oppression grew out of this widening body of Marxist thought.

The "Woman Question" problematized the unitary approach of capitalist class exploitation as the cause of global inequality (Dalla Costa & James, 1975; Davis, 1981/2019; Delphy, 1998; Dupont [Delphy], 1970; Eaubonne, 1974; Engels, 1884/1978; Firestone, 1970/2003; Millet, 1970; The Combahee River Collective, 1977/1979; Vogel, 1983; Zetkin, 1906/2018). Feminists who were engaged in the anti-capitalist movements and ideas of the time experienced both gendered forms of oppression and class-based oppression. In other words, the oppression of working-class women was different from that of working-class men.

Before the "Woman Question," Marxists emphasized how men's productive labor fueled capitalism through an exploitative wage system controlled by factory owners and the bourgeoise. However, Marxist, materialist, and Socialist Feminists brought visibility to the unaccounted realm of an unwaged, gendered division of labor. Reproductive labor within the domestic sphere — care giving, birthing children, rearing children, cooking and cleaning, for example— composed an invisbilized household economy. This private sphere freed men to work in the capitalist economy in the first place. This domestic economy was devalued and ultra-exploited by both the capitalist class and the working-class men who were husbands to the women providing unpaid reproductive labor. For these feminists, capitalism was, in fact,

[12] About the world market, Marx wrote, "Modern industry has established the world market, for which the discovery of America paved the way" (Engels & Marx, 1848/2021, p. 7).
[13] Although Marx himself never used the term globalization, "the globalization of capital" or "capitalist globalization" are ways in which Marxian literature has grown to refer to what Marx called "the world market" (Chattopadhyay, 2016; Tairako, 2003).
[14] These were foundational questions that would also define longstanding frameworks across academia because their focus on the construction of globality in the modern world.

overwhelmingly built upon and sustained by a gendered division of labor (Dalla Costa & James, 1975; Davis, 1981/2019; Delphy, 1998; Eisenstein, 1979; Federici, 2004; Gimenez, 1978; Hennessy, 1993; Jones, 1948/2022; Mies, 1986/1998).

This junction of global capitalism and international women's oppression preoccupied leftist feminists into the 1960s and 1970s. At the center of this junction was patriarchy as a system of oppression—a missing variable from our understanding of global capitalism and its oppressive mechanisms.[15] Yet though structural patriarchy had become the lynchpin which linked Gendered Systemic Oppression to capitalism for varying feminists, differing understandings of how patriarchy explained the deepest origins of women's oppression emerged. These diverse understandings led to historic debates that splintered the feminist left into distinct subsections.

It is sometimes understood that Marxist feminists saw the patriarchy as a system born of capitalism, that materialist, and radical feminists saw it as a separate and autonomous system, and that Socialist feminists saw patriarchy as mutually dependent and inseparable from capitalism. However, it is also the case that the lines between these ideological positions, although often important and very helpful, also often merged, blended, and changed depending on the decade, the geographical location of the feminism, and the author's approach, making it, at times, difficult to track the nuanced differences between them (Gimenez, 2019). Maria Mies (1986/1998), Marxist feminist and leading voice on the question, supports this difficulty by demonstrating how varying leftists' understanding of the relationship between capitalism and patriarchy was never so clear cut as she looks back on her work on the issue over 10 years earlier:

> What was, what is the relationship between patriarchy and capitalism? Are they two systems? Are they one system? Is patriarchal exploitation and subordination necessary for an economic system based on extended accumulation? Or could this accumulation also happen without hierarchical, exploitative gender relations? (p. viii)

Regardless, it is materialist feminism that is often credited for forging new ground by arguing that women's oppression was distinct from proletarian oppression through the establishment of a patriarchal family economy.[16] French sociologist and feminist Christine Delphy's work is considered one central starting point that highlighted the patriarchal oppression of gender as an

[15] It is important to mention Simone de Beauvoir's *The Second Sex* (1949) and its account of systemic patriarchy here. De Beauvoir's departure from a hegemonically anti-capitalist critique of human history and the development of modernity was groundbreaking. Naming patriarchy as a historical and world-wide structure central to discourses on global oppression qualifies it as one of the earliest texts on the systemic domination of women. Despite the many critiques that passing time brings of a book that was published over 70years ago, *The Second Sex* was pivotal to cardinal feminist questions that lie at the center of this dissertation, and to revolutionizing our understanding of global capitalist oppression.

[16] Materialist feminists called themselves as such to distinguish their position from Marxist and communist women that did not discern women's oppression from proletarian oppression. The latter's position was that women's oppression was simply proletarian oppression caused by capitalism, and, in turn, often avoided using the word feminism at all. The former continued to see themselves as Marxists who saw patriarchy and women's oppression as inherent to capitalism, making them feminists as well .

additional domination to class domination.[17] I consider Delphy's contributions to be a pivotal milestone within this literature review, marking a pioneering shift in naming patriarchy as a social system of Gendered Oppression.[18] When it came to the "Woman Question," Delphy made clear that it was patriarchy, not capitalism, that was women's "Main Enemy" (Delphy, 1998; Dupont [Delphy], 1970). In turn, Delphy titled their later and more elaborate book on the subject *Main Enemy: Economics, the Politics of Patriarchy* (*L'ennemi principal: economie, politique du patriarcat*) (1998). The literature also tussled with understanding the underlying forces responsible for the worldwide pattern of women's subordination by attending to the relationship between global capitalism and global patriarchy, and which came first. Mies (1986/1998) retrospectively attended to this issue in the preface of the second edition of *Patriarchy and Accumulation on a World Scale*, when stating:

> There was consensus at that time among feminists about this understanding, even among feminists of the left, the Marxist and socialist feminists. No feminist accepted any longer that we women were only an 'secondary contradiction' [...] But we were still left with the question of the intrinsic relationship between patriarchy and capitalism. *We all knew, of course, that patriarchy preceded capitalism*. (pp. viii–ix)

The "Woman Question," on its own, was initially groundbreaking within the Marxist literature addressing capitalist oppression. However, the gap identified within this chapter emerges from the "Woman Question," and then forks into what I see as two separate paradigmatic shifts in the literature.

The First Paradigmatic Shift: Integrating Ecology into Women's Oppression

The Theoretical Beginnings of Ecological Feminisms

The first paradigmatic shift that emerges from the "Woman Question" integrates ecological destruction with Gendered Oppression. This shift is initially introduced by radical feminist theorist, writer, and activist Shulamith Firestone, followed by French feminist writer and activist Françoise d'Eaubonne. In this section, I outline the contributions of both authors to the theoretical introduction of Ecological Feminisms before turning to a critique which illustrates the serious problematics of both authors' foundational arguments.

Shulamith Firestone

Though my main aim here is to outline Firestone's unprecedented ecological links to feminism, I start by highlighting her preliminary observations on the relationships between patriarchy and capitalism, especially as they relate to the previous section on the "Woman Question." In 1970, the same year that Delphy proclaimed the patriarchy as the "principal enemy" in Europe,

[17] Materialist feminism primarily developed in Britain and France, according to Rosemary Hennessy, who, with Stevi Jackson, are considered leading materialist feminists (Hennessy, 2013).

[18] I wonder how overlooked Delphy's contributions have gone as she is often not referenced within the Anglophone canonical literature on the relationship between capitalism and patriarchy, even though she is considered a founding voice on the question in France, where materialist feminism and "Woman Question" were deeply developed. I fear her contributions outside of France and Europe may have been "lost in translation" since there have been extremely limited translations of her works, especially in the 1970s, when theories of patriarchy began to emerge somewhat simultaneously across the globe.

Firestone proposed affixing the structure of patriarchy as an auxiliary system to capitalism in the United States (Dupont [Delphy], 1970; Firestone, 1970/2003). Firestone was amongst the very first to theorize a more intricate picture of the global forces of systemic oppression in her *The Dialectic of Sex: The Case for Feminist Revolution* (1970). She prefaces her argument: "Once again radicals have failed to think radically enough: capitalism is not the only enemy, redistribution of wealth and resources is not the only solution" (Firestone, 1970/2003, Location 2967). Here, she introduces patriarchy not only as an additional system of oppression, but as the true rudimentary system at the origin of *all* oppressions. In turn, Firestone argues that Marx and Engels were wrong in their search for the seeds that grew the capitalist system. Also rooted in a communist and socialist ideological understanding of the world, Firestone saw revolution as the only way out of the oppressive structures at hand. However, her call for revolution at the time was distinct because it suggested feminist revolution as the only means of eliminating all forms of systemic discriminations and exploitations. Specifically, feminist revolution identified and attacked the correct roots of all systemic oppressions. Firestone (1970/2003) explains her thinking as follows:

> That socialism has never come near achieving this predicated goal is not only the result of unfulfilled or misfired economic preconditions, but also because the Marxian analysis itself was insufficient: it did not dig deep enough to the psychosexual roots of class. Marx was on to something more profound than he knew when he observed that the family contained within itself in embryo all the antagonisms that later develop on a wide scale within the society and the state. For unless revolution uproots the basic social organization, the biological family—the vinculum through which the psychology of power can always be smuggled—the tapeworm of exploitation will never be annihilated. We shall need a sexual revolution much larger than—inclusive of—a socialist one to truly eradicate all class systems. (Location 191)[19]

In short, Firestone determines that a "sexual class system" born of patriarchy and rooted in biological family structures and biological divisions of labor production, are responsible for systemic oppression (Firestone, 1970/2003).

At the same time as the birth of a "sexual class system," a new global crisis was coming to light. The environmental crisis caught the attention of the world and, throughout the 1960s and 1970s, new studies and literature articulated an apocalyptic planetary future. Some theorists and activists analyzing the structural forces of capitalism began to integrate how global environmental destruction fit into the picture. Anarchist, libertarian, socialist theorist and trade union activist Murray Bookchin's writings throughout the 1960s would develop a theory of Social Ecology, which considered ecological destruction as a central variable in understanding the global structure of capitalism (Bookchin, 1962/2021; Bookchin & Ecology Action East, 1970). Rachel Carson's groundbreaking *Silent Spring* (1962) highlighted the detrimental impacts that the international pesticide industry had on the natural environment and the steep peak of pesticide usage after World War II. The critique of "man's control of nature" influenced some of the first and most recognized Ecofeminist texts. However, amid these new perspectives of

[19] Firestone's focus on the biological family has also been widely critiqued by many feminists for viewing the biological family as a natural entity.

understanding global capitalism, Firestone (1970/2003) was amongst the first to intertwine classism, sexism, racism, *and* ecological destruction as the defining features of capitalist oppression:

> Empirical science left repercussions in its wake: the sharp acceleration of technology upset the natural order. But recent popular interest in ecology, the study of man's relationship to his environment, may, by 1970, have come too late. Certainly it is too late for conservationism, the attempt to redress natural balances. What is called for is a revolutionary ecological programme that would attempt to establish a *humane* artificial (man-made) balance in place of the natural one, thus also realizing the original goal of empirical science: human mastery of matter. (Location 2911)
>
> In the case of feminism the problem is a moral one: the biological family unit has always oppressed women and children, but now, technology has created the real preconditions for overthrowing these oppressive 'natural conditions, along with their cultural reinforcements. (Location 2911)

Although it has garnered very little attention in the history of feminist ideas, Firestone's subchapter "Feminism and Ecology" within the chapter, "The Ultimate Revolution: Demands and Speculations," acts as a theoretical starting point when investigating today's disproportionate impacts of climate change on people of marginalized genders and its relationship to unresolved questions surrounding women's widespread subordination. It does so by initiating the theoretical intersection between feminism and ecology as another indispensable piece of the puzzle of systemic capitalist oppression. The excerpt above shows an important first step towards seeing and measuring the structural junction between gender and ecology, and has even spurred current academic analysis around the "Trans-Affirming" potential of Firestone's pro-technological positions, as environmental ethicist and trans feminist Loren Cannon argues in his article, "Firestonian Futures and Trans-Affirming Presents" (Cannon, 2016). For Firestone, a *"humane"* use of modernity's technology was the key to terminating "the embryo" of all structural oppression (Firestone, 1970/2003, Locations 2911, 191). It would first liberate the ancient patriarchal control over people's reproductive capacities, which would then solve overpopulation. Technology would also clean up the mess of class oppression by freeing people from labor. For Firestone, the class revolution is the feminist revolution, which is the ecological revolution.

Françoise d'Eaubonne

d'Eaubonne vastly developed the feminist and ecological writing begun by Firestone. In her book *Feminism or Death* (1974), d'Eaubonne expanded the links between the subordination of women and the earth into a larger theory and plan of action that she called "Ecofeminism."[20] For d'Eaubonne, sexual violence, sexism, discrimination, and the fight for abortion rights ultimately

[20] Although d'Eaubonne is overwhelmingly credited for the term "Ecofeminism," there has been much debate on whether she was the first to use the term. It may have been circulating orally in activist circles and discussion beforehand or appeared in several places simultaneously (Bahaffou & Gorecki, 1974/2020, 1974/2022; Hache, 2016; Carolyn Merchant, Carol Adams, Ariel Salleh, and Greta Gaard, personal communication, 2022). Regardless, *Feminism or Death* seems to contain the earliest publication of the word "Ecofeminism," which is only relevant for the sake of genealogy and the reviewing of literature.

result from an environmentally degrading "male system" (d'Eaubonne, 1974/2022, p. 194). Although d'Eaubonne initially used the term "male system" in both *Feminism or Death* and her introduction to Ecofeminism, she quickly transitioned to the word "patriarchy" in her later Ecofeminist works.[21]

In what would evolve into a body of Ecofeminist works,[22] d'Eaubonne established ecology as an inseparable variable within a historical triad of patriarchy, women's oppression, and ecological destruction. This unholy trinity of sorts is what d'Eaubonne pinpointed as the more accurate root of all oppressions. d'Eaubonne goes further than Firestone by also extensively developing women's productive labor as a central piece within her Ecofeminist works. d'Eaubonne historicizes the deepest origins of Gendered Systemic Oppression in prehistoric man's takeover of both women's ancient agricultural labor (and thus power) and their reproductive autonomy. She posits a pre-patriarchal Neolithic feminine agriculture that was replaced by the patriarchal technologies of the bronze age.

d'Eaubonne provides a historical analysis that investigates the origins of Gendered Systemic Oppression. She traces women's oppression to the Neolithic era, an archaeological period within prehistory, that began around 12,000 years ago and was largely characterized through the advent of farming. d'Eaubonne argues that there was a revolutionary turn in the Neolithic era that saw "men's" takeover of women's ancient agricultural roles, which gave them esteem and respected importance within society. Central to this takeover was the capturing of both economic power and control over women's reproductive autonomy. Here, we see how d'Eaubonne expands Firestone's theoretical framework by historizing the deepest origins of Gendered Systemic Oppression, tracing it back to prehistoric man's takeover of both women's agricultural labor (and thus power) and their reproductive autonomy. While Firestone pinpointed the biological family as the root of systemic oppression, d'Eaubonne posited a pre-patriarchal Neolithic feminine agriculture that was later replaced by the patriarchal technologies of the Bronze Age to be the historic starting point of gendered oppression.

Part of d'Eaubonne's central argument was the masculinist invention of the plough that replaced ecological farming models managed by small scale women's horticultural work, powered by the hoe. d'Eaubonne elaborates that this takeover occurred in the transition between the Neolithic and Bronze ages, when the invention of bronze resulted in a massive technological revolution which would eventually become industry (d'Eaubonne, 1976, 1974/2022). In d'Eaubonne's (1974/2022) own words:

[21] Why d'Eaubonne initially uses the terminology "male supremacy" is not totally clear. To my reading, it could be explained by several things. First, feminism in France was starting to become steeped within a psychoanalytical feminist approach that incorporated the relational workings of a society constructed and controlled by and for men. A male supremacy reigned over society through the private family structure, personal relationships and language, in addition to its economic and political structure. The term "male supremacy" was also prominent in Anglophone activism and literature, especially within the texts of authors that d'Eaubonne was citing, including Firestone, Kate Millet, and Valerie Solanas, so perhaps d'Eaubonne was following the trends of these authors.

[22] *Les femmes avant le patriarcat* (1976), *Les Bergèrs de l'Apocalypse* (1977), *Ecologie/Féminisme: Révolution ou Mutation?* (1978), and *le sexocide des sorcières* (1999), where she introduced the term "sexocide," which could be thought of as an early synonym to the word "feminicide" before the term first came into circulation, are the principal works that make up d'Eaubonne's ecofeminist body of work.

> Until that time, women alone possessed a monopoly on agriculture, and the men believed women were impregnated by the gods. Upon discovering the two possibilities at once—agricultural and procreational—man launched what Lederer has called "the great upheaval" for his own benefit. Having seized control of the soil (thus of fertility and later industry) and of women's womb (thus fecundity), it was logical that the overexploitation of the one and the other would result in this double peril. Menacing and parallel: overpopulation (and glut of births) and destruction of the environment (a glut of products). (p. 194)

Although I reserve my critiques and problematizations of d'Eaubonne and Firestone for Part II of this chapter, due to the deeply problematic aspects of this specific and central part of d'Eaubonne's argument, it is important to address the simplicity of the argument provided. Small-scale farming was not the sole purview of women during this time, and it is simplistic to equate women with the hoe and men with the plough. The hoe, like the plough, entailed back-breaking labor, and to glorify it overlooks the physical costs of farm labor (Rachel Morello-Frosch, personal communication). This idealized notion of agriculture ignores the significant physical toll and the historical efforts by farm worker movements, such as the United Farm Workers (UFW), to eliminate tools like the hand-held hoe that forced workers to perform stooped labor (Murray, 1982).[23]

According to d'Eaubonne, women were the only catalysts capable of effecting systemic change, an overhaul pivotal for the emancipation of both women and the planet (Gorecki, 2022). "An era of Ecofeminism would begin with what d'Eaubonne called a global "mutation," the author's term for an ecofeminist revolution" (Gorecki, 2022). d'Eaubonne, in the 1970s, questioned the masculinist undertones associated with the term "revolution," referring to it as a relic of "our daddy's" revolution. Contrarily, a mutation symbolized a profound reversal, shifting away from a male-centric power structure. This transformative shift would not entail a mere transference of power from men to women; rather, it signified empowerment through the "destruction of power" initiated by women.

d'Eaubonne advocated for what she termed "non-power," which would result from the dismantling of patriarchal dominance by women (d'Eaubonne, 1978, p. 214). Expounding on this concept in *Écologie / Féminisme: révolution ou mutation?,* she elucidated that non-power represented "the destruction of power by the relinquishment of all forms of authority ever exerted" (p. 214). This notion centered on renouncing control over one's time and body, epitomizing a fundamental shift away from hierarchical power structures (Gorecki, 2022). In *Feminism or Death,* she portrays the attainment of non-power as the metamorphosis of both society and the planet into a feminine entity: envisioning a world where "the human being will finally be regarded primarily as an individual, rather than primarily as either a male or a female" (d'Eaubonne, 1974/2022, p. 222).

d'Eaubonne, akin to Firestone, put forward a new theoretical field that established an inseparable link between gendered and ecological oppression. However, as we will see in a later section, the

[23] In-depth critiques on both Firestone's and d'Eaubonne's glaringly problematic arguments on overpopulation are offered below in Part II.

important breakthroughs made by both authors regarding Ecological Feminisms are limited and overshadowed by serious problematics around race that deeply hinder their conclusions, ultimately rendering them insufficient. Before elaborating on these shortcomings, let us first turn our attention to what I identify as the second paradigmatic shift in the literature.

The Second Paradigmatic Shift: Integrating Racism into Women's Oppresion
Systems of Oppression and the Theoretical Beginnings of Intersectionality

The second paradigmatic shift that emerges from the "Woman Question" occurs in 1977, when racial oppression is initiated as inseparable from gender and class oppression by the Combahee River Collective, the Black lesbian feminist collective, followed by a wave of Black feminist literature. Through the advent of an early intersectionality,[24] the Combahee River Collective identified racism as both systemic and "interlocked" with the global structures of capitalism and patriarchy (Eisenstein, 1979; Collins, 1990; Taylor, 2017; The Combahee River Collective, 1977/1979). The *Combahee River Collective Statement* (1977) reads:

> We believe that sexual politics under patriarchy is as pervasive in Black women's lives as are the politics of class and race. We also often find it difficult to separate race from class from sex oppression because in our lives they are most often experienced simultaneously. (p. 365)

Particularly through the Combahee River Collective, the second paradigmatic shift also prompted a transition in the core vocabulary away from the "Woman Question" and towards the terminology of "systems of oppression" (Eisenstein, 1979; The Combahee River Collective, 1977/1979). This linguistic shift was further reinforced by Zillah Eisenstein's introduction of the term "Capitalist Patriarchy" (Eisenstein, 1979). The language "system*s* [emphasis added] of oppression," in the plural, better encapsulated the addition of racial oppression, patriarchal oppression, and capitalist oppression, highlighting the intersectional nature inherent to Gendered Systemic Oppression. The concept persists as the correct operational term and framework in present-day academic, social, and activist discourse. Yet, the Combahee River Collective's (1977) articulation of racial oppression as inseparable from class and Gendered Systemic Oppression was most groundbreaking for defining these multiple systems as "interlocking:"

> The most general statement of our politics at the present time would be that we are actively committed to struggling against racial, sexual, heterosexual, and class oppression and see as our particular task the development of integrated analysis and practice based upon the fact that the major *systems of oppression* are *interlocking* [emphasis added]. (p. 362)

Written by scholars, writers, and activists Barbara Smith, Beverly Smith, Cheryl Clarke, Demita Frazier, Akasha Hull, Chirlane McCray, and Margo Okazawa-Rey, the *Combahee River Collective Statement* brought forth several interlocking systems that constitute capitalist oppression. They did so by illuminating the possibility of Black women experiencing not only

[24] The Combahee River Collective never used the term "intersectionality." However, they are widely recognized for laying the groundwork to intersectional thinking before Kimberlee Crenshaw officially developed the crucial feminist concept in 1989.

classism, not only sexism, but also racism and, often, heteronormative structural oppression within society *and* within the liberation movements of the 1970s and 1980s. This logic of multiple oppressions is perhaps best represented in the following words: "If Black women were free, it would mean that everyone else would have to be free since our freedom would necessitate the destruction of all the systems of oppression" (The Combahee River Collective, 1977/1979, p. 368). The Collective's words have also become a resounding maxim within feminism.

In relation to their struggles against these systems of oppressions on the more "micro-level,"[25] the Collective brought attention to the racism and the lack of knowledge of race, Black history, and Black culture in general within the white feminist movement of the time (The Combahee River Collective, 1977/1979). They also demonstrated the complexity of the tensions and alliances within the varying movements based on the double, triple, or more forms of oppression they faced as Black women:

> Although we are feminists and Lesbians, we feel solidarity with progressive Black men and do not advocate the fractionalization that white women who are separatists demand. Our situation as Black people necessitates that we have solidarity around the fact of race, which white women of course do not need to have with white men, unless it is their negative solidarity as racial oppressors. We struggle together with Black men against racism, while we also struggle with Black men about sexism. (The Combahee River Collective, 1977/1979, p. 365).

The *Statement*'s address of the deficiencies in white middle-class feminisms regarding race and privilege, while concurrently confronting male supremacy in Black revolutionary movements, was vital. However, although incorporating race as structure was transformative to our understanding of Gendered Systemic Oppression, the Collective's aim was in no way to prioritize race or racism as the predominant or sole factor within the architecture of systemic oppression (Collins, 1990; Taylor, 2017). Scholar and activist Keeanga-Yamahtta Taylor, in *How We Get Free: Black Feminism and The Combahee River Collective* (2017), describes how the Collective was founded to address the inadequacies of deeming racial oppression as the singular feature of Black women's structural subjugation:

> The CRC formed as a radical alternative to the National Black Feminist Organization (NBFO). The NBFO itself had formed in response to what Black feminists believed was the failure of white feminist organizations to adequately respond to racism in the United States. But the identification of racism alone as a phenomenon in the lives of Black women was insufficient as an analysis or as an plan of action. (p. 6)

Furthermore, Taylor (2017) explains how the Collective's objective was to illustrate how varying systems of oppression compound one another, resulting in the emergence of different degrees and dimensions of oppression and disparity (p. 6). Taylor (2017) continues:

[25] "Micro-level" refers to Patricia Hill Collins's (2000) use of the term in her "matrix of domination," meaning how the intersections of Kimberlé Crenshaw's intersectionality are organized (p. 18). Collins (2000) defines "micro-level" as follows: "Whereas the structural domain of power organizes the macro-level of social organization with the disciplinary domain managing its operations, the interpersonal domain functions through routinized, day-to-day practice of how people treat one another (e.g., micro-level of social organization)" (pp. 287-288).

> Black women could not quantify their oppression only in terms of sexism or racism, or of homophobia experienced by Black lesbians. They were not every category, but it was the merging or enmeshment of those identities that compounded how Black women experienced oppression. (p. 7)

Taylor (2017) also highlights how class oppression was crucial to the *Statement*'s foundation, particularly considering the emergence of a burgeoning middle-class Black feminist movement in the 1970s, from which the Collective sought to distinguish itself (pp. 9-10). The Collective's *Statement* (1977/1979) explains how:

> We need to articulate the real class situation of persons who are not merely raceless, sexless, workers but for whom racial and sexual oppression are significant determinants in their working/economic lives. Although we are in essential agreement with Marx's theory as it applied to the very specific economic relationships he analyzed, we know that his analysis must be extended further in order for us to understand our specific economic situation as Black women.

The Combahee River Collective founding member Barbara Smith, who is interviewed in Taylor's book, also emphasizes "internationalism" as a central tenet of the Collective's *Statement* and their identity as "third world women," "in solidarity and in struggle with all third world people" while also "being internally colonized […] within the United States" (Taylor, 2017, p. 33). Chapter 3 takes up the discussion of internationalism in more depth, but for the purposes of this chapter, Taylor (2017) prefaces Smith's words as follows:

> Before the multicultural moniker "women of color," there were "third world women." The distinction was important historically as well as politically. It was a way of demonstrating solidarity with women in countries that were often suffering because of the policies and military actions of the US government. It was also a way of identifying with various anticolonial struggles and national liberation movements around the world. But even more importance was the way that Black women saw themselves not as isolated within the United States but as part of a global movement of Black and Brown people united in struggle against the colonial, imperialist, and capitalist domination of the West, led by the United States. (p. 11)

The *Statement* touches upon imperialism specifically, when stating, "We realize that the liberation of all oppressed peoples necessitates the destruction of the political-economic systems of capitalism and imperialism as well as patriarchy" (Combahee River Collective, 1977/1979). This explicit recognition of imperialism within the cacophony of systems of oppression addressed by the Collective is noteworthy. By stating that global systemic oppression comprises capitalism, patriarchy, racial oppression, and imperialism, all in an "interlocking" manner was unprecedented. It radically transformed our understanding of systemic oppression, revealing its inherent multifaceted nature. This shift of framework has enduringly impacted our knowledge in the field, remaining relevant to this day.

For these reasons, the second paradigmatic shift begins in 1977 with the works of the Combahee

River Collective. Their pioneering articulation of an early form of intersectionality, intertwining racial oppression with gender and class oppression revolutionized our understanding of Gendered Systemic Oppression and systemic oppression in general. In addition, their expanded vocabulary of "systems of oppression" provided language for their groundbreaking insights, advancing the earlier terminology and frameworks of the "Woman Question." I would also posit that the second paradigmatic shift is reinforced by Zillah Eisenstein's introduction of the "Capitalist Patriarchy" in 1979. (Eisenstein, 1979).

The Capitalist Patriarchy

Two years after the publication of The Collective's *Statement*, in 1979, a slightly modified version was published in feminist political theorist and anti-racist scholar Zillah Eisenstein's trailblazing anthology, *Capitalist Patriarchy and the Case of Socialist Feminism*, under the title *The Combahee River Collective: A Black Feminist Statement.* This anthology serves as a beacon shedding new light on Gendered Systemic Oppression through the language of a systems of oppression that centers the structure of race, making it a touchstone text within the second paradigmatic shift.

Moreover, it is Eisenstein's then-new theoretical concept of the "Capitalist Patriarchy" that constitutes a vital component of this second paradigmatic shift. The "Capitalist Patriarchy" recognizes Capitalism and Patriarchy as intertwined and co-reinforced entities that are inherently imbricated within racial oppression. The imbrication of race fundamentally distinguishes Eisenstein's "Capitalist Patriarchy" from Firestone's earlier theorizations of Capitalism and Patriarchy. Moreover, the term's long-lasting influence and impact within literature also makes it crucial to the second paradigmatic shift.

In her introduction of the anthology, titled "Developing a Theory of Capitalist Patriarchy and Socialist Feminism,"[26] Eisenstein explains that the "Capitalist Patriarchy" is a feminist notion which distinguishes that capitalism is not the sole system causing global inequalities, and that capitalist oppression is not only determined by class, but also varies according to gender and race. Eisenstein (1979) defines the term as "the mutually reinforcing dialectical relationship between capitalist class structure and hierarchical sexual structuring" (p. 5). This specifically socialist feminist approach "analyzes power in terms of its class origins and its patriarchal roots. In such an analysis, capitalism and patriarchy are neither autonomous systems nor identical: they are, in their present form, mutually dependent" (Eisenstein, 1979, p. 22). When putting forth the foundation of an unprecedented Capitalist Patriarchal theory, Eisenstein (1979) explains how she concentrates mostly on the connection between gender and class as "a first step in moving toward the more inclusive analysis of race" (p. 22). However, she is very clear about race as inseparably imbricated into the systems of oppression at the origins of the domination of gender. She articulates the relationships between these variables by distinguishing the term "oppression" from "exploitation":

> For socialist feminists, oppression and exploitation are not equivalent concepts, for women or for members of minority races, as they were for Marx and Engels. Exploitation speaks to the economic reality of capitalist class relations for men and women, whereas

[26] Eisenstein had already introduced the term "Capitalist Patriarchy" in her earlier writings, including her article "Capitalist Patriarchy and the Case for Socialist Feminism," published in *The Insurgent Sociologist* (1977).

> oppression refers to women and minorities defined within patriarchal, racist, and capitalist relations. Exploitation is what happens to men and women workers in the labor force; woman's oppression occurs from her exploitation as a wage-laborer but also occurs from the relations that define her existence in the patriarchal sexual hierarchy—as mother, domestic laborer, and consumer. Racial oppression locates her within the racist division of society alongside her exploitation and sexual oppression. Oppression is inclusive of exploitation but reflects a more complex reality. Power—or the converse, oppression—derives from sex, race, and class, and this is manifested through both the material and ideological dimensions of patriarchy, racism, and capitalism. Oppression reflects the hierarchical relations of the sexual and racial division of labor and society. (Eisenstein, 1979, pp. 22-23)

The race-centered theory and anthology of Eisenstein's "Capitalist Patriarchy" ushered in a new wave of systemic theories of oppression informed by race and patriarchy, leaving a lasting and influential impact. Naming the structural forces of Gendered Systemic Oppression, as revealed by these insights, gained momentum as a feminist framework of analysis and accountability, a tool of resistance, and a persisting and evolving slogan that identifies the ongoing structures perpetuating oppression today.

Colonialism in the "Woman Question" and the Gendered Systemic Oppression

"Research is one of the ways in which the underlying code of imperialism and colonialism is both regulated and realized." —Linda Tuhiwai Smith (Māori iwi Ngāti Awa and Ngāti Porou), *Decolonizing Methodologies: Research and Indigenous Peoples* (1999/2022) (Taylor, 2017, Location 378)

What about colonialism? Today, engaging colonialism has become compulsory to any analysis of systemic oppression. For the purposes of this dissertation, colonial systemic analysis is indispensable. My remaining chapters expound on colonialism's primary role in the systemic interlinking of gender and climate subordination globally. In Chapters 2 and 3, I unpack colonialism as a system and analyze why it is critical in deciphering the disproportionate burdens of climate change on gender-marginalized people today. In Chapter 4, colonialism is central to historical feminist accounts that I use to investigate the original root links between gender and ecological oppression. The voices from the WFCJ movement, collected through my fieldwork; and evolutions of Black feminist literature, in addition to Transnational Feminism, Indigenous Feminism, and Intersectional Ecological Feminist scholarship are the main bodies of literature engaged within the colonial critiques presented in what follows.

To my reading, a more elaborate discussion of colonialism's relationship to global Gendered Systemic Oppression begins in the early 1980s, while a more elaborate theorization of colonialism as an additional planetary system to all others already mentioned begins to take shape with Chandra Talpade Mohanty's "Under Western Eyes: Feminist Scholarship and Colonial Discourses" (1984). The following paragraphs aim to put some form to this trajectory in the literature review.

Like the rest of this chapter, all forthcoming examples explicitly focus on global Gendered Systemic Oppression. However, I begin with one exception: Black feminist bell hooks' *Ain't I a*

Woman (1981), which focuses on Gendered Systemic Oppression in America. However, because of hooks' coinage of "White Supremacist Capitalist Patriarchy" (explained below) in the 1990s, and the influence that this framing had upon later developments of the literature, I find it relevant to note *Ain't I a Woman* as an early analysis of Gendered Systemic Oppression that begins to directly address colonialism and imperialism. Additionally, this text serves as baseline language for my proposal of The Racial Capitalist Climate Patriarchy.

Through the examination of the historical and contemporary consequences of American slavery on Black women, the subjugation of the Black female body, Black male sexism, white feminist racism, and Black women's position in feminism, hooks not only nuances and problematizes the links between the foundational systems of race, gender, and class, but brings systemic colonial oppression into feminist analysis with novel and significant weight (hooks 1981/2015). For example, there is a chapter titled "The Imperialism of Patriarchy," and, although hooks's main focus is America and Black American woman, the book includes numerous examples that link these themes back to the larger global systemic analysis of Gendered Systemic Oppression (hooks, 1981/2015, p. 122).

When hooks analyzes essayist Albert Memmi in the excerpt below, we see her move through the aforementioned intersectional and black feminist breakthroughs of the second paradigmatic shift to show colonialism's place within systemic oppression:

> If the white women who organized the contemporary movement toward feminism were at all remotely aware of racial politics in American history, they would have known that overcoming barriers that separate women from one another would entail confronting the reality of racism, and not just racism as a general evil in society but the race hatred they might harbor in their own psyches. Despite the predominance of patriarchal rule in American society, America was colonized on a racially imperialistic base and not on an sexually imperialistic base […] Tunisian writer Albert Memmi emphasizes in *The Colonizer and the Colonized* the impact of racism as a tool of imperialism: "Racism appears… not as an incidental detail, but as a con-substantial part of colonialism. It is the highest expression of the colonial system and one of the most significant features of the colonialist. Not only does it establish a fundamental discrimination between colonizer and colonized, a sine qua non of colonial life, but it also lays the foundation for the immutability of this life." While those feminists who argue that sexual imperialism is more endemic to all societies than racial imperialism are probably correct, American society is one in which racial imperialism supersedes sexual imperialism. (hooks, 1981/2015, p. 167)

Here, we see hooks explain how not only is the system of racism fundamental to an understanding of Gendered Systemic Oppression beyond "patriarchal rule," but that colonial and imperial domination act as additional systems of oppression that are driven by racism and further establish racist structures and institutions.

In turn, hooks explains the need for "institutionalized" racism in America to be understood beyond the individual domain of hatred, evoking the cruciality of the Marxist tradition of systemic oppression within "world history" and locating the "origin" of that oppression:

> American women of all races are socialized to think of racism of solely in the context of race hatred. Specifically in the case of black and white people, the term racism is usually seen as synonymous with discrimination or prejudice against black people by white people. For most women, the first knowledge of racism as institutionalized oppression is engendered either by direct personal experience or through information gleaned from conversations, books television, or movies. *Consequently, the American woman's understanding of racism as a political tool of colonialism and imperialism is severely limited. To experience the pain of race hatred or to witness that pain is not to understand its origin, evolution or impact on world history* [emphasis added]. (hooks, 1981/2015, p. 163)

hooks' articulation of the "severely limited" understanding of colonialism and imperialism within American women's understanding of racial oppression sheds light on how new considerations of systemic coloniality were questioning gendered oppression at the time (hooks, 1981/2015, p. 163). But, more importantly for us, this excerpt shows how hooks offers a national-scale case study that directly speaks to the global dimensions of oppression. She highlights the colonial underpinnings of racism in America as essential to understanding "world history" and the "origins" of racism, which are central inquiries in the field of Gendered Systemic Oppression, as previously explained in this chapter (p. 163). In turn, I see *Ain't I a Woman* as a notable key text in the literature because it takes up colonialism and imperialism as additional elementary systems in global Gendered Systemic Oppression.

This Bridge Called My Back (1981)

However, one of the earliest texts in the United States that develops colonialism and imperialism's role within international Gendered Systemic Oppression more broadly is the anthology *This Bridge Called My Back: Writings from Radical Women of Color* (1981), published by Cherrie Moraga and Gloria E. Anzaldúa. To this day, *This Bridge Called My Back* is widely recognized to have been a groundbreaking response to the universalist and non-intersectional approaches to Gendered Systemic Oppression worldwide. Through what was a rare and much-needed collaboration between Latina, Native, Asian American, and Black women and lesbians, it embodied the intersectionality that revolutionized the literature, but also addressed the power differentials that existed between different women of color themselves. Additionally, the text also significantly contributes to the development of what was called "U.S third-world feminism" (Alarcon, 2020; Sandoval, 2003; Smith, 1983/2000). This contribution alone makes this anthology an important foundational work to understanding the roots of the disproportionate burdens of climate change on people of marginalized genders today.

However, my primary focus for spotlighting *This Bridge Called My Back* is its trailblazing attention to imperialism's intertwined relationship to the systemized oppression of race, gender, and class. Several of the contributors to this anthology spoke about how imperialism and colonization configured Black, Chicana, and Indigenous women's worlds, and how, with this lens, hetero-patriarchy, capitalism, and class oppression can also be understood. For example, we can see a clear articulation of colonialism's integration into feminist systemic oppression through the words of Judit Moschkovich (2022) in her contribution to the anthology, "'— But I Know You, American Woman'":

> Think of it in terms of men's and women's cultures: women live in male systems, know male rules, speak male language when around men, etc. But what do men really know about women? Only screwed up myths concocted to perpetuate the power imbalance. It is the same situation when it comes to dominant and non-dominant or colonizing and colonized cultures/countries/people. (p. 80)
>
> Most of Latin America is a land economically colonized by the U.S., and as such can't be compared with a colonizing culture (the U.S). Women's condition in Latin America would be much better were they not living in colonized countries. (p. 80)

Here, we see Moschkovich bringing forth the impacts of coloniality in an intersectional way. *This Bridge Called My Back* also republished "The Combahee River Collective Statement," and Audre Lorde's letter to Ecofeminist Mary Daly (Moraga & Anzaldúa, 1981), which plays a formative role in Chapter 2.

A second crucial contribution of *This Bridge Called My Back* is that it brought heterosexual oppression to the forefront of its analysis, emphasizing what varying authors referred to as "hetero-sexist oppression," "hetero-sexual privilege," "heterosexual imperialism," and "heterosexual patriarchal culture" as integral to Gendered Systemic Oppression (Moschkovich, 2022, p. 80). This early development of what is today referred to as "hetero-patriarchy," or hetero-patriarchal oppression, is key to understanding the disproportionate impacts that climate change has on LGBTQIA2++ peoples across the globe.

Postcolonial Feminism

Into the mid 1980s, we see colonialism making its way into the field through a proliferation of ideas and texts that marked the advent of Postcolonial Feminism.[27] These authors fit within this Chapter's literature review because they offer analyses on feminist systems of oppression, rooted in Marxist theorizing of capitalism as planetary system. This is the case even though these authors exemplify a spilt within Intersectional Feminism regarding an understanding of Gendered Systemic Oppression from the position of non-Western women. On the one hand, non-Western authors who identified as Marxist sought to critically improve the theory, while, on the other hand, there were those who rejected a Marxist affiliation, and, in turn, aimed to critique and expand into other forms of feminism disassociated from the doctrines of Marxism. Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, for example, is a Marxist feminist whose groundbreaking colonial analysis of "the Subaltern" is rooted in renowned Marxist philosopher Antonio Gramsci's initial use of the word (Spivak, 1988). Then, there is Mohanty, who separates herself from the Marxist tradition, ending her influential colonial critique with a call for non-Western and Western feminists alike to outgrow Marx. In the very last sentence of "Under Western Eyes," Mohanty writes: "It is time to move beyond the Marx who found it possible to say: They cannot represent themselves" (Mohanty, 1984, p. 354). The evolutions of both branches of Postcolonial Feminisms are engaged in the remaining chapters.

[27] These groundbreaking texts include: Chandra Talpade Mohanty's "Under Western Eyes: Feminist Scholarship and Colonial Discourses" (1984); Valerie Amon and Pratibha Parmar's "Challenging Imperial Feminism" (1984); Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak's "Can the Subaltern Speak?" (1988); and Trinh T. Minh-ha's *Woman Native Other: Writing Postcoloniality and Feminism* (1989), amongst others.

Yet, rather than a breakdown of the geographical systemic workings of colonialism across the globe, these texts predominantly took up the coloniality of mainstream feminist scholarship and writing by Western and white feminists, resulting in a catalytic effect on the production of feminist knowledge thereafter. I expand on Postcolonial Feminism's critique of imperial, Western and white feminist discourse, and apply it to an analysis of foundational Ecological Feminist literature and activism in Chapter 2. The development of Transnational Feminism that in many ways emerges out of Postcolonial Feminisms in the 1990s, and to which coloniality and decoloniality is central, is engaged in Chapter 3.

Indigenous Feminism and Indigenous Writing on Gender

One might ask: where do the crucial perspectives of Indigenous women, feminists, writers and scholars fit within this literature review? It is important to reemphasize here that this chapter is concerned with the earliest scholarship that theorized Gendered Systemic Oppression on a global scale, and the varying and overlapping systems that define and make up the architecture of this oppression. The literature under review followed and built on the earliest traditions of Marxist theorizing of capitalism as a planetary system. Although there is early Indigenous writing by women that certainly sympathized with Marxism's communitarian project, notably Stó:lō Nation's Lee Maracle's *I am Woman* (1989), the analytical framework of such work existed outside of the feminist systems of oppression body of literature, and for very good reason.

Despite this exclusion, because more recent Indigenous writing is imperative to articulating the interlinked systemic subordination of gender, race, and class—and in fact, from its beginnings, has been uniquely exceptional in integrating ecological and colonial subordination within its systemic analysis—it is essential for Indigenous writing to be included within this literature review. Perhaps, more importantly, I find that examining this lack of Indigenous writing on gender in the late 1970s and early 1980s provides indispensable insights to the central questions of this chapter.

To begin, "Indigenous Feminism," despite being a vital branch of Intersectional Feminism, did not arise under this name until the mid-2000s (Suzack & Huhndorf, 2010). However, Indigenous women were, of course, writing pivotal texts far before this time, including in the decades with which this chapter is concerned. As Indigenous Feminist scholars Shari M. Huhndorf and Cheryl Suzack write in the introduction of their formative anthology *Indigenous Women and Feminism: Politics, Activism, Culture* (2010):

> Indigenous women artists and intellectuals attained early prominence, women writers in particular did not gain widespread attention until the 1970s and 1980s, decades when women's activism around issues of gender emerged. Paula Gunn Allen, Jeannette Armstrong, Louise Erdrich, Joy Harjo, Linda Hogan, Wendy Rose, and Leslie Marmon Silko are among the many American and Canadian Indigenous women who began to publish in this era, often to widespread acclaim. (p. 10)

Yet, Suzack & Huhndorf (2010) also explain how "these path-breaking novels centered, however, on the stories of male protagonists, and along with the majority of Indigenous texts of

this period, they mirrored in troubling ways the social marginalization and invisibility of Indigenous women" (p. 10). Indigenous Feminism focuses on the marginalization of Indigenous women within Indigenous communities, a crisis introduced by the capitalist and patriarchal social relations and economies of European colonization. However, other recent Indigenous women writers and scholars have accounted for the dearth of Indigenous gender-focused writing within the history of feminism and within academia in general for additional reasons.

To this point, it is important to distinguish self-described Indigenous Feminists from Indigenous women writers and scholars. For example, Michi Saagiig Nishnaabeg writer, artist and scholar Leeanne Betasmosake Simpson expresses the "fierce and principled work" of Indigenous Feminisms, but does not identify as an Indigenous Feminist herself, and expresses concern about the field, when stating: "I worry that Indigenous feminisms are sometimes too influenced by mainstream white, straight feminism" (Betasmosake Simpson, 2017, p. 137). Here, Betasamosake Simpson signals to larger and more intricate reasons for the scarcity of Indigenous writing on gender within the foundational literature under review in this chapter. Indigenous Feminists, Indigenous women, and 2SQ (Two-Spirit and queer Indigenous) writers have articulated an unparalleled critique of the colonial establishment and practices of the Western educational system (Simpson, 2017; Tuhiwai Smith, 1999/2022; Moreton-Robinson, 2021). These critiques have also shed light on Indigenous people's marked exclusion and alienation from, but also staunch resistance to, academia, which is a dominant mode of knowledge production (Betasamosake Simpson, 2017; Tuhiwai Smith 1999/2022; Moreton-Robinson, 2021).

Māori iwi Ngāti Awa and Ngāti Porou scholar Linda Tuhiwai Smith's monumental work *Decolonizing Methodologies: Research and Indigenous Peoples* (1999/2022) is particularly elucidating on this subject: "I understood research as an set of ideas, practices and privileges that were embedded in imperial expansionism and colonization and institutionalized in academic disciplines, schools, curricula, universities and power" (Tuhiwai Smith, 1999/2022, Location 144). Is academia and research, then, a fundamental tool within the arsenal of The Racial Capitalist Climate Patriarchy? Tuhiwai Smith's work would imply a definite yes. An excerpt from her forward to the book speaks to the global systemic character of research and academia and its particularly intimate relationship with imperialism:

> *Decolonizing Methodologies* is concerned not so much with the actual technique of selecting a method but much more with the context in which research problems are conceptualized and designed, and with the implications of research for its participants and their communities. It is also concerned with the institution of research, its claims, it values, and practices and its relationships to power. It has 'talked back to' and 'talked up to' research as an institution of knowledge that is embedded in a global system of imperialism and power. (Tuhiwai Smith, 1999/2022, Location 122)

This particularly incongruous relationship between gender-focused Indigenous literature and institutionalized academia is revealing. It explains a disproportionate absence of Indigenous women writers from the inaugural literature and the identified gap reviewed within this chapter. But it also expounds on crucial insights regarding academia's fundamental role in the uplifting of a transnational system that is founded and sustained through the interlinked oppression of race,

class, gender, and ecology. Part IV of Chapter 2 expands on these issues with its examination of how the whiteness of the history of Ecological Feminist scholarship is inherent to a much wider whiteness in environmentalism, environmental studies, and academia itself.

Genealogical Narrative of Gender

In what follows, I present Indigenous writers and scholars and their explanation for the scarcity of Indigenous scholarship on gender as a window into examining the same scarcity within the specific literature on Gendered Systemic Oppression that pertains to this dissertation. More specifically, I engage Indigenous feminists, Indigenous women, and 2SQ (Two-Spirit and queer Indigenous) writers' unparalleled critiques of the colonial establishment and practices of the Western educational system, which illuminates an important trend of Indigenous people's marked exclusion from, and some Indigenous people's staunch resistance to, academia (Betasamosake Simpson 2017; Tuhiwai Smith 1999; Moreton-Robinson 2021). In particular, critical scholars Leeanne Betasmosake (Michi Saagiig Nishnaabeg), and Linda Tuhiwai Smith (Ngāti Awa and Ngāti Porou, Māori) propose academia as the institutionalization of global imperial and colonial ideas, customs, and power. This proposition explains how the whiteness of the history of feminist ecological scholarship is actually inherent to a much larger whiteness in environmentalism, environmental studies, and academia itself. With this, our attention turns to what is missing within the literature review, as an indispensable gateway to understanding the intersection of gender and ecology in its most intrinsic sense, meaning outside of "the Master's house," to borrow the words of Lorde (Lorde).

Revising the Attribution of Gender Theories. Providing a critical perspective on academia and its implications within systemic colonialism (and the broader systems of oppression) pushes us to reassess and revise who first understood ecology's role within feminism and gender justice. In addition to Indigenous feminists and writers, queer, decolonial and global southern feminists have also been vanguards in critiquing the colonial dimensions of academia and the dominant modes of knowledge it has manufactured. They have done so in ways akin to what Peruvian sociologist Aníbal Quijano has termed the "coloniality of knowledge," a primary mechanism in the functioning of "coloniality," "the coloniality of power," and the "colonial matrix of power"[28] (W. D. Mignolo, 2007; Quijano, 2000, 2007) Most significant to this dissertation is Quijano's innovation in understanding global capitalism and modernity through what he refers to as a "global model of power," which is primarily underpinned by a matrix of colonial systems and power (Quijano, 2000, p. 545). Quijano (2000) further explains that

> as the center of global capitalism, Europe not only had control of the world market, but it was also able to impose its colonial dominance over all the regions and populations of the planet, incorporating them into its world-system and its specific model of power. (Quijano, 2000, p. 540)

[28] Under the subtitle "The Colonial Matrix of Power: Domains, Levels and Flows," of his recent co-authored book *On Decoloniality: Concepts, Analytics, Praxis*, Walter Mignolo (2018), another foundational decolonial theorist, clarifies the varying terms and definitions used within Quijano's theorizations of coloniality as follows: "Quijano's groundbreaking concept of *coloniality* is shorthand for *coloniality of power*, and both are stand-ins for *the colonial matrix of power* of the CMP. The use of one term or the other depends on how much detail we want to invoke with the expression" (W. Mignolo & Walsh, 2018, p. 141). "CMP" is the acronym used by Mignolo for "colonial matrix of power" (W. Mignolo & Walsh, 2018).

Furthermore, Quijano's (2000) historical framing for global capitalism's innate colonial character is explained in his article "Coloniality of Power, Eurocentrism and Latin America,":

> When Raul Prebisch coined the celebrated image of center and periphery to describe the configuration of global capitalism since the end of World War II, he underscored, with or without being aware of it, the nucleus of the historical model for the control of labor, resources, and products that shaped the central part of the new global model of power, starting with America as a player in the new world economy. *Global capitalism was, from then on, colonial/modern and Eurocentered* [emphasis added]. (p. 539)

In this sentence, Quijano asserts that alongside World War II's violent transformation of the world emerged a new world system rooted in a new historical "nucleus"—being colonialism, modernity and Eurocentrism). Within this new world order, Quijano's coloniality of knowledge, produced and uplifted by a postwar Eurocentric system of knowledge, is a central facet to the functioning of the modern global power structure.

In decolonial theory, eminent Martinican-French scholar Frantz Fanon and Argentinian semiotician Walter Mignolo have also written about how colonialism has molded the criteria of what is considered valid knowledge production globally, concluding that Eurocentric logic has been imposed as a hegemonic standard (W. Mignolo & Walsh, 2018). Quijano, Mignolo and Maria Lugones, among others, went on to argue that this hegemonic coloniality of Eurocentric knowledge imposed itself through the violent removal, erasure, suppression, and exploitation of Indigenous ways of knowing, as well as through the establishment of its own educational systems and institutions (Lugones, 2016; W. Mignolo, 2000, 2011; Quijano, 2000). Terms such as "epistemic violence" have been used to explain similar forms of systemic knowledge colonialism by scholars, such as Spivak in her groundbreaking, "Can the Subaltern Speak" (Spivak & Peñafiel Loaiza, 1985/2020). Epistemic violence has silenced the voices of the world's marginalized and oppressed, thereby restraining non-dominant and non-European epistemologies from attaining equal so-called legitimacy and dissemination in the global knowledge economy that defines academia.

Feminist methods of close reading and concept analysis allows us to begin to unearth what the relationship between gender, ecology and climate may resemble beneath the coloniality of knowledge. Using decolonial feminist analysis enables a line of questioning that seeks to visibilize those aspects that have been silenced for too long: if Indigenous knowledge systems have been silenced by dominant discourses institutionalized by academia, what would non-institutionalized understandings of gender and ecology look like?[29] How would such non-institutionalized epistemologies express themselves? What language, frameworks and methods would be used, if any at all? And whose vital voices would be missing and why? Similarly, Chapter 2 begins to unpack these questions in Part IV. It does so while being aware of the intense contradictions and limitations of deliberating non-institutional responses and conclusions

[29] Here, I am speaking beyond the participatory action research (PAR) and community-based participatory research (CBPR). I very much respect and use these methods in Chapter 3. I believe they offer one of the best approaches to more horizontal research practices. However, they are still inherently institutional, and, of course, have also been critiqued for not doing enough and for being vulnerable to reproducing the very power dynamics they aim to avoid (Hotze, 2011; Wallerstein, 2019; Kriksen et al., 2021; Qasimah Boston et al, 2023; Lee et al., 2024).

from a position that epitomizes institutional research. Despite these contradictions and limitations, however, I would like to take the opportunity to extend this line of thought via a more ample discussion here of gender as a concept. Doing so enables me to enhance the literature reviewed beyond the foundational texts and integrate decolonial feminist and queer theorists, and more engagement with global southern theoretical literatures. By incorporating these specific early decolonial theorists and their writings, this dissertation offers a more comprehensive and nuanced discussion of gender, aligning it with the decolonial feminist and queer theoretical perspectives that challenge and enrich traditional Eurocentric narratives.

Currently, the term "gender" in feminism is regularly attributed to white feminist and queer theorist scholars. However, gender has a rather unknown prior genealogy within science and within the social sciences. The reach that the term has garnered both inside and outside academia is impressive, to say the least. In both realms, the concept is commonly accredited to queer theorist and philosopher Judith Butler's works *Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity* (1990) and *Bodies That Matter: On the Discursive Limits of 'Sex'* (1993). Yet, although Butler's contributions to gender theory are undeniably monumental, Butler is not the originator of the term or the theory, nor have they ever claimed to be. Instead, they built on the pre-existing claim that gender is a social construction and is not biologically determined by adding their concept of "gender performativity" to the discourse (Butler, 1990; Butler, 1993). Butler (1990) argued that gender and even sex (to a degree) are performances of repetitive longstanding social norms, expectations, and power dynamics: "there is no gender identity behind the expressions of gender; that identity is performatively constituted by the very 'expressions' that are said to be its results" (p. 25).

In my own research for the earliest usage of the term "gender" in feminist theory, I found three early 1970s texts to be amongst the feminist English works to at least contain the term "gender." These texts are *The Black Woman: An Anthology, Sisterhood is Powerful: An Anthology of Writings From the Women's* Liberation *Movement*, and Germaine Greer's *The Female Eunuch*. However, the term is mentioned briefly in all three works and is not elaborated on in any significant way. So, where were these feminist theorists pulling the term from and where had it initially originated? To my reading, feminist sociologist Ann Oakley's *Sex, Gender and Society* (1971), is among the very earliest elaborate theorizations of the term "gender" in feminist theory, at least in the ways that fit into the lineage of its current usage. In turn, the foundational feminist theories regarding gender are partly associated with a white British sociologist, in ways that are similar to the origins of Ecological Feminism, when, as aforementioned, the term Ecofeminism was accredited to Firestone and d'Eaubonne.

The lesser-known genealogy of the conceptualization of gender is both troubling and contradictory to the binary role that the term represents today. In *Gender(s)* (2021), Kathryn Bond Stockton interrogates its historical conceptualization They do so through Jules Gill-Peterson's *Histories of the Transgender Child* (2018). Stockton postulates that the hero-like role that gender has come to garner in feminism, has, in fact, a rather troubling origin story. Stockton (2021) does not revise, take away, or undo the "queer" and "strange" adaptations of gender that have come to challenge and redefine binary understanding of biological sex (pp.xi, xiii). Her personal style of writing also repeatedly reminds the reader that the "story" of gender is their own story, and so is its history. As Stockton puts it: "prepare to enter a story that is yours,

however strange it could end up seeming" (p.xi), and later emphasizes that "gender's history beckons. It's not dry. After all, it's yours" (p. 93).

After this personalized narrative, Stockton explains that the genealogy of gender paradoxically begins with a project to preserve binary sex as a biological truth by two men of science and medicine. Stockton (2021) asserts: "Do you know the history of the concept of 'gender'? There's this man… In fact, there are two. One founds gender. The other gynecology" (p. 93). She refers to American psychologist and scholar John Money (1921-2006), and James Marion Sims (1813-1883). The latter has often been referred to as the "Father of Gynecology" (pp. 43, 97, 129). Money (the person, not the currency) was part of an elite medical class, faced with groundbreaking data and empirical evidence that showed that babies and young children lacked clear sexual distinctions and that their bodies were much more malleable by nature, like "plastic" (Stockton, 2012, pp.96 98). These non-binary findings however, did not generate the same feelings of emancipation in Money, as they have for much of the contemporary queer and feminist movement. On the contrary, Money and his entourage felt calamity:

> This is where gender takes center stage. A crisis was brewing. Due to this cadre of certain white children who didn't fit the measures of binary sex, biology and medicine were facing a cataclysm. Those most knowledgeable understood the plastic nature of the body—along with the possibility of it not matching itself at all levels. They of all observers feared that the proof for binary sex was crumbling before them, given that a series of 'predictors' for male or female status didn't reliably predict at all [meaning chromosomes, hormones, or possessing ovaries or testes or other variations of genitals]. (Stockton, 2021, p. 96)

This scientific evidence showed that the stringent biological and binary categories of male and female did not hold. Yet, instead of ushering in the term "gender" to affirm these scientific findings (much like we do today), Money and his co-researchers introduced "gender" to double down on a fixed dichotomy of sex. Stockton (2021) further describes how "this bleaker history happens over decades (five, to be exact), culminating in gender's creation as a concept in the 1950s, so as, some would say, *to save the binary division of sex* (sex as male and female) from its own collapse" (p. 96).

Alongside this binary categorization, Stockton (2021) traces the racialized history of gender and links to James Marion Sims (p.130). Sims conducted abominable experiments on enslaved Black women in the mid-1800s without anesthesia to develop his surgical techniques that would give him historical acclaim (pp.131, 132).

Tracing the genealogy of gender in this way reveals that the scientific and medical foundations of gender have always been intertwined with egregious racist and misogynistic scientific experiments. Thus the very terms and concepts that we value and benefit most from in feminism today, are, in fact, also entangled with, and sometimes founded by, the very actors and institutions that perpetuated and perhaps even engineered the gendered and racial hierarchies we are fighting in the first place.

Visibilizing Indigenous Contributions. This pedigree reminds me of a striking moment I encountered in 2012, while interviewing diverse Indigenous women writers, feminists and activists from across Northern Turtle Island (also known as Canada). I was honored to have had the opportunity to learn from Lee Maracle, a Stó꞉lō Nation scholar, writer, and poet, whose groundbreaking book *I Am Woman: A Native Perspective on Sociology and Feminism* (1988), has been considered one of Indigenous feminism's earliest texts. At the time, I asked Maracle about the relationship between gender and ecology: "Gender, gender, gender … what is gender really?" she responded (Maracle, personal interview, 2012).

Maracle told me that she did not use the term herself very much, and was unsure how it fit into an authentic Indigenous understanding of "things" (Maracle, personal interview, 2012). Interestingly, she simultaneously accepted the term's importance and usage in the field and offered me an application of it within her own thinking: "that gender is an energy—masculine, feminine, two spirited—that Indigenous people choose. Each of these of these energies are honored, they are a life practice that each contribute irreplaceable value to community work and spirituality" (Maracle, personal interview, 2012). Despite this conversational definition of gender, Maracle questioned the semantics of the term, wondering if and how its meaning fit into her people's own traditional language. She ended her response by emphasizing that "gender is in no way categorical for us" (Maracle, personal interview, 2012). At the time, I had trouble reconciling Maracle's articulation of gender as "categorical" with the wide spectrum of gender identities that was documented and written about by herself and many other Indigenous women authors.

In 2017, Maracle went on to publish *My Conversations With Canadians*. Within this work she writes about her confusion with the term gender, describing it as a limiting and ultimately oppressive category, in much the same way that evokes Money's original intention for the category, as narrated by Stockton (2021). In doing so, Maracle also evokes the old questions of Gendered Systemic Oppression that are reengaged here in this dissertation, only Maracle (2017) uses the language of "divisions" (p. 93). Under the subtitle "Homophobia and Gender," she expresses that gendering in general is the problem: "The problem to indigenous people is gendering everything, and that is connected to patriarchy or the initial division. Forcing us to gender ourselves is the first unfair binding and constraint" (Maracle, 2017, p. 94). For Maracle (2017), the first division is separating men into their own gender, and women into their own and separate gender, and, then, gender-fluid people into their own and separate gender:

> The first division of patriarchy is between men as gender and women as gender and the gender-fluid, and then the first constraint of patriarchy is on homosexuals and the gender-fluid, then on women. The first binding is the gender woman to the gender man—all humans are forced to identify as either man or woman. This declaration is a binding agent, and they must bind. No other binding is legitimate. The madness is that the divided are bound without negotiation, fairness, or agreement and spend most of their life quarrelling about the binding union. One half of the divided are constrained along with those who do not fit the gender binary (p. 93).

Here, Maracle explains that gender not only demands a compulsory identification with egregiously narrow categories of being (woman, man, or gender-fluid), but that this

identification is also overwhelmingly nonconsensual and fixed. She goes on to explain how heterosexuals are overwhelmingly unimpacted by these binding and constraining categories, which reveals the deeply hetero-patriarchal charter of gendering (Maracle, 2017, p. 93).

Certainly, Maracle was not the first to question and problematize the epistemological usage of the term gender. Nigerian sociologist Oyeronké Oyewumi's *The Invention of Women: Making an African Sense of Western Gender Discourses* (1997) interrogates the concept of gender, and concludes that it is an idea born of "somatocentric" (a societal value system anchored in epistemologies of biological determinism) thinking that is inherent to the cultural specificity of Western logic. Oyewumi contrasts this argument with her account of pre-colonial Yoruba society of Nigeria, showing that "the category of woman" never existed within Yoruba culture. Instead, Oyewumi explains how social identity was situational and unfixed from anatomy (Oyewumi, 1997).

I have been demonstrating how the concept of gender has been extensively reworked in decolonial feminist and queer theory in order to prioritize the need to decenter Eurocentric frameworks and recognize the contributions of theorists from the global south. Even though the concept of gender is liberatory in, perhaps, Western contexts, where a simple male/female gender binary has been long established, the concept of gender becomes increasingly problematized and linked to the same intersectional structures of oppression that I interrogate in this work, and to which I return in the next section when considering bell hooks' extension to Eisenstein's "Capitalist Patriarchy."

bell hooks and the "White Supremacist Capitalist Patriarchy"

Into the 1980s and 1990s, bell hooks extended Eisenstein's term "Capitalist Patriarchy" into *"*White Supremacist Capitalist Patriarchy," adding white supremacy as a principal mechanism of the global capitalist system. In the 1995 Media Education Foundation transcript of a bell hooks interview titled *Cultural Criticism & Transformation*, hooks explains: "I began to use the phrase in my work White Supremacist Capitalist Patriarchy because I wanted to have some language that would actually remind us continually of the interlocking systems of domination that define our reality" (hooks, 1984/2000; Jhally, 1995/2005). hooks insisted on the intersectional nature of the system, and thus pushed back against the ongoing tendency of certain feminist structural analyses to focus on components of gender or race as singular and non-mutually reinforcing (Jhally, 1995/2005). Eventually, hooks developed the term into "Imperial White Supremacist Capitalist HeteroPatriarchy," adding imperialism as one of the defining mechanisms of the system (Jhally, 1995/2005; hooks, 2006).

Although theories about global capitalism and feminist systems of oppression peaked in the late 20th century, the core ideas and the importance of identifying "the system" from that period remain prevalent and foundational today. In 2015, hooks herself reaffirmed the ongoing importance of the term to global structural analysis: "for me, that phrase always reminds me of a global context, of the context of class, of empire, of capitalism, of racism and of patriarchy. Those things are all linked — an interlocking system" (hooks & Yancy, 2015). The prefix "hetero" has also long worked its way into discourse as one of the many descriptors of systemic oppression, and, in 2015, transgendered activist Laverne Cox added "cisnormative" into the equation when she tweeted: "Actually its cisnormative heteronormative imperialist white

supremacist capitalist patriarchy my spin on @bellhooks" (Cox, 2015; hooks, 2006, p. 60). then, varying fields of scholarship and writing have added ableism, ageism, weightism, and other systems of oppression to provide a more accurate characterization of the current global structural landscape.

Above, I have defined the two paradigmatic shifts of Ecological Feminisms and early Intersectional Feminism. Both developed on diverging paths, despite both being essential to our understanding of Gendered Systemic Oppression. Now, I will address the gap that exists between these two diverging paths.

PART II:
The Gap in the Literature: The Forking Paths at the Foundations of Ecological and Intersectional Structural Feminisms

While I have described the paradigmatic shifts in the literature, there remains a gap between them. Both depart from the "Woman Question," but diverge in relatively different directions without adequately considering one another's positions. Yet both are indispensable to understanding Gendered Systemic Oppression then and now. Below, I outline these differing directions.

The Ecological Feminist Side of the Gap

The first paradigmatic shift, introduced by Firestone and d'Eaubonne, named ecological destruction as integral to Gendered Systemic Oppression but fell dramatically short on the domination of race. Although Firestone and d'Eaubonne were pioneering in theorizing ecological destruction as ingrained in women's structural oppression, their theories are stunted by several egregious failures regarding race. This is not to say that Firestone and d'Eaubonne did not care or attempt to tackle race within their analysis. Both appear to have tried.

Firestone was loud about the injustices of white supremacy, which defined so much of the revolutionary spirit of the times. In fact, Firestone took race head-on, and treated it with a certain level of depth within *The Dialectic of Sex* (1970). Her analysis is heavily grounded in the American Black Power movement and the history of the abolitionist movement. For example, Firestone viewed the American women's liberation movement as an "underdog" movement to the cause of black liberation and argued that Black Power "led to the establishment of a women's liberation movement" (Firestone, 1970/2003, Locations 335, 464). Simultaneously, following in the footsteps of Black feminist activists of the times, Firestone critiqued the sexism and misogyny within the Black Power movement (Firestone, 1970/2003, Location 517). On one occasion, she even states, "It is sad that the Black Power movement, which taught women so much about their political needs through the obvious parallels, should be the last to see that parallel in reverse" (Firestone, 1970/2003, Location 517).

At first, her early centering of race and white supremacy seems significant and engaged, especially when compared to the environmental and feminist theories which, to this day, ignore or decenter race. Examples of such theories have been developed within parts of Global or International Feminism, Ecofeminism, and Environmentalism and Environmental Studies. This dissertation strives to contribute to the development of Ecological Feminist pathways that do not

reproduce the white-centricity present within some of these fields by centering race, as is further elaborated in both Chapters 2 and 3. However, as we will see, despite her strong points and breakthrough moments, Firestone's writing takes an irredeemable turn for the worst on the issue of race.

As for d'Eaubonne, part of her prolific activist life involved active campaigning against the French occupation of Algeria, an anti-colonial stance deeply entrenched in issues of race and racism in 1950s and 1960s France (Mormin Chauvac, 2019; Thiébaut, 2021).[30] However, within her written work, although d'Eaubonne attempted to engage with race, she did so much less extensively than Firestone.

Regardless of how each author engaged race, neither Firestone nor d'Eaubonne sufficiently grappled with racism as a structure and racial oppression's impact on Gendered Systemic Oppression. I contend that there are three fundamental aspects of insufficiency, outlined below:

1) Race as Inseparable from Gendered Systemic Oppression

First, they overlooked race as an inseparable arm within Gendered Systemic Oppression. Both were wrapped up in a pivotal feminist moment that attempted to usher in patriarchy as an additional oppressive system to class. However, they drastically underestimated the weight of race both within their general understanding of systemic oppression and the central role it played in the oppression of gender. In turn, their approach contained Western, and often white, approaches to race at home and abroad. Their writing is, at times, difficult to read because of problematic racial tropes and offensive language. This occurrence is somewhat ironic. Both authors were part of second wave feminism, which attempted to show that in addition to the presiding concept of "white supremacy" permeating activist and popular discourse of the times, was the reality of "male supremacy," a notion which had yet to take force.[31] This was undoubtedly a groundbreaking observation that drove feminist liberation and caused societal change. And is is a crucial point, if properly cross-analyzed with the racial and class oppression of gender. However, I argue that both authors offered an imbalanced analysis of the "Woman Question" due to a rising hegemonic understanding of Gendered Systemic Oppression that overlooked racial domination between women. For both Firestone and d'Eaubonne, patriarchy was the ultimate system of oppression responsible for classism, racism, and environmental destruction—indeed, for all oppression (Firestone, 1970/2003, p.15).

[30] d'Eaubonne's on-the-ground political engagement was vast (Bahaffou & Gorecki, 2020; Bahaffou & Gorecki, 2022). Ranging from her young life to her final years, she formed part of the French Resistance, the Communist Party, and engaged in numerous activist groups around women's rights, abortion rights, gay rights, prisoner's rights, and ecological resistance, including Arcadia, Homosexual Front for Revolutionary Action (FHAR), The Women's Liberation Movement (MLF), and the Ecology-Feminism Center. d'Eaubonne also did not shy away from a long list of direct actions that she sometimes architected (Bahaffou & Gorecki, 2020; Bahaffou & Gorecki, 2022). Perhaps the most infamous of these actions was carrying out an explosive attack against the Fessenheim nuclear power plant with other activists in Alsace in 1975 (Thiébaut, 2021). The plant was under construction at the time. For d'Eaubonne this action was an Ecofeminist one, in which she proclaimed: "Women are in the vanguard of the refusal of nuclear power, which is the last word in this society built without them and against them" (Thiébaut, 2021; Lavocat, 2019).

[31] This may further explain why both Firestone and d'Eaubonne insisted on using the term "male supremacy" instead of and/or addition to patriarchy.

In addition, the further one reads Firestone's articulations on race, the more her tone begins to oscillate between expressing admiration for Black Power, as expressed at the start of this section, and moments that appear to convey disapproval or disdain. This fluctuation can be perplexing for contemporary readers, presenting a blend of commendable contributions alongside disconcerting perspectives on race. For example, theorist, author Sophie Lewis (2021) calls Firestone "brilliant", "irritable", and "deeply flawed" in "Shulamith Firestone Wanted to Abolish Nature—We Should, Too." Lewis (2021) describes the brighter sides of Firestone, including how she:

> advocates for 'the abolition of the labor force itself under a cybernetic socialism' and 'the diffusion of the childbearing and childrearing role to society as a whole, men as well as women.' Ectogenesis—the machine uterus—is famously a part of this speculative picture. But above all, she contends, women must liberate children and themselves from the capitalist patriarchy— seizing control over technology, eradicating the tyranny of work, [and] automating labor (yes, even reproductive labor, as far as possible).

These points by Firestone have intrigued gender theorists on questions of family abolishment, the role of surrogacy in gender liberation, and the potential that such approaches hold for trans and non-binary people (Cannon, 2016; Lewis, 2019; Lewis, 2021; Lewis, 2022). However, these points often falter or disappoint due to Firestone's lack of attention to racial oppression as a distinct structural issue. For example, in the same article, Lewis (2021) goes on to state:

> Blind to both queer urban and non-monogamous Indigenous lifeways, Firestone misses the fundamentally racial character of the production of cis-heterosexual gender in post-Reconstruction America, and the flaw is fatal to her whole project. She was not wrong, of course, that canonical Marxists and '60s New Left "politicos" failed to attend properly to the spheres of sex/gender, baby-making, the colonially imposed nuclear family, and romance. But the horizon that so motivated her—the "explosion" of American culture in its entirety—*is ultimately unimaginable without the abolition of whiteness, which she ignores* [emphasis added].

As for d'Eaubonne, in *Feminism or Death* she, too, referred to the American Black Power Movement, but only did so in a handful of examples. Indeed, when she does reference the Movement, it reads rather superficially, often decontextualized, or in language that is hard to understand. Further, d'Eaubonne did not analyze the racial tensions of her own society, which may have been part of a wider trend in the dominant feminism in France and its avoidant and universalizing tendency at the time (and ongoing) (Suaudeau & Niang, 2022; Niang, 2020).

In addition, d'Eaubonne attempted to provide an international perspective on Gendered Systemic Oppression by listing the societal positions of women in various countries. This approach could act as a basic first step against universalizing the systemic oppression of gender through a geopolitical Transnational Feminist analysis of differentiation of power between the gender marginalized (i.e, intersectionality), a methodology I propose through the development of the concept of Racial Capitalist Climate Patriarch*ies* in both the Introduction and Chapter 3. However, d'Eaubonne's analysis produces the contrary because her list offers an overwhelmingly universalizing account of gender, strewn with an assortment of problematic

racial tropes, particularly around racialized men. As Myriam Bahaffou and I (2022) explain in the introduction to the second edition and first English translation of *Feminism or Death*:

> As visionary as she was, Françoise d'Eaubonne nevertheless remained formed by Western feminism as described by Chandra Talpade Mohanty; we find that Eurocentric conception of the world that separates "developed" and "underdeveloped" countries into two irreconcilable "camps," with diametrically opposed values and no relationship to each other, except perhaps a possibility of the former "saving" the latter by showing them the path to liberty. Thus, the author relies on a universalist perspective that constructs one unique agent of revolutionary change (white women) and embodies a power relationship within the very definition of its feminism. In describing "the Arab woman," "the African woman," or "the Muslim woman," d'Eaubonne fixes these women into categories that render them absolutely distinct beings by *nature*. The rare mentions of Islam merely serve to corroborate an oppressive vision of Muslim women in which they are always alienated. Two processes are at work here: the generalization and homogenization of the Other, as Edward Said insightfully deciphered in Orientalism in 1978, just three years after the publication of *Feminism or Death*. Thus, the discursive construction of the "Oriental woman" that must be saved perpetuates a racist myth that is still very present today, especially in France. It constructs a monolithic image of "Third World Women" as an oppressed group characterized by its immobility. Women are thus doubly submissive and the men doubly "macho" in the countries of the South, and all are inarticulate, since d'Eaubonne references exclusively (with rare exceptions) Western authors to speak about them. The whiteness of the discourse thus maintains her discursive strategy, which consists of appropriating the exclusive power of naming. Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak was one of the first to identify this problem, or the impossibility of the subaltern to speak. Thus, each time there is a reference to Africa, to Latin America, or to Asia, it's to express a lack, a backwardness, or a failure; once more, these countries are rarely seen as birthplaces of feminism but rather as hotbeds of tragic sexism. (p. xxxii)
>
> The book ends up adopting racist tropes; for example, the use of the term "towelhead" regrettably tints each evocation of African women. By adopting a decolonial critique (although it didn't exist as such and by this name at the time), Françoise d'Eaubonne would have understood that what she calls "backwardness" (arriération) had nothing to do with an economic or cultural regression, but rather with what the economist Samir Amin conceptualized as dependency theory: "underdeveloped" countries are those whose economy was subject to colonizer states, which protected their internal markets and today control policy-making structures such as the World Trade Organization (WTO), the International Monetary Fund (IMF), and the World Bank. (p. xxvi)

In short, the problem here is less Firestone's and d'Eaubonne's beliefs that patriarchy caused racial oppression, and more their underestimation of white supremacy as a system of oppression that is central to the functioning of Gendered Oppression. Certainly, their lack of an intersectional approach is explained by the reality that they were writing years before the Cohambee River Collective *Statement* introduced early intersectionality into the field in 1977 (Firestone's work was seven years before and d'Eaubonne's three years). However, this does not

explain or justify their total oversight on white supremacy's impact on gender. More importantly, it does not explain or justify the moments of capitulation to racism in both author's texts.

2) Differences in Power, Privilege, and Oppression Between White Women and Women of Color

The second way in which Firestone and d'Eaubonne fell short in their analysis on race is that they did not distinguish the differences in power, privilege, and oppression between white women and women of color in the very manner of the Cohambee River Collective in 1977.

Within her analysis, d'Eaubonne neglected any sufficient demonstration of the racial privilege white women held. In fact, her analysis often embodied universalist positions that falsely assumed all women everywhere to be experiencing the same patriarchal oppression, an ethnocentric analysis that overapplied French white and Western perspectives to larger international scales, and essentialist conceptions that disregarded the power differentials that exist between differently racialized women. These beliefs were reminiscent of the dominant French feminisms of the time and were parts of an uncritical global sisterhood feminism that began to take force and continue to develop into the 1980s and 1990s across Western feminisms.

Firestone, too, vacillates between potential breakthroughs that lean towards helpful analysis (and solidarity) around race, only to have them swiftly hindered and undermined by prevailing white-centric approaches. For example, Firestone's engagement with the sexism and misogyny that Black women highlighted within the Black Power movement led her to make points which identified how being a "woman, a black, or an member of any other especially unfortunate class of society" put you in a "doubly unlucky" position (Firestone 1970/2003, p. 961). This is another extremely insightful point that touches on an early understanding of intersectionality, but one that was cut short, undeveloped, and overshadowed by Firestone's larger preoccupation with building an allyship of struggle between *all* women, regardless of their race and privilege. Consequently, Firestone's work stands as an example of feminist analysis that failed to differentiate levels of power and oppression between women, a point that the Combahee River Collective would present and critique seven years later.

Even though the Combahee River Collective did not specifically name Firestone (or any white feminist) within their statement, eventually other Black feminists would. In 2003, Black feminist scholar and American literary critic Hortense Spillers (2003) named Firestone's failure to differentiate varying experiences of "womanhood." Spillers also critiqued Firestone's universalizing of women (Spillers, 2003; Maglaque, 2020; Lewis, 2021), and explicitly condemned Firestone's inability to see the patriarchy's disproportionate burdens between black and white women. Even though Firestone does focus on the abolitionist movement, Spillers emphasizes that Firestone misses the weight of the history of American slavery's relationship to capitalism, and the specific exploitation and subordination of enslaved Black women within this relationship (Hortense, 2003).

Although, fundamentally, Firestone (1970/2003) was attempting to "confirm what everyone has known all along: that sex and racism are intricately interwoven" (Location 1590) without the tools of a developed intersectionality, her thought process slid into a hegemonic narrative of sexism being more powerful and dominant than racism. In turn, Firestone (1970/2003) over-

essentializes women when making statements such as: “Women were the slave class that maintained the species in order to free the other half for the business of the world” (Location 3072). This is a statement that exists within a vacuum when void of the geographical and material histories of varying people whose reproductive labor and bodies were differently impacted depending on their class, racial, and sexual situated positionality.[32] As a result, Firestone is ill-equipped to explain a full and accurate picture of Gendered Systemic Oppression.

3) Universalist and Euro-centric Approaches to the Oppression of Reproductive Bodies

The third way in which Firestone and d’Eaubonne failed on race was their universalist and white-centered approach to the structural oppression of reproductive bodies. Both Firestone and d’Eaubonne were activists living and writing in the apex of the struggle for abortion rights in the West. Each made significant contributions to reproductive rights activism in their relative countries, a subject that also took center stage in their work. Yet, their articulation of the oppression of reproductive bodies within their writing is completely subverted by an important critical factor — their central Ecofeminist thesis.

Firestone sought to illustrate how racism, classism, *and* the emergent crisis of ecological destruction stem from a heteronormative sexual class system, which was a promising thread in her thinking. Yet, the flaw in Firestone’s (1970/2003) central argument lies in her assertion that patriarchal control of sexual reproduction has caused global overpopulation and natural resource depletion, ultimately devaluing her entire chain of thought:

> What are some of the concerns of ecology that are of direct interest to the feminist movement? I shall discuss briefly two issues of the new ecology that particularly pertain to the new feminism: reproduction and its control, including the population crisis and methods of fertility control; and cybernation, the full takeover by machines of increasingly complex functions, altering man’s age-old relation to work and wages. (Location 2922)[33]

d’Eaubonne’s central argument for linking women and ecology closely resembles Firestone’s. Both posit that the patriarchy, the male system, and male supremacy are rooted in the historical control of reproductive bodies, resulting in unsustainable population growth and heinous environmental destruction. They both contend that if women had autonomy over their reproductive capacities, environmental destruction would have been averted. d'Eaubonne (1974/2002) explains her line of thought as “simple”:

> Practically everyone knows that the two most immediate threats of death today are overpopulation and the destruction of natural resources; fewer are aware of the entire responsibility of the male system—the system as male (and not capitalist or socialist)—in creating these two perilous situations; but very few have yet discovered that each one of

[32] Chapter 4 on the Androcene addresses this issue by providing three separate histories of enslaved African-American women in the construction and industrialization of America, Indigenous Women in the colonization of North America, and Western European women during the rise of mercantile capitalism and the enclosure of the commons.

[33] Firestone had a particularly novel pro-technological position that foreshadowed some Science and Technology Studies (STS)-focused feminisms. Donna Haraway’s theorizing on feminist cyborgs comes particularly to mind.

> the two menaces is the logical outcome of one of the two parallel discoveries that gave power to men fifty centuries ago: reproduction, and their capability of sowing the earth as they do women. (p. 194)

The arising environmental crises that occupy both authors were overwhelmingly lodged within a burgeoning body of overpopulation literature, a subject that admittedly captivated them both.[34] Although overpopulation arguments at the time were much less critiqued and evaluated in academia, there were critical discourses circulating in militant anti-racist movements on the issue. The Black Power Movement, the Third World Liberation Front, and the American Indian Movement (AIM), were all very vocal about the oppressive prohibition of racialized peoples producing children freely. These groups publicly denounced the imposition of contraceptives onto racialized communities and the nonconsensual sterilization of Indigenous women that were ongoing in the 1960s and 1970s, with cases still existing in the world today.

Firestone, in particular, was sensitive to these discourses. For example, she affirms how:

> It is true that capitalist imperialist governments are only too glad to dispense birth control devices to the Third World or to Blacks and the poor in the US (particularly welfare mothers, who are often made into guinea pigs for the latest experiments), while at home they think nothing of giving a man a ten-year jail sentence for dispending Emko Foam to a young, white, unmarried coed. (Firestone, 1970/2003, Location 2962)

She also simultaneously supported Black feminist arguments that pushed back against the restriction and prohibition of contraceptives within parts of the Black Power Movement. However, she ultimately conflated these important critiques made by Black feminists with uncritical overpopulation arguments that were overwhelmingly white-centric and racist. For instance, she states: "attempts to control population are not only Third World Suppression in disguise" (Firestone, 1970/2003, Location 2963). In this, Firestone saw a "general failure of vision on the Left to see beneath the evil uses of birth control to a genuine ecological problem which no number of fancy arguments and bogey statistics can erase" (Location 2962). In all of this critical posturing, it is lamentable to see a glaring blind spot as Firestone overlooks what we know today: environmental destruction is not caused by overpopulation, particularly when examining the excessive consumption and production of greenhouse gas emissions, which are predominantly generated by and for the global north (Gorecki, 2022; Sultana, 2022). d'Eaubonne shares the same oversight; consequently, their linking of gender and the environment— that the

[34] Firestone was particularly influenced by Lincoln H. Day and Alice Taylor Day's *Too Many Americans* (1964), alongside William & Paul Paddock's *Famine*: *America's Decision, Who will Survive?* (1975) and Paul R. Ehrlich's *The Population Bomb* (1968) (Firestone, 1970/2003, Location 2938). d'Eaubonne was impacted by events like the 1974 UN World Conference on Population, an event which she attended and for which she organized a birth strike alongside the *Mouvement Écologie-Féminisme Révolutionnarie* (The Ecology-Feminism Revolutionary Movement) (Bahaffou & Gorecki, 2022; Goldblum, 2019). d'Eaubonne also refers to Elizabeth Draper's *Birth Control in the Modern World: The Role of the Individual in Population Control* (1965) and Chilean researcher's Therese Guinchard's *Le macho et les Sud-Américaines: le mythe de la virilité* (*South American Women: The Myth of Virility)* (1972). In regards to the latter, despite the book's subtitle, unfortunately d'Eaubonne primarily uses it to spotlight the subordination of South American women. And despite d'Eaubonne explicitly stating that the blame does not lie with the "third world" as it was formerly called, she does, to some extent, use Malthusian logic (Malthus & Gilbert, 1798/1999) which is embedded in racist and colonial reasoning, to bolster her Ecofeminist overpopulation argument.

male system's control of reproductive bodies is the main culprit of overpopulation— ironically reads as one of their biggest blunders for critical Ecological Feminists today.

In the decades since both authors put forth this argument, incisive ecological and feminist scholarship underscores the problematics with over-equating overpopulation with the environmental and climate crisis. In particular, such an oversight as d'Eaubonne and Firestone reveals a simplistic discourse laden with implications for reproductive justice, particularly impacting communities in the South (Sultana, 2022; Sasser, 2018). Moreover, this discourse is anchored in overtly racist and colonial theoretical foundations that provided the methodologies and support for the study and implementation of the genetic science of eugenics (Sasser, 2018). Professor of Gender and Sexuality Studies Jade Sasser explains how Malthusian concepts directly shaped the contentious realm of eugenics. Sasser highlights that decades after the publication of *Origin of the Species* (1859) Charles Darwin felt inspired by the writings of Thomas Robert Malthus in contemplating how "'[in] the struggle for existence […the] favourable variations would tend to be preserved and unfavorable ones destroyed. The result of this would be the formation of new species'" (Sasser, 2018, p. 54). Sasser's archival reading elaborates how Darwin's anthropologist cousin Sir Francis Galton, drawing from Darwin, invented the term "'eugenics,' which means 'good or well born' in Greek, a word that well represented a science of 'improving stock'" (p. 54). Sasser shows how Galton posited a selective human breeding, which influenced "'innate'", "'moral'", "'intellectual'", and "'physical'" "'faculties'" (Galton's words, not Sasser's) for the purpose of producing what he grotesquely perceived would be a "superior" race (or "stock" as he put it) of people. In turn, Firestone and d'Eaubonne's overpopulation argument unthoughtfully yields to some of worst white supremacist reasoning in the history of ecological thought, only further compounding the white universalizing logic that ends up underpinning their entire analytical framework.

This brings us to our final example of Firestone's and d'Eaubonne's universalist and white-centered approaches to the structural oppression of reproductive bodies, a perspective on pregnancy that is predominantly articulated by Firestone. Firestone believed that "pregnancy is barbaric—" a perverse, painful, damaging, and grotesque "deformation" and exploitation of the body by the patriarchy "for the sake of the species" (Firestone, 1970/2003, Location 3008).[35] Although a provocative thought on many levels, I focus primarily on Firestone's white-centric and universalist engagement of this statement, hinged on her inability to distinguish or recognize systemic disparities between differently racialized women (Spiller, 2003; Maglaque, 2020). Historian Erin Maglaque (2020) succinctly describes the Black feminist critique on the issue that came decades after Firestone's publication:

> Firestone's "barbaric" vision of pregnancy isn't theoretical for black parents. Black women are five times more likely to die in childbirth than white women in the UK; in the US, black newborns are three times more likely to die than white infants when "looked after" by a white doctor. Black feminists have long argued that centuries of systemic racism shaped black motherhood into an inherently radical act with its own distinct

[35] These beliefs are followed by Firestone's complete rejection of the "hippie," "back to nature," "ancient value of motherhood," character of "the cult of natural childbirth" (as Firestone called it) trend of the times (Firestone, 1970/2003, Location 3008). For Firestone, "The cult of natural childbirth itself tells us how far we've come from true oneness with nature" (Firestone, 1970/2003, Location 3008).

> history. Alexis Pauline Gumbs, for example, argues that black motherhood is "some of the most subversive work in the world", as black mothers "nurture the lives of those children who are not supposed to exist". And while white feminists of the 1970s largely ignored the place of children in the revolution, non-white activists saw children as critical to collective liberation. As the interracial couple Mary Peña and Barbara Carey wrote in 1979, children "will not belong to the patriarchy. They will not belong to us either. They will belong only to themselves."

Firestone's universalization of white pregnancy invisibilizes the histories of systemic oppression affecting diverse reproductive bodies. As I argue in Chapter 4 , these histories are essential to the emergence of industrial capitalism that molded and spurred the hyper-extractive neoliberal capitalism that dictates today's global economy. For instance, the history of the Black enslaved woman's body was subjugated and exploited for labor on the plantation. Additionally, it was used as a means of producing more enslaved laborers through childbirth, powering the system of slavery that built America and fueling the new global capitalism (Davis, 1983; Mckittrick, 2013; Hartman, 2021). This history is indispensable to Firestone's investigation but is completely neglected. When neglected, the history invisibilizes the long-lasting detrimental impacts that American industrialization and capitalism has had on gender and the Black family during and after American slavery (Davis, 1983; Angela Davis & Fania Davis, 1986; Mckittrick, 2013, Hartman, 2021),

Additionally, this universalization invisibilizes the pivotal history of Indigenous women's role in the colonization of America and the catastrophic impacts that the patriarchal nuclear family has had on the extended family models of various Indigenous peoples (Anderson, 2001; Harper, 2009; Anderson, 2010; Tsosie, 2010), a subject taken up in Chapter 2.

Firestone's failure to see the differentiation of patriarchal oppression between these varying reproductive bodies results in a universalism of white pregnancy that is ruinous to her systemic gender critique. It leaves her naïve to the differentiation that is inherent to the specific material histories and geographical boundaries and borders of gendered structures themselves, as I expand on in Chapter 3.[36] In contrast, Chapter 4 focuses on the differentiated histories ignored by Firestone, emphasizing their cruciality to the rise of a climate-destroying capitalism. It does so by presenting three distinct histories of different groups of women fundamental to the historical intersection of ecological and Gender Oppression: enslaved African-American women in the construction and industrialization of America, Indigenous women in the colonization of North America, in addition to Western European women during the rise of mercantile capitalism and the enclosure of the commons. Tracing the differential oppressions, but also liberties, of these groups of women through historically specific, intersectional, and place-based analyses is what allows us to then pinpoint the overarching structures responsible for our shared subordination, and common resistance to, transnational ecological gendered structural oppression. Lastly, Firestone's approach leaves us with no accounts of the powerful resistance of Indigenous and Black enslaved women to these fundamental histories of patriarchy, nor do we see any elaboration of either historical or current qualities of power, dignity, richness of culture, and

[36] The specificities and proportions in how differently racialized, classed, and gendered women and their bodies across the world have been impacted for the development of the current global capitalism are, in fact, innumerable, as explained in Chapter 3.

personal lives that obviously also make up the much more complex disposition of marginalized women—a subject that is taken up through the writing of Audre Lorde's in chapter 2.
In summary, even though it wasn't possible for Firestone and d'Eaubonne to generate intersectional analysis before the term "interlocking" was introduced by the Combahee River Collective, and before the term intersectionality itself was introduced, the reality still remains that their analysis is inaccurate, incomplete, and white-centered because (1) they did not have the understanding of systemic racism's role in the Gendered Oppression of varying women; (2) they did not have a comprehensive view of the power differentials experienced between different women, which was dependent on every women's level of class and racial subordination or privilege); (3) and they adopted a monolithic universalist Eurocentric perspective on the systemic oppression of reproductive bodies to formulate their central Ecological Feminist argument.
Now that we've outlined the ecological side of the gap, let's move to the intersectional side of the gap.

The Intersectional Side of the Gap

The second paradigmatic shift which named race as a structure within feminist understandings of systems of oppression did not engage the domination of ecology. In the preceding section I scrutinized the ecological side of the gap, exposing its deficiencies in addressing racial oppression's interlinked relationship to Gendered Systemic Oppression. I originally intended to elaborate on the lack of ecological oppression on intersectional side of the gap here. However, as I unraveled the subject it became clear that this absence of ecology was much more complex and revealing to the entirety of this dissertation, warranting its own chapter of analysis, which now comprises Chapter 2. Nonetheless, it is important to provide a brief summary of the intersectional side of the gap here, since it is half of the reason which makes up the proposal of The Racial Capitalist Climate Patriarchy, which is introduced at the end of this chapter.

The Disproportionate Burdens of Climate Change on Gender Worldwide

That climate change is disproportionately impacting women, and, overwhelmingly, Indigenous and global southern women, is revelatory to the canonical feminist literature on Gendered Systemic Oppression reviewed within this chapter. This foundational literature of the 1970s predates the significant findings on climate change and gender of the 1990s. Yet, this literature serves as a baseline theory for interrogating the deepest root causes of structural gender bias in climate change. In short, the root causes of climate change's heavier burdens on gender worldwide has yet to be sufficiently explored through the foundational literature.

This section introduces the disproportionate burdens of climate change on gender-marginalized people worldwide in order to bring it into dialogue with the foundational literature of Gendered Systemic Oppression. I do this because I posit that the formative theories of Gendered Systemic Oppression on both sides of the gap—paradigmatic shift one (Ecological Feminisms) and shift two (Intersectional Feminism)—are indispensable to comprehending how and why women and gender-marginalized people are bearing the brunt of climate change's detrimental effects. This point is expanded on in the next section through the introduction of The Racial Capitalist Climate Patriarchy. Simultaneously, revisiting the foundational literature within the context of the ongoing and intensifying global phenomenon of climate change's uneven burdens on gender-marginalized people also sheds critical new light on older and unresolved questions regarding Gendered Systemic Oppression.

Women are carrying the heavier impacts and burdens of climate change related to natural catastrophes, including floods, droughts, landslides, increasing degradation of biodiversity and ecosystems, polluted and strained water resources, rising infectious diseases, and respiratory health problems (Agarwal, 1992; Bullard, 1993; Braidotti, 1994; UNDP, 1995; Taylor, 1997; Enarson, 2000; Masika, 2002; Denton, 2002; Dankelman, 2002; Lambrou & Piana, 2006; UNDP Gender and Climate Change, 2009; Sherilyn MacGregor G&E Reader, 2017; Sen Roy, 2018). Increased work burdens, geographical displacement, rising levels of sexual violence, escalating levels of poverty, homelessness, and bodily and mental harm are key ways in which climate change is disproportionately impacting women around the world (UN WomenWatch, 2009; UNDP, 1995; UNFPA & WEDO, 2009; UNDP, 1996; UNDP, 2014; WECAN, 2015).

Indeed, globally, women and children are 14 times more likely than men to die during climate change related disasters (UN Women, 2018). Indigenous women, global southern women, women of color, and gender-marginalized people in the global north carry the majority of the heaviest burdens of climate change.

Women in the Global South. In close to two-thirds of global southern countries, women who are primarily responsible for fetching water for families need to walk longer distances because of prolonged and more intense droughts caused by resource depletion and deforestation (Danklemen, 2010; Nagel, 2016; Sen Roy, 2018, p. 7) women are also responsible for finding fuel wood so they can cook and heat homes for their households and communities (Danklemen, 2010; Nagel, 2016; Sen Roy, 2018, p. 7). It is for this reason that women and girls die at higher rates, and, more commonly, get eye and respiratory health problems from cooking over indoor wood stoves, often while burning toxic materials for fuel when there are shortages of firewood. In Asia, 80% of rural women are impacted by a shortage of firewood (Terry, 2009; Nagel, 2016; Sen Roy, 2018, p. 7). In addition, longer walking distances to find staple community resources has exposed women to hotter and dangerous temperatures, bodily injuries, and increased exposure to physical and sexual violence when returning home in the dark at much later hours because they cannot deliver on their responsibilities (Danklemen, 2010; Nagel, 2016; Sen Roy, 2018, p. 6).

Women account for more than 60% of the agricultural workforce in certain countries (FAO, 2011; UNECA, 1972; World Bank et al., 2008) This statistic has also sometimes been used across literature to support the point that women feed the world, and thus the detrimental impacts of climate change on agriculture and food production across the world is most heavily burdening women. However, more recent research has shown that the data used to support this point has been complicated and insufficient (Doss et al., 2018, pp. 70–71; FAO, 2011). In 2011, the FAO explained: “It is commonly claimed that women perform 60-80 percent of the agricultural labour in developing countries (FAO, 2011; UNECA, 1972; World Bank et al., 2008). (The evidence from time-use surveys and agricultural labour-force statistics does not support this general statement, although women do comprise over 60% of the agricultural labour force in some countries” (FAO, 2011, p. 10).

Additionally, according to OXFAM International:

> "About 80 percent of the world's food is produced by small-scale farming. Women make up on average 43 percent of this agricultural labor in developing countries. They are the majority in some countries. In South Asia, more than two thirds of employed women work in agriculture. In eastern Africa, over half of farmers are women."

Development economist Cheryl R. Doss avers that "while women are not the majority of agricultural workers, the agricultural sector is important for women: 48% of the economically active women in the world- and 79% in developing countries – report that their primary activity is agriculture" (Doss, 2014, p. 19). These newer statistics only further demonstrate the disproportionate agricultural responsibilities that women already hold in society. As Doss puts it, "women are doing everything, how could they also possibly produce the world's food." Doss and colleagues double down on this point when stating "if women really were producing most of the world's food, they would be miracle workers" (Doss, 2018, p. 71).

Indigenous Women. Climate change-induced disruptions, such as erratic weather patterns, changing ecosystems and loss of biodiversity, directly undermine the livelihoods of Indigenous women across the globe because Indigenous women too often bear the primary responsibility for securing water, food and fuel for their families (International Labour Organization, 2017; Vinyeta et al., 2015; Whyte, 2014).

Additional climate-driven crises like deforestation and water scarcity also result in heightened workload and health risks (IPCC, 2015). Increased prevalence of waterborne diseases, heath-related illnesses, and food insecurity disproportionately affect their well-being (Jung & Skinner, 2017).

Indigenous women are also widely considered to be the custodians of the earth due to their ongoing and traditional societal ecological epistemic knowledge that enables them to use the land for food, as already mentioned, but also medicine and for the spiritual health of the community, all integral social and political roles for which they are revered (WECAN, 2015).

However, rising sea levels, natural disasters, and environmental degradation frequently force Indigenous communities to relocate, disrupting cultural ties to ancestral land. Indigenous women experience heightened vulnerability to displacement, facing increased risks of violence, exploitation, and loss of cultural heritage especially when they are cut off from fulfilling their societal roles (Oswald-Spring, 2022; Vinyeta et al., 2015; Vũ & Tebtebba, 2011).

Despite their leading contributions to the global climate justice movement and environmental knowledge concerning climate adaptation and mitigation strategies, Indigenous women often face an additional marginalization in decision-making processes concerning climate change adaptation and mitigation. This results in climate harms continuing to overburden them through a lack of representation, which only perpetuates cycles of inequality and hampers efforts to address their specific needs (Maganga et al., 2021).

Disproportionate Impacts of Climate Change on Global Northern Women: Exceptions to the North/South Divide. Climate change disproportionately impacting people of marginalized genders does cross the North-South divide in some instances as well. Research collected in 2006 tells us that women die at higher rates than men during heatwaves in France (Fouillet et al., 2006). In 2012, the journal *Environmental Health* concluded that, during heat waves, more women died in Valencia, Paris, Rome, Munich, Milan, London, Budapest, Barcelona, and Athens (D'Ippoliti et al., 2010; Dunne, 2020). Elderly women between the ages of 75-84 with respiratory diseases were the most heavily impacted, and the fact that they were more socially isolated within these societies, and thus had no access to, or resisted seeking, help during these extreme heat events left them stranded and in danger (D'Ippoliti et al., 2010). However, this did not seem to be the case in Australia and the United States, where a 2014 study showed that men were more likely to die at higher rates during heat waves. Between 2006-2010, American men were 2.6 times more likely to die than women due to extreme weather events (Berko et al., 2014; Dunne, 2020).

Although these impacts are real and tragic, they also show that global northern women are not the first nor the worst impacted by climate change. At this moment of the climate crisis, they do not face the same level of burdens nor the long list of climate impacts that Indigenous or Southern women face.

What the empirical data above shows us is that climate change has compounded women's already existing structural inequalities. According to much of the global statistical literature and studies provided in development literature and by the UN, the already existing inequalities that women experience are mostly explained by women's poverty and homelessness. Out of the 1.5 billion people living on $1 per day or less, are women (Sen Roy, 2018, p. 6). Moreover, a monumental 2018 UN Women report confirmed, at much more nuanced levels than ever before, that women make up a majority of the world's poor.[37] This "feminization of poverty," as it has been named, is in relation to women having less political rights, holding more responsibility for unpaid and unvalued gendered reproductive and care work, owning less private property and land, and being vulnerable to personal and systemic gendered violence, which is compounded in moments of societal crisis, including all those that come with the climate crisis (Affairs, 2020).

The disproportionate burdens of climate change on gender, race, and class across the globe is not a coincidence, nor is it some sort of global patriarchal plot (Mohanty, 1988).[38] It is the result of an overarching global structure. Earlier on, this chapter laid out the varying theories that have contributed to outlining the contours of this global structure. From the Capitalist Patriarchy to the White Supremacist Imperialist Capitalist Patriarchy, naming the interlinking disposition of multiple systems of oppression, while locating their historical and original root starting points is considered a first step to dismantling these systems.

[37] Titled "Turning promises into action: Gender equality in the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development," this report addresses gender in relation to the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) (UN Women, 2018). By following patterns of what it takes for women and girls to reach SDG at regional and global levels, it identifies global patterns of women's vulnerability and inequality across the globe while suggesting implementation tools for gender-responsive policies.

[38] My utilization of "patriarchal plot" alludes to principal arguments by Chandra Mohanty in her formative "Under Western Eyes: Feminist Scholarship and Colonial Discourses" (1988).

Yet, to explain the root causes of the disproportionate burdens of climate change on especially Indigenous women and women of the global south, we need *both* the Black feminist, anti-racist foundations of Intersectional Feminism, and the critical Ecological Feminist perspectives that have integrated ecology as a central variable within systems of gendered oppression.

In tracing and returning to the moment that these two bodies of literature diverge, I insert the additional system of "Climate Oppression," into the advent language of "Racial" and "Capitalist Patriarchal" systemic oppression, developed and introduced by the authors and theories outlined within this chapter. The outcome of this insertion is "**The Racial Capitalist Climate Patriarchy**"—an all-encompassing theoretical starting point when naming the root causes of the disproportionate burdens of climate change on gender.

Conclusion

Closing the Gap: The Racial Capitalist Climate Patriarchy

The Racial Capitalist Climate Patriarchy tends to the gap identified in the inaugural literature by proposing a new starting point to naming the forces at the root of Gendered Systemic Oppression. This more all-encompassing theoretical framework is needed to address the evolution of climate change's role in Gendered Systemic Oppression, while also elucidating how the foundational Intersectional feminist tradition is requisite for explaining the root causes of gendered climate oppression.

The Racial Capitalist Climate Patriarchy is a transnational socio-political economic structure. It can be defined as a woman-devaluing, global earth-commodifying system that has been historically uplifted and sustained through colonialism, imperialism, and an imposition of dominant cis-hetero family models and subjectivities. The transnationality of the Racial Capitalist Climate Patriarchy is established in post-colonial and Transnational Feminisms that developed in the mid-1990s, a trajectory which is taken up in Chapter 3. Within this transnational structure also exists a multiplicity of Racial Capitalist Climate Patriarch*ies.* Thus, it is a plethora of place-based or localized manifestations of the global Racial Capitalist Climate Patriarchal system, a point which will be further elucidated with ethnographic case studies in Chapter 2.

I use the term Racial as a distinct reference to the Combahee River Collective and their landmark contribution of structural racism as an inseparable tenet of Gendered Systemic Oppression. Racism is one of the primary structures within feminist systems of oppression theory.[39]

The terms Capitalist and Patriarchy are explicit allusions to Eisenstein's (1979) "Capitalist Patriarchy." If we revisit part of Eisenstein's definition of the Capitalist Patriarchy, previously cited, we can see how The Racial Capitalist Patriarchy is anchored within canonical theory. According to Eisenstein (1979), "Power—or the converse, oppression—derives from sex, race, and class, and this is manifested through both the material and ideological dimensions of

[39] My usage of Racial here is a strong nod to Cedric Robinson's Racial Capitalism which appeared in 1983, but also to W.E.B Du Bois, Oliver Cromwell Cox, and Frantz Fanon whose groundbreaking works laid the foundation to understanding the interdependent relationship between racial oppression and global capitalism decades earlier (Cox & Rouček, 1948/1970; Du Bois, 1935/2007; Fanon, 2021; Robinson, 1983).

patriarchy, racism, and capitalism" (Eisenstein, 1979, p. 23). The Racial Capitalist Climate Patriarchy adds the Naturism/Environmentalism to Eisenstein's list of isms.

Thus, in the framework of The Racial Capitalist Climate Patriarchy, Eisenstein's explanation of oppression would derive from "sex, race, and class" and the **environment.** The framework, then, centers environmental oppression. It is a **Climate Oppression** that is imbricated with the hierarchical relations of gendered and racial divisions of labor and society, which is inextricably bound to an oppressive relationship with nature and the land.

Following in the footsteps of these feminist systems thinkers and the revolutionary literature that came before them, I believe it is fundamental to name Climate Oppression as a root system of oppression, inseparably interlocked with the others. The Racial Capitalist Climate Patriarchy is an elemental system of domination within the global capitalist structure.

The word Climate in Racial Capitalist Climate Patriarchy refers to the climate crisis.
I use the term climate to infuse the foundational literature and concepts with the current urgency of the climate emergency and its uneven burdens on gender. The Climate here is also synonymous with the destruction of nature, the environment, and ecology.

Climate Oppression is extractive and ecocidal.[40] It treats women and marginalized peoples in the same way that it treats the earth. The Climate in Racial Capitalist Climate Patriarchy brings visibility to how racial, gendered, and classed systems of oppressions are also interdependently entangled with extractivism— the operation of endlessly extracting finite natural resources to fuel the international neoliberal markets. We know that at the crux of these extractive industries sit Indigenous women, global southern women, women of color in the global north, and trans and gender non-conforming people. But how did they end up there? What are the root causes of this women- and nature-hating system? The Racial Capitalist Climate Patriarchy looks for the root causes behind climate change's gender discrimination and finds it in reoccurring historical trends of capitalistic subordination of women's ecological and land-based *labor, power, bodies,* and *epistemologies* across the globe.

The Racial Capitalist Climate Patriarchy names these trends of historical structural modes of gendered subordination while simultaneously emphasizing how the Gendered Systemic Oppression of labor power, bodies, and epistemologies is intersectional and impacts varying women differently.[41] This requires an intersectional Ecological Feminist reading of the historical root causes of why climate change is unequally burdening women and gender-marginalized people that are Indigenous and of the global south. A project like this one feels ceaseless, especially if taken within the transnational and decolonial feminist methodologies that The Racial Capitalist Patriarchy employs in later chapters. These chapters marry structural feminist analysis to specific place-based, materialist histories of Gendered Systemic Oppression as an

[40] *Ecocide* in its etymology most accurately describes capitalism's extractive relationship to the Earth— eco is for ecology, which means home, and cide means the act of killing or something or someone that kills (Crist, 2013). Ecocide thus means the killing of our most rudimentary home, meaning the earth, the land we inhabit, and the natural environment that sustains us, that sustains life.

[41] Here, The Racial Capitalist Climate Patriarchy becomes informed and molded by transnational and decolonial feminist theories, which are unraveled in Chapters 3 and 4.

analytical tool so as not to reproduce monolithic, universal, and hegemonizing understandings of any groups or groups of women or people. I see this approach as an invitation to feminist researchers everywhere to start mapping the boundless place-based histories of specific gender-marginalized peoples that are on the frontlines of climate change's unbalanced impacts today.

Chapter 2
The Other Side of the Gap: Intersectional Feminist Ecologies

"I wondered why I had not previously known about this calamitous intersection of racial capitalism and systemic assaults on the environment, including its human expressions […] I also found myself overtaken by waves of self-criticism regarding earlier encounters with ways of understanding intersections between antiracism and environmental consciousness."
—Angela Davis, forward to Malcom Ferdinand's *Decolonial Ecologies* (Ferdinand, 2019/2021, pp.xiv-xv)

Chapter 1 revisited the foundational literature on Gendered Systemic Oppression to tend to the links between today's climate emergency and its disproportionate burdens on people of marginalized genders across the globe. There, I identified two paradigmatic shifts that are fundamental to climate change's structural impact on gender today. The first paradigmatic shift was put forth by original Ecological Feminist theories, which incorporated the domination of ecology as part of Gendered Systemic Oppression but fell short on race. The second paradigmatic shift is an early form of intersectionality that showed structural racism to be "interlocked" with gendered and class oppression but did not elaborate on the domination of the environment (The Combahee River Collective, 1977/1979, p. 362).

The inception of these two paradigmatic shifts occurred on parallel tracks without converging, thus creating a gap in the foundations of the literature. The previous chapter, therefore, traced the ecological side of the gap and laid out its problematic shortcomings on race. It also traced the intersectional side of the gap but did not detail the absence of the domination of nature within the foundational feminist anti-racist writings on systems of oppression. This chapter, then, takes up where Chapter 1 left off: explaining this absence. In this chapter's epigraph, Angela Davis expresses wonder over, and "self-criticism" about, the perceived gaps in knowledge surrounding these two shifts, indicating a recent awareness of the importance of this absence.

To start, it is important to re-emphasize that it is not just intersectional literature on Gendered Systemic Oppression that did not incorporate the subordination of ecology. Ecology is overwhelmingly absent from much of the initial literature concerning gendered oppression, with the exception of Firestone and d'Eaubonne who were deficient on race. However, the examination of why the early stages of intersectional literature specifically did not integrate ecology into an analysis of Gendered Systemic Oppression is highly illuminating to the entirety of this dissertation and is the central occupation of Chapter 2.

There are, therefore, three parts to this chapter. In Part I, I trace the genesis of the intersectional side of the gap through a letter written by Audre Lorde to Mary Daly in 1979— an unusually early and vital intersectional critique of Ecofeminist notions regarding Gendered Systemic Oppression. Leveraging Lorde's letter at the gap's outset, I argue that this unique document becomes a prototype for 50 years of ensuing Intersectional Ecological critiques of Ecofeminism, led by Black feminist scholars who articulate the need and value of Ecofeminism but emphasize how it remained stunted by its own white-centricity. In my comparison of Lorde's letter to Intersectional Ecological Feminist writings, I extrapolate four enduring critiques of Ecofeminism

that act as cardinal principles to producing needed and useful Ecological Feminisms for all women by steering clear of reproducing white feminist analyses.

In Part II, I identify three post-inaugural Ecofeminist works of systemic oppression that did acknowledge and incorporate the significant concerns about race and racism articulated in Part I. While not the inaugural Ecofeminist works that define the ecological side of the gap, these texts form foundational pillars within Ecofeminism that align with Lorde's four cardinal points, contributing substantially to our understanding of The Racial Capitalist Climate Patriarchy.

Part III discusses the intersection of Ecological Feminism and Intersectional Feminist perspectives, emphasizing the ongoing critique of Ecofeminism's white legacy. It argues that the foundational literature in both Ecological Feminism and intersectionality needs revisiting to create a stronger understanding of the structural gender discrimination contributing to climate change impacts.

In Part IV, I explore the intersection of gender and ecology outside of academia, tracing gaps in scholarship and presenting early examples of women-led ecological resistance and activism on the ground. Here, I emphasize the vital leadership and innovation of global southern, Indigenous, and racialized women, as well as gender-marginalized activists, who serve as the original agents with a deep understanding and knowledge of the interconnectedness of gender and ecology. This section also argues for a nuanced approach in incorporating historical examples into Ecological Feminist thinking, cautioning against tokenism or erasure of non-white women's contributions.

PART I
Audre Lorde's Letter to Ecofeminists: Black Ecological Feminism and the Intersectional Side of the Gap

The starting point to the ecological side of the gap resides with Firestone and d'Eaubonne. As argued in Chapter 1, these authors disregarded the importance of racial oppression within their understanding of Gendered Systemic Oppression in three fundamental ways. First, they overlooked race as a system that determined gendered oppression. Second, they did not differentiate levels of power between disparate women. Third, they offered an important analysis of the oppression of reproductive bodies that, unfortunately, is overshadowed by a white-centric and universalist approach.

Yet when it comes to the intersectional side of the gap, the subject of the oppression of nature and the engagement of Firestone or d'Eaubonne (or any Ecological Feminist text for that matter), seems almost non-existent. *Almost*. There is one example that I argue is a powerful keystone to understanding the establishment of the intersectional side of the gap: a personal letter from Black feminist Audre Lorde to Ecofeminist Mary Daly.

Here, I pinpoint Lorde's letter to Daly as the earliest found interaction across the gap— an intersectional critique of an Ecofeminist understanding of Gendered Systemic Oppression. In turn, I use Lorde's letter and its unique appearance at the inception of the gap, as an indispensable source shedding light on the absence of ecological oppression within foundational Intersectional Feminist literature.

With this line of thinking, what emerges is Lorde's desire for Ecological Feminist analysis hindered by her concerns surrounding Daly's white feminist perspectives handling of ecological topics. I contrast these concerns with later evaluations of Ecofeminism by Intersectional Ecological Feminists that gained momentum in the 1990s and by those emerging in today's context. In turn, Lorde's letter explains the establishment of the intersectional side of the gap, while subsequent Intersectional Ecological Feminist critiques that follow decades later highlight ongoing deficiencies within the ecological aspect of the gap. Through this comparison, I identify four main recurring criticisms of Ecofeminism that have persisted since 1979 and leverage them as a guideline to follow when developing Ecological Feminisms that avoid reproducing oppressive white feminist analysis.

"Dear Mary": The Letter at the Crux of the Gap

"Dear Mary, With a moment of space in this wild and bloody spring, I want to speak the words I have had in mind for you" (Daly, 1990, p. 38). This letter is one of the earliest and only written encounters we have of any feminist engaging with one of the first Ecological Feminist texts. Written in 1979 by the eminent Black feminist poet and scholar, Audre Lorde, to radical feminist lesbian, theologian, and Ecological Feminist philosopher, Mary Daly, it is titled "An Open Letter to Mary Daly." This letter is particularly pertinent because Lorde is amongst the first and most influential systems of oppression thinkers on the intersectional side of the gap to critique one of the primary systemic Ecological Feminist works on the ecological side of the gap, namely, Daly's *Gyn/Ecology* (1978).[1]

The timing of the critique is also significant. As Chapter 1 emphasized, 1979 is a moment that advances new foundational understandings and language for Racial Capitalist Patriarchal Hetero structures that have come to underpin our comprehension of Gendered Systemic Oppression today, but, as this dissertation points out, leaves out the language of Ecological and Climate Oppression (Dalla Costa & James, 1975; Davis, 1981/2019; Dupont [Delphy], 1970; d'Eaubonne, 1974/2022; Eisenstein, 1979; Firestone, 1970/2003; Millet, 1970; The Combahee River Collective, 1977/1979; Vogel, 1983). Hence, 1979 also marks the theoretical spilt in the literature which forms the gap. In turn, I see Lorde's critique as the crux of the inception of the gap, which then brings forth The Racial Capitalist Climate Patriarchy, helping to explain what formed the cleavage from ground zero.

In her critique of Daly's work, Lorde does not seem to be critiquing Ecological Feminism *per se*. It is true that Lorde's letter to Daly comes nine years after Firestone's Ecological Feminist writings, and five years after d'Eaubonne's French publication; however, Ecological Feminisms were not yet concretely established as an academic field and had yet to garner any type of significant force.

My engagement of Lorde, however, does explicitly set forth her letter to Daly as an early critique of Ecofeminism that turns out to be a strikingly early (although probably unintended) template to reoccurring critiques of Ecofeminism that take force from the 1990s and again today.

[1] Just to be clear, Daly's *Gyn/Ecology* (1978)is one of the earliest Ecofeminist analysis of systems of oppressions and is also amongst the first explicitly Ecofeminist works in general, being published just five years after d'Eaubonne's *Feminism or Death* (1974).

In 1978, Mary Daly wrote *Gyn/Ecology: The Metaethics of Radical Feminism*. The book-credits d'Eaubonne as the inventor of the term Ecofeminism, while emphasizing that *Gyn/Ecology* shares the basic premise of d'Eaubonne's Ecofeminism.[2] More specifically, Daly offered an articulation of "women becoming," a spiritual and metaphysical voyage concerned with "mind/spirit/body pollution" caused by the patriarchy, and a reclaiming of women's ancient power from a radical lesbian feminist perspective (Daly, 1990, pp. 1, 9). Daly's book was particularly recognized for her study of the power of female goddesses and the ancient power of women, a subject that would become central within the branch of spiritual Ecofeminism.

Lorde's critique of this work, which would be published in her influential *Sister Outsider* (1984), begins on an affirming note. It starts by thanking Daly and expressing solidarity with the political struggles with which Daly is engaged. Lorde then proceeds to praise the overarching project of *Gyn/Ecology* that she finds "full of import, useful, generative and provoking" (Lorde, 1979/2017, p. 38). These words describe the value and potential that Lorde sees in Ecofeminism.[3]

After positive affirmations and expressions of hope for Daly's book, Lorde's letter takes a turn when she prefaces the purpose of her writing by saying that her concerns with Daly's work are "neither easy nor simple" (Lorde, 1979/2017, p. 39). Lorde continues: "The history of white women who are unable to hear Black women's words, or to maintain dialogue with us, is long and discouraging" (Lorde, 1979/2017, p. 39). Lorde's letter echoes the critiques of the Combahee River Collective and other anti-racist systems of oppression scholars identified in Chapter 1, specifically on the issue of white women not seeing and/or acknowledging the power differentials between themselves and other racialized women, or, what, today, we would refer to as, not being intersectional. In Chapter 1, I applied these foundational anti-racist critiques to the Ecological Feminist side of the gap to show how Firestone and d'Eaubonne overlooked systemic racism within their understanding of Gendered Systemic Oppression, how they did not incorporate or measure white women's privilege and power within their analysis, and how their analysis of the oppression of reproductive bodies was monolithic, universalist, and white centered. Here, I turn to Lorde's letter as both a continuation and poignant extension of the intersectional critiques applied to Firestone and d'Eaubonne in Chapter 1.

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[2] During a personal correspondence with prominent Ecofeminist Carol Adams, Adams shared that in her 1974 Feminist Ethics fall class taught by Daly, Daly already had a French copy of d'Eaubonne's *Feminism or Death* and was translating it to the class (Adams, personal communication, January 12-27, 2002). Adams confirmed this memory through her notes from the class, and by verifying with Ecological Feminist Jane Caputi, who has co-authored writing with Daly (Caputi, personal communication, January 29-May 19, 2022).

[3] She then goes on to express a desire to have met with Daly so that they could sit down and talk with one another, a meeting that specific versions of Lorde's published letter implies never took place (De Veaux, 2004, p. 38). Yet, according to Alexis De Veaux, biographer of Audre Lorde, and, in later years, Daly herself, Lorde and Daly did in fact meet. In addition, Daly did send Lorde a response letter four months after receiving Lorde's initial letter, even though Lorde circulated that she did not get a response from Daly. Daly's response letter, which is marked with Lorde's handwriting, was discovered decades after the fact by De Veaux in the Lorde's Collection held by Spelman College (De Veaux, 2004). I mention this from the outset to diffuse any confusion between the relational tensions between Lorde and Daly regarding their letter controversy, and the separate and distinct critique Lorde gives on the content of Daly's book. In short, Lorde's assessment of Daly's line of thought and the content of her work remain completely sound despite the letter dispute.

In what follows, I identify four key ideas from Lorde's critique. These ideas have been consistently echoed by established and emerging Intersectional Ecological Feminisms for almost 50 years and have stunted the value and potential that Intersectional Ecological Feminists articulate regarding Ecofeminism. To eliminate this inhibition in future scholarship, I therefore propose that we consider Lorde's four cardinal principals as a collective criteria that acts as a guideline toward eliminating the reproduction of white-centered Ecofeminist analysis and developing the valuable and needed Ecological Feminist theories of today.

Resonating Influence: Exploring Lorde's Four Cardinal Principals in Intersectional Ecological Feminism

1) Lorde's first point is a repetition of the Combahee River's Collective's central thesis. It describes Daly's failure in identifying and expanding differences between Black and white women's experiences, privilege, and power. In short, Lorde calls out Daly's non-intersectional approach.

In 1997, environmental sociologist Dorceta E. Taylor, recognized for her work on racism and environmental justice, makes a principal critique of Ecofeminism in her article, "Women of Color, Environmental Justice and Ecofeminism," (1997) which reaffirms Lorde's first point:

> The white women who consider themselves ecofeminist have founded, defined and shaped a movement that reflects their perceptions of reality, their experience and their cultural heritage. Consequently, it does not come as a surprise to most women of color that as it is currently conceived, ecofeminism does not adequately consider the experiences of women of color; neither does it fully understand or accept the difference between white women and women of color. (p. 62)

Like Lorde, Taylor articulates the critical value she sees in Ecofeminism. She explains:

> There is no question that ecofeminists broke new ground when they began arguing that the capitalist exploitation of resources was connected to the degradation of nature and women. They introduced a feminist perspective to traditional ways of perceiving and relating to the environment that was badly needed. (Taylor, 1997, p. 58)

For Lorde, Taylor, and many other Intersectional Ecological Feminists, the problem lies elsewhere. Taylor (1997) continues:

> However, despite the ecofeminists' success in getting gender issues and alternative critiques of the capitalist, patriarchal system into the environmental dialogue, they, like other environmentalists, have done little to bring the issues of central concern to women of color (and men of color) to the forefront of the environmental dialogue in a consistent and earnest way or to make such issues a central part of their agenda. (p. 58)

2) Lorde (1979/2017) brings attention to Daly's exclusion of powerful Black goddess figures like Afrekete, Mawulisa, Oyo, and Yemanje, and, in turn, the centering of white, Judeo-Christian and Western European ones (p. 39). Lorde explains that such an analysis could be justified by a methodological choice for a research scope focused on European history. However, Daly spoke

of non-European women only as victims (Lorde, 1979/2017, p. 41). In turn, Lorde implies that Daly's work is white-centered because it leaves out women of color histories, beyond sole examples of oppression, which brings us to the next point.

Black feminist Ecocritic and scholar Chelsea Mikael Frazier strongly echoes Lorde's sentiment in her "Black Feminist Ecological Thought: A Manifesto" (2022a),[4] where she emphasizes the exclusion of Black women's experiences and histories, and their rich production of art, writing, and scholarship. Frazier (2022a) explains:

> And while ecofeminism advanced a compelling critique of masculinist themes and principles in environmental discourse, those critiques were often rooted in white, Western feminist intellectual traditions. As a result, both fields implicitly privileged white, Western values over all others and have been very slow to perceive the existence and/or necessity of alternative strands of ecological thought — such as Black Feminist Ecological Thought. (p. 313)

Aligned with Lorde and Taylor, Frazier (2022a) communicates the importance of the concerns that women of color eco-centered scholars share with Ecofeminists. Then, she identifies the rightfully unsurmountable monolithic whiteness that continues to permeate parts of ecofeminism almost 50 years after Lorde first made her critique: "Ecocriticism and ecofeminism's alarming lack of diversity made it difficult for fields like Black Feminist Thought to find a collaborative rhythm, despite having many aligned priorities" (p. 313).

3) Lorde wonders whether Daly has read her work, or the works of any Black feminists, or whether Daly has just plucked citations from their texts for the mere purpose of supporting her own, white-centered arguments (Lorde, 1979/2017, p. 41). Here, we see Lorde's emphasis on the importance of genuinely reading and citing black women.

This point remains deeply germane within the larger field of feminism today. Yet, Ecofeminism has been specifically called out on this issue since its origins, and continues to be particularly biased toward North American scholarship. In turn, alternative fields have arisen in response to this critique. These alternative fields include: Ecowomanism, the more recent emergent pathways of Black Feminist Ecological Thought, and Black Women's Ecologies (Riley, 1993/2022; Harris 2017/ 2021; Ferrari, 2020; Frazier, 2022a). Ecowomanism, is the earlier and more established of these domains, and has articulated the limitations of white approaches to Ecofeminism. Instead, this field focuses on developing ecological scholarship from the positions and perspectives of women of color with a particular concentration on African American women. Shamara Shantu Riley's work is widely credited as the first contributor to the field. The article contributes pivotal analysis on environmental racism and its specific effects on African and African American women (Adams & Gruen, 2022, p. 25). Melanie L. Harris is another leading figure in developing Ecowomanism, authoring *Ecowomanism: African Women and Earth-Honoring Faiths (Ecology & Justice)* (2017), which offers historical and cultural accounts of the spiritual links between African American women and the environment. Black Feminist Ecological Thought is a much

[4] Frazier's title is a proposal for different branches of thought that challenge the white, hegemonic, Western Ecological literature overwhelmingly produced from economically privileged positionalities.

more recent field that brings ecological questions and analysis to the traditions of Black Feminism. The term emerged from a spontaneous sprouting of several neologisms on the subject, and is largely associated with Frazier. Black Women's Ecologies is another emerging neologism that is currently associated with Professor of English Carlyn Ferrari's short, but powerful article, "On Black Women's Ecologies" (2020). Ferrari (2020) explains how her writing on the term came during the COVID-19 shelter in place lockdown, while she was "still reeling from the California wildfires that left [her] community in ashes." She explains:

> Black women's ecologies guide us toward a more restorative relationship with the natural world, one that invites us to understand how environmental issues are Black community issues as well. This framework also enables us to push back against the myth of Black environmental apathy. Black women are—and have been—on the frontlines of climate change and environmental justice issues while the face of these movements remains largely white and male. Foregrounding Black women's ecological materialities is necessary because it is one of the many ways Black women theorize their oppression. And, indeed, "if Black women were free, it would mean that everyone else would have to be free." (Ferrari, 2020)

This influx of ecological fields introduces intersectional approaches to the topic from the perspective of women from African descent. Although many Intersectional Feminists maintain that there has been a lack of Ecofeminist writing by women of color due to environmentalism's particularly white legacy (Kinkaid, 1997; bell hooks, 2009), others argue that more could have been done to read black authors through an ecological lens (Frazier, 2022a; Ferrari, 2020). The specifics of these arguments are taken up below, in Part III, with a focus on the classic Intersectional Ecological work of Taylor, and the trailblazing emerging propositions of Black Ecological Feminist Thought and Black Women's Ecologies brought forward by Frazier and Ferrari.

4) Lorde emphasizes white feminists' widespread tendency to include African women, but only through examples of victimization. This point is illuminated through Lorde's attention to Daly's chapter on "African Genital Mutilation," known today as Female Genital Mutilation (FGM), an issue which Lorde agrees is crucial, but must be balanced with a fuller and more accurate analysis of African women's lives and histories. This would mean halting the hegemonizing victimization narratives of African women that deem them as powerless, agentless victims, and reproduce colonial essentializations around race. Lorde's victimization point is particularly pertinent to Ecological Feminisms today because of the deeply unequal burdens that environmental destruction has had, and continues to have, on women of color.

In the more recent proliferation of Intersectional Ecological Feminist scholarship, authors are reverberating Lorde's point almost half a century on. In her development of what she refers to as "Black Feminist Ecological Thought," Frazier (2022a) stands against the ongoing universalization of dominant white environmentalisms and affirms how Black women today and historically have never only been inactive victims to environmental destruction. She also warns against the "subtle ways that environmental harm and discourses around environmental harm tend to blame, neglect, or obscure Black women's complex relationships to themselves their families, and their environments" (Frazier, 2022a, p. 317). This pushback against the

victimization narratives of women of color, and the alternative emancipatory framings that are being proposed by Frazier, Adams, and others are further addressed in Chapter 4.

Thus far, we have seen how Lorde's letter acts as a microcosm to four primary concerns with Ecofeminism that have been articulated by Intersectional Ecological Feminists over the past decades. Yet these concerns also come with a common preamble of the value and the potential for Ecofeminism, if it considered all women. This may seem like an obvious and unquestionable necessity; however, it is also a simultaneously unresolved one, evidenced by the ongoing critiques of Ecofeminism as it re-emerges in the face of the climate emergency, and the recognition of the work that remains to be done to decolonize dominant Euro-centric methodologies of environmental and ecological approaches.

This dissertation intends to greet the critiques of Lorde as crucial guidelines towards a transnational Ecological Feminism for today. Importantly, this does not only involve listing where Ecofeminists went wrong, which is something that has already been done in scholarship. It also means paying attention to the cases where Ecofeminists got it right according to the standards and opinions of Intersectional Ecological Feminists who continue to echo Lorde.

PART II
Correcting Course: Early Ecofeminists That Got it Right

This section presents three early Ecofeminist theories of systemic oppression that were receptive to the monumental concerns around race and racism within feminism at the time. These are not the first Ecofeminist texts; however, they are foundational ones that come into existence in the 1980s and 1990s. They are also examples that have stood the test of time. This is not to say that they have not received critiques. The following examples continue to inform our understanding of transnational gender and climate oppression while also being employed and praised by Intersectional Ecological Feminists developing within the field today. More specifically, they fare well when viewed through the lens of Lorde's four points.

Just to be clear, I am in no way saying these are the only examples of Ecofeminist systemic theories that sufficiently incorporate race. There have been many Ecofeminist works since the 1980s that have considered race in significant and valuable ways and meet the very standards that laid out in this chapter. To identify all these works would be beyond the scope of this project. At the same time, the heritage of Ecofeminist texts that have integrated race is not black and white. There have been some texts that made important breakthroughs in race-focused Ecofeminism, paving paths forward to fuller Ecofeminist analysis, but their work today reads as less intersectional, because, at the time the work was written, intersectionality had not yet fully garnered force as an analytical tool. There are others that have benefited from the learning curve around race and gender in Ecofeminism and have addressed it more rigorously. Then there were those texts that simply remained siloed within white-centered analysis.

I propose the following three examples as benchmarks within the trajectory of Ecofeminism that shifted towards intersectionality as it was emerging: Carolyn Merchant's *The Death of Nature* (1980), Maria Mies's *Patriarchy and Accumulation on a World Scale* (1986), and Vandana

Shiva and Maria Mies's *Ecofeminism* (1993). These instances establish a sturdy groundwork, enabling us to anchor ourselves in the indispensable aspects of Ecofeminism highlighted by Intersectional Ecological Feminists.

Carolyn Merchant, *The Death of Nature* (1980)

The first example of an Ecofeminist theory sensitive to the groundbreaking debates around race when it comes to research on Europe is Ecofeminist, philosopher, and historian of science Carolyn Merchant's *The Death of Nature* (1980). *The Death of Nature*'s specific research scope of the Scientific Revolution in the 17th century strongly aligns with Lorde's points in the following ways: it recognizes the differences between different women and how systems of oppression impact them differently; and, it provides accounts and anecdotes of Indigenous power, knowledge and resistance, which create a more rigorous and robust analysis of women of color and eliminates any hegemonic victimization narratives within her work.

The Death of Nature is a historiography which uncovered how the European Scientific Revolution radically transformed Western Europe's relationship with the Earth. It identifies a paradigm shift between a pre-modern European understanding of Earth as animate, woman, and mother, to be honored and respected, to the modern worldview of an inanimate and material Earth to be "mastered," "bound," and "made a slave" for the progress of science, industrialization, and the "good of humankind" (Merchant, 1980/1985).

I find it important to start with an example that responds to Audre Lorde's focus on research scope to avoid any confusion between "research on Europe," on the one hand, and "Eurocentric research," on the other. Research on Europe's colonial, misogynistic, white supremacist, climate destroying history is needed. It is entirely distinguishable from Eurocentric approaches which depart from a European lens, uncritically centering an often pre-eminent Europe, while erasing everyone else. Lorde emphasizes this difference in her critique of Daly and, in turn, implies that the focus of Western European goddesses is not a problem if: (1) it does not make the Western goddess the universal goddess, (2) it does not ignore goddesses different from the European Goddess, and (3) it does not only engage race in victimizing ways (an articulation of Lorde's four points applied to the Western goddess). According to Lorde, the analysis of Western goddesses is important and needed, as mentioned earlier, but only if "de-linked"[5] from dominant Eurocentric histories and epistemologies (Amin, 1990; Quijano, 2000; Mignolo, 2007).

Despite the boundaries of Merchant's European research scope, she threads into her work the enormous impact that this European paradigmatic framework would have on, particularly, the Americas, the Indigenous peoples who live there, and their relationship to nature. Yet, Merchant does not cast Indigenous societies into a victimization narrative. Instead, she emphasizes the ecological cosmologies and societal structures of specific Indigenous communities in an admirable and non-totalizing way, including specific concepts of Mother Earth. Here, Merchant's incorporation of Indigenous examples avoids universalizing a European Mother Earth narrative which excludes or erases other transnational and primary narratives on the same

[5] In decolonial theory, the term "de-linking" is used to explain disentangling and rupture away from dominant epistemologies imposed by colonialism, capitalism, and modernity.

subject.[6] Additionally, when mentioning Indigenous cases, Merchant shows their ecological sophistication, especially when compared to the Judeo-Christian heritage that her historiographical critique exposes as a woman-subordinating and ecologically-destructive system. Moreover, Merchant's significant body of work following *The Death of Nature* elaborates on historical Indigenous narratives in nuanced ways that demonstrate an understanding of the intersectional and disproportionate impacts that systems of oppression have on Indigenous peoples and women. In turn, Merchant's work serves as an example that shows an Ecological Feminist systemic critique rooted in a European research scope that is non-universalizing, intersectional, and incorporates race in non-victimizing ways.

Maria Mies, *Patriarchy and Accumulation on a World Scale* (1986)

The second example of an Ecological Feminist text that was responsive to concerns around race in feminism was Maria Mies's *Patriarchy and Accumulation on a World Scale: Women in the International Division of Labour* (1986). This work provides a powerful global systemic critique that markedly departs from the white feminist approaches denounced by Lorde.

Mies's book presents an unmatched theory on the "Woman Question," which shows how the Capitalist Patriarchy is propped up by the exploitation of international divisions of women's labor. For Mies, "the subordination and exploitation of women, nature and colonies are the precondition for the continuation of this model" (Mies, 1986/1988, p. 2). *Patriarchy and Accumulation on a World Scale* acts as an impressive example of an early Ecofeminist text that explicitly refuses to universalize a Eurocentric understanding of women's labor, a subject at the heart of the "Woman Question." If women's labor is the deepest source of women's oppression, this must be shown for *all* women and how they are all differently impacted. Mies expresses her refusal to exclude global southern and rural women from her analysis, and, thus, her active choice to decenter whiteness. On the very first page of the preface to the book, she writes:

> Against the backdrop of this context and of my own experience in India, where I had lived for five years, it was obvious that I could not restrict my theoretical quest to a Eurocentric perspective. When feminists in Europe and North America began to ask why housework was not paid under capitalism — a question which challenged both liberal and Marxist economics — I could not limit this question to housewives in the industrialized North. What about women in the South? What about rural women there? What about small peasants in general and their relationship to capitalism? (Mies, 1986/1988, p. vii)

Like Merchant, Mies does not encase these examples of subordination into solitary accounts of victimization. On the contrary, in the first chapter, "What is Feminism," she provides a rigorous list of the women- and feminist-centered groups, organizations, and movements leading a global resistance of "Third World Feminism" from below (Mies, 1986/1988, p. 9). She does so while outlining the plethora of directions that the women's liberation movement was taking and centering inner movement tensions. Such tensions include feminism and the "Woman Question" being viewed as a Western and often bourgeois concern by non-Western women activists; the divisions between white and women of color feminisms; and, the top-down approaches of institutionalized forms of international feminisms.

[6] This may seem obvious today, but Merchant was writing at a time when the value of Indigenous ecological cosmologies was much less known to other cultures and certainly much less widespread.

Perhaps the strongest point of Mies's analysis is her emphasis on colonialism, a subject deeply undertheorized within scholarship on the "Woman Question" at the time. Refusing to leave out colonization, Mies, in fact, centers it. "Colonization and Housewifization: Subordination of Women, Nature and Colonies," "Women under Colonialism," "Women under German Colonialism," and "International Capital Rediscovers Third World Women," are the subtitles of central themes deconstructed in this work. In affirmations that imply colonialism as the lynchpin to the Capitalist Patriarchy, Mies addresses how white feminists have blatantly disregarded colonialism within their systemic critiques. She shows how the relations of colonialism have been "eclipsed in the consciousness of white feminists whose standard of living also depends to a large extent on this ongoing colonial relation, but also in that of black women in the 'white world'" (Mies, 1986/1988, p. 11).

Mies's point on colonialism, in some ways, went beyond the broader debates around race at the time by imbricating the structure of white supremacy within the transnational history of colonialism. Mies, like Lorde, expressed her frustrations at feminists leaving these fundamental systems out of their structural analysis:

> But whereas many feminists […] insist on the social and historical roots of women's exploitation and oppression, with regard to race relations, the past and ongoing history of colonialism and of capitalist plunder and exploitation of the black world by white man is mostly forgotten […] Today this relation is upheld by the international division of labor." (Mies, 1986/1988, p. 11)

Here, Mies names colonialism as the missing central variable within Eurocentric approaches to the "Woman Question," while centering it within her Ecological Feminist systemic theory.

Mies's attention to colonialism also acts as a gateway to engaging and understanding early developments of intersectionality. Not only does she highlight global northern women's position of power and privilege when considering colonialism, she also engages some of the earliest texts and thinkers on the matter. Her usage of Valerie Amos and Prahtiba Pamar's article, "Challenging Imperial Feminism" (1984), another principal text known for articulating intersectional ideology before it was named as such, demonstrates a clear understanding of varying positionalities of power defined by race, gender, class, and across transnational geographical locations. Mies's work has been so strong in executing intersectional and transnational structural analysis on gender that leading decolonial and Transnational Feminist Chandra Mohanty used Mies's *The Lace Makers of Narsapur* (1980) as an example of Western feminist work that does not fall into the classic "traps" of centralizing whiteness, excluding the narratives of women of color, or including them in superficial, demeaning and harmful ways, in her canonical postcolonial and Transnational Feminist work *Feminism Without Borders: Decolonizing Theory, Practicing Solidarity* (Mohanty, 2003, p. 31). In sum, Mies's *Patriarchy and Accumulation on a World Scale,* and much of her body of Ecological Feminist works that follow, not only abide by Lorde's four points, but also go beyond them, matching a standard of systemic critique found in Transnational Feminisms that begin to surface in the mid-1990s.

Although Mies's text feels exemplary regarding the aforementioned issues, there is one line that does stick out as strange, disappointing, and problematic. When describing the under-theorization of the connections between gender and race under the global Capitalist Patriarchal structure, she emphasizes white women's failures to incorporate race and coloniality, on the one hand, but also states: "on the other hand, neither do the analyses of black women go much further than give expression to the feelings of anger of black women who refuse to be a 'bridge to everyone'" (Mies, 1986, as cited in Rushin, 1981). The statement is shocking and confusing on many levels. First, it feels incoherent with the rest of her argument. Secondly, it dramatically reduces the rich and pioneering Black feminist literature on the issue to one singular topic of anger— a grossly inaccurate point that, today, reads as steeped in deeply problematic clichés about Black women. One must ask why Mies excludes the Cohambee River Collective *Statement*, which founded interlocking systems of oppression and added race as a central system of oppression to the analyses. This is particularly confusing because the Cohambee River Collective's *Statement* is within the anthology that introduced Eisenstein's "Capitalist Patriarchy," the term that Mies's entire work is based upon. Despite the problematics of a disconcerting line, Mies also holds space as an example of Ecofeminist texts that responded to questions of race within this literature review.

Vandana Shiva and Maria Mies, *Ecofeminism* (1993)

The third example that demonstrates Lorde's four points is Vandana Shiva and Maria Mies's co-authored book *Ecofeminism* (1993). This work serves as a milestone example because of its explicit intersectional approach which robustly reflects Lorde's logic, but also displays resemblance to Transnational Feminism,[7] which is taken up as a main framework in Chapter 3.

In *Ecofeminism*, Mies and Shiva take on structural gendered ecological oppression through a focus on a global capitalism intensified by the escalating neoliberalism and globalization of the 1990s. More specifically, it succeeds in moving the global south to the center of Ecological Feminist resistance and thought. It does so by visibilizing ecological knowledge and solutions, or what today could be called Traditional Ecological Knowledge (TEK) of which global southern and Indigenous women have been shown as "gatekeepers." With this, Shiva and Mies illustrate how Indigenous and global southern women are, first and foremost, ecological innovators. Such a position puts these women on the frontlines of ecological activism within their home communities and broader international mobilizations. This is the context in which Shiva and Mies unpack how Indigenous and global southern women are also the most disproportionately impacted by environmental destruction. Their approach emphasizes the intersectionality that sits at the junction of gender and climate change, while also staying clear of any unidimensional portrayals of victimization. Finally, *Ecofeminism* puts colonialism at the heart of its analysis, which also places it as a very early example of decolonial Ecofeminist thought.

Mies and Shiva provide a robust critique of the patriarchal ideology behind the global north's industrialization and development of the world, the widespread and nuanced subordination of especially global southern and Indigenous women that such a project required, and the environmental destruction and climate change it has led to. In turn, the book does not just center

[7] Just one year after publication of Shiva and Mies's *Ecofeminism*, Inderpal Gewal and Caren Kaplan introduced the term "Transnational Feminism" in their *Scattered Hegemonies: Postmodernity and Transnational Feminist Practices* (1994).

the south for the sake of decentering the north/whiteness (although that would be a worthwhile project); it simply looks more honestly at the intersection of gender and ecology on a world-scale. It rigorously reports on the main actors and variables involved and illustrates a reality— a subject matter that is deeply defined by global southern and Indigenous women's histories, resistance, oppression, and solutions— accounts that are only accessible through a decentering of the white strongholds widely found within environmental and some forms of feminist thinking.

These are some early emblematic Ecofeminist texts that reflected at least some of Lorde's aforementioned concerns. These Ecofeminist examples veered towards intersectionality and, in turn, paved paths towards Ecofeminisms that departed from white-centered analysis. Val Plumwood's *Feminism and the Mastery of Nature* (1993), Karen Warren's *Women, Culture, Nature* (1997), Noel Sturgeon's *Ecofeminist Natures: Race, Gender, Theory and Political Action* (1997), and Silvia Federici's *Caliban and the Witch* (2004) are only a small handful of examples of works that followed suit, forming a lineage of Ecofeminist texts sensitive and responsive to the need and obligation to forge forward with Intersectional Feminist methodologies.

PART III

Unearthing Ecological Feminisms: Intersectionality and Black Feminist Perspectives

"Although some ecofeminists are making an effort to increase their awareness and deal with issues of immediate concern to women of color, there is still much to be done to ameliorate the situation." (Taylor, 1997, p. 62)

Dorceta E. Taylor's words enable a circling back to the frequent reappearance of two consistent themes across Intersectional Ecological Feminist literature introduced at the start of this chapter: a recognition of the value within Ecofeminist thought and, over the past 50 years, a continuous call for improvement. In the preceding section, I fleshed out the former theme by detailing what these valuable Ecofeminist texts look like based on criteria collected from Intersectional Feminist scholarship over a span of 50 years. This section addresses the latter theme by exploring the ongoing request by emerging Intersectional Ecological Feminists for improvement within Ecofeminism, while also proposing ways to facilitate this progress.

I start by clarifying why new Intersectional Ecological Feminists continue to emphasize Ecofeminism's white legacy in their critiques. One might ask, especially, why this emphasis continues when there is a lineage of ecofeminist thought that meets their critiques. In the case of my specific analysis, it is not, as gender and environmental studies professor Noel Sturgeon has written, because of any "synecdochic" usage of Ecofeminism or Ecofeminism often functioning "as a straw-woman for a critique of a broader Western environmentalist discourse" (Sturgeon, 1997, pp. 137, 169).[8] It must be said that while I agree with many of the larger arguments that accompany Sturgeon's statement in her markedly rigorous and robust *Ecofeminist Natures: Race, Gender, Feminist Theory and Political Action* (1997), Sturgeon was addressing a separate set of critiques of Ecofeminism. Instead, I emphasize that my work is grasping at something different than any prior deconstructions regarding whether the critiques against Ecofeminism are sound or not. I unravel the concerns over Ecofeminism that stem from the original chasm that I

[8] The rest of this citation by Sturgeon is followed by this statement in parenthesis: "(in which, as we have seen, some ecofeminists are complicit through a complicated effort intended to construct an antiracist, anti-essentialist ecofeminism) about indigenous peoples as the 'ultimate ecologists'" (Sturgeon, 1997, p. 137).

have identified within the literature, and which sets Intersectional Feminism and Ecofeminisms apart at the beginning.

When keeping this in mind, then, I would say that emerging Intersectional Ecological Feminisms maintain Ecofeminism's white legacy in newly arising critiques for several reasons. One reason is that Ecofeminism (although still niche as a feminist genre) has grown rather large in size, developing into diverse branches, including liberal, cultural, social, and socialist Ecofeminism, as Merchant has categorized them (Merchant, 2005). In turn, enough non-Intersectional Ecofeminist literature has been generated across these branches to have left a long-lasting impression. This, in addition to the race blindness of Ecofeminism's first theories put forth by Firestone and d'Eaubonne, helps to explain Intersectional Ecological Feminisms ongoing focus on Ecofeminism's whiteness.

However, I would like to suggest that our analysis brings forward an additional crucial issue that exists within the continuing critiques of Ecofeminism today. This issue is that the foundational intersectional texts on systems of oppression are *absolutely crucial* to ecological understandings of structural gender discrimination and inequality happening right now.

The Racial Capitalist Climate Patriarchy: Reconstructing Ecological Feminist Foundations

Chapter 1 showed us that the gap in the literature has resulted in a foundation built on shaky ground. To understand the root causes of the disproportionate burdens that climate change is having on women, especially racialized women worldwide, we need a fuller understanding of the systems that oppress us. In turn, I suggest we need to begin from both the foundational Ecological Feminist literature and the foundational intersectional literature, to redefine a stronger starting point to build upon. The gap in the literature acts as a crack in the foundation, leaving it unstable and unequipped to take on the massive query of structural gendered oppression today.

It is here that we see the creation and purpose of The Racial Capitalist Climate Patriarchy *from the perspective of the intersectional side of the gap.* By adding "Climate" to the original terminology which names the "interlocking" systems responsible for oppression, we provide a stronger bedrock to the classification of overlapping systems of oppression, while also integrating Intersectional Feminism as inseparable from Ecological Feminist approaches from the start.

Executing such a proposal successfully is unquestionably a massive endeavor that is meant to go beyond the scope of this dissertation. However, I would like to propose here what feels like a pivotal first step towards this endeavor — re-examining the foundational intersectional systems of oppression texts through ecological modes of thought — a methodology which follows in the footsteps of current Black Ecological Feminists spearheading such approaches through the re-reading of Black feminist literature. I believe this groundbreaking move can and must be employed as a methodology to retrospectively uncover the ecological from foundational intersectional systems of oppression scholarship, and, in turn, center them within a new and decolonized bedrock Ecological Feminist approach to Gendered Systemic Oppression.

This would mean going back to canonical intersectional texts that have disassociated from ecology because of the inhospitality and alienation of environmental studies, and incorporating

them into current Ecological Feminist understandings of systems of oppression. It also means paying specific attention to seminal intersectional writings that have, in fact, incorporated ecological themes all along but have been disregarded as ecological from all directions for the spectrum of reasons previously identified.

Take, for example, Angela Davis's groundbreaking *Women, Race, & Class* (1981), a canonical intersectional text of systems of oppression. This work gives no mention of ecological or environmental themes. However, its groundbreaking explanation of industrial capitalism's dependence on enslaved Black women's labor on the American plantation and Black domestic labor is tightly imbricated with industrial capitalism's need of endless environmental extraction. In turn, re-reading Davis through an Intersectional Ecological Feminist lens becomes crucial in untangling the history that leads us to the source of today's disproportionate impact of environmental destruction and climate change on Black American women and beyond.

This would also mean incorporating the crucial analysis of Intersectional Feminists that *did* take up ecological themes, often through the subject of land, but were never adequately recognized from either side of the gap. This includes authors such as Gloria Anzaldua, Cherríe Moraga, bell hooks, Alice Walker, Octavia Butler, Paula Gunn Allen, Lee Miracle, and Winona LaDuke, just to name a select few. The emerging Black Ecological Feminists, discussed below, have provided exemplary ways of moving forward with such retrospective ecological readings.

Black Feminist Ecological Thought proposes a way to visibilize the existence of ecological themes within classic Black Feminist literature. It does so through the documentation and elucidation of: "1. Black women thinkers have always developed their own alternative understandings of the interconnectedness of all things and 2. These ecological understandings have centered the health, well-being, and sustainability of Black, African-descended women across the Diaspora since time immemorial" (Frazier, 2022a). Professor and specialist of Black feminism and ecocriticism Carlyn Ferrari proposes an alternative framework for thinking about gender and ecology from a Black Feminist Ecological standpoint. She does so by taking us back to the distressing meeting point between enslavement and nature presented at the start of this chapter. Ferrari names "Black Women's Ecologies" as a methodology to deal with the violent history that white supremacy has had on African American Black women and their relationship to nature, while simultaneously using it as a tool to reexamine foundational Black feminist literature as ecologically engaged.

In her article "Black Women's Ecologies," Ferrari (2020) explains how "nature can be a difficult and dangerous place through which to render Blackness." Ferrari significantly moves forward in re-reading Black women's writing through a generative ecological lens.

As an example, Ferrari begins with an epigraph from Black American author and filmmaker Zora Neale Hurston's *Their Eyes Were Watching God* (1937). The epigraph reads: "Oh to be a pear tree-any tree in bloom!" (Ferrari, 2020). Ferrari explains how she "opened with Hurston's quote to signal how Black women have reimagined the natural world beyond the lens of trauma."Here, Ferrari re-reads Hurston's work, widely reputed as a Black feminist text, through a Black feminist and ecological lens in which she uncovers and emphasizes "a legacy of Black

feminist environmental consciousness, one that invites us to pay attention to Black women's ecologies" (Ferrari, 2020)

Frazier, too, recovers the ecological from canonical Black feminist texts. Here, Frazier "unearths" "the ecological imbalance" present within Toni Morrison's *A Mercy* (2008), the "ecological violence" brought on by "the relationship between environmental harm and the everyday stresses of Black mothering" in photographer's Latoya Ruby Frazier's "Flint is Family," and invites us to "confront all the melancholy and promise of ecological healing" by evoking Zora Hurston's ecological words: the "'dawn and doom' in the branches" (Frazier 2022a, pp. 315-317). Frazier (2022a) makes clear that Black, African-descended women's known leadership in environmental activism is not an accident; neither is it solely a reaction to the environmental violence they experience (p. 314). She comes to this conclusion through common themes in Black women's art:

> that Black women's ecological inclinations were rooted in an ecological world-sense completely alternative to what readily comes to mind when we think about the environment from a Eurocentric center. Moving beyond a Eurocentric center implores us to rely on and revere an ecological world-sense that unearths the nefarious roots of our ecological imbalance. This shift frees us to recognize and address more of the interrelated roots of our problems rather than continuing to focus too much of our efforts and resources on Western notions of "diversifying" and "reform." (Frazier, 2022a, p. 315)

In embracing this alternative ecological worldview, the discourse on ecology gains a transformative lens. Shifting away from Eurocentrism, it opens avenues to explore interconnected roots and address environmental challenges more holistically. Specifically, it opens pathways towards engaging diverse feminist ecologies, such as Black feminist and Womanist ecologies that have historically been kept at the periphery by Eurocentric approaches. By centering the Black Feminist Ecological Thought put forward by scholars like Carlyn Ferrari and Chelsea Mikael Frazier, and also drawing from the reservoir of new and old ecological literature generated by African Feminism, Chicanx feminism, Indigenous Feminism, as well as Arab Feminism, Pacific Island Feminism, Kurdish Feminism, among countless others, then we can begin to offer an ecological gendered systemic critique that helps our struggles instead of hindering them.

PART IV
Global Southern and Indigenous Women on the Historical Forefront of Ecological Feminist Resistance

The project of The Racial Capitalist Climate Patriarchy is one which looks to root current Ecological Feminisms in the Intersectional Feminist tradition. This chapter has thus far focused on potential pathways into such a project by identifying Lorde's writing as a prototype for half a century of ensuing Intersectional Ecological concerns of Ecofeminism. Knowing that "not even Western Feminism is a monolith," it then spotlighted examples of foundational Ecofeminist texts that rigorously took up the approaches called for by Lorde (Mohanty, 1984; Amos & Parmar, 1984). Thereafter, it offered a model of how to follow Lorde's cardinal principles through the presentation of emerging Black Feminist Ecological methodologies that retrospectively read

classic Black feminist literature through an ecological prism. In this last section, then, I identify two of the earliest examples of Ecological Feminisms and anchor them within the intersectional analysis presented within this chapter.

In this endeavor, however, it must be stressed that the very first links between gender and ecology were always outside of scholarship and academia. That is, it occurred in on-the-ground activism and the frontline communities of global southern, Indigenous, and racialized women of the global north. They were the first to explicitly make ecological gender connections, and they did so through activism. To explain this reality, I also engage colonialism's interlinked place in Gendered Systemic Oppression, moving beyond the literature that defined the crux of the gap. Here, I resume with the contributions of Postcolonial Feminism and the Indigenous writers and feminists presented in Chapter 1.

However, simply inserting Black, global southern, and Indigenous examples into Ecologically Feminist genealogies without pretext or context can be problematic. Listing such examples without elaborating on the exclusionary history of the field and the institutions that nurtured it, leaves out whiteness's legacy of dominance in academic ecological epistemologies (and, truly, in all academic epistemologies). In the case of Ecological Feminisms, this could result in erasing the white lineage of Ecofeminism that Ecowomanist and Black Ecological Feminisms continue to emphasize. Another reason such examples could be problematic is if they are used only as decolonial "decoration"[9] instead of being sincerely engaged with, or, worse, viewed as tokens more than sources used in any real substantive way. We have seen this problem in the literature review from Chapter 1, and, certainly, in the criticisms above in this current chapter that Lorde leveled against Daly. In addition, because there have been many critiques of Ecofeminism by some of these same groups of women, inserting them into a genealogy that they may not feel a part of, simply does not work.

This is where I would usually use the term "Ecological Feminisms" instead of "Ecofeminist" to refer to examples of women-led resistance to ecological or land-centered destruction. However, applying the term "feminism" (in "Ecological Feminism") to *historical* examples of women-centered activism is problematic because, in earlier decades, the term feminism was often criticized or rejected by women within these movements for being unrepresentative of their identities. Today, the term "feminism" has overwhelmingly moved its way into the common lexicon of activist movements at the junction of gender and climate justice. To avoid applying the term feminism to groups that may have never employed the term historically, then, I will use the term **"Ecological *Gendered* Resistance"** when referring to historical examples of women-led ecological resistance.

In the following pages, I offer two historical examples of Ecological Gendered Resistance, anchored within intersectional and postcolonial feminisms: The Chipko Movement and Women of All Red Nations (WARN). The first example reapproaches specific historical Ecofeminist examples as examples of Ecological Gendered Resistance that respond to the current

[9] I reference the word "decoration" used by social cultural studies and decolonial scholar's Jairo I. Fúnez 2022 Tweet on the matter which reads: "If you're currently writing something, ask yourself who & why you are citing someone. Ask yourself why certain peoples, histories, & geographies aren't part of the discussion. Do you engage in serious dialogue with the global south? Are certain texts included only for decoration?"

intersectional and postcolonial demands outlined previously. The second example takes a first small step towards the essential (and enormous) task of retracing examples of Ecological Gendered Resistance that have been historically disregarded. In other words, histories of activism that have been ignored, silenced, muted, and erased by the Eurocentricity of environmental research (Spivak and others).

The Chipko Movement

I start with the Chipko Movement as an early historical example of Ecological Gendered Resistance within the wider and more critical proposal of Ecological Feminisms offered. Yet, beginning with the Chipko Movement may be surprising to readers familiar with its place within Ecofeminist literature. This is because the example is not a new one, but rather a classic and widely used one in Ecofeminism. In addition, it has been criticized both inside and outside of Ecofeminist literature for essentializing and universalizing Indigenous women, while romanticizing their relationship to the environment (Sturgeon, 1997; Moore, 2005).[10] I agree with this critique. Ecofeminist depictions that hegemonize the complex realities of diverse Indigenous women's lives are problematic because they risk resulting in stereotypes and colonial narratives that inherently link Indigenous people and women to nature (Sturgeon, 1997; Agarwal, 1992; Merchant, 1995). However, Chapters 1 and 2 lay out alternative theoretical foundations and analytical frameworks that work against reproducing these types of monolithic approaches. In turn, I begin with the Chipko Movement as a strong early example of Ecological Feminisms because it falls in line with the intersectional approach to Gendered Systemic Oppression outlined in Chapter 1, which is also neatly expressed through Lorde's four cardinal points identified in Part I of this chapter. Specifically, I center Chipko woman not as victims, but as vanguards in Ecological Gendered Resistance, calling positive attention to their leadership, movement strategies, and ecological-centered epistemologies and knowledge, while raising awareness of the value and benefits of the rich relationship to land that they were protecting.

The Chipko Movement is an all-gender movement led by Indian women who held on to trees to peacefully resist deforestation as early as 1730 AD in Rajasthan (Northwestern India) and then again in 1973 in Uttarakhand (Northern India) (Jinnah et al., 2020; De, 2022; Biswas, 2020; Saikia & Pathak, 2024). Amrita Dev of the Bishnoi community in Rajasthan has been widely regarded as a main figure and leader, linked to the origins of the 1730s movement. Scholar Aparne De nicely synthesizes Devi's pivotal role in the birth of the Chipko Movement as follows:

> Amrita Devi was informed that a group of men were attempting to cut Khejarli trees for construction of a new palace for the Maharaja of Jodhpur. Instantly Amrita Devi reached there and embraced a tree. She instructed others to embrace trees to protect from falling down. Amrita Devi proclaimed that 'A chopped head is cheaper than a felled tree' (Alam, et.al. 2018). A large number of people of the Bishnoi community from Khejrli and neighbouring villages came to the spot and each one embraced a tree to protect them. Each person embracing a tree, were brutally beheaded by the soldiers of Maharaja. A total of 363 Bishnois including three daughters of Amrita Devi namely, Asu, Ratni and Bhagu Bai became martyrs to prevent the felling of Khejari trees. (De, 2022, p. 72)

[10] Other critiques accused Ecofeminism of exaggerating the role women played in the history a movement in which men were also active.

Ironically, the violence enacted against the Bishnoi community's "tree hugging," resulted in authorities halting the logging operations and designating the region as protected against logging (De, 2022, p. 72). Since then, Amrita Devi, the Bishnoi community and the Chipko Movement have become revered and celebrated symbols within ecological movements in India and transnationally. For example, De refers to the Chipko origin story as a "supreme sacrifice" (Jinnah et al., 2020; De, 2022, p. 71; Biswas, 2020; Saikia & Pathak, 2024). In turn, I see the 1730s origin of Chipko as a fitting early historical example of Ecological Gendered Resistance, represented by the local example of Bishnoi women's exceptional agency, power, courage, and leadership. Amrita Devi and the women entourage who surrounded her within the movement become a historical anchor of women-led ecological activism, cohering with Lorde's request to center powerful non-white figures in the analysis of Gendered Systemic Oppression (Lorde, 1979/2017, p. 9).

The crucial role of women in the foundations of the Chipko Movement also typifies the resurgence of Chipko in Uttarakhand in 1973, and its continued existence in the decades after. To elucidate this point, I use Shiva and Mies's co-authored *Ecofeminism*, which elaborates and richly depicts Chipko in the late 1980s. Their account of the movement is particularly valuable because of the rare interviews of Chipko women it contains, conducted by Shiva from her personal experience within the movement and as a long-time native ecological Indian activist herself.

To my reading, Shiva and Mies do not offer detailed criteria for measuring which movements fit within their definition of Ecofeminism.[11] However, the Chipko Movement is used as a central Ecofeminist example throughout their work, in addition to a specific chapter solely authored by Shiva titled, "The Chipko Women's Concept of Freedom" (Mies & Shiva, 1993, p. 246). In the chapter, Shiva emphasizes the importance of women's leadership within the ecological movement:

> The myth that movements are created and sustained by charismatic leaders from the outside is shattered by the non-violent struggle in Nahi-Kala in which ordinary women like Itwari Devi and Chamundeyi have provided local leadership through extraordinary strength. It is the invisible strength of women like them that is the source of the staying power of Chipko— a movement whose activities […] have been extended from embracing trees to embracing living mountains and living waters. Each new phase of Chipko is created by invisible women. (Mies & Shiva, 1993, pp. 243-323)

Here, Shiva visibilizes the strength of non-Western women that often went invisible within the literature of the era. Chipko's adversary in this phase of its existence are mines and miners drawn

[11] Mies and Shiva's definition of Ecofeminism starts from distinguishing it from other feminisms of the time. They write: "with ecofeminism, the political focus turns outwards. Its first premise is that 'material' resourcing of women and nature are structurally interconnected in the capitalist patriarchal system. Ecofeminists may draw on other strands of feminism at times, but liberal and postmodern approaches are generally unhelpful for building global political alliances with workers, peasants, indigenous peoples, and other victims of the Western drive to accumulation. A critical important facet of ecofeminism is that it offers an alternative to the relativism that takes over as capitalist commodification homogenizes cultures" (Mies and Shiva, 1993, Location 153-164).

in by the destructive forces of neoliberal development that took force in the region at the time. Shiva's 1987 interview with Chipko activist Itwari Devi shows a discourse of revered local history and knowledge, fortitude, and resistance that is embodied within Chipko's women-led message:

> Vandana: *What is you source of strength (shakti)? What is Chipko's strength?*
> Itwari: Shakti comes to us from these forests and grasslands, we watch them grow, year in and year out through their internal *shakti.* We drink their clear, sparkling water, that gives us shakti. We drink fresh milk, we eat ghee, we eat food, from our own fields. All this gives us not just nourishment for the body but moral strength, that we are our own masters, we control and produce our own wealth. (Mies & Shiva, 1993, p. 249)

Here, Itwari's words express the inestimable value of her community's access to uncontaminated natural resources, a rich heritage of responsible and wise ecological management that in Ecological Feminist circles can only be admired. Perhaps even more persuasive is the way she links the healthy state of this environment to her community's control over their own communal means of production, and then equates such control to being one's own master. With this, I'd like to put forward that Itwari's words not only very much align with Lorde's aforementioned points, but also offer a deeper revolutionary and decolonial dimension to Lorde's Master's Tools/Master's House metaphor. By protecting the ownership of their communal means of production, Itwari and the Chipko movement have no need for the master's tools because they have their own. Their struggle to keep out the mines brought in by global neoliberalism is, essentially, their refusal to enter the master's house. Lastly, Itwari's language squashes any hegemonic victimization narrative regarding Chipko and, instead, provides an inspiring picture of resilience and liberatory demands held by the Thano region village communities as they protect their rich culture and land from the devastating perils of neoliberal development.

Women of All Red Nations (WARN)

Here, I provide a historical Ecological Feminist example that required some unearthing. Women of All Red Nations (WARN) is an example that has not been picked up or widely cited within Ecofeminist literature or broader ecological studies. This example serves as an invitation to visibilize the immeasurable historical instances of Ecological Gendered Resistance that have gone unseen, and thus unknown, due to the white, Western, and colonial logics of academia, environmental studies, and non-intersectional feminist approaches deconstructed within this chapter. I hope that turning to the alternative methodologies offered within this chapter provides pathway to a new historical cartography of intersectional and decolonial Ecological Feminisms.

I extend this invitation by drawing attention to WARN, an organization for the rights of Native American women initiated in 1974, as one of the earliest contemporary examples of Ecological Gendered Resistance. WARN was composed of over 300 women from approximately 30 varying native tribes, and was founded by members, including: Lorelei DeCora Means, Janet McCloud, Marie Sanchez, Madonna Thunderhawk, and Phyllis Young. It demonstrated how the rights and wellbeing of Native American women depended on the ecological health of the land upon which they resided (Ford, 2008).

WARN took activist and legal action against nuclear mining companies that were polluting Indigenous people's land, food, and water. Their protest and illumination of the detrimental impacts such contamination had on reproductive health (including miscarriages, birth defects and even fatalities) is a contemporary example of Ecological Gendered Resistance.
In their publication, "Radiation: Dangerous to Pine Ridge Women" (1980), a study led by WARN members and biochemist J.Haworth Jonte, the group showed how radiation levels within the water at Pine Ridge Indian Reservation were three times higher than federal guidelines. This publication, on its own, already acts as a quintessential example of Ecological Gendered Resistance.

Yet, WARN's pivotal activism and writing on the forced sterilization of Indigenous Women also brings fundamental data into principal Ecological Feminist questions that have otherwise gone largely unrecognized and undertheorized in Ecological Feminist analysis. Historically, I am referring to Ecofeminist arguments like those identified in Chapter 1. These arguments were made by Firestone and d'Eaubonne, identifying overpopulation via the patriarchal control over women's reproduction and bodies as the deepest root of gendered, ecological, and all other forms of oppression. Such overpopulation arguments are inaccurate, harmful, and hold little force when considering the truth of forced sterilization upon the Indigenous women of WARN, but also Indigenous and global southern women across the world. With this example of activism and researched study, we can see the extent of what has been lost from excluding subaltern voices from the foundations of Ecological Feminist theory. That is, when we adopt the framework suggested here in this chapter, we are able to identify moments of Ecological Gendered Resistance that unearth historically marginalized voices. Rather than losing the stories and research from the women on the frontlines, we are provided a more accurate and nuanced picture of The Racial Capitalist Climate Patriarchy's control of reproductive bodies (both forcing and cutting off reproduction).

Reviewing WARN from this perspective identifies the sterilization of Indigenous and global southern women in the historical rise of The Racial Capitalist Climate Patriarchy as a fundamental missing piece of the Ecological Feminist puzzle. It is a main variable in understanding the root causes of women's oppression. By bringing visibility to Ecological Gendered Resistance today, we can also see what can be gained especially towards building the Ecological Feminisms we want to see in the future.

It is not a coincidence that global southern women, Indigenous women, and women of color of the north make up the earliest contemporary examples of Ecological Gendered Resistance, especially when they are the most disproportionately impacted by climate change today. The earliest colonized seem to be the earliest impacted and, in turn, the earliest to resist.

Ecological Gendered Resistances are also the place-based historical examples of the Women and Feminists that make up the frontlines of the global justice movement today. In addition to resistance, resilience is another common thread between them. In fact, the historical project of tracking Ecological Gendered Resistance is, in some ways, a project of chronicling the plethora of unaccounted origin stories/histories of the struggles which compose the current Women and Feminists for Climate Justice (WFCJ) movement.

In this chapter, I have attempted to illuminate just a few examples of these histories. However, I also see it as an invitation to a larger historical project that looks to reclaim and construct an intersectional, decolonial and queer Ecological Feminism of today.

Conclusion

Critically analyzing the formation of the paradigmatic shifts and questioning the invisibilization of race and environment exposes the gap which brings forth The Racial Capitalist Climate Patriarchy.

In this chapter, however, I locate Lorde's critique as ground zero for integrating intersectionality and the new Ecological Feminisms of today. By reclaiming Lorde's letter as a starting point, I set the ***groundwork*** we need to further understand the current crises of climate change and its disproportionate burdens on gender-marginalized people.

This early and crucial intersectional critique of Ecofeminist notions regarding Gendered Systemic Oppression, embodied in Lorde's letter, has evolved into a prototype guiding 50 years of Intersectional Ecological critiques. Led by Black feminist scholars, these critiques underscore the necessity and value of Ecofeminism while shedding light on its limitations rooted in white-centric perspectives. The comparison between Lorde's letter and subsequent Intersectional Ecological Feminist writings has revealed four enduring critiques, which act as cardinal principles to forge Ecological Feminisms that avoid reproducing white feminist analyses.

Part II identified Merchant's *The Death of Nature* (1980), Mies's *Patriarchy and Accumulation on a World Scale* (1986), and Shiva and Mies's *Ecofeminism* (1993) as three post-inaugural Ecofeminist works addressing systemic oppression that accommodate concerns about race and racism discussed through Lorde's letter in Part I. Although these texts may not be the inaugural works defining the ecological aspect of the gap, they stand as foundational pillars within Ecofeminism. Aligned with Lorde's four cardinal points, these works contribute significantly to our comprehension of The Racial Capitalist Patriarchy.

In the discussion presented in Part III, the chapter emphasizes the ongoing critique of Ecofeminism's white legacy and advocates a revisiting of foundational literature in both Ecological Feminism and intersectionality. This revisitation aims to cultivate a deeper understanding of the structural gender discrimination contributing to the impacts of climate change.

Lastly, Part IV looks at the intersection of gender and ecology outside of academia. It traces gaps in scholarship and showcases early examples of women-led Ecological Gendered Resistance and activism on the ground. This section underscores the crucial leadership and innovation of global southern, Indigenous, and racialized women, as well as gender-marginalized activists, who emerge as the original agents with profound insights into the interconnectedness of gender and ecology. The conclusion of this section argues for a nuanced approach in incorporating historical examples into Ecological Feminist thinking, cautioning against tokenism or erasure of non-white women's contributions. In culmination, these four parts collectively contribute to a nuanced and expansive understanding of the complexities inherent in the intersection of gender and ecology.

Chapter 3
Transnational Women and Feminists for Climate Justice

"Capitalism is causing the climate crisis and capitalism is patriarchal…that's why there is a women's contingent, and that's why we're here! ALL women, cis women, trans women LGBTIQI++ people, our sisters from the Island states, our Indigenous sisters from Turtle Island, our counterparts from the global south… we…. we… are all very different, with very different struggles… but we are all Women and Feminists for Climate Justice." –Moana, a feminist Pacific Island climate activist (Moana, personal interview, 2014)

Moana shouts feminist slogans from the middle of the women's contingent at the 2014 People's Climate March in New York City. Women, feminists, and LGBTQIA2S+ activists from all corners of the globe have been spearheading the message that climate change has patriarchal roots since the start of the climate crisis. "Ecofeminist," "Ecowomanist," "climate feminist," and "eco-queer" are just some of the names that women and feminists are using in environmental and climate justice struggles across the globe.

As the climate emergency accelerates, Women and Feminists for Climate Justice (WFCJ) have become a transnational force demanding a "feminist system change not climate change," to use one of the movement's slogans. Although WFCJ have gone global, they spring from resistance and action at place-based community, regional and national levels.

This chapter describes this earth-spanning phenomenon of WFCJ, outlining the contours of its transnationality as a movement. In doing so, I ask: how do such disparate women and gender marginalized people from varying locations across the globe build solidarity to collectively foster shared yet diverse rhetoric, advocacy, and international demands on climate and gender in transnational climate justice arenas? I answer this research question by showing how WFCJ build solidarity over a shared sense of resisting and combating today's global economic system, rooted as it is in racist colonial legacies, as the historical and ongoing source responsible for disempowering and subordinating them by causing and compounding climate change itself. In other words, it is the common struggle against a global, patriarchal, racialized, neoliberal, and capitalist economic system that brings this widely diverse group of international WFCJ together.

I refer to this global system, or common enemy, as The Racial Capitalist Climate Patriarchy— a global earth commodifying economic and socio-political system that has been historically uplifted and sustained through colonialism, imperialism, and an imposition of dominant cis-hetero subjectivities and social relations. As previously introduced in Chapter 1, The Racial Capitalist Climate Patriarchy is an articulation of the varying systems of oppression that make up Global Capitalism. It is the common denominator that generates solidarity between WFCJ, who are embedded in the foundational internationalist, intersectional theories, and activism of socialist, Black, and Ecological Feminisms.

Within this overlying structure are a multiplicity of Racial Capitalist Climate Patriarch*ies*. These Climate Patriarchies comprise a plurality of distinct and more localized, national, regional, or place-based manifestations of the larger global system, and are characterized by specific

geographical locations, socio-political histories, and positionalities of gender, race, and class. Thus, Racial Capitalist Climate Patriarchies are theoretically defined and deconstructed by the decolonial approaches of Transnational Feminisms introduced within this chapter.

I support my arguments about WFCJ's responses to Racial Capitalist Climate Patriarchy(ies) with over seven years of ethnographic data, including multi-sited participatory action research (PAR) and interviews with WFCJ members. I supplement these ethnographic data with texts associated with WFCJ, such as affiliated organizations' website copy and informational literature. My methods and data sources are described in greater detail below. In alignment with my feminist methodology, this chapter, therefore, intentionally bridges theory and praxis through the voices, experiences, and makings of WFCJ themselves.

This chapter begins with critical clarifications regarding terminology and details my ethnographic methods. Next, I map out the global reach of Transnational Feminist movements for climate justice, asking how such spatially and socially divergent activists nevertheless build solidarity. Drawing from my fieldwork, I then elaborate on WFCJ's specific tactics and strategies, demonstrating how such disparate actors converge around a shared target —Racial Capitalist Climate Patriarchies—and vision—feminist system(s) change for climate justice.

Preamble on Language: Why "Women and Feminists for Climate Justice"?

Before laying out the broader arguments and theories presented within this chapter, it is necessary to determine which language and terms are most appropriate when referring to the proliferation of a global movement at the junction of gender and climate justice. This language preamble explains why I came to refer to the women and feminists that compose this transnational phenomenon as WFCJ.

How, then, do we refer to a movement that can be described by so many names? In Chapters 1 and 2, I used "Ecological Feminisms" to refer to any theory or body of literature that connects gender and ecology. When it comes to the on-the-ground activism that anchors these theories and literatures, however, I find *women and feminists for climate justice* to be the best descriptor. I use *women and feminists for climate justice* to refer to any form of activism that is mobilizing at the intersections of gender, race, class, and ecology, as will be further clarified in this section. The classification of women and feminists for climate justice is thus general and capacious enough to encompass activists who call themselves "Ecofeminist," "Ecowomanist," "climate feminist," "feminists for climate justice," "eco-queer," or whatever label may be used by activists to represent a feminist approach to climate justice (Johnson & Wilkinson, 2020; Riley, 1993/2022; Harris, 2017/2021). In addition, because of the literal, expansive meaning of *women and feminists for climate justice*[1] and feminists engaged in climate and environmental justice.

[1] Despite the important movement away from the term "women" in gender studies, I find it relevant to note its crucial full-blown and ongoing use within on-the-ground feminist movements and by prominent feminists who write on Gendered Systemic Oppression through these international movements. In addition to what I have already said about the terminology of the "category of women" in Chapter 1, I will also repeat here, that, for our purposes, it is vital to include the term "women" within our reflection of the movement in order to represent the womanist and non-dominant approaches to gendered liberation, which have historically critiqued and distanced themselves from the terms "feminist" and "Ecofeminist." Using the word "women" also visibilizes some groups within this

The terminology *women and feminists for climate justice* is not the official or certified name of any movement. *Women and feminists for climate justice* do not have a headquarters, a phone number, or even a central website. However, this language has circulated between women and feminist activists and grassroot movements to describe the swelling international trend of gender and climate activism. It has also been regularly used by several non-governmental organizations (NGOs), United Nations initiatives and process groups, and programs specializing in gender and ecology, including Women's Earth Climate Action Network (WECAN), Women's Environment & Development Organization (WEDO), and the UNFCCC Women & Gender Constituency (WGC), amongst others. These leading gender, environment and climate organizations, have confidently held onto the word "women" within the names of their NGOs. In her long history as an activist within the movement and within WEDO, where she has served as executive director for several years, Bridget Burns told me about the importance of using both "women" and "feminists" as central terms when organizing a global agenda of climate justice within international arenas:

> What's really important for us is to hold a space for a women's caucus that's open to all women. All activists who are feminist, who identify as feminist. Who identify as working on women or gender rights. Anyone who's wanting or looking for a space of acceptance and inclusion, we hope to, and attempt to, provide that kind of caucus, so that we can share perspectives and also develop joint advocacy strategies. (Burns, personal interview, 2017)

The women's caucus that Burns refers to is the WGC, held annually at the Conference of Parties (COP). I spoke with Burns in 2017 at the COP23 in Bonn. There, she was also the global north co-focal point[2] for the WGC, alongside global south co-focal point Kalyani Raj of the All Indian Women's Conference (AIWC). These NGOs and UN entities have been the primary forces providing and organizing international spaces, meetings, and events on the specific topic of gender and climate since the 1980s. These organizations have hence greatly contributed to the appellation *women and feminists for climate justice* rooting, growing, and taking force. Importantly, despite the indispensable platform these organizations and institutions have provided for women and feminists fighting for climate justice, they are careful not to claim the name as their own, which demonstrates how this nimble and expansive social movement is truly grounded in fierce, yet generous, feminist solidarity.

I suggest that Women and Feminists for Climate Justice is the best term for naming the transnational phenomenon of gender and climate activism because: (1) of its literal and generic

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movement who believe this category is central to their liberation and the liberation of the Earth, as is the case in many Indigenous ideologies and cosmologies (Kim Anderson, et al.). Here, I would also like to re-emphasize that the usage of "women" in this context refers to *all* women, meaning both cisgender and transgender women who feel the word is indispensable to both their own freedom and the restoration of the environment. There is, however, one utilization of the term "women" that I am not referring to. It is the narrow and incomplete definition of cis women as exclusively the only group that makes up the category of women.

[2] A "focal point," in the context of the COP, is a person who acts as a coordinator to a prominent idea, agreed upon by all negotiating parties. In addition to being a person, "focal point" is also used to refer to the prominent agreed upon idea itself. In this case, Burns and Raj were the co-focal points to the COP23 WGC. The WGC is the physical manifestation of the prominent agreed upon idea of a women's caucus within the negotiations.

nomenclature, (2) it encompasses the wide diversity of feminist approaches to climate justice, and (3) no single group or organization claims ownership of the term. I also deliberately move from using lower case letters (and italics) to capital letters, thereby creating an acronym, when referring to Women and Feminists for Climate Justice (WFCJ). This shift is a meaningful gesture of validating and legitimizing the robust transnational force of this ever-growing movement.

Equally crucial to determining how to refer to the movement is to give it some definition. I define WFCJ to include any activist, movement, group, organization, initiative, or institution that understands gender and environmental justice as inseparably linked within their struggles for liberation. This primarily refers to gender and feminist approaches to environmental and climate justice but could also take other forms.

My objective here is not to stamp a movement composed of a limitless number of activists, groups, initiatives, and organizations across the globe with some sort of official name or definition. Indeed, I am critical of colonial and patriarchal tendencies to name for the sake of naming, controlling, or owning, as explained within the Introduction of this work. Instead, applying these terms to my research and data is meant to bring clarity to my findings while also attempting to open new and productive horizons of thinking on the issues and actions unfolding.[3]

Qualitative Methods: Multi-Sited, Feminist Participatory Action Research and Interviews

My research question asks: how do disparate women and gender marginalized people from varying locations across the globe build solidarity to collectively foster common discourse, advocacy, and international demands on climate and gender in transnational climate justice arenas?

To answer this question, I use critical feminist interdisciplinary research methodologies. I gathered ethnographic data via two complementary qualitative methods: multi-sited participatory action research (PAR) with WFCJ, and structured and semi-structured interviews with WFCJ participants (see Appendix for instrument of questions).

As a whole, the dissertation is, as identified in the Introduction, a theoretical discourse and conceptual analysis that brings together foundational Ecological Feminist writing with intersectional approaches of Black, transnational, and decolonial feminism. I identify an epistemological gap between ecological and intersectional understandings of Gendered Systemic Oppression, which reveals the necessity of the methodologies of "situated knowledges" and collaboration across disparate feminist epistemologies. From this, I develop a more comprehensive theoretical framework for understanding the intersectional systemic oppression driving the climate crisis and its disproportionate impacts on marginalized groups historically and today. In what follows, I elaborate on the methodological details of the fieldwork comprising this chapter. This data informs the argument of this chapter, and thus I have chosen to include my methodology here in Chapter 3 rather than the Introduction.

[3] I have tried to use terms that are coherent, comfortable, and that make sense to the movement that I have been working alongside. However, these terms should be considered as moveable building blocks, clay-like and malleable, more than opaque or permanent concepts. They are meant to be dynamic for organic thinking and discourse and are open to new future possibilities.

Field-Sites

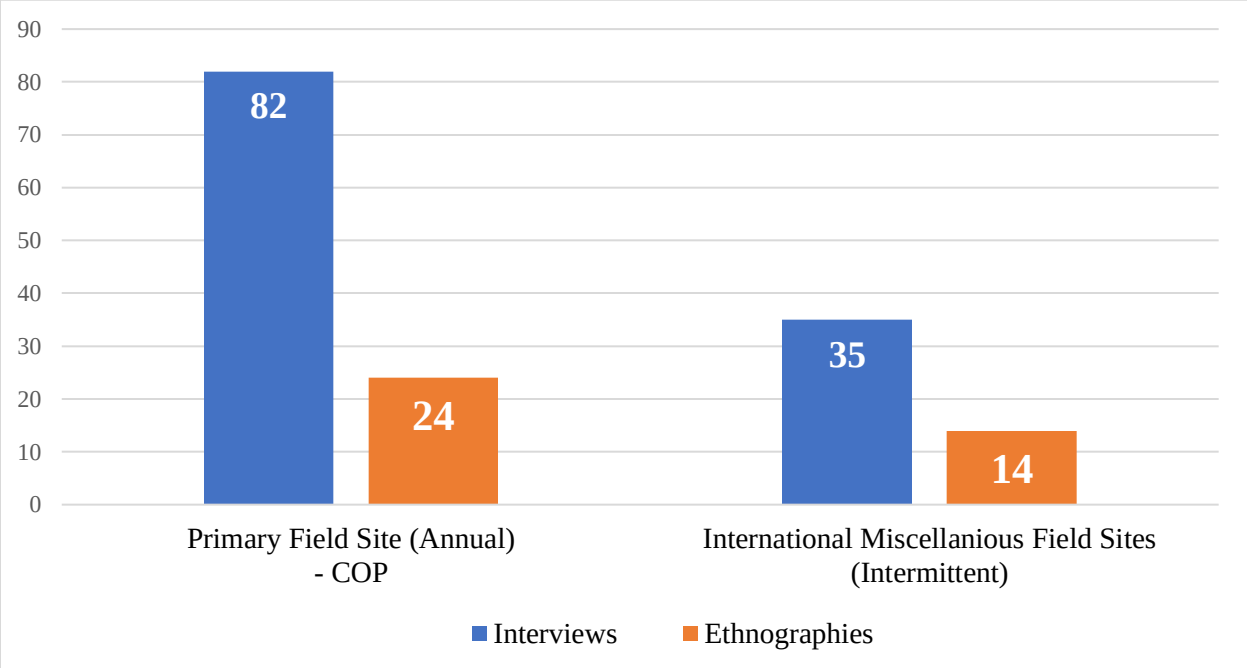
My field sites are categorized into two main domains, both of which are multi-sited:

Domain 1) Primary Field Site (Annual): United Nations Framework Convention on Climate (UNFCCC) Conference Of Parties (COP)

Domain 2) International Miscellaneous Field Sites (Intermittent, or, not occurring regularly or with a defined annual schedule)

Figure 3.1

Total Number of Interviews and Ethnographies Conducted Across both Domains



Note. Between these two domains, I spent a total of 102 days actively conducting field work, of which 48 hours of interviews were conducted and 38 hours of ethnographies. The length of both interviews and ethnographies ranged between 10 minutes to 2 hours across both domains.

Domain 1) Primary Field Site (Annual): "The COP"

My primary field site was the annual United Nations Climate Change Conference, known officially as the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate (UNFCCC) Conference Of Parties (COP). Given its long name, the conference is commonly referred to as the "COP." Each COP is approximately two weeks long, where events occur from approximately 8:00 a.m. to 10:00 p.m. I conducted interviews and ethnographies at six annual COPs: COP21 in Paris (2015), COP23 in Bonn (2017), COP24 in Katowice (2018), COP25 in Madrid (2019), COP26 in Glasgow (2021) (which was postponed from 2020 due to the global health pandemic), and COP27 in Sharm El-Sheikh (2022).

I identified the COP as a central field-site because it acts as a reliable annual meeting point where transnational WFCJ gather within the larger global climate justice community. The COP holds a significant ability and capacity to bring together global-spanning WFCJ at every level of

society, providing a unique landscape to interrogate the transnational systemic analysis that underpin this research.

Yet, one-time global gatherings and events, like the Cochabamba's People's Conference on Climate Change and The Rights of Mother Earth, 350.orgs Global Power Shift, and the Fridays for Future Strikes which led to massive Youth Global Climate Strikes, are also pivotal to the global architecture of today's climate justice movement. The frontline communities and grassroot movements who mobilize and execute these events have constructed the metaphorical load-bearing walls of one of the strongest and most important international movements in history. In turn, transnational WFCJ gather *de facto* within these movements and the global events they host. WFCJ's presence at these events is vital to this project, particularly because grassroots organizations have a much stronger focus on addressing systemic oppression. It is for this reason that such global events make up the second domain of my field work, expanded on below.

Domain 2) International Miscellaneous Field Sites (Intermittent)

The second domain of field work is composed of significant international miscellaneous field sites that are one-time occurrences, not scheduled with regularity, which are crucial to creating a data set that is representative of the full transnationality of WFCJ outside of the COP. I conducted these additional interviews and PAR at: the People's Climate March in 2014; the *Zapitista's Primer Encuentro Internacional de Mujeres que Luchan* (First International Gathering of Women Who Struggle) in 2018; the Ecosocialist Activist Gathering in Lisbon, Portugal in 2018 and 2022; the French feminist and anti-nuclear collective *bombes atomiques* (atomic bombs) weekend of action against nuclear energy in the heavily militarized Bure France in 2019; and several international Ecological Feminist festivals and activist events held both in-person and online. I have also conducted phone interviews with people who self-identify as WFCJ from across the globe.

An elaboration of these miscellaneous field sites, and the interviews and ethnographies I conducted within them, are presented in the subsequent parts of this chapter. However, here within my methods section, I include images of the International Ecosocialist Encounters in Lisbon (2018 and 2022) to illustrate a miscellaneous field site. It is at this gathering that I had the honor and privilege to interview LaDonna Brave Bull Allard (Lakota co-founder of the Sacred Stone Camp) and Ayisha Siddiqa (youth Pakistani-American climate justice activist), whose voices are featured later in the chapter.

Figure 3.2



Note. 5th International Ecosocialist Encounters, Lisbon (2022) makeshift banner and logo. (Source: www.alterecosoc.org)

Figure 3.3



Note. (left) 5th International Ecosocialist Encounters Lisbon: Participants reading concluding notes from the "Building an Internationalist Ecofeminism" workgroup (Photo by author). (right) 5th International Ecosocialist Encounters, Lisbon: *Escola Secundária Luís de Camões*, a secondary school located in the neighborhood of Arroios, which served as the gathering's venue (Photo by author).

Criteria for Selecting Both Interviewees and Ethnographies

The criteria for selecting both interviewees and ethnographies in both domains was measured by any person, group, or entity that fit within the definition of WFCJ provided above in the Preamble on Language, which I include again here:

> I define WFCJ to include any activist, movement, group, organization, initiative, or institution that understands gender and environmental justice as inseparably linked within their struggles for liberation. This primarily refers to gender and feminist approaches to environmental and climate justice but could also take other forms.

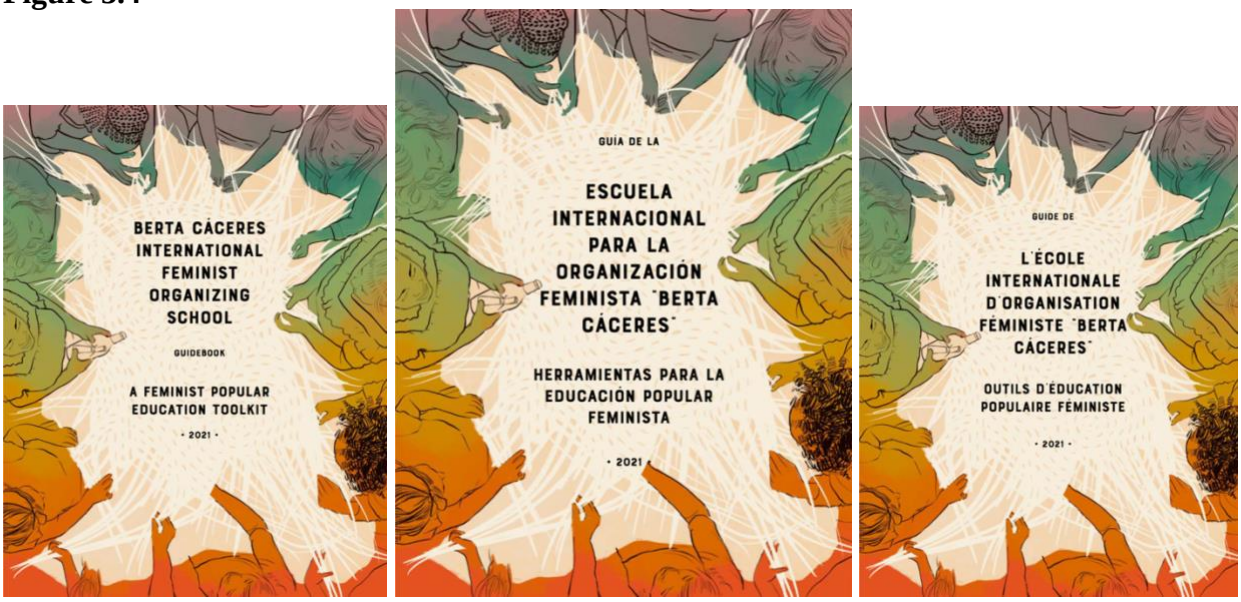
In short, between the years of 2014-2022, I took every opportunity to interview activists who consider themselves a part of, and in support of, the transnational WFCJ movement. In general terms, this included a strong focus on individual grassroots activists, community organizers, and activists involved or working for groups, initiatives, campaigns, non-governmental organizations (NGOs), international governmental organizations (IGOS), policy advocates, or climate negotiators. It also overwhelmingly included community leaders and activist mobilizers of direct actions, climate justice occupations and camps, and land defenders.

Some of examples of those I have interviewed and spotlight later within this chapter include: the Indigenous women water protectors of Standing Rock Sacred Stone Camp and their victory against the XL Dakota Access Pipeline; the peasant women of *La Via Campesina* (the International Peasant's Movement) and their community campaigns to confront and dismantle household patriarchal structures; and activists from the African Eco-Feminist Collective, advocating for a reclaiming of the commons while resisting multi-national corporatism and

global neoliberalism. The remaining details of exactly who, what groups, and where they came from are elaborated in the following sections.

I supplemented my ethnographic data with textual sources, including digital content, pedagogical material, and publications produced by any WFCJ activist, movement, group, organization, initiative, or institution, especially those I discovered through my ethnographies and interviews. For example, "The Berta Cáceres International Feminist Organizing School Guidebook, A Feminist Popular Education Toolkit," and the online space, "Cura da Terra (Cure the Earth) Pre-Ella Global Gathering of Indigenous Women and Feminist," are two textual digital sources included in subsequent sections as empirical supports. (Grassroots Global Justice Alliance, 2021).

Figure 3.4



Note. Berta Cáceres International Feminist Organizing School Guidebook, A Feminist Popular Education Toolkit (2021), covers in English, Spanish, and French. (Source: Grassroots Global Justice Alliance, 2021)

WFCJ Across Borders: Bringing Shape to the Transnationality of WFCJ

It is important to emphasize that WFCJ is not a new movement. Transnational WFCJ gatherings, events, and movement organizing has been happening for decades. They have a rich history, as I will elaborate in what follows, but their legacy has gone relatively unseen and undertheorized, and their transnationality remains inadequately mapped. In the next section, I bring form to this earth-spanning movement by outlining the contours of WFCJ.

In this section, I provide a loose cartography of the transnational arenas in which WFCJ from across the globe gather and find each other. This is not a perfect and fully developed account of the movement. With the far-spanning reaches of WFCJ, such an account would not be possible, nor is it the point. My objective is to demonstrate and affirm the global, dynamic nature of the movement. In addition, this incomplete yet informative cartography bridges global feminist systemic theory with grounded political praxis.

This section uses ethnographic data to demonstrate the multiplicity of ways in which WFCJ come together. The following ethnographies, interviews, and literature illustrate WFCJ at three transnational levels. The first level encompasses global marches, which is further subdivided into global climate marches and global feminist marches. The second level includes transnational events and gatherings, which is further divided into climate-specific gatherings and WFCJ-specific gatherings. The third level pertains to WFCJ-specific transnational networks, non-governmental organizations (NGOs), and subsegments of inter-governmental organizations (IGOs). In what follows, I offer my ethnographic notes on encounters with each of these levels, followed by literature supporting the immense growth and solidarity between these disparate groups. From this, in the section that follows, I am able to respond to the principal question of this chapter: what brings together and then holds these disparate women in transnational solidarity?

1) Global Marches

Let us return to Moana, who opened this chapter, to demonstrate and better understand the transnationality of WFCJ. Moana's articulation of incredibly diverse women coming together from across the globe for a feminist climate justice exemplifies the transnationality of WFCJ and how it takes shape within the level of global marches, particularly *global climate marches* and *global feminist marches*.

I first met Moana at the 2014 People's Climate March in New York City, a historic moment for the global climate movement because it was the largest global climate march. It drew over 311,000 participants from across the planet (Foderaro, 2014). This gathering, with such unprecedented numbers, was also my earliest encounter with WFCJ. In what follows, I offer my impressions of the March from my ethnographic notes.

It is September 21st. It's a very big day. And the weather is on our side, shifting back and forth between sunny and overcast. "No rain, no pain," I overhear someone saying as I walk briskly, eyes darting, searching for any signs of feminists. I slide through droves of people to get to the address written in black ink on my left wrist: 68th Street and Central Park. Have I found them? "Hey," I say to a stranger right in front of me, "are you with the Women and Feminists?" "Hey!," they reply with a wide smile before putting one finger in the air and shouting, "Hey ho, Patriarchy has got to go!" Suddenly, many voices join in, quickly amalgamating to a small choir of people repeating the same chant four or five times. Yes, I have definitely found them. Tall red and beige Manhattan-style buildings line the right side of the street and, on the corner, sits a church named First Church of Christ, Scientist. On the other side of the street is a cascade of green: the trees, grass, and landscape of Central Park. And then, us, in the middle.

WFCJ join the throngs of approximately 311,000 other environmental justice activists. In front and behind are people packed from curb to curb as far as the eye can see. The contingent of Indigenous Peoples lead the march, and following them is a colossal sea of delegations, ranging from scientists, park rangers, teachers, and even grannies. We're all lined up to march together for the climate. We're waiting for the march to start moving. That power in numbers energy is present and electric. That moving and shaking feeling is all around.

I'm surrounded by women and feminist messaging on banners, posters, and t-shirts. These are women from across the globe who, just like me, traveled from far and wide to not only be part of the first global People's Climate March, but to specifically fit themselves into a group of hundreds of not scientists, not teachers, but self-proclaimed WFCJ. Around me are hand-made and printed signs which read "WOMEN F♀R CLIMATE JUSTICE." Activists distribute posters. A plethora of other slogans intersecting the climate and gender movements sprinkle the crowd: "Women and Feminists demand Climate Justice!"; "Climate Justice, is Gender Justice, is Racial Justice"; "Indigenous and Global southern Women ARE the Frontlines of Climate Change"; "Climate Justice is a Feminist Issue"; "When Women do Well the Climate Does Well"; "Capitalism is Bad for the Planet = Capitalism is Bad for Women"; "Women have the solutions, they just need the wheel"; "Women Farmers Feed the World."

Figure 3.5



Note. People's Climate March, NYC, 2014: Women and Feminists for Climate Justice and their "WOMEN F♀R CLIMATE JUSTICE" placards (Photo by author).

The 2014 People's Climate March was the first climate march to draw in crowds from across the globe. Initially, as described above, I was confused in my attempts at locating WFCJ within the crowds; however, in the rush of global marches that have followed since that time, organizers have consistently included a set of GPS coordinates to lead participants to a group of international women holding placards like "burn the patriarchy not the planet." These coordinates indicate advanced planning and demonstrate that transnational WFCJ have become solidified enough to have their own submovement at global feminist events, including global feminist marches.

The exponential growth and proliferation of the global climate justice and feminist movements has occurred concurrently. Since the 2014 People's Climate March and the 2015 COP21 in Paris, the presence of WFCJ has been consistent within the countless international marches for climate justice. However, WFCJ are also present in global feminist marches.

Annual, irregular, and one-off global feminist marches provide another arena for WFCJ to convene as a transnational movement. Whether for the yearly March 8th International Women's Day March and Strike, or the more irregular protests of the Latin American *Marea Verde*

("Green Wave" or "Green Tide") abortion rights movement of 2020-2022, WFCJ assemble at global feminist marches. When it comes to one-off protests, WFCJ had a strong presence in San Francisco at the 2018 Woman's March, first organized in 2017 in response to the presidential election of Donald Trump and the sexism and accounts of sexual assaults that emerged as he took office (Short, 2018).

Present at UC Berkeley for my doctoral studies at the time, I joined the WFCJ contingent of the Woman's March and include it as one of my miscellaneous field sites, as this gathering demonstrated one of the many ways and spaces that disparate WFCJ congregate. Again, I rely on my impressions of the Women's March in 2018: On the BART, the transit system connecting the East Bay to San Francisco, trains were filled with crowds bearing placards with feminist and anti-sexist messaging, reflecting, also, a high point of the #metoo movement at the time. I exited at Powell Station with a plan to walk to Civic Center Plaza, the starting point of the March. I emerged onto the street to throngs of people moving in the same direction, bouncing signs in hand.

"We are the granddaughters of witches you couldn't burn" was a placard that immediately caught my attention. It was the first time I saw this message, and I wondered if it had any Ecological Feminist meaning to its maker. Gina, a 21-year-old self-identified witch, assured me that it did: "my sign brings attention to the witch-hunts that happened throughout history. Witch hunts that went hand in hand with the destruction of nature for the sake of industrialization." The history of gender, witches, and environmental destruction is taken up more fully in Chapter 4; however, Gina's voice is important here because it elucidates the varying ways that WFCJ exist and show up in feminist spaces. When I asked her if she identified as a WFCJ, she responded with an intonation of contemplation and self-interrogation, stating "I'm definitely a witch for climate justice if that counts?" (Gina, personal interview, 2018).

Gina did not join the WFCJ contingent of the march that I was heading to, but instead marched with what is sometimes referred to as the "witch-bloc" or "W.I.T.C.H" (Women's International Terrorist Conspiracy from Hell), a revived international feminist movement from the 1960s that focuses on feminist power, and often casts hexes on things like white supremacy, patriarchy, hate, and, more recently, the "alt-right" (Kelley, 2011).

I definitely count Gina and her depiction of "witches for climate justice" within the definition of WFCJ provided earlier within this chapter. This is especially important because emerging feminist witch movements, such as "eco-witches" (to take just one example), have, in recent years, begun to explicitly center gender liberation alongside climate liberation. This is a feature of the movement which is new and did not exist in its 1960s origins. I start with Gina to show the multidimensionality, dynamism, and fluidity of WFCJ, showing how individual WFCJ can exist in even further subdivisions of the movement that may organize around another central issue, which, in Gina's case, was witchery.

After speaking with Gina, I set out again in search of the WFCJ contingent. After about 25 minutes of weaving in and out of the multitude of feminist and women's groups, individuals, communities, and organizations, I succeed. An unmissable bright yellow banner announces:

"Women for Climate Justice: We Can Stop Climate Chaos!: No Keystone, No Toxic Hazards, No Dirty Crude Refining, Yes Renewable Energy."

Figure 3.6



Note. 2018 Woman's March, San Francisco, WFCJ contingent. Banner reads:"Women for Climate Justice: We Can Stop Climate Chaos!: No Keystone, No Toxic Hazards, No Dirty Crude Refining, Yes Renewable Energy" (Photo by author).

The sign is held by a group of majority Indigenous and American Women of Color. I say hello to many familiar faces who, after years spent with WFCJ, have become movement acquaintances and friends, before tucking myself into an open space behind our bright and beaming banner.

On my right is a middle-aged person, preferring to remain anonymous, who begins to independently shout "feminists want system change not climate change!"—a known and recognized slogan within the movement. I ask her what she means by these words, and she explains: "we're the ones saving the planet, but we're also the ones they beat, arrest or worse" (Anonymous, personal interview, 2018). I learn that she is an Ohlone woman, who spent months living at the Standing Rock encampment against the Dakota Access Pipeline, which experienced extreme police surveillance and violence and ended with a brutal eviction executed by the National Guard in February of 2017. She considers herself "a fierce water protector," a name

which proliferated amongst Indigenous communities across Turtle Island (also known as North America) to refer to activists who defend the sacredness of "water is life" at Standing Rock and everywhere. "So…what do I mean by those words?," she asks as she turns back to my question about the feminist system change not climate change slogan. "I mean that we cannot save the land, the planet, ourselves, without taking out the pipelines, the over-extraction, the exploitation of Indigenous peoples of everywhere." I ask her, "how does feminism fit into that?" "Look around," she says, "here, behind this banner, we're water protectors, we're farmers, we're mothers, we're writers, we're activists, we're allies from across all of Turtle Island… here…. arm in arm…because we know that patriarchy must be moved out of the way to reach climate justice" (Anonymous, personal interview, 2018). The poignancy of unity evident in this Ohlone woman's words underscores again the solidarity of vision joining these disparate people together.

Figure 3.7



Note. 2018 Woman's March, San Francisco, WFCJ contingent. Banners read: "Women for Climate Justice: We Can Stop Climate Chaos!: No Keystone, No Toxic Hazards, No Dirty Crude Refining, Yes Renewable Energy"; "Water is Sacred"; and "We Are Here to Protect: Water is Life" (Photo by author).

Though the examples of global climate justice marches and global feminist marches above are of recent date, WFCJ have been meeting transnationally at gender and environment events since the 1980s. Amongst these earliest recorded gatherings lies the origin story of Development Alternatives with Women for a New Era (DAWN). Today, DAWN is a prominent network of global southern feminist activists and researchers for gender, economic, sustainable, and democratic issues (Sen & Grown, 1987). The organization arose in August 1984, when a group of women from across the globe came together in Bangalore, India to interrogate the effect of development on the world's poor women. This gathering occurred on the night before the

international gatherings held in recognition of the UN Decade for the Advancement of Women (DAWN Feminist, n.d.). From this meeting came the establishment of DAWN and *Development Crises, and Alternative Visions* (1987), which would integrate points on environmental destruction into an analysis of global poverty and the place of women within this triangulation (Sen & Grown, 1987).

DAWN may be understood as a starting point for the transnationality of WFCJ through their intentional global meetings on feminist and environmental concerns. However, the genealogy point being made here concerning DAWN and the transnationality of WFCJ should not be confused with the first instances of women and feminists engaged in environmental activism, which occurred in a more individualized manner. The latter is taken up in Chapter 2, where I suggested the tree hugging women of the Chipko Movement (1730) as an origin point to WFCJ, as well as the 1974 formation of the Native American group, Women of All Red Nations (WARN), who led Indigenous women-centered ecological activism.

2) Transnational Gatherings and Events

The second level in which the transnationality of WFCJ manifests is during transnational events and gatherings organized by intergovernmental organizations (IGOs), non-governmental organizations (NGOs), and grassroots initiatives. These transnational gatherings can be subcategorized into transnational *climate-specific* and *WFCJ-specific* gatherings and events.

WFCJ gather annually at the annual United Nations Climate Conference, known as the Conference of Parties (COP). The COP exemplifies a climate-specific transnational event coordinated at the IGO level, the IGO, in this case, being the United Nations. Although it is organized at an IGO level, the COP brings in exceptionally diverse and wide-spanning participants from all levels of society, including other IGOs, national governments, NGOs, grassroots NGOs, independent groups and initiatives, academic institutions and individual scholars, media, and varying independent observers and stakeholders, including businesses and corporations.

New York City's annual Climate Week, the 2018 San Francisco's Global Action Summit, the 2013 Global Power Shift in Istanbul, and the 2010 World People's Conference on Climate Change and the Rights of Mother Earth in Cochabamba are just a few other examples where WFCJ have assembled transnationally.

WFCJ also convene at WFCJ-specific transnational gatherings organized by climate justice grassroots NGOs and groups. For example, women representatives of leading global climate justice networks, namely Grassroots Global Justice, Grassroots International (GGJ), and the Indigenous Environmental Network (IEN), teamed up with the World March of Women to organize the first Berta Cáceres International Feminist School in 2021.[4] Named after renowned

[4] GGJ explain how with March of Women and IEN, they first started thinking about an International Feminist School in 2018, identified the focus of the school in 2019, and then, when COVID-19 hit, they held their "the first cohort of the International Feminist Organizing School" in 2021 (Grassroots Global Justice Alliance, 2021).

Indigenous and feminist environmental defender and feminist Berta Cáceres,[5] the school has a specific focus on "Environment and Defense of Mother Earth" (Pessoa, 2021). The organization's website explains the school's global reach and the structural Ecological Feminist questions that such transnationality conjures:

> Over 20 weeks, we held 16 virtual sessions in 4 languages, exploring subjects like Systems of Oppression and Feminist Economy. Our 120 students hailed from 38 countries, from the U.S. and Mexico, to Cuba and Haiti, to Peru and Brazil, to Palestine and Turkey, to Mozambique and Kenya, and to Pakistan, the Philippines, and beyond. (Grassroots Global Justice Alliance, 2021).

WFCJ also assemble at self-organized one-off and sporadic transnational gatherings that do not necessarily fit neatly into any specific organizational level or category. For instance, in 2020 on International Indigenous Women's Day, the first *Cura da Terra* (Cure the Earth) Pre-Ella Global Gathering of Indigenous Women and Feminist event was held online as the COVID-19 pandemic hit a peak. *Cura da Terra* is not an IGO, an NGO, or any type of group. Instead, *Cura da Terra*'s website defines itself as "a hotbed of living alternatives to the climate crisis, a space to share among Indigenous women strategies to revive, resist, recover, reimagine, regenerate, repair, reforest territories and hearts" (Cura Da Terra, 2020). A transnationality of specifically Indigenous WFCJ is illuminated through this distinct online space and the following words that marked its inauguration: "On September 5th, 2020, more than 267 Indigenous women from 116 Indigenous nations in 27 different countries gathered in a world circle. We shared reflections, criticisms, pains, dreams, and actions. In times of pandemic and climate emergency, ecocide and genocide, we choose hope" (Cura Da Terra, 2020). The event lasted 7:51 minutes, and recordings of it in several languages are archived on the *Cura da Terra* website. *Cura da Terra* has established itself as an ongoing international network, and has held global gatherings after 2020, such as the 2021 COP26 in Glasgow.

[5] Berta Cáceres was an influential Honduran and Lenca Indigenous environmental activist and land defender recognized for her leadership in successfully stopping the Aqua Zarca hydroelectric dam from being constructed at the sacred Indigenous Lenca land of the Gualcarque River, amongst other activism. Cáceres has come to represent a decolonial feminist approach to land and environmental activism. In 2016, she was assassinated and her murder has been linked to US-trained special forces units based within the Honduran military.

Figure 3.8



Note. Cura da Terra ("Cure the Earth") Pre-Ella Global Gathering of Indigenous Women and Feminism. In both climate-specific and WFCJ-specific gatherings, what remains important is the way in which transnationality offers a space of solidarity for participants to explore their shared goal of feminist system change for climate justice at these events, gatherings, and in-person and online groups (Source: Cura Da Terra, 2020).

3) WFCJ Specific Transnational Networks, Groups, NGOs, and Subsegments of IGOs

The third level in which WFCJ assemble transnationally is through initiatives, groups, networks, NGOs, and sub-branches of IGOS dedicated solely to the intersection of gender and climate. In addition to the marches, unique events, and annual gatherings that make up the transnationality of WFCJ, groups and NGOs are also a central characteristic. There are too many to list here. Instead, I list a select few that were most present and consistent within my primary field site of the COP, and which have also played a formative role in mobilizing WFCJ transnationally.

Women's Earth and Climate Action Network International (WECAN) is a grassroots organization working to connect and engage women internationally on the nexus of gender and climate justice through direct action, movement building, policy advocacy, and grassroots initiatives. WECAN has developed a strong multiplicity of projects around their platform. Their Women for Forests, Fossil Fuel, Mining and Mega-Dam Resistance is a program that aids a diverse international constituency of women all fighting for the protection of forests by targeting environmentally destructive industries.

The organization *Gender CC Women for Climate Justice* works at the junction of women's rights, gender equality, and climate justice by acting as a global network for organizations, activists, and specialists developing research, policy, and other forms of pragmatic applications of gender-sensitive climate policy, mitigation, and adaptation at local, domestic, and international tiers. The organization invests itself largely within the UNFCCC climate negotiations to amplify the links between gender and climate change, incorporate them into the negotiating text, and ultimately bind them into international climate policy.

The Women and Gender Constituency (WGC) strives towards incorporating women's rights and gender justice into the COP negotiating text.[6] WGC provides a platform and space for civil societies and members of NGOs to be present inside the COP. Daily meetings, events, and activist actions within the COP space include some of the avenues that women and LGBTIQ++ people within the WGC use to organize themselves and have their demands heard by other members within the COP.

In 2018 at COP24 in Katowice, Poland, I spoke with the WGC co-focal point Kalyani Raj. In her home country of India, Raj worked with the All India Women's Conference. However, she emphasized how her additional transnational role within WGC was important to her because it focused on bringing together women from around the world, working on climate or the environment at local levels within a transnational arena. In the WGC space, Raj explained how WFCJ from around the world can convene to share local knowledge, stories, struggles and solutions, to have an impact at an international level. Raj stated: "I really like to bring together the voices of the local people or the grassroot level-women with whom we are working with. I like to bring their challenges or their issues to this global level and see if we can make a difference with them, get some solutions from them" (Raj, personal interview, 2018).

Women's Environmental Development Organization's (WEDO) objective is international women's advocacy for gender equality, the preservation of human rights, and the protection of the environment. WEDO defines women's human rights as imbricated in social, economic, and environmental justice, and works to implement these three elements into the core of national and international women- and gender-focused programs and policies. They advise UN agencies and governments on gender-sensitive national and international environmental policy; advocate globally for policy, which includes both women's human rights and environmental justice; train, organize, and facilitate a multiplicity of individuals and organizations across a diversity of policy spheres towards global campaigns and activities on women and the environment; and produce knowledge on gender and climate change world-wide. In 2017 at the COP23 in Bonn, Germany I interviewed Bridget Burns, the executive director of WEDO and global north co-focal point of the WGC, who explained the global nature of the NGO and its relationship to the COP negotiating process:

> WEDO has a really long history of intervening in large, global policy processes particularly around the environment where it was always very clear, and it's still pretty clear that gender issues and women's rights in regards to the environment, are not included in the policy decisions that come out of these processes. That women are not even present in equal numbers at the table and decision making. In turn, WEDO runs lots of different kinds of tools and capacity building programs on gender and the environment.

[6] Inside the annual UN climate conference there are approximately 1,400 varying constituencies composed of civil society and NGOs representing their own concerns in relation to reducing greenhouse gas emissions. Agricultural workers, Indigenous people, and young people. These constituencies observe the negotiations in order to influence the negotiations according to their interests.

> But what's really important for us is to hold that space of a women's caucus that's open to all women, all activists who are feminist, who identify as feminist, who identify as working on women or gender rights, or anyone who's wanting or looking for a space of acceptance and inclusion. We hope to and attempt to provide that kind of caucus so that we can share perspectives and also develop joint advocacy strategies. (Burns, personal interview, 2017)

As this loose cartography indicates, WFCJ have a long historical reach of forming collective arenas that are generative because of their reliance on transnational inclusion and acceptance. From all areas of the globe, members of WFCJ organize under three different levels to come together in solidarity against The Racial Capitalist Climate Patriarchy. The proliferation and long-historical reach of these transnational arenas offers insight into the abundant spaces in which members collect, protest, discuss, advocate, brainstorm, and, ultimately, strategize toward the hope of feminist systemic changes.

The Racial Capitalist Climate Patriarchy: Systemic Resistance as Transnational Solidarity

Thus far I have traced a cartography of WFCJ at feminist and climate-based events to offer an understanding of the transnational nature and proliferation of these activists. Now that their global presence has been mapped, we can more fully interrogate the central question of this chapter: how do women and gender-marginalized people from across the globe invoke collectivity between them to enact common discourse, advocacy, and international demands on climate and gender in transnational climate justice arenas? More specifically, how do different women, from varying hemispheres of the globe and from differing political and socio-economic realities and histories gather in the same spaces to discuss, debate, and develop both divisions and solidarities about gender and climate change? The answer, I argue in what follows, is that these disparate women share a central target: The Racial Capitalist Climate Patriarchy.

From the 2015 People's Climate March to the Ecofeminist branches of International Ecosocialist Encounters, to my primary field site of the annual COP, I have found that The Racial Capitalist Climate Patriarchy is the theoretical underpinning that creates solidarity between WFCJ because these activists, in their different ways, are united in their common resistance and fight against The Racial Capitalist Climate Patriarchy. Simultaneously, my research highlights how women are the primary agents towards gender and climate justice systemic change through gender-focused climate justice activism and gendered, traditional ecological knowledge that fundamentally challenges transnational capitalist patriarchal structures.

This means that The Racial Capitalist Climate Patriarchy is actually born out of two places. As already outlined in Chapter 1, it comes from the proposition to close the theoretical gap identified in the earliest feminist systems of oppression literature by offering a more complete analytical framework for naming transnational gendered oppression. But it also becomes visible through the solidarity-making of WFCJ across borders. In other words, my ethnographic data shows how The Racial Capitalist Climate Patriarchy is not simply the transnational glue that holds the WFCJ movement together, but rather is what brings these activists together in the first place.

The quote that opened this chapter is exemplary to this argument. Moana's words represent a point of "theoretical saturation"[7] within my field work (Moana, personal interview, 2014). A prominent narrative and data point that emerged continuously was the insistence of a collective resistance to the same global structures, paired with an emphasis on the differences between the women comprising WFCJ.

As the following section will describe in more detail, across interviews, ethnographies, and WFCJ events and literature, "the system(s)," identified most frequently were a combination of two or more of the following structures: capitalism, patriarchy, white supremacy, racial capitalism, hetero-patriarchy, and colonialism. I use the term the system(s) with the letter s in parenthesis as a reformulation of the common expression "the system," which is used to vaguely refer to the institutions that manage society. I use "the system(s)" instead to represent the varying interlocking systems identified by WFCJ that are also brought to the forefront within the theoretical portions of this work. The system(s), thus, emerge as the main culprit responsible for climate change and its disproportionate burdens on racialized and gender-marginalized peoples especially.

Combatting the Common System(s): The Transnational Nexus Amongst WFCJ

The Racial Capitalist Climate Patriarchy takes form through the repeated naming of one or more of these systems by WFCJ during my interviews and field work. For example, in 2021, at the COP26 in Glasgow, Tetet Nera-Lauron, a long-time WFCJ activist and current advisor at the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stifung in her home of Manila, Philippines, told me how WFCJ members push back against the racist, sexist, classist, and colonial structures that are simultaneously responsible for the climate emergency and its unequal gender impacts (Nera-Lauron, personal interview, 2017).

I first met and interviewed Nera-Lauron in 2017 at the COP23 in Bonn, Germany when she worked with IBON[8] International, a Pilipino service institution for varying social initiatives and movements, including climate justice. Looking back to Nera-Lauron's words four years earlier, her message remained the same despite her change of employer: "Feminists for climate justice understand that institutional militarism, corporate capture, racism, and patriarchy, share a legacy with our current neoliberal economic system that is destroying the planet" (Nera-Lauron, personal interview, 2017). Nera-Lauron also explained how "responsibility is also historical" and how these overlapping structures of oppression were uplifted through "legacies of colonialism driven by centuries of plunder and extraction of the global south, and created today's poor countries, where women are often doubly and even triply impacted because they make up a majority of the world's poor" (Nera-Lauron, personal interview, 2017). Here, Nera-Lauron refers to nuanced versions of the rudimentary systems of capitalism, white supremacy, patriarchy, and colonial oppression as a primary focus of WFCJ. She also insists that this "systemic approach"

[7] In their article, "Saturation In Qualitative Research: Exploring its Conceptualization and Operationalization," Saunders et al. (2018) explain: "Saturation has attained widespread acceptance as a methodological principle in qualitative research. It is commonly taken to indicate that, on the basis of the data that have been collected or analysed hitherto, further data collection and/or analysis are unnecessary" (p.1).

[8] IBON's website explains how "In Filipino, *ibon* means bird. In evolving Philippine tradition, the image of a bird in flight has come to mean freedom and, by extension, an oppressed people's struggle for freedom" (https://iboninternational.org/).

should not be conflated with the problematic homogenizing of all women, calling instead for the importance of a nuanced and intersectional understanding of the WFCJ, an issue theorized at length in Chapters 1 and 2. Indeed, Nera-Lauron firmly asserts that WFCJ come together "in all of their differences and diversities because they are disproportionately affected by climate breakdown due to the uneven burdens produced by existing structural inequalities" (Nera-Lauron, personal interview, 2017).[9]

Varying articulations of racial, patriarchal, and capitalist structures' roles in burdening both the climate and women saturate WFCJ discourse in public and privately. Yet, the indictment of colonialism is a particularly recurrent point among WFCJ that seems to have intensified in recent years. For instance, at the opening plenary of the COP26 in Glasgow, Logan-Riley (Ngāti Kahungunu ki Heretaunga)'s words resonated throughout the exhibition hall room:

> climate change is the final outcome of the colonial project, and in our response we must be decolonial, rooted in justice and care for communities like mine who have borne the burden of the global north greed for far too long. (Logan-Riley, unpublished speech, 2021)

I wondered if others listening heard the deeply feminist undertones embedded in Logan-Riley's decolonial language.

Logan-Riley, whose pronouns are they/them/theirs, is a Māori climate activist, feminist, and founder of the Pacific and Aotearoa Indigenous youth climate action and sovereignty collective, Te Ara Whatu, also shared, in their COP26 plenary, how the destruction from "the roots of imperialist expansion" (Logan-Riley, unpublished speech, 2021) that has wreaked on Indigenous women's value and status when, the British Crown's forces, sent by the ancestry of the COP26 presidency, invaded their ancestral land 252 years ago, heralded an age of violence. Such violence and destruction resulted in the theft of Logan-Riley's region to extract oil and suck the land of all its nutrients, while seeking to displace their people and end their practices (paraphrased from their plenary speech and taken from my impressions of the event at COP26). Previously, in 2018, at the COP24 in Katowice, Poland, Logan-Riley told me how "the colonial histories and governments of the global north" have systemically subordinated Indigenous women's value and status across the globe. They explained how the colonialism that industrialized the world "took away positions of power, voice, agency, and leadership from Indigenous women through the imposition of European gender roles" (Logan-Riley, personal interview, 2018). Logan-Riley's words are a central theme shared among the Indigenous presence of WFCJ: that historical colonialism and ongoing settler colonialism were central to the

[9] In our personal interview during COP23, portions of which were previously published in *The Ecologist*, Nera-Lauron explains how such systemic inequalities are rooted in an "inherent ill-logic of a broken global trade and financial architecture." She adds how "in a context where COVID-19 and the intensifying economic downturn have magnified pre-existing vulnerabilities throughout the global south and north, the failure of the dominant development paradigm to offer just and lasting solutions to the multiple crises has become more obvious than ever before" (Gorecki, 2021). In her recent article "Climate Migration is a Feminist Issue," Nera-Lauron also explains that a decolonial, feminist global Green New Deal must come in response to the systemic gender inequalities that cause disproportionate gendered climate impacts (Nera-Lauron, 2021).

violent dispossession of land-revering societies and cosmologies, where women, too, were highly esteemed, and conceptions of gender frequently existed on a spectrum rather than in a strictly binary form.

In addition to this connection between colonialism and patriarchy being a reoccurring point amongst a wide diversity of Indigenous WFCJ whom I interviewed one-on-one, a participatory ethnography of a collective gathering of WFCJ at the Indigenous Women's Caucus at the 2019 COP25 in Madrid is perhaps the strongest example of global systemic oppression acting as a primary interface of transnational solidarity between vastly diverse WFCJ. I share my impressions from COP25 below.

Early on a Thursday morning, approximately 150 participants gathered inside one of dozens of generic side rooms that have come to characterize the cookie cutter design of a now-typical COP venue. But things look and feel different in this side room. The white plastic chairs, usually arranged in rows facing several illuminating screens that bear the COP25 logo, a slogan that reads "#timeforaction" has been pushed aside, creating a wide-open space. In this large space, WFCJ begin to slowly form a circle that grows to about 54 people round in circumference, which thickens as more and more people trickle into the room. It begins. The atmosphere is quiet, reflective, ceremonial. This is a starkly different ambiance from the loud, fast-paced, and fervent energy that permeates the rest of the COP.

The event begins, and, for the next hour, primarily Indigenous elders from varying nations and tribes begin to share, pray, and sing. They are evoking matriarchal histories, providing land- and water-focused anecdotes and blessings rooted in their local communities. They are advocating for Indigenous women and their traditional ecological knowledge to play the leading role in moving towards a climate just world. They are also remembering all things lost to the violence of "patriarchy," "extractivism," "white supremacy," "capitalism," and "colonialism"—all words that are repeated again and again, speaker after speaker.

The crowd is with them. Nodding heads and sighing exhales have taken the place of any sound of applause. Somewhere along the line, the circle begins to close as hands link and tears stream down the faces of many attendees. There is a collective energy. Some people's eyes are fixed on a plant with big red leaves that stands in the center of the circle. It is surrounded by dozens of red and white individual flowers, with green stems that have been carefully laid outwards, like the spokes of a bicycle wheel—a circle of flowers inside a circle of transnational climate justice feminists.

Figure 3.9



Note. COP25 Madrid: Indigenous Women's Caucus evoking matriarchal earth-centered lineages to commemorate missing, murdered and at-threat Indigenous women, lost at the hands of the colonial, white supremacist, patriarchal, and extractive capitalist system (Photo by author).

Red is also the color of the Missing and Murdered Indigenous Women campaign (#MMIW), as it is a color with profound spiritual meaning across tribes. The next speaker steps forward, voice calm and steady yet charged with conviction:

> our matriarchies follow knowledge and wisdom that care and respects the earth. We will keep on fighting as we commemorate all the missing, murdered Indigenous women, across the world, brutally taken at the hands of the colonial, white supremacist, patriarchal, and climate destroying powers of this world. (Anonymous, personal communication, 2019)

The impact of colonialism serves as a pivotal nexus for the widely diverse Indigenous participants of WFCJ and is also a major central junction for the entire movement. In Glasgow, Andrea Vega Troncoso, who at the time was WEDO's program coordinator, confirmed this observation. Vega Troncoso is a feminist and queer climate justice activist from the Dominican

Republic, living in the United States. In our interview, she emphasized colonialism's central role in a planetary structural oppression that disproportionately targets racialized women and the Earth. Vega Troncoso insisted that WFCJ is anchored in a strong understanding of colonialism's historical and current role in gender and climate oppression, but put an even greater emphasis on WFCJ's solidarity of resistance to structural oppression when stating that the movement "will not stop until they have" a feminist systems change focused on an Intersectional Feminism with "no more patriarchy, no more colonialism, and no more capitalism" (Vega Troncoso, personal interview, 2021).

Hetero-patriarchy was another frequently discussed structure which illuminates the queer focus of WFCJ. Phillip Brown, a Jamaican-born queer non-binary femme climate justice mobilizer, artist, and writer, explained to me how queer bodies, particularly Black, brown, and Indigenous queer bodies, are also on the frontlines of the global climate justice movement. We are at the 2018 COP24 in Katowice, Poland. Phillip, who is also part of the youth climate movement, emphasizes how "Queer Bodies Protect, Queer Bodies Belong, Queer Bodies Resist," which is also the title of a poem they wrote (Brown, personal interview, 2018).[10] Phillip is just one of a strong contingent of LGBTQI++ peoples which compose WFCJ.

During a panel at the 2019 COP25 in Madrid, the Women and Gender Constituency (WGC) emphasize how queer justice is central to climate justice, implying that hetero-patriarchy is a central systemic oppression intertwined with the climate crises. The panelists span many borders, and include Lean Deleon, American Filipino and former Women's Major Group's (WMG)[11] member; Tamani Rarama, gender non-conforming Itaukei Indigenous youth climate activist from Fiji; and Ruth Nyambura, Kenyan African Ecofeminist. Just a few days later, about eight *queers por el clima* (Queers for the Climate) stand at the entrance of the COP25 venue, with their shimmering purple banner, reaffirming the links between hetero-patriarchy and the exploitation of the earth.

[10] Phillip recited their poem, "Queer Bodies Protect, Queer Bodies Belong, Queer Bodies Resist," on video, which is available on YouTube: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=caLDsbNSqlM&t=121s.

[11] The Women's Major Group is a self-organized network created in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil at the 1992 Earth Summit. There, internationalist governments proclaimed Women to be one of the nine pivotal groups within human society towards sustainable development, making the group an official representative within the UN processes on Sustainable Development.

Figure 3.10



Note. COP25, Madrid: *Queers por el clima* (Queers for the Climate) (Photo by author).

Interview after interview, field site after field site, WFCJ activists from different corners of the world named defying structures of oppression as a principal purpose of their climate activism.

System(s) Resistance in the WFCJ Organizational Discourse and Literature

My argument that The Racial Capitalist Climate Patriarchy serves as the galvanizing force for WFCJ is also validated through the discourse of transnational WFCJ initiatives, events, and organizations articulating their common understanding of a global structure(s). For instance, as outlined in the previous section, the Berta Cáceres International Feminist School, the *Cura da Terra* global event, and the grassroots NGO WECAN International all identify the same global structure. The Berta Cáceres International Feminist School is especially explicit about their understanding of the structural "intersection of racism, capitalism, patriarchy and colonialism" that comprise systems of oppression (Grassroots Global Justice Alliance, 2023). They state on their website "that the focus of the School would be the 'Feminist Economy' as a political proposal […] and finding ways to promote it as an alternative to the racist, capitalist patriarchy" (Grassroots Global Justice Alliance, 2023). The school's recognition of the "racist, capitalist patriarchy" as global structure is reaffirmed through their partnership with international organizations like the World March of Women, Grassroots International, and the Indigenous Environmental Network (IEN),[12] which also resist the globality of oppressive structures. Cura da Terra similarly centers recognition of a current and historical global system. On their website they ask how to heal the land from the destruction of the system, of the "monoculture of progress

[12] Although IEN is primarily a North American network and thus does not hold the same level of internationality as the World March of Women and Grassroots International, in recent years, it has also begun to convene global meetings (https://www.ienearth.org/about/).

and development colonize our aspirations." They continue: "In a context where capital continues to expand, where extractivism, land grabs, violent and forced displacements, the effects of climate emergency and structural violence destroys the web of life, how do we heal the Territory?" (Cura Da Terra, 2020).

Leading NGOs on women and climate are also structured around discourse and action against a planet-spanning system that they identify as the cause of the problem. For example, at the center of WECAN International's mission is their statement of resistance of global overarching systems, which states:

> These forces—a capitalist, neoliberal economic model, extreme inequality in political and economic power, and the corruption of our democracy—drive a fossil fuel-reliant economy that exploits workers and Indigenous Peoples, sacrifices community health and the environment for profit, perpetrates violence and militarization, reproduces patterns of racial and gender oppression, and prevents people worldwide from living healthy and empowered lives. In order to live in harmony with the Earth and safeguard our world for present and future generations, we must take back power and revolutionize the roots of modern society. We must advance a new economy based on communitarian and egalitarian ideals of human rights, the reality that the Earth has a finite carrying capacity, and the Rights of Nature. We need a paradigm shift—for global environmental sustainability, for social justice, for local economies that are owned and operated by people, not corporations, and for conducting all human activities with respect and understanding of Nature. (WECAN, 2015).

WECAN explicitly calls for "a paradigm shift," and, in doing so, like the transnational nexus identified in my ethnographic data above and within WFCJ discourse, condemn The Racial Capitalist Climate Patriarchy, and use their collective voices to discuss and hope for feminist and climate just systemic change.

From Data to Theory: Validating The Racial Capitalist Climate Patriarchy

These findings empirically ground the theoretical framework of The Racial Capitalist Climate Patriarchy formulated in Chapter 1 within the voices and experiences of a worldwide data set of WFCJ. This concept of a global capitalism, which consists of several overlapping systems of oppression, was first thought of and developed by the thinkers outlined within the literature review of Chapter 1.[13] That these theoretical systemic terms circulate in activist circles transnationally illuminates the dynamic relation between theory and praxis that has always existed.

[13] See Chapter 1 for a more in-depth discussion of this literature. In brief, Shulamith Firestone (1970), Zillah Eisenstein (1979), the Combahee River Collective (1979), Françoise d'Eaubonnne (1974), bell hooks (1981; 1984; 1995; 2006; 2009; 2015), Laverne Cox (2015), W.E.B. Du Bois (1935), Oliver Cromwell Cox (1948), Frantz Fanon (1961), Cedric J. Robinson (1983), Karl Marx (1867), and Fredric Engels (1880; 1884) are amongst the foremost intellectuals to have first conceptualized and/or theorized these interlocking systems in one form or another. In this chapter, I am more concerned with engaging and developing current theories.

However, the variations of global structures that WFCJ are referring to can also, and more comprehensively, be explained through current, feminist systemic frameworks that respond to the ongoing global attacks on gender and climate alike.

Current, Transnational Systems Theories

Today's prominent socialist, Marxist, and internationalist feminists emphasize how ongoing gendered oppression across the planet is caused by structural capitalism and its systemic counterparts, which has been reinforced by the rise of neoliberalism in the last 45 years (Arruzza et al., 2019, p. 3; Gago, 2020). Primarily, unpaid social reproduction and disparate gendered divisions of international labor gave rise to capitalism and continue to sustain it in its neoliberal form. Current systemic thinkers are also further developing racial capitalism's global force within social reproduction and beyond in explaining how racialized women carry the heaviest burdens of systemic oppression across the globe.[14] The "Racial," "Capitalist" and "Patriarchy" of The Racial Capitalist Climate Patriarchy is thus also rooted in these more current systems theories.

However, climate oppression is frequently missing from these otherwise comprehensive approaches. Crucially, WFCJ members offer the axis of environmental destruction to the discussion and within their activist responses. In other words, including "Climate" within the Racial Capitalist Climate Patriarchy deliberately adds an additional system of oppression that is ravaging the planet. WFCJ understand climate oppression as an environmentally destructive and ecocidal structure that is inseparable from the other intersecting systems of oppression that are more typically called out.

WFCJ's intersectional approach to climate oppression is thus anchored by critical engagement with Ecological Feminist analysis of global systems of oppression, centralizing the linkages between gendered and ecological oppressions. Ecofeminist scholars have long contended that nature cannot be liberated without liberating women. They have affirmed that capitalism's founding ideology of continuous growth—manifested as the infinite extraction of finite natural resources—is necessitated by an interlinked subordination of women, racialized, and marginalized communities, and nature. They have overwhelmingly referred to this system as the "Capitalist Patriarchy"—a global "anti-woman" system founded on the exploitation of women's power, bodies, labor, and epistemologies (d'Eaubonne, 1974/2002; Merchant, 1980/1985; Gunn Allen, 1986/1992; Mies & Shiva, 1993; Plumwood, 1993; Mies, 1986/1998; Maathai, 2003; Federici, 2004; Dunbar-Ortiz, 2014).

The Racial Capitalist Climate Patriarchy brings these separate feminist theories into dialogue, making better sense of the links between gender and climate oppression. Such an approach allows us to see how racial, gendered, and classed systems of oppression are also entangled with extractivism— the operation of endlessly extracting finite natural resources to fuel international neoliberal markets. Incorporating climate oppression into our systemic structural analysis, then, reveals that the people who are hit first and worst by *both* these extractive industries and climate catastrophe are Indigenous women, global southern women, women of color in the global north, and trans and gender non-conforming people. These very people also comprise the transnational

[14] These thinkers include: Gargi Bhattacharyya, Harsha Walia, Collins, Ruth Gilmore Wilson, Linda Puildo, Robin D. G. Kelley.

movement of WFCJ. While carrying the heaviest burdens of climate catastrophe, they are also spearheading the most innovative solutions towards a climate just world. They are the vanguards of the global climate justice movement. What is more, WFCJ contend that they are "not victims but targets," as I will further elaborate in the following section.

The Racial Capitalist Climate Patriarchy as Intersectional: Same Systems, Different Impacts

Although WFCJ are referring to a global system, or what I refer to as The Racial Capitalist Climate Patriarchy, my fieldwork also showed a practically unanimous articulation of intersectional global systems that leave climate change disproportionately burdening a diversity of women differently, depending on their race, class, sexuality, geographic location, and material history.

As WFCJ member Ayisha Siddiqa told me:

> Capitalism is structural and so is its impacts on women. This is why Indigenous women and women of the global south are the most affected by climate change. And this is why the climate movement is being led by women and girls internationally. (Siddiqa, personal interview, 2022)

Siddiqa is a youth Pakistani-American climate justice activist, NYCschool-strike mobilizer, and co-founder of Polluters Out and Fossil Free University. She has been active in several climate actions and mobilizations since 2019. Now in her mid-twenties, she is Climate Advisor to the United Nations General Secretary and, in March 2023, was featured for her climate activism on the cover of *Time Magazine*'s "Women of the Year" edition. However, I speak with Siddiqa at a much smaller and more intimate climate justice gathering in Lisbon, Portugal in January 2022. We are at the 5th International Ecosocialist Encounters gathering, at the Escola Secundária Luís de Camões, a secondary school located in the neighborhood of Arroios. The 2022 "Encounters" host an Ecofeminist strand, which drew in WFCJ members from across Europe and the world. Within this context, Siddiqa explains that climate change systemically disfavors women, but in "nuanced and intersectional ways" (Siddiqa, personal interview, 2022).

Just 3 years earlier at the same conference, I had the great privilege of meeting LaDonna Brave Bull Allard, Lakota co-founder of the Sacred Stone Camp and longtime Indigenous and environmental activist. In what follows, I offer my impressions of that conference. Sitting on a panel that faces a small classroom of eager climate activists who were clearly amazed at the intimate setting they found themselves in, Allard explains how patriarchal structure was central to the internationalist anti-capitalist climate justice message of the "Encounters." She elaborates that capitalism and patriarchy everywhere are deeply entangled. Sitting on the same panel at the front of this small and humble classroom is prominent climate activist Nnimmo Bassey, who speaks just before Allard, and nods his head in obvious agreement. In my one-on-one conversation with Allard, she tells me that "Indigenous women, all women have suffered the abuse of patriarchy in all hemispheres of the planet. The abuse of women is linked to the abuse of planet Earth. The history of patriarchy is a world history" (Allard, personal interview, 2019). Allard elaborates on how patriarchal capitalism is working and operating on a planetary scale,

but that it takes from different women differently. European women, for example, have been violated by the same system but with different impacts, both historically and today.

At the 2015 Paris Climate conference, Kenyan Feminist Political and co-convener of the African Ecofeminist Collective, Ruth Nyambura elaborates on the relationship between an overarching system and varying women's oppression in relation to that system. She tells me that it is essential that the anti-capitalist internationalism[15] that is foundational to solving the climate crises must be feminist, but only if it is intersectional and decolonial. In a 2020 online presentation, Nyambura further details the transnationality of WFCJ:

> Our fights are not only similar, but we seem to be fighting the same powers. The contexts that unite us are real, but so are those that divide us. So, my call isn't a call for a romanticized solidarity, but a call for us to seriously engage with its possibilities. To think through what this new liberated world can look like.

Siddiqa, Nyambura, and Allard all articulate a common reasoning to a Transnational Feminist approach to climate justice. It is a two-pronged approach: recognizing, first, that we are "fighting the same powers," in Nyambura's words, of a global system exercising structural racial, gendered, and class oppression, and that, second, this oppression is "nuanced and intersectional," as Siddiqa put it, meaning that different women are differently burdened by this oppression. These three examples of WFCJ are representative of a majority of those interviewed who say that structural gender is what brings WFCJ together but emphasize that structural oppression is intersectional.

The Racial Capitalist Climate Patriarchy further emphasizes the "internationalist"[16] origins of early intersectional thought in order to make sense of climate change's structural impacts on gender across the globe. Feminist internationalists are those activists who, through their structural analysis, also commit to the liberation of all classed, Gendered Systemic Oppression across the world. In the same way that the Combahee River Collective, Zillah Eisenstein, Audre Lorde, Angela Davis, and the longer tradition of internationa*list* Black feminist thinkers explained the differences between varying racialized, sexually-oriented, and classed women within global gendered oppression, The Racial Capitalist Climate Patriarchy, too, emphasizes that climate change disproportionately impacts all women but in dramatically different and uneven ways. As Audre Lorde wrote in her letter to Ecofeminist Mary Daly:

> The oppression of women knows no ethnic nor racial boundaries, true, but that does not mean it is identical within those differences. Nor do the reservoirs of our ancient power know these boundaries. To deal with one without even alluding to the other is to distort our commonality as well as our difference. For then beyond sisterhood is still racism. (Lorde, 1979/2017, p. 43)

[15] Internationalism refers to, and is synonymous with, the Socialist and anti-capitalist feminisms already reviewed within this dissertation.

[16] Here I am referring strictly to the internationalism of socialism and socialist political thought, or what has sometimes been referred to as "proletarian internationalism."

This letter and its impact was explored in Chapter 2, and following this logic brings us to the famous internationalist feminist words of the Combahee River Collective: "If Black women were free, it would mean that everyone else would have to be free since our freedom would necessitate the destruction of all the systems of oppression" (The Combahee River Collective, 1977/1979, p. 368).

The Ecological Feminist internationalism proposed by WFCJ must nevertheless be distinguished from a specific branch of "international feminisms," or what has sometimes also been called "global feminisms." In the 1990s and 2000s, the arrival of a critical post-colonial, decolonial, and queer branch of Transnational Feminisms would critique some forms of international and global feminisms that continued theorizing "The Woman Question" and Gendered Systemic Oppression into the 1980s and 1990s. This is a critical branch of Transnational Feminism that argued that international and global feminisms often utilized dominant Western approaches, which resulted in essentialist, universalist, and heteronormative understandings of structural gendered oppression (Grewal & Kaplan, 1994; Mohanty, 2003). Pivotal to this critique is the argument that international and global feminism overwhelmingly overlooked colonialism's role in producing this discriminatory global system through "the erasure of the history and effects of contemporary imperialism," as Mohanty put it in her critique of Robin Morgan's anthology *Sisterhood if Global* (1984) (Mohanty, 2003, p. 110; Grewal & Kaplan, 1994, p.17). For Mohanty, Morgan's concept of "global or universal sisterhood" that came to widely represent international and global feminisms at the time, inaccurately described international feminist solidarities by underrepresenting and neglecting women of color and women of the global south, or Third World women's (as they were originally referred to within the literature) specific and localized experiences. Instead, they all too often reproduced hegemonic understandings of global patriarchy embedded in the image of white, Western, bourgeoise women. Mohanty (2003) explains:

> "Universal sisterhood is produced in Morgan's text through specific assumptions about women as a cross-culturally singular, homogenous group with the same interests, perspectives, goals and similar experiences. Morgan's definitions of 'women's experience' and history led to an particular self-presentation of Western women." (p. 110)

The development of specific Transnational Feminisms, therefore, is a response to these critiques (Grewal & Kaplan, 1994; Mohanty, 2003). In turn, the word "transnational" offers an alternative to international and global feminisms, providing a separate apparatus of Gendered Systemic Oppression founded instead in intersectional, decolonial, and queer traditions of thought focused on the global south.

It is for this reason that The Racial Capitalist Climate Patriarchy shifts from the term "international" to "transnational" to align itself with the post-colonial and decolonial critiques of Gendered Systemic Oppression that have been brought forward by Transnational Feminisms in the last several decades. Fundamental to this shift is Transnational Feminism's recognition of specific localized patriarchies defined by the differences between particular women's race, gender, class, and, especially, geographic location and socio-political histories, or more precisely

their "material histories" (Grewal & Kaplan, 2001, p. 671).[17] Although WFCJ have gone global, they spring from resistance and action at place-based communities, regional, and national levels.

Racial Capitalist Climate Patriarch*ies*

"we know that there is an imperative need to address the concerns of women around the world in the historicized particularity of their relationship to multiple patriarchies as well as to international economic hegemonies." —(Grewal & Kaplan, 1994, p. 17)

The Racial Capitalist Climate Patriarchy is composed of a multitude of Racial Capitalist Climate Patriarch*ies*. It is a plurality of distinct and more localized, national, regional, or place-based manifestations of the larger global system characterized by specific geographical locations, socio-political histories, and positionalities of gender, race, class, and the natural environment (Carty & Mohanty, 2015; Grewal & Kaplan, 1994, 2001; Mohanty, 1984).

Climate Patriarchies are found in the "micro", "local", "place based", "the situated" and in "the specific" (Collins, 1990; Carty & Mohanty, 2015; Grewal & Kaplan, 1994; Gago, 2020; Bacchetta et al., 2020; Mohanty, 2003; Boggs, 2015). The "local" is generically used across Transnational Feminist literature; however, I specifically adopt Inderpal Grewal and Caren Kaplan's usage of the term. More specifically, I welcome Kaplan's critical employment of Adrienne Rich's "Politics of Location" (Grewal & Kaplan, 1994, pp. 138, 139) as a term that deconstructs any hegemonic use of the category of woman or gender in Transnational Feminist analysis, including the one I am presenting here. The "micro" is represented by Collins' usage of "micro-level" (compared to "macro-level") in her renowned concept of the "matrix of domination" (Collins, 1990, p. 287). Existing within the interpersonal domain of power, Collins' micro-level refers to a "micro-level of social organization," which occurs within the quotidian and on the individual level (e.g., often unnoticed but micro-systemic forms of "every day racism and every day resistance") (Collins, 1990, p. 287). The "specific" comes from Verónica Gago's articulation of specific forms of violence and exploitation experienced by women and feminized bodies embedded in "situated thinking" (Gago, 2020, pp. 10, 14, 16). Gago focuses on the feminist strike, using the example of the Argentinian *Ni Una Menos* ("Not one [woman] less") movement against gender-based violence, to describe one piece within a larger internationalism that "functions as an entry point, a perspective, that shows the singularity of an experience" (Gago, 2020, p. 16).

In her canonical Transnational Feminist work "Feminism Without Borders: Decolonizing Theory, Practicing Solidarity," Mohanty employs the term "place-based" in relation to both Grace Lee Boggs's attention to the term in explaining the localized struggles of marginalized peoples and their links to anti-globalization movements, and to Arif Dirlik's idea of "'place consciousness as the radical other of global capitalism'" (Mohanty, 2003, p. 235; Dirlik, 1999).

[17] Transnational Feminisms adds these additional geographical and historical categories to the "holy trinity" of race, class, and gender, and, in turn, identify even more nuanced "categories" that exist in gendered oppression outside of the US and across the globe (Grewal & Kaplan, 1994, p. 18).

In turn, Racial Patriarchies take a similar shape to what Grewal and Kaplan refer to as *Scattered Hegemonies*, which also acts as the title of the authors' anthology on *Postmodernity and Transnational Feminist Practices* (Grewal and Kaplan). Grewal and Kaplan do not explicitly define what they mean by the term "scattered hegemonies," however, in their Introduction to the book, the authors do describe the term as "the effects of mobile capital as well as the multiple subjectivities that replace the European unitary subject" (Grewal & Kaplan, 1994, p. 7). Scattered hegemonies shift their attention to global southern locations instead of the typical Western ones that have historically dominated the representations and definitions of Gendered Systemic Oppression. Thus they provide transnational and decolonial alternatives to the old center-periphery models of oppression.

To my understanding, scattered hegemonies imply that structures of power, dominance and oppression are dispersed across a multitude of distinct and complex societies and cultures. Indeed, the term itself disrupts and fragments the concept of a singular hegemonic system. Instead, it suggests that distinct hegemonies of power are "scattered" across the world at local and specific levels. It is from this concept that countless local structures of Climate Patriarchies emerge outside the innumerable and diverse subjectivities which inhabit and resist within these locations. In my development of Climate Patriarchies, the language of scattered hegemonies evokes a destabilization or, at least, problematization of ideologies fixed to one cultural or economic hegemony by suggesting that there are specific hegemonies everywhere (Grewal & Kaplan, 1994, p 19. They are a conceptual remedy to the problematics of the non-intersectional frameworks of Gendered Systemic Oppression presented in Chapters 1 and 2. Climate Patriarchies are grounded in the rectifying logic of foundational Transnational Feminist approaches to systemic oppression.

Each local Climate Patriarchy is its own situated hegemony, highlighting the differences in how climate oppression impacts women and gender-marginalized people in both the global north and global south, and at much more localized levels within the same hemispheres. This localized emphasis provides an analytical tool to measure Gendered Systemic Oppression in a way that is antithetical to the monolithic approaches of old dominant feminist approaches that universalized gendered oppression.

Climate Patriarchies are also further informed by later Transnational Feminist scholarship that developed clearer definitions of the local and of scale. In particular, eminent scholar of feminist and queer decolonial theory Paola Bacchetta offers optimal frameworks for naming and working through the local and transnational dimensions of power structures, and the inextricable relationship between them. In "Decolonial Sexualities: Paola Bacchetta in Conversation with Suhraiya Jivraj and Sandee Sakshi" Bacchetta (2020) provides a conceptual toolbox of definitions for varying scales of systemic oppression and how they function together.

For example, her notion of *"situated* theoretical-interpretative sites" and *"situated planetarity"* illustrate the relationship between distinct locations of power, and broader "planetary" levels of power (Bacchetta et al., 2020, pp. 578, 582). Bacchetta (2020) draws on her own situated life history, living globally as a thinker and a former activist in exile who was forced to leave her birth country of America in the 1980s:

> My experiences in the United States, France, India, Italy and, more recently, Brazil, are all formational to my thinking on decolonial queerness/sexualities and all *co-formations* and *co-productions* of power. Despite the varied contexts, each with its own relation to colonialism, coloniality, slavery, racism, capitalism, *misogynarchy* and other relations of power, my experiences are formed in some same and different relations of power. To think with them together, and to recognize the limits of thinking with them together (for they are only a few of the many sites across the globe) has been formational. To give just one example, considering these contexts together led me to what I call *situated planetarity*, or the necessity of analysing any specific context not as a bounded entity but rather as a temporally-spatially scaled site of many simultaneous relations of power, located within a larger context of planetary *co-productions* and *co-formations* of power (Bacchetta forthcoming). This is to take account of both the particularities of any site and its interconnections with other sites and the entire planet. (p. 582)

Bacchetta elucidates multiple scopes of structural power, adding "co-productions" and "co-formations" to the mix. "Co-productions" and "co-formations" explain how these multiple scopes of power are inextricably linked and reinforcing. Moreover, she illustrates how situated planetarity takes shape through a gamut of power relations and structures, such as colonialism, racism, capitalism, and gender oppression. Bacchetta's development of situated planetarities allows us to zoom in on how power and oppression functions on a local, and even personal, scale. In turn, it provides an extremely fitting blueprint to the development of Climate Patriarchies, and their focus on the distinct and intersectional ways in which the structural burdens of climate change disproportionately burden disparate women, even on the smallest of scales.

Bacchetta's aforementioned concepts equip us with robust methods to examine the way in which Climate Patriarchies operate in local and specific contexts. Yet, perhaps most useful to our project is Bacchetta's concept of "misogynarchies," a term that describes a multifaceted system of Gendered Systemic Oppression that is co-formed and co-produced by all other existing structures of power (colonialism, racism, capitalism, heterosexism, queerphobic, et al.). In turn, misogynarchies explain varying configurations of Gendered Systemic Oppression, depending on geographical locations and the specific histories of those locations. Climate Patriarchies are meant to do the same thing, expect with a specific focus on climate oppression's place within Gendered Systemic Oppression.

Drawing from the scale concepts developed within Bacchetta's (2020) "decolonial queerness/sexualities politics" allows us to unpack the outline local scales of structural power that characterize Climate Patriarchies (p. 581). To be clear, the point is not to counter or dispute the globality of structural oppressions; it is, instead, to create more nuanced and accurate understandings of it. The terminology of transnational feminism represents the methodology that offers us that pathway forward. Bacchetta's (2020) articulation of her full theoretical apparatus helps elucidate this point:

> I think that the critique of all relations of power – of what I call *co-formations* and *co-productions* of power – is absolutely essential for a truly transformative decolonial queerness/sexualities politics. Wherever we are located, we are part of the planet, not as some

> isolated unit somewhere. All relations of power across the planet are interconnected, as are all subjects and beings-becoming. (p. 581)

Here, Bacchetta offers a conceptual scaffolding that outlines the local and transnational dimensions of all systemic oppression. This scaffolding is ideal for conceptualizing the local and transnational scales that also compose Racial Capitalist Climate Patriarch(ies).

In this same way, then, the overarching structure(s) of The Racial Capitalist Climate Patriarchy is/are held together by an innumerable multiplicity of distinct localized Racial Capitalist Climate Patriarchies spread across the globe.

These Climate Patriarchies are composed of distinct patriarchal formations defined by unique "situated" and "material histories" in congruence with Transnational Feminist methodologies (Bacchetta et al., 2020; Grewal & Kaplan, 1994, 2001; Mohanty, 2003). An entire dissertation could be written on the nuances of the interlocking power dynamics that exist in just one climate patriarchy, and how specific histories and current forms of environmental subordination act as inseparable systems of domination within these structures of oppression, whether it be the expected 40 percentage point decrease of mean forest cover in the Congo from 2015-2100 (Smith et al., 2023, p. 274) or the land grabs and resource scarcity of southwest Bangladesh (Adnan, 2013). The importance of this type of in-depth analysis is crucial, but beyond the scope of this current project.[18]

Though my purposes here are to provide the contours of the larger system and its composition, it is still fundamental to somewhat detail varying Climate Patriarchies to illustrate their distinct specificity and to shed further light on the inner workings of The Racial Capitalist Climate Patriarchy. As Inderpal and Grewal (1994) explain: "Transnational feminisms require this comparative work, rather than relativistic linking of 'differences' undertaken by proponents of 'global feminisms'; that is, to compare multiple, overlapping, and discrete oppressions rather than to construct a theory of hegemonic oppression under a unified category of gender" (p. 17-18).[19]

Climate Patriarchies are everywhere. We find them in the South Kivu Province of the Democratic Republic of Congo, where local Pygmy women's and girls' livelihoods are at grave risk due to extreme deforestation of the Congo Rainforest (the second largest tropical rainforest on the planet). The rainforest is used by the women to collect wood for fire, while these same women also experience higher levels of violence and poverty that come with conflict and wars caused by deforestation (WECAN, n.d.). And we see them in isolated regions like southwest Bangladesh, where climate change has led to land grabs that most heavily affect Munda

[18] Mohanty (2003) provides the example of Ecological Feminist Maria Mies's 1982 in-depth analysis of lace-makers in Narsapur, India as a successful illustration of a Western feminist example which engages Third World Woman into a structural gendered analysis in a correct and non-universalizing or monolithic way (p. 31).

[19] Grewal and Kaplan outline the problematic hegemonic approaches to gendered global structural oppression, while also outlining an impressive cartography of feminist positions on the matter. This cartography shows coherencies and contradictions between these approaches, which illuminate the progress that has been made on the subject but also the tremendous work that still needs to be done.

Indigenous women's traditional domestic work and tasks, including scarcities in crops that feed their families and offer financial resources. These women now walk longer distances to fetch water and fuel, and deal with compounded burdens that come when fathers leave the home to find income elsewhere (APWLD, n.d.).

Moreover, every WFCJ I encountered during my fieldwork is resisting, pushing back, and attempting to dismantle a Climate Patriarchy back at home. In addition to the brief examples provided above, I will draw specifically from my fieldwork and interviews to expand on an additional three below.

Agroecological Feminism in Vale Do Riberira, Brazil

First, let us take a closer look at the place-based structural oppression experienced by women practicing feminist agroecological methods of planting and organizing the land in the Vale Do Riberira Region of Brazil. I learned about this regional network of collective knowledge-building between autonomous women's movements, rural women, trade union movements, and agroecological NGOs through Rosana Miranda, a feminist climate activist, at the COP24 in Katowice Poland in 2018. Rosana forms part of one of the NGOs within this collective and is co-author of *Feminist Practices for Economic Change*, a document that explains the network's activism, ideologies, practices, and the challenges they face (Marques et al., 2018). Rosana tells me that Brazilian capitalist patriarchal property rights disempower Vale Do Riberira women's ownership and accessibility to land. She discusses how women's economic power is impacted by their inability to gain resources from the land, which, in turn, limits and devalues their gender-informed epistemological power to practice feminist agroecological ways of planting and organizing the land (Miranda, personal interview, 2018).[20]

The agroecological women and feminists of Vale Do Riberira want to transform the means of patriarchal capitalist production through a feminist market, which generates women's autonomy away from androcentric markets (Marques et al., 2018, p. 38). They see a rudimentary link between the industrial monocultural agriculture of Vale Do Riberira and the structural oppression over their work, bodies, and autonomy. Specifically, they explain a link between the homogeneity within the monocultural seeds of industrial farming, the homogeneity of feminine social expectations, and physiological and beauty standards modeled after the elite and bourgeois classes of Brazil and whiteness in the West (Marques et al., 2018, p. 38). Rosana defines this linkage in *Feminist Practices for Economic Change* (2018):

> Industrial agriculture uses external inputs, such as chemical fertilizers and agrochemicals to reduce nature's growth and agrochemicals to reduce nature's growth, reproduction, and regeneration cycles and thus, raise the productivity of an area. This process is similar to the negation of the body's cycles, which hides the need to rest to allow the body to regenerate and imposes the idea that the body must always be young and available for production. (p. 38)

[20] Instead, patriarchal social structures and relations, like the nuclear family model that are intricately imbricated with the origins of capitalism, place Vale Do Riberira women in an ongoing domestic family model economy where their domestic labor also goes unpaid and unvalued.

Rosana emphasizes the importance of a local intersectionality to this specific struggle, especially when considering how the women of Vale Do Riberira are racialized, and how many of them have ended up in rural regions as the descendants of enslaved peoples. The Collective's literature elaborates on Rosana's point: "Our society is not only patriarchal, but also extremely racist. Racism structures social relations in Brazil, which has been overexploiting the labour of the black population and using violence as a means of control since the time of slavery" (Marques et al., 2018, p. 14).

The layers of oppression build up. Systemic prejudice against poor and rural people is yet another layer of oppression which fits into this history. On top of all of this, sits gender, creating worse burdens for women and the gender-marginalized. In turn, the women of Vale Do Riberira face compounding levels of oppression defined by their geographical location and specific material histories in the same way that Transnational Feminists refer to the importance of material, place-based histories, and the global north-south divide. Rosana explains how such violence results in both institutional levels of violence and assassinations of women land defenders in Vale Do Riberira and Brazil. These compounding layers of oppression also result in intimate partner violence and family models that reproduce patriarchal structural violence on the relational level, as described by Collins' micro-level of social organization and oppression, which occurs through routinized everyday practices of people's individual treatment of one another (1990, p. 287).

Ecological Feminist Resistance and Living: Rojava's Kurdish Women's Movement

The second example of a Climate Patriarchy lies within the structural powers that the self-proclaimed ecological and feminist Kurdish Women's Movement of Rojava are literally taking up arms against. The Kurdish Women's Movement is an armed, localized struggle engaged in an ecological, gender-equal, and democratic project for Rojava, an autonomous region in northeastern Syria. This movement has been reoccurring throughout my ethnographical collection, with movement member Dilar Dirik speaking during an online event, "Holding Up Half The Sky: Feminism During the Climate Emergency," which was organized by the Climate Justice Coalition in November 2020. In addition to Dirik, I interviewed other group members from Rojava at a separate in-person, weekend-long Ecofeminist festival in Toulouse, France in September 2020.

The Ecological Feminist ideology of this movement challenges the place-based Syrian patriarchal state and its colonial history of hierarchical social, religious, and family relations. The Kurdish Women's Movement explains that these structures have been uplifted through a historical domination of women, which is linked to an exploitative relationship to the regional natural environment. Until Kurdish women are free, the environment and Kurdish society cannot be free (Öcalan, 2013; Dirik, 2020). This message of women's freedom and ecological freedom has become a credo of the Kurdish Women's Movement, and is theorized as a "science of women," or Jineology—a women-centered body of knowledge critical of positivist and androcentric forms of knowledge production (Öcalan, 2013 , pp. 54-56). Also referred to as "Kurdish Feminism," Jineology explains that environmentally destructive societal models and climate change are the result of the subordination of historic ecologically-centered Kurdish women's knowledge. The subordination occurred through the rise of patriarchal society and the

most original forms of capital, which began in the Neolithic period and continued into the origins of the state.

In the region of Rojava, the capitalist and patriarchal structures have been both born of and shaped by internal and external colonialism, which has, in turn, produced the Kurdish Women's Movement's experiences of gender oppression (Dirik, 2020). They have formed an armed, feminist resistance to these distinct struggles. In the last several decades, they have been engaged in violent combat against what is today the Islamic State (ISIS) in the region.

The elements elaborated on above describe a very particular specificity of gender oppression in Rojava and illuminate how oppression is also a result of the Kurdish women's particular material histories. Specifically, the gender-based violence experienced by these women in combat, in addition to the micro-level violence that Kurdish women have also experienced in the patriarchal formations of their own communities,[21] cannot be vaguely clumped together under a formless and faceless category like violence against women. As Gago explains, when violence takes an abstract form, it can easily become a synonym for "victim." Gago (2020) further explains the importance of specificity regarding gendered violence, especially in our efforts to understand it systemically:

> we can also collectively evaluate the ways violence differentially impacts each one of us. Understood in this way, "violence" is not an enormous capital-letter word, producing that other equally abstract, capital-letter word: "Victim." This is the second new element of the reconceptualization of violence: the forms taken by violence against women's bodies and feminized bodies are analyzed starting from particular situations, based on specific bodies. It is from there that a comprehension of violence as an complete phenomenon is produced. Each person's body, as an trajectory and experience, thus becomes the entry point, a concrete mode of localization, from which a specific point of view is produced: How is violence expressed? How does it take particular form in each body? How do we recognize it? How do we fight it? (pp. 66-67)

However, an important clarification to Gago's point is needed: the common element is not violence. Rather, the commonality is produced by *the situated and transversal questioning of violence.* Drawing connections between forms of violence gives us a shared perspective that is both specific and expansive, critical but not paralyzing; in other words, that links experiences. Mapping forms of violence based on their organic connections, without losing sight of the singularity of the production off the nexus between them, allows us to do something else: produce a language that goes beyond categorizing ourselves as victims.

The Kurdish Women's Movement does not exist within a localized hegemony either. An open letter by the Jineology committee of Europe reminded those writing and working on the movement that they must be conscious that one person's perspective in the movement cannot

[21] It is important to mention here that Jineology and prominent authors on the issue, like Dilar Dirik, explain that Kurdish precolonial cultures were ecological and did not have the same patriarchal interpersonal relations that are inherent to capitalist hierarchical ecologically exploitative models, which imposed such violent patriarchal relations unto their communities through colonialism.

represent all women in the movement. The letter specifically issued a warning against tokenizing LGBTQI+ identities and ideologies within the movement.

"Water Protectors:" Indigenous Women Resist Keystone XL Pipeline in Standing Rock Reservation

My third and final example is the Indigenous women of the Standing Rock resistance camp, often referred to as "Water Protectors," who have become a model of place-based, women-centered, climate resistance. They are perhaps most famous as the movement that resisted the construction of the Dakota Access Pipe Line (DAPL), also known as the Keystone XL pipeline. The Climate Patriarchy part of this example is the extractive oil project that would have non-consensually cut through the Standing Rock Sioux Tribe Reserve, risking land and water contamination and human health problems that would disproportionately burden Indigenous women. In addition, there is the violent attack on the Sioux Tribes spiritual and epistemological rights to their own land, which are earth-revering and matriarchal. Brave Bull Allard co-founded the movement in her backyard. She was also an outspoken Lakota Historian who infused the movement with knowledge of the matriarchal histories of the Sioux tribe, a peoples dictated by women and mother-centered power and reverence.

Brave Bull Allard was one amongst many matriarchs of the Standing Rock movement. She vocally articulated that the matriarchal structure of the Lakota Sioux cared for land, viewed as mother by the Sioux, and revered and respected women and their societal power (Allard, personal interview, 2019). A common narrative of the Standing Rock resistance is that the pipeline was a result of patriarchal capitalism that colonized their land. Indigenous feminist activists and the scholarly literature has also shown how industrial capitalist models enforced by colonialism inscribed European patriarchal gender relations onto revered Sioux matriarchal women's traditional ecological divisions of labor, epistemologies, and socio-political tribal structures. Care for the land, in other words, is and ought to be reciprocal with care for women in society.

Here, we see how the Standing Rock Sioux women's struggles are both specific and differentiated from other women's struggles in the North, but also from the agroecological women of the Vale Do Riberira Region in the South, and the Kurdish women's movement in Rojava in the Middle East. I offer the example of Standing Rock as a Climate Patriarchy to parallel the transnational methodologies of Grewal and Kaplan, which advise "emphasizing a variety of cultural hegemonies" that are "neither homogenizing nor relativistic in their use of the category of women" (Grewal & Kaplan, 1994, p. 27).

This returns us to the epigraph at the start of this section. In the words of Grewal and Kaplan, now that we have addressed the transnational concerns of WFCJ in the historized particularity of their relationship to multiple Racial Capitalist Climate Patriarchies, there is also an imperative to "map these scattered hegemonies and link diverse local practices to formulate a transnational set of solidarities" (Grewal & Kaplan, 1994, p. 19). What, then, are the transnational solidarities that exist between the three Climate Patriarchies (the agroecological women and feminists of Vale Do Riberira, the Kurdish Women's Movement in Rojava, and the Water Protectors of Standing Rock) outlined above?

Climate oppression disproportionately burdens women's bodies, epistemologies, labor, and power, and in dramatically different ways depending on their specific race, class, sexuality, geographical location, and material history. This brings us full circle because what links the locality of the three Climate Patriarchies is, once again, the articulations of resisting and combating varying global structures of oppressions that forge solidarity between WFCJ.

As for the agroecological women and feminists Vale Do Riberira, their publications proliferate with naming global systems and solidarity with transnational women fighting these systems, including such sentences such as: "Capitalism is both racist and patriarchal" (Marques et al., 2018, p. 14); "Patriarchy is a system which […] exerts power over women's bodies, work, and sexuality" (p. 16); "There are many similarities in the oppression from which we suffer as women in patriarchal societies, such as Brazilian society, despite the differences in the way this oppression is expressed" (p. 15); "we diverse and working women, have no place in this racist and patriarchal capitalist system and there is no space for all of us to be free and equal" (p. 16); "It is a system that incorporates these forms of domination and inequalities. Without them, it cannot survive" (p. 16); and "We want equality not for a few, but for all women. In other words, what we need to end inequality is structural change" (p. 16).

Standing Rock, too, affirms a common system(s) understanding of their struggle. Michelle Cook, who is Dine of the Walk Around Clan from Oak Spring, Arizona, is an Indigenous Human Rights Advocate and Lawyer and was a Standing Rock legal advisor, explained:

> "We are fighting the Dakota pipeline, but we're also fighting the whole system of violence. The whole system which has called us savages. Which has denied us our ability to be human—and we're responding to that by creating a community that has its own values. That respects its women. That gives its children priority. That will teach its children the traditional knowledge of life, that will give them life." (WECAN, 2016).

And when it comes to the Kurdish Women's Movement, here too, we see an ambitious proposal for global feminist solidarity fixed within a detailed movement strategy to dismantle transnational patriarchal structures, while also rooted in the decolonial and Transnational Feminist logic of locality and difference. In October 2018, through the Internationalist Commune of Rojava, the Kurdish Women's Movement presented a proposal titled "For a New Internationalism of Women" in Frankfurt at the International Women's Conference, where they state:[22]

> On the basis of this definition, democratic world women's confederalism represents a way of building a political system of world-women, the primary aim of which is to find solutions to all issues affecting women by collectively strengthening their power of thought, determination and action. This means that world women's confederalism would be a political structure in which organized women would think together about patriarchal attacks and possibilities for the realization of women's liberation, would engage in theoretical-intellectual production, make observations, work out solutions, make and implement joint decisions. It is not a question of forming a new common umbrella

[22] The talk, titled "Revolution in Making,"was organized by the "Women Weaving the Future" network. (Internationalist Commune, 2019).

> organisation or an international women's organisation. What is needed is a transnational grassroots democracy of women, based on a perfect balance between local and global as well as partial and universal.[23] (Internationalist Commune, 2019)

Here, the Kurdish Women's Movement articulates a sort of transnational internationalism that in its sophistication exceeds troublesome old global feminisms void of intersectional, decolonial, and nuanced historical approaches. Their appeal for an internationalism founded in the transnational reasoning of a balanced relationship between the local and the global parallels the dynamic between Racial Capitalist Climate Patriarchies and The Racial Capitalist Climate Patriarchy that I'm proposing within this work.

My proposition aspires to learn from problematic feminist pasts in its development of a current Ecological Feminist transnationality. It also brings forward the strong ideological concurrences between Black socialist, socialist, and internationalist structural analysis, on the one hand, with the more current transnational and decolonial feminist contributions of Gendered Systemic Oppression, on the other. In addition to vouching for the Ecological Feminist transnationality upon which this research is founded, the frameworks produced are also an attempt to introduce a more solidified Ecological Feminist internationalism that responds to this current moment within the climate emergency.

Conclusion

This chapter expands on the specific material histories and geographical boundaries and borders of gendered structures themselves by first identifying WFCJ and then exploring specific examples of Climate Patriarch*ies*. This dissertation marks difference and individuality as one of its cornerstones; in turn, understanding the plural composition of a global framework as individual localities enables us to see how individual women and marginalized peoples are impacted differently by their positionalities.

Many lived examples within this chapter have shown the interconnectedness between Transnational Feminist persuasions and classic, but updated internationalist feminist ones. Paired with the theoretical contributions put forth within my project, the intent is to nourish an Ecological Feminist transnationalism that is imbricated with an Ecological Feminist internationalism. If, as feminists, we are able to hold this more complex model of Gendered Systemic Oppression, then we can move closer to the decades-old dreams of widespread liberation that we continue to fight for. For those who refer to these notions as "old" or "dated" academic language, I would remind them that this is the current discourse that has emerged from the data. To use the Kurdish Women's Movement words once again: "We firmly believe that we

[23] The document continues: "This is different from a network, a federation or a union, for example. But it would also not be a loose entity that comes together from time to time, discusses, and then diverges again. Rather, we need a mechanism by which the intellectual and practical potential of world women can take concrete shape at the global level, and be an effective counterforce to patriarchy. In doing so, we must go beyond everything that has existed so far, because we are in a historical phase. Never before in the 5000-year history of the Patriarchate has the women's liberation struggle taken on such a strategic character; never before has the possibility of realizing the women's revolution been so great." I add this text within the footnote to show the literal meaning and approach that this movement has in regards to a Transnational Feminist revolution (Internationalist Commune, 2019).

are in a historical time and that only we as women can set in motion a revolution that can effectively combat all forms of exploitation and oppression" (Internationalist Commune, 2019).

Chapter 4
The Androcene and the Enlightened Man
At the Origins of the Climate Crisis[1]

"As for the concept of the 'anthropocene' which suggests a collective responsibility for the deterioration of the Earth, we prefer to speak of the "androcene" (andro meaning man): if ecosystems are destroyed, if climate refugees abound, if the sixth mass extinction is underway, it is not the fault of a generalized humanity, but that of a small group of rulers and patriarchal-capitalist societies who accelerate it." (Bahaffou & Gorecki, 2022). [2]

I employ the concept of the Androcene as both a feminist approach to the Anthropocenic literature and the historical epoch which produced the structure of The Racial Capitalist Climate Patriarchy. The Androcene is an epoch defined by patriarchal social relations and structures, built from an interlinked subordination of gender, race, and nature (Bon et al., 2022; Ruault et al., 2021; Vuillerod, 2021). However, because it has gone under-theorized, it remains rather nebulous as both a concept and historical framework. In turn, within this chapter, I do not define a well-established term or subject. Instead, I build on the Androcene, using feminist theorists that have researched and written on the histories and roots of different women's oppression. I do so in order to employ the Androcene as the historical epoch of The Racial Capitalist Climate Patriarchy. I propose that the historical subordination of varying women's bodies, power, labor, and epistemologies can act as points of departure for the Androcenic casual forces of climate change and the varying impacts of the Androcene on different women. A feminist account of this period of modernization, therefore, illuminates how a new capitalism underpinned by industrialization and fueled by colonization were bred out of Androcenic social relations.

Within this chapter, I present an Ecological Feminist history of the inception of global capitalism through the making of the so-called "modern man" from the 16th century onwards. I do so by tracing three central histories that underpinned the rise of industrialization and the world-spanning capitalist market: I) The Androcene in Europe, II) The Androcene on Turtle Island, and III) The Androcene on the American Plantation. An Androcenic epoch is visible through the examination of Western European women, Indigenous women on Turtle Island, and enslaved Black women on the American plantation during the making of a modern world. This chapter, thus, presents a historical account of how capitalism's rise, or more precisely how The Racial Capitalist Climate Patriarchy's rise, depended on the creation of systems of gendered oppression that structurally subordinated feminine cosmologies of the earth, and women's labor, power, and knowledge transnationally, but in dramatically different ways depending on race, class, and relationships to the earth. Colonialism spread The Racial Capitalist Climate Patriarchy across the globe. This chapter concludes with little known histories of feminist- and women-led resistance to The Racial Capitalist Climate Patriarchy and its colonial violence, and interprets them as some of the earliest mobilizations of Women and Feminists for Climate Justice (WFCJ). Such an

[1] Portions of this chapter have been previously published as "'Mother Earth'Ethic and the Rise of Capitalism in North America" by Julie Gorecki, 2013, *Genesis: Rivista della Societa Italiana delle Storiche*, Spec. Issue on Ecohistory: Gender and Environmental History, Volume 7 (2), p.229-243. Copyright 2013. Reprinted with permission.

[2] This excerpt is taken from the English translation of the book, published by Verso Books in 2022 with a preface by Carolyn Merchant and an introduction by Myriam Bahaffou and myself. The second edition of the book was published in French by le passager clandestin in 2020 and was prefaced by Myriam Bahaffou and myself.

approach brings forward a radical history of women, especially Indigenous and global southern women and non-binary people, resisting earlier forms of environmental destruction from a gendered positionality.

To make this argument, this chapter uses Ecological Feminism, Indigenous feminism, and Black feminism as theoretical lenses to explain the aforementioned patriarchal and racial roots of today's climate crisis.[3] Feminist bodies of literature from these three different positionalities are employed in order to provide a historically transnational and intersectional approach to an Androcenic history of climate change. Namely, Ecological Feminist accounts show how the ideologies behind the so-called "enlightened man of science" were detrimental to women in a pre- and early-modern Europe, where earth was feminine and women's power and work relatively valued. The Indigenous feminist literature expounds on the European colonization of North America, where a Mother Earth cosmology structured society and was inextricably linked to highly esteemed women's economies, power, and labor. Black feminist critiques of modernity demonstrate how the development of industrial America was contingent on enslaved Black women's productive and, particularly, *re*productive labor, meaning the literal birthing of enslaved laborers, on the plantation. Approaching a radical history of the Androcene from these three bodies of feminist literature also works as a methodology rooted in the principal arguments of this dissertation: it provides a non-monolithic, non-universalist, non-Eurocentric, and non-essentialist analysis when examining global systems of oppression.

Defining the Androcene and the Man-Made Origins of Climate Change

According to Polish scholar Franciszek Chwałczyk, in 2020 alone, there were approximately 80-90 alternatives put forward to the term "the Anthropocene," most of which came from the social sciences and humanities. Since then, dozens more have been proposed. The Capitalocene (Moore, 2015; Malm, 2016), the Chthulucene (Haraway 2016a), and the Plantationocene (Haraway et al., 2016) were early rebuttals to "the mainstream" Anthropocene story (Bonneuil & Fressoz, 2016; Hamilton, 2015). These examples, amongst others, gained force within what developed into an entire body of naming alternative "x-ocenes" literature that rejects the claim that the "Anthropos," or humankind, share an equal historical responsibility for a climate emergency that has inimically affected the existing earth system and the conditions of life on earth as we know them.[4]

In 2000, biologist Eugene F. Stoermer and atmospheric chemist Paul Crutzen popularized the term "the Anthropocene," a term which holds, "we," that is, "all humans," responsible for a colossal and unprecedented change into a new epoch on the Geological Time Scale (GTS)

[3] I use the term "Ecological Feminism" instead of "ecofeminism" to incorporate the wealth of feminist texts that center land and ecology in their analysis, but do not necessarily consider themselves as Ecofeminist, as already explained in previous chapters.

[4] Geologists classify the world's current geological epoch as the Holocene, a timeframe indicated by the post-glacial period, which began twelve thousand years ago (Crutzen & Stoermer, 2000/2021). Part of the Quaternary period, the Holocene is the epoch which follows the Pleistocene, which is said to have started 2.6 million years ago and lasted until 11,700 years ago. The period reaches as far back as the Paleolithic Age, the period of stone tool innovations, and an era old enough to have seen some of the earliest beings of the genus *homos*. *Homo sapiens* evolved in this era and functioned in hunter gatherer societies for much of our existence within it. If the new epoch of the Anthropocene were to be added to the GTS, it would hardly be visible due to the relatively small timespan it covers when compared to other eras, some of which span billions of year (Crutzen & Stoermer, 2000/2021).

(Crutzen & Stoermer, 2000/2021). However, the recent debate on the term began when French historians of science Christophe Bonneuil and Jean-Baptiste Fressoz introduced the term into the humanities and social sciences in their book, *The Shock of the Anthropocene* (2016). Since then, we have seen strong branches of racial, class, and colonial critiques form within the plurality of ocene literature. However, feminist and gender-focused contributions to the literature have remained relatively undertheorized, or have at least gone heavily under the radar (Ruault et al., 2021b).

Yet, in France, where Ecofeminism has garnered much attention over the last several years, the Androcene received some exposure in 2021, after leading Francophone peer-reviewed journal *Nouvelles Questions Feministes (New Feminist Questions)* published an entire edition interrogating the Androcene. In addition, self-proclaimed Ecofeminist and French politician Sandrine Rousseau co-authored a pocket-sized book on the term, titled *Par-delà l'androcène: une poignée d'oppresseurs aux commandes (Beyond the Androcene: A Handful of Oppressors at the Helm)* (Bon et al., 2022).[5] In reality, the term is linked back to publications that date to at least 2015, when leading Ecofeminist Greta Gaard explains that the term "Androcene" was suggested by some "witty feminist environmental justice scholars at the April 2014 'Anthropocene Feminism' conference at UW-Milwaukee" (Gaard, 2017, p. 119).

Within the introduction of the *Nouvelles Questions Feministes's* edition on the Androcene, the editors confusingly equivocate around the origin of the term, vaguely describing how it "emerged" to them "like a revelation" during a brainstorming meeting, while simultaneously stating that other academics had previously used the term within the field erroneously citing Myriam Bahaffou and I as the example of other academics (Ruault et al., 2021b, p. 9).[6] Although the editors do not give a genealogy, they do point to Giovanna Di Chiro's concept of "White (M)Anthropocene" in 2017 as "the exception" in "revealing the links between environmental destruction and white masculinity" within the Anthropocenic literature. They also imply that the conceptual roots of the term can be linked back to Carolyn Merchant, Rosemary Radford Reuther, Maria Mies, Silvia Federici, and Val Plumwood's Ecofeminist analyses around the patriarchal structures of the domination of nature. In particular, I agree with this latter point.

I, too, find it essential to include scholarship that has already theorized parts of ecological patriarchal histories within discussions that fall under the newer lexicon of the Androcene. Yet, in addition, and in the vein of the arguments made through Lorde's four points in Chapter 2 and the Transnational Feminist literature of Chapter 3, I also advocate for expanding the differentiated experiences of differently racialized and geographically located women within these histories. This also means genuinely reading and theorizing these histories from the works of intersectional and women of color scholars themselves. Finally, it entails excavating valorizing histories of power and resistance that parallel the ecological histories of gendered oppression to avoid hegemonic narratives of victimization.

[5] Bahaffou and I did not form the neologism Androcene, nor did we ever claim to do so. Linking our names to the origin of the term within the book *Par dela l'Androcene* is an error which has gone on to be widely circulated within the French media. This error has been corrected on book's publishing website, SeuilLibelle.
[6] This assertion occurred before the book *Beyond the Androcene* mistakenly credited us for inventing the term.

Nevertheless, I have sought to map the evolution of the term Androcene in its exactitude. I found Gaard's 2017 explanation, stating that it was orally brought into existence in 2014, followed by independent researcher Ruth Thomas-Pellicer's introduction of the "White Androcene" (Thomas-Pellicer, 2019),[7] to be amongst the earliest usages of the term. This was after confirming with Ecological Feminists Donna Haraway and Ariel Salleh that it was not they who coined the term, as has sometimes been falsely written and suggested. However, I stop there, feeling that the outline I have given is adequate. More importantly, as aforementioned in previous chapters, genealogies of words can be helpful to situate them and give historical context; however, ascribing origins is problematic when it comes to the naming and ownership of terms and ideas, and because it is actually very difficult to accurately ascribe one origin.

As of now, then, I argue that the word "Androcene" cannot be agreed upon orattributed to any single person, although its origins in the literature can be traced to around 2014. It seems to come from a variety of narratives, geographical locations, and authors, and has been accepted as such (so far, at least) within the feminist discourse. Feminist scholar and major ocene contributor Donna Haraway agreed, and explained: "terms erupt in language and circulate. I think 'Androcene' is a term like that. In a context in which lots of us are playing with terms like that, there is little reason to assume a single origin" (Haraway, email correspondence, September 2, 2022).[8] Haraway also explained that the Androcene "could be a useful term, in that whole litter of 'x-ocene' terms in play" because "no one term does all the work one wants for any particular point of historical reflection." "Like Vinciane Despret," Haraway continued, "I try to work by addition rather than subtraction" (Haraway, email correspondence, September 2, 2022).

My development of the Androcene within this chapter, then, fits within Haraway's "addition rather than subtraction" reasoning in that my understanding relies on varying other ocene literature to both inform and unravel it. At the same time, it must be said that the Androcene also takes a very big place within this entire work because of the structural world history analysis of the ocenes literature.

My definition of the Androcene starts with a historical epoch defined by racial, capitalist, environment/climate destroying, patriarchal, social relations and structures. These social relations and structures are built from an interlinked historical subordination of race, gender, class, and nature.

Theorizing an Androcenic epoch is indeed a massive project which demands a historical analysis of not only the roots of the systemic oppression of gender, but also the roots of what I have referred to as climate oppression[9] in Chapter 1, and the connection between the two. This work has laid the groundwork for this theorization. As a brief reminder, Chapter 1 outlined the feminist literature on systems of oppression and indicated a palpable gap between the foundational intersectional systems of oppression literature on the one hand and the very first

[7] In her article "Envisioning a Post-Ecocidal Culture," Thomas-Pellicer (2019) explains, "the Age of Ecocide overlaps with 'the Anthropocene – albeit I claim that the latter should be more precisely called 'The White Androcene'" (p. 1).
[8] In 2022, I reached out to Haraway to discuss the search of the Androcene's first usage (Haraway, personal correspondence, 2022).
[9] As discussed in Chapter 1, climate oppression is extractive and "ecocidal." It treats women and marginalized peoples in the same way it treats the earth.

Ecological Feminist literature on the other. In turn, I proposed The Racial Capitalist Climate Patriarchy as a more all-encompassing beginning point to systems of oppression theory, but also as a framework that can respond to the current data on gender and environment, which shows how women, primarily racialized women and gender marginalized peoples, are the most disproportionately impacted by climate change globally.

This chapter, then, takes on the historical creation of The Racial Capitalist Climate Patriarchy. It proposes the Androcene as the epoch that fabricated The Racial Capitalist Climate Patriarchy into a transnational system. It does so through the same logic and tenets that this entire dissertation is founded upon—providing a transnational critique that is intersectional, decolonial, and queer, and is vigilant and attentive to resisting the universalizing analysis of some past feminist analysis of Gendered Systemic Oppression.

This chapter zooms in on the moment that the overarching interlocking structures of whiteness and its supremacy, classism, genderism, and extractivism were uplifted into a transnationality of oppression that fueled the Industrial Revolution and tore open a new modern world. As the first part of this chapter shows, this new modern world radically transformed a pre-modern enchanted and feminine Europe into a dead and immaterial machine (Merchant, 1980/1985; Federici 2004). This was not an idyllic Europe, but rather, as described in depth below, it is a more organic, magical, mysterious, and communal approach to the Earth. The modern world reshaped a pre-contact North American mother earth-revering continent into an industrial America, largely powered by slavery (Gunn Allen, 1986/1992; Anderson, 2000; Anderson, 2010). The transformation of modernity was executed through an attack on poor and working-class European women, Indigenous women, and enslaved African American women's power, bodies, labor, and epistemologies.

The result was the first global capitalist market in 17th and 19th-century Europe. The Androcene emerges from the advancement of global capitalism, or what Marx called "the world market" (Engels & Marx, 1848/2021, p. 7). Marx argued that "modern industry has established the world market, for which the discovery of America paved the way" (p. 7).[10] This global industrial capitalism overhauled the localized land economies of peasants, Indigenous peoples, and nomads, amongst others of the world into a mass wage labor force through the establishment of the proletariat. Moreover, the proletariat was established through the structural subordination of women (Bhattacharya, 2018; Federici, 2004; Federici, 2018; Vogel, 1983).

The modern world was made and controlled by the invention of the "Enlightened man." To put it another way, modernity was made in the reflection of a bourgeois white European man (Tsing & Ebron, 2017). Yet, the focus on the construction of modernity and the "Enlightened man" is not to be confused with a generalized proposition of war on women. Different women have been dramatically impacted by the Androcene and The Racial Capitalist Climate Patriarchal system it constructed throughout history, just as they are today, as Chapter 2 has shown. My development of the Androcene, then, does not look to create commonality between the histories of disparate groups of women. On the contrary, in the final sections of this chapter, I offer three examples to provide differentiated and specific material histories of structural Gendered Systemic

[10] Industrialization was the technology, the machinery of production, which was needed to provide goods for a global capitalist market (Luxemburg, 1884/2003).

Oppression, and how, together, they ascended a set of transnational systems of oppression. This means that when historicizing The Racial Capitalist Climate Patriarchy within the epoch of Androcene, one of the most central premises of this dissertation is reinforced: since the start of an established global capitalism, women have been resisting the same transnational structures. But those structures used and impacted women in drastically different ways based on race, class, female communities' relationship to the land, and specific geographical locations and histories. In addition, different women have been complicit in and benefited from the oppression of other women within this transnational "matrix of domination" (Collins, 1990, p. 287).[11] In turn, the three cases presented are historical examples of Racial Capitalist Climate Patriarch*ies* (theorized in the Introduction and exemplified in Chapter 3). In fact, they could be considered the cornerstone Climate Patriarchies of the Androcenic age because of their role in the construction of an industrial capitalism that modernized the world.

PART I
The Androcene in Europe

An Enchanted and Feminine Europe

Previous chapters of this dissertation attempt to decenter Eurocentric approaches to Ecological Feminisms, as does this chapter; however, the Androcene starts in Western Europe. We must start there, largely, from both the perspectives of chronology and responsibility.[12] The Androcene targeted a pre-modern Europe. Pre-industrial Europe was animate, enchanted, and feminine. In her groundbreaking critical historiography, *The Death of Nature* (1980), Carolyn Merchant explains how early Europeans honored the mystery of life that, for them, was rooted in a deep and widespread gratitude of a living, organic, regenerative, and feminine earth. From the ancient Greeks to the European Renaissance, the cosmos was perceived as an animate breathing system. It had rivers as veins, gastric movements within volcanos, and a "womb" filled with minerals and metals (Merchant). Merchant explains how Europeans' reverence for an organic nature was so strong that only limited and careful resource extraction was executed so as not to over-exploit the venerated value of an Earth that was viewed as woman and mother. She states: "Miners offered propitiation to the deities of the soil and subterranean world, performed ceremonial sacrifices, and observed strict cleanliness, sexual abstinence, and fasting before violating the sacredness of the living Earth by sinking a mine" (Merchant, 1980/1985. p. 4).

These miners represented a more general societal paradigm of pre-modern European thinking: they saw nature as enchanted, living, and as a feminine life force to be respected. Such a view resulted in normative societal boundaries and restraint around what could be taken from and done to the land (Federici, 2004; Horkheimer & Adorno, 2008; Merchant, 1980/1985). This ethos was sustained through an economy of "the commons"— unprivatized, free, and communal plots of land that did not require expansive development and production (Federici, 2004, Federici, 2018; Merchant, 1980/1985).

[11] Refer to Chapter 2 for a fuller definition and engagement of Collins's "matrix of domination" and how it fundamentally informs The Racial Capitalist Climate Patriarchy.

[12] Here I say "largely" so as not to exclude other "x-ocenes," from their potential place within the plurality of gender-focused Anthropocenic literature. Some have pointed to the beginnings of the non-European beginnings of agriculture, for example, as a historical starting to point to the climate crises which could very much align with many Ecological Feminist authors.

The Commons and Women

The pre-capitalist/industrial European economy, then, was an earth-revering one that gave women a more valued position than usually recognized within this epoch. Commoners and peasants held traditional rights within the communal landholdings, which gave them and their livestock access to basic environmental resources and sustained daily life. An economy interlinked with a land ethic defined by respected feminine attributes also paralleled a societal appreciation of women.

Under the commons, peasant women held positions of economic, political, and social value often rooted in their productive and reproductive labor and knowledge. Their command of herbal and medicinal practices was fundamental to the physical health of the community.

Their roles as midwives made them responsible for successful childbirths, care, and knowledge of reproductive health and authority of contraceptive methods. In addition, they held highly revered knowledge and skills in divination—a spiritual practice that was central to the communal value system of the times (Dalla Costa, 2019; Federici, 2004; Federici, 2018; Federici, 2019; Merchant 1980/1985). Indeed, these positions were "a source of employment and undoubtedly a source of power" (Federici, 2018, p. 27).

Moreover, early Europeans shared an enchanted communion with nature that uplifted women (Federici, 2019; Merchant, 1980/1985). The natural environment was viewed as magical and mysterious, qualities which early Europeans understood their own bodies to retain (Federici, 2014, 2018, 2019; Merchant, 1980/1985). In response to Frankfurt School philosophers Max Horkheimer and Theodor W. Adorno's critiques of reason and the Enlightenment, Merchant also shows how, in addition to the external world of nature, Europeans held a pre-modern belief of an "internal nature" within humans, composed of inner emotions, bodily pleasures, animal instincts, and desires (Merchant, 2008, p. 17). Environment mimesis, the imitation of nature through the engagement with it, was deeply engrained in ancient and pre-modern European society.

In a pre-industrial Europe, Europeans saw themselves in an esteemed rapport with nature, which was represented as woman (Merchant, 2008, p. 17). They honored and emulated it. Feminine nature held sacred attributes which took care of human health and well-being, and provided for spiritual beliefs and practices, which nourished the human soul and added rich meaning to life (Merchant, 1980/1985). In turn, women in society often held knowledge and roles which oversaw societies' need of and bond with nature. Such gendered roles were often venerated in the same way that nature was venerated. However, this source of power would make women a primary target of the "modern man" and his Enlightenment agenda.

The Androcene and The Disenchantment of Nature

The prior paragraphs began by explaining a living, enchanted, and gendered pre-industrial European Earth. Yet, Merchant also showed how the Western European perception of nature was twofold. On the one hand, it was considered a living, breathing, motherly entity that was to be respected (Merchant, 1980/1985, pp. 3, 4, 24). On the other hand, nature was an irrational, enigmatic, and uncontrollable force that could bring environmental catastrophe, famine, and starvation (Merchant, 1980/1985, pp. 127, 244). These forces of nature were embedded in a view

of nature as chaotic, unorderly, and unpredictable. Moreover, the ruling classes grew increasingly fearful of these attributes in external nature. At the same time, they feared the internal nature of their own minds and bodies that carried their emotional counterparts. In their estrangement from nature, elite feudal lords and merchants looked to conquer the internal emotions by disassociating from mimesis, thereby breaking their communion with an enchanted nature.

Instead, they invested in Greco-Roman concepts of the self and individualism by defaming and attacking traditional practices of imitating a feminine earth (Merchant, 2008). Merchant (2008) explains:

> Through the emergence of his own identity and as individual self he is able to break the hold of the mythic past and to control his animal instincts, his men, his wife and other women. He becomes alienated from his own emotions, bodily pleasures, other human beings and nature itself. (p. 17)

The European disenchantment of the Earth, then, marks the start of my Androcentric analysis because the disenchantment of the Earth was the project of the Enlightenment. Before getting to the latter feminist analysis of this premise, it is essential to first demonstrate how the Enlightenment, or the Age of Reason, disenchanted the world.

This is an insight provided within one of the most foundational and canonical critiques of the Enlightenment: Horkeimer's and Adorno's *Dialectic of the Enlightenment* (1944). Merchant shows how, according to Horkheimer and Adorno (2008), "The program of the Enlightenment was the disenchantment of the world, the dissolution of myths, and the substitution of knowledge for fancy" (Horkheimer & Adorno, 2008, p. 59). Writing in the 20th century, near the end of World War II, during the era referred to within anthropocentric literature as "the great acceleration," Horkheimer and Adorno (2008) posit: "In the most general sense of progressive thought, the Enlightenment has aimed at liberating men from fear and establishing sovereignty. Yet the fully enlightened earth radiates disaster triumphant" (p. 59). Here, they equate man's fear of nature, disguised in a decorative enlightened cloak, to catastrophe for the earth. Writing from the position of Jews, who were literally facing the horrors of the unprecedented violence and innovation of World War II weaponry and technology, Horkheimer and Adorno generally refer to the ravages of the Enlightenment and industrial technology, and the destruction it will cause for people and nature.

However, I find Horkheimer's and Adorno's words to be an *ex post facto* lens which reveals the modalities of an Androcenic age. Their words of "a fully enlightened earth" that would "radiate disaster triumphant" reads today as almost prophetic when considering the scholarship that has associated industrialism's origins as the cause of the current climate emergency. Although the authors do not, or perhaps cannot—given the period in which they were writing—offer a feminist analysis (or even slightly adequate one), they do set a foundation for the gendered implications of their statement by labelling instrumental reason and the logic of modern science as "patriarchal" (Merchant, 2008, p. 60) and "totalitarian" (p. 61). Referring to Francis Bacon, widely considered the founder of the scientific method and a leading father of the scientific revolution, Horkheimer and Adorno write: "What men want to learn from nature is how to use it

in order wholly to dominate it and other men. That is the only aim" (Merchant, 2008, p. 60). Decades later, Ecological Feminists would provide groundbreaking revelations on the gendered aspects of this attack on nature, which I argue could also be referred to as an Androcenic age.

The Androcene and "Matricide:" From Maternal Earth to Enlightened Man

One of the major markers of an Androcenic age is the targeted killing of the feminine and maternal perception of Earth. "Matricides," which means the "loss of caring matrical bonds with the Earth" is the term that Martiniquais environmental social scientist and engineer Malcom Ferdinand provides to explain this historical phenomenon in his pivotal work *Decolonial Ecology: Thinking from the Caribbean World* (2019).[13]Although Ferdinand develops the term in the context of the Caribbean and the "Plantationocene,"[14] and as caused by European colonial destruction, his definition also centers Merchant's formative contributions on the issue within Europe.[15]

Merchant's unprecedented historiography, *The Death of Nature*, unearthed Europe's world-changing understanding and treatment of nature from respected mother to subservient "slave" (1980/1985, p. 169). This new, dominating language was the exact phrasing used by scientific revolution architect Francis Bacon. Merchant (1980/1985) reveals Bacon's introduction of this violently misogynistic and earth-destroying scientific nomenclature through her investigation into his own words:

> The new man of science must not think that the "inquisition of nature is in any part interdicted or forbidden." Nature must be "bound into service" and made a "slave," put "in constraint" and "molded" by the mechanical arts. The "searchers and spies of nature" are to discover her plots and secrets […] "I am come in very truth leading to you nature with all her children to bind her to your service and make her your slave." (p. 170)

These words can be considered the blueprint towards an Androcenic project, which would make headway through a matricidal agenda within Europe. The world would then follow the brutally heavier hand of colonialism. Europe accomplished this shift by transforming nature from a bountiful, giving, and honored nature into a mysterious and mischievous witch, whose secrets needed to be "discovered," as Merchant indicates in the quotation above.

This moment marks a main pillar within an Androcenic epoch because it changed the societal ethos that defended a living and breathing earth with real resistance and penalties given to the overmining of it, for example, to a suspicious, delegitimatized, and dangerous force that needed dissection, discovery, and extraction for the good of "mankind." Merchant (1980/1985) shows how Bacon appealed to the rising scientific world in his writing when stating: "'help us to think

[13] Ferdinand's use of the term is multifaceted and complicated by the translation of the term from French into English. His first usage of the term in his book is accompanied by a Translator's note which reads: "'Matricia'" is the adjectival form of the French *matrice*. While not a neologism in English, the term is uncommon and nor normally used in the sense intended here. The reader should understand it in the double sense of the "'womb, matrix'" terminology that Ferdinand uses (Ferdinand, 2019/2022).

[14] This term is defined and taken up in full in Part III of this chapter.

[15] Here, I employ Ferdinand's current use of matricide as a way to recenter the classic literature that remains meaningful with current decolonial ecological approaches.

about the secrets still locked in nature's bosom.' 'They do not, like the old, merely exert a gentle guidance over nature's course; they have the power to conquer and subdue her, to shake her to her foundations'" (p. 172). Bacon deemed it imperative that "'nature take orders from man and work under his authority'" and that nature be "'put in constraint.'" Bacon's rhetoric—and the rhetoric of the scientific revolution—laid the path to industrialization and the new modern world, a path of matricide.

Bacon's matricidal words are just one example representing an entirely new worldview of scientific ideology that not only looked to depreciate a feminine earth, but ultimately shift the societal view of it to a dead, mechanical machine at the service of a new and enlightened "man."[16] The explicit and blatant nature of such gendered language may seem adequate enough to carve out a case for an Androcenic epoch, yet such language is, in some ways, just the tip of the (melting) iceberg. Not only did the Enlightenment attempt to kill its ecological mother, but it also looked to change her gender. Bacon's words cited above come from his text "The Masculine Birth of Time" (1603), a title which speaks volumes and could be understood as a striking synonym of the Androcene.

Although I am strongly critical of the mainstream Anthropocenic literature, its central premise, which links James Watt's invention of the steam engine, in 1784, to the geological beginnings of unsustainable global concentrations of carbon dioxide and methane, evidenced by analyzed air trapped in polar ice, provides *one* relevant marker in the origins of a climate emergency epoch story. I emphasize *one* to clearly separate my usage of this premise from Crutzen's usage, which instead indicates Watt's steam engine as *the* origin of a new geological age, produced by "all humans" (Crutzen, 2002/2021).

Marking the earth-destabilizing technological beginnings of burning large quantities of fossil fuels[17] is pertinent to an Androcenic analysis, but only if it includes the social, political, and economic relations and forces responsible for the creation of the fossil fuel system. As the growing of body of alternative ocene literature has shown, "all humans" were obviously never responsible for the *man*-made changes indicated on the Geological Time Scale.[18] At the same time, it would be imprudent to argue that *all* men were/are responsible for these changes, although it remains a fact that the problem began with humanity and, specifically, the "Enlightened Man" and the problematics of that term.

The Ecological Feminist histories outlined above provide some historical socio-political and economic context to understand the invention of the steam engine as part of the larger systemic invention of the "Enlightened Man" by an elite gendered and white racialized class. In her

[16] Other "fathers" of modern science and Enlightenment thinking include: William Harvey, Gottfied Wilhelm Leibniz, Issac Newton, Rene Descartes, Pierre Gassendi, and Marin Mersenne, amongst many others (xviii, xxi, 125 Merchant 1980/1985).

[17] Tracking and measuring fossil fuel levels is also a point that strongly aligns with the global climate justice movement and WFCJ. The rhetoric which articulates a calculation that consists of annual million parts carbon is a central long time campaigning point within the movement, to the point that several WFCJ and youth grassroots CJ activists have gotten tattoos of how many million parts of carbon existed in the atmosphere during the year they were born.

[18] Refer to Whyte (2014), Moore (2015), Bonneuil (2016), Haraway (2016a), Tsing (2016), and Ferdinand (2022), amongst others.

article, “Earth Stalked by Man,” Anna Tsing (2016) emphasizes the universal character of the “Enlightened Man” when explaining that she continues to engage the term Anthropocene because of some of the very worst things about the term’s Enlightenment legacy (p. 3). The term appeals to a false universal of homogenous “Man,” which was created with a white, Christian, [heterosexual] male person as the basis for the universal. I use “Man” here to evoke several variations of the concept within this analysis, including Tsing’s “Enlightened Man” (2016, p. 3), but also alternative and relatable language such as: “The Story of Species Man” (Haraway, 2016b, p. 47) and “Modern Man” (Haraway, 2016b, p. 30).

More specifically, the issue that this Androcenic analysis brings forth is how the Enlightenment redefined humanity through the image of a universal white, cis, Western, heterosexual man as the master of nature. The infrastructure of this project was industrialization exported through a brutal project of colonialism and slavery on Turtle Island, also known as North America, and guided by a violently misogynistic worldview that would take even harsher forms on Indigenous and enslaved African women.

But before we get to those parts of the chapter, we must first highlight, in what follows, how the project to industrialize the Earth was also dependent on the subordination of women’s power, bodies, and their reproductive and productive labor in Europe. This model would then be replicated in even more ferocious ways across borders, marking the establishment of the transnational system of The Racial Capitalist Climate Patriarchy.

Merchant: Crossing Boundaries: Extracting Earth, Extracting Women

Like reproductive bodies and the birthing process, the natural environment was perceived as perplexing. It was thought to be filled with secrets that hid valuable scientific truths, including the science of how human life itself came to be. Alongside the scientific revolution came the foundations of Western medicine, which was rooted in the dissection of women’s corpses. Merchant brings attention to how the iconography Vesalius’s *De Humani Corporis Fabrica* (1543) illustrates 16th century scientists and observers watching the dissection of a corpse with its womb being dissected (see Figure 4.1). The person and their womb represent the mystery of nature while, simultaneously, the dissection’s purpose is to pry upon the secrets of women, nature, and reproduction (Merchant, 2010). The women’s corpses were overwhelmingly bodies of “witches”— the ultimate representation and embodiment of women empowered by an enchanted and magical nature.

Figure 4.1



Note. Title page of Vesalius's *De Humani Corporis Fabrica* (1543) (Source: Vesalius, 1543) Creative Commons license.

The witch hunts and trials, which included the burning, torture, and scientific experimentation on reproductive bodies, were one of the central weapons in the arsenal of the modern man and his new capitalist economy (Federici, 2018; Merchant, 1980/1985). What d'Eaubonne described as a "sexocide," in her book, *le sexocide des sorcières* (The Feminicide of Witches) (1999), and is today understood as feminicide, Federici recounts as an unexaggerated "war on women." (d'Eaubonne, 1999; Federici, 2018, p. 37). The hunt for knowledge discovery, when analyzed from an Androcenic lens, becomes viewed as a destructive devaluing of the commons, female epistemologies, and female bodies.

Peasant women, once empowered by their understanding of the birthing process, and knowledge of nature, were devalued and targeted as witches who practiced earthly, mysterious, and demonic sins, which were to be uncovered and understood. Spearheaded by scientific and state leaders, including Bacon and Kings Christian IV of Denmark, James VI of Scotland and James I of

England,[19] the witch hunts of the 16th and 17th centuries assassinated those who refused to give up their earth-centered, traditional practices, often rooted in the heritage of the commons Federici, 2021). These were often vagabonds and elderly women who came from ancestries of displaced peasants that did not integrate into the new waged work model of capitalism. In this historical narrative, then, capitalism replaced the commons through the violent overtaking and privatization of women's bodies by the feudal and new mercantile capitalist classes.[20]

The building of the proletariat wage system, then, was the final systemic attack against early European women through the devaluation of their productive and reproductive labor. This was a radically different reality from the societal position that they held in the commons. By the 19th century, a new era of systematized "housewifization,"[21] the transformation of women's labor into a regulated position of housewife, had begun. The housewife would be engulfed in an unrecognized and unpaid domestic economy of reproductive labor.

Here, from the 19th century and continuing today, women would grow increasingly dependent on their husbands while trapped within the modern nuclear family model. The new ranks of productive proletariatwaged labor excluded women, whose communal work and land-based skills and knowledge were once a valued and recognized part of land-based subsistence economy. Within the walls of the family home, women's unwaged labor, or what Federici calls the "patriarchy of wage," sustains men's waged productive labor for the new capitalist elites who disenfranchised them (Federici, 2021). In her pivotal work *Patriarchy & Accumulation on a World Scale* (1986), Ecological Feminist Maria Mies also shows how the subordination of women and nature would be made global through ideologies of progress and civilization pushed forward through colonial projects of housewifization and the making of international divisions of gendered labor.

PART II
The Androcene and Turtle Island

"Violence against the Earth begets violence against women."
--Melina Laboucan-Massimo, Lubicon Cree First Nation, Climate Justice Activist[22]

Colonization, then, was the vehicle of the Enlightenment project. I turn now to the colonization and building of the "New World" on Turtle Island, also known as North America. In this section, I use historic case studies to illustrate both the victimization and resistance of Indigenous Women and gender-marginalized people to argue that these individuals were enacting climate

[19] Significantly, James VI of Scotland and James I of England published "Daemonologie," a manual on witch hunting, in 1587.
[20] Federici, for example, has concluded that capital accumulation depended on the witch hunts. "Naming and persecuting women as 'witches' paved the way to the confinement of women in Europe to unpaid domestic labor […]. It gave the state control over their reproductive capacity, guaranteeing the creation of new generations of workers" (Federici, 2018, pp. 47–48).
[21] Maria Mies first coined the term "housewifization" in *Patriarchy and Accumulation on a World Scale* (Mies, 1986/1998, p. 74).
[22] Melina Laboucan-Massimo shared these words with me at the People's Climate March in New York City in 2014 (personal correspondence, 2014). Afterwards, she informed me that her sister, Bella Laboucan-McLean, forms part of the disproportionate number of Missing and Murdered Indigenous Women (#MMIW) after her mysterious and unresolved death in Toronto in 2013.

resistance well before we even knew about it. To do so, this section focuses on the impacts of the Androcene on the Indigenous Women of Turtle Island, explicitly highlighting the devastation wrecked upon non-male bodies.

The History of the Indigenous Ancestral View of Earth as (Grand)Mother

The cosmology of Earth as (Grand)Mother or Goddess exists across almost all Indigenous peoples in North America (Gill, 1987, p. 1). As the late Ojibwe author and co-founder of the American Indian Movement (AIM) Benton-Banai explains:

> The Earth is said to be a woman. In this way, it is understood that woman preceded man on the Earth. She is called Mother Earth because from her come all living things. Water is her lifeblood. It flows through her, nourishes her, and purifies her. (Agyeman et al., 2009, p. 2)

The concept of Earth as (Grand)Mother is not a metaphor or folklore, but a literal belief. Earth is the origin of all human life and, thus, is life's (grand)mother. More specifically, it is the first mother, bearer, and giver of all things and life, and, thus, the Creator.

Indigenous women writers, and particularly Indigenous feminism, have long articulated that a Mother Earth cosmology was inextricable from widespread unprejudiced gendered divisions of labor across Indigenous nations. This was because of the structural gynocratic, matriarchal, and matrilineal economic and socio-political community structures that existed extensively across the continent. Such models generated gendered divisions of labor where women's work was highly esteemed and equally valued. In this section, I also emphasize how homosexual and gender non-binary sexualities and identities were integral and revered components of these societies (Indigenous).

Gender Balance

Indigenous feminism and scholarship describe a pre-colonial social structure which was incomparably more sophisticated in generating gender equality and gender diversity than in an Earth-admiring pre-modern Europe. On Turtle Island, the standard gender relations of pre-contact Indigenous societies were founded on the notion of "gender balance" (Harper, 2009, p. 176). The concept is inseparable from Indigenous Mother Earth ideology. In her work on Aboriginal women, Ojibwa scholar Anita Olsen Harper explains that "the equality of men and women in pre-contact times was accepted as the voice of creation" (Harper, 2009, p. 176). Gender balance, reflected in the image of the most sacred and honored woman creator, constructed a positive, equal, and highly valued Indigenous feminine identity, which reverberated into several positions of power for women in tribal life.

Gender Balance and Unprejudiced Gendered Divisions of Labor

Indigenous Feminism argues that a Mother Earth ideology is inextricable from widespread unprejudiced gendered divisions of labor across Indigenous nations. Because of the specific character of nature and women's connection to it, women's work often dealt with the land and was immensely valued. Moreover, working tasks were not hierarchical, but were instead balanced and designed to work in harmony to make survival and life manageable (Anderson, 2000, p. 59). In her work *Native Women and Leadership* (2010), Yaqui scholar of law and

Indigenous culture, Rebecca Tsosie explains: "in most tribes, gender roles were perceived as complimentary and not as dichotomous" (p. 32). Men were responsible for hunting and warrior acts outside of the tribe's location, while women managed food production, agriculture, and childcare within the community. For example, women's knowledge and skills in drying and processing meat were fundamental in their share of economic power. Critical research on the Chipewyan hunter-gather society shows how the entire band was dependent on women's knowledge of procuring and processing caribou for all to eat. Without women's labor of processing the large number of animals, the kills would be useless. The Chipewyan do not think of the hunting process as a kill and thus a product, but an integrated system of labor that engages the work and skills of all genders (Sharp, 2001). Indeed, many Indigenous nations did not follow a binary, two-gender, or heteronormative system; thus, we might think of queering the gendered scheme, detailed in depth below, when referring to gender diversity.

Indigenous Matrilinearity

Critical Indigenous scholarship reassures the academic world that many pre-contact Indigenous nations were not only gynecratic but also matriarchal or matrilineal in structure, resulting in widespread accounts of women holding significant economic power (Harper, 2009, p. 175). This is a pivotal difference, compared to European patriarchal structures already long established in pre-modern Europe. On Turtle Island, however, "Native women often owned property, including land, agricultural products and the means of economic production […] Traditional Cherokee society was organized according to matrilineal clans, and control over the land resided with women" (Tsosie, 2010, p. 34).

Outside of women's fundamental position as food processors, women held the powerful positions of farmers and horticulturists. "The fact that many pre-contact Aboriginal societies were both matriarchal and matrilineal ensured women's authority and legitimate place" (Harper, 2009, p. 175). Their management of cultivating land was practiced in tribes such as Choctaw, Hurons, and Cherokee, as well as the Iroquois federation of tribes, giving them a major role in food production outside of hunting (Anderson, 2000, pp. 60-61).

Gender Diversity on Turtle Island

Even though at first glance Indigenous feminist analyses may seem to entrap gender into essentialist categories, such a conclusion falls into Western and colonial binary understandings of gender.

Gender was multidimensional in non-patriarchal societies of gender balance. Different nations maintained different cultures of gender and sexuality. Anderson (2000) explains: "The fluidity of gender was inherent in Native cultural views of the world. Some Native cultures understood that there were four genders rather than two: man, woman; the two spirit womanly males; and the two spirit manly females" (p. 89). These are just some examples from the Indigenous peoples of Turtle Island, but we know that a multiplicity of gender formations existed in the pre-colonial world, many of which continue to exist and/or are being reclaimed. Often, Two-spirit people[23] were considered amongst the most valuable members of society because they embodied both the masculine and feminine spirits. This meant that they were ultra-skilled in labor capacities and spiritual knowledge that spanned across genders.

[23] I use "Two-spirit" here as a contemporary umbrella term to discuss the multidimensionality of gender.

Moreover, even though there was a strong gendered division of labor, people did move between these divisions. Widespread oral histories show cases of women who trapped, hunted, and were warriors (Anderson, 2000, p. 59). The gender of a person was often determined by the gender associated with the working tasks they took on within their community. A strong example of such logic is seen within Inuit nations, where youth are known to have chosen their gender based on the labor skills they performed best and with which they felt most spiritually comfortable. Moreover, choosing a gender is not a permanent decision among the Inuit because it is possible to change your gender several times (Stewart, 2002).

Homosexuality was also well recounted amongst many tribes. As for sexual relations, sexual liberty was widespread. Popular belief across Indigenous nations was that sex was a shameless activity amongst both women and men. Marital relations also varied widely. However, polyamory, divorce, and separation were widely practiced with no stigmatization around sex and the changing of partners. Moreover, even though children were considered a celebration in most cases, forms of birth control were available and the choice to not have a child was practiced without stigma (Anderson, 2000, p. 88).

Attacking Productive and Reproductive Labor

The androcentric nature of modernity is revealed through the European colonizer's early contact with Indigenous peoples on Turtle Island. This is first demonstrated through colonialism's attack on Indigenous people's Mother Earth cosmology, which is coincident with the attack on Indigenous women's bodies and their women-centered economies through an assault on their productive and reproductive labor. In this section, I also pay particular attention to the Androcene's antagonism and attempted elimination of homosexual and gender non-binary sexualities and identities which were incompatible with its dualistic and binary logic.

European Colonization of Indigenous Mother Earth

In the same way that the Enlightenment leaders and the church attacked an honored feminine Earth in Europe, so did European colonizers occupy an Indigenous Mother Earth with a Patriarchal masculine God. Anderson (2000) explains how the ideological colonization of Mother Earth ideology was executed:

> Overall, the church played a major role in "introducing the repression and exploitation of women as sexual objects' [and] as reproducers"[…] By using Eve to create an image of women as evil, and by calling upon the image of a passive and domesticated Mary, the missionaries were able to accomplish their goal of wrestling traditional power from Indigenous women. The loss of spiritual power was felt in every aspect of Native women's lives and was connected to a loss of their political power […] The political power held by the church made no room for women, and the missionaries sought to impose and order that would augment the priests' and put white men in charge of authority. To accomplish this, church and state worked together until they had "established local political hierarchies that explicitly excluded women and that were empowered to uphold Catholic notions of patriarchy." (p. 88)

The widespread pattern of commanding female modes of production, reflected in a partnership with the Earth, were incompatible with the colonial policies of industrial development. Men had been transformed into extractive miners and farmers in Europe, and women as owners of land was no longer normalized. In turn, colonizers would follow the model of European economic development, which entrapped nature, demeaned women, and set up exclusive economies of male modes of production.

Turning Indigenous Men into Farmers and the Housewifization of Indigenous Women

Tsosie (2010) explains the colonial attack on women's management of the land through the words of United States Indian Commissioner Medill in 1848:

> With respect to women, Commissioner Medill noted that "the most marked change […] when this transition takes place, is in the condition of females. She […] begins to assume her true position as an equal and her labor is transferred from field to her household to the care of her family and children." (p. 34)

Just as Enlightenment thinking called its project the destruction of the Earth, or a project of human liberation, so, too, would European colonizers label oppressive gender relations as equal ones.

Yet, the discourse of dismantling Indigenous women's economic agricultural power, the key to matrilineal living, is most visible in Anderson's account of George Washington's description of his plan of progress for the new nation. Washington states: "civilization" involves "turn[ing] Native men into industrious republican farmers, and women into chaste, orderly housewives" (Anderson, 2000, p. 62). This process would invert women's prominent means of production into the hands of men by turning Indigenous men into farmers.

Moreover, against the small-scale agricultural practices that stayed within the limits of respecting Mother Earth would come the mass development of North America, equipped by the technology of the scientific revolution, and its inherited mantra of man conquering nature as woman.

European Reduction of Indigenous Genders and Sexuality

The European reduction of sexuality to parochial cis-gendered heterosexual identities and monogamous nuclear family models was a primary social model imposed during the colonization and industrialization of North America. Colonizers' binary understandings of gender and Christian doctrines that scorned homosexuality violently clashed with the gender non-binary and homosexual presence within varying Indigenous cultures. Multiplicities of sexualities challenged the masculine virility of European colonizers, who "understood homosexuality to be the work of the devil and a practice enjoyed by evil men who rejected the goodness of Christ" (Slater, 2011, p. 46). In turn, the shaming and elimination of homosexuality was strongly enforced upon Indigenous communities across North America. Tribes practicing polyamory and sexual openness were forced to conform to European standards of sexual chastity and monogamy (Leacock, 1981, p. 49).

Making the Indigenous, Heterosexual, Monogamous, Nuclear Family

The new heterosexual, monogamous model of the European nuclear family squashed the high status of Indigenous women and their empowering links to nature. The nuclear family model of a male head, submissive wife, and so-called "legitimate children," born of a biological man and a biological woman, severely disempowered Indigenous women. The nuclear family model isolated the mother, who took upon herself the majority of childrearing responsibilities. This contrasted with the pre-contact Indigenous extended family model, which shared childrearing responsibilities, leaving the biological mother free to maintain her valued role and work within the community. Anderson (2000) narrates the words of a Mohawk midwife who expresses how the effect of the nuclear family on Indigenous gender balance and women's power has been "'the moral equivalent of the nuclear bomb'" (p. 84).

To Europeans, Indigenous marital freedom was savage and wild, in need of rules and taming, just like nature itself. Colonizers were shocked when "surnames of fathers in the Euro-Western tradition conflicted with Dine (Navajo) identity as being recognized as [the] Mother's children" (Cannella & Manuelito, 2008, p. 47). Cherokee women managed situations of divorce and the rearing of children, however, missionaries imposed family models headed by men (Tsosie, 2010, p. 35). In 1632, prominent French Christian priest Paul Le Jeune worked extensively to foist the patriarchal community model onto the Montagnais-Naskapi people of French Canada. In the canonical work *Myths of Male Dominance* (1981) critical feminist anthropologist Eleanor Burke Leacock quotes Le Jeune's intentions. Le Jeune stayed focused on his project of enforcing the "European family structure with male authority, female fidelity, and the elimination of the right to divorce" (Leacock, 1981, p. 47). He was also recorded saying that "the man 'was the master and that in France women do not rule their husbands'"(p. 47). Soon enough, there would be instances where Indigenous women would be criminally punished under colonial law for leaving their husbands.

This historical overview establishes that the Androcene on Turtle Island is just one of the place-based, local, and historically specific Racial Capitalist Climate Patriarch*ies*, that together comprise the global system of the Racial Capitalist Climate Patriarchy, as explained in the Introduction and within Chapter 3. If we return to Marx's argument about the world market from Chapter 1, that is, "Modern industry has established the world market, for which the discovery of America paved the way" (Engels & Marx, 1848/2021, p.7), then we can see specifically how the Androcene on Turtle Island is tied to the Racial Capitalist Climate Patriarchy because this is the precise historical moment to which Marx refers. From here, I further suggest that the rise of the world market, what I refer to as The Racial Capitalist Climate Patriarchy, is elucidated through the specific Androcenic historical systemic oppression of Indigenous Women in North America, described above.

PART III
Androcene and the Plantation

This chapter has been concerned with identifying the central histories that underpin the rise of both industrialization and the global capitalist market to offer a feminist account of the Androcene. Overwhelmingly, accounts of the Androcene have neglected the history of Black enslaved women and how the development of modernized America was contingent upon the enslaved Black (re)productive bodies on the plantation. Part III, then, focuses on the

Plantationocene. Colonization and extraction were the largest forces of the Enlightenment project, as Parts I and II have shown, and, in what follows, I show how the historical concepts of the modern and "Enlightened man" were rooted in discriminatory racialized and gendered definitions of what it meant to be human. Such definitions were used to justify the creation of the Transatlantic Slave Trade and racialized plantation slavery. The Androcene is, in fact, inextricable from the Plantationocene because of the extractive nature of the plantation—that is, the (re)productive labor of enslaved peoples is foundational to the social relations that built modern industrial capitalist society.

Moreover, the Plantationocene is significant because it is completely unlike the European and Indigenous cases described above. As Parts I and II argued, European gender binaries were used to build nuclear family economies that exploited domestic women's labor, ultimately marginalizing formerly empowered forms of productive labor. However, the Androcene's white supremacist and sexist character degraded Black women into non-gendered or ungendered positions of enslaved productive labor and made their reproductive labor into a chain of commodity: that is, the production of enslaved peoples. Bringing voice to these usually neglected histories of enslaved Black women's bodies seeks to redress the loss of Black feminist approaches in Ecofeminism. In doing so, Part III ends by acknowledging Black women as "revolutionary," "radical thinkers," resisting governance while constantly imagining "other ways to live" in a "world that might be otherwise" (Hartman, 2021, xvii).

Enlightenment Thinking and Caucasians as Humans

Perhaps one of the most disturbingly world changing inventions of the scientific revolution was that of racial taxonomy. Racial taxonomy was a system that created the concept of biological difference between varying peoples of the world, and was the creation of race. The first modern articulation of race is associated with French physician's Francois Bernier's *Nouvelle division de la terre par les différents espèces ou races qui l'habitent* (1684). The title itself, loosely translated as *A New Division of the Earth, According to the Different Species or Races who Inhabit It*, speaks volumes when thinking through an Androcentric lens. Bernier differentiated people into different races with a special focus on women and their level of attractiveness, which he based on different skin colors and physical features observed during his world travels. In other words, white Europeans needed this racial taxonomy to justify their oppression of other humans (Anderson, 2007; Markowitz, 2001).

Perhaps the most influential of texts describing phenotypic racial variations was Johann Friedrich Blumenbach's treatise "The Natural Varieties of Mankind" (1775). This treatise created a hierarchy of humankind by putting "Caucasians" at the top and variations of racialized people below. Racist biological arguments of inferiority were a main pillar of Enlightenment logic in that rational people who reasoned were considered "civilized," and, therefore, more fully human (Eze, 1997a, p. 7). Those below were, at different historical moments, considered biologically and/or intellectually inferior: only part human, "savage," or fully animal. Intriguingly, these are all attributes describing a closer relationship with nature, which modern science had, through domination, worked so hard to escape from (Eze, 1997a, p. 7; Eze, 1997b, p. 119).

Architects of Enlightenment thinking, like Jean-Jacques Rousseau and Emmanuel Kant, believed that skin color was a measurement for the level of rationality that a person inhibited. Kant equated the white race with rational "perfection" and the Black race with "stupidity," while simultaneously determining that moral equality is determined by rationality (Eze, 1997a, p. 7; Eze, 1997b, pp. 118, 119). In this taxonomy, white women were less rational than white men, but more rational than racialized women. Racialized women suffered the dehumanizing burdens of both the racist and sexist logics upon which the Enlightenment stood. In turn, definitions of what it meant to be "human" and "equal" were overwhelmingly restricted to peoples considered to be white. This racist Enlightenment ideology would be the justification for the construction of racial slavery, the Transatlantic Slave Trade, and the plantation system, which would act as the engine to the development of the industrial world.

The Androcene and the Plantationocene as Entangled and Inextricable

The Androcene is inextricable from the Plantationocene. Donna Haraway points to the extractive nature of the plantation from its history of enslavement and labor exploitation from the 1600s to current forms of environmentally destructive industrial and monocultural agricultural plantations as a more accurate alternative to the Anthropocene (Haraway, 2016a). The productive labor of enslaved peoples is, thus, foundational to the social relations which built modern industrial capitalist society.

Interdisciplinary geographer, Katherine Mckittrick, has gone on to deepen and develop the racialized dimensions of the Plantationocene. In her article "Plantations Futures," she works from George Beckford's "'plantation economy thesis'" to illustrate how the global economy was predicated on the plantations of transatlantic slavery which continue to define power within the social relations of today's ongoing extractive economy (McKittrick, 2013, p. 3). Mckittrik's writings on the Plantationocene are further illuminated by her interviews and conversations with Sylvia Wynter, published in "Unparallel Catastrophe For Our Species? Or, to Give Humanness a Different Future: Conversations" (Wynter & McKittrick, 2015, p. 1). The document articulates how "the figure of the human is tied to epistemological histories that presently value a *genre* of the human that reifies Western bourgeois tenets; the human is therefore wrought with physiological and narrative matters that systemically excise the world's most marginalized" (Wynter & McKittrick, 2015). Wynter's examples of "techno-scientists," like James Watson looking to advance geo-engineering because he is adverse to "'stupid'" and "'ugly'" people, is reminiscent of the early Enlightenment's fathers' racial taxonomy reasoning. In relation to her techno-scientist examples, Wynter and McKittrick (2015) articulate:

> This is an episteme that functions, with respect to the knowledge of our contemporary world and its systemic reality, *according to the same cognitively closed descriptive statement and its sociogenically encoded truth of solidarity as that of the theo-Scholastic knowledge system of the medieval order of Latin-Christian Europe*. So this is what gives me the urgency, do you see what I mean? For we cannot allow ourselves to continue to think in this way. This way of thinking is linked to the same ethno-class mode of behavior-regulatory and cognitively closed order of knowledge that has led to out now major collectively human predicament: the ongoing process of global warming, climate instability, and ecosystemic catastrophe. (p. 20)

As many Black feminists have shown, the plantation hinged on the enslaved women's reproductive labor capacity of birthing enslaved laborers, which were thought of as commodities and property (Davis, 1981/2019; hooks, 1981/2015; S.V. Hartman, 1997; S. Hartman, 2016; Roberts 1999). In turn, an Androcentric understanding of the Plantationoscene suggests that enslaved women's labor was the most rudimentary variable in the social relations that constructed the modern world.

Enslaved Black Women's Reproductive Labor

But what is the relationship between gender and the plantation? *Partus sequitur ventrem* was the legal doctrine used by colonizers and slave owners to obtain legal status of children born to enslaved mothers. It is the doctrine which turned children born on plantations into property. As Saidya Hartman (2016) argues: "The slave ship is a womb/abyss. The plantation is the belly of the world. *Partus sequitur ventrem*—the child follows the belly. The master dreams of future increase. The modern world follows the belly."

Racial slavery was contingent on Black reproductive labors and bodies. Hartman states that "in North America, the future of slavery depended upon black women's reproductive capacity as it did on the slave market. The reproduction of human property and the social relations of racial slavery were predicated upon the belly." The Androcentric man turned the European earth's womb into a dead machine, the European and Indigenous women's stomach into a domestic wife, and the enslaved Black women's belly into a "'factory,'" all in his quest to industrialize the world (Hartman, 2016, p. 169).[24] In other words, enslaved women's reproductive labor meant the reproduction of human bodies for plantation slavery: "Reproduction is tethered to the making of human commodities and in service of the marketplace" (Hartman, 2016). It is no wonder that we find ourselves on a planet on the verge of ecological collapse.

The position of enslaved Black women in an Androcentric analysis is starkly different from the European and Native American examples, in which European gender binaries were used to build nuclear family home economies that exploited women's domestic labor while pushing them out of formerly empowered forms of productive labor. Enslaved Black women simply did not exist within a domestic economy on the plantation because they were ungendered (Davis, 1981/2019; Spillers, 2003). This distinguishment was elaborated by feminist Angela Davis in *Women, Class, Race* (1981). Davis argued that "the slave system defined Black people as chattel. Since women, no less than men, were viewed as profitable labor-units, they might as well have been genderless as far as the slaveholders were concerned" (Davis, 1981/2019, p. 5). She explained how domestic positions like mother, wife, and homemaker happened by chance. Further, it was completely atypical for Black women to fit into 19th century concepts of femininity because they were developed around and centered upon white European women. During slavery, enslaved men were not yet part of the proletariat and both Black men and women's labor and bodies were property of the slave owner. The belly is made a factory of production incommensurate with notions of the maternal, the conjugal, or the domestic. In short, the slave exists outside of the

[24] The term "'factory'" is used by Hartman herself and is actually a citation from Christina Sharpe's article "In the Wake," which explains the non-existence of enslaved maternity as a transformation of the "'the womb into a factory reproducing blackness as abjection and turning the birth canal into another domestic middle passage" (Sharpe, 2014).

world and outside of the house. Black women, kidnapped and removed from a constellation of traditions and divisions of labor in Africa, would come to perform the same productive labor tasks as enslaved men in America. In the field, they would have no gender.

Black Women Enter Domestic Labor Force

With American emancipation from enslavement in 1863, Black women entered a domestic economy, but not the one within their own family household or alongside their new proletariat partners (as the European model had it). Instead, they entered the domestic economy of white property owners who came from a legacy of slave ownership and former masters. As Hartman elucidates: "Black women served as the primary breadwinners in households that bore no resemblance to the patriarchal nuclear family. These black laboring women troubled gender conventions by being 'outfitted like men,' as was the case with their enslaves mothers and grandmothers" (Hartman, 2016, p. 169).

The Black feminist analysis presented within this Androcentric examination is pivotal to understanding unresolved questions around the links between the historical domination of gender and the environment. Like environmental sociologist Dorceta E. Taylor (1997) has pointed out about parts of Ecofeminism in particular, Black feminist approaches have far too often been left out from this domain of thinking (1997).

However, as Saidiya Hartman has expounded, the history of Black enslaved women is not only one of subjugation and degradation. Hartman's writings on her archival recreations of the lives of Black women impacted by legacies of white systemic violence and the plantation are luminary. "At the turn of the century," Hartman (2021) writes, "young black women were in open rebellion" (p. xv). By recounting the histories of Black women, who, in the Western tradition of intellectualism and methods, often go erased, left out or ignored, Hartman reclaims stories of resistance and struggles towards freedom. Her project "recognizes the revolutionary ideals that animated ordinary lives. It explores the utopian longings and the promise of a future world that resided in waywardness and the refusal to be governed" (Hartman, 2021, p. xxii). Hartman (2021) unburies "black women as social visionaries and innovators" from the enlightened victor's one-sided archive (p. xvii). In conclusion, I would like to consider these "riotous black girls,"[25] as one of the earliest examples of resistance to The Racial Capitalist Climate Patriarchy and the climate crisis it has manifested (Hartman, 2021).

Conclusion

This chapter introduced the Androcene as the historical epoch that gave rise to The Racial Capitalist Climate Patriarchy. It outlined the existing Androcenic literature but also introduced a novel Androcenic framework, guided by the theoretical concept of The Racial Capitalist Climate Patriarchy/ies developed in Chapters 1 and 2. Defined by patriarchal social relations and structures, the Androcene emerges as an epoch intricately woven with the subordination of gender, race, and nature. The varied intersections of women's bodies, power, labor, and epistemologies act as pivotal points shaping the Androcenic forces of climate change and its diverse impacts on different women.

[25] "Riotous black girls" forms part of the subtitle to Hartman's book *Wayward Lives, Beautiful Experiments: Intimate Histories of Riotous Black Girls, Troublesome Women and Queer Radicals* (Hartman, 2021).

This chapter offers an Ecological Feminist history, tracing the inception of global capitalism through the lens of the "modern man" during the period of modernization from the 16th century onwards. Three central histories—the Androcene in Europe, the Androcene on Turtle Island, and the Androcene on the American Plantation—are examined, revealing a transnational Androcenic epoch. The rise of industrialization and the world-spanning capitalist market is explored through the experiences of Western European women, Indigenous women on Turtle Island, and enslaved Black women on the American plantation.

This historical account underscores how the ascent of capitalism, or more precisely, The Racial Capitalist Climate Patriarchy, relied on systems of gendered oppression that structurally subordinated feminine cosmologies of the earth and women's labor, power, and knowledge—albeit in distinct ways based on race, class, and relationships to the earth. The global spread of The Racial Capitalist Climate Patriarchy through colonialism is examined, culminating in the chapter's conclusion, which sheds light on lesser-known histories of feminist- and women-led resistance. These early mobilizations are interpreted as significant strides towards the contemporary WFCJ movement, offering a radical history that emphasizes the resistance efforts of Indigenous and global southern women and non-binary individuals against earlier forms of environmental destruction from a gendered perspective.

To substantiate this argument, the chapter employs theoretical lenses from Ecological Feminisms, Indigenous feminism, and Black feminism. These lenses provide a comprehensive and historically transnational approach to understanding the patriarchal and racial roots of today's climate crisis. By incorporating diverse feminist bodies of literature, this chapter adopts a methodology aligned with the overarching principles of this dissertation—an approach that is non-monolithic, non-universalist, non-Eurocentric, and non-essentialist, thereby offering a nuanced analysis of global systems of oppression.

Conclusion
From Climate Patriarchy(ies) to "Climate Revolutions"

This dissertation addressed the pressing two-part question: how do disparate women and gender-marginalized people from varying locations across the globe build solidarity to collectively foster common discourse, advocacy, and international demands on climate and gender in transnational climate justice arenas? More specifically, how do different women, from varying hemispheres of the globe and from differing political and socio-economic realities and histories gather in the same spaces to discuss, debate, and develop both divisions and solidarities about gender and climate change?

From the Berta Cáceres International Feminist School in the US, to the protesting "*Queers por el clima*" in Madrid, to French feminist the anti-nuclear camp, *Les Rayonnantes*, The Racial Capitalist Climate Patriarchy is what bonds completely diverse Women and Feminist for Climate Justice (WFCJ) into a traceable transnational movement.

Over seven years of ethnographic data, including multi-sited participatory action research (PAR) and interviews with WFCJ members, a systemic common denominator emerged, transforming into a shared adversary that fosters solidarity among WFCJ. Yet, what put a face to this adversary and a name to this system, are the solidarity-building efforts of WFCJ across borders that often first germinated within global encounters. In essence, my ethnographic data demonstrate that The Racial Capitalist Climate Patriarchy is not merely the cohesive force that binds the WFCJ movement together globally; rather, it serves as the initial catalyst bringing these activists together.

However, The Racial Capitalist Climate Patriarchy also emerges from broad bodies of literature that shape the larger part of this dissertation. Theories that search for the roots of systemic oppression, spanning from foundational Marxist theory to a specific focus on Gendered Systemic Oppression (which encompasses the 1970s literature of the "Woman Question" and the outmoded language of systems of oppression) The Racial Capitalist Climate Patriarchy emerges from the initiative to bridge the theoretical gap identified in early feminist literature on systems of oppression, providing a more comprehensive analytical framework for understanding transnational Gendered Systemic Oppression.

This means that The Racial Capitalist Climate Patriarchy is actually born out of two places oscillating between theory-laden observations and empirical data collection (Kirk & Miller, 1986).

Yet, The Racial Capitalist Climate Patriarchy is not an unmovable structure for which we have no alternative. And WFCJ are not victims but targets—as many of them have explained in previous chapters. But even more so, WFCJ and frontline communities are, and have been, spearheading real and innovative climate solutions to climate change, some of which are described below. The vast mobilization and action of WFCJ show how Climate Patriarchies are

not “damage narratives” (Sultana, 2022a; Tuck & Ree, 2013). On the contrary, many WFCJ members name the system(s) in the tradition of the revolutionary logic that arrives at its roots to dismantle it. Climate Patriarchies are in fact visibilized by the resilience and activism of WFCJ in generating new and more climate just worlds everywhere. In short, with every Climate Patriarchy comes a fierce Ecological Feminist Resistance, or perhaps, in the revolutionary spirit of the theory and the aforementioned examples, a “Climate Revolution” (Sultana, 2022a).

I conclude this work by offering instances of ongoing resistance that visibilize Climate Patriarchies. Future academic research on the gendered dimensions of climate change should take up the intersectional and Black feminist approaches that have been marginalized in ongoing Ecofeminist studies. That is, Chapters 3 and 4 have provided exemplars for the methodologies needed to visibilize The Racial Capitalist Climate Patriarchy and to acknowledge the diversity and differences among the Racial Capitalist Climate Patriarchies, developed in Chapters 1 and 2. Adhering to these approaches will provide a non-monolithic, non-universalist, non-Eurocentric, and non-essentialist analysis when examining global systems of oppression. As a primarily theoretical dissertation, this conclusion, therefore, looks toward future research into ethnographic case studies that interrogate the possibilities opened by frontline communities when Climate Patriarchies are dismantled. This, then, offers a hopeful look at a future heralded by revolution and feminist system(s) change for climate justice, and gestures towards the necessity of future research into these examples of Climate Revolutions. In the brief vignettes offered below, further research that brings voice to the people of marginalized gender combating and resisting global systems of oppression can further develop the frameworks that I have outlined in Chapters 1 and 2.

Farhana Sultana recently introduced the term “Climate Revolutions” to counter Climate Coloniality (Sultana, 2022a). Considering the revolutionary activism of WFCJ and Sultana’s extremely relevant work to the subject at hand, I find “Climate Revolutions” to be an ideal term to also counter the Racial Capitalist Climate Patriarch(ies). I humbly employ it to show how Indigenous and global southern WFCJ members have always been the champions of climate and environmental justice through the Climate Revolutions they wage against racist, sexist, and classist systems that together are destroying the planet.

The Indigenous women Water Protectors of Standing Rock Sacred Stone Camp and their victory against the XL Dakota Access Pipeline is a Climate Revolution. Standing Rock has become emblematic of the countless localized fights against extractive mining projects led by Indigenous women across the globe. The peasant women of *La Via Campesina*’s (the International Peasant’s Movement) community campaigns to confront and dismantle household patriarchal structures are Climate Revolutions. They are foundational to their internationalist activism for a peasant’s feminism against global industrial agriculture. Then, there is the Climate Revolution of the African Eco-Feminist Collective, advocating for a reclaiming of the commons while resisting multi-national corporatism and global neoliberalism. Additionally, let us not forget the Kurdish Women’s Movement as well, which is strengthening cross-border Ecofeminist alliances rooted in their local construction of an Ecofeminist society in Rojava.

WFCJ Climate Revolutions are, quite literally, countless. I hesitate even listing them, knowing I will only be able to highlight just a small portion of their inspiring and promising force. However, even though many WFCJ members that I interviewed agreed that a complete cartography of the movement was impossible, an articulation of the breadth of the movement across continents needed to be expressed. So, here I finish by bringing forward the following examples of Climate Revolutions across continents, while also recognizing all the others not listed, unknown, and yet to be born, knowing that they too are rising up for a new and more just structure, system, world.

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WFCJ are generating Climate Revolutions across the Asian continent. In India, Indigenous women are developing their decision-making powers and participation in resource management while highlighting its links to violence against women and children through the Indigenous Women and Children Foundation (IWCF). In Bangladesh, where climate change has affected Munda Indigenous women's traditional domestic work and tasks, women with the Initiative for Right View (IRV) are focusing on climate change, disaster response, and risk mitigation by sustaining women's rights and advancing women's roles in responding to climate change through climate adaptation and education (FPAR APWLD). In Vietnam, the Center for Sustainable Rural Development (SRD) is developing research on rural and marginalized women's roles in climate change adaption within rice farming and fishing communities, and is pushing for governmental acknowledgement of the crucial role that women hold, namely their ability to respond to natural disasters and climate adaptation on local, regional, and national levels. Women in Indonesia are also working for equal control of resources between men and women and are bringing women's traditional knowledge about forest management into forest climate policy through the feminist organization *Solidaritas Peremouan* (SP).

Across the Africa continent, WFCJ members detailed again and again how they are leading innovative approaches to gendered climate action. In Kenya, the Green Belt Movement, a tree planting movement guided by women's traditional knowledge and work roles around forestation, has planted 51 million trees to date, and developed vital environmental conservation in Kenya. The movement was founded by Ecofeminist and Nobel Peace Prize winner Wangari Maathai, who won the Nobel Prize for contributions to sustainable development, democracy, and peace. Nigerian women told me how they are using their pre-industrial modes of labor to proactively put forth sustainable natural resource management in response to climate change's impact on their work through organizations like Women Initiative for Sustainable Environment (WISE), founded by Olanike Olubunmi Olugboji. In Lesotho, for instance, women are combatting drought with innovative new "keyhole" gardens resulting in 70% water reduction for growing vegetables and dramatically reducing walking distances for fetching water, resulting in less injury to their bodies and saving them from walking long into the evening, which, in turn, has lowered their exposure to violence against them at night when alone and tired.

In South and Central America, WFCJ members are moving forward in gender responses to climate change and environmental destruction in their communities. They, too, are waging Climate Revolutions. In Peru, women from the Department Association of Women Farmers are pushing forward adaptation methods founded in concepts of seed saving and food sovereignty. In Brazil, Indigenous women are leading their communities in resisting destructive dam projects and deforestation projects, even in the face of extreme threats of violence against them.

Women who are increasingly fishmongers across several continents are pushing back against industrial fishing that pollutes and depletes the waters of healthy fish that are needed to feed the local communities (FAO fish document). According to The Food and Agricultural Organization (FAO) of the United Nations, 33% of fisheries are overexploited. Liberian women who composed half of the fishing workforce in their country and a majority of fishmongers are held accountable when they do not provide fish for their communities and when they cannott feed their families. Liberian women are organizing fishermen into cooperatives and contributing to reduce illegal fishing. (Brickhill, 2020).

In Europe too, WFCJ members are making Climate Revolutions. The Pink Block at Ende Geläende— an ecologically centered feminist and LGBTQI++ group mobilizing against "fossil capitalism" and climate change, while recognizing the varying forms of injustice harbored at the interface of climate change, gender, and LGBTQI++ sexualities and identities. Ende Gelände is Europe's largest anti-coal civil disobedience action that has shut down the most polluting coal mining operations in Germany for up to 48 hours every year since 2015. The Pink Block at Ende Geläende views capitalism as the global engine of fossil fuel emissions and as inherently patriarchal and, thus, a principal source of gender oppression. They want Feminist Climate Revolution. European grassroots groups and organizations are also present in WFCJ. Groups such as the MWASI collective, a French non-mixed Afrofeminist collective for Black and metises, women-identifying people who are holding "decolonial camps" educating on the impacts that climate change is having on lower-income, racialized communities in France and across Europe. There is also The Wretched of the Earth Collective, an England-based group of Black, brown, Indigenous, diaspora, and allied people and movements that are acting in solidarity with global southern and Indigenous people with a primary aim of recognizing and protecting the rights of nature and the ongoing impacts of what they refer to as "Co2onialism"— a term which holds industrial nations responsible for an ongoing "climate colonialism" which exacerbates racial inequalities in England and across Europe.

This constellation of Climate Revolutions illustrates how transnational efforts to dismantle The Racial Capitalist Climate Patriarchy are not simply grueling battles against an indelible system. Climate Revolutions are also a vibrant testament to the resilience and transformative power of WFCJ worldwide. Some may question whether the revolutionary intonations we end with truly encapsulate the character of WFCJ and the "feminist systems change not climate change" motto. Perhaps it is most fitting to respond to this question with the memorable words of a young Zapatista women who was involved in hosting the Zapatista's *Primer Encuentro Internacional de*

Mujeres que Luchan (First International Gathering of Women Who Struggle): “If we did once, I don’t see why we can’t again” (Gorecki, 2021).

Figure 5.1



Note. Zapatista's *Primer Encuentro Internacional de Mujeres que Luchan*, (First International Gathering of Women Who Struggle), Chiapas, 2018 (Photo by author).

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Appendix A

Interview Questions

Introductory Questions and Personal Information:

1) What's your name?

2) Where are you from?

3) Are you here with an organization or initiative, and, if so, which one?

4) Is this your primary work back at home and within your community? If not, what other role do you play in your community back at home? Do you have a family *(conditional, depending on context)*? Do you have children *(conditional, depending on context)*? What is your age? *(conditional, depending on context)*?

5a) Do you consider yourself both a climate justice *and* feminist or women's activist/advocate/ campaigner/policy maker/advocate?

- **Apply most appropriate descriptor to interviewee if their role is explicit and clear.*

or

- **Present list of descriptors within question to interviewee if role is unclear/unknown.*

5b) *Extend question 5a to the following question if explicitly applicable:* does your campaign/initiative/group/community/organization/institution/work on an explicitly interlinked agenda on gender and climate justice?

6a) How long have you been involved within gender and climate justice domains?

6b) How did you first get interested and involved in the intersection of gender and climate/environment?

6c.1) Did you find your way into climate justice through an earlier interest in feminism? If so, how?

6c.2) Did you find your way into feminism through an earlier interest in climate justice? If so, How?

6c.3) Did your interest in both gender and climate change/environment occur at the same time? If so, can you elaborate?

7) What scale of women/feminist engagements for climate justice are you involved with? Are you involved in more than one scale? Is working across scales important to a women/feminist approach to climate justice? Why?

This question will be adapted to the scale of the ethnographic site: international, national, regional, local.

8a) There is an extremely popular slogan being used by the larger global climate justice movement at the moment. That slogan is "system change not climate change."

8b) Do you use/agree with this slogan?

If yes…

8c.1) What does this slogan mean from your women/feminist approach to climate justice?

8c.2) I have also seen adaptations of this slogan by women/feminist centered approaches to climate justice. For example "feminist system change not climate change," or "no climate justice without gender justice." There is also "climate justice is gender justice."

8d.1) Have you ever heard of, or used, any of these slogans?

8d.2) What do these slogans mean to you and/or your group?

8d.3) Do you believe that your woman/feminist climate engagement responds to a global system in any way that may be similar to how the global climate justice responds to a global system?

- *If yes, please elaborate:*
  - How would you explain/define this global system from your woman/feminist centered climate justice approach/platform?
  - How do you connect with other women and feminists globally who share similar views?
    - What connects you to these other women, or what commonalities do you have?
    - Do you have a shared platform or vision?
    - What are your differences? Where do you diverge? How do you work together in solidarity across global differences?

- *If no, why not?*
  - Why does your woman/feminist climate engagement not respond to a global system? Please elaborate.

Locality and Women/Feminist Climate Justice Actors:

9a) Are you engaged with a women/feminist focused climate justice on a local level?

If yes…

9b) What are the local climate justice or ecological concerns you are dealing with? Who or what entities do you believe are responsible for these concerns and issues?

- Is there a specific local history around these concerns?
- Have a specific group of women and gender marginalized people been dispropotionatly impacted by climate/environmental destruction at the level of locality that you engaged in?

9c) How do you and other women/feminists connect and come together around your climate justice project at the local level?

- What connects you to these other women, or what commonalities do you have?
- Do you have a shared platform or vision?
- What are your differences? Where do you diverge? How do you work together in solidarity across global differences?

10a) What does the global “feminist system change not climate change” slogan mean to you from your local women/feminist project to climate justice?

10b) Do you see your local project connected or concerned with any international women/feminist project for climate justice? Why or why not? If yes, than how?

11) I haven’t seen any *local* women/feminist slogans, in the same ways that we see global slogans for feminist climate justice. Why do you think this is?

Appendix B

Annual United Nations Climate Change Conference of Parties (COP) Interview Questions

1. Is this your first COP conference?
   If not… 1a) When did you first attend a COP?

2. Why are you here and what is your specific role at the COP?

3. What is your perception of the COP in 2017?
   3a) Is it different than before?
   3b) Are you optimistic or pessimistic about the process?
   3c) Are you optimistic or pessimistic about the progress of issues of gender in the negotiating text?
   3d) Why is it important for you to be here?

4. As you know, there are the movements that stay "outside" of the COP during each conference and the movements that try to work from "inside" the COP. Women/feminist and gender marginalized peoples concerned with climate justice have always worked on both the inside and the outside.
   4a) Why is it important for you to be on the inside?
   4b) Why is it important for to be on the outside?
   4c) Do you believe that gender justice can better be achieved from the inside or outside of the COP?

5. For real gender justice, does system change have to happen? How and why?

6. There is debate around whether the larger climate justice slogan, "system change no climate change," is unreachable from inside the COP, since the COP is viewed by many in the movement as a part of the system, and is unwilling to negotiate the ambitious climate solutions needed to respond to the severity and urgency of today's climate crisis.
   6a) Do you agree or disagree?
   6b) What would be needed for the COP to become a space for negotiating real systemic change?
   6c) How does gender fit into this?

7. In your opinion, is the low level of women representation amongst COP delegates related to the disproportionate burdens that climate change has on women worldwide? If so, how?

8. To your knowledge, how would a higher representation of women COP delegates lead to more effective international climate negotiations and international climate policy? If so, how?

9. Would a higher representation of women COP delegates lead to more effective gender justice and policies for climate women and their communities? If so, how?
   9a) Do you have concrete examples of this connection in your own communities?

10. What are you and your group proposing as gender just climate policies and solutions within the COP negotiation text?

11. What defines climate justice to you?
    11a) What defines gender justice?
    11b) Are they sometimes entirely separate issues for you?
    11c) How are they connected in your community, your personal life, society and the world?

12. What does a climate-just world look like to you?
    12a) What does a gender-just look like to you?

13. What would change in your own life if we lived in a real and genuine gender- and climate-just society?

Appendix C

Follow-Up Questions to Confirm Findings

Part A:

1. Is a transnational women/feminist approach to climate justice needed? Why or why not?

2. Can you describe how your local activism connects with global movement of women and feminists coming together for climate justice?

3. How do you and your fellow women/feminists construct solidarity across your community/regions/cultures/borders?

4. How do you navigate the challenges of disparate historical, political, and socio-economic lived experiences and realities when gathering with other women/feminists within in transnational climate justice arenas?

5. What place does intersectionality have within your particular women/feminist climate justice engagement? What role do you it think it may have on local scales vs. international scales?

Part B:

1. How do women and feminists from diverse corners of the globe come together to discuss and navigate solidarities and divisions on issues regarding gender and climate/environment?

2. Can you think of an example of a transnational climate justice women/feminist gathering where challenges regarding diverging opinions between international participants led to disagreement, conflict, or even irreparable conflict within the group?

3. Can you think of an example of a transnational climate justice women/feminist gathering where challenges regarding diverging opinions between international participants led to cooperation, resolutions, and transnational solidarity-making within the group?